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**Research Paper Presented in Partial Fulfilment for the Requirement of
a Master Degree in Linguistics and Didactics**

**Language Use in Algeria: Arabization under Study
The Use of Arabic among Algerian Youth on Social Media as a
Case Study**

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Academic Year: 2016/ 2017

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this modest work to my dear parents, who have always been supportive of my academic studies at the university and whose love and patience get me through the most difficult stages of this work
Thank you.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my special thanks to my thesis supervisor **Omayma Kerthiou** for her helpful guidance and ongoing support throughout this work.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my teachers especially Mr. Bouhania for providing me with help and guidance, in addition to valuable contributions.

I am also thankful to participants from different parts of Algeria who took part in filling the electronic form to fulfill the questionnaires.

My acknowledgements go to all of my friends for their support, particularly **Belalem Fatima Zohra, Akbaoui Baba, Mosbahi Abess**, and my sister **Iness Mihoubi**.

God bless you.

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List of Abbreviations

LPP: Language Planning and Policy

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

CL: Classical Arabic

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General Introduction

Language is one of the crucial elements that constitutes society. The Algerian definition of this component has been conflicted about long ago, especially after the colonial era, where the state needed to clarify for the world, and for its people who and what does it represent. After the independence of Algeria, Arabic gained attention. Political leaders, at that time, made it the official language in the constitution. It is still the official language of the country that is used in education, administrations, in courts, and any other formal settings.

What is noticed in reality is that French, as a language, is still competing all along with Arabic. It is considered by some as the language of the elite, and the language of technological and scientific, and even social development.¹ Whereas Arabic remains only a language that is taught in Zawiya², Quranic schools and used for poetry.

Tamazight, on the other hand, was neglected and is still up till now, a language that has no real recognition³; despite the fact that it is the language spoken by many, and the language of the native people in North Africa.

The government has made so much efforts to get rid of the colonial legacy and adopts a linguistic policy that fits its cultural/ linguistic diversity; however, different reactions appeared, especially those who support a western view of life and call for globalization. The Algerian government now is required to face these conflicts related to identity, in a time that is so important to keep its identity while being open to the rest of the world being aware without getting drifted by the flows of westernization.

¹Maamri, M. (2009). The Syndrome of the French Language in Algeria. (see page 21)

²Places for religious education

³. Arazki Ferrad, M. (2004). *الأمازيغية... آراء و أمثال*. (further information one page 23)

The adopted language policy came to solve many problems, supposedly, in the post-colonial Algeria, such as: the multilingual geographical spread that may cause miscommunication. It was also considered a way to unify the nation after colonization using Arabic as a language that gained its legitimacy from Islam and the Quran⁴. In this paper, Arabization is going to be examined as a language policy throughout the last 60 years in Education, Media, and Administration. Language varieties in Algeria and their use are also going to be explained in this paper. Finally, the last chapter of the theoretical part will be devoted to search the impacts of Arabization on public sectors and the importance of awareness will be highlighted at the end.

The practical part of this paper is the analysis of a form, created to serve the case studied in this thesis, and filled by a sample of 280 Algerian young persons. The case study conducted here shows the use of Arabic on social media by the Algerian youth. The Suggested Hypothesis of this paper is: If Arabization has worked as a language policy, then it will be the only language used in multiple domains, mainly in: education, media, and administration. This paper is supposed to answer questions related to how Algerians use languages; why Arabization was chosen as a language policy, and did it succeed? If yes, why is French still dominant?

⁴BENRABAH, M. (2004). LANGUAGE AND POLITICS IN ALGERIA. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*,

Chapter One

**Basic definitions and
background on Language
Planning and Policy**

Language is not only a means of communication and a way to deliver pieces of information. A language can hold within it a person's identity with all its components. This tool named "Language" needs to be well used and well organized by people who are in charge, to avoid any conflicts among community members. Language policies can display many concepts and values including equality, recognition, freedom, identity, democracy, and cultural preservation.

This chapter will briefly explore in sociolinguistic terms, some key concepts in the process of language planning and language policy. How to standardize a language variety? What is the importance of linguistic diversity? And finally, what is the difference between a national language and an official language. Essential questions will be answered such as why language policy is one method by which governments can manage ethnic conflicts if planned well, considering the multilingual and the cultural aspects of society.

1. Language Planning and Policy

Language Planning and Policy was revitalized again mostly after the newly independent states, in the post-colonial era, needed to reconstruct their identity in a context of a multi-ethnolinguistic diverse populace. (quoted in Mihoubi, 2016)

LPP⁵ is widely understood as the interventions into language practices. It is relatively recent as an academic discipline, having gained interest from nationalism and nation-building policies. (Simpson, 2011)

The history of Language Planning started with an initial stage of optimism (1960's - 1970's), where the language problems of newly independent states were thought to be solved

⁵ LPP stands for Language Planning and Policy

via the implementation of analytical and systematic procedures. The second phase in LPP history is described as “the wake of its failures” in the period of (1980’s- 1990’s). More significant and reflexive appreciation of the role that language and linguists play in society, where they were called to discuss political decisions related to language. (Simpson, 2011)

The last estimated phase that language planning and policy has been through and still going (from the 1990's to the present time) is described in terms of growing a sense that LPP needs to be reconstituted as a multi-disciplinary and politicized approach, since the issues it deals with are complex and represent interests that can tackle multiple levels of social life, from the individual to the state and across state boundaries as well (Stroud, & Wee, 2007)

Language planning is regarded as an area of overlap between applied and sociolinguistics. It is a field of study where the researcher is looking to identify the kind of activities that would exert influence over the spread of a language. There are typically three areas where language planning can be dealt with: status, corpus, and acquisition. Any discussion about Language Planning should tackle these aspects precisely because they are widely interconnected. (Kloss, 1967).

1.1 Status Planning

This level of language planning is done primarily by the government officials. It focuses on changing the external functions and perceptions of a language. This planning usually deals with the social and political position a language will be assigned, such as its political status (official, foreigner...), economic uses, social functions...etc. (Haugen, 1972)

Status planning does not immediately change the number of the users of a language, but rather it changes the environment in which the language will be used, by either encouraging or discouraging its use. (Milligan, 2007).

1.2 Corpus Planning

Unlike status planning, this level of language planning called corpus planning refers to the activities that focus on changing the intrinsic properties of a language to influence its use. Corpus planning commonly refers to interventions aimed at these aspects being changed: 1. Orthographic innovation, including design, harmonization, change of script, and spelling reform (graphitization, dictionaries...). 2. Pronunciation. 3. Changed in language structure. 4. Vocabulary expansion and modernization (coining new words). 5. Simplification of registers. 6. Styles. 7. The preparation for language material. (Simpson, 2011)

The two types of language planning (status and corpus) are not essentially separated as was thought to be. Because the nature and direction of corpus planning reflect and guides status planning environment, societal biases, ideologies, and attitudes in which it is conducted. (Spolsky, 2015)

1.3 Acquisition Planning

This level of language planning and policy is usually done by government officials or private organizations that control textbooks, dictionaries... etc. Acquisition planning is a field that gathers both statuses of language and analyzed corpora to be introduced to a national/local level through educational systems (Ferguson, 1977). Hence, dealing with educational systems can include changes in textbooks, methods of teaching, curricula ...etc. For example, Irish officials ordered that Irish Gaelic must be taught or used at least one hour in school every day. (Mac Giolla Christ, 2008).

This process of acquisition planning promotes a huge deal of many language practices. For instance, language revitalization⁶, language purism⁷, language shift... and others.

⁶Language revitalization is an attempt to reverse a decline of a language or revive a distinct one

1.4 Language Planning Principles:

Cobarrubias, in his book *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*, described four typical ideologies that might motivate policy makers in language planning: (Cobarrubias, 1983)

1.4.1 Assimilation: This principle states that every person within a given society should be fluent in that society's dominant language. For example, in the USA the "Only English Movement" maintains that everyone who has a US citizenship should speak English very well, regardless of their first language –though, the United States never has legislation that explicitly declares that English is the official language of the country-. Assimilation was the principle adopted by Algeria when opting for Arabization back in 1963.

1.4.2 Linguistic Pluralism: This principle is the opposite of assimilation. It teaches that it is better to have multiple languages within one society. For instance: Switzerland has three official languages (French, German, Italian) and four national including the previously mentioned with Romansh. (Markus G. Jud, 2016)

1.4.3 Vernacularization: in this principle decision makers attempt to restore a native language into a commonly used language like Jews when they gathered in one nation called Israel; they revived Hebrew from old religious texts to a language of science and literature.

1.4.4 Internationalization: This principle of language planning promotes adopting a non-indigenous language to communicate easily with other nations. Clearly now that English is considered the language of the globe being, not only a language to communicate with foreign

⁷**Language Purism** is the practice of defining or recognizing one variety of a language as being purer or of intrinsically higher quality than other varieties

countries, but a language that named official in many places around the world. (Cobarrubias, 1983)

2. Steps to Standardize a Language Variety

Language standardization is the process by which standard forms of a language are built and sustained. It may occur as a natural development of a language in a speech community, or as an effort by members of a community to impose one dialect or variety as the norm. Standardization of language course is considered critical in the process of language planning (Nordquist, n.d.); Or as Michel Silverstein puts it:

"Standardization is a phenomenon in a linguistic community in which institutional maintenance of some valued practices (...) acquire an explicitly recognized hegemony over the definition of the community's norm". (quoted in Deument, 2004).

Language standardization is a socio-political process. It is not only about language but also about politics and identity. In Algeria, issues of cultural and political identity were (and remain) central to public debates around language policies. (Hogan-Brun, H.I. Kessler, & Truslew Haug, 2011)

In essence, according to Einar Haugen (1972),⁸the process of standardizing a language variety undergoes the following stages:

- a) **Selection:**it refers to the choice of a language variety to fulfill certain functions in a given society. There are different regional dialects, class dialects, situational varieties. Standardization represents an attempt to minimize, if not eliminate, this high degree of

⁸ Einar Ingvald Haugen was an American linguist, author, and Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Harvard University.

variability. The easiest solution seems to be choosing (not arbitrarily) one of these varieties to be elevated to the status of a standard.

- b) **Codification** is the creation of a linguistic standard or norm for a selected linguistic code, which govern the variety and how it can be formulated through dictionaries, spellers, manuals of style, texts...etc. This stage is also divided into three levels: 1) Graphitization (developing a writing system), 2) Grammaticalization (deciding on rules of grammar), 3) Lexicalization (vocabulary and coinage)
- c) **Implementation:** promoting the previous stages is done by making society more exposed to this language. This level is usually done by the government through textbooks, newspapers, education, administrations, the parliament...etc.
- d) **Elaboration:** is considered the last stage to be achieved, where a stylistic development of a codified language is needed to meet the communicative demands of modern life and technology. i.e. the selected variety should have a maximal variation in function, but minimal variation in form.

One last stage which applied linguists and sociolinguist have debated upon is **Acceptance/ Approval:** this stage is not final, but embedded within the "stage of implementation." This diversity of language must be approved by members of the speech community, through the promotion, spread, establishment, and enforcement of the norm. This is done by institutions, agencies, authorities such as schools, ministers, media and so on. (Garcia, 2011)

Haugen (1972) summarized these stages of language standardization in the form of a table:

	Form	Function
<i>Society</i>	Selection	Acceptance
<i>Language</i>	Codification	Elaboration

Table 1. stages of language standardization (from Haugen 1972, p. 110)

To sum up, adopting a standard language variety has an intensely ideological dimension supported by social practice via centrally codified norms. As the case in anywhere in the world, standardization is done by institutions for language planning and reinforced by intellectual elites. In the case of Algeria, issues of language standardization continue to lead to policy changes, as with Tamazight, which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

3. Language Diversity

"Language diversity is a human right." (UNESCO, 2012).

To protect indigenous languages and preserve them is part of the universal human rights. Every person has the right to use his or her tongue. Language is the basis of one's identity and a means of communication and also a part of the cultural heritage of humankind.

According to estimates of **UNESCO**, half of the 6 000 languages that are being spoken today, will disappear by the end of this century, if nothing is done to stop that from happening. If the unwritten and undocumented languages will die, it means that not only will humankind loose its cultural richness, but it will also lose valuable knowledge of its ancestors, especially in the regional and minority languages and the languages of indigenous people. From the "Small Compendium of Linguistic Terminology Relevant for Minorities" by Jeroen Darquennes, multilingualism is a fundamental concept to understand linguistic diversity. With

the word multilingualism, different realities can be described. Therefore, to systemize those realities, the linguistic literature typically divides multilingualism into **individual multilingualism, social multilingualism,** and (occasionally) **institutional multilingualism.** (UNESCO, 2012)

In the “narrow” understanding of "individual multilingualism," the person is only then multilingual when he/she acquired his/her languages in their early childhood and if he/she commands these languages correctly (both orally and in written form). According to the "broad" definition, a person is multilingual, when he/she uses two (or one) languages regularly in his/her daily life, at some point in their life. Nothing is said about the time of language acquisition or language proficiency. (*Study on the Contribution of Multilingualism to Creativity*, 2009)

Social Multilingualism refers to the coexistence of several languages in one society. Social multilingualism has a geographic-policy dimension and a social-psychological dimension. The geographic-policy dimension relates to the demonstration of multilingualism within a defined geographic area (e.g. a city, a region or a country) and to the policy arrangements for influencing the status, its institutionalization, and legitimization of the languages that are spoken in a particular area. The social-psychological dimension refers to the distribution, the function, the status, vitality... of the individual languages in (specific language communities within) a multilingual society. (*Study on the Contribution of Multilingualism to Creativity*, 2009)

For language minorities, people try to counteract or compensate the low status and the limited degree of institutionalization and legitimization of the minority language compared to the majority language, by enacting measures in the field of status planning. Institutional

Multilingualism refers to the coexistence of several languages within institutions these institutions are public or private, local, regional, national or supranational administrations that offer their services in different languages. (Kowar, Darquennes, Schenk, & Pézses, n.d.)

3.1 Language diversity and language policy

Government or officials regarding language policies may be designed: 1) to promote a language through its recognition, use, or resource allocation; 2) to tolerate the language, by not making any policies with regard to it; 3) to restrict it, by conditioning societal benefits, rights, or services on knowledge of the language; 4) or to repress it (linguicide), by actively forbidding its use and its transmission from one generation to another. Very often these methods or designs are influenced by whether the language is seen as a **resource** (for example: promoting foreign-language learning), a **problem**, or a **right** (human or civil). ("Bilingualism and Multilingualism - Dictionary definition of Bilingualism and Multilingualism | Encyclopedia.com: FREE online dictionary," 2016)

Language policies can be justified in many ways, such as nationalism/ national unification. However, the means to achieve those policies differ in which they may favor single or multiple languages or disfavor the other (s). Language has often been considered an important aspect of human rights. Two international standards are considered crucial: the right to be free from prejudice based on language, and the right to access (acquire and use) one's mother language and the languages of the community and state. These rights need to be granted to individuals and communities as well. ("Bilingualism and Multilingualism - Dictionary definition of Bilingualism and Multilingualism | Encyclopedia.com: FREE online dictionary," 2016)

4. Official and National Languages

The official language is the language used in government, administration, and education. Many countries have legally designated official language (s). In countries where the majority speaks one language, the official language may not have been ratified by law. This has been the case of English in the UK and the US. However, where minority language groups have begun to demand recognition for their languages, the status of English has in some cases been reviewed by law (Such as Wales, and some U.S states). (McArther, 1998)

A national language is supposed to reflect the collective identity of a given speech community. A national language is an honor and prominence because in most cases it is the language spoken by the majority of the population. (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998)

According to Joshua Fishman, we can talk about the nature of language policies when we understand the distinction between "nationalism" and "nationism." A nationalistic (national) language emphasizes the symbolic meaning of the country's identity. A nationalist (official) language is the language used to carry out government tasks –printing tax forms, running electoral campaigns, educating the children.... Nationist concerns have led many countries, particularly in Africa and Asia, to use the language of a former colonizer as at least one of their official language. (Fishman, 2001)

The language of a former colonial power has nothing to do with the sense of a "national language" because, as mentioned earlier, it is a symbol of national identity. In a situation where there are several important identities within a country, each with its language, nationalist concerns make the colonial language an unfavorable best choice as an official language. To choose the language of one of the several identities as the country's national language is bound to offend the others and risk political instability. (Fishman, 2001)

If Nigeria, for instance, were to choose one of its three major languages, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, as a national language, there would be severe repercussions from the other two. The official language in Nigeria, therefore, is English. (Ethnologue, 2017)

An interesting illustration was given by the two linguists W. Fasold and Connor-Linton:

A national language is like the national flag. Its value is more symbolic than functional. An official language is comparable to the national railroads. A railroad's primary purpose is functional, getting people and goods from one part of the country to another... (p.377)

In the extreme, the national language doesn't have to be spoken, as long as it represents the identity of the people. The official language does not have to be loved as long as it does its job, making it easier for the government and people to function in everyday life. Of course, we can see that some countries are privileged of having the national and the official language being the same. (W. Fasold & Connor-Linton, 2006)

Language policy is about choice. It may be the selection of a specific sound, or expression, or of a particular language variety. Practices like these are always held by people in power, whether individuals or institutions. Some of those practices were explained in this chapter like standardizing a language variety. This latter is done in a systematic way in which language diversity and multiculturalism should be preserved. And finally, this chapter also introduced a dichotomy of national and official languages as a practice of language planning and policy as well, and to help us better understand the surroundings of the linguistic situation in Algeria.

Chapter Two

The Status of Languages in

Algeria

Many writings in the field of language policies and language ideologies in the Maghreb region were mainly done by Moroccan linguists or European ones⁹. Rare are the cases of Algerian scholars who attempt to give an accurate and precise description of the current linguistic situation in Algeria and probably give solutions to the miss-management of local and foreign languages in the state. The second chapter of this research paper attempts to define, clarify, compare language policies that exist in Algeria, and try to analyze their relationship with the national identity and how Algerians (especially young people and intellectuals) see it.

1. The Policy of Arabization

1.1 Arabization Planning

Based on the definition of language planning (see chapter one), Arabization planning is defined as a sum of deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of Arabs on the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of the Arabic language, the ex-colonizer language, and the other regional dialects. Those efforts were referred to as corpus Arabization, status Arabization and acquisition planning for Arabization. (Dekhir, 2013)

According to Quedraogo status Arabization is mainly concerned with the allocation of languages or dialects to given status, for example, official, regional, wider communication, international, capital, group, educational, literary, school subjects, and religious (Quedraogo, 2000). According to Al-Abed Al-Haq (1994) acquisition planning of Arabization refers to the adoption of Arabization, Arabic language spread, and teaching-learning Arabic process.

⁹ Based on the researches that have been done on this paper

1.2 The Case of Algeria

Immediately after achieving independence from France in 1962, Algeria launched a series of measures to re-Arabize the country. This policy referred to as “Arabization” was mainly a reaction to the cultural and linguistic heritage of the former colonial “France”. The independence came at a time when the concept of Arab nationalism was a trend in North Africa and the Middle East. This ideology of Pan-Arabism promotes the development and creation of a unified Arab state. The new rulers of Algeria introduced Arabization as a language policy in this sense, first by former President Ben Bella, and continued under his successor Boumedienne (*Algeria Language and Toponymy*, 2003)

Before tackling the issue of Arabization, we shall address how Arabic as a language variety is dealt with first. Arabic has long occupied an important position in Arab History in general, and Algerian history precisely. This importance came either because this language is the language of the Quran, or because it is seen as the bond of Arab nationalism. Moreover, Arabization represents for the Arabs an urgent necessity because it can not only keep the language itself alive but also make Arab nations gain their linguistic and cultural independence from western cultures. (Benkharafa, 2013)

Arabic today is considered, in its standard form and dialects, a single language; it is spoken by perhaps as many as 422 million speakers (native and non-native) in the Arab world, making it one of the six most-spoken languages in the world. (Irina Bokova, 2016) The modern written language MSA is derived from the language of the Quran (known as Classical Arabic or Quranic Arabic). It is widely taught in schools and universities, and is used to varying degrees in workplaces, government, and the media. The two formal varieties are

grouped together as Literary Arabic, which is the official language of 26 states and the liturgical language of Islam. ("Arabic", 2017)

Algeria is a multilingual country where at least three language varieties are in competition: Arabic, Tamazight, French. Arabic is a diglossic language whose high variety has been declared the national and official language of the country constitutionally. All four constitutions from 1963, before the last modification in February 2016, reject multilingualism, stating that Arabic MSA is the single official and national language. (Aitsiselmi, 2006)

In attempting to plan for Arabization, the Algerian government had three principal objectives. First, it would reverse the dominance of the French language and impose the use of Arabic in all sectors that were using French: education, law, media, administrations. Second, it would replace a foreign language by Arabic, the language of Islam, and the key to Arabs unity (as mentioned previously). And third, Arabization aimed to eliminate all vernaculars, i.e., spoken dialects of Arabic and Tamazight, to ensure national unity around central government. (Aitsiselmi, 2006)

In addition to these objectives, Ayo Bamgbose adds an argument of misperceiving multiculturalism in African Countries –including Algeria- where politician see that using a single language is more economical. This can avoid problems of translation and interpretation, production of documents in several languages. While this may be relatively true, the real cost for people is losing the right to use their variety of language. (Bamgbose, 2011)

Algeria as many independent countries in Africa inherited a French linguistic heritage of 132 years. For the Algerian Francophones, the Arabization policy was a major disappointment since it reduced the status of French to a foreign language. Hence, the

Arabization process was featured by lasting clashes between supporters of Arabic MSA and supporters of the retention of the French Language.

1.3 Arabic between the Colonial Legacy and the Pressure of Globalization

Arabic gained an important status as a national and an official language in Algeria. French is still seen as the language of the intellectual elite, whereas Arabic is regarded as a language that has no prospects beyond its religious values and purposes. (Kheir Eddine, 2013, p. 124)

What made it even worse for Arabic, is the call for a globalized world in the time that MSA was just positioning on the linguistic map of Algeria. English, namely started to gain attention since it is the language of the technological and social development. The French colonialist during occupation tried to replace the Arabic language in every possible means. Back then, mosques and Zawayas were the centers of education and knowledge. The education available in these centers was devoted to studying Arabic and its grammar in a religious context. i.e., studying Quran and Hadiths...etc (Kheir Eddine, 2013, p.127)

Consequently, the French colonialist's strategy was adopted to destroy these centers, and replace them with a sort of education that works for the advantages of colonialism. **George Hardy**¹⁰, who was the high official on colonial education, said: "*...to make primitive people in our colonies more loyal to our cause... is to make them socialize with us, embrace our culture and customs; we need to educate them in our schools to manipulate their faith.*"

France planted its culture and language in a way that was hard for some policies to take them over in a matter of three or four years. Farhat Abas, the Algerian politician, described this status of dispersion in his quotation:

¹⁰ A senior French official, history teacher, director of the Colonial School and Academy.

“If I had discovered the Algerian nation, I would be a nationalist...I will not die for the Algerian country because it does not exist. I did not find it. I interrogated history, died and alive people... nobody told me anything about it... We have, once and for all, set aside the clouds and the chimeras to link our future definitively to that of the French work in this country” (23 February 1936, newspaper L'Entente)

The globalization phenomenon that we are currently witnessing has led to major linguistic changes on a worldwide scale. English has become the leading international language, in economic and political spheres, and is becoming the language of high society and the young. Although English is the mother tongue of only 380 million people, it is the language of the lion's share of the world's books, academic papers, newspapers, and magazines. More than 80 percent of the content posted on the Internet is in English, even though an estimated 44 percent of online users speak another language at home. (Fishman, 2001)

The current situation made some countries, particularly in the middle east and North Africa, under pressure. They are demanded to develop their interests in teaching foreign languages including English of course. A report conducted by The World Bank entitled “Education reform in the Middle East and North Africa” states that: “curricula in these regions should change to meet developing technologies and sciences... this reform should include foreign languages that have no real encouragement...” (The World Bank, 2008)

In this sense, the Algerian cabinet decided in June 30th, 2002, a set of procedures to promote the education of foreign languages. For French, as it is considered the first foreign language in Algeria, it was decided to be taught starting from the second year in primary schools. Whereas for English, which was considered as the second foreign language, it was

agreed to be taught starting from the first year of middle school. In Addition to that, a new stream called "foreign languages" was launched in secondary education. (Benbouzid, 2009)

In the light of what was said, Arabic is facing significant challenges to maintain its position in every domain in Algeria especially in higher education and scientific research as it is considered the official language of the country. It is high time for the Algerian officials to clarify the use of local and foreign languages in Algeria.

2. French Language in Algeria

A 2013 survey shows that Algeria is the second largest Francophone country in the world regarding speakers. ("La Francophonie en chiffres", 2013). Abou Djarra Sultani once said about the participation of Algeria in the Conference of the Francophonie in 2002: "...we are a francophone country, even if the constitution says that Arabic is the official language, that doesn't prevent 70% of Algerians from knowing French... Algeria is the second Francophone country after France itself!" (Djouadi, 2017)

France colonized Algeria in 1830, it was not only economic exploitation or political domination, but a cultural elimination and a war on the Algerian national identity. The French controlled education, government, business, and most intellectual life for more than one century. The colonial system imposed a program of acculturation which made French the dominant language, overthrowing local languages Arabic and Berber. The French attempts to control the natives was more visible in the field of education. The denial to the Algerian of his cultural identity through controlling language, educational programs and methods of instruction indeed revealed the colonialist policy in its most destructive aspect. Jules Ferry justified this by France's civilizing mission. He said in a parliamentary debate on March 30th, 1885: *"It is the humanitarian and civilizing question...The superior races have a right*

concerning the inferior races...They have the duty to civilize the inferior races.” (Maamri, 2009)

The Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use (PCGN) states that: "In reality, French is the *lingua franca* of Algeria." In spite of its widespread use of French, Algeria has not joined the “*Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie*,” an international organization of French-speaking countries. The current president attended the 1999 and 2004 Francophone Summits (Benrebah, 2004)

However, the status of French as the primary foreign language was under threat by the 1990’s, when it was in competition not only with Arabic and the policy of Arabization but also with English as the language of access to science, technology, and international communication. Reforms of the educational system have made French the first foreign language to be taught as a compulsory subject from the second year in primary school. Moreover, French gained its status again with the late 1990’s as Bouteflika became president. (Aitsiselmi, 2006)

French had in fact never lost its *lingua franca* status. As an example, most of the documents submitted by the Algerian administrations are written in French¹¹, besides many political discourses, scientific and technological specialties at universities...etc.

Some factors reinforce the existence of French in Algeria were presented by Aitsiselmi Farid¹². First: a large community of Algerian immigrants lives in France, maintaining close links with their families and friends in Algeria. As a result of these socio-cultural connections, France is the most popular destination for Algerians, be it for business, medication, tourism..., second, Algerians and Meghrebians, in general, are exposed to more than ever before to

¹¹An attached example of this is found at the end of this paper

¹²<https://www.linkedin.com/in/farid-aitsiselmi-36484534>

French channels. Studies showed that French production remains more interesting and entertaining than the Arab one. (Maamri, 2009)

Also over the years, the Algerian government, as mentioned before, reintroduced French in many fields including formal education, economic and industrial sectors and press... even the language spoken at home and on the street remains a mixture of Algerian dialect and French words. Even in literature, many Algerian writers opted for the French language to make their voices heard. Examples of these may include Kateb Yassine when he pointed out: *"I write in French because France has invaded my country and holds such a dominant position there that I am compelled to write in French to survive. But though writing in French, my Arab or Berber roots are still alive."*¹³(Yasine, 1989) Rachid Boudjedra also views it similarly: *"For me, an Algerian person, I did not choose the French language. It rather chose me. It has imposed itself on me..."*¹⁴ (Boudjedra, 1995)

To conclude, it would appear that the colonial heritage has left a wound on Algeria. French culture provoked a sort of paralysis in Algeria. Despite massive and intensive efforts at Arabizing, the Algerian population continues to be affected by the French linguistic impact till date.

¹³ Yacine Kateb: « J'écris en Français parce que La France a envahi mon pays et qu'elle s'y est taillée une position de force telle qu'il fallait écrire en français pour survivre ; mais en écrivant français, j'ai mes racines Arabes ou Berbères qui sont encore vivantes.

¹⁴ Rachid Boudjedra « Pour moi Algérien, je n'ai pas choisi le Français. Il m'a choisi ou plutôt, il s'est imposé à moi... »

3. Tamazight

The Algerian linguistic scene cannot be completed without the dialects of Tamazight. This Language originated in North Africa. It belongs to the Afro-asiatic family of languages sisters to the Egyptian language, Semitic languages... (Wikipedia, 2017)

The exact population of Berber speakers is hard to ascertain, since most North African countries do not record language data in their censuses. Algeria, for example, according to the **Ethnologue** website, more recent estimates include (by deduction from its Algerian Arabic figures) 17% (1991) and 29% (Hunter 1996). The actual figures it gives for Berber languages, however, only add up to about 4 million, under 15%. Most of these are accounted for by two dialects:¹⁵

- Kabyle: 2.5 million (1995), or 8% of the population - or "up to" 6 million (1998), which would be more like 20%.
- Chaouia: 1.4 million (1993), thus 5% of the population

3.1 Promoting Tamazight

Tamazight, as a language variety, was recognized by the Algerian authorities in the constitution as a national and an official language. Since that happened, Tamazight, therefore, needs to be well-implemented and promoted in the society to fulfill the needs of its speech community. (Government Body, 2016)

In this sense, many questions can be asked, such as: Is Tamazight a language variety that can actually be promoted and developed to suit the needs of multiple domains (education, media, technologies...)? Is it going to be promoted along with Arabic, without creating any potential linguistic, and cultural conflicts? And many other questions are waiting to be

¹⁵For further information, visit: <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/DZ/languages>

answered by sociolinguists and Applied linguists in general. These type of questions leads us to think about graphization of Tamazight as a first step towards promoting this language variety (Arazki Ferrad, 2004)

Historically speaking, the Berber Languages did not face many problems. Arabic and Tamazight co-existed peacefully in the age of the Islamic expansions. This was manifested also in the time that came after, with the Islamic states in North Africa, such in the ages of the Rustamid dynasty (776 to 909 AD), The Fatimid Caliphate (909 to 1171), The Hammadid dynasty (between 1008 and 1152), The Ziriddynasty (from 972 to 1014), The Almoravids (from 1040 to 1147), The Zayyanid dynasty (1235 to 1556). (Arazki Ferrad, 2004)

The Algerian historian Mubarak El Milli said in his book *The History of Algeria: Pre and Post Modernism*:

“... the berber language was basic at first, then it developed with time. It was affected by the surrounding sophisticated languages such as the Phoenician. The berber language then created literature and art, and was used also in scientific writings before and after Islam...”

In the time of Islamic expansions in North Africa, the berber people were writing their language in Arabic letters, because Arabic was brought by the Arabs who came to spread Islam. This process had a strong impact on the local people, and made them want to embrace Arabic yet conserve their own tongue. (El Mili, n.d.)

Dr. Yahia El Houidi in his book *The History of the Islamic Philosophy in Africa* mentioned that Ibn Tumart, the founder of the El Almohad movement, wrote some books in Tamazight about Islam for people who don't speak nor understand Arabic. One of his famous

books was “El Akida” (Faith), which was written originally in Tamazight, then was translated to Arabic. He also pioneered in translating the Quran into Tamazight. (Houidi, 1966)

Muhamed Arazki Ferrad suggests a mechanism to promote Tamazight objectively. His idea is to create two frameworks: the first will be concerned with the language only, and the second will be devoted to the diversity of the culture. For the first framework, Ferrad says that it should deal mainly with how to teach Tamazight, and how to involve it in Academia. He emphasizes on the importance of the coordination between ministries of education, and higher education and even professional formation, to get the best of this process. This coordination, should be done by specialists who study the different ways of writing Tamazight (Tifinagh, Arabic letters, Latin letters). Writing Tamazight in Arabic letters was common with the arrive of Arabs to North Africa, where they had to exchanged cultures with the locals. The Latine letters were present as well to help many non-Arab speakers to get to know to the treasures of the Berber culture. (Arazki Ferrad, 2004)

Adolph Hanoteau, was a French general and a writer. He wrote a collection of Berber poems in Arabic letters, then he re-wrote them in latin letters (1867 *poésies populaires de la Kabylie de Djurdjura* par A. Hanouteau)

Furthermore, Ferrad says that implementing Tamazight in Education should be left optional. Yet, the state must provide the needed materials, and provide the appropriate formation for the teachers and educators of the language. On the other hand, promoting the culture is crucial. At the beginning, suggests Ferrad, people in Algeria should accept and acknowledge the Amazigh culture to melt down any cultural tensions and pave the way towards unity. The process of enhancing the Amazigh culture can be done in several ways,

including: translating books, poems, folklore stories, plays, songs, TV shows...etc. (Arazki Ferrad, 2004)

3.2 Problems Encountered

For Tamazight speakers in the newly independent Algeria, developing a faculty in Arabic was crucial to become an active part of society. Despite what would appear to be the complete dominance of Arabic in all public spheres, locating it as a truly legitimate language in Algeria remains challenging. As Bourdieu notes, “In order for one mode of expression among others...to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified” (Bourdieu, 1991).

The case of the Berber Spring, ethnic disputes which were tied to linguistic realities reinforced the ‘otherness’ of the Tamazight language and its speakers, further marginalizing them in a newly independent Algerian state. This situation can be better clarified in Ayo Bamgbose’s statements on language policy in Sub-Saharan Africa; “*Language policies in African countries are characterized by one or more of the following problems: avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation*” (Bamgbose qtd in Skutnabb-Kangas 1995). Tamazight was given no official recognition in Algeria and from the period of independence until very recently the discussion on the fate of Tamazight has been limited to small circles of academics and activists.

However, although on the official level Tamazight has received state recognition in Algeria and is beginning to find a place in government administration and education, the road to increase acceptance of Tamazight from the Arabic speaking population of Algeria is long. (Cotter, 2013)

While Tamazight varieties are represented in the Algerian media, with a dedicated radio broadcast, and TV shows in various Berber dialects, integration into the Algerian education system has remained limited. Many of the steps forward in the integration of Tamazight into the education system of Algeria have come in the form of protest rights gained in the wake of the strikes and demonstrations of the 1980's, and less as a result of true government openness to reform (Saadi-Mokrane, 2002)

While Tamazight may not yet have received full acceptance in Algeria, the situation at present calls for optimism regarding the prospects for continued language maintenance and greater rights for the community as a whole. Tamazight has survived invasion and repression, so despite its status as a minority language in many ways it has proven its linguistic flexibility through the efforts of its speakers to keep the language alive. (Cotter, 2013)

This chapter shed light of the use of many language varieties in Algeria like Arabic, French, Tamazight. Each and every variety matters in the linguistic scene in Algeria. It is only a matter of management to which priority will be given.

Chapter Three

Arabization and its Impact

on Public Sectors

The Algerian society's real identity had been denied for a hundred and thirty years could not begin to reconstruct itself without restoring part of that identity: The Arabic language. After independence, educational reform was first on the schedule of the Algerian government. As a reaction to the French cultural and linguistic imperialism, policymakers strongly upheld school as a means to free Algerians from French assimilation. They aimed to reverse the impact of over one hundred and thirty years of enforced French language by reviving Islamic cultural values and establishing Arabic as the national language, by implementing Arabization in not only school but also every public sector in the country. This Chapter, therefore, will attempt to elaborate how Arabization was applied in various domains including education media, administration...etc.

1. In-Education Planning

Language-in-education planning or acquisition planning is one aspect of the language implementation. It is often seen as the most powerful resource for bringing about language change. In Algeria, the educational system was the first institution to be Arabized (Benrabah, 2004). Through our educational journey, we study in Arabic from primary school till the last year of secondary education. Then if we opt for a scientific field, we study in French! The question is: why? If the Algerian constitution states that Arabic and Tamazight are our official languages, why do we encounter French everywhere?

After 1965, course and school manual designers get in the process of Arabizing the minds and the hearts of Algerians. The first step was to gradually replace French, as a language of instruction, by Classical Arabic. For instance, since 1980, children start to be introduced to French as a subject when they enter the Fourth Grade. This was not the case in all of Algeria; most inland schools refused to hire teachers of French. These kind of

procedures were not helping, especially when we know that most fields of study at university (particularly those in science) are taught in French (till now). (Benrabah, 2004)

Perhaps the most difficult problem facing the government after the independence was developing an educational system that would achieve Arabization. The lack of technical and professional people to implement this program met with the people's sensitivity which created more problems and conflicts (Abdulrazak, 1982).

The education system in Algeria after the independence went through major phases of instruction (Grandguillaume, 2004)

- **The phase of Ahmed Ben Bella (1962-1965)**

From October Term 1962, seven hours of Arabic instruction were introduced per week in all schools. Next, when 1963 school year started, 10 hours of Arabic instruction were presented per week. For the beginning of the 1964 academic year, it was decided to Arabize the first grade of primary school totally. Due to the lack of teachers in Arabic, Jamal Abd Nasser sent Ben Bella 1,000 Egyptian primary school teachers in 1964.

- **The phase of Houari Boumediène (1965- 1978)**

For Arabization in particular, there were three plans as explained by Taleb, the Minister of Education. The first aimed at Arabizing education gradually year by year, starting with the elementary school and ending with the top form; the second aimed at the gradual Arabization of subjects slowly according to the means and facilities available; and the third aimed at Arabization stage by stage until full Arabization was achieved (Abdulrazak, 1982)

Houari Boumediène boosted the policy of Arabization even further, with stricter laws. At the beginning of 1966 school year, one hour of history in Arabic was proclaimed in

secondary schools, whereas teachers of Arabic in all schools were needed to teach at least 30 minutes of religious and civic instruction. In 1967 academic year, the second grade of primary school (fundamental) was totally Arabized thanks to the recruitment of other 1,000 Syrian teachers. (Grandguillaume, 2004)

The third and the Fourth grades of the primary level were entirely Arabized at the beginning of the 1971 academic year. On the same year, one-third of the sections in the first grade of middle education were Arabized too, along with one-third of the scientific sections in the first year of secondary school. Generally, by 1975 primary school was entirely Arabized, but French was taught as a subject from the fourth grade of primary school. In secondary education, the humanities section was totally Arabized, with one-third of the mathematics and science sections.(Grandguillaume, 2004)

- **The phase of Chadly Bendjdid (1978- 1992)**

In 1980, a decree launched the complete Arabization of the first year of social and political science, law and economics at University, to offer openings for Arabized baccalaureate holders. On 22 July 1991, the Minister for Universities announced the total Arabization of higher education for the start of the academic year. It was planned back then to hire 1,500 Iraqi professors. (Chapin Metz, 1994)

- **The phase Liamine Zaroual (1992- 1999)**

In this phase, Arabization was criticized for making the school of Algeria a "disaster" because it was being manipulated by Islamists. The decisions on the generalized use of the Arabic language were ceased temporarily in July 1992 and was re-launched again in December 1996. (Berger, 2002)

- **The phase of Abdelaziz Bouteflika (1999- to the present time)**

In this stage, the whole educational system was put into question. The president ordered for reports to assess the Algerian school in general. These reports were kept confidential until the Algerian press published some debates aroused about these releases and comments. The final report called for the abandon of monolingualism and a greater openness to foreign languages. (Le Matin, 2002)

In the present day, Arabization is still a political issue more than a linguistic one in Algeria. The higher education in the country is still divided between what's Arabized and what's not. After the reformation of the higher education in Algeria, and the application of the L.M.D system, many fields of study were de-Arabized again. The French language is used in many specialties such as Biology, Science, and Technology, Mathematics, Medicine, Physics. (Khalaf, 2011)

The problem of Arabic in education is that it is still seen as a language of religion and traditions, and not a language of scientific research, that can be further developed. On the other hand, French, and now English, are the languages of the intellectuals and the technological and social developments. (Khalaf, 2011)

2. Arabization in the Administration

The administration is one the domains that received intensified process of Arabizing. In 1965, former President Houari Boumedienne menaced the bureaucrats to lose their positions if they were not competent enough to deal with Arabic in public domains. Many conferences were held to inform better and educated those bureaucrats. The FLN party led the

process of Arabization. The Army has also participated effectively. It was the first who taught its members Arabic from the revolution days and followed. (Abdulrazak, 1982)

After a long time of intensive Arabizing of many domains, only the Ministries of Defense, Education, and Justice are Arabized. Other sectors are characterized by French/ Arabic bilingualism. That's why some forms and papers are written in both languages, such as road signs, Bank cheques and Post office ones, tickets of the Algerian Airways. (Mostari, 2004)

Arabization was seen as the cultural equivalent to political independence. French remains the functional language in many sectors. In Algeria, official texts, laws, ministerial decrees... are all issued in both languages Arabic and French. The area that received complete Arabization without accepting French is the justice system. Lawyers and judges must speak Arabic. French is no longer acceptable in courts and official legal documents. The other fully Arabized department is the Islamic Affairs Ministry. Still, most administrators and ministers opt for French-Arabic code-switching to express their ideas and opinions to the public. (Aitsiselmi & Marley, n.d.)

Houari Bomedian, who was the real leader of the Arabization movement, imposed severe and radical laws that promote the use of Arabic in the administration. He enacted a decree that obliges everyone who wishes to work in the public sector to pass an exam in the Arabic language called “ اختبار اجادة اللغة العربية ” (Alsaidaoui, 1999). This decree imposed Arabization on civil servants to learn “enough” Arabic within few years: “Dans un délai de

trois ans, les fonctionnaires doivent apprendre suffisamment d'arabe pour travailler dans cette langue”¹⁶(Guillaume, 1997)

3. Arabization in the Media

The National Committee for Arabization was founded in 1973, which, after a long time of preparation, laid down the strategy for instant Arabization of the entire country. To discuss the plans of this committee, they held a National Conference on May 14, 1975. This conference endorsed that the news media must be Arabized completely, and provide only one daily newspaper in a foreign language. The meeting also planned for ways to simplify access to Arabic via media. The Algerian news media published in a daily newspaper called "El Sha'ab" a page of simplified Arabic for beginners to read, and also they broadcast special programs to teach Arabic grammar. (Abdulrazak, 1982)

What is noticed is that French continued to be the more widespread choice among readers of daily papers into the 1990s: in 1993, there were 220,000 readers per day for the press in Arabic, compared to 625,000 for the French language press (Benrabah, 1999)

In Algeria, many radio channels broadcast their programs in three language varieties: Arabic MSA or dialectal Arabic, Tamazight dialects (according to the region), and French. The stations which broadcast in Arabic (CA or MSA) may use French or Darija during the interaction between the presenters and the participants. (Mostari, 2004)

The linguistic diversity of the speakers shows that they can express themselves in other languages (or language varieties) rather than Classical Arabic. Guillaume (1997) in this sense confirms that: “La société Algérienne est pluraliste dans ses régions et dans ses langues”¹⁷

¹⁶« in a period of three years, functionaries should learn enough Arabic to work with this language. »¹⁷

The Algerian national television also presents different programs that deal with various topics including education, religion, politics, economy and many others. The majority of the programs broadcasted are mainly in Arabic MSA. It is sure that speaking only standard Arabic on television is difficult for ordinary people, and for politicians themselves. **Hadjarab (2000)** asserts *“This leads to absurd situations. Politicians...who poorly express themselves in Classical Arabic babble and desperately look for their classical works in television instead of speaking the language of the people.”*

With the arrival of satellite channels, Algerians had access to various Arab and French channels. In 1994, Algeria launched its satellite channel, *Canal Algérie*, aiming to get wider views. A recent opinion poll conducted by Institut Abassa found that Algerians have a preference for Algerian channels but that they also watch 27 French-speaking channels and 24 Arabic-speaking ones (Iddir 2006).

4. Critics on Arabization

Algerian linguistic nationalism in Algeria produced both outer clashes and internal problems for Francophones and Berberophones. During the policy of Arabization, many Francophones and Berberophones willingly challenged the Algerian state's official linguistic policy, and many authors chose to write in French and Berber as a way for fighting Algerian linguistic-nationalism. (Lynn Briggs, 2010)

The relationship between languages and national unity and the problems caused by the policy of Arabization, linguistic nationalism is not at all successful in uniting a multilingual nation as Algeria. Upon which, Arabization in Algeria has failed for many reasons in many

¹⁷ « The Algerian society is pluralist in its regions and its languages.»

ways. The Algerian identity is mixed up with different cultures, different races, different religions, and different languages (Soukehal, 1999); therefore, instead of nationalizing, this linguistic policy brought more divisions and clashes among multiple groups. If a language policy further divides instead of unifies, then, by definition, it has failed since its aim is to unite and solve problems (Benrabah, 2004)

After independence, the majority of Algerians were illiterate which made it even harder for policy makers to nationalize a language since French was the language of the colonizer and Berber or dialectal Arabic (the varieties used by Algerians) do not fit in workplaces or school. (Soukehal, 1999, p.103).

Supporters of Arabization believed that in Algeria one language would be the solution of many conflicts caused by miscommunication and inequality. Instead of reducing conflicts, the state's policy of Arabization increased them, in which the imposition of Arabic and the deletion of all other languages was the cause. (Benrabah, 2004, p.60)

One of the primary reasons Arabization has failed was the Berber resistance. The policy of Arabization neglected the Berber population in Algeria (about 20 to 25%) (Lynn Briggs, 2010), so Amazigh people intensified their efforts to slow down the process of Arabizing public domains. They initiated political protests and significant strikes, and their efforts increased with the Arabizing of higher education in the 1980's. (Mostari, 2004, p.36)

In 1980, the authorities prevented the writer Mouloud Maameri from giving a lecture on Berber poetry at the University of Tizi Ouzou. The region of Kabylia went into civil disobedience and triggering what is called the Berber Spring. This period was known for civic activism claiming recognition of the Berber identity and language. (Benrabah, 2004, p.36)

Other obstacles to successful Arabization was the challenges created by the elite. Algerian bureaucrats use their power to disrupt the process; for instance, the government would take the economic crisis as an excuse to prevent the importation of textbooks from the Middle East, and delay the payment of any purchases, whereas paying French publishing houses on time. These elites supported the dominance of French economic interests in Algerian order to remain in power (Souaiaia,1990, p.118)

In 1980, France funded the so-called Berber Spring which called for the introduction of Berber in schools and the continuous existence of French as a dominant language in the Algerian educational system. (Souaiaia,1990, p.120)

Arabization was achieved in primary and secondary education; however, it did not work quite well for higher education. At the university level, classical Arabic is part of literature, history, law, journalism, sociology and psychology... It did not exist in scientific and technical specialties including medicine, engineering, and others. The use of French in these scientific and technological fields is because French is already equipped with terminologies, unlike Arabic which was unprepared and ill-equipped after the independence. (Mostari, 2004, p.39)

The persistence of the French language in Algeria validates the failure of Algerian linguistic-nationalism through the linguistic policy of Arabization. A 1999 survey revealed that 75% of Algerians supported teaching scientific school subjects in French. A 2004 study also unveiled that 49% of Algerians did not view French as a foreign language and 44% of them conceive French as part of Algeria's culture. (Benrabah, 2007, p.194)

The media has also helped the existence of the French language in Algeria. As for television, Algerian viewers prefer international channels because of the poor quality of programs on the only national channel; in 1992, between 9 and 12 million Algerians viewed French channels, and 52% of Algerian families watched French channels on a daily basis. Moreover, more than half of the total publications by the public and private sectors are published in French, the circulation of French newspapers was more than twice that of Arabic newspapers in 1998, and there were 26 francophone newspapers in 2004 and only 20 Arabic newspapers (Benrabah, 2007, p. 205).

The current linguistic debate in Algeria is dual. The problems are between Modern Standard Arabic and vernacular dialects (Algerian Arabic and Berber varieties) on the one hand, and between the Arabic language and French language, and lately English, on the other hand. (Grandguillaume, 1983)

As a conclusion to this section, it is well said that among the strongest reasons why Arabization has failed is that Arabic cannot cope with technological developments as French or English do. Arabization in 1960's was not well planned by the Algerian government because it was merely a political decision, not a sociolinguistic one. Arabization as a goal was an easy thing, but implementing it on society was quite another. (Bouhania, 2017)

Aside from the imperatives, authorities did not show any interests in the richness and flexibility of the Arabic language. Historical and sociolinguistic researches were not encouraged as well as reflections on the Algerian identity because, as mentioned earlier, it was only politically motivated for short terms.

5. The Problem of Awareness

Making Tamazight an official language in Algeria has positive implications that will benefit Algeria and North Africa in the long term. This decision would make a significant population in Algeria live their full citizenship, which had been neglected by the absence of their mother tongues in public life. The great historical balance of Algeria has confirmed the coexistence of the Amazigh and Arab languages within the framework of the Arab-Islamic civilization, throughout the Amazigh countries, whose Arab kings took the language of science and state without compromising Amazigh as a way of communicating in daily life. (Arezki Ferrad, 2016)

The same view was given by the secretary-general of the Amazigh High Commission Hashemi Assad about the promotion of Tamazight as an official and national language and said that it would strengthen the national unity and democracy in Algeria. Also, this decision is a regular action that will allow for an efficient and orderly change in Tamazight under academic supervision. This promotion will recruit greater possibilities to develop areas such as research (scientific and linguistic), education, and publishing. (K, & B, 2016)

Journalist Hamid Abd Elkader to Elahdath newspaper (2016) says that cultural awareness should accompany and support any language. The absence of awareness makes a language empty, even if it is prestigious. The availability of such awareness is the fuel for its people to rise and further make their language flourish.

The relationship between Arabic and Tamazight is an integrative relationship thanks to Islam, as pointed out by the scholar Abdul Hamid bin Badis.

As mentioned earlier, Ibn Tomrat, who was Amazigh by origin and by tongue, was passionate about Arabic and well-acquainted with the meanings of Quran; he began to spread the religion in Tamazight, translating the Quran into Tamazight and many others works...Tamazight also did not prevent Ibn Khaldun from his prominent intellectual works in sociology and historical studies in both Arabic and Tamazight. After this was said, it is the duty of the State now to establish a scientific body to be placed under the instruction of scientific research and opens up for qualified linguists and historians to promote Tamazight in many ways. (Arezki Ferrad, 2004, p.55)

The problem in Algeria nowadays is not linguistic, but merely, a question of identity. Every linguistic decision was politically motivated rather than scientifically or culturally. The conflict is not between Arabic and Tamazight nor Arabic and French, or even Arabic and English. The problem simply is that of awareness. If we were brought up tolerating differences, and understanding the importance of coexistence, we would have been in a better world. It is not possible to exist in harmony, acknowledging each identity and each language and each ethnic group... it is just a matter of time, and mindsets.

This chapter was devoted to show the impact of Arabization on main public domains as education, media, administration. Next, the chapter mentioned some critics said by major journalists, sociolinguists, sociologists...etc. Last of all, the problem of awareness was highlighted as a real issue among Algerians to overcome tensions related to language and identity.

Chapter Four

Arabic among the Algerian Youth on Social Media. As a Case Study

This chapter deals with the practical part of the research. It presents the research design, research instruments, the sample, the questionnaire, and its analysis. It also presents the findings together with discussions of the final results of the study.

1. The Research Design

The function of a research design is to assure that the evidence obtained enables us to efficiently address the research problem logically and as unambiguously as possible. The aim of this study as a whole is to attempt to describe the linguistic situation in Algeria, and how Algerians use dialects and different languages on social media. Furthermore, this study should answer how the only language policy that we had impacted our daily use of Arabic and our public life in general. A survey, therefore, was made to shed light on the use of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Algerian dialects among the Algerian youth on social media (Facebook and Twitter).

Descriptive research designs help provide answers related to a particular research problem. A descriptive study cannot decisively ascertain answers, but it is used to obtain information concerning the current status of phenomena and to describe "what exists" concerning variables or circumstances in a situation. Hence, this research design is the most appropriate in this case of study.

1.1 Research instruments

For this survey, a questionnaire is the tool to collect data. This questionnaire contains in total eleven questions about the topic besides questions concerning the sample. These questions focused mainly on discovering the languages (varieties) that are used by Algerian youth. Participants are also asked about their opinions concerning national identity,

Arabization in general, and what do they think about opening up to other languages. The majority of the form partakers also suggest some solutions to the linguistic conflicts that are taking place in Algeria.

1.2 The Sample

This questionnaire was presented to participants electronically via Google Forms.¹⁸ The form of the questionnaire was distributed via social media, mainly Facebook and Twitter. Participants from around Algeria took part in filling the form, yet it took approximately ten months (from July 2016 to April 2017) to collect only 280 completed forms, because we still lack the initiative and the motivation to participate in studies as such, though it takes no more than a couple of minutes. The majority of the participants were females with a percentage of **52.5%** while males participated with a percentage of **47.5%**. The results are illustrated as follows:

Table 2. Participants Gender

Participants	Frequency	Percentage
Males	133	47.5%.
Females	147	52.5%
Total	280	100%

¹⁸ Google Form is a service offered by Google to create and share electronic forms

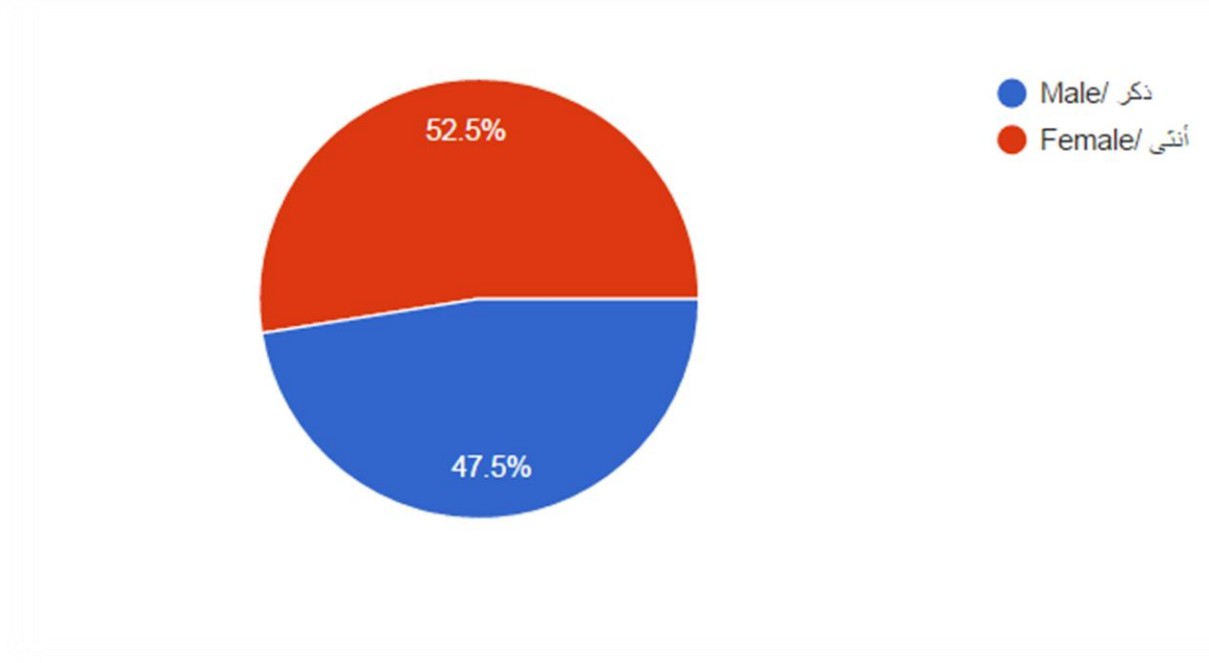


Figure 1. Pie chart representing the gender of the participants (extracted from Google Forms)

The age of the participants varies from 15 to 30 years old. The age category that participated more was between 20 to 25 with a percentage of **51.1%**. As for the other age groups, percentages were represented as the table and the figure below show:

Table 3. Participants' age

Age categories	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 15	2	0.7%
15-20	49	17.5%
20-25	143	51.1%
25-30	50	17.9%
More than 30	34	12.1%
other	2	0.7%
Total	280	100%

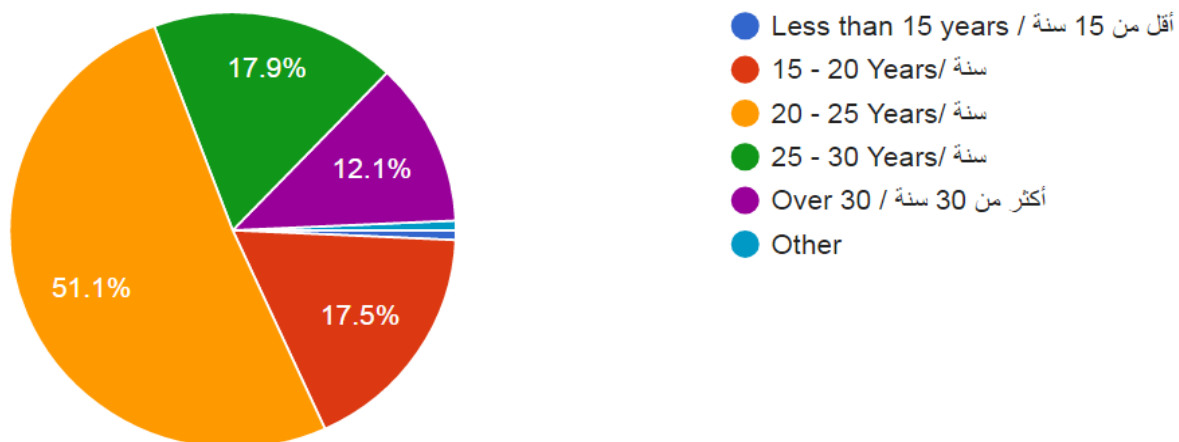


Figure 2. Pie chart representing the age categories of the participants (as extracted from Google Forms)

2. Analysis of the Questionnaire

The participants were also asked to provide their educational level to see the effect of education on how current debates about language are conceived. The highest percentage of participants' education was devoted to "Higher education" scoring 82.1% of the whole. Middle school education scored 1.1%, and secondary education scored 14.6%. These data are well illustrated in the following table

Table 4. Participants' educational level

Participants education	Frequency	Percentage
Primary education	1	0.4%
Middle school education	3	1.1%
Secondary education	41	14.6%
Higher education	230	82.1%
Other	5	1.8%
Total	280	100%

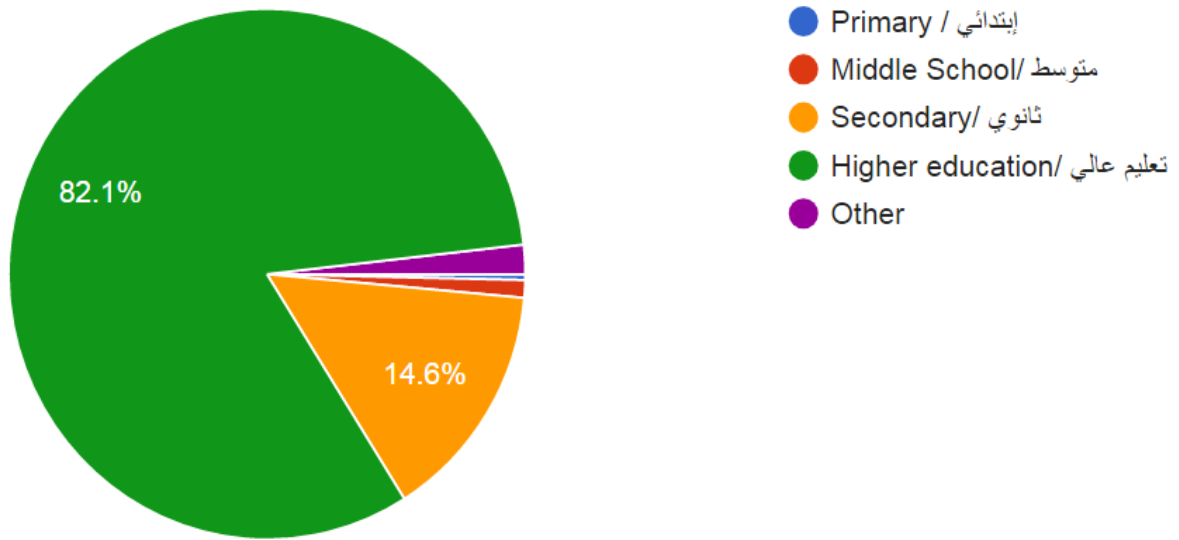


Figure 3. A pie chart representing the percentages of the participants' educational level. (as extracted from Google Forms)

Respondents are also asked to provide their mother tongues, to see the influence of the latter on the way the participants use varieties of languages on Facebook and Twitter. 87.1% of the participants say that their mother tongue is Arabic (dialectal Arabic), while only 11.4% say that their mother tongue is Tamazight (one of the varieties of Tamazight). These results are better illustrated in the table and the figure as follow:

Table 5. The participants' mother tongue

Participants mother tongue	Frequency	Percentage
Arabic	244	87.1%
Tamazight	32	11.4%
Other	4	1.5%
Total	280	100%

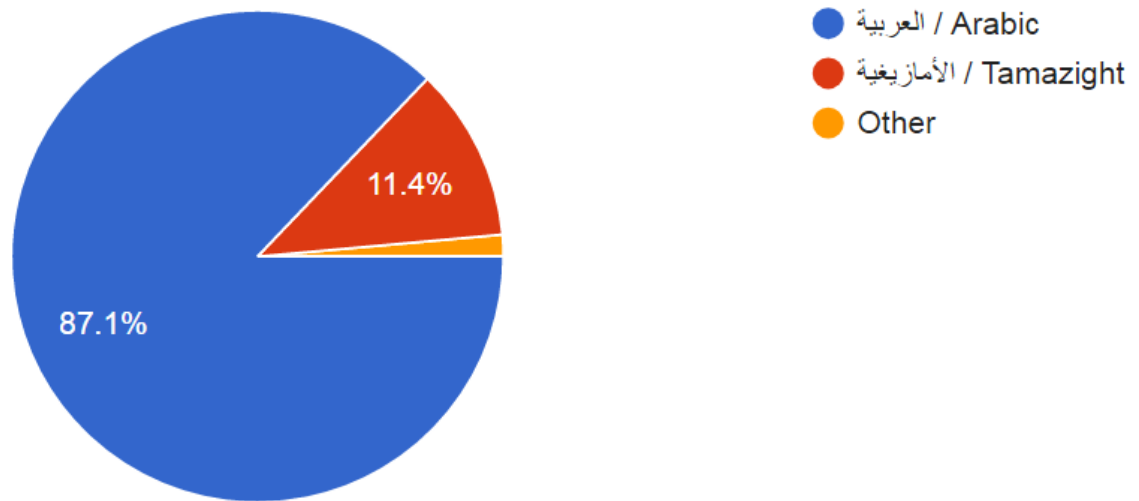


Figure 4. a pie chart representing the participants' mother tongues (as extracted from Google Form)

In this questionnaire, we ask contributors in this form if they know and use other languages alongside their mother tongues. This question reveals the ability of bilingual people to code-switch whenever needed when using social media. The answers were expected, the majority of the respondents know a second language and use it on social media. The percentage is **92.5%** who say: "yes" (they know and use a different language rather than their mother tongues). Only **6.4%** say "no" (they do not know (nor use) other languages rather than their mother tongues). The figure that follows shows the previously mentioned data:

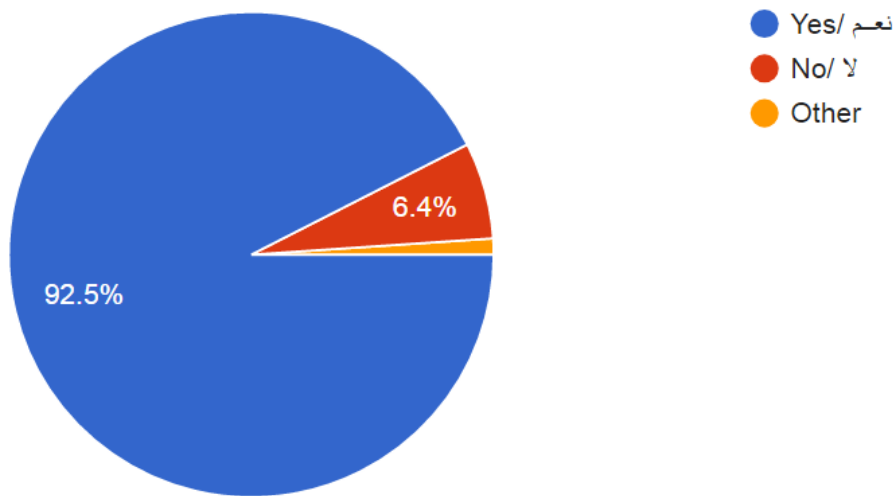


Figure 5. a pie chart representing the answers of the participants about knowing and using another language besides their mother tongue.

Another question is about the social platforms that are utilized by these participants. In the description of the question it is planned to target people who are most active on those two, but we have different social platforms rather than the two previously mentioned. This chart clarifies the percentages of the participants use:

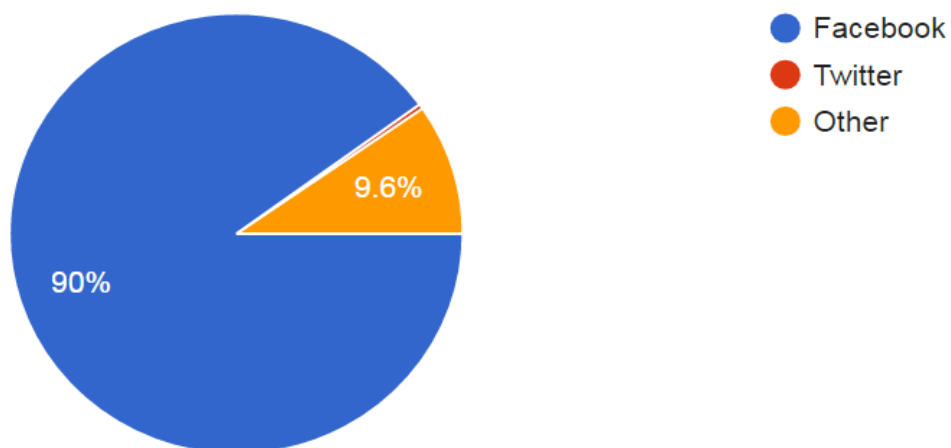


Figure 6. a pie chart representing the participants' most used social platforms

Next, we ask the survey subjects to provide information about the languages or dialects (language varieties) that they use more frequently on these social media being selected.

According to their responses, the majority claim that they use dialectal Algerian Arabic with a percentage of 36.1%; 23.6% use Standard Arabic; 24.3% use English and finally French used with a percentage of 11.8%. Some people pick the option of "other" to point out other varieties, whereas we notice no sign of Tamazight in any way.

The following table sums all the answers:

Table 6. The participants' most used language on social media

Languages/Dialects/Varieties	Frequency	Percentage
Dialectal Algerian Arabic	101	36%
Standard Arabic	66	23.6%
French	33	11.8%
English	68	24.3%
Tamazight	0	0%
Other	12	4.3%
Total	280	100%

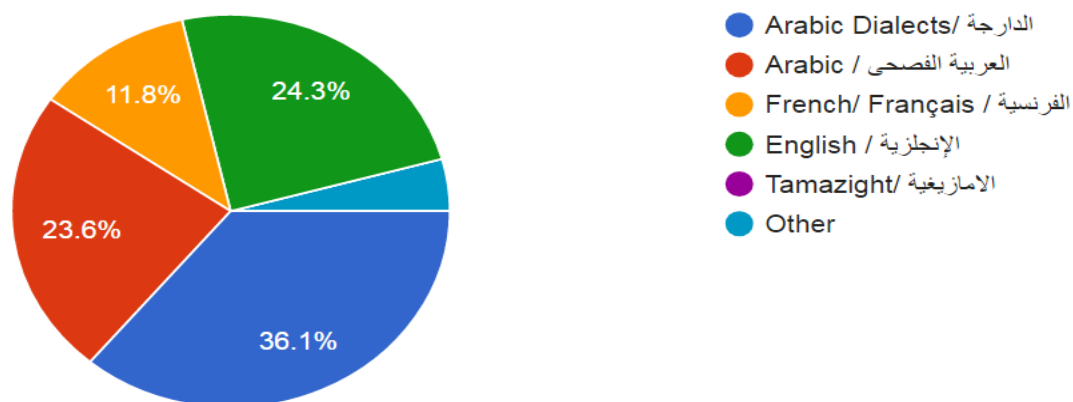


Figure 7. A pie chart representing answers about what are the most used language varieties on social media by the participants (as extracted from Google Forms)

2.1 Open-ended Questions:

Question 1. What does it mean to be an Algerian?

This question received only 205 answers from 280 in total. Responses vary in many ways, and here are some repeated answers:

- The famous line of **Ibn Badis**: “Islam is our religion. Arabic is our identity.”
”شعب الجزائر مسلم وإلى العروبة ينتسب“
- *“To be an Algerian for me is to be a Muslim in the first place, to speak Arabic as a mother language, and to be proud of my country no matter what happens.”*
- "The trinity of Arabic, Islam, Amazigh belonging."
- *“to be an Algerian for me, it means to be blessed with fluency and flexibility in languages; Having the privilege of a somehow hybrid identity that was influenced by all the different ideologies, dialects, genes and history, resulting a special unique society that should not be forced to fit into anyone's standards and tradition but its own”*
- *“To be an Algerian for me is to be a Muslim in the first place, to speak Arabic as a mother language, and to be proud of my country.”*
- *“our history, our languages (Arabic, Tamazight, Turkish, Spanish, and French) our traditions...”*
- Unspecified, Unknown, confused identity
- Imazighen and Muslim North African
- *“Accepting a multi-dimensional identity that was the results of centuries of cultural mix and historical events that left their marks on us. It means understanding our diversity, with no-one imposing their ideology and remembering that NO ONE has the monopoly of "the Algerian identity.”*
- "I do not believe in identities nor nationalities; I am human."
- *“Simply, to be born in Algeria, no Tamazight, no Arabism, no Islam, I do not need to be one of these to be Algerian.”*

Question 2. What do you say about being open to other languages beside yours?

Participants are asked to answer this question as well to see their flexibility in accepting to use other languages with their mother tongues. This question has only 201 responses out of 280 partakers. As noticed, the respondents agree with the necessity of learning new languages. Some common answers are shown below:

- *"It is a must/ highly recommended."*
- *"It is good to be open to other cultures and languages, but conserve your own"*
- *"we need to learn other languages because this world is becoming a small village."*
- *"we rather focus of Arabic and Tamazight and promote them then we go and learn foreign languages."*
- *"every country has their language. If we want to learn other languages, we should learn English because it is the only language that is invading the world."*
- *"There is a difference between opening up to a language and imposing it."*
- *"languages are just a means of communication, don't tell me what should I use. We need to stop judging ourselves based on that."*

Question 3. What do you think if standard Arabic is the only language used on social media?

This question also receives 201 responses out of 280. The aim of this question is to know the people's minds on using only Modern Standard Arabic on social media. Participants' answers are divided into three:

- **Agreeing:** Arabic should be revived and developed in Algeria instead of French...
- **Disagreeing:** People should be given freedom to choose whichever language they want.
- Some respondents said that it would be difficult and not everyone will welcome the idea; though, it is worth trying.

Question 4. What do you think of Arabization as the only language policy Algeria has ever had?

This question is asked to see if the Algerian youth has an idea about the policy of Arabization or not. This question reveals the degree of political and social awareness among the youth. This question has 200 answers out of 280 participants, and the following are the most repeated answers:

- *They have no idea what Arabization is.*
- *They do not like it because it limits our linguistic flexibility.*
- *It was not well planned.*
- *We are Muslims. We should have Arabic as our language. Arabization unifies Algeria. Arabic is our identity.*
- *Arabization is unjust towards the non-Arab people. Kids who have Berber varieties as their mother tongues will face problems at school.*
- *It was not successful because it was not well applied. It failed because of the weakness of Arabic publications, and their disability to cope with modern technologies.*
- *It is just a term to create conflicts. There is “Francization” because I never see people using Standard Arabic on a daily basis, but rather they use French.*
- *Arabization saved Algeria from being another African French colony.*

The majority of the people who filled the form had no idea what Arabization is. Some just said it is good, which indicates their poor interest in knowing about what is Arabization. Some understood what it is and gave correct definitions. Others support and others do not. (Full answers are attached at the end of the fourth chapter)

Question 5. Do you think that Arabization is applied in real life?

Another question is answered by 280 participants; it is whether they believe that the policy of Arabization is implemented in real life or not. A percentage of 72.5% think that it is not, while a percentage of 15.7% believe that it is applied. The rest (11.8%) chose the option of "other" which indicates that they have no idea. Table 7 and figure 8 show the details:

Table 7. the participants' answers on the applicability of Arabization in real life

Answers	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	44	15.7%
No	203	72.5%
Other	33	11.8%
Total	280	100%

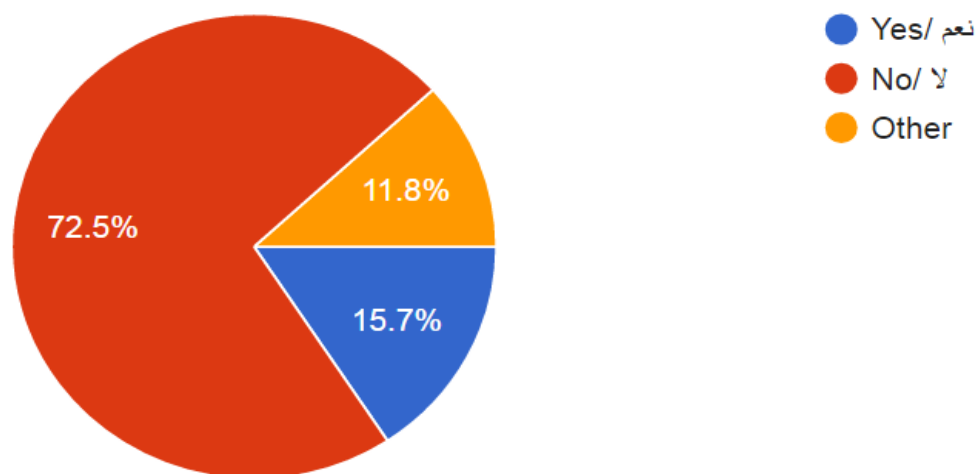


Figure 8. a pie chart representing the participants' answers about the applicability of Arabization in real life.

Question 6. What do you suggest as a solution to all of these linguistic conflicts in Algeria?

The last question of this form is devoted to people's suggestions to find middle-grounds to the current linguistic conflicts and confusions in Algeria. This question has received 200 responses out of 280 form takers. Below are some picked up answers.¹⁹

- Not to impose labels on people. Make them free to choose what they wish.

¹⁹ See full responses at <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1Z0BTW91en9dZ-GBHU6eUELRnyjE9d1BE1SXKUiy9NQs/edit?usp=sharing>

- Get rid of French and replace it by English, and give more importance to Arabic.
- We should overcome a little problem as language and focus on what's more challenging.
- Deal with Arabic only concerning Education, Administration...etc, and opening up to other languages equally.
- The Algerian mentality will block the way to any solution. Either you speak Arabic, French, Tamazight or Chinese you will be criticized.
- To call for a national referendum to let people decide the language they want.
- Adopting multilingualism as a solution.
- There is no such linguistic conflict. It is a conflict of identity.
- Using Arabic and Tamazight in all domains.
- Modernize the Maghreb Darija in collaboration with the North African countries and promote it as a new language model.
- There is a great need to effectively debate the topic, with actual technocrats of all fields including linguists, philosophers, sociologists, and politicians. There is a need to de-politicize the issue and go well above the sensitive and ideological conflict that only take entire generations as hostages.

3. Findings and Discussion

The analysis of this questionnaire reveals many facts. More than 92% of the participants know other languages besides their mother tongues. These participants claim that they use Dialectal Algerian Arabic more frequently than any other language they know; whereas we notice that there is no sign of Tamazight (in any written form). Even people who

have Amazigh origins, they never use it on social media. This proves that Tamazight is not yet developed and promoted to meet different functions of a language.

Respondents are asked about what does it mean to be Algerian for them, and most of the answers are vague; turning around one point which is "Arabic and Islam", "my pride"... and so on. When analyzing the answers to this question, we see that for most of the people, especially youth, identity is not limited nor specified. It is merely what we are taught in school things like Ibn Badiss's famous line: "The Algerian people are Muslims, and to Arabism, they shall belong"²⁰. This kind of thinking is considered unjust towards other minorities in Algeria. No one has the monopoly of the Algerian identity, every Algerian whatever his or her languages, religions, ethnic group has the right to be called Algerian because our history is a mixture of civilizations, and cultures that shaped Algeria of today.

In the form, participants are requested to give their opinions about opening up to other cultures. Most of the answers agreed on the importance of being opened up to other languages and cultures, yet a minority say that Arabic and Tamazight should be priorities when it comes to using and developing them for usage.

Subjects of the survey are asked to see if they are well acquainted with the only language policy Modern Algeria has had. A huge percentage of people concerned with filling the form have no idea what Arabization means. Some just say that they do not know much, but it did not work well as we are witnessing. Others go with the idea that Arabization is not the "correct" policy in a multilingual nation such as ours; while the rest of the respondents think that Arabization is something normal as the majority of Algerians are Arabs and speak Arabic.

²⁰ شعب الجزائر مسلم و إلى العروبة ينتسب

According to the responses received on a question about the applicability of Arabization in real life, results show that the majority agrees that the answer is negative. Which indicates that the policy of Arabization is not planned well neither applied well.

The last question is to give the floor to the participants to suggest possible solutions they see to fit the current linguistic situation in Algeria. The results of this question show that people have different views concerning identity, language, nationalism...etc. This question uncovers the reality of the participants' mentalities being a sample from the Algerian Youth. Answers are various and cannot be stated in one or two sentences that is why it is hard to let people choose what language they want. However, every participant agrees on the importance of working for better Algeria in any way possible.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

Finally, the analysis of this form showcases many facts about Arabic as a national and official language; Tamazight as a national, and lately official language; the policy of Arabization and how the Algerian youth understands it. The linguistic situation in Algeria is profoundly vague. It needs special investigations done by specialists (linguist, sociolinguist, educators, psychologists...etc, not by politicians. A language may seem to serve the function of communication, but in fact, it is much more than that. It is one's identity.

- It is recommended to give every language variety the right position in administration, education to identify the Algerian identity and be open to other languages.
- Promote the Algerian national languages by establishing centers for research and linguistic development.
- Rising awareness, teaching tolerance and accepting diversity are also important.

General Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to shed light on the general linguistic scene in Algeria by first introducing key concepts in the scope of language planning and policy, and how these procedures are done through corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition planning. Language standardization, official vs. national language, and language diversity and its importance have been presented briefly.

Part of this study is devoted to describing the status of languages in Algeria, by first introducing Arabic and how it was planned through the policy of Arabization. Then, the status of French, as the language of the colonizer. Finally, Tamazight and how it can be promoted and what are the problems encountered. The last chapter within the theoretical part discusses the impacts of Arabization on the main public domains including education, administration, and the media. This chapter also presents some critics on Arabization and the reasons why it failed. To end, the problem of awareness among Algerians is highlighted, and how we can solve tensions related to languages and identity through rising awareness.

The practical part which is the fourth chapter of this paper, includes the analysis of the questionnaire took place along with the study findings and discussions. The findings elicited from the research questions offer a perspective on how Algerian youth see their identity through language, which directly affects their use of the language selected.

Taking into account the results of the analysis of the questionnaire and the readings done in this thesis, we can say that the central questions of this thesis are not fully answered as

to why Arabization has not succeeded as a language policy, or why French is still dominant in the Algerian administration and higher education. We may say that elaborating a topic like this can be challenging. The debate is still on. Many Algerians feel proud when talking in their mother tongue be it Arabic or Tamazight (in any of their varieties) and find it difficult to acknowledge other language minorities that exist within the same land.

This study attempts to pave the way to future research in the field of language planning and policy in Algeria, to overcome the confusions and tensions related to languages, as well as to find a way to co-exist and celebrate diversity as a way of unity.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Questionnaire

1. الجنس / Gender

Mark only one oval

Male / ذكر

Female / أنثى

2. العمر / Age

Mark only one oval

Less than 15 years / أقل من 15 سنة

Years 15 – 20 / سنة 15 – 20

Years 20 – 25 / سنة 20 – 25

Years 25 – 30 / سنة 25 – 30

Over 30 / أكثر من 30 سنة

Other

3. المستوى الدراسي / Education

Mark only one oval

Primary /

Middle School /

Secondary /

Higher education /

4. اللّغة الأم / Your mother tongue

Mark only one oval

العربية / Arabic

الأمازيغية / Tamazight

Other

5. هل تعرف/بين لغات أخرى عدا لغتك الأم / Do you know other languages besides your mother tongue

Mark only one oval

Yes / نعم

No / لا

Other

6. هل تستعمل مواقع التواصل الإجتماعي / Do you use Social Media

Mark only one oval

Yes / نعم

No / لا

7. ماهي المواقع التي تستعملها عادة / What are the social platforms that you usually use

Mark only one oval

Facebook

Twitter

Other

8. ماهي اللّغة التي تستعملها بكثرة عبر هذه المواقع / What is the language that you use most on social media

Mark only one oval

الدارجة / Arabic Dialects

العربية الفصحى / Arabic

الفرنسية / Français / French

الإنجليزية / English

الأمازيغية / Tamazight

Other

9. ما الذي تمثلها الهوية الوطنية الجزائرية بالنسبة لك؟

What does it mean to be Algerian for you?

10. ما رأيك/يفيالتفتحتعلناللغاتالأخرىدونتميز؟

What do you say about being open to other
languages besides yours?

11. ما رأيك/يفيفكرة إستعمالاللغةالعربيةالفصحىحصرياًعبرمواقع التواصل الإجتماعي؟

What do you think if the standard Arabic was the only language used
through social media?

12. ما رأيكفي سياسة التعريب؟ / What do you think of Arabization?

فيرأيك ، هل سياسة التعريب مطبقة فعلاً على أرض الواقع؟ 13.

Do you really think that Arabization is applied in real life?

Mark only one oval

Yes/نعم

No / لا

Other

14. ماذا تقترح لحل الصراع اللغوي في الجزائر؟

What do you suggest as a solution to all of these linguistic conflicts in Algeria?

Appendix 2 Example of a non-Arabized administrative document (Post Office)


المديرية العامة
Direction Générale
Direction Générale
Rét: DGAP/SCT/N° 503 /2017 / SDDP / DDGE

Alger, le 15 FEV. 2017

**Mesdames et Messieurs
Les Directeurs des Unités Postales de Wilaya**

O b j e t : A/S Reconversion des contrats DAIP en CTA.

La Direction Générale a procédé au courant du mois de janvier 2017 à la reconversion des contrats DAIP en contrat CTA de deux cents (200) agents ayant enregistré une meilleure performance à l'échelle nationale durant l'exercice 2016.

Cette promotion ne devra en aucun cas être perçue par les intéressés comme un aboutissement final dans leur carrière professionnelle et verser ensuite dans la médiocrité : Cette distinction par rapport aux autres collègues devra être interprétée comme une reconnaissance des efforts fournis et accomplis.

Pour cela, et dans le cadre de la généralisation de l'IBP, la Direction Générale a instauré un système de contrôle et d'évaluation à distance des opérations réalisées par chacun des agents au niveau de leur Etablissement d'affectation.

Ainsi, toute altération constatée éventuellement dans le rendement des bénéficiaires de cette opération ou toute autre carence relevée dans l'exécution des tâches confiées pourrait donner lieu à des redressements de situations pouvant se traduire par l'annulation de cet avantage.

En conséquence, il est demandé au personnel concerné par cette action à doubler les efforts et à persévérer dans cette promotion en faisant preuve de plus de dévouement et abnégation dans le travail et d'avoir pour souci permanent un meilleur rendement et une meilleure productivité.

Particulièrement signalé.



Direction Générale, Quartier des affaires, Bab ezzouar, Alger
BP 201 Alger gare - Tél: 023 92 32 00 - Fax : 023 92 31 70 - www.poste.dz

Appendix 3 Example of a non-Arabized administrative document (Ministry of Higher Education)

REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENNE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE
MINISTRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR ET DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE

Arrêté n° 137 du 03 NOV. 2011

fixant les modalités d'évaluation, de progression et d'orientation dans les cycles d'études en vue de l'obtention des diplômes de licence et de master

Le Ministre de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique,

- Vu la loi n° 99 - 05 du 18 Dhou - El - Hidja 1419 correspondant au 04 avril 1999, modifiée et complétée, portant loi d'orientation sur l'enseignement supérieur;
- Vu le décret présidentiel n° 10 - 149 du 14 Joumada Ethania 1431 correspondant au 28 Mai 2010 portant nomination des membres du gouvernement;
- Vu le décret exécutif n° 94 - 260 du 19 Rabie - El - Aouel 1415 correspondant au 27 Août 1994, fixant les attributions du ministre de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche scientifique;
- Vu le décret exécutif n° 03 - 279 du 24 Joumada Ethania 1424 correspondant au 23 Août 2003, modifié et complété, fixant les missions et les règles particulières d'organisation et de fonctionnement de l'université;
- Vu le décret exécutif n° 05 - 299 du 11 Rajab 1426 correspondant au 16 Août 2005, fixant les missions et les règles particulières d'organisation et de fonctionnement du centre universitaire;
- Vu le décret exécutif n° 08 - 265 du 17 Châabane 1429 correspondant au 19 août 2008 portant régime des études en vue de l'obtention du diplôme de licence, du diplôme de master et du diplôme de doctorat ;
- Vu l'arrêté n° 137 du 26 Joumada Ethania 1430 correspondant au 20 juin 2009 portant modalités d'évaluation, de progression et d'orientation dans les cycles d'études conduisant aux diplômes de licence et de master.

ARRETE

Article 1er : Le présent arrêté a pour objet de fixer les modalités d'évaluation, de progression et d'orientation dans les cycles d'études en vue de l'obtention des diplômes de licence et de master.

