Globalisation and the Future of Language Planning in Algeria: Regulations and Perspectives

Thesis submitted to the Department of English
in partial fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctorat ès-Sciences in Sociolinguistics

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Academic Year: 2020 – 2021

To the source of my ambitions; my beloved supportive mother, father and husband

ABSTRACT

This research attempts to consider the future of language planning and policy in Algeria within a globalised world, with reference to both official regulations and public perspectives. It has investigated the major language planning shifts in past and current Algeria, pointing out the most visible impacts of globalisation on its linguistic situation. The major inspiration for this research has grown up from some personal observations, pointing here the global electronic opening, the impact of globalisation on public ideologies, and the large spread of French and English. Hence, the focal issue has been what shape Algerian language policy should have to fit current local and global requirements. The work has explored a critical review of some selected literature about the impact of globalisation on both global and local language policy and planning, highlighting the major shifts in Algeria. The mixed methods approach has been followed. Qualitative data have been gained from the analysis of some official archival and published documents selected mainly from the Constitution, the Official Journal, indirect observation, and semi-structured interviews with six elites and experts, while quantitative data have been obtained from two Internet surveys with 905 participants. This thesis has been organised into four interconnected parts presenting a review of some related literature, description of the context of the study, methodological framework, analysis and interpretations of the main findings. The findings of this study have reveal that people's perceptions are no more than a face of authenticity, reflecting the influence of globalisation on ideologies and cultures, and so on language policies. Hence, they unveil that the current changes can be a source of strength to the execution of a well-studied reliable language policy, directed primarily at the country's development, and equally at the preservation of national languages, culture and identity.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA	Algerian Arabic
AAN	Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord
ALESCO	Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization
art.	article
CA	Classical Arabic
CMA	Congres Mondial Amazigh
DA	Dialectal Arabic
EGIDS	Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
Eng.	English
FFS	*Front des Forces Socialistes*
FIS	*Front Islamique du Secours*
FLN	*Front de Libération Nationale*
Fr.	French
HCA(L)	Higher Council of Arabic (Language)
ICAL	International Council of the Arabic Language
ISESCO	Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
JORADP	Journal Officiel de la République Algérienne Démocratique Populaire
KAICAL	King Abdullah International Centre for the Arabic Language
LP	Language Planning
LPLP	Language Planning and Language Policy
LPP	Language planning and policy
MAK	Mouvement d'autonomie Kabyle
MCB	Mouvement Culturel Berbère
MCB	Mouvement d'autonomie Berbère
MENA	Middle Eastern and North African countries
MI	Medium of Instruction

MNE	Ministry of National Education
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
n.d.	No date
Nbr.	Number
O.N.S	Office National des Statistiques
OIF	*Organisation International de la Francophonie*
Perc.	percentage
Q.	Question
resp.	respondents
SA	Standard Arabic
ST	Scientific and Technical (/Science and Technology)
TAFL	Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language
Tam.	Tamazight
TASL	Teaching Arabic as a Second Language
TV	Television
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
vs.	versus

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

yet driving many governments to manage seriously their internal and external policies in front of the duty of preserving their national identities and the need for attending the age of globalisation. However, as soon as the profile of the world is changing speedily in this century, political and civil instability is overhanging sharply the future of many nations, and hence affecting their languages and cultural identities. Accordingly, language policy and planning has become among the most controversial concerns of many states, for its significance and interconnectedness to other fields. Therefore, and because it is one of the major duties of governments and decision makers to govern and control any change in their states, it is necessary to care about the nature and the future of language planning within the era of globalisation, mainly in countries that live a complexity of conditions, or in multilingual contexts.

Algeria has usually been described as a multilingual society with a complex sociolinguistic situation. Moreover, it has lived some particular political conditions that have depicted a hazy image about the republic's present and future in general, and its linguistic landscape in particular, mostly that the language issue in the country has been arguable since its independence. As an Arabic-speaking country, Algeria is known by its Arab Muslim character, while as a North-African nation, it is often referred to as Amazigh. As a French post-colonial country, it is known by the wide presence of French, whereas as any part of the world, it is subjected to globalisation, which is conducting policies, manipulating ideologies, wielding influence in almost all domains, and then, accordingly holding the spread of English. For such reasons, the present research attempts to explore the role of globalisation in shaping the future Algerian language planning through official regulations and public perspectives.

It is generally believed that activities of language planning are undertaken in most of the cases to solve language conflicts and make the status and function of the existing languages in a speech community formally conform. The Algerian context, though not as complex as others where there are tens of languages, is commonly known by the language conflict between pro-Arabisation and Francophones on the one hand, and Berber activists on the other. Besides, Algeria is also seen as unique for its rich historical background that engendered the large spread of French in official and

public discourses, the policy of Arabisation, the recognition of Tamazight[1] as a national official language, and the promotion of some foreign languages, notably English. For such reasons, the future of language planning in Algeria within a globalised world is a motivating question for the researcher.

Hence, the present study is designed to investigate the main changes that have taken place markedly over the last two decades, and therefore it is based on the following three interrelated research objectives:

1. Documenting the evolution of language policy and planning in the selected era by investigating its practice in both educational and administrative contexts

2. Describing the impact of globalisation on Algerian language policy and planning through relevant government's regulations and people's perspectives

3. Estimating possible future planned or unplanned change

It seems necessary at this stage to give an overview about the setting and the context of the study and the researcher's rationales for investigating the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria. Since Algeria has lived, recently, quick and various changes at different levels, notably public and political, expectations of a future change in its language planning have become possible to some degree. First, the agenda of the ex-Minister of National Education to implement Algerian Arabic (*Darija*) in the primary cycle at least in the first years of primary education has usually dominated the Algerian Press as well as public discourse, since July 2015.

Second, the policy of officialising Tamazight and generalising its teaching and use in administrations have been challenging because of the lack of a standard variety that should have unified norms to some extent, and the problem acceptance at the national level. Third, the spread of and the need to use English in some

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[1]The term 'Tamazight' in this research is used to refer to the officialised standardised variety, whereas 'Berber Dialects' or the exact names of each variety is used when dealing with the existing spoken Berber varieties. In 20 / 04 / 2002 Tamazight was recognised as a national and in 07 / 02 / 2016 as a co-official language, but not yet fully standardised.

domains have affected the position of French to some degree. Last but not least, the government's support to the policy of Arabisation in the two last revisions of the constitution has reflected the government's position towards the fundamental components of the State.

Furthermore, while the fact of interchanging ideas and customs seems naturally required for providing interrelations between nations, it might impinge on the native culture and identity, as it can result in some language change when the contact is for a considerable period. It is worth to remind that Algeria has lived more than three centuries under the Ottomans' ruling, whose styles are inherited and still present in some regions like Algiers, Constantine, and Tlemcen. Some Turkish words and names still exist in Algerian Arabic. Such an aspect has never been as apparent as it is today, after the import of the Turkish culture and customs through fashion and movies that have affected to some degree the Algerian mode of life of many families, in clothes, in behaviour, and in different lifestyles. However, the influence of Turkish has not been as deep as the one left by Arabic, which has become the language of Algeria, or even as the impact of French that has always been stick to the Algerians' way of speaking.

If Arabic is the official and national language since independence, French is the first foreign language taught from early years of primary schooling, the medium of instruction for many university scientific and technical fields, and a language of wider communication. It has been the language of education of all the generations, which have been through the French educational system during the colonial period or the French-Arabic bilingual school after independence. It is worth noting here that many of the Algerians aged more than 50 have generally graduated from such schools. Thus, most of the Algerian intellects, leaders, and decision makers use French more frequently, and do not have a good mastery of Arabic.

The need to learn the languages of one another, along with the wide electronic opening to the world's culture and economy have made the mastery of English somewhat mandatory for many nations, mostly for its dominance as a global language. As for Algeria, English is the second foreign language in pre-university education, starting from first year of middle schooling, a compulsory language for post-graduation studies mainly in conducting scientific research, and of more

importance for international affairs and worldwide communication. During the researcher's experience in her academic profession, both at pre-university and university levels[2], she has noticed that many people have become more interested in learning English. Besides, the number of students of English is growing up gradually, whether at University or in private foreign languages' institutions, confirming its continuous spread.

For such reasons, the Algerian context has become significantly challenging. On the one hand, the Algerian government needs to keep political and socio-economic stability. On the other hand, it has to deal with modernity and preserve national unity and identity. In fact, the government's language policy cannot be an easy subject to modification, because what concerns language affects simultaneously culture and identity and vice-versa, for their interconnection. Thus, there is a need for a judicious planning to implement any kind of change in terms of language policy and planning.

Actually, the constitutional text is very clear concerning the values and the fundamental components of the Algerian identity, and their preservation. That Algeria has shifted officially from a monolingual to bilingual policy, after the recognition of Tamazight as an official language up to standard norms, is a complementary step in its language policy and planning. However, a degree of instability in the Algerian political and socio-cultural context, along with some sudden decisions, have marked the Algerian language policy in the last few years.

In view of that, the present research has endeavoured to explore some dimensions of the shifts in the Algerian language policy and planning with a particular focus on the influence of globalisation, regarding the factual and functional status of Arabic and Tamazight, in addition to the spread of English and French. Hence, the following research questions have been formulated:

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[2] The researcher has been teaching English for 16 years in pre-university education and in private schools of foreign languages, while at university as a part-time teacher since 1997 and as a full-time teacher since 2013.

1. To what extent does globalisation affect the future of Algerian language planning and shape public perspectives?

2. How adequate do the promotion and elaboration of Arabic in scientific and technical fields and Tamazight's officialisation, respond to both the State's international opportunities and people's needs?

3. What triggers authentically the spread of French and English in the Algerian linguistic landscape?

4. Which ideologies and orientations are behind the scenarios of officialising Tamazight and promoting multilingualism?

5. Which language policy can enable Algeria challenge globalisation, preserve its identity and national unity, and achieve the modern world?

In view of that, the researcher's hypotheses turn around the following assumptions respectively:

1. Given that globalisation has updated the Algerians to modernity and current global changes, it can lead the government to rethink its future language policy and planning and review the need to implement English. Hence, the null hypothesis can be:

H_0. Globalisation *per se* cannot affect the Algerian language policy and planning, but its role in the worldwide interconnectedness and the wide spread of social media and global technological devices can shape public perspectives more positively.

2. The project of the elaboration and promotion of Arabic in scientific and technical fields, by encouraging translations, is very welcomed by experts, though still in progress. However, Tamazight is not seen as a language of development or science, and hence it cannot respond to all public needs at the national scale, or help the State challenge globalisation.

3. English is the most dominant global language and French is one of the most remarkable residues of the process of Frenchifying Algeria – the fact that makes their spread natural to some extent. The other key factor is the gap in the practice of the top-down policy of Arabisation.

4. First, given that Berber activists have been demanding for self-autonomy with the ideology of *'Amazighising'* Algeria, Tamazight has been officialised to prevent division or conflicts. The attempt to generalise its teaching is a step of making it accepted at the macro scale. Second, the spread of some foreign languages remains prerequisite, mainly in some fields, within the era of globalisation.

5. Algeria needs to review its language policy and reconsider the status of English, which is competing French. Whether it keeps French as the first foreign language or not, Algeria needs to preserve its national languages, and support the use of English, at least in the present time to keep balanced multilingualism that neither endangers its unity and identity nor prevents it from challenging globalisation.

In order to answer the research questions and confirm or refute the hypotheses, this study is guided by a mixed-method approach, based on qualitative and quantitative methods. The research design is exploratory, descriptive and explanatory realised sequentially, depending on each part of study and its aims. Qualitative data have been collected using indirect observation of some formal language practices, semi-structured elite interviews with five[3] senior officials, as well as the analysis of some relevant official documents. The main objective of such a step is to discuss recent decisions made in terms of language policy and planning using some government documents, spotlighting the constitution, and the Official Journal of the Republic.

Quantitative data, however, have been gathered from two different online surveys, administered to collect data about language use and people's attitudes. The population selected for this part of research consists of two different groups, trying

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[3] The researcher attempted to make nearly 10 interviews but unfortunately only six were possible

to have a variation of public figures. Focus is on the main shifts of LP in Algeria during the last two decades and their impact on formal and social interactions, in order to compare people's perspectives about the use and the frequency of Arabic *vis-à-vis* other languages in different domains.

The samples dealt with in the Internet surveys are selected at random. The first Internet survey is distributed via email and Facebook, which are the most adequate tools that provided easy access to the population. More than 500 participants are targeted, inviting Linguists, teachers, university students, engineers, employees, doctors, inspectors of education, and even some illiterate people to participate in the survey. However, age, gender and specialty are not important variables in this study, but they are included in the first survey, unlike the second, just as a complementary step to reveal the variation of the sample population. The second survey is also administered in the same manner to validate some data, but shared with another sample of 350 participants. Semi-structured elite interviews have been conducted with six officials, among who three are stated here: the President of the Higher Council of the Arabic Language, the general secretary of the directorate of National Education, and the Regional Chief Inspector of the Ministry of Finance.

The present thesis is organised into four chapters. The first chapter displays the theoretical framework of the study reviewing the most relevant literature in relation to the research topic. It starts by providing definitions of key concepts and explaining the evolution of language policy and planning. Then, it attempts to define globalisation from a post-colonial and a language planning perspectives to draw both its role in the spread of English as a global language and its impact on language policy and planning in multilingual countries.

The second chapter provides relevant details about the context of the study. It presents a general geographical, historical and social overview of Algeria as well as a detailed account about its current linguistic situation. After that, it describes the evolution of its LPP focusing on the main official constitutional shifts in terms of language planning, namely, the policy of Arabisation, the promotion of foreign languages and the officialisation of Tamazight. This chapter is based on data taken from common historical sources, government's official

documents and specialists' works that have studied the language situation or the issue of LPP in the Algerian context.

The third chapter presents the overall methodological design of this research. It aims to describe the triangulation method used as a strategy to collect the required data for the realisation of the study. It starts by reviewing briefly the context of the study, before explaining the scope and the significance of the study. Then, it describes the sample population and provides a detailed explanation of the procedure and the steps undertaken to collect data. It describes the main tools with the reasons behind using them in this study. Finally, it states the main limitations encountered in the study.

In the fourth chapter, a detailed description of data is provided in numbers, percentages and figures. Then a descriptive interpretation and a detailed analysis of the most relevant findings presented. The analysis spotlights some selected policy scenarios that support the elaboration of Arabisation, the generalisation of Tamazight, as well as the spread of French and English, and advocate the issue of officialising Algerian Arabic. At the end of this thesis, a summary and conclusions are provided to indicate some of the implications for a policy that is appropriate for the Algerian sociolinguistic and cultural context and that regulates the status of the languages spoken or used in its territory. For the organisation and the formatting of the thesis, the major guidelines of APA styles have been followed.

Language policy, in its broad sense, is undertaken by a state to adjust the status of a language(s) in its territory and solve problems. Although it is difficult to accomplish and document perfectly the present analysis in terms of time and circumstances, some significant findings indicate that the evolution and the practice of the Algerian LPP have usually been very slow but symbolic. It has been clear through the study that the current language situation in Algeria has resulted after many years of numerous interactions paving the way for potential adjustment. Hence, any required change, though time-consuming, is possible and might not be surprising. Yet Globalisation is another direct key factor that has affected LPP in Algeria and thus there is a great possibility of future changes, mostly in terms of the medium of instruction in education and the spread of English, which may affect the status of French someday.

CHAPTER ONE

GLOBALISATION, LANGUAGE

PLANNING AND LANGUAGE POLICY

Content

1.1. Introduction

For setting up the theoretical framework of this thesis, the main aspects of language planning and policy[4] (LPP henceforth) are investigated in this chapter, both as an academic discipline and a political activity. First, the main concepts are defined, focussing on language, speech community, and LPP. Then, the famous models, dimensions, the main levels and goals of LPP are described. After that, the most relevant agents of LPP with regard to the national and/or official status of a language in terms of its indigenousness and function in a bi/multilingual context are explored. As an ultimate step, the main relation between globalisation and the rapid shifts of LPP are discussed, mostly from a language planning (LP) perspective, to highlight the impact of globalisation on post-colonial and Arabic-speaking countries. Then, the way in which globalisation has shaped global and national LPP is discussed, giving details about the global spread of English in comparison with Arabic and French. In what follows, the conceptual framework is set out, as an initial step.

1.2. Language: a Social Institution

The concept may have different terminological dimensions, in reference to the field of use. Language, which is the central item in the field of LPP, has different linguistic, political, cultural, and other readings, yet many sociolinguists consider it as a social institution, and so this study does. Some definitions of language are selected to clarify why language is seen as a social institution. Language is defined in Oxford dictionary as 'the system of communication in speech and writing that is used by people of a particular country or area'[5]. For E. Sapir (in Wright, 2004), language is a 'purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols,' (p. 3), and 'is, after all, the medium of human interaction' (Collinge, 1990, p. x).

If asked about language, people usually define it as a means of human contact used to express oneself and communicate with others. This breeds normally the notion of social institution for the aspect of group that characterises man and fixes the need of sharing socially a tool of communication. Language is mostly seen as a system of vocal sounds, and so writing

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[4] 'Language policy and language planning' (LPLP) is used only if required in this study. LPP is used for short. LP for language planning

[5] From: Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary.

and sign language. Man used to communicate in different ways to exchange ideas, beliefs or feelings as well as to spread one's knowledge, culture or traditions. So, language is commonly seen as a significant element in building society, as says the Welsh proverb quoted by Crystal (2003), 'A nation without a language is a nation without a heart' (p. 37). It retells the whole story of human beings, reports contemporary life and is a key tool to draw the future.

De Saussure (in Chambers *et al.,* 2002) views language a very essential social act and institution that serves chiefly for human contact noting that 'speech has both an individual and a social side, and *[human]* cannot conceive of one without the other' (p. 8). Hence, language is tightly liaised with community, not only reflecting the mind or the being but symbolising the whole society, its autonomy and its power as well; and so, its national unity and identity. It is often linked to one's origin and culture, and seen as one of the components of a society. It may be a dialect, a language variety or a standard language. In Wright's words (2004):

> Language is the means by which we conduct our social lives and is foremost among the factors that allow us to construct human communities. The importance of language … is that it opens up the future to planning, it permits the past to become shared experience from which learning can take place and it allows cooperation in joint ventures, with all the advantages of scale that implies. As such, language plays a major role in the constitution of groups. (p. 2)

Wright considers language as a social institution, while Chambers (2002) defines it as 'one of several sociocultural tools that make human existence possible in the first place, and that empower, enrich, and perpetuate it... [but it is] the greatest of those tools and the most palpable effusion of innate human creativity,' (p.370). Family, community and all spheres where the person is in touch with others, give one's language a social dimension in relation to identity, culture, religion, ethnicity, and other factors. Cooper (1989) considers language as 'the fundamental institution of society, not only because it is the first institution experienced by the individual but ... all other institutions are built upon its regulatory patterns' (p.182).

Hence, society is the key agent tightly linked to language, and so the reverse is. The use of a language and the choice of its function are done by society, which is itself identified by language. Patrick (2002) notes that language for Whitney is a social possession as 'The community... [is the] final tribunal which decides whether anything shall be language or not' (p.578). No two people can have the same way of thinking and no two societies can have similar origins, cultures behaviours or traditions. Cooper (1989), supporting his view by Haugen's, views language as 'such a highly complex cognitive system that it cannot be

compared to the tools which men and women have devised to extend their mastery of the environment' (p.133).

Hence, language does not only serve for social contact but is also the basic means that reflects human existence in all its facets as noted by Berque (in Bouali, 2012), 'A language is not a means of communication, it is a way of being' (p.1). Man's natural creativity also helps in developing language and enriching its vocabulary and use. Therefore, language cannot be bounded by an era or to an area; it is a matter of interaction. According to Haugen (in Neustupný, 1973), 'language is probably not a closed system at all, but a complex congeries of interacting systems, open at both ends, namely the past and the future!' (p. 91), i.e. it is dynamic and receives changes throughout time; languages used in the past are different from today's. Therefore, even supposing geographical boundaries as the main traits differentiating communities, diachronic and/or synchronic factors, age, gender, form and function are all agents of linguistic diversity.

1.2.1. Language and Diversity

Language, as a societal act, is a means that does not only provide interaction between the members of a community, but makes them identified and distinct from others. Every people have particular features and characteristics, and so each language has its unique functional and structural organism, as explained by Whorf (1952):

> The forms of a person's thoughts are controlled by inexorable laws of pattern of which he is unconscious. These patterns are the unperceived intricate systematizations of his own language – shown readily enough by a candid comparison and contrast with other languages … every language is a vast pattern-system, different from others. (p. 173)

Actually, language has always been the quintessence all along human life, and so, it has been the concern of many sociolinguists viewing each language with its sole distinctive functions. Bourdieu (1958) thinks that 'just as one must take care not to confuse diversification, that is, the conscious creation of differences, with diversity, so one must oppose identity to identification, which is a product of the contact and interaction between two cultural groups' (p.92). Language identifies communities and all contact among peoples lead to the exchange of traditional, cultural and linguistic aspects, as they influence each other, and acquire new behaviours, codes and life-styles. Language boundaries are made bigger the more peoples are varied, and the more diversity grows as stated by Crystal (2003),

'Diversity... is a human evolutionary strength, and should be safeguarded as an end in itself, for out of it new "houses of being" can spring… diversity breeds diversity,' (p.53)

Peoples' and languages' diversity draw a large cultural and linguistic mosaic in the world. Tinsley and Board (2013) see that 'Languages are the bedrock of the world's cultural heritage. Every language offers a rich and unique insight into different ways of thinking and living as well as into the history of the myriad of cultures and peoples across the globe,' (p.4). However, linguistic diversity is not always positive. Ricento (2006) describes it from a technocratic LP view as 'a social deficiency that causes social and economic "backwardness" (p.143), while Skutnabb-Kangas (ibid.) explains that political theorists, like Will Kymlicka and Alan Patten, seem to believe that things are "complicated by linguistic diversity" which they see an "obstacle" or "problem". He considers that as monolingual reductionism and such 'attitudes' as 'denying and lamenting facts – just like claiming that having two legs and five fingers is more complicated than having one,' and supports Debi Pattanayak's idea that 'One language is an impractical proposition for a multilingual country.' (pp. 279-280)

In fact, linguistic diversity has become a serious fact that is challenging the world. While, monolingual countries are usually required to attend the world variation and accept to make a large space in their linguistic situation for global languages, multilingual states are asked to use a global language to provide contacts and conduct business. Many post-colonial states, where diversity impedes building a homogenous nation, have stuck to their coloniser's language as official. However, in both cases, indigenous languages face the risk of being displaced by the new adopted one, mainly if spoken by minorities. Indeed, preserving one's native language has become urgent, as described by Crystal (2003) who believes that 'If diversity is a prerequisite... the preservation of linguistic diversity is essential, for language lies at the heart of what it means to be human,' (pp.33-34), and since cultures are chiefly transmitted through spoken and written languages, the role of languages becomes critical.

Moreover, many factors like globalization, linguistic imperialism and technological development endanger such linguistic assets. Some sociolinguists believe that increasing linguistic diversity is a threat on social, or let it be said on global, unity. Lévis-Strauss (in Bourdieu, 1958) defines human societies 'by a certain *optimum* of diversity beyond which they cannot go, but *below which they likewise cannot go without being endangered*' (p. 91). For that reason, linguistic diversity is a natural aspect that cannot be denied anyway but that needs to be preserved, for it symbolizes human rights and cultural heritage. Many speech

communities, their languages become extinct once not strongly valued and defended. According to the UNESCO reports, many languages are either lost or endangered.

If language diversity is a human right and a natural aspect, there are factors that stand against it for some particular intent. Ricento (2006) said that 'Haugen in a memorable piece entitled "The Curse of Babel", argued eloquently that language diversity is not a problem unless it is used as a basis for discrimination,' (p.27). Economic, political and cultural reasons fight linguistic diversity, and hence nations are required to give their languages a great value and keep using them to defend them, since practising a language guarantees its survival. Thus, caring about languages or their future in linguistic mosaic is critical, as Ingram (2006) puts it:

> Language diversity and especially the minority languages within that diversity will continue to exist only if the communities of speakers themselves value the languages and continue to use them and if all societies recognise their value, accept multilingualism as the desirable norm, and adopt educational and social policies and practices that support and foster multilingualism. (p.1)

To sum up, language is so vital that its preservation is a duty; and hence, linguistic diversity is. This is how nations, identities and cultural patrimony are defended. However, while linguistic diversity is rich, it is seen as a problem by those who see unity as a must. It is worth using a global language, or having one in a common with other nations – if in need. Yet, reality retells a different facet. Some ideologies manipulate linguistic diversity depending on their particular needs, because when it is a matter of dominance, the powerful states' languages hold generally the supreme position, but when it comes to danger and extinction, it is often the minority language, which is on the surface. Hence, when it is a matter of extinction or of restricting a language to its indigenous borders, a serious plan for the preservation of linguistic and cultural heritage becomes imperative, is not to expose one's culture or language and make it known; it is rather a human right and a question of identity.

1.2.2. Language and Identity

Language is generally seen as a marker, a key component and a symbol of identity. However, identity is viewed as no more than the identification of the social features of a group among others. It is mostly seen as the character that distinguishes Algerians from Moroccans, or the English from the Americans, etc. Mendoza-Denton (in Chambers *et al.*, 2002) notes that 'identity functions outside of linguistics to cover a variety of concepts... *[It]* is neither attribute nor possession, but an individual and collective-level process of semiosis'

(p. 475). Identity is 'The fact of being who or what a person or thing is.' All the qualities of a person are considered as dimensions of shaping the meaning of 'identity'[6]. However, definitions of identity depend on the field of research. Sociolinguistically, it is commonly related to language and community. Therefore, once a language holds the story of an identity and symbolises it, there is an urgent need to protect it as explained by Cooper (1989):

> When linguistic variants serve as markers of our identity, we may be loath to abandon them, particularly in the name of a soulless efficiency… *[and]* it is impossible to freeze the forms of a living language, which transforms itself continuously even as it is itself transformed.' (p.133)

A language's position in the hearts of its speakers is very significant. Thus, native and national languages are tightly related to identity. Nelson Mandela describes in his way that 'If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his own language, that goes to his heart.'[7] Moreover, the fact of being integrated in a community and sharing similar values and features reflect 'who' a person is and to which social group he belongs regarding his/her behaviours and performance. It is, in fact, an emotional relationship, expected to grow if the person is attached to his/her language and identity and feels that they are inseparable. Kaul (2012) argues that 'Almost always, however, the concept of identity is meant to imply a coherent sense of self that depends on a stability of values and a sense of wholeness and integration,' (p. 346). Some studies see that identity is the measure that reflects social values, characters, beliefs, and behaviours of people in a community, i.e. an overall system. Language is the symbol of identity, unity, social patrimony, and speech community, and so language and identity are usually related, mostly if dealing with identifying a social group. Rummens (in Kaul, 2012) describes identity as:

> The distinctive character belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group... [It] is a social system... like an organic system and is made up of structure and cultural values, rules, establish beliefs and practices to which their members are expected to conform. (p.342)

Norton (2000) says that 'identity is not a fixed category, but one that is multiple and changing' (p.143). She commonly uses the term identity 'to refer to how people understand

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their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and place and how people understand their possibilities for the future,' (ibid. p.5; 1997, p.410). Therefore, every language has its specific sounds, signs and systems, which are particularly known by some communities of speakers but not by others. Such characteristics make a language properly associated to a community or to a group of people said to be its native speakers. Hence, the notion of 'identity' can be the rationale for the identification of speakers of language 'A' that distinct them from speakers of language 'B'. If 'A' is the native tongue of a group, 'B' can be the second or foreign, and vice versa, and so, the contact between people is a good reasons of acquiring languages and building relations. Whorf (1952) explains:

> For the scientific understanding of very diverse languages – not necessarily to speak them, but to analyze their structure – is a lesson in brotherhood which is brotherhood in the universal human principle… It causes us to transcend the boundaries of local cultures, nationalities, physical peculiarities dubbed "race," and to find that in their linguistic systems, though these systems differ widely, yet ... all men are equal.(p.183)

In fact, if people felt equal, though diversity is evidence, there would not be any kind of conflict in life: about boundaries, wealth, language status, and the like. Alas, the desires of distinctiveness, superiority, and authority have led man in a way or another to build such frontiers between nations. Besides religion and culture, communities become identified by their indigenous tongues that distinct them from others. Haugen (in Durrell, 1990), argues that 'National identity is often associated with the use of a particular language in such a standardised, prestige form within the frontiers of a particular nation-state' (p.497). Thus, associating language to nation and identity is complex, mainly when involving cultural, political and social issues, but more complicated when considering it as a marker of ethnicity.

1.2.3. Language and Ethnicity

Definitions of ethnicity are generally based on the semantic meaning found in dictionaries like Oxford and Cambridge. It is defined in both dictionaries as the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition. However, Fishman and García(2010) as 'the classical languages were the foundations of modern religion, literacy and ethnicity throughout the world,' (p.xxxiii), arguing that ethnicity and religion are also responsible of identifying communities and their tongues. Scholars from different fields – anthropology, sociology, sociolinguistics, political sciences, etc. – have been interested in the relationship between ethnicity and identity, community and language.

Many works in ethno-linguistics, sociolinguistics and in political sciences have emerged since the Cold War. While ethnicity is seen as the key for socio-political stability, successful LP, and even for individual security, others do not view its value. This differs in how they define ethnicity. Horowitz (1985) sees that it is 'based on a myth of collective ancestry, which usually carries with it traits believed to be innate... So conceived, ethnicity easily embraces groups differentiated by colour, language, and religion; it covers "tribes", "races", "nationalities", and castes,' (p.52–53). Such factors are a source for many readings to hold the idea of inequality and distinction between ethnic groups, mainly when the matter is political or economic. Diversity is a natural aspect in human origin, language, behaviour, and in different social acts, and ethnicity is deeply associated with the measures that identify what an ethnic group is and what distinguish it from others. Weber (Chandra, 2006) says:

> Ethnic groups are those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. (p. 403)

Weber has incorporated colonisation and migration as major dimensions in shaping ethnic identity. Horowitz (1998) believes that there are those who consider 'ethnic groups as firmly bounded, durable communities inclined toward ethnocentrism, hostility to outsiders, and passionate conflict, and those who see them as social constructs, with a solidarity based on material rewards and conflict behaviour based on calculation'[8]. Hence, aspects of an ethnic group are widely varied. Some refer to historical and social factors, while others consider language and identity. Makimahara (in Fishman and García, 2010) defines ethnicity as:

> Ethnicity is, first of all, not about one person but about a collectivity or human aggregate of "people" who may share a cluster of features or practices in common, possibly including physical appearance, dress, name, language, geographic region of origin, religion and beliefs, kin group net-works, music and arts, customs and traditions, and material culture… these traits can be characterized as "given", or inherited, and therefore not easily changeable. (p.33)

Some scholars have proved a close connection between language and ethnicity such as Fishman and García(2010) who argue that 'the life of language and ethnicity is an

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[8]The abstract of a paper prepared by Donald Horowitz for the Annual World Bank Conference on Development, Economics, Washington, D.C., April 20–21, 1998. Retrieved from http://web.ceu.hu/cps/bluebird/eve/statebuilding/horowitz.pdf (19/ 09/ 2018 - 13:54)

unending process and we cannot do better than to recognize the deep roots and the endless possibilities that it entails,'(p. xxxiv). Ennaji (ibid.) cited Fishman's view that such 'intimate' relation contributes in shaping deep positive feelings towards one's ethnic identity. Language is seen by Obeng (ibid.)'as the storehouse of ethnicity,' (p. 374) arguing in his work with Abegbija that people are emotionally strongly attached to their language and ethnicity, which identify them and their cultural paraphernalia. The more language and ethnicity are valued, the more uniqueness is regarded and diversity is nourished. In fact, while language is seen as a significant marker of ethnic diversity, others do not heed such a strong link.

Between the contrasting approaches stands a neutral perspective with a balanced position, like McLaughlin who argues that 'language can sometimes... serve as an important variable in the construction or reconfiguration of ethnicity,' (ibid.). It is 'controversial' for Ennaji (2010) who argues that some see such relation as accidental though they value race as well as socio-political affiliation, and others consider language as a vehicle of ethnic identity. It is generally noticed that in politicized and dynamic contexts, ethnic disparities are ideologised, and more conflicts can emerge to either satisfy some political needs or disguise realities to arrive at particular ends. Hence, ethnicity per se, as a natural fact, is not the reason of conflicts, but it is rather how it is manipulated. Moreover, 'so many of violent internal conflicts today are ethnic conflicts, or more precisely… are fought along ethnic fault lines or along ethnic boundaries.' (Matsuo, 2009, p. 57)

When languages in a given community are not treated similarly, and some are considered more powerful or accurate than others without solid reasons, internal conflicts may increase. Some varieties are identified as languages and others as dialects, while some are official and others are foreign. While some linguists do not consider any disparity between dialect and language, others find it ambiguous. However, the famous Weinreich witticism puts it as simple as 'A language is a dialect that has an army and a navy and an air force; that is the only difference really from a linguistic point of view,[9]' (ibid. p.70). Thus, when people feel affiliated within their society and believe in their sociality, unity and similarity, they tend to show their distinctiveness, and hence the sense of ethnicity is buttressed. Such cases are easily exploited by those who use ethnicity as a tool to achieve their needs, and so, language

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[9]This statement is usually attributed to Max Weinreich, a specialist in Yiddish linguistics, who expressed it in Yiddish. Visited on 15/09/16 at 22/53:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_language_is_a_dialect_with_an_army_and_navy#Other_mentions

diversity is made a cause of conflicts, while it is not in fact the real trouble. This does not reject the link between language and ethnicity, or the role of diversity in conflicts.

Race and linguistic variation have become the key issues for the intentions of the forces that open deliberately more spaces to ethnicity to take a larger extension, for particular ends. Hence, language can be seen as a major marker of identity and ethnicity. However, creating a separation between ethnic groups, and so their languages builds more disparities and makes what Durell calls 'linguistic frontiers'. He (in Collinge, 1990) argues that 'The geographical relationship between language, state, nation and culture may thus be very intricate… [and] Linguistic, ethnic and political frontiers are quite separate, having arisen in most cases because of quite different sets of historical circumstances' (p.499). Hence, Language is deeply connected with identity and ethnicity, and so, with speech community.

1.3. Speech Community

Before the notion of nation-state and the ideology of language as a weapon for protecting autonomy and identity, speech community was seen as simple as 'every group of people who use the same set of speech signals is a speech community,' (Bloomfield's, in Morgan, 2014, p.3). However, political borders, history, civilisation and religion have become measures to distinguish a speech community. Martinet (Chambers *et.al.* 2002) views that it is important 'first of all… to define the notion of a linguistic community, if such a thing is possible,' (p.578). Bloomfield's view has been joined by many works, identifying speech community as a group of people sharing the same language and geographical area. What Labov (in Llamas *et al.*, 2007) thinks about speech community is that:

> [It] is not defined by marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by the participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage. (p.85)

Labov's conception 'is a view that is easily refuted,' (ibid.) French, English, or Arabic, for instance, are spoken in places that do not make the same speech community. Patrick (in Chambers et al., 2002) views that such a definition 'was the first to posit both shared norms and linguistic uniformity (as structured variation), in that order, as criteria for identifying a speech community' (p. 584). Labov believes that the conformity and the homogeneity of a speech community depend on the language of its speakers and on its

evaluative norms (ibid.). Hence, if the native tongue is used for daily contact, other languages may have a status in education, administration, or social contacts. However, sharing the same language does not suffice to form a speech community, but mastering its linguistic, cultural, and social features are also required. Religion and education are also rationales to make particular communities, regardless to immigration, and virtual communities.

To sum up, social interaction is a strong necessity that requires at least a speech variety, but this may lead to the growth of sub-communities. In other words, a spoken language might be used for daily contact by a group of speakers who can use a more standard variety with others in some formal contexts, and so, more than a language can exist within the same community. Hence, the need of social interaction multiplies the possibility of the spread of some languages in favour of others, and so the classification of language is required with regard to its significance and function. The question is about the factors that distinguish monolingual from bi/multilingual and national from official language, and the rationale behind specifying every language for its context, or spreading one in favour of others is debatable. In fact, language has become more politicised and planned than ever before. In what follows, how languages are planned is discussed.

1.4. Language Policy and Planning: Preliminaries

Language is a social institution and a basis of making homogeneous or different communities. Wright (Llamas *et al.*, 2007) thinks that 'Language is one of the key elements in the construction of human groups… Thus all human beings police, protect and promote language to a degree, and forms of LPLP occur in all societies,' (p.164). Thus, policing and planning language is significant to keep harmony and stability in society. However, historical and terminological clarifications about the most acceptable or common naming of the field are provided before defining 'language planning', 'language policy', their areas of performance and all associated factors. It is worth to agree that terminological multiplicity exists concerning the name and the scope of both 'language planning' and 'language policy'.

1.4.1. History of Language Policy and Planning

LPP is not a new activity for the need to 'police, protect and promote language to a degree,' (op.cit.). Although LPP was not in its onset a systematic academic activity, it was practised naturally to respond people's needs to defend, teach, spread or purify their

languages. Invasions provided a sort of contact between people and caused the spread of some languages. Thus, early academies have contributed a lot in LPP field, such as the 'Académie Française' founded by Richelieu in 1634 to expand and defend the French vernacular, to 'render it pure, eloquent and capable of treating the arts and sciences,' (Cooper, 1989, p.10). Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) see that 'In one sense, our knowledge of LP is probably as old as recorded human history as it is a part of how people use language,' (p.x).

Latin and Greek acted as lingua franca when the Romans conquered the Circum-Mediterranean world, and a kind of LP was undertaken by the spread of Latin throughout the Empire. The emergence of Arabic is also another example, when groups of Arabs expanded the teaching of Arabic via the spread of Islam and its values. Hence, if any contact is roughly made between two peoples speaking different languages, a degree of LPP happens to a certain extent, and randomly in almost all cases. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) put it more explicit:

> Every time a territory is captured and occupied (whether physically or metaphorically), the conquerors and the inhabitants of that territory... must become involved in some sort of language policy development in order to establish and maintain civil administration, [to] convert souls or to promote trade. When natural disasters, civil disorders and large-scale economic migrations occur which instigate a significant dislocation of some population, the government receiving the displaced population must engage in some sort of LP in order to maintain civil administration and facilitate commerce. (pp. ix-x)

After being unsystematic, LPP emerged progressively as an academic discipline in 1960s with the name 'language planning and language policy' and sometimes only 'language planning'. In its beginning, it was related to the rise of the ideologies of 'Nationalism' and 'nationism', in the era of decolonisation, when new emergent states sought after cultural and linguistic uniformity to attain distinctiveness from their neighbours. After that, the filed faded when the interest of many states was economic growth. Along with the appearance of various global developments in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, LPP re-emerged as an interdisciplinary field with a quite varied scope both geographically and conceptually.

Three main shifts in the intellectual history of LPP can be distinguished as claims Ricento (2013). The first one is the era of decolonisation, structuralism and pragmatism (1950s -1960s), or what he calls 'Classic language planning'. The second refers to the failure of modernisation and critical sociolinguistics (1970s-1980s). The third is related to the new world order, postmodernism and linguistic human rights. Hence, the field has grown up as well as newly independent states, attracting scholars to theorize their ideas and solve language

problems within the new polities, and then to modify and innovate them along with the influence of globalisation. Spolsky, Kaplan, Baldauf, and others have enriched the field with many works.[10] However, coming across LPP literature, different terms are found.

1.4.2. Terminological Confusion

A variation of terms of both the field and activities is faced in the literature of LPP. Some linguists use the concepts 'language planning' and 'language policy' interchangeably, while others make the distinction. Cooper (1989) says 'There is even disagreement to what term should be used to denote the activity,' (p.29). 'Language policy' is preferred in some works, while 'language planning' is more common in others. Yet, the naming "language planning and language policy" has shifted in many recent works to "language policy and planning" since the 1990s. Others tend to restrict both the field and the activity to 'language planning'. 'Language policy' also appears in many works, such as Spolsky's (2004). According to García (2015):

> The naming of the field itself has shifted to language policy, as it recognizes the multiple forces that influence behaviour toward language… Some scholars, however, have preferred to speak about language policy and planning (LPP) … or language policy and language planning (LPLP) …suggesting that both terms are needed in order to capture their distinctive roles. (p. 353)

In view of that, 'language planning and language policy' is generally more wide-ranging and still used by some scholars such as Wright (2004). Others prefer, however, the use of the term 'language policy and planning' (LPP) like Hornberger, Ricento, Tollefson, Grabe, Huebner, Davis and others. Another stream has subsumed the whole field under the naming 'language policy, as it recognizes the multiple forces that influence behaviour toward language ... [like] Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004, 2012) (ibid.). Ricento (2006) argues that 'Streams of work in language planning and language policy began to coalesce more fully in the 1990s in what is increasingly referred to as language policy and planning (LPP)' (p. 24). The present research favours the recent naming LPP.

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[10]Examples: *Language Policy* (by Spolsky); *Current Issues in Language Planning* (by Kaplan and Baldauf); *Language Planning and Policy: Issues in Language Planning and Literacy* (by A. Liddicoat)

1.5.   Language Planning as a Concept

Terminologically, 'language planning' is not the only term used in the literature of LPP. Cooper, in his work Language Planning and Social Change (1989), reveals terms like 'language engineering' (Miller,1950), 'glotto-politics' (Hall,1951), 'language development' (Noss, 1967), 'language regulation' (Gorman, 1973), 'language management' (Jernudd and Neustupný, 1986). He claims also that language policy is used as a synonym to language planning but more often in reference to its goals. Yet, the most popular concept today is 'language planning'. In French, some interrelated terms are also used to refer to the activity, like 'planification linguistique' or 'aménagement linguistique'.

1.5.1.   Origins of Language Planning

The origins of the term 'language planning' go back to Uriel Weinreich's work 'Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems' (1953), in which he discussed the interaction between the immigrants' languages and dialects and the fading of a language in a bilingual context (Neustupny, 1973; Cooper, 1989; Lo Bianco, 2010). Although, the concept is thought of to be first used in the field in 1959 by the American-Norwegian linguist 'Einar Haugen', he, himself, said that 'Weinreich used the term language planning for a 1957 seminar at Columbia University,' (in Cooper,1989, p.29) before him. Later, Haugen gathered his previous essays in his work 'The Ecology of Language' (1953), without using the term. Eliasson (1997) says that 'Haugen's interest in LP and language standardisation was already established in his doctoral dissertation of 1931, [and] he returned to this problem full-scale in his 1966 book Language Conflict and Language Planning: the Case of Modern Norwegian,' (p.vii). Hence, Haugen expanded the field through his study about Norway.

The first time he used 'language planning' in his works was in 1959 in his article 'Planning in Modern Norway'. His broad interest in bilingualism and the consideration of language problems helped him enrich the field with his model (1960s), modified in 1983. Therefore, he is one of the leading pioneers of the. Cooper, Ferguson, Fishman and Haarmann have also influenced the motives of many works about LPP, through their theories and understandings to the concept. It is worth noting that LP definitions vary concomitantly with the related theories. Yet, it is commonly agreed among linguists, like Cooper, Kaplan, Baldauf, Tollefson and others that there is no single universally accepted definition of LP (Cooper, 1998; Neustupný, 1973; Tollefson, 1989; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

1.5.2. Definitions of Language Planning

The term 'planning' is defined in Cambridge Dictionary as the 'activity of thinking about and deciding what you are going to do or how you are going to do something.' 'To plan' means to think about, to arrange how to do, and to decide upon something. Ennaji (2011) thinks that 'language is intimately linked to culture, identity, politics, nationalism, society, and transmission of knowledge' (p.i), and so, 'to plan a language is to plan society' (op.cit.). LP is for Cooper (1989) 'deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure and functional allocation of their language codes,' (p.45). He relates LP to linguistic and political shifts, and to the social changes that promote it. Hence, it is a conscious formal activity aimed to cause language change in distinct manners.

Others might have different perceptions. Haugen views LP as 'the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community.'[11] However, he has considered later such activities as outcomes of the whole process. He believes that 'wherever there are language problems... if a linguistic situation for any reason is felt to be unsatisfactory, there is room for a program of LP,' (in Cooper, 1989). Both Cooper's and Haugen's controversial definitions restrict LP to the systematisation and the adjustment of language codes, often as an official activity done by the government its agents, academies, or committees. Kloss refers rather to such activities as 'corpus planning'. So, many sociolinguists used their skills in descriptive linguistics for LP activities as they aimed at standardising or elaborating local languages to regain their national identity and native language, mainly in newly independent countries.

Since the emergence of the field coincides with other disciplines, some works reveal further definitions trying to reconcile the official governmental decisions with the expertise of sociolinguists and enlarge its area of performance. Ricento (2012) claims 'researchers in Language Policy and Planning must avail themselves of a broad range of perspectives from core social science disciplines, including ethnography, geography, historiography, linguistics, political science, psychology, and sociology,' (p. 540). This will help them identify the way

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[11]See Cooper, 1989, p. 29 - García, 2015, p. 353 - Johnson and Ricento, 2013, p. 7 - Hornberger in Ricento, 2006, p. 26 - Nekvapil, 2011, p. 875

languages are classified politically, how they are developed and spread. Besides, language is used in all life domains, and therefore it can be influenced by any change.

Jernudd & Das Gupta (1971) do not see LP as 'an idealistic and exclusively linguistic activity but as a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society.' (p.211). An ideal LP, for Rubin & Jernudd (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997) has to match with political, educational, economic, and linguistic needs, in terms of 'orderly decision-making'… at the macro level and 'involves deliberate, although not always overt, future oriented change in systems of language code and/or speaking in a societal context,' (p.3). In fact, LP is associated with authentic situations reflecting social and formal contexts. As to Tollefson (1989), it is defined by the population's historical background and the structure, as he said:

> Historical-structural factors are responsible for defining communities. Communities may develop language varieties, which they perceive to be their own without regard to linguistic "facts"...The development of those varieties follows historical processes that govern a range of characteristics that define communities including religion, ethnicity, and class. Planning may affect language change only to the extent permitted by historical-structural factors. (p.316)

Tollefson explains the way in which the history and the conditions of the community, the existing language or language varieties, and then the role of language planning relate in a continuous sequence. Tollesfson's description is shaped by the researcher in the following figure, to show such a cyclical relationship.

Figure 1.1.: Factors of Language Planning: a Continuous Cycle
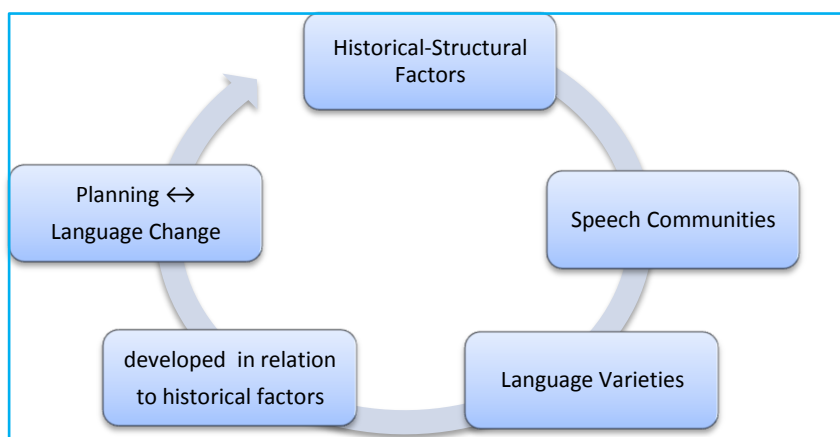
Fishman (in Cooper, 1989) views that LP is 'the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, usually at the national level,' (p.30). Others consider it as a systematic, future-oriented change in language structure (corpus planning), function (status planning),

acquisition (language-in-education) planning, and/or language promotion (prestige planning) mostly undertaken by governmental or its related institutions, yet, gradually by other organisations − with some community of speakers (Baldauf, 2012). In the same way, Weinstein (in Kennedy, 1982) sees LP as 'a government-authorised, long-term, sustained and conscious effort to alter a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems' (p. 265).

In this way, between convergent and divergent views, LP definitions can differ among studies, completing, criticising, or coming with a new stream. Pool (1976), on his side, views that LP affects languages' roles and their internal characteristics, as 'it can help achieve collective unity, distinctiveness, communicational power and efficiency, aesthetic goals, and various non-linguistic results' (p. 1). Rubin and Jernudd's (1971) approach (in Lo Bianco, 2010), reflects modernist political thinking with clear divisions between the realms of knowledge, power and action, while Tauli's (1984) considers the planner as a scientist who produces technically valid conclusions about language problems. Lo Bianco (ibid.)writes:

> Troubling attempts to devise stable definitions of LP is the tendency of language questions to tap into conflicting interests (ethnic, national, cultural and ideological) and power … the recommendations of language planners should always prevail over the preferences of language users, insisting that scientific criteria of efficiency, modernity and instrumentalism should prevail over 'nostalgia and sentiment. (p. 144)

Hence, LP is first seen as purely linguistic and restricted to the efforts of codification and standardisation. Such 'classical definitions', as seen by Lo Bianco (2010), 'restrict LP to overt, deliberate or conscious managerial decisions' (p. 159). Later, views towards LP have also changed due to the variations that have occurred after the emergence of technical and global changes. 'Globalization and migration,' as Ricento (2012) sees 'create unprecedented challenges in many domains of LPP' (p.540). From the fashion of nationalism, to the era of migration and economic growth, to the spread of the ideology of global governance, LP frameworks have taken several streams, revealing a variety of basic modals in the field.

Wright states in her book 'LPLP from Nationalism to Globalisation' (2004) that she develops her thinking on LPP from Halliday's when she heard him giving his seminal 1990 lecture at the ninth World Congress of Applied Linguistics. Her view does not restrict LP to only status, corpus and acquisition planning but that broadens it to any human activity of making and conveying meaning. She explains that Halliday (in Wright, 2004) views LP as 'a

highly complex set of activities involving the intersection of two very different and potentially conflicting themes: "meaning"… *[and]* "design" … LP means introducing design processes and design features into a system (namely language) which is naturally evolving,' (p. 01).

In fact, LP is a complex task as it deals with language, which is a central element in different fields. Kennedy (1982) defines it as 'the planning of deliberate changes in the form or use of a language (or a variety), or languages (or varieties)' (p. 264). In multidialectal/multilingual contexts, LP performance is not only mandatory but also complex, where political, economic, and even technological conditions entail language change. It is an activity undertaken to correct the linguistic performance of people in a speech community, to avoid some bad practices, develop a language style, or clear up some wrong vocabulary as seen by Kaplan & Baldauf (1997):

> In [brief], LP is an attempt by someone to modify the linguistic behaviour of some community for some reason… ranging from the trivial notion that one doesn't like the way a group talks, to the sophisticated idea that a community can be assisted in preserving its culture by preserving its language. (p. 3)

Hence, any change as far as language form and/or function are concerned can be LP activity. Jiří-Nekvapil (2011) views that, 'the point of LP is to bring about changes in language or in linguistic activities.' (p. 871). This varies from any natural activity of creating new lexis or correcting simple rules, to any advanced promotion of a language status in a community within a particular setting. Yet, what is widespread is restrictively the deliberate LP that occurs by a formal law as a governmental product to regulate a language status, implement educational reforms or solve any complex issue. People do not often know or even hear about LP activities done at precise levels for specific ends.

Many linguists do not see the distinction between planning and policy, or may know about overt decisions promulgated consciously and formally. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) believe that both concepts have been used 'in the technical and in the popular literature, either interchangeably or in tandem,' (p. xi). There is a rich literature about this subject, trying to draw a clear distinction between both concepts even with the terminological confusion faced in many works. Schiffman (1996) who prefers the distinction claims that it is 'unfortunate' that many works about 'language policy' treat actually 'language planning'. However, referring to the areas of performance, clarity can be apparent in large literature, though the two activities are closely related.

1.6. Language Policy vs. Language Planning

The word 'policy' is defined in Cambridge Dictionary as 'a set of ideas or a plan of what to do in particular situations that has been agreed by a government, business, etc.' Language policy is viewed as any action to change linguistic reality. It is often seen as the decisions made to promulgate a law about the role of a language in a speech community or to put some activities into action for a linguistic change. Even though, it appears in many works synonymous to LP, Cooper (1989) thinks that it is related to 'the goals of LP,' (p. 29). Others consider it concomitant to corpus policy, while others intend to link it with the use of LP in education. Prator favours the term 'language policy-making', as quoted in Cooper (1989):

> Language policy is the body of decisions made by interested authorities concerning the desirable form and use of languages by a speech group. It also involves consequent decisions made by educators, media directors, etc. regarding the possible implementation of prior basic decisions… The entire process of formulating and implementing LP is ... a spiral process, beginning at the highest level of authority and, ideally, descending in widening circles through the ranks of practitioners who can support or resist putting the policy into effect. (p. 160)

Hence, language policy is then a long-term process operating at many levels (i.e. political, educational, and administrative, etc.). Tollefson (1991) makes the distinction rather clear by describing LP as 'all conscious efforts to affect the structure/function of language varieties' and policy as 'LP done by governments,' (p.16) i.e. the execution of the planned activities through governmental policy. He also describes policy as the institutionalisation of language as a basis for distinctions among social classes, as well as a 'mechanism by which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use' (ibid.). However, he criticizes conventional definitions of LPLP.

Though language policy is thought of to be governmental product, it can be explicit to an extent that it covers decisions dealing with the choice of the language to be taught explicitly and used widely at the national scale, as it controls how, why and by whom they are designed. Ozolins quoted in Ager (1989) defines language policy as both 'political attitude' and 'political action', and exactly as 'broader social and bureaucratic attitudes towards languages and their embodiment in distinct institutional practices, linking official policy to its social and attitudinal context,' (p. 2). Whereas, Spolsky (2004) considers it about choice and comes out with the following:

It may be the choice of a specific sound, or expression, or of a specific variety of language...the choice regularly made by an individual, or socially defined group of individuals, or a body with authority over a defined group of individuals. It may be discovered in the linguistic behaviour... [or] in the ideology or beliefs about language of the individual or group. Finally, it may be made explicit in the formal language management or planning decision of an authorized body.(p.217)

Arguably, Spolsky sees that the real language policy is more likely to be found in its practices than in its managements. He makes it larger than others do, in terms of the variety of changes, choice, agents and the area of performance, as he links it to the ideology of the speakers about language. Yet, he considers it similar to LP with its components: language managements, practices and beliefs. Besides, he sees that it usually refers to the goals of decision makers and language planners, mostly for language spread education mainly and in other fields. Thus, language policy can be more explicitly the outcome of political and cultural ideologies shaped by the intents of authorities or of individuals, as it can be the by-product of natural language change.

Calvet (n.d.) calls '*language policy* the entirety of conscious choices concerning relations between language(s) and life in society, and ... *language planning* the concrete enactment of a language policy, its implementation as it were,' (para.7). It can have strong social, symbolic and ideological impact; that is 'interventions *on* society *through* language,' as he believes, since language may change internally and externally. Bugarski, however, sees 'the policy of a society in the area of linguistic communication ...[as] the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting that community's relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential,' (Schiffman, 1996, p.3 - Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008, p.56). Since language identifies national identity and homogeneity, it is a sign of power, and its support is part of public and political hegemony. Thus, the policy of protecting a language or regulating a linguistic issue is a political task generally executed by the government, strictly viewed by some as laws and decrees produced in official documents like the constitution. Others, however, consider it social and cultural.

In fact, since language policy is supposed to deal with linguistic change, it should widely cover any element associated to language in a community of speakers. However, what agents have the power to do and control that? They are primarily institutions or individuals but of power, i.e. authoritative bodies. Schiffman comes out with the idea that 'language policy seems to be dichotomized into overt (explicit, formalized, de jure, codified, manifest)

policies and covert (implicit, informal, unstated, *de facto*, grass roots, latent) aspects of the policy; what usually gets ignored, of course, are the covert aspects of the policy' (ibid.). This does not mean that language policy should be restricted to polity and politics, but the fact of circulating a change by decree for whatever ends may be a political act.

The distinction between planning and policy after this brief description may be clear to some extent. Bugarski claims that 'LP is a set of concrete measures taken within language policy to act on linguistic communication in a community, typically by directing the development of its languages,' (in Shiffman, 1996, p.3, and in Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008, p.56). Tollefson's definition to language policy as 'language planning by governments,' reveals the evidence of the execution of both activities in parallel, so that one's performance is based on the other. However, Bugarski points out that language policy is directed by an agent of power. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) define LP as 'an activity, most visibly undertaken by government (simply because it involves such massive changes in a society), intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers,' (p. xi). However, they consider language policy as 'a *body of ideas, laws, regulations*, *rules and practices intended to achieve the planned change in the society*, group or system.' (ibid.)

Kaplan and Baldauf define LP in the same words marked in Italics here, as '*a body of ideas, laws and regulations* (language policy), change *rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change* (or stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities,' (p.3). Hence, once LP becomes rules and regulations, it takes the aspect of policy. They distinguish systematically planning and policy, and see that the execution of the former 'leads to, or is directed by, the promulgation of [the latter] by government,' (ibid.). They see that the two activities can be directed 'to achieve a planned change', but the distinction is hardly done as both are connected strictly and closely. Similarly, Baldauf (2012) considers language policy as laws, regulations, rules and decrees, and planning as an interrelated pursuit to realise what is formally authorized by the government, or other bodies.

Ozolins (in Ager 1989) also makes a distinction between planning and policy, but viewing them a bit differently stating that 'language planning is a (technical) branch of Linguistics describing what speech communities do, whereas language policy is a part of social, and hence of public policy; what governments do' (p. 2). In spite of the variation of opinions about the two activities – whether similar or distinct – language policy cannot be classified as only a governmental decree written on official documents, but it is more

extensive. It goes further, for it is not only associated with the official choice, but with the rationales behind it, the beliefs about it, the agents that implement the change, and all that could be related to. Kennedy (1982) makes it more explicit:

> Policymaking is not planning … Language policy is a political activity and policy decisions will be made by politicians, not linguists. Planning resulting from policy will be delegated to planners and it is at this stage that the question arises of the role of the linguist in planning and his influence on policymaking. A division between the politician and the linguist is necessary if the latter is to remain objective. This is often not the case. (pp. 265 – 269)

Kennedy's view to language policy is similar to many others. Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) also view the nature of language policy from a political perspective. Equally, Kaplan and Baldauf (2007) consider 'language policy as highly political activity' (p. 3). Though some view language policy form a social perspective, they also admit that it is a political activity, like Spolsky and Wright. The focus of other planners and linguists is rather based on the way language policy should be undertaken and on the goals to be directed to. Das Gupta and Ferguson (1977), and Rubin (1973), for example, highlight the objectives of the activity and the needs and wants of speakers in the community.

In fact, LP differs to a certain extent from language policy in terms of execution, though a level of conformity can be attained between them. García (2015) separates the roles of either activities; 'one referring to language changes by the state or authoritative organizations, the other communicating behaviours and beliefs or attitudes toward language that shape the way that language is managed and used in society,' (p. 353). Therefore, LP is a form of ideas, studied, planned, and then put into action by the authorities in charge – mostly the government. This can be achieved once promulgating the planned change by law; i.e. language policy. Grin argues (in Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008) that language policy is a theory-based organized effort, often done at the national level to modify the linguistic environment, mostly directed by official bodies or related agents, at part of or all the society they control.

Hence, policy can occur from the too arranged formal decision planned deliberately (dictated in overt/covert official documents or decrees) to informal declarations that do not anyway look like policies. It is done in favour of selected items over others by which the policy, its goals and its practice are structured or restructured. Stevens (Liddicoat, 2007) thinks that it is not the 'straightforward enactment of a text' but rather 'a process of discursive creation in which texts come to project particular realities,' (p. 43) that may be either

confirmed or opposed during their transmission from a context to other. Language policies, according to Tollefson, Wright *et al.* (ibid.), live 'dynamic forces that find their viability and articulation in the most local of spaces: in institutions, pedagogic practices, school settings, teacher-education programmes, and disciplinary orientations.' (pp. 88–89)

To conclude, the distinction is favoured in this study, regarding LP as a means by which government and sub-government bodies plan officially their perceptions about language issues, instigated mostly by individuals for some specific ends, in exact situations and under particular conditions. 'Language policy' is rather the execution of LP; fulfilled by the government or associated institutions to execute and endorse what has been planned. It is then a matter of setting up an official plan and putting it into action. Decisions are not always written formally in official documents, but they may derive from beliefs and ideologies, or from analysing some language issues, and so the effect of policy is sometimes neither guaranteed nor reliable. Hence, apparent disparities can be found between official decrees and actual practices in different situations. From colonialism to nationalism, then to globalisation and global governance, LP journey has revealed a diversity of agendas as described here.

1.7. Diverged Paradigms, Converged Perspectives

Different models of LPP have emerged by far along with the many works that have appeared so rapidly reporting a diversity of experiences, and identifying the key elements, agents, goals and factors of LPP. Once being spread as an academic discipline in the 1960s, major interests were inclined toward regulating language issues in new emergent postcolonial states. The actions undertaken in many states in that era aimed at displacing the coloniser's language and officialising national languages. Later, ideologies have changed and LPP has been affected by parallel events such as immigration, economic growth and globalisation. Thus, after being national-oriented, LPP has been directed in response to several real world issues. Many frameworks and paradigms have been the result of the efforts of Haugen (1966), Ferguson (1968), Cooper (1989), Haarmann (1990) and others, mostly to solve language issues, each with a particular view and a private reading to concurrent conditions.

Researches about LP, as seen by Wright (2004), 'stretched along a continuum of opinion from those who believed that a decision could be taken centrally and imposed top-down through education, to those who began to wonder whether language practice could be influenced greatly at all,' (p.74). The famous early models, stated, for example, by

Hornberger (1994), are 'ideologically neutral' as characterised by Ricento (2000), descriptive in nature and refrained from dealing directly with non-linguistic (social, political etc.) dimensions. Haugen's model (1966, modified in 1983), Ferguson's theory (1968), Fishman's attitude (1968), Cooper's scheme (1989), and Haarmann's typology (1990) have provided divergent views toward LPP, with a common concern. For many scholars, such as Mansour (1993), Ricento (2003), and Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008), the main concern of these modals is based on how to construct national unity and develop effective contacts within emerging nations. Indeed, their common principle has often been to solve language problems, as they have established the basic principles and LP components and renovated the field.

This study is not a case-by-case approach to present systematically or compare theoretically the different LPP models. They are briefly presented here to clarify the main LP types and levels, and reveal the central activities, namely those identified in Haugen's model and Cooper's accounting scheme. Haugen suggested his model[12] in 1966 (modified in 1983), widely concerned as one of the most influential paradigms in the provenance of LP (see G. Ferguson, 2006; Johnson and Ricento, 2013). It was an attempt to standardise a spoken Norwegian variety after Norway's independence from Denmark. He based his study on abstract goals, distinguishing some crucial measures to develop a 'dialect' to a 'language' and a 'vernacular' to a 'standard variety'. This model is seen by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) as an 'overall framework for understanding LPLP... in reality all the stages suggested in the model may occur simultaneously in a complex reticulated structure' (p.p. 28-49).

Haugen considers 'LP as consisting of four prongs: (1) norm selection, (2) codification, (3) implementation of language functions by spread, and (4) elaboration of functions to meet language needs,' (García, 2015, p.353; Johnson and Ricento, 2013, p. 8). He approaches LP from 'societal' and 'language' feature as well as from the language's 'form' and 'function', as in figure 1.2. Fishman (1974) sees that what is referred to by Haugen as 'selection' or 'policy formulation' (p. 16) and 'codification' is for Kloss 1966 'status planning' and 'corpus planning' respectively. The two other activities, in that order, reflect the fact of acceptance of the policy, and of language modernisation and 'internationalisation' (incorporated in 1983), to what 'Neustupný adds to this quartet a fifth consideration, namely cultivation,' (ibid.).

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[12] See the model summarised in figure 2.1. in Kaplan and Baldauf (1996: 29)

Figure 1.2.   Haugen's Fourfold Matrix
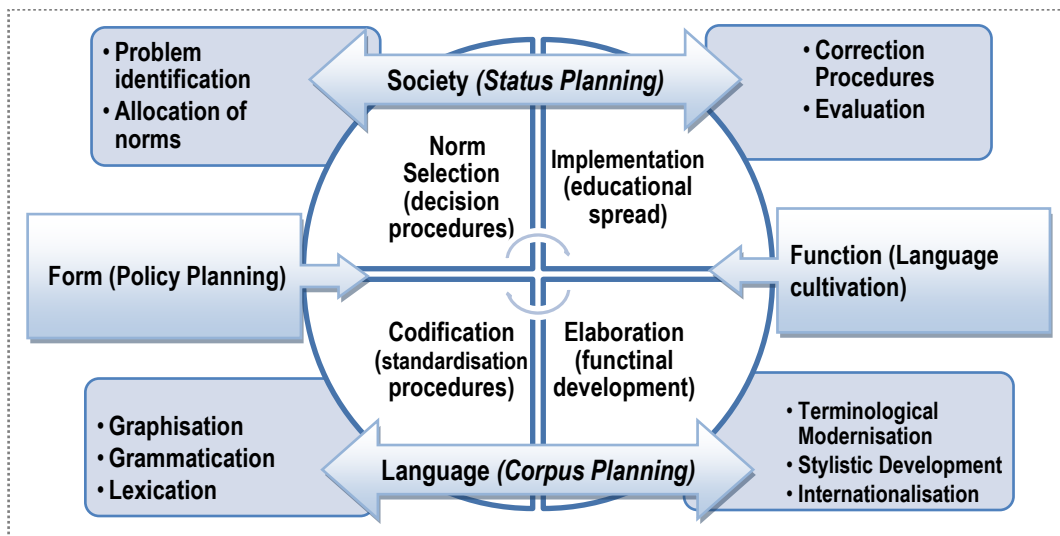
Cooper (1989) believes that Kloss (1969) based his typology on Haugen's philosophy in which 'the two language-planning foci [are] distinguished... corpus planning and status planning…view[ing] the object of status planning to be recognition by a national government of the importance or position of one language in relation to others,' (pp.31-32). The former denotes mostly the choice of the formal role and status for a language, while the latter is about standardisation, codification and graphisation. Other scholars like Fishman, Ferguson, and Das Gupta, contributed their efforts to publish 'Language Problems of Developing Nations'. Early LPP models appeared in the 1960s-1970s, each with particular conception.

Fishman views that by valuing nationalism and nationism, nations can succeed to displace the colonial language from its roles as official language and of wider communication (Ferguson, 2006). He defines LP as 'the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level' (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, p.39), considering nations and indigenous languages before any measure. He thinks that 'the need to standardise a language at a national level to meet economic and political goals should not be used as an argument to eliminate community languages which serve as the social and interpersonal fabric for many linguistic minorities,' (ibid.). Many multilingual states use their native languages as a symbol of national identity and the coloniser's as a means of wider communication or modernisation.

Algeria presents a good instance. By its independence (1962), elites and highly educated people kept using the colonial language for a wider use though great attempts were

done to displace it nationally. They were challenging[13] the colonizer by spreading Arabic following a monolingual policy, but at the same time trying to suit modernity. However, French was the only language that could help them be involved in the modern world, since they were accustomed to and mastered. By the same token, Algeria was inspired by nationalism and nationism and by Pan-Arabism, and applied a top-down monolingual policy, aiming at displacing the coloniser's language and re-officialising Arabic.

In 1989, Cooper[14] developed his scheme to network some imperative agents for a more complete structure in terms of what could be required for LP. Planning for a goals' oriented approach, he highlighted the identification of 'who plans what for whom and how,' (Cooper, 1989, p. 31 and Spolsky, 2004, p. 14). He pointed out to answer more openly 'what actors attempt to influence what behaviours of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through which decision making processes with what effect,' (Cooper, 1989, p. 98). Such a chain of questions set very strictly and chronologically by Cooper has made his position towards more support to education clear and contributed to the identification of a new dimension in language planning. Wright (2004) notes that Cooper after considering Prator's definition '… has usefully added the classification, acquisition planning' (p.42), viewing language teaching as one of the main intents of policymaking.

Subsequently, Haarmann (1990) thinks of a constant authority behind the choice of a fitting plan leading to some definite core goals in relation to language cultivation. In his 'ideal typology,' he suggests prestige planning as another LP dimension (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p.50). He thinks that the implementation of LPLP can require a variety of factors at different levels: social, individual, educational, governmental, and non-governmental: all aspects of language prestige that may affect the success of LP. Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) explain that Haarmann 'looks at who is involved in levels of prestige planning promotion (i.e. from macro to micro – official, institutional, pressure group and individual)' (p. 25).

In a few words, it is deduced that early researches in LPP are the most fruitful phase in the field's history, though theory based and nation-oriented. However, they have been

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[13]When colonised, nationalists' motive was: 'The heirs of past greatness deserve to be great again. The heirs of triumphant unity in the past must themselves be united in the present and future. The heirs of past independence cannot but be independent again' (Fishman (1972) in Kaplan and Baldauf, 2007:85).
[14] See the scheme summarised in Kaplan and Baldauf (1996: 54)

assessed by being top-down activities based on authentic needs and neglecting ideologies in shaping policy or planning. Whether a process or a theory, LPP has often been a question of criticism. Kaplan & Baldauf *et al.* see that "time and experience" are the central factors in LPP. It is worth to note that some of the traditional models are still reliable, as Haugen's and Cooper's. The models selected in this study consider the solution of language problems as the main LP goal. Thus, traditional theories have determined the most core questions required to understand LPP, identifying its major agents, types and levels of performance.

1.8. Dimensions of Language Planning

Language planning has different dimensions and requires a set of elements for its execution depending on the government and its policy. Theoretically, the four stages of LP identified in Haugen's model (1966–1983) were modified by other scholars to take the dimensions of status, corpus, acquisition and prestige planning. The two first types have been seen as the basic foci required for LP. Later, recent typologies have come out with the other two types. There are four major types of language planning and policy. They may occur mutually or separately, depending on the focus and intentions of language planners or decision-makers, and on the needs of the government and the society.

Firstly, status planning is concerned with 'norm selection' as Haugen puts it, or the choice of the convenient status for a language under specific conditions. It deals with the assignment of language functions, often regulated by the government or its sub-institutions, to adjust the language status as official, national or foreign. Wright (2004) puts it differently saying that 'Status planning concerns itself with the choice of the varieties that will become the official language(s) of the state; in particular the medium of its institutions,' (p. 43). It is often top-down, protected by law within official documents, as the constitution. Such a step is mainly done to determine a language utility, to confirm its legal status, or to promote a new language into definite domains, sometimes for specific goals.

Secondly, corpus planning is a macro activity done by governmental or related bodies to spread a language change. It can occur at a lesser scale, as it is a pursuit of what is put into action via status planning, dealing with language structure. For Haugen, these are activities of graphisation, gramatication and lexication required for codification or standardisation. However, some smaller actions can be undertaken to regularise the function or the form of a language. After making the selection of a language or a variety, the government started the

promulgation by law the introduction of the required change at the level of the language's forms and structures (orthography, lexis and grammar...). It is the allocation and the reallocation of functions of a language in a speech community, mostly concerned with the linguistic aspect, or typically as put by Tollefson, 'language planning done by governments'.

Thirdly, acquisition planning, called (language-in-education planning) by Cooper and 'Implementation' by Haugen, is a formal mechanism fulfilled as a vital step to increase the number of users of a language, if regulated in terms of form and function, mostly by spreading it through education. This requires, as put by Cooper (1989), educationists, teachers and other agents as 'a feature of the instructional enterprise at every level of organization, from the Director General of the Ministry of Education to the classroom teacher,' (p.160). Hence, it is a deliberate language spread implemented by governmental/non-governmental bodies, usually directed to instigate the planned change through education. It can take place to fuse existing groups in one community, implement multilingualism, or introduce simple changes. It is related to status and corpus planning, but mostly seen as the most effective basis of language change that could guarantee language security, spread and power.

The fourth type is prestige planning, introduced by Haarmann to distinguish activities at diverse levels and promote a positive view towards language. It deals with image and is often related to the expansion of the functional aspect of a language for definite ends, for which it can be given a status of prestige. It occurs at diverse levels and reflects the efficiency of the plan. However, it can be noted that the concept 'prestige planning' is not well spread in the literature of the field. English as a global language, for example, functions at diverse levels in the world, and is currently vital for modern life. Spolsky (2004) argues that 'English as a global language is now a factor that needs to be taken into account in its language policy by any nation state,' (p.91). Thus, prestige planning is often directed decisively to elevate the status of a language for particular reasons, and support its expansion.

To sum up, the four dimensions of LP have relatively a political aspect entailing governmental agents in their execution. The distinction between corpus and status planning, as put by Fishman (1983), is clearer in theory than in practice. Wright (2004) thinks that 'status planning promote[s] the language of the dominant group(s) to the exclusion of all others; corpus planning prescribe[s] and proscribe[s]; acquisition planning caused cultural and linguistic assimilation,' (p.13). Both are productive activities, while prestige planning is a 'receptive or value function which influences how corpus and status planning activities are

acted upon by actors and received by people,' (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, p.50). Some language issues require more than a type of LP, while only one can suffice in some situations.

1.8.1. Levels and Goals of Language Policy and Planning

It is generally agreed that LP is performed at different levels mostly the macro, micro and meso. The First one is usually performed at a national scale. It requires a careful execution regarding sociolinguistic, political and economic ends. Activities at the other two levels are often no more than a continuation of macro LP, though they are mutually linked in many cases. Kaplan & Baldauf (2003) see that 'the impact of LPP depends heavily on meso and micro level involvement and support' (p.201), but the distinction is not so visible. Although most of the ancient works have dealt with macro LP, mainly describing nation states, Kaplanet.al agree that LP operates at all the three levels as put by Baldauf (2008):

> Both policy (i.e. form) and planning (i.e. function) components need to be considered as well as whether such policy and planning will be overt or covert in terms of the way it is put into action ... leading to an increasing acceptance that LP can (and does) occur at different levels, i.e. the macro, meso and micro.(p.18)

Macro LP is carried out by agents able to promulgate a change or establish a plan at the national level to adjust the language context of a community. However, micro LP is often unplanned, as it may occur randomly along with macro LP. It is fulfilled at the level of business companies, for instance, groups, or organizations in a way that fits their needs. Baldauf and Liddicoat (2008) see that the realisation of LP product 'is probably especially true at the "micro-level" because there is less awareness of LP at this level and because such planning is ongoing partial and therefore commonplace' (p.4). Meso LP is more exact, with limited goals to fit strictly some specific needs, such as LP in a university, a private school, or a factory. It is more spread in some fields for the global, technological and economic influence, serving as a good opportunity to rectify the resulting errors after a language change.

In fact, policies usually interact in levels, as the policy of officialising a language. Meso level planning is making today an interesting issue, since globalisation is introducing great changes in the world. The other two levels also occur in different contexts responding some needs. Thus, whatever policy is, and on whichever level it is carried out, it is usually directed towards a set of definite goals, though the ends are not always similar.LPP is generally directed through a goals-oriented approach for successful policy, though not strictly

constant and often hard to achieve. Hence, Haarmann, Kaplan, Baldauf, and others agree that this – if true – may occur once a time, and that changes and reforms are done unexpectedly in many cases, often without defining reliable goals. Haarmann (in Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997) sees that if LPP is put into practice 'it is hardly possible to reach a level where all of the relations would be in balance… It is a well-known fact that the objectives of LP are often incompatible,' (p.59). LP is critical and needs to be controlled carefully.

Cooper (1989) indicates through 'For what ends' in his scheme, the value of thinking about the far-reaching goals of a plan; overt or latent, to change language-related behaviours, or to adjust non-language related behaviours for the satisfaction of interests. It is a challenging activity executed to set up compatible ends and assessed through their achievement. In fact, most LP processes are pointed toward achieving definite and exact goals. Reducing language conflicts, regaining the national identity or the value of the 'native' language are traditionally some central LP ends, as done by new emergent states, like Algeria once independent. Along with the spread of technological development and globalisation, many fields have become difficult to control, languages have been endangered, and some states have reviewed their LPP. Thus, it is not easy to make the goals compatible in diverse settings in a global world.

Every type of LPP is concerned with either to promote or prevent a language change. Status and corpus planning are tightly related in terms of performance and goals. While the former is carried out for the regulation of status, the choice of a language function for specific ends, or the solution of some issues, the latter is directed to endorse the decisions made for execution: develop, correct, or regulate the language form and/or function. However, they may be of distinct goals. Acquisition planning is aimed to respond educational needs in terms of syllabuses selection, teachers/staff training, methods and programmes assessment, etc. Prestige planning is mostly directed towards elaborating a language and its utility, to give it an image of prestige, as the case of English as a global language in contemporary era.

In the literature of the field of LPP, many goals are suggested by Nahir (1984), Annamali and Rubin (1980), Bentahila and Davies (1993), Paulson *et al.* (1993), and Eastman (1983), and others. Hornberger (in Ricento, 2006) goes to nearly thirty LPP goals, and others keep the list open, as every policy depends on its particular sociolinguistic context. It is commonly seen that the goals related to the macro level may be quite similar in some different policies. Whereas, micro and meso levels activities might be diverse for they define exact and definite goals. The most common LPP macro goals are summarised in table 1.1.:

Table 1.1.: Description of Language Policy and Planning Goals

Goal[15]	Description	Example
Language purification	Attempt to preserve the linguistic pureness of a language – Control it from external influence, or internal deviation	Japanese after WWI
Language reform	Conscious modification in some aspects of language (spelling or grammar) for adjusting and facilitating use	Turkish by K. Atatürk in 1920
Language spread	Making a language more spread (spoken/ written), by raising the number of its users (mostly through education)	French in Francophone S.
Language revival	Revitalisation and/or reinforcement of a language in risk of loss, with few or no surviving native speakers	Hebrew
Language standardisation	An attempt to raise the prestige or the status of a spoken dialect (of wider communication) to a more elevated status	Tamazight standardisation
Lexical modernisation	Involving innovations and creating or adapting new vocabulary to fit modern domains	Modernisation of Arabic
Stylistic simplification	simplification and/transformation of language systems (grammar, lexicon, style) in terms of usage	Language of documents/Law
Language maintenance	Increasing awareness to save and well defend one's native language from danger: political, social, educational...	French in Québec
Terminological unification	Incorporating new unified terminology –associated with some specific services (technology, economy...)	Social Media terminology
Interlingual communication	Supporting a language to be a means of communication for easy contact between distinct groups of speakers	English/ Arabic
Auxiliary code standardisation	standardization of marginal, auxiliary aspects of language (place names / rules of transliteration and transcription)	Sign language

There is another range of goals at micro and meso LP levels. Micro LP is aimed at solving some definite language issues, often related to macro LP. It can be directed to regulate a language problem in some institutions. It can be either under or out of control, as it can be fulfilled to solve some issues related to the educational system, such as fighting illiteracy, adjusting syllabus design, training staff/teachers, spreading a dialect of wider communication, or involving a reform at a limited scale. However, meso LP is directed to reach specific cases such as issues of language maintenance and revival. Some are proposed by Annamalai and Rubin (1980) to which Kaplan & Baldauf incorporate others, summarised in table1.2.[16].

Table 1.2.: Examples of Meso Level LPP Goals

Context	Example of the activity
Society	Social equity; minority Language access
Administration	Training and certification of officials and professionals
Legal domain	Legal provisions for use
Education	Controlling pedagogical issues; Language rights/identity; language handicap
Others	Mass communication; Inter-language translation; Training, business, law, etc.

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[15] Adapted from Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997; Thomas Ricento, 2006 and Hornberger, 2006.
[16] Adapted from Kaplan and Baldauf, (1997, p. 80)

To sum up, LPP is endeavoured to involve a set of changes at the macro, micro and/or meso level for some ends, whatever the actor is. Ranging from minor to major contexts, goals depend on the related setting, and so they vary in terms of actors, agents, components and time. Hence, it can be noticed that different factors contribute to shape LPP. This depends on whether the existing languages are indigenous, post-colonial or foreign with their formal and functional status. Moreover, globalization has brought up other perceptions, and opened up new space for decision makers and language planners to review their states' LPP in response to global needs, notably within the spread of English and languages' endangerment.

1.9. Language Planning in Multilingual States

It is worth to state initially that in societies, home to more than a language, LP is required to prevent language conflicts and arrange the language context in terms of status. It is obvious that co-existing languages have different functional and formal status. If one is formally official, the others can be either national or foreign. Thus, the language policy undertaken differs from a context to another, depending on the sociolinguistic situation and on the number of languages in question. Since many nations are originally multilingual or plurilingual, there is a need to use a common language of contact for a purpose or another. However, the more the number of co-existing languages is, the more the situation risks to be unsatisfactory or even critical, and 'there is room for a program of language planning' (op.cit).

In fact, if there are many monolingual individuals in the world, it is hard to categorize today a society as entirely monolingual, for the spread of many languages used for different purposes. Although some societies are officially monolingual – regarding their constitutions – reality tells another story. Many factors contribute to introduce at least a foreign or second language to facilitate communication with other nations. In view of that, LPP in a multilingual country plays a central role in classifying the co-exiting languages. Besides the official language, at least a dialect is spoken in several countries, either by indigenous sub-groups or by immigrants who become native or native-like throughout time. Algeria and Morocco, for example, are originally multilingual and multicultural, even though they have undergone a monolingual language policy for a long time before the last shifts.

In view of that, the number of the existing languages in one speech community helps a lot in shaping both the human characteristics and the abilities of cooperating with others. Local languages play a great role in preserving native identity, while the use of some foreign

languages, mostly international, is a central way for global attendance. So, LP is sometimes shaped by multilingualism as it can affect the multilingual situation. Multilingualism is, then, a significant factor that is to be taken into consideration in any language planning, whether the country is originally multilingual, or monolingual. Not all contexts home to more than a language are viewed sociolinguistically as multilingual, but as diglossic as well. The following selected perceptions are aimed at clarifying the difference between them.

1.9.1. Bilingual/Multilingual Language Contexts

Linguistic diversity is a common natural phenomenon. Language contact in a community results some linguistic phenomena, as multilingualism or bilingualism that are used interchangeably by some sociolinguists, but differently by others. Llamas *et al.* (2007) define bilingualism as 'the ability of a speaker or group to speak two or more languages,' (p. 206), and multilingualism as 'the ability of a speaker or group to speak three or more languages,' (p. 223). They state that some sociolinguists relate multilingualism to societies but not to individuals. Weinreich (in Chambers, 2002) introduced the notion of "bilingual speech community". Yet, many studies favour the term plurilingualism for the individual's ability to speak more than two languages.

Bilingualism is seen by Mackey as 'the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual', while for Hamers and Blanc - who favour the term '*bilinguality*' when referring to individuals - it is 'the co-occurence of two or more languages... in society,' (in El Euch, 2011, p. 001391). However, the matter is more critical than to consider if bilingualism is at the level of the society or the individual, since the coexistence of more than a language often has a direct impact on LP. Mackey (in Chambers *et al.*, 2002) views that 'The bilingual community can only be regarded as a dependent collection of individuals who have reasons for being bilingual,' (p.579). It is common that reasons vary by situations and people's needs and intentions to be bilingual, the fact that result in complex LPP in many cases.

Colonialism, immigration, wars and globalisation have contributed deeply to the emergence and spread of multilingualism, and so, many nations cannot be defined as purely monolingual. Today, people are more interested at languages, mostly for the impact of social networking through which new kinds of 'speech' communities have emerged. Many languages, such as English, French, Arabic and Spanish have become widely used as second or foreign languages, for specific ends. For El Euch, people speak daily several languages...

and hence they are potentially multilingual speakers regarding their ability to learn or speak more than two languages. Some do the same to attend global changes. Business, technological growth and socio-cultural exchange are all factors, next to some policies and ideologies that plan for boosting the spread of some languages in favour of others. In this research, both terms multilingual(ism) and bilingualism(ism) are used when necessary.

1.9.2. Diglossic Language Contexts

Diglossia is used to refer to linguistic situations where two levels of a language, or two different languages, act as a High and Low varieties or languages. The former is used in formal contexts, while the latter acts for daily communication. The term diglossia was first introduced by Marçais, who was a colonial officer in Algeria in the early 1900s. In a paper he wrote in 1930, celebrating the centenary of the French presence in Algeria, he described the coexistence of the two levels of Arabic, Classical and Dialectal, stating that the former was used by the educated while the latter was only spoken. Based on his ideology, he viewed that critical and decreed the generalisation of French, both in Algeria and in the Maghreb.

Ferguson (1959) claims that the term diglossia was modelled on the French word *"diglossie",* as there was no English equivalent, while other languages favoured 'bilingualism'. His studies mostly on Arab countries have helped him define diglossia explicitly, confirming that it is not apparently limited to any geographical area or language family. He has also stated that in some cases, more than a low variety may exist, the fact that made some name it pluriglossia. He (1959) defined diglossia as:

> a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (p. 336)

In addition, he confirmed after deep studies that diglossia can be faced in many situations, but he focussed on Arabic confirming that the 'superposed "Classical" language has remained relatively stable' (ibid. p.327). His definition has been widely used in most of the literature in sociolinguistics viewing diglossia as the existence of two distinct forms – high (H) and low (L) – that exist with clear functional separation in a socially stable situation, one

for formal use and the second for everyday contact. Some sociolinguists see that the fact of using a variety only for some formal purposes may affect negatively its resistance through time, but the use of H variety should not be restricted only to written contexts.

The fulfilment of LP in many diglossic contexts is fixed to decree the H variety as official and L variety(-ies) as national. As Ferguson (2006) puts it, by time 'resistance to the written standard, the H form, may set in, simply because it comes to be perceived as remote from everyday life, as an unwelcome artifice and as an impediment to education,' (p.212). This can occur if the H variety is solely written, like many old languages that have lost their value and prestige since considered as no more than written. A written form is very significant as it is linguistically the most systematic one. It is supposed to be to an extent, the language of education, administration, and every formal activity. In fact, LP is urgently required in diglossic and bi/multilingual contexts. However, decision makers, before any language policy, need to consider its linguistic structure, significance, spread, and formal as well as social function. Decisions upon the status are set to put every existing language, or of wider communication, into the convenient order, to prevent language conflicts and solve complex situations. It might be questionable why a language can become official.

1.9.3. Language Status

'Language status' as a concept is very significant in LP for some particular conditions. In the era of decolonisation, it was among the very central elements in nation-states. Governments did not use to care about language status in their states before feeling the rivalry from other languages through colonisation or technological invasions, mainly if targeting culture and identity. If the native language of any nation is the only functional one, it is quite natural that once another language is incorporated to the linguistic context, there is need for specifying the status of each one. Hence, the contact between the indigenous language(s) and the coloniser's, for instance, will make the notion of status a necessity, as they may challenge each other in many ways. This is also the case of contexts where multilingualism is promoted for any conditions. This signifies that specifying officially the status of each language is supposed to be a key to stability and to solve language conflicts if there come to happen.

However, considering the factors that can make a language official or national is very debatable, mainly in multilingual states. The question is how the classification of languages is done, and on what rationales a specific status is given to a language. The historical, socio-

cultural, economic, political, and sometimes religious, aspects of a nation, next to identity and ethnicity, are all factors that contribute in shaping the linguistic situation. Besides, not all the norms are concerned by policy, and so determining the right status for a language can be challenging. Higher status is normally granted to a language in regards to its value for its speakers, its social-political utility, and its educational and administrative function.

The main types that are commonly faced in almost all multilingual countries are official, national, foreign and *de facto*. The official language is practically the most functional at the macro scale in education and administration while indigenous varieties are national and used for local contacts. If the official language does not fit the context, the language of wider communication (international or sometimes the coloniser's in post-colonial countries) is the *de facto* language. In other situations, however, some languages are of a very restricted use, or endangered as explained in the studies conducted by Ethnologue and UNESCO. Following Fishman's GIDS and the EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) as illustrated in figure 1.3, Lewis and Simons (2015) label a gradual classification of language status[17], in order to measure the disruption in use of each language:

Figure 1.3: EGIDS and Language Status
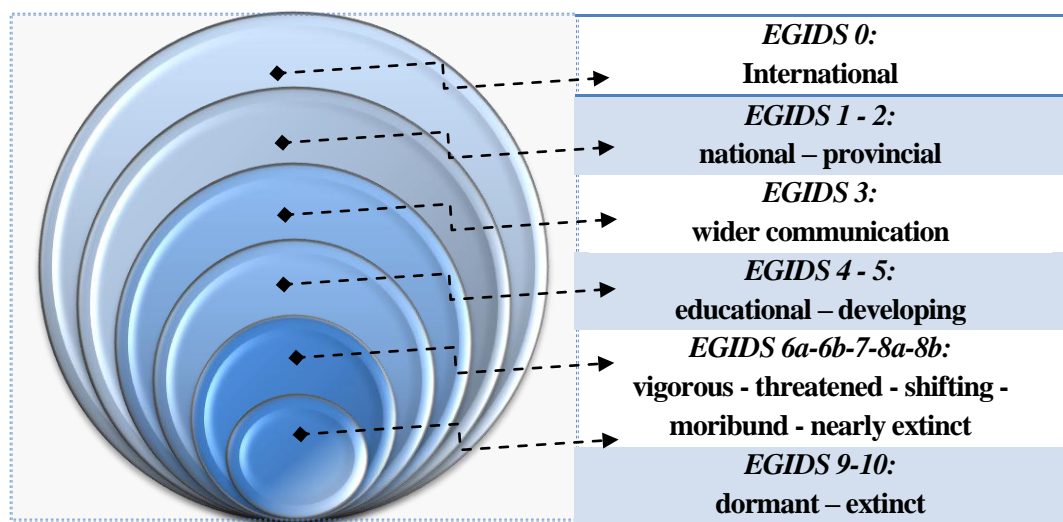
Moreover, more labels are given in other situations, like dispersed or reawakening language, in the same way to measure the status of a language in terms of endangerment or development. However, as far as status planning is concerned, Cooper (1989) states Stewart's

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[17]*www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status*- 2015/8/17 - 11:25:53 AM

(1968) functions of language, as targets of status planning in his discussion of national multilingualism as stated in the following table:

Table 1.3.: Stewart's Functions as Targets of Status Planning[18]

Status	Function
Official (O)	Legally appropriate language, or declared as appropriate, by law, for all politically and culturally representative purposes on a nationwide basis. In many cases, the O function of a language is specified constitutionally. (It can be statutory, working and symbolic)
Provincial (P)	Provincial or regional official language: in this case, the official function of the language is not nationwide, but is limited to a smaller geographic area. The tripartite division of official languages suggested for countries is appropriate for provincial or regional official languages as well.
Wider Communication (W)	A predominating language: neither the O nor the P – used as a medium of communication across language boundaries within the nation... *not* official *or provincial* but nonetheless used for important communicative functions
International (I)	Neither the O nor the P – used as a major medium of communication which is international in scope, e.g. for diplomatic relations, foreign trade, tourism, etc... linking citizens of one country with citizens of another
Capital (C)	Neither O nor P – used as a major medium of communication in the vicinity of the national capital, especially important in countries where political power, social prestige and economic activity are centred in the capital.
Group (G)	Used primarily as a medium of contact among the members of a single cultural/ethnic group (tribe, settled group of immigrants, etc).
Educational (E)	Neither the O nor the P – used as a medium of primary or secondary education, either regionally or nationally
School Subject(s)	Neither the O nor the P – is commonly taught as a subject in secondary and/or higher education (even at lower grades)
Literary (l)	Language used primarily for literary or scholarly purposes, such as the promotion of vernaculars for such purposes mostly by nationalist movements, perhaps because such development may serve to raise the national consciousness of the masses or at least of the intellectuals
Religious (r)	Language used primarily in connection with the ritual of a particular religion

In regards to the preceding table and figure, it can be noticed that deciding upon the status of a language or a variety depends on its utility in society, spread and significance *vis-à-vis* the other existing languages. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) claim:

> When a language serves only ritual functions, it is unlikely to enjoy a real revival, though it can certainly persist for quite a long time. In the multilingual community, the questions of languages in competition and language survival can be answered only in terms of the use, function and status of the various languages making up the language ecology of the community. (p. 237)

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[18]Apapted from R. Cooper (1989, p.p. 100 – 117)

However, this makes the process of LP challenging to a certain extent, mostly if languages are competing one another, in terms of indigenousness, function or spread. As Gadelli (Almahmoud, 2013) says, 'the larger the number of domains in which a language is recognised, the higher its status: government; assembly/parliament; courts; administration; education; business; media' (p.11). Hence, the status given officially to a language depends on its dominance and on the government's policy and intentions, though historical and ethnical backgrounds are other dimensions that support it with a kind of strength, but not in all cases. If the native language is a marker of national identity, the language of wider communication and the international language are also significant. In many post-colonial countries, the language of the coloniser has remained very widely functional, or even taken the official status in some situations. How LPP has functioned in post-colonial countries reflects the influence of many nations by the coloniser's language, as explained next.

1.10. LPP in Post-Colonial Countries

LPP in most post-colonial countries is identified by an extent of instability for the various shifts at the socio-political level. Before being colonised, each country used to have its particular language, culture and social characteristics, which have then submitted subsequent changes due to the contact with the invading nation. This happens in different ways for the long dominance of the coloniser's language. The fact of imposing the legal use of the colonial language for a considerable period is a strong rationale for the change in the country's LPP, mostly if banning the national language. For whatever ends, such a language contact is in most cases in favour of the coloniser's language and helps it be more rooted in the largest part of administrative, educational, and social domains. Indeed, it would be difficult to eradicate it.

That newly independent countries act out to regain their national identity is ordinary. Fishman views that valuing nationalism & nationism helps nations displace the coloniser's language from being official or of wider communication (Ferguson, 2006). History shows that there has been an immediate reaction against the coloniser. However, many states according to Wright (2004), were influenced by 'the concept of "one language, one people, one state" [which] was… particularly problematic' (p.8). It is not that simple eradicating a language that has been functional very widely for a considerable period. It has been 'the case in a number of postcolonial states, where the language of the political process and state bureaucracy has remained that of the colonial power, either in place of or alongside the national language,' (ibid, p.46). Language is not an object to be displaced in a short time: it is

a way of being. The power of the coloniser usually ensures the spread and prominence of his language in the colonised area, even after giving independence.

French, English or Spanish are still the official or co-official languages in many post-colonial countries, while they have a significant status and function as a language *de facto* in other cases. Mazrui and Mazrui, (ibid.), explain that the impact of colonial languages has been unavoidable on language and culture since they have been so widely diffused and used in science, technology or development. Thus, many people have kept using them or at least borrowing what cannot be translated. Moreover, most of the elites have been educated in colonial languages. Such reality has made the colonisers proud[19] of their realizations and ability of leaving their languages functional, and even dominating the linguistic landscape. However, this has been the case simply because there has been no other choice, as viewed by Wright:

> The adoption of English and French can be best explained as the least bad solution in the circumstances rather than by any claim that they could be politically neutral. Finding a national language from the country's own tradition that would not promote the interests of one group over the others was the ideal solution. (p.73)

Banda (2009) argues that 'it is not surprising that in the majority of cases, colonial languages have retained their official status and are the main languages of education, state functions and business in general' (p.1), for the policy of many newly independent states. He added that in spite of re-officialising native languages, colonial languages have dominated educational and official government domains. English is still the main language of education, government and business in Zambia and South Africa, for example, though regional languages have national or official status (ibid.). Bröring & Mijts (2017) see that LP is still controlled by the coloniser, since 'the colonial period left its marks, or more precise, its scars…[*and*] the concordance principle and the (colonial or idealistic?) ideas connected with this principle are the greatest obstacles for changes in LPP' (pp. 32-34). History of post-colonial countries shows that colonial languages dominate the linguistic landscape, if not shape LPP decisions. Fishman (in Kennedy, 1982) distinguished three different types of policies undertaken by post-colonial, mostly multilingual, states:

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[19]'The British press found it 'remarkable that English has not been rejected as a symbol of colonialism' (Moorhouse (1964) cited in Mazrui and Tidy 1984: 299). The French were equally self-congratulatory (Conac *et al*. 1987).(quoted by Wright, 2004, p.73)

1. If none of the indigenous languages fits the national official status, the former's colonial language is kept for such an end.

2. An indigenous language is suitable for the national official status, either by its features or by a decision from the new independent government.

3. If the existing languages are in competition, and the choice is difficult, a non-indigenous language is usually granted the national official status, keeping the major varieties as regional official languages.

In view of that, the pre-eminence of colonial languages has remained among the first elements in shaping LPP in post-colonial countries, before and after independence. For different reasons, many post-colonial states have been challenged by the use of colonial languages for some particular circumstances. New independent states have been facing the reality of supplying satisfactory life conditions for their people, rebuilding the infrastructure, modernising the country, providing contacts with the world, and regaining their power and identity. Hence, some have kept the use of the colonial language to undergo their affairs, at least. This, if accepted by some, has been opposed by many others as Wright (2004) puts it:

> Supporters claimed that using the language of the former colonial power was both neutral and provided a link with the wider world… The proposition (of using the colonial language) was anathema to those who wanted to break with the colonial past. According to many who were looking for a new beginning, the imposition of the colonial language had already inculcated a sense of inferiority. (p.72)

To sum up, three periods can be distinguished in terms of LPP in post-colonial countries: the pre-colonial, the colonial and the post-colonial eras. The first is known by less consideration to LPP, the second is marked by imposing colonial languages and banning or restricting national ones, whereas the third is characterised by the impacts of colonial policies and their role in shaping post-colonial LPP. Yet, 'the postcolonial period was the heyday of conscious LP' (ibid, p.68), for the remarkable activities and shifts in such countries. Besides, history reveals that the best official language has been the coloniser's language in some multilingual and multicultural post-colonial countries. Hence, such a choice has been backed by the former colonisers as it could provide an open door of contact and control.

1.11.   LPP in Arabic Speaking Countries

Nearly all the Arabic-speaking countries have some common features apart from language and religion. They have also followed similar monolingual LP to some degree, with

Arabic the one official language. Some of them have not been colonised by European forces such as Saudi Arabia and North Yemen, but have undergone the Islamic reign throughout different eras. The rest have witnessed some shifts at the level of LPP, mostly due to colonialism, which has left remarkable remnants on the linguistic environment. They have been influenced by Pan-Arabism and the motto of 'the Islamic Arabic '*Umma*', i.e. one united nation. Immediately after independence, they have reacted against the colonial regime by re-officialising Arabic, for regaining their national identity. Arabic is for these countries as a sacred language for its tight relation to Quran, and as a sign of culture and history.

It is commonly known that Classical Arabic (CA) and Standard Arabic (SA) are used interchangeably to a degree – even sometimes with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). In his work (1996), Kouloughli cited different levels of Arabic in terms of its function[20]. They are CA (classical or literary Arabic), MSA, Educated Spoken Arabic and Dialectal/Colloquial Arabic. More divisions have been made in other studies, but this may lead to 'the risk of having an infinite number of registers' as stated by Meiseles (in Kouloughli, 1996, p.4). In fact, every Arabic-speaking country is identified by its particular dialect, while SA is formally the official language and the common variety in the Arab World. Chapin Metz (1994) claims:

> Written Arabic is psychologically and sociologically important as the vehicle of Islam and Arab culture and as the link with other Arab countries. ... CA is the essential base of written Arabic and formal speech throughout the Arab world. It is the vehicle of a vast religious, scientific, historical, and literary heritage. Arabic scholars or individuals with a good classical education from any country can converse with one another. (pp. 86 – 87)

In view of that, Arabic-speaking countries present a situation of diglossia for the coexistence of both SA as a High variety, and dialectal Arabic (DA) as a Low variety. That they have lived nearly similar conditions seems natural, for their common socio-historical, religious and linguistic features. They have followed Arabisation policy. In North Africa, French is still functional as a language of wider communication and prestige. In the Middle East, English has gained such a situation after years of dominance as a colonial language, and then as a global language. They live a situation of bi/multilingualism, for the pre-eminence of colonial languages along with Arabic and its varieties, other indigenous tongues such as Berber dialects in North African countries and Kurdish in Iraq or Syria. This has led to the

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[20]He discussed and compared Blanc (1960), Badawi (1985), Meiseles (1980) and Salib (1979).

wide spread of foreign languages in and the use of Latin scripts and foreign words in daily written interaction, mostly via means of social media.

Globalisation has influenced the linguistic landscape of the Arab World mainly when acquiring a foreign language has become very accessible. The Arab Spring has also left its traces on the linguistic situation due to the fast intra-regional spread it has reached. Since then, it is generally noticed that there is a remarkable spread of Arabic through Satellite channels, media and the Press. Means of social media have also played a key role in such change as they relate Arab people from different regions and from all categories. Millions of groups have been created, relating Arabs in the world, mostly in the Arabic-speaking countries, to share and exchange ideas in all domains, using SA or DA in reference to the register.

Although DA is the most dominant language in terms of oral interaction in education, administrations, cinema, and daily life, SA is the official language par excellence – mostly functional at the level of written interaction. SA is also used in formal oral interaction in some particular official registers. Moreover, many local and international conferences are done Arabic all over the Arabic-speaking countries, such as the International Symposium of '*Her Majesty the Arabic Language*'[21] organised every year by academies and Higher Councils of Arabic in association with the International Council of the Arabic Language (ICAL). Besides, Arabic was adopted the sixth official language of the UNESCO on December 18, 1973, which was designed the World Arabic Language Day. Since 2012, the day is celebrated yearly all around the Arab World, and even by Arab institutions in some foreign countries. A celebration held at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris in December 2018, focused on Arabic and Youth as the central theme. Organised in cooperation with the Permanent Delegation of Saudi Arabia and the Sultan Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud Foundation, issues of Arabic and identity, social media and arts were explored. Ms Audrey Azoulay, the Director-General of the UNESCO, published a message about Arabic[22], (December 2018), in which she said:

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[21] This simposium is organised every year in Spring, in one of the Arabic-speaking countries, but mostly in Dubai. Thousands of decisions makers, teachers, scholars, researchers and students participate discussing different linguistic issues: like the future of Arabic, the spread of Arabic via means of social media, ways to develop Arabic and elaborate its use in the World, ways of teaching Arabic to foreigners, etc. It is named:–المؤتمر الدولي لصاحبة الجلالة اللغة العربية (more details on www.kaica.org.sa)

[22]Retrieved from https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000366295 (22/02/2019 at 12:46) - A copy of the original English version of the whole message is provided in Appendix I

> World Arabic Language Day is an opportunity to celebrate the great contribution to human civilization, notably through its unique arts, architecture, calligraphy and literature. The language has also been a conduit, channelling knowledge in science, astronomy, mathematics, philosophy and history. (para.2)

Arabic is among the pillars of the World's cultural diversity and as one of the most widely spread spoken languages, used by more than 450 million people, at least in some formal practical affairs as the official language. It is officially one of the international languages of more than 20 UNESCO organisations. It is gaining gradually such a prestige in some countries that even famous people, ministers and diplomats are proud of learning and speaking it. A recent example is Karin Kneissl, Austria's Minister for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs surprised the audience by opening her speech in Arabic for the United Nations General Assembly in September 29th, 2018, highlighting the significance of this language and its value as one of the global languages, and the six top languages of the UN. Many other diplomats have learnt it either for prestige, or for particular reasons.

The number of online courses of TAFL and TASL (Teaching Arabic as a Foreign or a Second Language) is increasing ever more[23]. SA and its varieties are today the languages of many Arabic satellites widely followed by many categories of all ages. It is also worth to mention that many of the Arabic countries have become more touristic, and that thousands of people convert to Islam every year. Both facts have invited people to learn Arabic, either to discover the Arabic culture and language, or to understand Quran and practice Islamic rules. Media and the Press have also contributed in the spread of Arabic to some extent. Observing both the official and the functional use of Arabic can draw an image of the multiplicity of dialects, or accents, in accordance with the wide use of SA at the formal level, mostly written.

Arabic plays a central role in representing a common Arabic identity regardless of differences, for it is tightly associated to Islam. Thus, it is stated as the official and/or national language in almost all the constitutions of Arabic countries. Yet, despite all the efforts done by Higher Councils of Arabic and by some Arabic policies to preserve and elaborate SA, the remarkable attendance of dialects in formal situations, notably official discourses, Media and the Press is critical. Such truth has driven many sociolinguists and decision makers to think of standardising dialects and raising their status to official, while some see that this might be a

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[23] More than 64 websites provide TAFL and TASL courses, like:www.transparent.com/learn-arabic/www.naturalarabic.comwww.arabiconline.euwww.madinaharabic.comwww.arabicpod.net/

waste of time and money since SA is already the common language in the Arab World at the formal scale.

In view of that, careful LP is required in Arabic-speaking countries, since it is a matter of enriching the linguistic landscape and promoting more multilingualism, it is rather setting up goals to protect Arabic and sustain its use in different fields. In fact, ideologies viewing that DA is separate from SA have made matters worse than ever. Spoken varieties are more exposed to change than standard languages, for they are variable and can be influenced by the contact with any foreign language. Hence, they have become loaded with foreign words from both colonial and global languages, and experts with the help of many governmental and sub-governmental institutions, notably Higher Councils of the Arabic Language are trying today to raise more awareness about the worth of developing the use of SA.

Many institutions have been founded to encourage Arabisation and translation, while a number of books, magazines and periodicals about LPP in the Arab World have appeared. Organisations like ALESCO (the Arab League Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) and ISESCO (Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), and centres, notably King Abdullah International Centre for the Arabic Language (KAICAL) are among the most active world's institutions that care about authentic language issues in Arabic-speaking countries and the future of their LP. Under the support of Sheikh Mohamed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum[24], the ICAL (International Council of the Arabic Language), in cooperation with Arab Academies, International and Arab Organisations organise every year in Dubai an international conference dealing with different issues about Arabic.

In reality, considerable efforts have been done by academies of Arabic for more development and spread of the appropriate use of Arabic in literary, scientific and technical fields. Moreover, it is stated in the constitutions of countries, like Algeria, Morocco, Libya and the rest, that Arabic is the official language, but foreign languages and dialects are widely spread in formal contexts. Besides the large use of Dialectal Arabic for daily contact, colonial languages are also functional in many domains, such as French and English in the MENA (Middle Eastern and North African countries). Strict laws and hard measures have been set to

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[24]His Highness, Sheikh Mohamed bin Rashid Al Maktoum Vice President and Prime Minister of the UAE and Ruler of Dubai

punish any use of foreign languages in official documents, but not severely followed. Although efforts are spent to translate scientific and technical fields, SA is still limited to written documents in some Arabic-speaking countries while global – and colonial – languages occupy a considerable space in economic and industrial fields.

From the technological-scientific revolution to immigration to globalisation, the promotion of multilingualism for some specific purposes is widening the gap between formal regulations, which sometimes lack strict performance, and the authentic linguistic situations, which reveal the expansion of dialects and foreign languages in Media, the Press and in official public discourses to a certain extent. For that, many Arab governments have sustained officially the use of the Arabic language by decree. Jordan, Qatar, Tunisia, Morocco, and some other countries have reinforced the generalisation of Arabisation. Financial penalties have been imposed by strict laws for any official use of another language than Arabic, even in public places in some countries. Some samples are illustrated in the following table[25]:

Table 1.4: Law of Generalisation and Preservation of Arabic – Some Samples

Country	Law	Date	Objective	Penalty
Algeria	**N.91-05** (art.1 to art. 28)	16/01/1991	**Generalisation of Arabic Ban of foreign languages**, but for strict need.	From **1.000** to **100.000 DA** in reference to the law violation (art. 29 to art. 35)
Qatar	**N. 7- 19** (art.1 to art. 10)	14/01/2019	**Preservation** of Arabic by **generalizing** its use	50.000 QR for any deliberate violation of this law (art.11- art.12)
Jordan	**N. 35-15** (art.1 to art. 14)	2015	**Preservation** of Arabic by **generalizing** its use	From 1.000 to 3.000 DJ for this law violation (art. 15)

Consequently, the spread of some foreign languages *vis-à-vis* the need of attending globalisation and economic growth have led many Arab States to proclaim when necessary a law to reinforce the use of Arabic, as if to highlight decrees associated with its preservation. This can reveal that all the Arabic-speaking countries live to a certain extent some linguistic shift, and that a degree of awareness about the danger faced by Arabic due to the pre-eminence of global and colonial languages in economy and business, in addition to the ideologisation of local dialects, regardless to Berber dialects in the Maghreb countries. 'Pro francophonie' are still occupying high posts in the Maghreb countries in many domains, the fact that has reinforced the existence and the use of French in economy, industry, health, higher education and even in public discourses.

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[25]Sample copies of the decrees illustrated in the table are provided in Appendix J

In the Middle East, though viewed to be more successful in their language policy, notably of Arabisation, English and/or colonial languages are so widely used that they are dominating many fields. This has led to the emergence of Englishised and Frenchified Arabics, i.e. a mixture of Arabic and English or French in both speaking and writing. In contrast, the ideology of dissimilarity has grown up lately, making a gap between Arab nations and bringing up the new conception of 'Saoudianisation', 'Egyptianisation', and 'Algerianisation' and so on, characterising every nation with regional linguistic and cultural features. This has led some movements to call for the standardisation of regional dialects to be used as a medium of instruction mainly in Morocco and Algeria, backing the idea that SA is a foreign language and should be replaced by national dialects. As a reaction, the idea is still rejected academically for being refused at the macro scale.

To sum up, MENA countries follow a monolingual LPP with Arabic the official and national language except Morocco and Algeria that have shifted to state bilingualism after officialising Tamazight in 2011 and 2016 respectively. In most of them, colonial languages and English are used, with different status. Regional dialects are no more restricted to arts and cinema, but have become more spread in Media, the Press and social media. However, some of them have ideologised their language policies while others have not tried to prevent the negative impact of globalisation and technological growth on their native languages and cultures. Hence, on the steps of Japan, Korea, China, Turkey, and Iran which have preserved their native languages and support their use in all fields, Arabic-speaking countries can achieve global attendance, preserve their language and develop it.

1.12. Globalisation and Language Planning

Globalisation is not easily described from a LP perspective without stressing its multidisciplinary, or interrelated dimensions. Still, this cannot be easily covered here, and the focus is put particularly on how globalisation affects language policies. It is widely agreed that it has caused, as a process, a quick change in the world and dominated a central position in every academic sphere to become the interest of many scholars since the 1950s. It is also known that globalisation as a concept is used mostly to refer to a number of political and economic phenomena that have led to the spread of international markets and worldwide interconnection via information technology. The main question is how globalisation as a world economic order affects languages and the future of global and local LP. This requires brief interpretations of the concept from different angles.

1.12.1. Globalisation: a Diversity of Readings

It is worth to note that agreeing upon one common definition of globalisation seems mystifying, since it is not yet categorised exclusively within one particular field. 'Globalisation' is seen as the opening of worldwide borders, boosting the increase of the flow of trade and funds, global contacts, and migration. In fact, economy, business, peoples, languages, identities and cultures are all affected, and policies in accordance, for the world radical changes on the one hand, and the rapid growth of nations' relations on the other. Globalisation has always been viewed from distinct angles. N. Fairclough (2006) in his four-stream classification within its 'ever-growing academic literature':

> The objectivist position treats globalisation as simply objective fact... The rhetoricist position focuses on how various discourses of globalisation are used for instance by politicians to persuade publics to accept certain policies. The ideologist position focuses upon how particular discourses of globalisation systematically contribute to the legitimation of a particular global order... Finally, the social constructivist position recognizes the socially constructed character of social life in general and forms of globalisation in particular, and sees discourse as potentially having significant causal effects in processes of social construction. (p.12)

In fact, a clear exact understanding of globalisation is not easy, since it is combined with diverse fields. It can be interpreted in accordance to some ideologies, in response to specific needs, or in relation to time or even to definite conditions. Generally, 'Academic commentators… observe that, whatever globalisation is, it isn't an altogether new phenomenon,' as put by Coupland (2010, p.1) who speaks about 'the end of globalisation' in his book, while some others work on its future and its impact on the world system. An extent of similarity can be touched between definitions associating globalisation to business and economy, while a variety of views can be found within its literature. Every scholar, with a personal reading, draws an image about globalisation and its dimensions.

Every era is marked by a kind of global economic, political or military control as a stamp of a civilisation. Kumaravadivelu (in Al Hosni, 2015) defines globalisation as a 'slippery term which carries different meanings to different people at different times' (p.299). It is the key introducing many changes and providing strong connections between different poles in the world. As a term, it has become highly prominent, even unavoidable in some fields, for the great global changes it represents, as seen by Fairclough (2006) and others, while for Tomlinson, it is uniting standard practices and shaping cultural, social and political

practices for the wide-reaching links it provides. It is rather an image portraying that people are controlled and guided. Tomlinson (1999) states that:

> Globalisation is a complex process because it involves rapid social change that is occurring simultaneously across a number of dimensions – in the world economy, in politics, in communications, in the physical environment and in culture – and each of these transformations interacts with the others. So, it's a complicated process to grasp in its entirety…By this, I mean that globalisation refers to the rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependencies that characterize modern social life. (pp. 1-2)

Between the pros and cons, most theories view globalisation as an economic and political activity with specific impacts on socio-cultural features. Jameson, Robertson and others believe that it is multidimensional and does not stem from a specific field. Jameson, for instance, views globalisation as nothing new, but the second face of post-modernity, linked to the world market and degrees of capitalism. He (1998) thinks that it 'is an intrinsic feature... which we now largely tend, whether we like it or not, to associate with that thing called post-modernity.' (p.435). Bourdieu (1998) does not believe in the existence of such a global process, yet, he describes globalisation as a 'myth in the strong sense of the word, a powerful discourse, an *idée force*, an idea which has social force, which obtains belief. It is the main weapon in the battles against the gains of the welfare state,' (p.34). In fact, globalisation is often seen as a civilizing mission. This is strongly argued by Mignolo (1998) who claims that it is 'a civilizing process,' (p.32), and the brightness that surrounds it is a pretext to hide its reality of victimizing, controlling, and dominating functions. As seen by Blommaert, it has turned the world to a network of villages – each one regenerating autonomously its own policy, but despite its impacts, 'the local is quite *resilient*'. He (2010) claims that:

> Globalisation is something that has winners as well as losers, a top as well as a bottom, and centres as well as peripheries. This, I believe, is essential: part of the shift we need to make is also a shift away from a metropolitan perspective on globalisation , stressing the uniformity of such processes, towards a perspective that does justice to 'vernacular globalisation ', to the myriad ways in which global processes enter local conditions ... and become a localized reality. (p.197)

Coupland and Mufwene focus on aspects of Westernization, Americanization and Mc. Donaldization. Coupland (2010) thinks that such a notion is common and globalisation is often viewed as 'latter-day imperialist hegemony,' (p.1). Besides, the West is seen as the major source of exports, though European and Chinese products are highly spread. This has been shaped as an imperial policy monopolizing the world and imposing the same system. It

is enough for Jameson (1998) 'to think of all the people around the world who watch exported North American TV programs to realize that this cultural intervention is deeper than anything known in earlier forms of colonisation or imperialism, or simple tourism,'(p.437). Thus, socio-cultural boundaries are endangered undoubtedly for the large exposure to the global system. Hence, global socio-economic and political contacts influence languages and cultures.

Today, fast technological modernisation and the need of integration in global economy have increased the impacts of globalisation on life dimensions. It is frequently faced in the literature of globalisation that the world has shrunk very quickly to a 'small village' due to global proximity, connectivity, and the wide electronic interdependence. In fact, nations have become closely linked via communication and information technology, and hence, globalisation has become a power bridging all the gaps, linking nations very fast, governing policies and manipulating ideologies. McGrew (Leong and Berry, 2010) believes that:

> Globalisation refers to the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-states (and by implication the societies) which make up the modern world system. It defines a *process* through which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe. Nowadays, goods, capital, people, knowledge, images, communications, crime, pollutants, drugs, fashions, and beliefs all readily flow across territorial boundaries. Transnational networks, social movements and relationships are extensive in virtually all areas of human activity from the academic to the sexual. (pp.44-45)

It is significant to believe that the nature of whatever type of interconnectedness between people leads absolutely to the influence of one by the other. This is seen as a human feature. Thus, the local can be moderated since it is '*resilient*', and an extent of the global can be influenced mechanically. It is, then, a complicated phenomenon since it is not only a process of importing or exporting goods and exchanging business, but actually, it is also the import and the export of culture and many human features. So, such contact has emerged the conception of the global society, community, or village. Yet, the question is if this indicates homogeneity and equality within today's economic and political world order.

1.12.2. Dimensions of the Global Society

Since man's existence, aspects of diversity, inferiority and superiority have existed as realities coping to build such a myriad of people, each with its particular culture, physical features, customs, language and so forth. The term globe has always been used to refer to

Earth in spite of all synchronic and diachronic variations. However, it is more significant today because of modern technology and fast interconnectedness. Hence, ethnic, cultural and geographical lines are not as counted as lines distinguishing populations due to globalisation, which imposes the integration of international economies and the attendance to global shifts. It seems like a commitment to follow global governance and all that entails.

Traces of many civilizations are still engraved in history, retelling a story of a different globalisation. It is worth to note that great parts of the world have been ruled by empires like the Pharaohs, the Romans, the Moslems, and others. However, the term global society has emerged along with the conception of globalisation. It has often been associated with the sense of a general social order gathering the whole world, though authenticity reports a lack of homogeneity and equality. In fact, global economic, political and cultural relations are not new, but today's fast interconnectedness is more visible, massive and pervasive. Such linkage is unveiling reality, exposing fashion, portraying cultures, and inviting to discover more through a simple click. O'Byrne (2003) explains:

> Global society, bound together by a global sense of belonging, suggests a form of cultural homogenisation, as well as an assumption of rational action. It overlooks the powers of political decision-making that would be required in order to clarify the rules based on the moral consensus, and to maintain order in such a society. It thus overlooks the power exercised by dominant people, bodies or nations to influence these 'rules'. It relies upon an idealistic – almost psychological – perspective on human morality, and assumes that conflict between cultures would be subordinate to a 'higher consciousness' of humanity. (p.116)

The world has become a sort of a single society sharing common transformations and facing widespread global socio-economic and political crises despite cultural, linguistic and religious diversity. Therefore, being integrated in this global – but contradicting – social order is challenging to nations for many dimensions, notably language and culture. The global growth of trans-national economic and political relations for the new world order, have either boosted up or obstructed social and cultural integration. While some countries are attached to their local languages and cultures, others are affected. It has become evident that nearly all the world is dominated by a global economic system dictating the necessity to rely on.

Many countries rely on the International Market to get necessary products, form the simplest daily needs to the most complex technological devices, including fashion, media and

entertainment. However, it is very logical that it is not simply a matter of exchanging trade, but it is a planned system in response to some particular economies in favour of others. This influences to an extent the language and culture of both nations that imports and those that export. This is mandatory and very natural. The world is today so open and connected than ever before. Art, music, films, web sources, means of social media, and the like are all ways that transfer around the world different cultures and make people share and exchange ways of thinking, lifestyles, beliefs and so forth, even enjoying that and expanding it to a larger extent.

Although such fact is rejected by some, it can be sustained by the presence and the emergence of many World organizations and bodies that are building gradually a kind of a global policy. The United Nations, for instance, has been controlling, and sometimes conducting, world affairs since its foundation. Many other world bodies are also deeply devoted to support and manage different world functionalities, making a global society to a certain extent. Some can be stated for illustration, like the WHO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the UNICEF, the UNESCO[26], the World Trade Organisation, and many World languages and cultural organizations. In fact, globalisation cannot be interpreted as a pure economic model that is directed simply to give more than to take. Unfortunately, it is a tool at the hands of powerful countries, to the fore, to exploit the wealth of others under the umbrella of unity and homogeneity, as stated in Mufwene (2010):

> The players or partners involved in the relevant world-wide networks of interconnectedness and interdependence do not hold equal economic powers; it is the more powerful who control which populations and commodities (including languages) are transported more freely, and in which directions. To the eyes of many, globalisation is no more than Mc.Donaldization and Americanization (largely through the world-wide diffusion of Hollywood movies); and the spread of English is no less than a part of this trend. (p.31)

In fact, the global economic power, supposed to lead the world order and supply worldwide interconnectedness and interdependence, is introducing great changes at all levels. Such a process is imposing global attendance and cultural integration despite its direct linkage to trade and economy. Hence, many argue that this is a two-edged sword, leaving deep negative and positive changes. It is stated in many studies that if globalisation is the key to future economy and balanced opportunities in some countries, it also increases inequality and

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[26] Famous organisations are abbreviated here: WHO (World Health Organisation), UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation)

poverty in others, and affects their cultures. The influence of globalisation is overtly in all ways, but mostly making the contact between people mandatory, and so, enhancing the spread of many world languages as lingua francas for local and global affairs.

1.13.   Globalisation and Promoting World Languages

People's nature entails diversity producing a colourful image of multiculturalism and multilingualism, and history is rather the first witness that circumstances can make a global language. Latin is an ancient sample of a global language (Crystal, 2003). Arabic, as well, has lived an era of global spread along with the expansion of Islam, whereas today, globalisation is the main rationale behind both multilingualism and the spread of English as a global language. Hence, globalisation is 'growing multidirectional *flows* of people, objects, places, and information as well as the *structures* they encounter and create,' (Ritzer & Atalay, 2010, p.1). However, the term flow does not mean a *'one-direction'* stream, or a linear process as. It is as 'a process of easternisation as of westernization, as well as of many interstitial influences'[27], economic, financial, cultural and linguistic too. Hence, a lingua franca is highly required as states Crystal (2003):

> I believe in the fundamental value of multilingualism, as an amazing world resource which presents us with different perspectives and insights, and thus enables us to reach a more profound understanding of the nature of the human mind and spirit. In my ideal world, everyone would be at least bi-lingual... I believe in the fundamental value of a common language, as an amazing world resource which presents us with unprecedented possibilities form mutual understanding, and thus enables us to find fresh opportunities for international cooperation. In my ideal world, everyone would have fluent command of a single world language. (p.xiii)

Many authors see that it is as worth preserving one's native language and to master an international one that provides access to the 'global village', as the former is an emblem of identity, whereas the latter is a symbol of modernisation and global attendance. That a language is not spoken by its nation is very problematic, for it is through language that the general attribute of society is transmitted through time. Monique Couralier, the Editor-in-chief of UNESCO (2008), in a publication about 'Languages, between heritage and development' in an issue of *'MUSEUM International'*, focussed on the value of languages, and claimed that

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[27] M. Hardt and A. Negri interviewed by N. Brown and I. Szeman (in Ritzer & Atalay, 2010, p. 317)

'there can be no history without transmission from one generation to the next. The continuing existence or not of a language depends upon this 'passing of the baton.' (p.6)

In fact, sociolinguists and world organisations such as UNESCO agree that many indigenous languages are endangered today, while others are more promoted and internationalised. Hence, global language change, whether positive or negative, is as evident as the fact that 'globalisation' is not itself the responsible agent supporting some languages and endangering others, but it is rather linked to political and economic factors for specific ends, though people have the habit to blame it and not seek for the rationale behind any change. Blommaert (2010) views that the elites use 'the new communication technologies that offer shortcuts to globalisation... in the pursuit of power and opportunities – a pursuit which does affect the lives of the 'un-globalised' citizens,' (p.11). The new global economic and political order, though seemingly targeting unity in one small village, is identified as the main cause of disproportion and dissimilarity. Hobsbawm (ibid.) explains that:

> The currently fashionable free-market globalisation has brought about a dramatic growth in economic and social inequalities both within states and internationally. There is no sign that this polarization is not continuing within countries, in spite of a general diminution of extreme poverty. (p.11)

The flow of globalisation dimensions, like modern technology, social media and the Internet, has left a great impact on people and their languages. In fact, aspects of diversity and inequality among indigenous and global languages, mostly of wider spread, have never been as clear as in today's world. People are so connected that the dominance of a lingua franca has become highly possible. While some languages are required for economic, political or cultural contacts, other languages are very restricted to their exact small area for daily contact; yet, commonly used with the incorporation of foreign words. It is significant confessing the large circulation of new varieties at the level of social media, mainly in written texts. Words are abbreviated – or rather shortened – into some sorts of symbols and clusters of letters, foreign terms are borrowed, and codes are very often mixed. According to Benrabah (2013):

> In the spheres of language and culture, the advent of globalisation and new Information and Communication Technologies ... has offered young people in particular the possibility to integrate the local and the global ... '*glocalization*'.... [*T*]he spoken and written forms of new generations living in a globalised world with the proliferation of communications technology express flexibility and adaptability. The youth pick and mix linguistic forms available to them in their immediate environment or via new technology and the virtual world (internet)... intermingle 'fragments, bits and pieces from here and there. (p. 17)

In fact, the opening to the world does not only expose youth, but also children, to the risk of changing their language, adopting foreign words, or adapting new behaviour. Indeed, the language and culture of all people who have access to the virtual world can be affected, at least by adopting new notions. It has been noticed that the young today show more ability to speak foreign languages (Korean, Turkish, Spanish or Chinese), and people of different ages attend private language schools for prestige, immigration or other ends. Crystal (2003) claims that 'in modern times Swahili, Arabic, Spanish, French, English, Hindi, Portuguese and several other languages have developed a major international role as a lingua franca, in limited areas of the world,' (p.12). Globalisation has, then, promoted world languages and opened close nations to global economy, trade, education, etc, to respond their needs.

In brief, globalisation has supported all aspects of the 'global society' for some economic, political and cultural ends, and promoted global languages. Multilingualism and multiculturalism are endorsed naturally and purposefully –either for the authentic and virtual language contact, or for planned policies in some particular contexts. Thus, many states have faced the necessity of reviewing and regulating their LPP, mostly to spread awareness about such facts, and teach people the ability to accept other cultures and learn at least a wide spread foreign language. This occurs where indigenous languages are endangered or where a global language is dominant or required. However, none of the global languages has achieved the status English has in business, education, technology, the Internet and in other fields.

1.13.1. English: the Global Language

Since the emergence of globalisation, the world's leading economic powers have fortified economy using free trade, on behalf of the exchange of both genuine products and cultural assets all over the world. Indeed, the export/import of diverse cinematic products and the extensive trade of media and the Press have been among the widest gates to global contact, and hence, the most influential forces shaping lifestyles, ideologies, behaviours and languages. Songs, cinema and media have highly affected individuals and social relations through the hyper-exploitation of the Internet. The spread of social media has also played a great role in all that. However, this has been most often in favour of the dominance and the spread of English as a global lingua franca, and as the language of the leading powers. The world's 'current situation is without precedent,' as seen by Crystal (2000):

> The world has never had so many people in it, globalisation processes have never been so marked; communication and transport technologies have never been so omnipresent; there has never been so much language contact; and no language has ever exercised so much international influence as English. (p.70)

Since the 1950s, various factors have been supporting English and spreading it in the world. Educational programs, TV and radio channels, advertising, signs, the press and the Internet are all fields where English as a lingua franca is very common. Actually, no country has designed as much funds to spread its language as done by English-speaking countries. Their efforts have not been limited only to the global spread of English, through free teaching programs, such as BBC learning English. Any advance in economy, technology, sciences or in other fields is definitely expanded to reach other countries. English is also favoured as it is easy. Translations from/to English have also been a good step that has guaranteed it with a unique worldwide position, not yet achieved by any of its concomitant languages.

In fact, the spread of English language and culture has been created gradually through the efforts done by the leading power to portray a figure of triumph, loyalty, justice, and success. 'Strong America' and 'Global English', as notions, have been widely absorbed by developing countries involved in the process of globalisation. Thus, English is the global *lingua franca par excellence*, linking the West to the world and gaining the status of the language of communication in political, economic, cultural, technical, scientific, and other fields. English has accessed the linguistic landscape of many countries, as it is *defacto* the language of business and of wider communication. De Swaan (Coupland, 2010) claims that:

> If an Arab and a Chinese, or a Spaniard and a Japanese, meet, they will almost certainly make themselves understood in one and the same language – one that connects the supercentral languages with one another and therefore constitutes the pivot of the world language system. This 'hypercentral' language, which holds together the entire constellation, is, of course, English, in the hub of the linguistic galaxy– like a black hole devouring all languages that come within its reach. (p.57)

In fact, rapid global technological shifts have led new stances towards economy, LP, politics, social relations and life styles, while social networking have revealed several facets of the world and of global policy. Hence, the effect of inter/intra-connectedness and the need to cope with worldwide aspects have imposed a set of changes at the level of local and global LPP. Hence, Spolsky (2004) thinks that 'English as a global language is now a factor that needs to be taken into account in its language policy by any nation state,' (p.91).Thus, many states have reviewed their LP from global perspective and given a formal status to English.

Crystal(2003)argues that 'The role of an official language is today best illustrated by English, which now has some kind of special status in over seventy countries, such as Ghana, Nigeria, India, Singapore and Vanuatu… Rwanda gave English official status in 1996.' (p.4)

Accordingly, the notion of English as the global lingua franca par excellence has become culturally present across time and space, and highly adapted by people for its worldwide value. The position it has gained has endowed it with such a magnitude that many states have supported its teaching as a first, second or a foreign language. McKenzi, (2010) reports this text from the proposal of the Japanese Ministry of Education to support English:

> English has played a central role as the common international language in linking people who have different mother tongues. For children living in the 21st century, it is essential for them to acquire communication abilities in English... *[which]*are important in terms of linking our country with the rest of the world, obtaining the world's understanding and trust, enhancing our international presence and further developing our nation. (p.9)

Actually, if Japan has taken measures to spread awareness about the status of English and implement some reforms, others have given a formal status to English in their LP. However, this is logically reversed and the more English is spoken, the more English varieties and accents grow. This interlingual influence can be bipolar but incompatible too. It is usually said that the strongest affects the most, and English is stamped by being so, for its global position and prominence, but this does not mean that it is not affected by its contact with other languages. African and Asian English varieties are good examples that show a systematic change: phonological, lexical, and grammatical or others. In one of his communications for the British Council in Serbia, D. Crystal (2013) claims that there are 'World Englishes' because English is influenced by the accents of the people who use it around the world.

In fact, code switching and language borrowing are aspects of language contact faced in any bilingual context. English words are often incorporated to the language of the nations who use it as a first, second or foreign language. Therefore, in the last decades, and as a result of mixing English with other languages, terms like 'Chinglish', 'Frenglish', 'Arabish' have emerged. This has led to the expansion of wrong translations due to transliteration, and incorrect grammatical usage in different contexts for formal and informal purposes. Since then, it is easily expected to see strange – and even funny – expressions in restaurants' menus,

streets' and shops signs, in pamphlets and in instructions of different products. Expressions[28] like '*Delicious roasted husband*', '*Pregnant bags*', '*Hand grenade*', '*Deformed Man Lavatory*' and others are very often seen in countries where English is a second or foreign language, mostly when there is a lack of control to such practices.

Another aspect of the support of globalisation to English is its use for worldwide multiple economic, political, and social interactions. Since goods' import/export, transnational relations, information technology, fashion, and cultural exchange are steps of transformation, bringing nations closer to each other, and making them know the world. While this is a positive shift for some, others view it a one-way negative impact. Coupland (2010) views that global cities are more linked while 'world-wide globalisation is simply a geographically expanded version of glocalization' (p.32), not only political or economic but in terms of other dimensions. Hence, the impact of globalisation and of English on languages is said to be a new face of capitalism or imperialism, as seen by Skuttnabb-Kangas and Philipson (ibid.):

> English can be seen as the *capitalist neo-imperial language* that serves the interests of the corporate world and of the governments it influences... This dovetails with the language being activated through *molecular processes of linguistic capital accumulation in space and time*, in a dialectic process at the intersection of economics, politics, and discourses. So far as linguistic neo-imperialism is concerned, the 'political mode of argumentation' refers to decision-making, language policy, and planning, whereas the 'economic mode of argumentation' refers to the working through of such decisions at all levels, to the implementation of LP decisions, to the actual use of English in myriad contexts.(p.82)

If globalisation is a multidirectional flow, other languages are expanded by number of speakers, such as Chinese, Hindi, Arabic, Spanish, and French. De Swaan (ibid.) views that 'Each supercentral language connects the speakers of a cluster of central languages...*la Francophonie* consists in the language groups that communicate through French as their supercentral language,' (p.57). Mandarin, Spanish and Hindi have a great number of speakers, while Arabic is among the top-ten world languages, the official language of 22 states, and the second language in many countries. Hence, any language could have realized such a global status if the best conditions are provided for it. Crystal (2003) notes that 'The biggest potential setback to English as a global language, it has been said with more than a little irony, would have taken place a generation ago – if Bill Gates had grown up speaking Chinese.' (p.122)

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[28] See appendix K

However, a language needs to have some elements to be global. Some studies see that a language can be global for its economic power, while others consider the number of speakers. Others focus on the value and utility of the language itself to guarantee global acceptance. Bruthiaux (2002) views that the geopolitical status and the central value of English have to be first stopped and then cancelled out by the language planned to be global. This means that any global language change is difficult if not impossible today, for the unavailability of such conditions. He views that 'a global challenger would need... to possess a set of linguistic characteristics that would facilitate its acquisition... to benefit from weak political and administrative control over form and usage... to be perceived – rightly or wrongly,' (ibid., p.131). In fact, authenticity reports that none of the other global languages has as much attributes and global acceptance as English, to gain such a fast extensive spread, which will continue for the next years. Crystal (2003), as well, considers that:

> The accuracy and speed of real-time automatic translation is undoubtedly going to improve dramatically in the next twenty five to fifty years, but it is going to take much longer before this medium becomes so globally widespread and so economically accessible to all, that is poses a threat to the current availability and appeal of a global language. And during this time frame, all the evidence suggests that the position of English as a global language is going to become stronger. By the time automatic translation matures as a popular communicative medium, that position will very likely have become impregnable. (p.27)

To sum up, every beginning has an end and that change is evident, but scholars believe 'it is difficult to foresee any developments which could eliminate the significant role of English on the information superhighway' (ibid, p.122). It is not yet time for English to lose its world status, for many reasons, as there is no sign of change and no challenging language – at least for the near future. However, De Swaan (in Coupland, 2010) views that 'English has not always held that position. It has only done so for little more than the half of a century, and one day it may lose its hypercentral function again,' (p.57). Since then, some studies, such as Crystal's, predict that Spanish, Chinese or Arabic might displace English from its status in a day, but if one of these languages would have all the elements to be global. The features of Arabic as a global language are discussed in the following section.

1.13.2. The Challenge of Arabic as a Global Language

Arabic has existed for more than seventeen century, and known repeatedly a large spread in the world for its liaison to Islam. It is today among the top world's languages.

Fishman *et al.* (Wright, 2004) claims that 'Arabic ousted the other Semitic languages of Arabia and displaced Coptic and Berber in North Africa in large part because it was the language of Koran,' (p.112). People who convert to Islam need to know Arabic to perform some practices and follow Islamic values. Wright (ibid.) reports that 'To understand the scientific concepts developed in the Caliphates, scholars learnt Arabic,' (p.113). Hence, the spread of Arabic is is sustained by its worth to Arabs particularly, and Moslems generally.

The Arabic language is a term mostly used to refer to the group of the varieties used in the Arabic-speaking world. There are both written and spoken forms. Written varieties are generally related to Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). CA is the language of Quran, Islamic liturgy, still used for learning Islamic sciences and Arabic literature, and employed for religious discourses, texts and treaties. Cowan *et al.* (in k. Taleb Ibrahimi, 1997) view that 'MSA is traditionally defined as that form of Arabic used in practically all writing (forms) of Arabic and the form used in formal spoken discourse such as news broadcasts speeches, sermons and the like,' (p.30). MSA is currently the formal written and spoken form used narrowly as a language of education, administration, formal discourses, public and political debates, news broadcast, the press, and some TV and radio programs.

Furthermore, in Arabic, both CA and MSA are commonly referred to as *'al`lugha al-arabiyah al-fus`ha'*, i.e. eloquent, or pure Arabic. Many people tend to use *'al-Lugha'* or *'al'arabiya al'fus`ha'* to refer to 'the Arabic Language', 'Standard Arabic' or even to MSA, but Sociolinguists make the distinction. Nonetheless, the notion of *'Arabic is Arabic'* is spread to some extent among Arabs, denying all dissimilarities between Classical and other formal varieties of Arabic. MSA is more functional than CA, and it is the language of Arabisation, or Arabity according to Grandguillaume *et al.* (in Benrabah, 2007):

> Literary Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic (is) a written form of Arabic more readily associated with the modern media which was developed in the 19th century as part of the cultural Revival, or *Nahda*, in the Middle East. Literary or Standard Arabic is essentially a modernised form of Classical Arabic known in Arabic as *'al'arabiyya alfusha* (the 'pure' or 'clear' language). It is the written language of the Koran. But the differences between the two varieties are relatively small and Standard Arabic generally follows the same rules as Classical Arabic. (p.46)

Furthermore, Dialectal Arabic is called *'al-ammiyyah'* or *'al-darijah'* in all the Arabic-speaking countries, despite the regional differences. It is a growing version of CA in accordance with time and communication needs, commonly considered as a very simplified

form of Arabic. It is worth noting that such a daily spoken form could not stand without most of – if not all, in some cases – the basic rigid rules of the written one. However, most of the spoken or colloquial Arabic dialects are written today for specific purposes, typically in popular poetry, cinema, arts, and social media, even in the media and the press for advertising generally. It is widely believed that spoken Arabic has been influenced by the contact with the languages of ancient conquests throughout time, even though with a dominance of pure Arabic words.

The functional division of both varieties of Arabic in the same linguistic context has clearly led to a situation of diglossia, where two distinct forms of a language exist with clear practical separation in terms of formal and social usage. They are categorized as 'high' and 'low' varieties: the former is used in formal situations, whereas the latter for daily language practices, as explained by G. Ferguson (2006) in the quotation below:

> A diglossic situation may develop in which the standard is used in high (H) functions (e.g. education and administration) and a more demotic, everyday variety in low (L) functions (e.g. home, informal interaction). Over time, however, resistance to the written standard, the high form, may set in, simply because it comes to be perceived as remote from everyday life, as an unwelcome artifice and as an impediment to education. (p. 25)

Hence, the sociolinguistic situation of the Arabic-speaking countries is identified as diglossic. The High Arabic variety – Classical or Modern Standard Arabic – is the same among the Arab world, whether used for written or oral purposes. Low varieties differ even within the same country, and hence the regional dialect, for example, used in the south of Egypt, Algeria or elsewhere is distinct from the one used in the north or the west. It is worth to note that there is a degree of intelligibility among Arab speakers, mostly supported by cinema, TV programs and social media. Such a language exposure has also produced a language contact, to a certain extent, among Arabs. Furthermore, the fashion of acquiring Arabic dialects among Arabs and imitating them is very commonly spread today through means of social media, mainly YouTube and Snapchat.

Arabic is the national and official or co-official language of 25 countries[29], and the second or foreign language of different countries in the world. It is the official and the national language of Arabic-speaking countries, and co-official in some others like Djibouti, Eritrea, and Chad. It is also a national language, mostly of minority, in some countries like, Iran, Niger, Senegal, Mali and Turkey. Today, it is gaining a special spread as a second language in education, in some countries such as Malaysia and Turkey. It is the official language of the Arab League and some world organisations, and recognised as both the official and working language of the UN. It gained this status in December18, 1973[30]. Today, it is classified the fourth world official language by number of speakers, after Chinese, English and Spanish. It is also expanded as a working language in the Internet. It has a status of prestige, and many famous non-Arab people have taken the challenge to learn it and even use it in special occasions. Ministers, artists, and others have shown repeatedly their capacity to speak Arabic.

That Arabic has gained 'a' global status is a sign of more significance and spread. However, to be 'the' global language requires different factors that it lacks, at least now. Milovanova *et al.* (2015), debating their question 'will the sun ever set on the empire of the English language,' (p. 601) expect that the turn will be for Arabic, Chinese, or Spanish. They argue that these languages 'have already begun to act as lingua franca in some regions,' and that governments 'are eager to support the interest in their national languages and cultures by all means,' (p. 604). Crystal, Block, Graddol, Spolsky, and others have confirmed that none of the existing languages can compete or challenge English for the status of global language, for its fast spread, specific significance and worldwide dominance, and then, it is the language of the leading economic and political powers in the world. They have argued as well that none of the competing global languages has lived similar geo-political and socio-cultural situation and such a speedy spread, and hence, none of them has ready environment to achieve such a status. Besides, many visions try to confirm that. D. Block (in Coupland 2010) says:

> There is now the prospect of a multi-polar new world order... [that can] replace the US-dominated "new world order"... and might lead to changes ... [yet] English may no longer be *the* global language; it could be supplanted in many contexts by Mandarin, Arabic, or Spanish. (p. 301)

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[29]The countries are: Algeria, Bahrain, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen, (with Western Sahara and Israel in some studies).
[30] from: www.un.org accessed on 23/03/2019 at 15:50.

It is evident that English has become to a great degree the language of business, finance, politics and science. However, Redkin and Bernikova (2016) see that 'other modern languages besides English are acquiring the growing importance, and Arabic is among them,' (p.196). Similarly, Crystal, Spolsky and others, believe that the shift is obvious, and English might be displaced one day, but which language could replace it. Crystal (2003) discussing the issue, comes across – repeatedly in his book – Spanish, Arabic and Chinese for the considerable official use and strength they have developed in some particular eras and areas. However, he confirms that 'a language has traditionally become an international language for one chief reason: the power of its people – especially their political and military power.' (p.9)

Today, Arabic has achieved an international position among the top five world languages. It is often in the fourth or the fifth position worldwide, for the number of its speakers as a mother tongue, not counting Muslims all over the world. Arabic has also become a lingua franca, to a degree, in some countries. In fact, its global status is still incomparable with the one English has reached. However, many countries, such as China, Korea, and Turkey have introduced Arabic as a second or a foreign language in the last few years. If Latin has been a means of exchange within Catholic Europe for centuries, Arabic is today playing the same role in the Islamic World (Wright, 2004). Moreover, the number of its speakers is growing yearly. Hence, a strong political or economic power might help Arabic get a high global status.

1.13.3. French as a Global Language

The French language has its global position because of different factors, among which stands its wide use as a lingua franca, though after English, in Europe and in many other countries worldwide, mainly in its post-colonies. France has been a strong military and economic power for a long period, governing different parts of Africa. It has kept control on many countries, for its policy of deculturalisation. Moreover, 'Paris was the major European cultural centre for several centuries,' and 'the French were innovators in the political and cultural sciences,' as stated by Wright (2004, pp. 118 -120). However, in the era of globalisation, English is the most dominant global language, and the French themselves see that 'English has become a commodity, similar in kind to computers or the internet,' as declared by a former French Education minister Claude Alègre in 1997 (ibid., p.125).

In the last decades, when the French government has noticed such a danger from English on the future of the French language, many attempts have been done to regain its value and maintain its spread. The '*Organisation International de la Francophonie*' (OIF), which includes 55 states and governments and 13 observers from all the five continents, aims at preserving the use of French is such countries, either as first or second language. Its main objective is to sustain the spread of French in the world, finding more chance in its post-colonial countries, as a lingua franca and as a language of culture and literature. It is known that French is the official language of 29 states, spoken by more than 200 million people around the world.

Fishman (2000) claims that France spends yearly huge amounts of money to spread the French language and culture, outside its borders, in Vietnam, for example, and in central and North Africa. It has opened cultural centres in all these countries, sustained investments, either economically or culturally, in order to provide some programs and training in particular fields. France has funded a lot to make its language taught in OIF countries. It is worth to note that French started to lose its status as an international lingua franca in the 1960s (Wright, 2004), and France established the '*Haut Comité pour la Défense et l'Expansion de la Langue Française*', to replace the '*Office de la langue française*'. Hence, it could be clear that the issue is not new, but to its situation after the Second World War, and to the period of decolonisation. Since then, the French government is planning how to sustain and maintain the spread of French in the world.

In 1992, France stated in its constitution that French is the language of the Republic, and reinforced that by the '*Loi de Toubon*' 1994, that extended obligatory use of French (Wright, 2004; Shiffman, 1996). '*Défense de la langue française*' (DLF), '*Avenir de la langue française*' (ALF) and '*Association francophone d'amitié et de liaison*' (AFAL) are associations that are working very seriously for a more elaboration and promotion of the French language, and 'have the right to bring civil actions against those flouting the language laws,' (ibid., p.124). Inspite of that, English has continued to be used in France, as the main foreign language used in conferences, at universities and in schools. However, this is very common in all Europe, following the Toubon law that plans to spread multilingualism and make children in some years able to speak at least three European languages.

However, such efforts and investments have not always been successful. People in some countries have reacted to replace French with English or their national language. In

Cambodia in the mid 1990s, for instance, university students rejected the use of French and demanded English as a medium of instruction. Although the French government is making great efforts to keep a good position for French worldwide, the impact of globalisation and of English cannot be denied. Regarding the limited number of native French speakers, the French policy has targeted post-colonies and in countries of OIF to sustain its spread in different domains. In view of that, it is worth to note that not only French is challenging to keep a wide spread but many other European languages are doing so, due to the deep impact of English. Hagège (ibid.) views that this 'is unlikely to be realised.' Therefore, many European countries have undertaken the policy of promoting multilingualism these last couple of decades.

To sum up, it could be noticed that the deep impacts of globalisation and English as a global language have been multidimensional, on peoples, governments, and so, on language policies. In other words, language practices, ideologies, and governmental language policies at both local and national levels have all been influenced. Therefore, the era of globalisation could not be considered free of effects on language, culture and language planning. Such effects have become clearer throughout time in different countries and in Algeria as well, as described in the following chapter.

1.14.   Conclusion

This chapter provided a selection of some literature related to our research in order to present an understanding of the main concepts, and discuss the most relevant theories of LPP and globalisation. This was no more than an attempt to describe the major agents and factors of LPP, to be able to place the present research regarding such trends. It was a theoretical step in this study to discuss the different perspectives of implementing a successful language planning, and to present an overview about the role of globalisation in supporting the spread of global languages in multilingual contexts, and so, its impact on language policies, and how it can shape their future. In the next chapter, the context of the present study is approached from both a historical and a language planning perspectives, to describe the major shifts of the Algerian language policy since its independence.

CHAPTER TWO

A PROFILE OF LANGUAGE

POLICY AND PLANNING IN ALGERIA

Content

2.1. Introduction

Since the central subject of the present study is concerned with the future of Algeria's LPP in the era of globalisation, the focus in this chapter is on the sociolinguistic situation as well as the language policy chronicles, stating the main amendments that have occurred so far, in the country. Therefore, a detailed account about the history of Algeria in terms of its LPP is presented highlighting the main official amendments. It provides a historical sociolinguistic depiction of the population and the major geopolitical factors that have left a considerable impact on the issue of LPP in the country. Hence, the most leading factors that have shaped the current Algerian language situation, *vis-à-vis* the officialisation of Tamazight and the spread of French and English within the era of globalisation, are investigated here.

2.2. Algeria: a Descriptive Account

The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria[31] is today the broadest African country by area after the division of Sudan in 2011. It is an Arabic-speaking country and part of the Maghreb. Its official and national languages as declared in the amendments of February 2016 are Arabic and Tamazight. It has a population of more than 43,900 000 inhabitants. It is governed currently by President Abdelmadjid Tebboune. It is a French post-colonial Arabic-speaking North-African State. It has been subjected to different transitions throughout time in terms of political, linguistic, socio-cultural and economic fields. Hence, its linguistic landscape is the outcome of the fusion and the progression of a number of events. It is a multicultural and multilingual context, where the colonial language is still used to a certain extent, next to Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic and Berber dialects.

Algeria is a country in quest of recovering its economy and ameliorating the standards and the social conditions for its inhabitants. It is characterised by a young population, rich sources of petroleum, natural gas and other resources.

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[31]It is the official national naming as stated in the constitution in article 1: see appendix A

Despite the fact that the country is living difficulties in terms of political, social and economic scales, it is still fighting to boost economic growth, to better educational levels and provide socio-political stability within a globalised world. Islam, Arabisation, colonialism, the war of independence, the drive for regaining national identity, the 1990s, and some recent socio-political shakiness are factors that have left their traces on both the Algerian language and cultures. On such subject, Benrabah (2013) cites:

> On the subject of extreme violence, Algeria hit the headlines twice over the last 50 years of the 20th century. The first was during the War of Independence ... and the second during the Black Decade. On each occasion, conflict arose between two mutually exclusive cultural groups: first, the coloniser and the colonised; and later, between the dominant Francophones and the Arabisers. (p. xi)

The Arab Spring has not passed on Algeria without leaving its traces on both the government and the society, mostly the young generation. The impact of globalisation on both economy and culture is evidence. Therefore, Algeria has always been an appealing research context, in terms of LP for its linguistically and culturally rich status quo. Hence, it is significant to observe the main factors that have contributed to the making of the current sociolinguistic situation, seen as unique. Its strategic geographical site, rich history, political and economic changes, multicultural background, and plurilingual context with the pre-eminence of some languages are all components that furnished Algeria with its uniqueness. For a good description of the Algerian context, the study of the present and the past needs to be based on a certain chronology to be able to predict the future. Thus, a general description of the country is given, followed by a historical background of peoples and languages of Algeria. Then, the most relevant steps in its language policy, mainly in education, are discussed.

2.2.1. The Geopolitical Context of Algeria

Geographically, Algeria is situated in the North of Africa, and serves as Europe's gateway to Africa. None of its adjacent countries has as much access to the Mediterranean and as it does. It is bounded by Morocco to the west, Tunisia and Libya to the east, Mauritania, Mali and Niger to the south – from west to east

respectively. It has an area of 2,381,741 Km^2, in which nearly 80 – 85 % is the Sahara Desert. Its North is generally more populated than its South, for its fertile coastal lands and climate. It is also known by its mountainous areas, most of which generally dwelled by the Berbers. Islam is the religion of 99 % of the whole population. Politically, the president is the authoritative constitutional power to appoint or dismiss cabinet members and the Prime Minister. Currently, Algeria is governed by President Abdelmadjid Tebboune after being ruled for twenty year by the ex-president Abdelaziz Bouteflika. Most of its constitutional revisions have been marked by shifts in its language planning[32]. At the socio-political scale, Algeria has lived a kind of social unrest and political shakiness during the 1990s, and then in 2019.

When dealing with Algeria's history, one cannot skip the Black Decade, for the impact it has left. It emerged in 1992 by a series of savage bloody conflicts that started immediately after cancelling the legislative elections marked by the success of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). Data from Country Watch (Algeria Review, 2017, p.2) reported that government statistics counted at least 200,000 people dead, and that thousands of civilians disappeared. It has left its linguistic impact on the Algerians' languages, by introducing new terms and new names. Names like 'Djihad', 'Islam', 'Oussama' and 'Intisar' have spread in the 1990s. There was a degree of support to the spread of Arabic in that period within partisans of Islamic parties. After a decade, some degree of stability has been achieved thanks to the policy of National Reconciliation launched by the ex-President, but the state of emergency continued to make its two decades in 2011. Repeated uprisings threatened the country's stability, such as the Berbers' regular uprisings calling for cultural rights, and the *'Hirak'* [33]against the ex-president and his government.

It is worth noting that every period has left its impact, to some degree, on language. The Algerians have suffered from different social unrests. A long time before the Arab Spring, Algeria has lived repeated protests, because of unemployment and some critical life standards. Furthermore, next to its already

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[32]More details are provided in the next section.
[33]A movement of people's protests that started in February, 2019, as a rejection to the ex-president as his government, who spent 20 years of presidency.

struggling economy, it is nowadays facing a remarkable financial crisis because of the drawbacks of the last government, the fall in oil prices and the political restlessness within the critical conditions of the government. Due to all that, education in Algeria is usually criticised, even though 'free [and] compulsory for all children aged 6 to 16, and is generally the major field exposed to every political change, mainly in terms of language policy or educational reforms.

LP in Algeria has always been of great concern, for its complex linguistic situation and for the changes that have occurred over time. The sociolinguistic and historical profiles of the country are explored in the following sections, to highlight some of the significant steps that contributed to the major shifts in the Algerian LPP. It is an attempt to provide a description of the major events that have left their impact on the linguistic landscape of the country, supporting the spread of some languages and language varieties, for example, or changing some ideologies. This will pave the way for the researcher to achieve the main research goal through a detailed description of the past and present of LPP in Algeria, and to explore any expected impact of globalisation on its future.

2.2.2. Historical Dimensions of the Algerian Population

Algeria, a North African country, has been worthily a significant attractive meeting point of many civilisations as described by Major Peterson (2003): it 'possess[es] long borders with neighbouring states through which supplies and manpower are able to get into the country,' (p. 5), as well as the largest access to the Mediterranean Sea and a wide Sahara. Chapin Metz (1994) stated that North Africa, and hence Algeria, 'served as a transit region for peoples moving toward Europe or the Middle East…Carthaginians, Romans, and Byzantines dominated most of the land until the spread of Islam and the coming of the Arabs' (p. 3). Each of those peoples left eventually their traces, to a degree, on the language and the culture of its 'indigenous population – the Berbers who refer to themselves as Imazighen,' (Crawford, in Lauermann, 2009; El Aissati, 2005).

However, some civilisations were more influencing than others were, and even changed to a certain extent the religious, linguistic, cultural and social aspects of the native community. It is generally believed that the original

inhabitants of North Africa, the Amazigh came to the Maghreb some centuries before the Islamic Expansion.

However, no definite information is provided historically about their exact origins. Some scholars see that they are descendants of some Arab tribes, coming very early before Islam, from the south of the Arabic Peninsula, Yemen, Egypt and Somalia. It is believed that they are made up of the waves of the peoples who came from Western Europe, sub-Saharan and Northeast Africa (Chapin Metz, 1994). Besides, they are not homogenous, because there are several tribes with differing histories and physical characteristics – some even appear blonde and blue-eyed. Distinctions can occur between people even within the same group. Yet, there are clear linguistic differences between the Berbers whose dialects are so unintelligible. Speakers of an ethnic group do not understand those from another, either in the same country or within other North African countries. Thamazight or Techelhit used in Algeria for example is not the same varieties spoken by Berber groups in Morocco, and vice versa.

It is worth to note that the expansion of the Islamic civilisation during the Golden Age was deeply profound and outstanding all over North Africa[34]. Therefore, the majority of the native inhabitants learnt the Arabic language and converted so deeply to the Arab culture and Islam. Among all the crossing civilisations, Moslems (namely the Arabs) fused deeply with the indigenous inhabitants and gave birth dynamically to generations that acquired Arabic and adopted it throughout time. Such influence is considered in some studies as very spiritual and cultural for the sacredness of Islam, while in others as deepest, as it has caused radical changes in different populations.

Ennaji (2014) explains that 'Over the centuries more than half of the Berber population became Arabised as a result of the Arab and Islamic conquest and of the Arabisation policy before and after independence,' (p.7). Therefore, both the Berber and the Arabic characters have meshed. The Berber acceptance of Islam

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[34] Islam and first arabisdation reached North Africa even before; in the 7th century

and Arabic is described by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (PCGN) states (2003):

> The Berbers were largely converted to the religion of Islam brought into North Africa by the Arabs, and this common religion helped to fuse a measure of cohesion into the geographically separate Berber groupings. The connections between Berbers and Arabs in Algeria are so intertwined that a true distinction along ethnic lines is impossible. Instead, the two communities are conventionally identified on the basis of mother tongue. (p.2)

Besides, the fact of sharing one life in the same land by the two groups over time has given birth to a new population that can be concerned purely Berber, nor purely Arab. Chapin Metz (1994), as others, also sees that 'present-day Berbers and the overwhelming majority of the Arabs largely descend from the same indigenous stock, physical distinctions carry little or no social connotation and are in most instances impossible to make' (p. 81). Despite all cultural and linguistic differences, both categories are actually considered as indigenous Algerians and having the same rights. Chapin also views that cultural and linguistic distinctions have not been a barrier for the Berbers to merge within a generation or two, into the Arab society. As stated by Maddy-Weitzman (1979), believes that:

> The Berber seems to be content to be drawn gradually into and assimilated by his country's general ethos, to lose his identity in Arab society. Berber nationalism has become an outmoded doctrine, if it ever existed in the first place. The Berber of today may remember the tales of his father's father, of the glory of the Berber tribes; but he will not attempt to emulate his forebears. Instead, when asked about his identity, he will say he is an Arab or an Algerian or Moroccan. Imazighen [sic] is a forgotten word. (p. 152)

Furthermore, some Berbers, though islamised, have never been Arabised, mainly those living in the mountains. It is generally believed that it has become difficult to distinguish the Arabs and the Berbers, except by their languages, mainly after centuries of mutual cohabitation. Therefore, many studies distinguish between the Berbers and the Berberophones. Leclerc[35] (2017) claims that it has

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[35]The original words quoted by Leclerc:*"Ce sont par conséquent les berbérophones qui sont minoritaires, pas les Berbères! Il est cependant difficile de déterminer la répartition exacte des Arabes et des Berbères,*

become impossible to differentiate the Arabs and Berbers after they have lived a certain time together. Both have been mixed through history, and the Berbers often abandoned their ancestral language to acquire Arabic or one of its varieties. In view of that, he considers that the Berberophones are minorities, while the Berbers might have been changed to Arabophones throughout time.

History has reported a noticeable sociability and cohabitation between Berberophones and Arabophones, not only in Algeria, but also even in the other North African countries. However, as Gravel (in Abid, 2006) explains 'what has commonly been called the "Arabisation" of the Berber might with equal validity be called the "Berberisation" of the Arabs because Berber traditions are quite strong, even among those whose ancestors have been Arabised for centuries,' (p. 20). In fact, from a Berber nativity to a large Arab majority, Algeria lays today among the Arabic-speaking countries, populated by groups of Berbers, Arabicized Berbers or Berberised Arabs, and Arabs, all of them forming the Algerian character.

North African countries, referred to in French as 'le Maghreb', were colonised by the French army for a long time and called formerly 'Afrique du nord française' (French North Africa). Algeria, exactly Algiers, was occupied by the French military troops of Marshal 'De Bourmont' in July 5th, 1830. The French coloniser could stretch to the North in 1839 and to the principles cities of the country in 1841, but could not reach complete supremacy until 1848 when Emir Abd el-Kader[36] surrendered. The price was very expensive; complete tribes of Arab and Berber were totally annihilated. According to Leclerc (2017), the Algerian population decreased drastically from three million inhabitants in 1830 to no more than two million in 1845.

The goal of the French was to make from Algeria an extension of Metropolitan France on the Southern side of the Mediterranean. The French spread over the whole territory mainly in fertile lands, and started their policy of cultural and linguistic assimilation. Thus, Major Peterson (2003) says that 'France not only

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tant leur population a été mêlée au cours de l'histoire. Arabes et Berbères ont souvent abandonné leur langue ancestrale pour prendre l'arabe ou une forme d'arabe différente."
[36]Emir Abd el-Kader (1808-1883): One of the famous soldiers of Algeria.

sponsored her own citizens to settle in Algeria but also those of other Mediterranean countries…from Spain, Malta, and Italy in addition to Frenchmen from Corsica and metropolitan France,' (p. 9). It worked hard to spread its policy and build a French Algeria; 'Algérie Française'. The number of the French increased gradually; for example, by 1954, nearly one in nine persons living in Algeria was French (ibid.). The French historian Peyrouton, cited in Aitsiselmi and Marley (2008), was to write that by the turn of the 20th century France saw Algeria as '*Sa fille d'élection, le reflet de son propre génie*' ('her chosen daughter, reflecting her own genius), (p. 189).

Since its first paces in Algeria, the coloniser tried to assimilate the Algerian natives to the French and elaborate its language through education and by means of social contacts too. French colonialism lasted the longest period (1832–1962) in Algeria in comparison with its neighbouring countries: Tunisia and Morocco. It used a policy of cultural and linguistic assimilation, and left deep impacts in its colonies in general, and specifically in Algeria. The objective of its policy of Frenchification undertaken within the 'civilising mission'[37], aimed at dismembering the Algerian allied kin, intellects to the fore, at displacing Arabic from the position it has gained through time, and at growing illiteracy and ignorance to ensure its supremacy in a 'French Algeria'. Chapin Metz (1994) for the Library of the Congress argues:

> Of all Arab countries subject to European rule, Algeria absorbed the heaviest colonial impact. The French controlled education, government, business, and most intellectual life for 132 years and through a policy of cultural imperialism attempted to suppress Algerian cultural identity and to remould the society along French lines. The effects of this policy, which continued to reverberate throughout Algeria after 1962, have perhaps been most evident in the legacy of a dual language system. (p. 87)

According to Rebai Maamri (2009), the French coloniser held the motto 'épousez le pays[38]' which was highly supported by 'Jules Ferry[39] who was a

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[37]'Civilising mission': In French *'Mission civilisatrice'* / - to give supremacy to the French language and culture, having the strategy to dismember and depersonalise the Algerian 'self'.
[38]'espouse the country'- An approach held by the coloniser in terms of the French schooling policy.

fervent believer in that approach…[and] imposed a harsh programme of acculturation which positioned French as the dominant language on its colonies, ousting local languages, Arabic and Berber,' (p. 78). Ferry considered the teaching of French to indigenous Algerians a duty and one of the main objectives of the 'mission civilisatrice'. He believed in transmitting language and culture through school. Evidently, he desired assimilating the Moslem Algerians through the French school by public funds.

However, Ferry was opposed by many of the French colons. In a speech published on July 1st, 2003 by *"Ligue des Droits de l'Homme- Section de Toulon"*, Ferry (quoted in Maamri, ibid.) revealed his intention of transforming the young indigenous people into faithful and obedient subjects by teaching them language, history and geography to give them an idea of the extent of the civilisation of the country.[40] That was their first steps to modify the Algerian character and incorporate the French language to the country's linguistic and cultural pots.

The French were not very enthusiastic, to spend public funds to educate the indigenous people, as they said, "instruire les indigènes". Therefore, the number of Arab children in French schools was so very low. Leclerc(2017) quoted both a senior civil servant who declared in 1880: '*Nous avons laissé tomber l'instruction des indigènes bien au-dessous de ce qu'elle était avant la conquête,*'[41] and Lacheraf who confirmed that *'L'Arabe, en 1830, savait lire et écrire. Après un demi-siècle de colonisation, il croupit dans l'ignorance.*'[42] It was the policy in all the French colonies, but in Algeria, it aimed at making a French Algeria, where it planned to spread and elaborate its language through education and by means of social contacts too.

France's logic behind using its plan described by many as by M. Benrabah, (2014) as a policy of 'deracination and deculturization,' (p. 44) through the

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[39] A staunchdefender of colonialismand Minister of Public Instruction in the 1880s.

[40] "Transformer les jeunes indigènes en sujets fidèles et obéissants de la France, en leur faisant connaître notre langue et en leur inculquant des notions d'histoire et de géographie destinées à leur donner l'idée de la grandeur et de la civilisation de leur nouvelle patrie."

[41] "We have dropped the education of the indigenous further lower than it was before the conquest."

[42] The Arab, in 1830, couldread and write, but sticked to ignorance after half a century of colonisation.

'mission civilisatrice' was to dislodge the Algerian language and stretch illiteracy, so as to insure long endurance in the territory. Hence, M. Benrabah (2013) noted that the French assimilationist operation 'implied the domination of its language and culture, and eventually the eradication of indigenous idioms and traditions,' (p. xii), then gradually gave the official status to French. Rebai Maamri (2009) says when the Emperor Louis Bonaparte[43] –'Napoleon III came back for military control to Algeria… he created the mixed school which he believed could work as a preparatory institution leading to a peaceful co-existence of French and Arabic,'(p.p. 79 – 80).

Therefore, more tolerance was given to the teaching of Arabic next to French in imperial mixed schools, and served for forming a bilingual generation, which became later the category of the Algerian elites. However, such a policy changed, and very soon, the French restarted their strategies of dislocating native languages and breaking up the indigenous culture. The coloniser could gradually realise its objective. Thus, French could dominate the status of the official language, and the teaching of Arabic was restricted to religious schools 'Medersa' and indigenous schools 'écoles indigènes' through a bilingual education, as the French used to see Arabic inferior and useless. Genty de Bussy (in Kashani-Sabet, 1996), a civil intendant in Algeria 1832- 1935, said:

> It is more pressing to put the indigenous peoples in possession of our language than for us to study theirs. Arabic would only be useful for relations with the Africans; French not only begins their rapport with us, but it puts them in contact with our books, with our professors, that is with science itself. Beyond Arabic, there is nothing other than language; beyond French there is all that human knowledge, all that the progress of the intellect has accumulated for many years.

Supremacy was given to French as the medium of instruction in all fields and in the colonial school '*École Coloniale*', and even the Algerian school was readjusted and reshaped up to the French policy and principles. Furthermore, the

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[43]Napoleon III had the dream of setting up the Arab Kingdom ' Royaume Arabe' which stretched out from Algiers to Baghdad under the French control characterised by equality between the indigenous people and the Europeans. He liberated Emir Abd el-Kader in 1852 from the French jail.

coloniser as stated by Rebai Maamri (2009) attempted to eradicate 'the Arabic and Islamic roots of the conquered land in order to produce a man free from culture, easy to manipulate,' (p. 79). That has been usually confirmed in the literature of the history of Algeria. M. Benrabah stated repeatedly in his works (2005; 2013; 2014) that Algeria lived 'a methodical policy of deracination and deculturisation implemented by colonial France between 1830 and 1962.' (p. 395; p. 44; p.xii)

In contrast, the teaching of Arabic stirred up the anger of fanatic colonists in the 1870s. The Algerians preferred keeping their children grow in ignorance than to teach them the French principles. They refused generally to send their children to the French public schools considering that as betrayal and infidelity to their principles, culture and religion[44]. The French, in response, reinforced the imposition of teaching the French language in a time they believed that their civilization was superior. They tried in all ways stretching the ideology of French supremacy in the Algerian milieu, in educating the elite, in administration, and the press. The famous sociolinguist William Marçais (1931) was in the post of a colonial officer in Algeria in the early 1900s, when he wrote (in Leclerc, 2017)[45]:

> When one of the languages is the language of the ruler, when it provides access to a great modern civilization, when it is clear, when its spoken and written expressions are as close as possible; and when the other language is the language of those who are ruled, when even its best writings express a medieval ideal, when it is ambiguous, when it takes on a different form when it is written than when it is spoken, the match is really unfair: the first must inevitably overcome the second. (pp. 30 - 31)

In fact, the French had a profound impact on indigenous Algerians, as they controlled the territory for more than a century. When they occupied Algeria in 1830, the population had already been an amalgam of Arabophones and

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[44]*'À l'encontre de ce qui s'est passé en Tunisie et en Égypte ; les Algériens ne cherchent pas, pendant plus d'un demi-siècle, à s'approprier les secrets du vainqueur. Les rares éléments qui prennent le chemin des écoles françaises sont considérés par la grande masse comme des renégats, tombés dans le "piège tendu à leur ethnie et à leur religion."*(Mohamed Harbi 1984, in Leclerc, 2017)

[45] Marçais' words in the French source:*Quand l'une des langues est celle des dirigeants, qu'elle ouvre l'accès d'une grande civilisation moderne, qu'elle est claire, que l'expression écrite et l'expression parlée de la pensée s'y rapprochent au maximum ; que l'autre est la langue des dirigés, qu'elle exprime dans ses meilleurs écrits un idéal médiéval ; qu'elle est ambiguë, qu'elle revêt quand on l'écrit un autre aspect que quand on la parle; la partie est vraiment inégale : la première doit fatalement faire reculer la seconde.*

Berberophones, who both used to attend religious schools as in many other Arab countries, for the sake of learning Quran and literary Arabic. Geography, Astronomy, Medicine and Math were also subjects offered for some (Benrabah, 1999). Higher education was provided in Egypt, in Al-Azhar University, and in Tunisia in El-Zaytouna. That was a good step for supporting the use of literary Arabic next to their spoken languages. Yet, things had changed under the French ruling that imposed French progressively and planned to expand it over the whole territory displacing the indigenous languages.

The French did not stop their policy in all manners. In 1870, the decree 'Crémieux' under the name of Adolphe Crémieux granted the French nationality exclusively to 35 000 Algerian Jews, followed by decree 137 which required the request of the citizen, but only if aged of 21. In 1881, Algeria was directly integrated administratively in France, and divided into three main departments; Algiers, Oran and Constantine, joined later by the sector of the South. Those units depended on France's Interior Ministry and ruled by General Governor. After that, France adopted Anti-Arab laws, promulgated education laws in 1881-1882 and imposed the 'Code de l'indigénat' in 12 June 1881; which is viewed today as a disguised kind of slavery ignoring the identity of the indigenous people (Leclerc, 2017). The decree of 1919 was another French political card, which required the abandon of the Islamic religion in expense to the French nationality. Leclerc (2017) considered that as either 'la «conversion» ou l'«apostasie»' (conversion or apostasy). The act was extremely refused by the majority.

In 1930, France, proud of its achievements, celebrated the centenary of French Algeria and 'Literary Arabic was decreed a foreign language - by the Decree of 8 March 1938,' (Leclerc, 2017, Grandguillaume - in Benrabah, 2005, p. 400).Subsequently, Arabic was banned in schools and in official documents in administrations. As quoted below, the French colonists and some immigrants could dominate evidently the Algerian society and impose their language which became quasi exclusive in administration, education and information. In Leclerc's words (2017) ; "*Évidemment, les colons et certains immigrés français purent dominer la société algérienne et imposer leur langue qui devint quasi exclusive dans l'Administration, l'enseignement et l'affichage.*"

Another figure of the policy undertaken by the coloniser was its attempts to create ethnic disparities between the Berbers and the Arabs. While colonial Algeria never had a specific Berber policy as in Morocco's 'Dahir decree', which was seen by the pan-Arab nationalists as the ultimate attempt by France to separate Berbers from Arabs (El Aissati, 2005), the French started spreading the Kabyle Myth. It was a fundamental part of French colonial and foreign policy in North Africa [was] namely; to divide and conquer, to turn the Berbers against the Arabs, when they are both brethren and parallel peoples who have interacted and co-existed harmoniously since antiquity.'

Such ideology has been engraved in the minds of the Berber, and because of that many of them, mainly activists have against Arabs. It has made them think that they are effectively the unique owners of the territory disregarding the rights of other races – a new dogma that has not been known before. This has grown to the point of creating repeated Berber uprisings over time, calling for their language rights – to some extent a kind of language conflicts. On the other hand, however, the Arabs have also been taught in another stream that they have been the majority, and that Arabic, the language of the holy Quran is the language of unity and identity[46].

In view of that, such a period can be categorised as a hard step of acculturation, through which the coloniser's language was even used for daily communication with the colonists and in all official contacts in the French administration. In fact, such a policy was strongly refused by the Algerians who were fighting to stop these years of pain. It was one of the most central factors of the War of Independence, which was very traumatic for both sides, and even continued leaving deep effects even long time after independence, in terms of ideologies and fanaticism. Edward H. Thomas (1999) quoted in M. Benrabah (2013), argues that 'The long French attempt to crush anything but French culture in Algeria, culminating in a murderous war that finally brought independence, surely contributed to the extremist tendencies seen there today' (p. xii).

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[46]More details about the Berber crisis are provided in the following sections.

Thus, it is largely believed that French was rooted very deeply in Algeria's history to leave clear remnants in a society that could not after more than half a century of self-ruling clear out easily its traces. It was de-facto a language needed in education, at work, in daily life, at hospitals, for the press, and in almost all domains where there should be a contact with the colonists. The French changed to a certain extent the Algerian sociolinguistic life and dismembered the allied kin, by displacing Arabic from the position it has gained through time, and growing illiteracy and ignorance to ensure its supremacy in French Algeria. According to M. Benrabah (2007):

> The Jacobean centralist hegemonic model of French colonialism aimed at dismantling the polyglot aspect of Algeria and reproducing another France, a linguistically and culturally homogeneous Algeria (Frenchification). It was a particularly destructive tool in the hands of French colonialists, which was soon to 'colour' the new elites of independent Algeria in their nation-building endeavour.(p. 46)

Within the same policy, the French continued to grow in Algeria and benefit from its prosperities. Benrabah (2013) described the Algerians' reaction as resisting 'for over a century and a quarter … [could not support more] and the War of Liberation erupted on 1 November 1954 (All Saints' Day), …The atrocities committed during this struggle have been described by Alistair Horne (1987) as "undeniably and horribly savage" (p. xii). The War of Independence was a strong and considerable step in Algeria's history, through which both Berberophones and Arabophones sided with one another having a unified target, despite some conflicts. However, the influence of the coloniser was critical as described by Bourdieu (1958):

> Of all the countries of North Africa, Algeria is undoubtedly the one in which the influence of Western culture, techniques and ideology has made itself felt most strongly. It is significant that during the years of war Algeria found the replies to its questions in French newspapers and French books and formulated its problems, its anxieties, its feelings of revolt and its hopes of revolution in the very terms employed by Western thought... more and more of the male and female population can now express themselves in French. (p. 188)

However, when not only nationalists, but the overall Algerian population fought for preserving the national unity and identity with the fundamental emblems Islam and Arabic, the French still believed in a 'French Algeria'. In June, 1958, Charles de Gaulle, the then President of the French Republic, declared in a public discourse in Algiers that France considered that there was a single category of people in the entire Algeria, which was exclusively the French[47], and his 'Prime Minister, Michel Debré ; declared that every person 'from Dunkirk to Tamanrasset' was a Frenchman' (Gordon, 1962 - ibid.). However, such a strategy failed to end the bloodshed in the country, and aggravated the war, as most of the Algerians did never accept to be French.

The War of Liberation continued, but with great fatalities. By 1960, two million villagers had been relocated, and more than a million and five hundred thousands of Algerians have been killed. However, the Berbers and the Arabs backed one another and stood united but to regain the country's liberty. Maddy-Weitzman (n.d.) thinks that the French colonial policy was directed toward distinguishing Berbers from Arabs, to consolidate French control. Politically, this effort was an utter failure: in Algeria, in particular, Berbers played central roles in the 1954–1962 war for independence

Benyoucef Benkhadda, president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria (GPRA), claimed[48] that nothing could change the faith and unity of the Algerians who were as organs of the same body in such a gigantesque war; neither the attempts of division nor the presence of those who were against revolution. On 18 March 1962, the Evian Agreement was signed by the French

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[47]«Et je déclarequ'àpartird'aujourd'hui, la France considère que, dans toutel'Algérie, iln'y a qu'uneseulecatégoried'habitants, iln'y a que des Français à part entière. Moi, de Gaulle, à cela, j'ouvre la porte de la réconciliation.» (Leclerc, 2017)

[48]*"Les Algériens – hommes et femmes, jeunes et vieux, d'Alger à Tamanrasset et de Tebessa à Mamia – se sont dressés dans leur totalité dans la guerre de libération. Ni les tentatives de division, ni la présence de contre-révolutionnaires et de provocateurs dans leurs rangs n'ont pu altérer leur foi et leur unité. Les Algériens se sont sentis comme les organes d'un même corps dans cette lutte gigantesque".* In: **« Victoire contre l'impérialisme » ;**Extract from ***l'«Appel au peuple algérien»*** by the president of the GPRA (Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne) BenyoucefBenkhadda, Marsh 1962, in **« Le Moudjahid »**, specialedition of 19. 03. 1962 (ibid.)

government and the Algerian revolutionary leadership, but the nation's independence was proclaimed officially on 05 July of the same year.

Such a seven-year war was one of the famous decisive moments carved into the pages of Algeria's history. Despite everything done by the Algerians, a period of more than a century ruled by such cultural colonialism was sufficiently enough to spread French in the country through both education and daily contact. However, it is widely stated in the literature of Algeria that French was largely acquired by the revolutionary elites, mainly the Kabyles, who occupied after independence all levels – mostly good – posts of administration and of power. Chapin Metz (1994) argues that the 'Berbers, or more specifically, Kabyles, were represented in disproportionately large numbers in this elite because the French, as part of their "divide and rule" policy, deliberately favoured Kabyles in education and employment in the colonial system' (p. 88).

Benrabah (2005) described the impact of the French as so profound on both the native culture and language 'that the Algerian society was never the same again,' (p. 395); and that this has continued even after 1962. However, when signing the Evian Agreements, France undertook another policy as he summarised (2005):

> Algeria became independent politically, but culturally, it stayed bound to France through the Evian Agreements which allowed 12,000 French teachers to return to Algeria after1962… By the spring of 1963, their number rose to 14,872… Five years after independence, French educators under cooperative programmes fell to 6500 of whom 345 were in higher education... The French government maintained the 'Office Universitaire et Culturel Français' which operated between six and nine secondary schools (lycées) and 40 primary schools mainly for French children. These institutions provided instruction for 15.000 children of which 37 % were Algerian. (p. 442)

Therefore, independent Algeria had to start a new battle again; that was not only how to rebuild the infrastructure of the country, but how to reshape the Algerian ideologies which were culturally colonised, even modelled up to the coloniser's. In spite of everything, French is still widely used up till now, in business, economy, research, education, the press and media, and in daily contacts in some specific registers by groups and individuals.

Admittedly, this account, somehow lengthy regarding the report on colonialism, cannot draw a full image of how deep the impact was on the Algerian society, though the Arabs' effect had been deeper on language, culture and religion. Amin Maalouf (quoted by Benrabah 2013) says 'You could read a dozen large tomes on the history of Islam from its very beginnings and you still wouldn't understand what is going on in Algeria. But read 30 pages on colonialism and decolonisation and then you'll understand quite a lot' (p. xi). It is not this simple covering the history of a nation that has lived various changes over centuries in few pages. This was no more than a selection of some of the most relevant events that help depicting the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria and then tackling the progression of its LPP since its independence, pointing out the main shifts.

2.2.3. Languages in Algeria

As a synthesis of the progression of several historical factors, Algeria presents, in some measures, a rich ethnic, cultural and sociolinguistic context. The Algerian population is commonly described as the result of the contribution of a diversity of basic elements, in which the Berbers and the Arabs play a central role. Hence, and after exploring some general features of the country, the sociolinguistic profile of its inhabitants is defined in this section. It is noteworthy to state that the composition of its people is tightly related to North Africa's, and the majority of the invasions throughout time have been across its large access to the Mediterranean Sea and its boundaries with other countries and the Sahara.

Each group seeks to establish and base its own identity on the ways in which it differs from others; 'the result is diversification rather than diversity,' (Bourdieu, 1958, the Algerians, p.xiii). Algeria is largely considered as a multicultural community, gathering two major ethnic groups, the Arabs and the Berbers. However, it seems rather more objective to consider Arabophones and Berberophones. The former, which is the majority, speak Algerian Arabic with its different accents, whereas the latter consists of Berber groups who use unintelligible, mostly spoken, Berber dialects. There are some large Berber speech minorities in Algeria, if compared with other small. However, the real size of each

community is usually doubtful because no ethnic statistics have been undertaken since 1966, as stated in Chapin Metz[49] (1994):

> Algerian Arabs, or native speakers of Arabic, include descendants of Arab invaders and of indigenous Berbers. Since 1966, however, the Algerian census no longer has had a category for Berbers; thus, it is only an estimate that Algerian Arabs, the major ethnic group of the country, constitute 80 percent of Algeria's people and are culturally and politically dominant (p. 82)

The last official census by the National Board of Statistics (O.N.S.)[50] of the Algerian population was undertaken in 2018. According to O.N.S., the Algerian population was estimated in July 1st, 2018, at 42,578 000 inhabitants, whereas it was 34,302 759 in 2008, and but jumped to 44,227 000 in January 2020. It is an excess of nearly a million inhabitants per year, mainly in the last five years, as reported by the O.N.S.. The total median age is of 28,9 (male: 28,6 female: 29.3). As for the future, it is expected to increase to 57,625 000 by 2040. The majority of the population live in urban areas located nearly around the cost. However, ethno-linguistic variation is not counted in such statistics. It is necessary to note that ethnic estimations are mostly based on that of 1966.

Statistics provided by Euromonitor International to the British Council in 2012, based on CIA World Factbook (2012), distinguished some different measures in reference to the geographical areas. As for languages, it reported that 'Arabic is the most commonly spoken language in Algeria, with close to 98 % of the population speaking it according to the most recent trade sources… the key language … [and] commonly spoken within government departments,' (pp. 57 – 59). It also stated some data about the rest of languages, referring to French as a language of wider communication with a spread of 60 % of the population. As for Tamazight, the percentage given was 33,0 %, reporting that 'one in three

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[49] Helen Chapin Metz. (1994). *Algeria: A Country Study*. U.S. Covernment Printing Office; Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data.Washington. Retrieved from http://countrystudies.us/algeria/ (on 12/04/2016 at 20:40)

[50] Statistical Yearbook of Algeria: O.N.S– Office National des Statistiques (edition 2018) from: https://www.ons.dz/IMG/pdf/Demographie2018.pdf(last time accessed: 20.03.2021 at 23:45)

Algerians can speak [*it*],' (p. 67). English was estimated at that time to be used by 7 % of the population, as displayed in figure 2.1:

Figure 2.1: Euromonitor's Statistics about Arabic vs. Tamazight Speakers
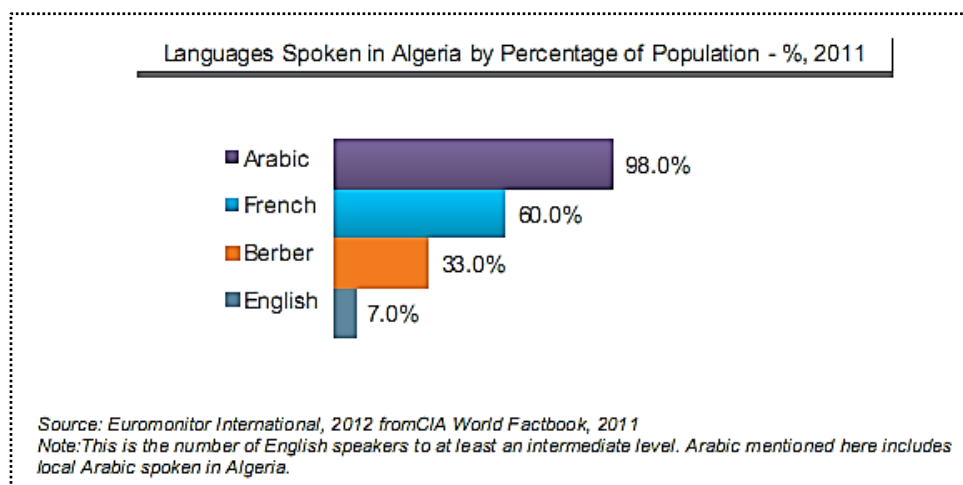
Moreover, a number of sociolinguistic and ethno-linguistic studies distinguish the number of speakers per dialect and per geographical area. Some consider only the large major speech communities, the Arabophones and the Berberophones. Others, however, attempt to give more exact details; even counting different Algerian 'Arabics', and more than 10 unintelligible Berber dialects; most of which are spoken. The following table is an attempt to distinguish the number of the speakers of both Arabic and Berber dialects. It is based on statistics adapted from both the online version of 'Ethnologue[51]' (2016) about 'Languages of the World' and from Leclerc's who present demographic statistics with a detailed classification of the Algerian ethnic groups in a work about language planning in Algeria in "*L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*" [52] (2017 – Language Planning in the World):

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[51]Lewis M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fenning (eds.). 2016.Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Ninteenth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: www.ethnologue.com/country/DZretreived on 28/11/2016 at 20:41

[52]LECLERC, Jacques. «Algérie – Situation géographique et démolinguistique»; in, *L'aménagementlinguistique dans le monde*, Québec, CEFAN, Université Laval – revised by the linguist-grammarian Lionel Jean (last up-date:02 September 2017) ; retrievedfrom[http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie-3Politique_ling.htm] ; (27.10.2017 at 23 :24) 475 Ko.

Table 2.1: Demolinguistic Statistics of Algeria (2008 - 2020)

Ethnic group	Mother Tongue	Population 2018	Population 2020	Percentage
Arabophones	**Algerian Arabic**	**35151370,18**	**36194108,86**	**82,56**
Kabyles	**Kabyle**	**3307028,79**	**3405129,28**	**7,77**
Chaouias (Shawiya)	**Tachawit**	**1561433,46**	**1607752,20**	**3,67**
Mzab (mozabite)	**Tumzabt**	**312144,39**	**321403,91**	**0,73**
Touaregs	**Tamahaq+ Tadaksahak**	**78161,27**	**80479,87**	**0,18**
Chenouas	**Chenoua**	20093,72	20689,78	0,05
Tuat and Gourara	**Taznatit**	128836,97	132658,82	0,3
Shilha and Ishilhayn	**Tachelhit**	698511,72	719232,54	1,64
Other Berber groups	**Thamazight**	1304618,60	1343319,12	3,06
Other groups (foreign)	**Other Languages**	15800,91	16269,63	0,04
Total		**42578000**	**43 841 044**	

Note: Statistics concerning 2018 and 2020 (numbers and percentages) are counted exclusively in this research using the data supported by Leclerc, regarding the latest online estimations of the population. (Excel formulations were used to adjust the results)

Official Statistics of 2018 do not distinguish ethnic groups. The table above shows the percentage and the number of speakers per variety based on the estimated populations in 2018 and 2020. The boxes highlighted grey show the whole Arabophones population, which is the majority with 82,56 %. This includes speakers of Algerian Arabic with its different accents, in addition to some Arabic dialects, like 'Hassaniyya' which is used by the Bedouin like Hamyan, Ruar'ha, Suafa etc, and 'Saharawi' which is the Spoken Saharan Arabic in Adrar, Bechar, Laghouat, Dui-Menia etc. Some sources, like Leclerc's, even distinguish sorts of Egyptian, Iraqi, Saharan and Moroccan Arabic in Algeria; i.e. spoken by minorities of no more than thousands of peoples. Hence, all speakers of any variety of Algerian Arabic, referred to in Arabic as "Darija" or "Ammiyah" are counted.

Kabyle or 'Taqbeilit' is the largest Berber minority. Tachawit is spoken by the second largest Berber speech community. It can be noticed that the number of the Chaouias (Shawiya) is nearly half of the population of the Kabyles. Tumzabt,

the Dialect of the Mozabites, is restricted and even considered as a threatened variety. The majority of Mozabite women, as claim Simons *et al.* are monolingual. Many Kabyles, Chaouias, and Mozabites are interspersed in large cities in the country for individual conditions, mostly for job. Tachelhit and Tamazight are spoken by minorities though the percentage of the latter seems to be nearly the same as that of the Chaouias. The former refers here to Ishilhayn and Shilha, scattered in Bechar province, in the South near Morocco. In actual fact, Tamazight stated in this table is not the variety supposed to be the standardised Berber language designed as official and national.

The rest of the small Berber minorities speaking a different Berber dialect, not forcibly the same, are considered as speakers of Tamazight. So, the Berbers of Tougourt, Ourgla, Tidikelt, Tebelbala, Menasser, Ghardaia, Middle-Atlas, and the Bedouin of Nail, Ghomara, Figig, etc. are included in the number given. Each of which consists of thousands of speakers. Chenoua, Taznatit, Tamahaq and Tadaksahak are other minority languages used in different regions in the country. The status of these Berber dialects is defined by Simons *et al.*(in Ethnologue, 2016) as threatened, dormant, shifting or nearly extinct, notably Tarifit, Tagergrent, Tamahaq, Tidikelt, Taznatit, Temacine, Korandje, and Haussa.

The other languages stated in the table refer to some foreign languages used by foreigners living in Algeria represented by small numbers as reflected in the statistics. Leclerc's study (2017) shows that no more than hundreds of speakers of these languages still exist in Algeria. He also specifies in his study French, English, Spanish and Russian, which are used by foreigners still existing in the country. To be more objective, statistics up to ethnic origins can never be exact, as it is difficult to reveal the real and exact number of speakers per language. As for the number of the Kabyles, it is stated in different sources that the percentage given refers to 'total users in all countries' (Simons *et al.*, Ethnologue: 2016), i.e. not only in Algeria, but also even in Europe mainly in France. Counting the total number of all the Berber minorities, whether large or small, from the preceding table makes on the whole nearly 20 % of the total Algerian population, in which the Kabyles form the majority.

However, these numbers have 'been a matter of estimates rather than of a linguistic/population census,' (Benrabah, 2005: 386, Chaker, 1998: 16, 2005, Simons: 2016, Leclerc: 2017 and others). Other sources may estimate this population at '25 % to 30 %' (Benrabah, 2014, p. 45) a percentage seen in some recent studies 'as inflated, and [they consider] perhaps 20 percent at the most,'(Brett and Fentress, 1996; B. Maddy-Weitzman, 2001; Benrabah, 2005). Some works have restricted it to 16 – 18 %. After a comparison of statistics made by M. Benrabah (2014) based on different sources[53], he argued that 'the Berber-speaking population amounted to 18,6 % in 1966,' (p.46).

However, such statistics do not present more than simple approximations that cannot provide the exact authenticity. The geographical diffusion of these ethnic groups is also another field of discussion; it seems misidentifying, as it is not easy to trace exactly the strict region for each speech community. If linguistic division cannot be exactly correct within countries' boundaries, how can it be then within the same territory? Even though, a number of ethno-linguistic and sociolinguistic researches have attempted identifying approximately the regions of each speech community referring back to their supposed lands. It is generally known that some Berber tribes are nomadic.

The areas for the Berber-speaking regions in Algeria in reference to different studies are scattered in the territory. The map[54] available, for instance, on Ethnologue illustrates by coloured spots the regions supposed to be inhabited by the Berbers. The Berber-speaking groups are dispersed over four main regions, as follows:

- The Kabyles: occupy some Central and Central-East regions of the North; (Greater and Lesser Kabylia) generally Tizi Ouzou, Béjaïa, Bouira, Jijel, M'sila, Medea, Setif, and some small villages.

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[53]Benrabah stated that the berber-speaking community was estimated at 50 % in 1830, 36,7 % in 1860, 29,4 % in 1910, and 20,1 % in 1954 (Sources: Chaker, 1998:13, Kateb, 2005:95, Valensi, 1969: 29) and at 18,6 % in 1966 (Sources: Bennoune 2000, 12; Gordon 1978, 151; Heggoy 1984, 111; Lacheraf 1978, 313)
[54] See appendix B (the map is available at Lewis M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fenning (eds.). 2016.Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Ninteenth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: www.ethnologue.com/country/DZretreived on 28/11/2016 at 20:41

- Tachawit: used in the mountainous areas of Aurès and the Saharan Atlas, Khenchela, Tebessa, Batna, Souk Ahras, Biskra, Oum el-Bouaghi, Guelma.

- The Mozabite: restricted to the M'zab Valley to 7 oases in the Mzab region in the south of Algiers, exactly in Ghardaia.

- The Touareg (mostly nomadic): dispersed in the Ahaggar Massif (with a low density), Tamanrasset, Illizi, and Ain-Salah.

- The Arabophones forms the majority and live in the rest of the territory, in large and small cities.

Conclusively, the Algerian population is multilingual, though it is not possible to define exact and close linguistic spheres for either of the two populations. Both the table and the map confirm that the most dominant spoken language is Algerian Arabic, which is scattered all over the country, in comparison with the Berber-speaking communities that are grouped in specific regions. Such distribution on the map mirrors, in some way, no more than the fundamental heterogeneous landscape of a sociolinguistic reality, mostly dominated by the different forms of Algerian Arabic. It is worthwhile noting here that the density of inhabitants in southern areas, such as the Ahaggar, is very low. After this small attempt to identify somehow the existing languages in Algeria, the following section tries to reveal the causes that make Algeria multilingual, highlighting some historical dimensions the considerable presence of French in the Algerian sociolinguistic context.

2.3. The Sociolinguistic Profile of Algeria

Actually, when different languages exist within one community of speakers, the variation of their historical, ethnic and socio-cultural backgrounds usually supports a variety of strata that may lead in most of the case to the prominence of one in favour of another. Algeria, wherein two official languages and a diversity of native spoken dialects exist, stands for a good sample of multilingualism mainly when considering the wide spread of French as a lingua-franca and the emergence of English as a language of prestige. Tabory and Tabory (in Kaplan and Baldauf 2007) describe the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria as complex, arguing that 'it is at a crossroad of tensions between French, the colonial language, and Arabic, the

new national language; Classical Arabic versus colloquial Algerian Arabic; and the various Berber dialects versus Arabic,' (p. 7) to which Tamazight and English are added actually. The foregoing section has provided the historical dimensions of the real framework in which the current Algerian sociolinguistic situation came, to be able then to approach the issue from a language planning perspective.

Many studies, though based on diverged intentions in their description to the Algerian sociolinguistic context, usually finish by admitting not only its richness but its complexity as well. Instances of such works are Khaoula Taleb Al-Ibrahimi (1995), Abderrezak Dourari (2005), Mohamed Benrabah (2005; 2013), and others. Describing the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria as multilingual and diglossic has been a common point in different studies. On the one hand, Algeria is similar to its neighbouring countries and others in the Arabic-speaking world. It is home to its regional spoken Arabic dialects and Standard Arabic the official language. Algerian Arabic is the most dominant spoken language all over the country, as mentioned earlier, and Standard Arabic is the conventional official language used basically in written interactions, education, public administration, media and the press.

On the other hand, Algeria is also home to Berber dialects spoken by their native speakers, but Tamazight, which is recognised lately as an official language, is still being standardised. On an extra scale, however, French is still used as the first foreign language, but dominating a prestigious value among Algerians; even used by some as a first or second language. What's more, English is today a concurrent language to French and is widely used in business, technology and for university research. Therefore, the Algerian sociolinguistic context is generally believed to be a landscape with a stamp of linguistic diversity.

In view of that, the different sociolinguistic features such as diglossia, State bilingualism, and multilingualism that characterise Algeria, make from it an interesting issue for many researchers in the field of sociolinguistic variation and language policy and planning. So, is the Algerian sociolinguistic situation diglossic or polyglossic? Is it a multilingual or a plurilingual context? Then, is the State bilingualism recognised formally in the constitution, really required and authentically functional? What about the omnipresence of French in official

documents, in education, in administration and in social life; is it really a language conflict, or no more than a language contact? The following depiction of the Algerian context attempts to provide more clarifications.

2.3.1. Diglossic 'Rapport(s)' in the Algerian Context

Diglossia, as previously explained, refers to the coexistence of two varieties, mostly of the same language –High and Low. The former is used as a high variety in official contexts while the latter is the variety of the daily interaction. In Algeria, similarly as the other Arabic-speaking countries (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, Iraq...), the rapport between Classical/Standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic is diglossic. 'The Arabic Language' is the official language of Algeria '*Par excellence*'. It is used as a medium of instruction (mostly written) in schools and many university branches and as the required language for national exams and competitions. Arabic is also the language of written documents in administrations, judiciary acts, many literary and scientific publications, religious speech in mosques, and in most of the Press and media. It is also used to a certain extent in formal political discourses and many conversations and communications between Arabic scholars or individuals with a level of Arabic education (such as in conferences in literary fields and humanities).

George Yule said that diglossia exists in many countries in the world and in most Arabic-speaking countries where two varieties – high and low – of a language are used in the same speech community. So, he described the case of Algeria as a diglossic speech community, where two very different varieties of language co-exist; each with a distinct range of social function. There is normally a 'High' variety, for formal or serious matters, and a 'Low' variety, for conversation and other informal uses (George Yule, 1985:195). The high variety in Algeria is Classical Arabic used in lectures, religious speech and formal political speech, while the low variety is Algerian Arabic – the local dialect of colloquial Arabic. The latter, however, differs from a region to other in terms of accent, vocabulary, semantics etc.

However, the low variety is Algerian Arabic - the local dialect/colloquial Arabic used for daily contact, and concerned generally as the language of wider communication in the Algerian speech community. According to Chemami (2011):

> The phenomenon of diglossia present in Algeria is linked to the various transformations the original language of the Qur'an went through during the history of the Maghreb ... [and] the split between the Literary Arabic and the Algerian Arabic began with the Spanish settlement (1509-1555) by the phenomenon of borrowings... [and] increased during the French colonisation of Algeria (1830-1962) when the Literary Arabic was far from the various social and administrative domains for the benefit of French language. (p. 228)

Accordingly, the two levels of Arabic exist with a clear practical disparity mainly at the social level but with a distinct linguistic status as previously stated. However, varieties of Algerian Arabic, the most dominant spoken language in Algeria, are known by a certain extent of intelligibility, in spite of some regional disparities in terms of accent, vocabulary, syntax etc. Speakers of Algerian Arabic from the East can understand those from the West and vice versa, and so is the case with the North and the South. Today, thanks to the means of communication and social media basically, Algerians can even understand people from other Arabic speaking countries and vice versa to a certain extent.

It is generally known that French is used as a de-facto language in different domains, if not as the first required language. Some administrations and some scientific fields at university require the use of French as the most vehicular language, and so it is the High variety to be used in such contexts for both written and oral communication. The native language (whether Algerian Arabic or a Berber dialect) can be the Low variety to be used for daily communication, out of the formal context of job or study. An instance of this may be the case of Doctors, engineers, technicians or students of sciences who may well use French officially for formal discussions or when dealing with written tasks. A doctor addressing his/her staff uses French in most of the cases, similarly as a teacher of Chemistry or Physics explaining a formal lecture to his students, or a bank officer at work. However, the staff, the students or bankers may prefer their dialect as a Low variety to deal with each other.

Other forms of diglossia occur in Berberophone communities where speakers from the same group use their indigenous language as the low variety for daily contact as they may use Algerian Arabic when dealing with Arabophones, and Arabic and/or French mainly as the high variety for official and formal situations. Now after officialising Tamazight, Algeria has shifted formally from monolingualism to State bilingualism as clearly stated in 'art.3' and '3.bis' of its constitution. Hence, Tamazight is expected to be the High variety for Berberophones, once accomplishing the processes of its graphisation, codification and standardisation, yet acceptance.

Both Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic provide such a language contact, highly considered as a 'diglossia relationship' by Ferguson (1959a), Gumperz (1962), and Fishman (1968). Ferguson (1970) explains that both varieties, Classical and Colloquial, are present side by side in the Algerian speech community. Arabophones are in need of both varieties in different domains as explained before. A Berberophone, for example, needs to use Arabic with speakers of Arabic or as a de-facto language in Arabophone areas (in administrations, schools, markets, etc.). Although, many of the Kabyle, specifically, use French as a de-facto language in their daily life, they are also obliged to use Arabic in some conditions.

However, many Berberophones use in their daily life their native dialect at home and in their Berber community, Standard Arabic at school, mainly for written instruction, or in some formal circumstances at work and in public administration, while Algerian Arabic mostly to communicate in the society with Arabophones. So, a number of two to three languages can be generally used, while some old people remain monolingual mainly illiterate (and mostly women). Thus, such a language contact cannot be described simply as diglossia, but as tri/polyglossia, in which instances of individual bilingualism may exist. Moreover, considering Tamazight, more than ever, as an official language and French as a language of wider communication turns the language contact in the Algerian speech community to a case of multilingualism as explained in the following lines.

2.3.2. Linguistic Diversity in Algeria: the Evidence

It is worth noting that language contact cannot be stopped by political or geographical boundaries, but generally produced or even required by many historical, social and human factors. Accordingly, different cases of language contact such as bilingualism, multilingualism or plurilingualism can be resulted. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the Algerian community is an authentic example that presents, on the one hand, a case of bilingualism introduced by the historical and the colonial realities, which have confronted both Arabic and its varieties with French, a colonial heritage (and some other foreign languages like Spanish). On the other hand, however, identity, indigenous and social requirements have all led officially to a State bilingualism. Therefore, the concomitance of different languages within the Algerian society makes from it both a multilingual and plurilingual context at least at the level of social and individual verbal interactions.

History is a good witness that the need for individual/social interactions has usually been one of the first causes of the contact between different languages, and so leading mechanically not only to mixing, borrowing and switching, but yet to the mastery of more than the native tongue. This has been the case in the history of Algeria, mainly in the colonial era which has affected the Algerian language's' to a certain extent. Hence, a general description of the Algerians shows that a considerable number of people, especially in many urban areas and in the Kabyle regions, have an extent of mastery of French, though some remain monolingual.

Modernisation, technological development, the International Market and other aspects of globalisation have broken boundaries between the Algerians and the other peoples all over the world, mainly after the spread of Social Net Working. Besides, and because of different requirements, the Algerian is in need today to learn more languages and discover more cultures. The necessity for having a job, making researches, discovering knowledge, following actualities, or even getting acquainted to other nations have boosted up the learning of foreign languages, and so open the door for more cultures to be discovered in our environment. Some can learn English for prestige and others need it for jobs or for studies, whereas another category may prefer German, Spanish, Turkish or even

Chinese or Japanese for the same or for different reasons. Different examples do exist in Algeria, increasing the cases of plurilingualism, mainly by the spread of free programmes of language learning on the web. Today, one can hear about marriage through Facebook, and with other nations.

In sum, the language issue in Algeria has usually been marked by its uniqueness, and viewed from both sociolinguistic and ideological political perspectives. Cases of bilingualism, plurilingualism or multilingualism in Algeria are basically originated from the contact required between the dominating existing languages: Standard and dialectal Arabic, Berber dialects and French to respond to some specific needs, on purpose or without. As in any post-colonial country, it has never been a simple task for Algeria to ban the use of French or to clean its remnants, for its permanent contact with Arabic or with Berber dialects, and its socio-cultural interpenetration, as it cannot do nowadays with English or with any coming foreign language. French, having been deeply intruded within native languages, has become a linguistic reality, a communicative necessity for some, an ideological position for others, whereas a cultural prestige for another category. Naturally, if two languages coexist together in the same linguistic environment, each one may affect the other. Such is the case for Algerian Arabic for example as explained next.

2.3.3. Some Aspects of Language Contact in Algeria

Diglossia and multilingualism in the Algerian linguistic landscape have created a kind of mutual influence among the existing languages, and led to code-switching, code mixing, borrowing and adapting words from other languages, even transforming their morphological or phonological structure. Many French and Latin words are used in Standard Arabic, like 'technologie', 'mixage', 'graphique', 'cinéma', 'Internet', 'studio' and may be linked with Arabic morphemes or pluralised, as underlined in the following examples:

cinéma ← 'السنما' – 'الإنترنت' Internet – Studio ← 'استديوهات'

The Algerians have also incorporated some words from Standard Arabic to French, like '*la oumma', 'le moudjahid', 'le souk', 'le bled', 'la daira', 'la wilaya*'

etc. Besides, words like '*la qaida*', '*salafist*', '*djihadist*' are today used not only in French but also in other languages like English, because of the spread of terrorism in the world. Algerian Arabic, as any colloquial language, is more or less affected by its synchronic or diachronic contact with all the languages that have penetrated the territory via civilisations, invasions, and colonisations. It is subject to changes by receiving or absorbing foreign lexical or phonological features, because of the interaction with foreigners. Some Turkish, Spanish, Italian, and French words and names are still used in Algerian Arabic in additions to some pure Standard Arabic terms. Besides, media and globalisation are also other sources from where Algerian Arabic has gained a number of foreign terms.

More consideration is given to the mutual influence of the main existing languages in the Algerian linguistic landscape, namely French and Arabic. Since French is still used as the de-facto functional language in administrations in many sectors, there are terms that can be spread in a workplace according to its nature. Terms that are found in the language practices of the stuff of a healthcare institution are different from those used in a police station, or an educational administration. This is quite natural. However, the use of foreign words in daily language practices characterises Algerian Arabic, and this is what makes it unintelligible in the Arabic speaking world. AA contains a number of foreign words, mainly French, but it is more infected in urban areas than in rural regions. Some families in big cities use French as the first or second language in their daily lives. However, at the macro scale, both Arabophones and Berberophones have a certain extent of mastery of French and use it frequently, whether at home, in workplaces or in the society.

Some words and expressions are widely spread and even used by illiterate people. A few are selected here, to illustrate how their pronunciation changes. '*L'école*' (school)[55], '*grippé*' (have flu), '*l'opération*' (surgery), '*français/e*' (French) are examples used in Algerian Arabic but usually pronounced "*à l'algérienne*", as **'licoune/licoule', 'megrippi'/'megrippiya', 'l'parassioune' (l'barassioune), 'l'fransice'** respectively. Another instance is the large

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[55]What is written in Italics is French and if pronounced in Arabic/Algeria Arabic is in Bold type.

exploitation of social networks, especially Facebook, which is so popular in Algeria. This has given birth to new terms, like '**nconekti**' ('*connecter*' = to connect), '**partagih(a)**'*('le/la pargtager'* =share it), '**pibliyiteh** / pibliyit'ha' *('je l'ai publié'* = I've published it) and '**lizami**'*('les amis'* = friends).

Today, many pure Arabic words are also frequently used by some speakers, such as '**abi**', '**oummi/ ma˜ma**', '**moushkil/ ishka˜l/ ka˜ritha**', '**idmej**', '**sharika**', '**riya˜da**', '**lumdja**', '**mihfada**', '**fara˜wla**'[56] etc. Others, however, may prefer the use of French words instead, and so one can hear 'papa', '*maman/ mamie*', '*problème / catastrophe*', '*intégration*', '*entreprise*', '*sports*', '*gouté*', '*cartable*', '*les fraises*'; yet, if pronounced correctly. Some may pronounce '**kortab / kertab**' instead of 'cartable', even using it with Arabic pronouns, like when saying '**kartabek**'/ '**kartabi**' (your satchel, my satchel respectively). Other words like '**qamis**' (قميص), '**khima˜r**' (خمار), '**hija˜b**'(حجاب) are used nowadays more than '**aba˜ya**'(عباية), '**mendil**'(منديل), '**jellaba**'(جلابة). Many factors could have contributed to the spread of some terms, such as '**oukht/oukhteh**'(أخت/أختـه), or '**akhi/akhina**' (أخي/أخينا) are more common today when addressing to someone who shows his/ her Islam through his/ her clothes and deeds, while years ago, '*frère (frère musilman)*' and '*sœur (sœur musilmane)*' were used instead.

In fact, wherever languages meet in the same social context, and coexist together, each for a specific need, there is room for effects of language contact, such as codeswitching or words' borrowing. Besides, the longest they exist together, the more one affects the other. Spoken varieties are generally unstable and submit easily changes at different level throughout time. Hence, spoken varieties have adapted and adopted words from the languages that have been used for a long time in the country. This has resulted in a language that is criticised by being unintelligible. However, other spoken languages do also face the same problem if put in similar conditions. Therefore, it seems natural that AA has kept changing over time, as any other spoken language.

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[56] Daddy (أبي), mommy(أمي), catastrophe(كارثة/مشكل/ إشكال), integration(إدماج), factory/enterprise(شركة), sports(رياضة), snacks (لمجة),satchel(محفظة), strawberry(فراولة), respectively

2.4. Towards Describing the Algerian Linguistic Situation

Diversity in the Algerian linguistic landscape is a reality made by the contribution of a number of historical, social, ideological, political, global and feasibly other factors. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the Algerian speech community cannot be described only as di/pluriglossic but as also plurilingual and multilingual, considering individual bilingualism as well as the different languages of the existing speech communities. Evidently, nobody can deny the following five linguistic realities:

1. First, both Berberophones and Arabophones have become throughout time the native inhabitants of Algeria, and so both spoken Arabic and Berber dialects are existing languages.

2. Second, the formal selection of the Arabic language as the official and the national language of the country after independence has reinforced its dominance and made it highly spread in almost all domains.

3. Third, the fact of the implantation of the French language within the Algerian society, mainly in urban areas, has insured for it such a permanent existence that it is still considered as a language of wider communication.

4. Fourth, the Amazigh efforts for more rights to their identity, culture and language have brought different changes, by recognising Tamazight as a national and then as a co-official language, and hence adding it to the sociolinguistic and the political spheres.

5. Last but not least, the remarkable existence of English in different domains and the use of Spanish or Italian by individuals in some regions make the Algerian context plurilingual.

For all that, the Algerian sociolinguistic situation has always been of a unique concern. Generally, almost all the sociolinguistic researches done about the language question in Algeria describe it as complex; considering the nation as multicultural and the linguistic situation as both diglossic and multilingual. The following figure summarises the different possible cases of diglossia and

bi/multilingualism that may be present in the Algerian linguistic context as explained previously.

Figure 2.2. : The Linguistic Situation of Algeria
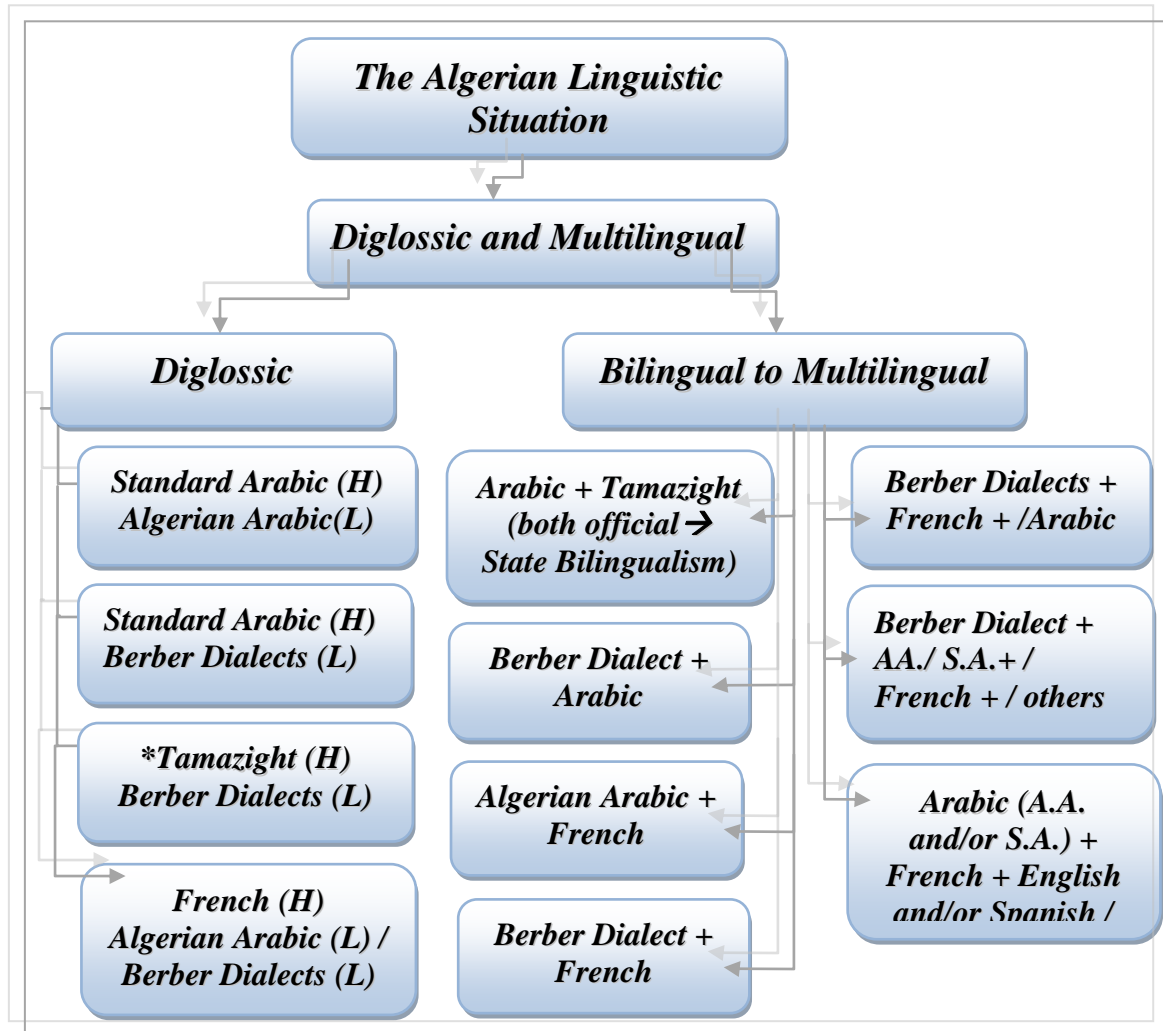
The language issue in Algeria is not a new aspect in the history of a nation challenging for a long time to protect its identity. All the peoples that have spent a period of time in the territory, for any purpose, would have left their traces on native tongues, and hence, developed a linguistic diversity – though not as diverse as those countries with fifty languages or more. All kinds of linguistic problems or variations are dependent on the historical conception of the nation. Laroussi (2003) says, 'Nation is the fruit of an artificial and a historical construction. It is not a fact but the result of the integration of diverse populations; a process which is never thoroughly over.' (p. 2)

Moreover, equally significant is the role of globalisation in shaping the nation's culture and causing different shifts all over the world. The notions of "nation", "identity" and "language" have usually been tightly interconnected and seen as fundamental pillars of society before considering the whole world as a small village. Hence, following a policy based on the logic of 'one nation implies one language' and vice versa has become challenging for many states as for Algeria, in a time international economy and global market are the leaders. Beliefs in nationalism and in unifying the state under the emblem of homogenous language and culture to protect one's identity are not only confronted by the Algerian policy. The fact of imposing or at least spreading some languages more than others has caused specific shifts worldwide in language planning and reforms in educational policies. So, after sketching the peoples of Algeria and their languages, with its sociolinguistic situation, the following part is devoted to describe, to some extent, the main shifts in its language policy and planning.

2.5.   The Algerian Language Policy and Planning

Culture is as significant as language. Both are of such a key position in any nation that the government should treat them cautiously in its language policy and planning. However, this is very issuable since there are several factors that contribute to shape the language policy and/or the language planning of any country. The Algerian linguistic and cultural profiles have always been characterised by diversity, giving a degree of complexity to its planning and policy. Since its independence, the Algerian language planning has reflected the existing political tensions and the bifurcated ideologies. Bugarski (in Shiffman, 1996):

> …Every language policy is culture-specific, and it is in the study of linguistic culture that we will come to understand why language policies evolve the way they do, why they work (or do not work) the way they are planned to work, and how peoples' lives are affected by them. (pp. 279-280)

When observing and inspecting the Algerian cultural and linguistic background, it can be perceived that as shaky Algeria's past has been, as fluctuant its policy would be. On the one hand, Algeria needs to meet contemporary internal and external requirements to match up modernity but also to preserve unity and

identity. People should venerate that each of the Algerian governments after independence has attempted to assure a certain extent of stability, and worked hard to rebuild the infrastructure of the country, as well as sponsor education, health and economy; a tough task, in fact. On the other hand, multiparty politics next to the tensions between the conflicting ideologies of pro-Arabization vs. pro-Francophonie and Arabophones vs. Berberophones to which those of pro-Islamism are incorporated have all obfuscated the Algerian political air and render its reading challenging. Yet, in terms of LPP, several covert and overt shifts have occurred, via top-down decisions in most of the cases.

Reminding here, Jernudd's & Rubin's (1971) famous question *"Can Language be planned?"* with their deduction that some cases *"convincingly show the absence of planning from language planning"*, forms several queries about which kind of LPP Algeria has undertaken so far. Then, how can the sudden shifts in the Algerian policy be interpreted? What rationales have been behind decreeing and then accelerating or decelerating the policy of Arabization? What makes French omnipresent in the language context of Algeria more than half a century of its independence? And then, how can Tamazight, which is supposed to be a Standard variety of the Berber dialects, be officialised after declaring officially and publically that it would never be? What is more, will things continue in the same stream within globalisation? It is really challenging to be able to respond accurately.

To make it somehow admissible, the researcher attempts to approach such a tricky context first by depicting the sociolinguistic profile of contemporary Algeria and then by investigating the main shifts in the State's language policy and planning. For that reason, the study focuses on the most relevant events that have been rationales, to some extent, in shaping the cultural and linguistic aspects of the Algerian population. Five phases are examined here as they are viewed by the researcher as the most significant transformations:

- The primary Arabization of the indigenous people through Islamisation which has linguistic, cultural and religious impacts.

- The Frenchification of a considerable share of the Algerian population, mostly the elite who were intended to be the ruling mass after independence.
- The policy of arabising the systems[57] of the newly independent government and its successors.
- The officialisation of Tamazight stating its main causes the Kabyle Myth, the Berber Crisis, and the Black Spring.
- Global changes injecting an extent of the spread of English, as a competitor to French in industry, economy, education, and even in social life.

Therefore, this section is designed to reveal the impact of these events on the Algerian regime, as well as the way and the extent of their influence on the decisions taken in terms of language policy and planning in post-independent Algeria, pointing out the two main shifts; Arabisation and the officialisation of Tamazight. Both of them have deep and interrelated roots in the period of colonialism. Each one represents a significant formal shift in the Algerian language planning. Although the Algerian constitution has been amended many times, the shift from a monolingual to a multilingual policy is be marked here.

2.5.1. The Policy of Arabisation

The policy of arabisation undertaken by Algeria after independence was a reaction to the coloniser's policy of prohibiting the use of Arabic for years. Moreover, Algeria is widely characterised by being part of the Arab World. The country's independence coincided with the emergence of the movement of Pan-Arabism, the period of decolonisation, and the rise of Nationalism. As a newly independent state, Algeria regained the official status of its language Arabic, for different factors. As previously reported, France has utilised different ways to realise its process of frenchifying Algeria, and achieve a 'deracinement' of the indigenous identity and history. Therefore, the new regime set off the 'policy of Arabisation', aiming at restoring the qualities of the Algerian society. The urge to

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[57] The people have already been Arabized.

rid oneself of an oppressor is understandable and the rush to Arabise Algerian society after the War of Independence was inevitable. In fact, the Algerian independent government was in front of the necessity to set off the policy of arabisation.

In the ceasefire agreement (1962), according to some documents related to North African yearbook (AAN)[58], it was mentioned that the national Algerian character should be based fundamentally on restoring the dignity and the cultural value of the Arabic language, as a language of civilisation. It was also declared that Arabic should be defined the primary component of the national culture, and its dignity and efficiency as a language of civilisation should be restored. Similarly, the Tripoli Programme in June 1962 declared that the role of the Revolution 'is above all... to restore to Arabic - the very expression of the cultural values of our country - its dignity and its efficacy as a language of civilisation,' (cited in Kaplan and Baldauf, 2007, p.72).

In view of that, Arabisation as a policy was not a new objective of independent Algeria. The French plan of acculturation imposed for a long time on Algeria was one of the major causes of arabisation. Algeria has remained characterised by its 'Algerian', 'Muslim' and 'Arab' aspect, in spite of the strong French policy of deracinement. Obviously, it was hard to find fluent Arabic-speakers in the higher echelons of the government to implement Arabisation in a good way, since the elites graduated from the French school. However, the challenge was to regain the use of Arabic as the official language of a state, always counted among the Arabic-speaking countries. The main objective of Arabisation has always been to attain maximum use of Arabic in different Arab countries in oral and written communication. In fact, Arabic has covered widely all issues ranging from making Arabic the official language of the state, the language of instruction, to matters related to the preparation of technical and scientific terminology in Arabic.

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[58] Documents Algérie, Accord de Cesser-le-feu en algérie, in AAN| **A**nnuaire de l'**A**frique du **N**ord, available at http://www.aan.mmsh.univ-aix.fr/Pdf/ANN-1962-01_14.pdf

The policy of Arabisation was a top-down activity since the nationalist elites' motive in 1962 looked for a valid and a strong symbol of nativity and identity, and implemented it to reinforce the political field through socio-cultural dimensions. Therefore, such a policy has been identified as ideology-oriented. However, if viewing such a reaction from another perspective, this is roughly related to Fishman's dichotomy (1968) 'nationalism' vs. 'nationism'. Most of the LP models reviewed in the previous chapter focussed on the national language and on regaining its value. Hence, the policy of Algeria after independence was no more than a model, very similar to many, all around the world. The common element between the models set by Haugen, Fishman, Cooper, Ferguson, and others was to target the national language and regain its status. Algeria, in its policy of arabisation, had the same target.

Education, as the most sensitive sector in any country, it was the first field to be targeted by the new independent government. Cooper, in his scheme planning for a goals' oriented approach, considered language teaching as the major intent for policymaking. The policy of arabisation was put gradually into action, on scientific bases, starting by education, even though it was the most difficult step faced by the new independent government, after the war of liberation, and more than a century under colonisation. The policy of arabisation was seen by the elites as a 'modernising process' that could integrate Algeria into the world. Arabic became gradually the language of instruction in education, and then of administration, in spite of the spread of French.

At first, the government started by introducing Arabic as the working language for the parliament in 1963, and arabising the first year of primary school. It supported the teaching of Arabic in all grades. Systematic Arabisation or Arabisation 'at all cost' started in the era of the second Algerian president Houari Boumedienne. The policy continued to be generalised gradually, but supported as the President sought by the support of Islamic institutions to ease such transition. He declared that 'Arabization cannot be realized with the sole support of the state,' and 'other efforts must be put forth … the mosques have at their disposal elites, who can educate and teach Arabic to adults,' (Kashani-Sabet, 1996). Education and vocational training were also concerned by the policy. The process was more

generalised and reached on administrations (civil service, media, and advertising) insisting on workers to learn Arabic.

The process of arabisation was carried out more systematically in the 1970s, proclaiming1971 'the year of arabisation' by President Boumedienne. In higher education, the Permanent Committee for Higher Education was established. The National Commission for Arabisation was founded by the help of FLN in January 1973, and in December, Algeria was the site for the 2nd Pan-Arab Congress for Arabisation on creating a uniform scientific and technological terminology for all Arabic-speaking countries. The whole primary level was arabised in 1974 so that the number of arabised teachers and learners increased. The president stressed repeatedly in his speeches the need of arabisation as one of the preoccupations of the nation and the State, and a strategic option of the socialist revolution, in order to safeguard dignity and national unity (Kashani-Sabet, 1996).

It is worth to note that the ex-minister of education, Taleb Ibrahimi said (1973), 'Arabization is necessary since it is one of the essential ways for the restoration of the Algerian personality...' (p. 270) without ignoring French, he said 'It is not our intention to destroy the acquired colonial knowledge but to reconvert it. It does not occur to us to deny the contributions of the French culture that has taught us the method as well as the "Discourse on Method', (ibid.). However, as long as President Boumedienne governed Algeria, there was a great and an active execution of the policy of arabisation. It is more efforts were done to speed up the process, mainly after the First National Conference for Arabisation, done in May 1975. The process of total arabisation moved to the judicial system, the press, and to the teaching of geography, history and philosophy in secondary education. After that, it reached in March 1976 all public signs (streets, highways, administrative buildings...) and car licence plates.

The National Charter (27June, 1976), and the second Constitution (December, 1976) approved by referendum reaffirmed that 'Arabic is the national and official language. The state must see to generalise its use.' Art.3 ; and both referred to French as a 'foreign language'. The process was somewhat delayed due to the death of the President. When Chadlie Benjdid was designed the country's president, he carried on the same policy, though not in the same speed. He decided

the implementation of total arabisation in March 1979, using religious instruction, but strongly opposed by the opposition party FFS, who had called for democracy and the end of dictatorship. After a strike done by Arabised students at Algiers University, in November 1979, asking for urgent and better job opportunities, the Ministry of the Interior asked all administrations to accept arabised candidates for job, since January 1980.

In 1980, the Ministry of Higher Education created for the first time the Permanent Commission for Arabisation, and the '*Haut-Commissariat de la Langue Nationale*' approved by the FLN. Other bodies had been established to control and support the process, like the Centres for the Intensive Teaching of Languages (1981), the Algerian Academy for the Arabic Language (1986), and the Algerian Association for Arabisation in 1989 (Kadi in Kaplan & Baldauf, 2004: 69). More efforts continued to be done gradually, though criticised to be slow. The policy of arabisation could not be easily realised for the bifurcated Algerian political culture.

The process of Arabisation was delayed in the late 1980s and in the 1990s, for the political instability lived by the country. Hence, it became secondary in the government's agenda and in public opinion too. After the election of 1992, the law of total compulsory Arabisation was made on hold, and the project of teaching French at the elementary level were then postponed[59]. However, it was a good opportunity for Berber Cultural Movement (MCB), to restate strongly the issue of the Berber language and identity. The school year 1994-95 was marked by the 'satchels' strike' (*grève des cartables*) backed by MCB, ending by allowing the teaching of Berber dialects in their native regions as secondary subjects, starting from 1995. Besides, Amazighity was recognised as one of the fundamental components of the national identity besides Arabity and Islamity[60] in the constitutional revision in November 1996.

In September 1998, the Higher Council of the Arabic Language was founded to oversee the policy of total Arabisation. However, as soon as the ex-

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[59] Decree 92-02 of 4 July 1992 (more information are given in the fourth chapter, in documents analysis)
[60] Constitution revised version 1996 in appendix E

president Bouteflika was elected on 1999, a new policy started to emerge in the Algerian political agenda. Again, the policy of arabisation was delayed. Tamazight was recognised national language in 2002 and then official in 2016. His era was also known by the promotion of multilingualism, a more spread of French and a support to the use of English. He declared, 'It is unthinkable … to spend ten years study in Arabic pure sciences when it would only take one year in English'[61], and what's more ... he declared: 'There has never been a language problem in Algeria, but simply rivalry and fights for French-trained executives' positions'[62] (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2007: 26-7).

It is worth to mention that the policy of the generalisation of Arabisation was made again on hold in the period of president Boutelika. However, not a great progress has been seen since then, mostly in education. In July 2015, there were some news about a plan of using Algerian Arabic as a medium of instruction in the early years of primary education, an event that was widely rejected. It was a controversial plan that caused a great noise among ministers, members in the parliament, associations, and people, calling for dismissal of the ex-minister of national education N. Benghabrit, who tweeted very soon that it was a rumour. Some parliament members saw such a plan as a dangerous step in the history of the State, and manifested against that, with a total refusal[63] to the use of dialectal Arabic as a language of teaching.

For the first time, the constitution revision done in 2016 brought a modification in the third article related to the status of Arabic. The revision proclaimed a more elaboration of the Arabic language and encouraged the translation of scientific and technical matters into Arabic. The same text was maintained in the revision of 2020. The Higher Council of the Arabic Language (HCAL) was designed responsible for following the accomplishment of the process. However, the last few years have been marked by a kind of tensions, an

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[61] 'Il est indispensable …d'étudier des sciences exactes pendant dix ans en arabe alors qu'elles peuvent l'être en un an en anglais' (Le Matin 22 mai 1999)
[62]'Il n'y a jamais eu de problème linguistique en Algérie, juste une rivalité et des luttes pour prendre la place des cadres formés en français!' (*El-Watan*, 22 mai 1999)
[63] A screenshot of the the minister's tweet and a copy of the manifesto are joined in appendix O

economic crisis, political obscurity and social instability, the famous people's reaction against the preceding president and his government, after twenty years of governance, and by the transition to the new government. Such factors have been another stone in front of the continuity of the execution of the policy of arabisation, and the elaboration of the process proclaimed in the two last constitutions.

Reviewing the major steps of the implementation of arabisation makes clear that the policy was based on – and also rejected by– ideologies. Hence, it is an ideology-oriented policy, directed according to the leaders' intentions. Yet, this is not for arabisation per se, but the execution of every policy cannot be out of the flow of the whole regime. Tollefson (1991) views that the ideological stance in language policy cannot be escapable, and so arabisation has been. It is significant to note that arabisation has always been associated with the ideologies of preserving the Islamic and Arabic characters of the country, as stated in its constitution, following the policy of nation building in the era of decolonisation, and of reacting against the spread of the coloniser's language. However, it was also criticised on the basis of the Francophone ideology. The rise of the Berber cultural movements has also nourished the beliefs that Arabic was imposed as any foreign language.

In view of the chronology of the implementation of the policy of arabisation, three main periods could be identified: the onset, the systematic implementation, and then the suspension of the law of its generalisation. It is very common that any process starts by being active, and then it fades throughout time. Although arabisation is still functional at a large extent in education, in administrations and in other civil services, it has been described by being slow and non-systematic since the 1990s.Today, the current government's policy gives additional expressive and symbolic meaning to the Arabic language use in the constitution and in different domains. The government seems to encourage Arabic, but nothing could be obvious at this level. What is commonly known is that arabisation has never been as systematic as it started, and that has not yet been fully accomplished due to different political, economic and ideological factors, not considering to the recognition of Tamazight as another official language.

2.5.2. Tamazight: the Second Official Language

After more than half a century from independence, Tamazight is recognised as an official language, and Algeria has moved from monolingualism to state bilingualism. The major rationale was the Berber Crisis, which originated from an old ideological conflict raised on April 1949 between the leading members of the party of the Algerian People[64] – the pro-Amazighity activist. It was the effect of the revolutionists' political decision considering that Algeria is Algerian and all Algerians should be united. Unity and national identity were the central goals, to which Arabic was adjoined when the colonizer banned its use. Although the War of independence (1954) lessened such ideological conflicts for a while, that was frustrating and hard for the Berbers, mainly when confirmed by proclaiming Arabic the national and the official language of the country after independence. The first opposing political force named FFS[65], led by H. Ait Ahmed, was created in 1963, in Tizi Ouzou, and revolted openly against Ben Bella the first Algerian president (1962-1965) for his monolingual policy. Later, in the era of Boumedienne, Ait-Ahmed and many pro-Amazighity activists were exiled to Europe, and welcomed by France. FFS was banned and suppressed in 1966. Since then, other Berber movements have spread out among various cultural organizations, in Algeria.

The Algerian LP was identified by being a top-down policy though it was targeted to keep united Algeria, and no language other than Arabic was suitable to fit the status of the official language. Ansre (in S. Wright, 2004) believes that it is necessary for national unity and growth to select 'a language or major languages which can be used widely throughout the country not only so that government can communicate with the governed, but also that it could serve as the medium of national interaction at all levels,' (pp.74-75). Thus, Francophone pro-Amazighity activists opposed this monolingual policy, and the Berber crisis reappeared with a new political dimension in the 1980s.Since then, Berber, mostly Kabyle demands, have taken a new aspect that have turned into yearly overt protests, under the name

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[64] In French: *'Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques',* founded by Lhadj Messali (1946)
[65] (Front des Forces Socialistes)- Front of Socialist Forces, led by Houcine Ait Ahmed who was Berber.

of the 'Amazigh'/'Berber Spring', calling for recognition of their cultural and linguistic rights.

No change in the linguistic laws has occurred until 1995, after a the eight-month 'school boycott' (1994), by a million of teachers and students in the Kabyle regions for the recognition of Tamazight; soon followed by massive marches commemorating the Berber Spring 15th anniversary. As a pace forward, a presidential decree was passed on May, 1995[66] for the creation of the HCA (Higher Committee for Amazighity), and allowed the use of Tamazight in national TV programs and in education. In many schools in Kabylia and Aurès, 'Taqbaylit'/Taqbeilit was taught as a secondary matter, and some Berber TV and radio channels saw life. Later, the constitution was revised, maintaining the monolingual policy, but stating the term 'Amazighity' for the first time in its preamble:'…the fundamental components of its identity…are Islam, Arabity and Amazighity' (Constitution Revision: 1996).

In the era of the ex-president, violent riots occurred in spring 2001, in the anniversary of the Berber Spring, and the authorities moved to the Kabyle regions to calm down the situation, but unfortunately brought about 126 victims. This caused a shift from the 'Berber'/'Amazigh Spring' to the 'Black' Spring. After a long delay, Tamazight was recognised as a national language. Again, without referendum, a top-down policy occurred but to lessen Kabyle uprisings. Berber cultural movements continued calling for official status, some even have seriously targeted self-autonomy. Their chief aim was realised in the constitution revision in 2016, during the absence of the ex-president for serious health issues.

Language planning is usually undertaken to solve language problems in a speech community (Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971) that could rise from multilingualism (Fishman, in Abid, 2006: 66). As to the Algerian policy, it could be described of being systematic and gradual. The government could not give Tamazight the official status after independence, because it was not a language of wider communication. Moreover, 'Tamazight' itself does not exist as a standard

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[66]It followed the agreement of April 22, 1995, reached by the Government with MCB, MCA, and M'zab.

language that could be commonly used in all Berber regions, and Berber dialects are spoken varieties, in addition to the fact that none of them is known or understood by non-native speakers. Such a reality supports the problem of unintelligibility, as well as the ideology of the minority language(s). Actually, if both Arabic and Tamazight are legally official, other languages are also used in Algeria, authenticity reveals the factual status of each one, and unveils which one is more functional.

2.6. The Legal vs. Factual Status of Languages in Algeria

Each of the languages present in the Algerian linguistic landscape has its specific legal and functional status; whether national, official, foreign or de-facto. The focus in this paper is on both levels of Arabic; High, i.e. Standard, and Low, i.e. Dialectal. Formally, it is decreed in the constitution, exactly in its third article, that Arabic is the National and the Official language of the country, to which the addition of Tamazight as national appeared in 2002 and as co-official in 2016. Although no other language is mentioned in the constitution, French and English have the statuses of the first and the second foreign languages respectively in the educational policy. Both languages function as de-facto languages in different domains, each in its specific context.

However, reality generally reveals a different image when dealing with the factual status of each language in specific contexts. It is generally believed that Arabic, with its two levels, is the most dominant language in the country at the macro scale. It is important to note here that although Standard Arabic is not largely spoken, but for specific purposes, it is the conventional official language 'par-excellence' basically used for written interactions to a large extent. It is the language of education, i.e. the medium of both written and oral instructions. In pre-university education, syllabuses and course books of all the subjects – except of foreign languages – are in Standard Arabic, which is also required for national written exams and competitions. It is formally the language of national and international seminars of letters and humanities, official political discourses, media, the press, and written affairs in public administration.

It is obvious that Algerian Arabic is the most dominant spoken language in almost all domains. It is also living a large spread in cinema and media, and some private TV and Radio channels use it today even for reading the news. Berberophones need to use it too when communicating with Arabophones. At the political scale, official speeches are sometimes delivered in Algerian Arabic or in French since the majority of the ruling 'class' do not master literary Arabic, but got their basic education in French schools. In education, the most frequent medium of oral interaction and instruction has become Algerian Arabic. In a past study conducted by the researcher in 2009-2010[67], most of the teachers who used colloquial Arabic in the classroom, argued that they did to facilitate the interaction and simplify the input. As for administrations, written interactions are generally conducted into Standard Arabic (French in some domains); otherwise, it is the dialect which is dominant.

Tamazight, though national and co-official, is considered in many studies as a virtual language since it is supposed to represent a standard form for all the Berber varieties. It is significant to mention that the government works for its promotion and development 'in all its linguistic varieties', after the last constitutional amendments, and the Algerian Academy of Tamazight is carrying out the process of standardisation and codification. As for Berber dialects, they are basically used for daily communication, by their natives, but commonly viewed as minority languages. Sociolinguistic and ethno-linguistic studies count over more than ten unintelligible Berber Dialects in Algeria: Taqbeilit, Tachawit, Tumzabt, Chenoua, Tamahaq, Taznatit, Tachelhit, Tadaksahak, Tagergrent and others.

Therefore, generalising the teaching of Tamazight in the whole territory is problematic for the lack of unified scripts. While the Touaregs use Tifinagh scripts to write their dialect, The Kabyles favour Latin scripts, and the Chaouias and the Mozabite prefer Arabic. However, Taqbeilit is commonly used in TV and radio programmes, websites, and in cinema, more than the rest of the varieties. Even though gaining legally the national and co-official status, Tamazight cannot be

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[67] Magister research undertaken by Mrs.   E. Zahaf entitled 'Arabic in the Algerian Education: Between Authenticity and Legislations'

more than its factual status – a variety spoken only by its native speakers. It is neither a language of science nor a language of wider communication. As a consequence, it is a challenge to make it accepted widely among Algerians. Moreover, it is less functional in both education and public administration, at least in present time.

French is another story. Nearly six decades after independence, the language of the coloniser is still omnipresent in different domains, though many deny that. As already mentioned, though the government has tried to arabise the systems of the State, it has always been difficult to drive the policy to a complete success because of different factors. While some ideologies consider French as the most suitable language of development and science for Algeria, others give it the status of prestige and another category see that the number of its speakers is being more limited by time. Studies in many fields at university are still conducted in French, which is also the main language of a considerable number of publications, newspapers, and even some Algerian channels. What is more is that it is still widely used in economy and many administrations, such as in banks.

English, as a lingua franca, is having a significant status in the Algerian context for different reasons. It is nowadays required in different domains and even concurring French despite its spread and prestige. A global language very required for technology, sciences, research, industry, economy, and technology, English is becoming today very significant in many sectors in Algeria. In 2019, the ex-minister of higher education Tayeb Bouzid made a national poll on Facebook to know teachers' and students' attitudes towards enhancing the use of English in Algerian universities. It is worth to note that it coincided with the Hirak. The findings showed that more than 90 % agreed of the teaching of English at all levels as a compulsory subject, and the minister started the process by designing two commissions for that. Very soon after, universities received a note asking for replacing French with English in the running heads of official documents. Later, some ministries, such as the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, the Ministry of Defence, and others dropped French from the official naming, and used Arabic, Tamazight and English. Apart from that, French is still used in many domains, even officially.

To sum up, the most functional languages at the formal level are Standard Arabic and then French, while at the social level; they are Algerian Arabic and Berber dialects. All the administrative written interactions should be done in Arabic. French, the first foreign language, is also required for some specific purposes. However, it is noticed that spoken dialects are so spread instead of Standard Arabic even in formal situations. In education and in administrations, Algerian Arabic and Berber dialects are usually more used at the level of oral interactions for the lack of proficiency in Standard Arabic. In some situations, French replaces Arabic at both the oral and the written scales. However, recent political changes have kept the linguistic context debatable, yet posing many questions, mainly concerning the status of French and English, since Arabic and Tamazight have been sustained by the last constitution.

2.6.1. The Conventional Educational Status of Arabic

Education cannot be ignored in any country, as it reflects the success or the failure of the policy undertaken by the government, and hence it is selected among all the systems as the question of this study for its important relation to language planning. The issue of Arabic in the Algerian policy, mainly in education, has usually been a point of discussion. It is generally known that Arabic is not only taught as any common subject in schools but it is the medium of instruction of the majority of the matters in all pre-university educational levels and all the university fields of letters and humanities (except the teaching of foreign languages). However, authentically, educational standards in current time have usually reflected peoples' dissatisfaction about the Algerian policy. While some think that many factors have contributed to such a situation, others believe that the major reason should be the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction. However, it is commonly seen that it is unquestioning to think of another language than Arabic for education.

Algeria, an Arabic-speaking country, promulgated the policy of Arabisation just after independence and based it on the selection of Arabic as the official and the national language of the State for its association with both its Arabo-Algerian Islamic culture and identity. Hence, the expansion of Arabic as both the most dominant medium of instruction and its teaching as one of the basic matters in

Algerian schools are among the priorities the system of education has planned to achieve. However, authenticity does not reflect the real objectives of the educational policy, which was set after independence to displace French, and to teach and spread Arabic, which has become after centuries of use an emblem of the Algerian identity.

Wright (in Llamas et al., 2007) explained that language was central to the case for independence. To be a 'nation', a group felt it had to be both cohesive and distinct. A single 'national' language could demonstrate this,' (p.166). However, neither Algerian Arabic nor one of the Berber varieties could be selected as the language of the State because they could not act in response to contemporary circumstances, since they are only spoken and variable. None of them was convenient and the process of standardising them could have delayed the implementation of a convenient policy in a time Algeria had other priorities. The best choice had to be standard Arabic as the most suitable lingua franca, considering Algeria an Arab country; even though some see that it was imposed by the nationalists' ideologies viewing all the Algerians as one speech community under the umbrella of democratisation.

However, the actual reality of the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction reflects different facts from the main objectives of the educational policy proclaimed by the government or by the Minister of National Education (MNE). Today, the Algerian classroom, even when teaching of the Arabic language, the most dominant medium is usually colloquial Arabic; even French expressions are used in scientific and technical matters. In a study[68] done few years ago, we have noticed while observing different class sessions that Algerian Arabic was widely used for the sake of explaining and facilitating the input, 'up to teachers'. As for pupils, the majority, if not all, used only Algerian Arabic for learner/learner and learner/teacher oral interaction, while in the schools' administrations and outside the classroom, Standard Arabic is used only for written practices. In scientific and technical matters, teachers may use some terms or expressions of French or

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[68]Magister study done by the researcher 'Mrs. Esma Zahaf' about the authentic use of Arabic as a medium of instruction in the teaching of all the matters taught in Arabic in secondary education. It was conducted on five secondary schools on a sample of 350 pupils and 100 teachers.

sometimes English up to the naming of the concept. It should not be strange to mention that even teachers of foreign languages generally use dialectal Arabic to explain the lecture.

To put an end to this point, the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction is very conventional, for it is the *de facto* language of the State, and the supposed language of the Algerians as an Arabic-speaking nation. Moreover, the diglossic case of all Arabic-speaking countries is similar to the Algerian context, dialectal Arabic is the language of wider oral communication, and SA is the language of formal written and oral practices. It is not logical to consider SA a foreign language and waste time and money for the standardisation of an Arabic dialect and make it a medium of instruction. Therefore, the convenient status of Arabic as the language of the government has been a good solution for a long time, uniting the Algerians, despite some drawbacks. It is very important to admit that no other language could fit such a status in all the Arabic-speaking countries.

2.6.2. Facts about 'Tamazight' in Algeria

The Berbers had always been so famous for their unique rich culture, and cohabitation with Arabs. By the raise of political activist movements, from 1926 and up[69], things started changing due to the intention of making a constant significant revolution. The chief goals of Algerian revolutionists had been mostly marked by defending the country's identity stressing on Islam for its idealism and privilege, and Arabic for its eloquence and prestigious value within Moslems. 'Islam and the Arabic language were effective forces of resistance against the attempt of the colonial regime to depersonalize Algeria.' (Gordon, in Kaplan and Baldauf 2007:61).

Revolutionists 'negligence' or 'rejection' to recognizing ethnic diversity has brought up the 'Berberists Crisis' of April 1949, and so, created and intensified conflicts through time. The problem is not ethnic but is rather based on some

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[69]Mouvement National1926, embodied by *Étoile Nord-Africaine*; *Parti du Peuple Algérien* (PPA) in1937 ; *Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques*(MTLD) in 1946 (after each ban, Messali l'Hadj found another movement- but always refusing to recognise Berber as a National identity, as believing that 'Algeria is Algerian' and 'all Algerians should be united')

ideologies. The more Arabisation is generalised, the more Berber activists are loaded by feelings of oppression and bigotry. Among the facts, the National Centre for Tamazight Language Planning, instituted by decree n° 03-470, is working to develop the teaching of Tamazight[70]. However, this might fit the desire of only one Berber community, i.e. the group that has resisted powerfully for years, tried greatly to adapt suitable scripts for 'Tamazight', and made from the spoken dialect a written language of a good cultural and political level in the country. The fact that Kabylian speakers live mostly in Algiers and in Tizi Ouzou have offered them an opportunity that was not given to other Berbers.

Today, Tamazight is the second official language, perhaps through a bottom-up policy, and its teaching is rather being an issue of attempts to create suitable curricula as well as teaching materials to spread it all over the territory. However, the fact of acceptance is another obstacle in the way of the generalisation of its use, whether in education or in administration. Great efforts should be done to 'convince' people learn it, always because of the spread of some ideologies. Besides, many years of ban have led the Berber – notably the Kabylians – to change the Algerian language policy, to defend their cultural identity, and elevate their dialect to a good status.

The Berbers, though converged on 'Tamazight', are clearly diverged ethnically and linguistically. Berber dialects are not known or spoken out their native regions. The language issue in Algeria has often been complex, even before declaring Tamazight official, which means to be taught and used in administrations. Wright (2004) argues that a language 'would be spread most efficiently to non-speakers in the population if its written form was stable and if there were clear rules on its grammar, syntax, lexis and orthography that could be taught formally in the education system,' (p.52). Therefore, Tamazight needs to be written first, standard and then accepted for its implementation and elaboration. Moreover, 'top-down policies cannot compensate for lack of bottom-up support and that use in the family is ultimately more important than use in institutions.' (Fishman, ibid: 232).

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[70] More details are available in Appendix K about Decree 03-470

It is worth noting here that language spread in bi/multilingual settings is usually in favour of the most dominant one, while those, which have a restricted use, can hardly achieve wide public acceptance, though they represent national symbol. According to Wright (ibid: 46), 'Certainly societal competence in a language which comes to be highly symbolic but which is little used in communication is not secure.' Another fact is that even the choice of the scripts is a matter of ideologies. Kabyle and Chenoua are used to Latin; Chaouia, M'zab, Gourara and Oued Righ use Arabic scripts, but Djanet and Tamanrasset write in Tifinagh. Hugh[71] (2007)argued that it is chiefly a matter of ideologies; Tifinagh for Amazigh authenticity, Arabic for the national unity and Latin for modernity and universality. So, it is complex, to some extent, to make a choice that satisfies the Berbers in particular and all the Algerians on the whole.

In fact, the fourth estate and social networking reported a continuum of antagonist and protagonist speculations. On the one hand, the policy was approached by some as a step of merit and respect to the authentic socio-cultural diversity to satisfy all the Berbers and regulate their language issue, since 'official support for a language should be a key component of language maintenance,' (Bourhis, Skutnabb, Kangas, in Wright, 2004: 232). On the other, a lot wondered if Tamazight could answer the needs of all the groups and function for socioeconomic, technical and modern fields of life both nationally and internationally. According to Kelman (in Ouane, 2003):

> 'If a language policy aims to satisfy individuals, community and national needs, it must attempt to establish and facilitate patterns of communication (both internally and internationally) that would enable its socioeconomic institutions to function most effectively and equitably in meeting the needs and interests of the population. It must also assure equal access to the system and opportunities to participate in it for the different groups within the society, varying in their linguistic repertories (for either ethnic or social-class reasons).' (60)

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[71]In the 1st international colloquium on 'l'aménagement de tamazight' in Sidi Fredj on 05-07/12/2007

Therefore, the shift was deemed 'very dangerous…and would empower French' by Djaballah (Leader of the Islamist Justice Party) and that it 'would open the gates of hell' by Rabouh (Algerian Pundit), while others showed optimism. Opposing movements as the CMA[72] were frustrated with the shift that 'consecrates the supremacy of Arabic' and made Tamazight waiting for the work of specialists and academies. The MAK argued that 'the only thing that the Kabyle people want is the recognition of their right to freely decide their own future…it is Kabyle and not Tamazight which should be declared an official language in Kabylia[73],' considering Kabyle as a language of its own, while Tamazight as a group of related languages. This might well trigger noise calling for more linguistic rights by other Berber groups; it is really challenging.

Piet[74] (2016) says that 'the constitutional changes seem progressive on paper… [and]arrive at a turning point for Algeria'. He argues that 'it is still too soon to tell if these represent a commitment to reforms or if they are simply a façade.' Though it has reached a significant step forward, Tamazight does not represent a language of national communication, and still requires elaboration and spread via corpus planning and acquisition planning. 'Language is not only an element of identity but also a means of communication,' (Wright, 2004, p. 44),

Up to Haugen a top-down policy succeeds 'only… when bottom-up patterns of behaviour are (or can be brought to be) in accord with it,' (Wright, 2004: 74), and Algeria's LP is top-down 'Jernudd & Rubin posed the question (1971) 'Can Language be Planned?' and concluded that some studies show 'the absence of planning from language planning,' (Jernudd and Das Gupta, ibid). This might well lead to think if the Algerian LP is so, or the Berbers have driven the state to a LP that is 'nothing but a way of accommodating society to linguistic diversity.' Mackey (Ouane, 2003, p.11)

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[72]CMA: Congres Mondial Amazigh (in French) – an organisation seeking to represent the political and cultural Amazigh movements - Retrieved from: http://www. amazighworld. org(14/06/2016 - 13:24).
[73]Retrieved from http://www. tamurt. info(14/06/2016 at 15:10)
[74] He is Assistant Professor of Public policy, diplomacy and international political economy at Qatar University; in an article for Al-Jazeera (09 March 2016) – Remi Piet (>Reuters) - @RemiPiet

2.6.3. French: A Prestige or a Colonial Heritage

For many Algerians, French is the language that is deeply engraved as the colonial ill-treatment in the memory of Algeria. It represents a language that has colonised officially the status of Arabic for long and that marked its signs on the Algerian personal identity. It is a language, however, that has been widely learnt and used after 1962 despite the government's attempts to arabise the whole population, and its use became a prerequisite in many fields, and that the number of French users has increased. Development and modernisation have also played a significant part in the spread of French – not only in Algeria, but in all French post-colonies. Grandguillaume views that Algeria in 1962 was totally frenchified. He in (Ibrahimi, 1997: 13) said:

> *'Aux yeux d'un observateur étranger à l'Algérie, tout se passe comme si ses habitants ne s'étaient pas reconnu le droit de se réapproprier le sol, l'architecture, les édifices, en les transformant, en leur apportant une marque propre sol, comme si un modèle ancien s'imposait toujours? Si une indépendance peut être arrachée par la force d'une révolution, si elle peut être reconnue de l'étranger, il reste encore à l'assumer de l'intérieur en se reconnaissant à soi-même le droit d'être indépendant !'*

> 'With the eyes of a foreign observer in Algeria, everything happens as if its inhabitants have never known the right of regaining the land, the architecture, the buildings, transforming them, and giving them a native sign; as if a foreign model is still imposed? If independence is taken by the power of revolution, if it is admitted by foreign countries, it has moreover to be defended from inside the country, recognising by oneself the right to be independent!'

Although French has always been seen by Algerians as the language of the enemy, and considered a foreign language by the Algerian system after independence, it is still used at the oral and the written scale in daily life interaction; not only by Berbers but also by other Algerians. It is used by some families at home, in schools, in administrations. It is mainly used in diplomacy as a language of intra/inter-relations, and as a medium of instruction in the teaching of sciences in higher education. It is still the language of many Algerian newspapers and magazines. For some, it is the language of prestige, while for others, it is a

vital means of daily communication, and for another category, it is, then, a tool of knowledge, but for all of them, it is a foreign language.

More or less, education in Algeria is supposed to be in SA from the first school year with the teaching foreign languages at all levels of schooling before university, where it is learnt for at least ten years. At university, however, many fields are taught in French, which is a vital key to researches in higher education, mostly in scientific, medical and technical studies, and in diplomacy. Amadou-Mahtar M'bow views that for the need of integration in the outlook of Globalisation, it is so vital to work mutually to enable the modern communication media to contribute ever more to the 'flowering of freedom' and to the 'growth of mutual understanding' and respect among nations, as well as to the promotion of general social progress within each nation.

Francophone countries represent the group of nations that use French primarily as an official language and secondarily as a tool to converse in day-to-day communication. The case of Algeria, then, shows fairly that the use of French still exists at both official[75] and public scales. For the former, it is crucially required to conduct internationally business and financial treatments, as for the latter it is no more than a traditional inheritance. No one can deny that Algerian Arabic adapted a great number of French words, even if they have changed phonologically or morphologically through time, and that it is still spoken by some as the first tool of daily contact. Besides, French is also used in some administrations and in press.

Algeria is generally considered as the first Francophone nation after France in the world, in terms of the number of speakers, though it is not part of the (OIF) '*Organisation International de la Francophone'*. The presence of Algeria in more than one international summit about francophonie[76] though raises different questions helps either directly or indirectly the spread of French in the country.

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[75] Besides Arabic, French is also used to publish the Official Journal of the Republic
[76] Algeria was present in Francophonia Summit in: Beyrouth (October, 2002), Ouagadougou (November, 2004), in Bucarest (September, 2006), and in Quebec (October, 2008) - (K. Malausséna et G. Sznicer, 2010, retrieved from :www. gilbertgrandguillaume. net)

Despite the fact that French is mostly seen in the country as the language of the coloniser (enemy), today's government still encourages its teaching since primary education in French Cultural Centres and through media. Such a fact does not only improve French communication, but also made it exceedingly spread as a language of prestige. Within such a fact, a case of bilingualism has risen and largely extended code-switching in communication between people, in diverse ordinary and specific fields

2.7. Globalisation and English as a Lingua-Franca

At the crossroads of the condition of protecting a national identity, and the mounting political pluralism under globalisation, Arabic - though official and national - remains unable to respond the modern world. Although it might be possible with careful LP [for Algeria] to displace the former colonial language from its roles as official language and language of wider communication (Fishman, in Ferguson, 2006: 2), the State is not yet fully ready to carry out such a pace. As in many other former French colonies around the world, French has become an indigenised stable norm (Fishman (1983), Kachru (1985), in Kaplan & Baldauf, 2007: 113)

The condition of cohabitation provides the result of influencing or being influenced by the other, interchanging habits, customs, and even learning the tongues of one another. Up till now one can hear in some regional dialects some Spanish expressions, Turkish words or names, or even sometimes other foreign expressions. Moreover, job conditions, immigration, or fashion can also be a good reason for using a foreign language. Today, with the policy of '*Partenariat*' undertaken by President Bouteflika for the wide opening to the world's economy, many companies entered the market of Algeria, so that the use of a foreign language becomes a prerequisite.

Therefore, a considerable number of workers need to be bi-/trilingual, if not in special posts, multilingual. The spread of Chinese, Italian, Turkish, Spanish, American companies for example obliges some Algerian workers to learn a foreign language to deal with the other. From another angle, postgraduates in many fields are required to master English, to be able to conduct a study or to present a

communication sometimes. 'English as a global language is now a factor that needs to be taken into account in its language policy by any nation state' (Spolsky in Ferguson, 2006:203). So, it is time for the regime to bother about involving Algerians into a modernised world in terms of all dimensions, among which multilingual qualifications are required.

Therefore, cases of bi-/multilingualism can occur at both individual and social levels. French is more largely used than English, at both levels, so that it is the second language mostly used by Algerians after their regional dialect, at home, at work, in studies, in political affairs and speeches, and in scientific researches. Such a large use results in cases of code-switching in the Algerian' talk, and even in the building of ideas, so that some Algerian bilinguals (mainly those who have gained the French culture by cohabitation) have never been able to succeed in thinking or speaking fluently and correctly in Arabic. Even their ideologies are usually affected by the French. So, SA and French might also be socially privileged because they are written.

All in all, the Algerian socio-linguistic situation is diglossic to polyglossic, in addition to the presence of cases of state bilingualism (French with Arabic),and others of individual bi-/multilingualism. SA is dominating the status of the Official National language, used for official affairs, education, and religious purposes. AA and Berber are national languages mostly used for daily contacts. French is a foreign language used at a large scale as a medium of instruction in some fields at universities, in scientific researches, and sometimes, in official documents or in public political talks. English and other foreign languages occur occasionally for special objectives, in precise registers. The state of Arabic then is getting influenced in this mass of controversial conditions, notably in education.

French in post-independent Algeria has remained an essential medium in many fields, notably in economy and university studies. After five decades of self-ruling, scientific and technical fields in many Algerian universities are still bilingual. The very concern given to arabise the teaching / learning process in the pre-university levels could never be the same for university curriculum at least for scientific fields. Besides, for the need to be integrated in the international

modernisation, French mastery is more and more of a great importance in Algeria. Entelis (1981: 196) argues:

> 'The government's official policy of Arabization, Algerianization and Islamization gives additional expressive and symbolic meaning to Arabic language use by all concerned. Instrumentally, however, and in terms of the "scientific" needs of the society, French-language competence is considered essential.'

In 1999, President Bouteflika started using French in his public speeches inside and outside Algeria. His behaviour, not understood by many, was strongly objected by the country's elites, notably by several members of the parliament, of the Higher Council of the Arabic Language[77], and by the President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs at the People's National Assembly. Such a fact was even named as the 'Bouteflika's Effect' by some Algerian sociolinguists (Bouhadiba, 2004; Elimam, 2004; Morsly, 2004). As a reaction, in a televised speech, President Bouteflika was so firm in his response and asserted that it was no one's mission to choose the president's entourage or language; even it is of the Higher Council of the Arabic Language, and declared: 'For Algeria, I will speak French, Spanish and English, and, if necessary, Hebrew.' (El-Watan 2000:23) (Kaplan and Baldauf 2007:28).

Hence, general perspectives have shifted their traditional stream. Not counting French that is still a lingua franca, other foreign languages (English, Spanish, Italian, and maybe Chinese), though not yet officially leading, are penetrating in the Algerian context, because of the government's integration in the international market and its policy of '*Partenariat*'. The President's famous call for growing an 'independent and serene Algeria' has also opened a window to the modern world, as he has even pointed in many of his speeches: 'the future is for languages'. Thus, a shift towards democracy, providing rights for some minority languages and promoting multilingualism, is occurring in Algeria by the rise of Globalisation.

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[77] The council was founded in 26/09/1998 to oversee the gradual implementation of Total arabisation; today headed by Mohamed Alarbi Ould Khalifa.

In sum, Algerian LPLP has been since the beginning a top-down activity. The country has lived the shift between two main policies since 1962. By the rise of nationalism, LPLP in Algeria has followed the belief of 'the one language'. The government has chosen Arabic as the official national language of the State and promoted the policy of Arabisation for some reasons. The second salient shift in Algeria's policy has been raised by the last decade in response to a set of factors. The new language policy is a sudden change promoting multilingualism within a democratising structure. Both the former and the latter have an impact on education. More reforms are implemented in education for supporting the teaching of Arabic in parallel to the awareness raised about the necessity of foreign languages.

2.8.   Conclusion

In this chapter, it was demonstrated that the correlation of the loaded Algerian history with the large linguistic diversity are supposed to give an authentic idea about the real environment in which Arabic was implemented, and is used, as a medium of instruction in Algerian education. In third year secondary class, the learner is an illustrative unit of the Algerian society. S/He does not only represent the Algerian learner after over 12 years of learning Arabic, but the future researcher, teacher, doctor, leader... , the future member who symbolises the native culture, language, education, economy, industry, i.e. the whole country as well. Algeria, in front of both the need to restructure its educational system for the purpose of making a new Algerian mind, and the condition to confront the ideology of the other in the labyrinth of modernity and Globalisation, has incorporated a set of reforms that might have turned negatively on Arabic. The latter point will be either confirmed or opposed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Content

3.1. Introduction

The present chapter is devoted to present the overall outline of the main procedures followed in conducting this study, after having handled the theoretical and the descriptive framework in the preceding parts. Its central objective is to provide a thorough description of the practical corpus of this research. First, it reviews the context, the rationale and the significance of the study. Then, the methodology and the research design are described, explaining the approach and the techniques followed in collecting the required data. The procedure of the collecting data qualitatively and quantitatively is outlined, followed by a description of the overall population with the sampling procedure. Moreover, it depicts explicitly and systematically the data collection procedure and the steps of the practical framework based on the pilot study. Finally, it outlines the ethical issues, validity and reliability as well as the limitations and delimitations encountered while conducting this research.

3.2. Reviewing the Context of the Study

It is worth to restate at this level that a thorough description of the context of the study has already been provided in the general introduction of this thesis, defining the statement of the problem, the objectives, research questions and hypotheses. This research is undertaken to describe the actual Algerian LPP, highlighting the main impacts of globalisation on its linguistic context, and to draw estimations about the future of its language policy. It attempts first to discuss the main shifts that have occurred in the Algerian LPP since independence pointing out the main regulations in terms of language policy. Second, it examines the Algerians' language behaviours in their daily life, their attitudes about the new changes, and their position towards any possible shift in the future of language planning as a result to globalisation.

The research questions, already stated, turn around the extent of the influence of globalisation on shaping the future of language planning, educational policy, and public perspectives in Algeria. They are also set to reveal the rationale and the ideologies behind the support of the spread of French vs. English, besides the officialisation of Tamazight. Moreover, they aim to show if such changes can well position Algeria in the modern world, and enable it challenge globalisation and respond its population's needs *vis-à-vis* international opportunities. The research questions' end is also to figure out the

adequate language policy that Algeria needs to undertake in the future, within the era of globalisation without any danger on its language, culture and identity.

3.2.1.   Rationale of the Study

After attending different sudden changes in the Algerian language planning during the last two decades, the researcher has had various assumptions about the real position of Algeria and its policy in the world. The researcher's teaching experience in both pre-university and university levels, in addition to the strong motivation and interest in the future of languages and LPP, have been the first rationale to wonder about the government's policy and its future. The recent fast changes have also been strong and effective factors that have encouraged the researcher to discover several aspects of the Algerian system and political life. Therefore, the researcher's main purpose in this study was first to provide a link between the Algerian history and its language policy, and then to know whether this latter could well position the country within the global context and provide it with a secure future. This study intends to:

1. Provide a comprehensive picture of language policy and planning in Algeria by describing some historical events that have left remarkable impacts on the government's main practices after its independence.

2. Explore the major shifts during the evolution of the Algerian language policy by documenting official documents and political discourses.

3. Investigate how globalisation has contributed to shape the Algerian LPP within a global world through a reading of some major regulations in the domain, and determine how this affects public perspectives.

4. Estimate any future planned or unplanned change in the Algerian language policy due to globalisation.

The researcher expects in this study to contrast authenticity to regulations throughout testing public perspectives and discussing official regulations, with the attempt to reveal the factors that have led to the widespread of French and English in a language context where Arabic and Tamazight are official and national. She intends to

highlight the major responsible elements for some particular changes – recent and future – in the Algerian language policy in relation to globalisation.

3.2.2.   Significance of the Study

Issues related to language planning in Algeria, its history, its policy of arabisation or to the plurilingual aspect of its people have usually the concern of many researchers. However, less focus is given to the impact of globalisation on its language policy, its future, or to some particular issues that may reveal ideological confusions in the practices of language policy as a political activity for some reasons. Few studies have been done in an in-depth way about that, mainly contrasting the government's policy to the authentic reaction of people. It is of significance to note here M. Benrabah who has contributed to the literature of LPP in Algeria; he personally and many of his works have been a basic reference in this study.

The researcher expects that this study will contribute to research about the theme, and be to some degree beneficial for an overt successful language policy in Algeria. She also aims to be specialised in the field of LPP, and hopes that this study will encourage other Algerian linguists – and decision makers, if possible – to launch a project for a well-planned language policy taking into consideration the need of both global attendance and local cultural and linguistic identity preservation. The results of this study are expected to be significant enough to better interpret the authentic situation and reveal people's awareness about the government's future policy.

3.3.   Research Design and Methodology

Research design is the most significant step to be carefully planned by the researcher before undertaking any research. It is the framework set by the researcher to identify which methodology to be followed for the accomplishment of a research study, defining the protocol of what to do, as well as how and where to handle the research problem in order to answer the research questions and test the hypotheses. Hence, it is the master plan, through which the researcher designs consistently which approach, research methods and tools to be implemented in the study, as well as which sample population to deal with. Moreover, it defines the appropriate procedure to follow for the processes of data collection and analysis. Therefore, it is

generally agreed that designing the right way is as significant as choosing the appropriate approach or the research topic itself.

Fishman quoted in Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), believes that it is necessary 'to choose and implement the research methods that are best suited to particular problems and research circumstances,' (p. 82). Hence, a study is not only defined and evaluated by its findings but also through the approach and methods exploited, since they are the key to identify which data and sample to deal with. Llamas et.al (2007) view that 'how researchers elicit their data, and from whom, will depend on the theoretical underpinnings and the larger objectives of the investigation,' (p.12).Therefore, it is fundamental to make use of a convenient and compatible approach that best corresponds be to all the dimensions of the study, and helps respond consistently the research problematic.

Regarding the objectives of conducting the present study and achieving answers to its research questions, a mixed-method approach is undertaken. The combination of different types of research is favoured by many researchers in order to achieve reliability of the findings. Litosseliti (2010) believes that 'By combining different approaches, different perspectives can be brought to the same interaction', (p. 141). The focus is on the method of triangulation, which is, for Angouri (ibid) the 'combination and application of more than one sampling method for data collection or use of more than one methodology in a research design' (p.34). Triangulation is also seen by J. M. Hernández-Campoy (2014) as a suitable way 'often used in a generic way to refer to all purposes of mixed-methods research' (p.21), while by Cohen and Manion (1994) 'as a central methodological concept [*that*] comes high on the list of key features of good research designs' (p.233).

In view of the nature of the problematic and the complexity of the topic, the design of this research is both qualitative, which is generally inductive and targets a natural reading of the problematic, and quantitative, which is deductive and requires numerical data measured by statistics, mathematical or computational procedures. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011), qualitative research is 'a situated activity that locates the observer in the world... [*and*] qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them," (p.3). For that reason, the researcher has favoured to

conduct the present study both qualitatively and quantitatively, following a sequential design that is exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory in nature. For a better explanation of the findings and a more flexible realisation of the study, the following research design has been used for particular reasons:

1. Exploratory research is an approach that encourages the use of triangulation. It is used in this study because it is flexible and more convenient to deal with broad problems, as it helps understanding the nature of the problem, discovering new insights about the situation in question, or assessing a phenomenon when very few studies are done about it.

2. Descriptive research is the most suitable approach to portray the context of the study, the profile of people, or events in some specific situations. It is employed to define the research rationale, design and procedure.

3. Explanatory research is an approach that goes beyond description and investigates in details which causes produce which effects. A study of an explanatory paradigm helps explaining, understanding, analysing, predicting, and relating variables.

The rationale for matching both qualitative and quantitative methods is to gather as much required data as possible, for achieving the objectives of this multidimensional study, and covering all its parts, because one-way method is not enough to respond the research questions and get reliable data. According to Angouri (in Litosseliti, 2010), 'different datasets or different methodologies will lead to similar results and hence allow for confident interpretation... of the findings and strengthen the researcher's conclusions' (p.34). She adds 'Interestingly, surveys (quantitative) and interviews (qualitative) seem to be the most dominant methods used by researchers,' (p.36). In view of that, qualitative method is based here on the collection of data through observation, analysis of some official documents and semi-structured interviews. However, as quantitative method targets larger samples it is addressed in this study through two Internet survey-questionnaires.

Investigations about language policy or/and language planning of a specific country are generally relevant to its major historical linguistic and cultural features for getting reliable information. Therefore, the historical analysis of the context in question is a significant phase in understanding ambiguities, revealing realities and answering several questions. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), also argue that many issues of language policy stem from the historical development of language practices in a specific polity or context and hence, '... an understanding of the historical circumstances can give planners and decision makers a better understanding of why a particular language problem exists' (p.88). Therefore, the present study has considered worth highlighting the main historical events that have left traces on the linguistic landscape of Algeria or caused a deep move in the language policy undertaken by the government after independence. In fact, the analysis of what has occurred over time in the country, through the reading of some authentic historical facts has provided a clear image of the origins of some issues in its language policy.

The use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods in the present study is attempted to examine to some extent issues of globalisation and authenticity regarding any impact on the Algerian LP, mainly its future. The researcher has directed which method to use depending on the objective of the stage of the research to be realised and the type of the data required. In fact, there has been a sequential switch from a method to the other in order to reach satisfactory results, because of the nature of the research at hand. Qualitative research provides rich descriptive detail about the participants' thoughts, opinions, perceptions, and feelings (Patton, 1990), while the quantitative is a strong way to validate the study's findings through exact statistics and figures. Both methods have completed one the other, coming across exact statistical measurement as well as achieving in-depth reading and analysis of the findings. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) see that the weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative data can be offset by the strength of both. In other words, statistics and numbers can be reinforced and validated by perceptions and attitudes, and vice-versa.

The achievement of the present research has been based on four main steps. After setting the problematic and the objectives of the study, the topic has been approached theoretically, starting by explaining theoretical data collected from a selection of a review of related literature and the reading of some official documents.

Then it has tried to describe the Algerian linguistic context, dealing with the most relevant historical and sociolinguistic events that have influenced the language situation and policy of the country. The next phase has been practical, describing and exploring sequentially both qualitative and quantitative data with equal importance, followed by a reading of data and the analysis of the most relevant findings. The last phase has provided conclusions comparing to some extent public perspectives and official regulations, trying to draw predictions about the future of the Algerian LPP in the era of globalisation. The following figure is intended to summarise the research design:

Figure 3.1: The Overall Design of the Study
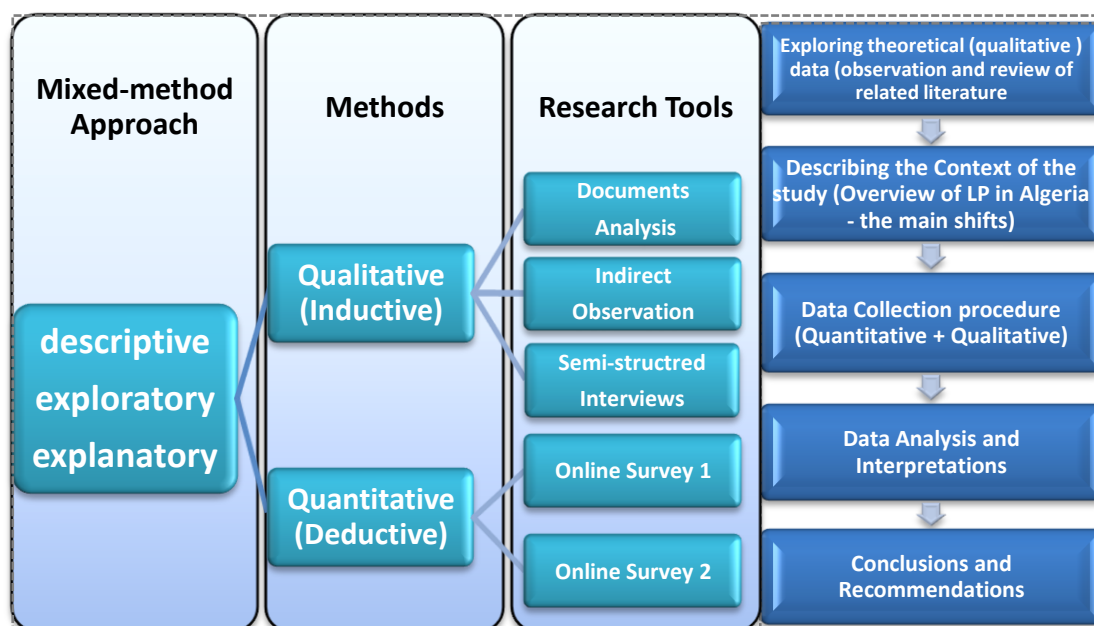
Although complex and time-consuming, the phases have been realised in a careful way, taking into account the context of the study, the selected population, the type of data to be collected, the way to correlate information, and also how to interpret them in order to answer the research questions. The accomplishment of this study has been more flexible thanks to the use of the mixed-method approach which provided a clear understanding of the research problem, a more complete way to validate the results, and even an extent of generalising some findings. The focus has often been on contrasting public perspectives and political regulations, trying both to depict the authentic aspect of the Algerian LP guided by some particular *"ideologies"*, and to predict any future change caused by globalisation. The following section provides detailed explanation about the research methods – qualitative and quantitative, the

sample population and the procedure of data collections. After that, limitations and delimitations are discussed.

3.4.   Qualitative Research Method

This study, based on a mixed-method approach, has made use of qualitative methods for their consistent principles with the researcher's purpose and assumptions. Qualitative research is holistic and helps understanding complex situations. It focuses on relevant qualities that can be gained from people's experiences, beliefs, social practices, ways of thinking and perspectives, or how they feel, live and see things. It usually provides rich descriptive non-numerical data by presenting explaining issues, expressing thoughts or drawing images of particular situations, and hence it is flexible. Qualitative research, for Struwig and Stead (2001), is intended to provide a clear understanding of the issues being researched from the perspectives of the participants. It makes the researcher sees through the eyes of the participants involved in the realisation of the study. This is aimed to gather multiple forms of reliable and valid information based on quality not on quantity, helping to draw explicit insights about the theme in question by employing interviews, observations, or focus group for example.

The use of qualitative research in this study is imperative as it provides in-depth information about the issues being studied through the perspectives of the participants. So, qualitative methods are used in the present study to explore, describe and interpret data. Therefore, this type has been employed to conduct part of this research, mostly to report some insights about the main shifts in the Algerian language policy and the impact of globalisation on its future. Some quantitative data were also explored qualitatively to know the extent of the spread of some languages over others from the perspectives of some selected participants in the first survey. The method has been very significant in collecting non-numerical data about the main variables. The focus in this qualitative research is to understand and report objectively, rather than to explain, some existing realities by processing the perspectives of the participants[78] interviewed and/or observed as well as the documents dealt with.

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[78]It is important to note that the researcher has her reservations about the ideas of several participants that do not present her ideology, so as not to stamp a high extent of subjectivity to the study

Three main steps have been followed to direct the qualitative part of this research. First, the researcher has attempted to explore the situation through the reading of relevant literature dealing with the present research topic as well as similar contexts. Second, she has pointed out the main historical and sociolinguistic events that have contributed to shape the Algerian language planning and/or policy and its major shifts. In view of that, the researcher has focused on the reading of some related documents, such as the Constitution and the Official Journal of the Republic and some relevant literature. The third phase has described data collected from the analysis of indirect observation and semi-structured elite interviews, but has been realised sequentially along with conducting the quantitative part. The process of qualitative data collection has been built by exploiting the three following research tools as explained below:

3.4.1. Documents Analysis

Analysing and reading official or some particular documents have been for years among the key instruments in conducting qualitative research in different fields, such as sociology, psychology, political studies, etc. Document analysis has recently been increasingly used as a fundamental source of data in research. Merriam (1988) quoted by G. Bowen (2009) argues that 'Documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem ... in a low-cost way to obtain empirical data of a process that is unobtrusive and nonreactive,' (p.29). The use of such a method in research helps revealing ideas, discovering realities, clarifying ambiguities, identifying concepts and shaping perspectives. It can be used to describe data, to support real facts, to compare some situations or to respond specific queries. Bowen (ibid) describes the method and provides some illustrations as follows:

> Document Analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating – both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet transmitted) material.... [It] requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge. Documents... include advertisements; agendas, ... background papers;... diaries and journals; events programs (i.e. printed outlines);... newspapers; press releases;... radio and television program scripts; organisational or institutional reports; survey data; and various public records. (pp. 27-28)

Although, documents analysis has been the only method used in different fields, it is required to combine it with other methods, as it does not provide by its own efficient data. Many studies have used it within a mixed-method approach, like Rossman & Wilson (1985), Sogunro (1997), Angers & Matchmes (2005) and others in order to provide more validity and more reliability to the research (ibid). It can be the analysis of the whole material or document, as it can focus on some selections in relevance to the context of the study, highlighting mostly the words, expressions, or sometimes images needed for some particular ends. Such a method can be used to deal with formal documents and official reports to testify or check some data, or for example to have access to more information. In psychology, for instance, when treating some particular patients, their diaries can be analysed as personal sources that can provide facts and information that cannot be gained, but in this way.

It is worth to mention that it is not always trouble-free to use document analysis to conduct some research. Several limitations can be faced during the process of selecting which document to analyse or which data to exploit. Having access to some documents can also be challenging. Moreover, the use of documents analysis can provide insufficient details and hence it is preferable to join it to other methods, such as interviewing or recording, for achieving reliability and validity. The process of qualitative documents analysis requires an extent of cautiousness and a critical eye to look at the material in question, but objectively. Moreover, it is sometimes difficult to have access to some special documents mainly when dealing with politics. Collecting documents about language policy in research is a significant step and requires forethought and thoroughness. J. Holmes and K. Hazen (2014) view that:

> ... [A]ccess to policy documents is an important additional dimension of data collection. Relevant policy documents can relate to any institutional decision by which language use on public signs is regulated. Examples are legislation acts or public authority manuals that regulate top-down signs at an airport or a city's subway system. Some countries or regions also control by law the languages that may be used on commercial signs. Language policy documentation can also be an important resource for historical research on the linguistic landscape. (p. 86)

In view of that, part of the qualitative method in this research has been based on the analysis of some formal documents to describe the Algerian language policy from

historical, sociolinguistic and then language planning perspectives. Accordingly, regulations relevant to the context of this study have been selected from the Constitution and the Official Journal of the Republic. Existing literature about LPP in Algeria has also been exploited in writing the second chapter. The focus has been on events that have contributed in shaping the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria and left direct impact on its languages or language planning and/or policy.

3.4.2. Indirect Observation

Among the research instruments, indirect observation is a sub-type of systematic observation to observe different everyday life situations. It is a recent concept in systematic observation, as explained by T. Anguera *et al.*, (2018). It is mostly concerned with the analysis of some textual material got generally, either indirectly from transcriptions of audio recordings of verbal behaviour in original situations like in conversation, chats, group discussions... etc, or directly from narratives such as letters of complaint, tweets, forum posts... etc. It can be realised sometimes by unobtrusive objects that can provide relevant insights into the settings in question, and in other times by being directly involved in the situation, or by observing the subject's verbal performance and claims through his/her social media accounts to pick up needed information. Therefore, it serves as a rich source of information.

Indirect observation is a useful way for achieving information that cannot be gained in a direct contact with the settings in question. If, for example, somebody is interviewed or informed for being directly observed or recorded, he/she is going to control most of his/her answers, and hence, neither the situation can be purely natural nor the subject's behaviour can be fairly spontaneous. However, that the person is indirectly observed for some reasons is a good way to get reliable data. According to Anguera *et al.* (ibid), indirect observation is a suitable means used for investigating verbal behaviour as well as other relevant matters, focussing on both the transcripts' form or other primary information provided by the participants in a study. It is a kind of scrutinising a situation from its original aspect pointing out required material by observing the object of study. It is a method widely used in social sciences, political studies, psychology and many other fields, mostly if direct observation does not help providing reliable findings.

In fact, in this study, the researcher has exploited indirect observation for the stated reasons. The researcher's interest and intentions to deal with the topic at hand have been strong motives to follow authentically the chronology of the most relevant events and make a selection of some documents for the purpose of the study. On the one hand, indirect observation has been conducted on some official discourses about language policy available on the Internet. Some of the ex-presidents' talks about the Algerian language policy were selected for that ends. The perspectives of some participants – of particular qualifications – have also been observed, on the basis of what they have provided as answers to the first survey.

On the other hand, it is generally known that it is not that simple to arrange a meeting with a decision maker, a minister or a parliament member. Although the researcher has tried different ways to interview some ministers[79], none of them has been able to respond, because of some particular reasons not to be stated at this level, but their full agendas. Hence, indirect observation has been the researcher's best solution, based on keeping an eye on some particular interactions and practices via Twitter and Facebook, in order to collect required qualitative data. It is of great significance to declare that such a method has been used to collect mandatory data in direct reference to the objectives of the present study, and exclusively for no more than the purpose of research.

This research instrument has been useful in contrasting and exposing the perspectives and ideologies of the policy makers and their role in changing or maintaining language planning. It is necessary to explain that the focus through such research tool has been on some regulations and official declarations for the completion of the study not for the psychological or the political interpretation of behaviours and ideologies. To be more precise, some statements that correlate to the research topic have been selected from Twitter and Facebook text messages or YouTube videos, trying to answer the research questions and achieve the objectives

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[79]The researcher has done many attempts to have direct or indirect interviews (via email or an intermediary) with an ex prime minister, two ex ministers of national education, two ex ministers of higher education and scientific research, and an ex-minister of telecommunication. Unfortunately, no response has been achieved though waiting for more than a year.

of the study, notably those tightly associated to the impact of globalisation on Algerian language policy or educational reforms.

3.4.3.   Interviews

Among the methods used to conduct qualitative research, interviewing is a central means that provides direct conversation with participants to obtain their perceptions and attitudes of some issues or to collect in-depth information, for example, on specific points not to be achieved through other tools. It is a frequent and reliable method in qualitative research since it involves the researcher into the interview pool and provides better insight into the context of the study. An interview can be conducted face-to-face or by a telephone conversation, as it can be realised through a social networking media, like Skype, Facebook and the like. Interviews are conducted to validate data, to collect more information, or to involve participants who can provide special facts that cannot be achieved through the other methods employed in the study. It is very fundamental to choose appropriately the interviewee(s), the type of interview and the way to conduct it.

Interviews in research can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured, depending on the type of data to be collected, or the person to be interviewed. As L. Litosseliti (2010) claims, "It's generally assumed that the main benefit of interviews is that they give us privileged access to a person; that they allow us an intimate – or 'first-hand' – sense of what, say, a politician or a celebrity,' (p.156). An interview permits the researcher, for example, to know the ways of thinking, discover experiences or compare attitudes of the interviewees, by standing neutral in extracting some basic or supplementary information from them. However, it is of significance to mention that using such a method requires a high-level of both the interviewee's commitment in replying, and the interviewer's objectivity in reporting the data obtained. Moreover, any information provided by the interviewer does not reflect more than his/her understanding to the questions and reaction towards the issue in question, and hence findings cannot be generalised.

The major intention for using elite interviews in this research has been to achieve trustworthy sources of data, by interviewing senior officials as well as some experts and politicians – decision makers more precisely –about the issue and future of

language policy in Algeria. Interviewing elites has become recently a significant method in conducting research in social sciences, economics, politics and some other fields, because some information cannot be provided but by particular elites. Some research in language policy and planning requires, to a certain extent, an understanding of or at least an idea about the perspectives and ideologies of, for example, leaders in politics, in business or in some related fields.

Hochschild (2009) believes that elite interviews are usually conducted for some specific ends with subjects selected deliberately for who they are or what posts they hold. It is not very compulsory to interview people of high positions, but it is rather required to care about the kind and quality of the key data they can provide. Zuckerman (in Harvey, 2011) suggests that there are ultra-elites who occupy high powerful or prestigious posts, whereas McDowell broadens the category to include 'professional elites' who are 'highly skilled, professionally competent, and class-specific,' (ibid). Other categorisations are done by other scholars depending on how they interpret the term "elite". Harvey (2010) believes that although similar job titles exist within different fields, there might be great dissimilarities in terms of function, status, and even individual qualifications. Others have criticized the use of the term itself, and view that it is rather challenging to reach the selection of the "elite" in a particular context.

It is not a matter of having a clear-cut definition of the word "elite" in this study, but rather of making the appropriate selection of who can provide the required data. It is very significant to involve some experts about the topic at hand, since this study is supposed to deal with leaders and decision makers, as well as regulations and perspectives. However, it is challenging to have easy access to such category of people and arrange a suitable time for the interview. In addition to the nature of the research topic, many hindrances have made the interview a tough task in this study, such as the elite's position and agenda, his/her readiness to be interviewed and recorded, mainly if not anonymously reported, as well as the questions themselves.

In view of that, the number of interviews has been limited. Besides, they have been done after collecting quantitative data from the first survey questionnaire, in which some researchers, university teachers and linguistics have participated, and provided helpful data. The researcher has planned for ten interviews with politicians and experts, but only five have been done. In fact, it has been hardly possible to

attain ministers and governors for some special reasons, if to denote here, it is enough to state that the country's circumstances have been neither simple nor helpful for meeting government's members. The main elements and ethical protocol have been followed to realise the interview.

3.4.3.1. Interview Elements

The particularity of the sample population for interview in this study has been a strong rationale for formulating carefully and thoroughly the questions. On the one hand, the success of any research relies on its methodological design, and so, on the type and effectiveness of the instruments used to realise it. On the other hand, it is so crucial to know how to select the population as well as how to structure the questions in order to elicit authentic data objectively. McNamara (2009, in D. W. Turner III, 2010) suggests some recommendations for the creation of effective questions for interviews, among which the following are selected:

1. Questions should be open-ended to make respondents use their own words while answering.

2. Questions should be as neutral as possible to avoid influencing respondents and make them feel free while answering.

3. Each question should be given adequate time

4. Clear wording should be also used to avoid any ambiguity, and to point out directly the aim of the question.

5. "Why" questions should be dealt with carefulness (or avoided)

Therefore, the elements stated were taken into account for the creation of the elite interview in this study. Moreover, the researcher attempted to keep dealing with the major themes, in suitable wording to shape a formal interview. According to McNamara (ibid), the researcher needs 'to ensure that the same general areas of information are collected from each interviewee: this provides more focus than the conversational approach, but still allows a degree of freedom and adaptability in getting information from the interviewee," (p.755). However, it is sometimes difficult to elicit the same information from all the interviewees, because of their different posts of

qualifications, mostly when dealing with special fields such as Politics. The researcher, in the present study, attempted to keep the same ideas and elements of the interview with the whole sample, but with a probable change of wording**.**

3.4.3.2. Interview Design

In this study, elite interviews have been the third step used simultaneously with the first survey, after the analysis of some official documents and the realisation of indirect observation. Semi-structured interview has been the most appropriate method, regarding the context of the study, the objectives and the population. The researcher has defined the sample population and realised a formal protocol to arrange either face-to-face or online interviews using CMC (Computer Mediated Communication – through instant messaging or email). As an initial step, the participants have been informed of the theme and the aim of the study before being interviewed, both for having consent and for giving them an idea about the questions of the interview. They have been free to choose being recorded while the interview, emailing the answer, or keeping anonymity.

The main objective is based on clarifying the respondents' perspectives on the research problematic. Therefore, a list of questions has been planned in relation to the problematic and objectives of the study, and then set from the most general to the most specific. The questions have been reviewed in cooperation with the supervisor. Moreover, an extent of flexibility has been concerned in forming the questions, taking into account the respondents' responsibilities, agendas and commitments. The interview duration has been estimated, before any attempt, to be from 15 to 20 min, in respect of the respondents' limited time.

The protocol followed in conducting elite interviews in this study has started by introducing the researcher and providing a general idea about the topic and the main objective of the questions. The major focus is on the respondents' perspectives about:

1. The current use of SA in Algerian education and administration vs. the project of enhancing its use in scientific and technical fields through supporting translation from other languages into Arabic

2. The rationale for the officialisation of Tamazight vs. its standardisation regarding the issue of scripts

3. Generalising Tamazight's teaching vs. its acceptance at the macro scale

4. The use of Algerian Arabic as a language of education

5. The spread of French and English in Algeria and their influence on LP

6. The most suitable language for teaching scientific and technical fields

7. The status of Arabic as a global language and a language of development

8. The impact of globalisation on the future of Algerian language policy

Since dealing with elites, there is high possibility to change the questions of the interview, or eliminate some of them, depending on the setting and the interviewee as well as the answers provided, because authenticity is the master that shapes many situations. Hence, probing questions have been prepared, in case failing to achieve the expected information, or facing a refusal to deal with one of the interview's sections. After setting the questions, the interview has been tested to readjust the possible required time. However, the arrangement of the questions can be changed when interviewing the respondents, trying to make the setting comfortable as much as possible to elicit the required information.

It is worth to note that if document analysis and indirect observation have provided specific data and helped realising a large part of this study, elite interviews have been like falling upon the missing link in the chain. They have incorporated the perceptions of people who can provide insights into the government's language policy. Although the number of interviews has been very limited, it has been effective enough to provide the researcher with more understanding and clarifications about some shifts in the Algerian LP, even though throughout the eyes of the people interviewed. Observation has been in parallel a fundamental key to discover some dimensions of the Algerian language policy in contrast to public perspectives, in combination with the quantitative method followed to collect numerical data through online surveys as explained in the following section.

3.5. Quantitative Research Method: Internet Surveys

Quantitative methods in research are based on tools, such as surveys and written questionnaires, to collect numerical data that can be transformed into mathematical statistics, in order to interpret the participants' responses. It is another way of research, standing as a strong source corroborating the reliability of the findings. Working quantitatively provides the researcher with more confidence and helps justifying or developing through statistics and figures the trustworthiness of the study in combination with the qualitative research. Patton (1990) argues that 'quantitative methods typically depend on larger samples selected randomly. Not only are the techniques for sampling different, but the very logic of each approach is unique because the purpose of each strategy is different,' (p.169). Unlike qualitative research in which the researcher is concerned the fundamental instrument as stated by Denzin & Lincoln, (2003), quantitative research is based on the tools used as well as on the quantity and reliability of the data provided by the sample population. Hence, the researcher's role is to report objectively and interpret systematically the data collected.

Quantitative data can be collected generally through written questionnaires and Internet surveys, which are in most of the cases conducted anonymously. Some other tools can be used for such ends such as recording, tests and sometimes observation depending on the nature of the topic in question, the kind of the data to collect and the methodology followed. Conducting a survey is time-saving for the large number of participants involved in the study, mostly by the exploitation of today's information technology and statistics programs that do not only help collecting and counting a large quantity of data in a limited time, but even provide exact scores and figures. Moreover, the researcher does not have to move to different places to meet the informants, but can do such a task very simply through email or different social networking programmes, notably Twitter or Facebook, instead of spending time and money.

Internet Surveys are generally more flexible for participants. On the one hand, they are very frequently anonymous, and this makes the participants feel free to respond any kind of question without risks. On the other hand, participants are neither limited by time nor by place to answer the questions of a survey; unlike face-to-face interview or recording. In the latter, many participants can be subjective, though showing objectivity, or provide misleading answers, mainly if influenced by the researcher's intentions.

Therefore, quantitative data collected through internet surveys are generally seen as objective, valid and reliable, mainly when joined to what is recorded qualitatively.

Researchers in several fields, like in psychology and sociology, can sometimes collect qualitative data using quantitative methods, when focusing for example on individuals, comparing their beliefs, or interpreting their perspectives. MacDonald and Headlam (1986) view that "Social surveys are a questionnaire-based method of research that can produce both qualitative and quantitative information depending on how they are structured and analysed," (p.35). Surveys often employ the questionnaire as a tool to collect data on attitudes and behaviour, as they can be based on census when the entire population is concerned. The terms survey and questionnaire are often joined in 'survey questionnaire' and used more than questionnaire survey. Surveys can be used in a wide range of situations in research for the collections of different types of information. They are not always conducted online, but also face-to-face or postal.

Internet surveys can be created on different Web-based programmes, such as Survey Monkey, Google Form and others, that help creating forms and emailing them or displaying them through online social networking websites like Facebook or Twitter. The participants in the study can send back the answer through the same source and the researcher can follow the results as soon as the procedure of data collection is done. As explained by MacDonald and Headlam (1986), live graphs and charts of the results can be downloaded, often providing the possibility of filtering and checking responses of each individual separately or of the whole groups together. However, it is sometimes difficult to achieve the desired results when using Internet surveys, mainly in complex studies. Therefore, the programme of Microsoft Excel, based on Analysis ToolPak, is used for such ends. It is also a very practical programme for analysing and presenting data in graphs and tables, as it can save segments of the study when it is complex and requires different steps to be realised or particular variables to be compared.

The present study has employed two Internet surveys and conducted them sequentially with the realization of qualitative research. The process of collecting quantitative data has been less demanding since being automatically done via Google Form that has realized the statistics and provided bar graphs representing the score for each question. The two surveys have been created separately and with different samples, in association to the required data. It is significant to state that the second

survey has been the last phase of data collection, created particularly to confirm the reliability of some findings achieved through the other qualitative and quantitative tools. Two main variables in relation to the future of the Algerian LPP have been restructured to create the second survey with the intention of revealing the respondents' motivation for more spread of English and preservation of national identity.

The survey analysis done by Google Form has not responded the needs of the researcher, but provided sort of scores for each question while she has intended to compare some variables and go deeper in statistics to describe some particular details in relation to the research questions and objectives. Therefore, she has provided Excel with data and parameters, and used the appropriate statistical functions to display the results in tables and/or graphs. She has reviewed all the statistics and restructured individually the whole operation on Excel to join the required variables, compare and reshape them regarding the elements of the research topic and the aim of the questions of the survey. The purpose of this part is to reveal public perspectives about Algerian LP and its future, through a collection of questions about their daily linguistic practices, language preferences and attitudes about some language issues. Although the main target has not been to generalize the findings, the two surveys have been the most effective ways to discover the variation of public perspectives and deal with a sample that cannot be reached practically and easily because of time and distance.

3.5.1. Setting up the Surveys' Elements

Both surveys have been created and conducted online in French and Arabic, since they are systematically common languages for Algerian educated people. Methodologically, the major principles that have been taken into account to create them were the objectives of the study, the population and the wording. Since the major goal has been to test public attitudes and random sampling has been followed for that, it has been necessary to use the relevant language(s) and the convenient level of comprehension for the respondents by selecting common wording to guarantee the clarity of the questions. The researcher has tried very carefully to keep an average level of comprehension by selecting simple and common words for not causing any ambiguity for the participants, mostly when neither their jobs nor their levels of education have been taken in consideration.

Some of the suggestions recommended by McNamara (2009) to formulate effective questions for interviews have been exploited as principles in forming questions for the creation of both surveys. However, given that the sampling procedure of the interview and the surveys are based on different principles, the questions used for each method also differ from the other in terms of themes, wording, level of reading and objectives. The questions of the surveys are general and do not demand special qualifications or requirements. Therefore, the researcher has attempted to formulate ordinary questions by the use of simple wording and style to gather the required data, ensure better understanding, and lead to adequate results.

The first survey questionnaire, which is semi-structured, consists of a section about demographic scale information, and another one to collect the required data for the realisation of the study. This part states nine different items presented through open-ended, Likert-scale, multiple-choice and dichotomous questions. Six of these questions enclosed sub-items as explained in the following section. Whereas the second survey is structured and is composed of no more than two yes/no questions, just to confirm the validity of two items already tested through the interview and the first survey. The required time to answer the first survey has been estimated from eight to fifteen min approximately, depending on the participant's readability of the questions as well as his/her familiarity with and mastery of filling online forms. However, the second survey is short and requires less than 3 min to be answered.

3.5.2. Survey I Protocol

Using online surveys can help a lot achieving large and varied samples in a very short period. However, unlike interviews and printed questionnaires, online surveys do not provide direct (face-to-face) access to the participants for whom the objectives of the study and the questions can be simplified. Hence, a formal ethical protocol has been followed to create and diffuse both surveys. Several participants have been emailed to ask collaboration. An idea about the research topic has been given and the objectives of the study have been explained in a letter to the participants as an introduction to the survey. The researcher has also asked the participants' consent for the use of the data they provide for no more than research purposes. She has also solicited the participants to share the survey as much as possible for collecting more data, and given them the choice to define their email addresses or to answer anonymously.

After a letter introducing the topic and the objectives of the study, the researcher has started the first section of the survey with questions about demographic and general information to know the participants' age, gender, origin, mother tongue, languages mastered, occupation and level of education. The second section, as the central part of the survey, has dealt with different variables. Items from (1) to (5) are presented in multiple-choice questions through which participants are asked to select the appropriate language in relation to different situations; more than a choice is possible. For that, five languages are suggested: (a) SA, (b) AA, (c) Tamazight, (d) French and (e) English. In item (4), however, the participants are requested to justify their choice.

Item (6) is introduced in a Likert-scale question, in which the participants have to tick up the answer that best expresses their agreement or disagreement about the suggested situations. Some statements describing a number of language issues from the Algerian context are given to participants, in combination to a five-point Likert scale, for the same end. The scales given range from "strongly agree", to "strongly disagree" in five degrees (strongly agree – agree – indifferent – disagree – strongly disagree). Item (7) is an open-ended question in which participants need to use their own words to answer. Item (8) is expressed in a dichotomous question asking them to describe the impact of globalisation on their mother tongues, and justify their answers. Finally, item (9) is intended to know their predictions about any impact of globalisation on the future of language policy in Algeria. The main items of the survey are summarised below:

- **Q1:** participants' languages used in reality for daily practices
- **Q2:** Participants' favourite language in relation to the situations given
- **Q3:** the most spread language in some suggested domains
- **Q4:** the participants' perspectives about the most suitable language in the domains listed and their justification for each choice
- **Q5:** participants'perspectives on the language of national identity, national unity, development, global contact, local contact
- **Q6:** participants' position towards
  - o the status of Standard Arabic as a language of education, administration and internal affairs, a global language, a language of science and technology and as a language of development

- o the use of Algerian Arabic as a medium of instruction in pre-university education
- o the status of Tamazight and the generalisation of its teaching
- o the status of French in Algeria and its future
- o the future language policy, focussing on the official language, the spread of English and the most suitable foreign language
- o the impact of globalisation on language issues, the spread of some languages and the future of language policy in Algeria
- **Q7:**participants' predictions about the future global language after English
- **Q8:** participants' perspectives about the extent of globalisation impact on their mother tongue: positive or negative, justifying their answer
- **Q9:**participants' predictions about any future shift in language policy in Algeria because of globalisation

The survey, after being created on Google Form, has been revised and tested to check its readability, required time, and if the transmission to and back is done appropriately and easily. That has been a very critical but helpful step in the study as it is supposed to deal with a large sample. Moreover, dividing the protocol into a letter to the respondents indicating the research topic and aim, an area for demographic information and another one for data collection has been very practical. A, immediate note of thank has been added automatically, to be sent from Google Form at the end of the survey, to the participants. It is of a great significance to mention that many participants, despite being university students or holding a university degree, were not familiar with online surveys as clarified afterwards (see section 3.7.4.).

3.5.3. **Survey II Protocol**

After the collection and the analysis of the first survey's and the interview's data, the researcher intended to confirm the reliability of two major issues in the study, by testing again the attitudes of a sample of 350 participants. Practically, the same protocol of the first survey has been followed, but without eliciting demographic or electronic information. The second survey has been shorter and less demanding than the first. It was realised in a sort of a poll, but it contained two questions not only one as required for that. It does not necessitate much time to be completed, as it is a matter of

simple yes – no questions only. The two questions aimed at testing public position towards the following items:

- Q1: the participants' position towards the implementation of Algerian Arabic as a medium of instruction instead of SA
- Q2: the participants' position towards replacing French by English

The researcher focussed on these two items because they seemed under some particular circumstances that they would be the next future changes in the Algerian language policy and planning after the officialisation of Tamazight, which itself was expected very early in this research before being a constitutional act. The survey was displayed more easily than the first one. The questions, even though asking the participants agreements, only 'yes – no' scales were given because it was no more than a step of confirmation of two variables in relation to the research questions. Therefore, demographic information were not required at that step, since dealing with a sample population Algerian, with adequate literacy to ensure the readability of the questions. A note of thank for collaboration was put automatically at the end of the survey to be sent to each participant immediately after answering the questions.

To come to the point, it can be noticed that the same elements as well as the same protocol have been used in creating the two surveys and the elite interviews. However, each of the three methods differs from the other in the objective and in the sampling procedure. The researcher attempted to deal with a large population since it is a study of public perspectives about the real execution of regulations in terms of language policy and about any expectation of a future globalisation influence. The whole sample population and the sampling procedure of this study are described in the following section.

3.6. The Overall Population

The selection of the target population is among the fundamental elements of conducting research. Before describing the participants of this study, a slight explanation of some concepts seems significant. MacDonald and Headlam (1986) describe the sample as 'the section of the wider population that will be engaged in the survey', sampling as 'the process of identifying who you will aim to contact from that

population', and population as 'the target group... [such as] the national population as a whole [or] a smaller group such as lone parents'' (p. 12). Sampling frame, according to the same source, consists of part of the population from which members of a sample are then selected for the study. It needs to be shaped accurately up to the research objectives. Hence, it is a fundamental step in any study to define who the respondents are and what the sampling frame can be.

As stated in the previous section, this research is based on the method of triangulation, and so are their sample population and the procedure of its data collection. Since one of the study's objectives is to provide an authentic image about public perspectives on official regulations in terms of language policy and planning, the researcher has sampled the population in regards to the type of the research methods and tools employed. The researcher intended in the early stages of this study to reach a population of 1000 participants, since 'Sampling error decreases with the increase in the size of the sample, and it happens to be of a smaller magnitude in case of homogeneous population,' (Kothari, 2004, p.54).

However, different factors have contributed to limit the number to 915 participants for conducting interviews and Internet surveys, 13 official decrees for analysis, most of them selected from the Constitution and the Official Journal of the Republic, and 20 subjects for indirect observation. The choice of the whole sample has helped to approach a varied population –mostly through interviews and surveys – and know their diverse attitudes towards the current and the future LPP in Algeria. It was also a wide chance to deal with a variety of people from different regions from Algeria, as well as with some highly placed officials. This has revealed some unexpected realities that have expressed diverged perspectives about the actual and the future status of the existing languages in the country. More details are provided in what follows.

3.7. Sampling Procedure

This study has employed purposeful and random sampling to collect data for qualitative and quantitative methods respectively. Since collecting qualitative data in this research has been related to official documents, elites and texts from Twitter accounts of some officials, purposeful sampling has been the most suitable procedure to follow. For Patton (1990), 'The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting

information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research,' (p. 169).Hence, it is central to know how to make the appropriate selection of the sample population.

In contrast, the process of collecting quantitative data via online surveys has been done at random on the one hand, as the purpose is to deal with a sample from the Algerian population, without any conditions set for that, such as age, class, or qualifications. For that, emails of many participants, particularly university teachers and students have been collected for example from some universities' websites, published articles, or through a direct request. Yet, purposeful sampling, which is the most frequent method in research, has been also used to target the participants' level of literacy to assure the survey's readability. In fact, the researcher has employed 'the "friend of a friend" or snowball technique' (J. Holmes & K. Hazen, 2014, p.31), to involve more participants, focussing on those who can contribute to the study.

The following sections describe in details the sampling procedure undertaken for documents analysis, indirect observation, elite interviews, and the two surveys. Each phase is explained with a description of the sample in concern.

3.7.1.   Documents Analysis: the Constitution & the Official Journal

The sample in this method was a selection of some official documents for analysis in this research in relation to language policy. Although many documents have been reviewed and exploited to realise the two preceding chapters of this study, the focus in the practical section is on some particular regulations as far as consistent shifts in Algerian language policy and planning are concerned. It is a reading of official articles related to linguistic regulations extracted from the Constitution and the Official Journal of the Republic, exceptionally in terms of status planning and corpus planning. The selection of regulations to be analysed is done to highlight the most relevant reforms and shifts in relation to the official, national and foreign languages. The main objective is to discuss the most relevant current shifts and the aspects that reflect any possible future change in language policy. The table below shows the regulations that are analysed in this study:

Table 3.1: The Documents Selected for Analysis

Document	Article
Constitution 1963	Article 5:*Arabic* in the national and official language of the State Article 76: The effective completion of *Arabisation* must take place as soon as possible on the territory of the Republic. However, notwithstanding the provisions of this act, the *French* language may be used *temporarily* alongside the *Arabic language*.
JORA: Decree N° 68-92(1968)–completed by Decree N°68-95 (Feb/12/1970	Decree N°68-95 (Feb/12/1970)-Application of Ordinance 68-92: (Art. 1, and Art.2)➔ It is compulsory for all permanent Algerian worker to have adequate mastery of the *National Language* (*Arabic at that time*), that without, no promotion in job is offered.
Constitution 1976	Article 3: *Arabic* is the national and official language. The State works to *generalize* the use of the national language to the official plan.
JORA: Decree (172-75) Dec. 30th - 1975	Proclaimed the opening of licence degree in the Arabic language and literature and course design
JORA: Law No 86-10 (August 19 1986)	The creation of the Algerian Academy of the Arabic Language, and ordered to work on the translation of scientific and technical matters.
JORA: Law No 5-91 (16.01.1991) vs. Law96-30 (21.12.1996)	Art. 1 – Art. 2 – Art. 3 – Art. 15 ➔ Concerning the generalisation of the use of the Arabic Language (More details in the analysis, highlighting the changes that occurred in 1996) (Art. 11 – 12 – 23 – 36 – 37)
Official Journal Legislative Decree 92-02 July, 1992	Concerning the implementation of Law N° 91-OS of January 16, 1991 Art. 1: The maximum period set by Article 36 of Law 91-05 of January 16, 1991 on the generalization of the use of the Arabic language is extended until meeting the required conditions.
Official Bulletin of National Education circular n° 93.29 (06/09/1993)	Concerning the integration of English in the fourth grade of Fundamental schooling
Constitution 1996	Article 3: Arabic is the national and official language. Paragraph 4 of the Preamble: The 1st of November was… its culture, its values and the fundamental components of its identity which are Islam, Arabity and Amazighity … nation.
Constitution 2002 Official Journal Law n°02-03 of 10.04.2002	Article 3: (no modification) Art. 3 *bis*: (adopted April 10, 2002) Tamazight is also a *national* language. The State works on its *promotion* and *development*, with all its linguistic varieties that are in spoken throughout the national territory.
Constitution 2016	Art. 3[2]: *Arabic* is the national and official language. *Arabic stays the official language of the State* (More details in the analysis) Art. 4[3]: *Tamazight* is equally a *national* and an *official* language. (More details in the analysis)
JORA: Decree No(17-18) (September 2018) 2018	design the members of the Algerian academy of Tamazight, and command the major activities required for the standardisation of the language
Constitution 2020	Same text is kept in Articles 3 and 4 Article 223: **No constitutional revision may impinge on**: **6**.Tamazight, as a national and official language

It is worth to mention that documents analysis conducted in this study is associated to legal official texts. It is a reading of the above stated regulations as well as the rationale and the results for each one, highlighting an extent of their implementation at the macro and micro levels. It is neither to criticise politically such governmental regulations nor to analyse them judicially. It is rather to approach them ethically from a language planning perspective, in connection with the chronology of events and the main language shifts.

3.7.2. Selected Samples for Indirect Observation

Indirect observation was conducted in this study qualitatively on two different samples. First, a selection of some authentic illustrations from the official Twitter pages of the Ministry as well as the ex-Minister of National Education was done in order to observe the proclamation of changes related to language planning and/or policy. The process started by following both of them on Twitter, then by picking up a number of tweets related to education language policy in order to discuss them. Tweets[80] about regulations concerning the status or the development of Arabic, generalisation of Tamazight's teaching, or the implementation of a foreign language were all taken into consideration in this step, i.e. to report any shift or educational reform in terms of language policy. The Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research was also taken into consideration.

Second, the respondents – with special qualifications, such as university teachers, doctors, and linguists – who participated in the first online survey formed the second sample in concern to conduct indirect observation. The answers they provided were investigated to discover some insights and ideas concerning the main regulations in the language policy of the country. Based on the open questions of the first survey, mainly those requiring justification, indirect observation was conducted to shape the perspectives of the respondents toward the Algerian language policy. The focus was on observing the language they used when answering open questions, as well as on their perspectives about the last shifts in the Algerian language planning and/or policy, the impact of globalisation, and any possible future change.

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[80] Tweets' Screenshots are provided in Appendix L

3.7.3.   Sampling for Interviews

Since the research topic is approached from a language planning perspective and one of the major dimensions of the study is to deal with regulations, interviewing some elites has been the second leading phase in the realisation of this study. Therefore, revealing the position of some elites towards the current and future language planning of Algeria in a global world has been very fundamental. In fact, the researcher has viewed that the selected characters for the interview had to meet some specific conditions to achieve required data easily. She has intended to interview the 'elite' who:

1. is Algerian

2. is or has been a decision maker or an expert or has experienced a high-level post so far, for providing effective information (scholar, academician, or language planner for example)

3. accepts to get interviewed and reveals the required data.

The researcher has planned to interview three ministers, three ex-ministers, the president of the Higher Council of the Arabic Language (HCA[81]), the director of the Academy of Tamazight. It was also intended to interview the director of the Academy of National Education, the President of the University of Sidi Bel Abbes, the Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Languages and Arts, an expert in industry and a bank manager. Taking into consideration the full agenda of the selected subjects, there was high possibility to conduct the interview via any means, notably email, Twitter or Facebook, at any possible time.

Unfortunately, this phase of data collection was the penultimate and it coincided with the critical period of the two-last years, while several changes were taking place at the level of the Algerian government. Hence, all attempts to meet a minister or any senior officials in the government have doomed to failure. However, the task was accomplished with the rest of the selected sample. An overview of the interviewees' academic backgrounds and main posts, in addition to the date of the interview, are:

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[81] In French: Haut Commissariat de la Langue Arabe (HCLA). HCA is used in this study

1. Professor Salah Belaid is the president of the HCA since01/ 09/ 2016. He is a linguist, an academician, and a writer interested mainly in issues about national languages, notably Arabic and its future, language and identity, language conflicts. He has been teaching at the University of Tizi Ouzou for over 30 years. He has many publications in Arabic linguistics. The interview was conducted with him on 11/03/2018 at 13:10, in Sidi Bel Abbes during seminar organised in memory of the death of the famous Algerian Linguist Abderrahman Hadj Salah[82] and his main efforts in the field of linguistics.

2. Professor Mohamed Benrabah is an Algerian linguist and writer. He has taught in Oran University from 1978 to 1994 and then in Grenoble University until 2017 – interviewed via email in April 22nd, 2016.

3. The Dean of a Faculty of Letters, Languages and Arts – interviewed via email in January 6th, 2020.

4. Chief Financial Inspector, Ministry of Finance (chief inspector who was direct accountable to the minister of finance) – interviewed via email in February 12th, 2018

5. Mr. Belkacem Alaifa, the General Secretary of the Directorate of National Education in Sidi Bel Abbes (the interview was conducted in his office in 5/11/2018 at 15:14)

6. The director of International Finance and Business Administration of Enterprise management Laboratory– interviewed via email in November 28th, 2019.

It is very significant to admit that such a selection was made after having permission from the participants to be interviewed with respect to their availability, providing them with an idea about the research topic. Moreover, they had the choice to

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[82]Abderrahman Hadj Salah (1927 – 2007). He is and Algerian linguist, who got his PHD in Linguistics in 1957 (Sorbone University). He was the president of the Algerian Academy of the Arabic language, and he was a member in different academies in the Arab World (Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt…)

identify their names or keep the interview anonymous. The researcher expected – before interviewing them – that their knowledge, experience and deep understanding to the Algerian language issue would provide an adequate amount of information to complete the qualitative part of this research. It was a good opportunity for the researcher to have a direct contact with some elites and experts who have never hesitated answering any question of the interview, allowing her to discover a variation of perspectives and achieve a wide range of information. The sample was a limited selection of Algerian scholars and writers who accepted to reveal their own perception of the Algerian language policy and linguistic situation within special circumstances.

3.7.4.   Sampling for Surveys

As already mentioned, two online surveys were conducted quantitatively in this study. The sample population for each of them was selected at random, depending on the volunteers' willingness to contribute to the study. Even though, some special selections were done purposefully for the first survey. While reading the research papers of some Algerian writers and university teachers, the researcher picked up their Email addresses, and invited them to participate in the study via email before sharing the survey with them. Some of them accepted immediately, others refused while a few did not reply at all. Moreover, the researcher invited via emails her colleagues, friends, relatives and students to participate in the survey and to share it the largest possible, since she did not intend to be selective at such a stage, but to have a wide variation of perceptions. Some of them did by posting it on their Facebook groups, others by forwarding it to their contacts and so forth, but all the answers were received automatically through Google Form.

Participants in the first survey reached 555 on the whole, among who 233 stayed in the waiting list, although many of them confirmed that they answered all the questions and sent back the form. The researcher could not realise that, until being notified by some colleagues and relatives that they filled in the online form and sent it back. After soliciting them to retry the operation once and twice, she discovered that, in simple terms, some did not validate the form after filling it, i.e. they did not click the button "*envoyer*" (send) when they finished, others did but still not received. Google

"Mail Delivery Subsystem" notified immediately after sending the link of the survey to the participant[83] that the address did not exist unfortunately. Notifications confirming that 'The email account that you tried to reach does not exist' attained 113, while those informing that 'The recipient server did not accept our requests to connect' were 55. The rest failed obviously in sending the form correctly, as many respondents confirmed. In spite of that, 322 participants have done successfully.

Hence, the sample population of the first survey reached exactly 322 participants aged from 17 to 69 years old. The median age of the whole sample was about 28, since 229 participants, i.e. 71,12 %, were aged from 17 to 35. Both males and females participated in the survey, with a percentage of 45,03 % and 54,97 % respectively, as described in figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Participants' Age and Gender
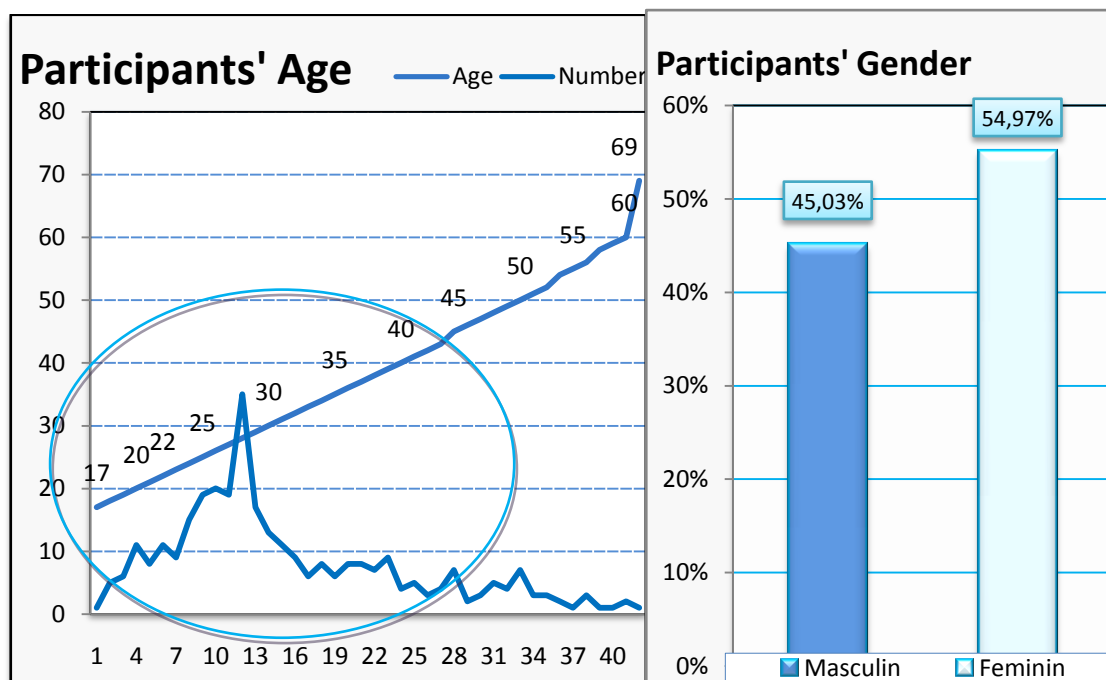
Statistics provided by Google Form reported that the median age of the sample population for the first survey was 28. A screenshot of the original source, as presented in figure 3.3., was taken from Google Sheet to demonstrate and confirm that.

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[83]Illustrations are provided in appendix M

Figure 3.3: Median Age of the Sample Population – Screenshot from Google Sheet
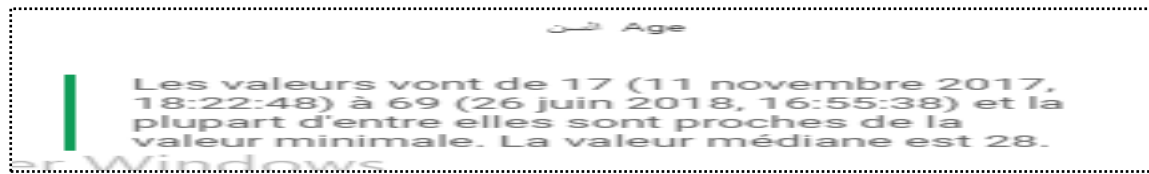
The participants' occupation and origins were also varied, as no measure was taken to limit the study to a specific region, or to deal with a certain level of education, except for some writers and university teachers as explained in the beginning of this section. Requesting the sample population to share the survey with others was a very helpful step that permitted to collect data from 56 different regions from all over Algeria. Unsurprisingly, jobless people, students, doctors, engineers and others participated in the study. Table 3.2 below represents a selection of the participants' original regions and occupations according to the information they provided.

Table 3.2: Participants' Occupations and Original Regions

Participants' Occupations	Participants' Original Regions
University teachers (Prof., Dr., MAA, MAB), students (Licence, Master, Doctorate), Biologists, doctors, managers, education inspector, finance inspector, pharmacists, dentists, engineers, lawyers, nurses, architects, administrators, Primary / Secondary/Middle school Teachers, accountants, secretary, policemen, instructors, translators, employees, electricians, senior technicians, youth trainer, security agents, librarians, computer operators, tradesmen, shop assistants, jobless people.	Algiers, Sidi Bel Abbès, Oran, Tlemcen, Saida, Chlef, Oum El Bouaghi, Bedjaia, Djelfa, Tizi-Ouzou, Boumerdes, Blida, Ain-Temouchent, Batna, Bechar, Tiaret, Tebessa, Médéa, Adrar, Ain Safra, Bouira, Annaba, Djijel, Boussaâda, Mascara, Akbou, khenchela, ElOued, Constantine, Guelma, Cherchel, Djelfa, Sebdou, Beni-Saf, M'sirda, Ghardaia, Laghouat, Relizane, Maghnia, El-Bayadh, Mecheria, Théniet El Haâd, Tissemsilt, Bordj Bou Arreridj, Ouargla, Mostaganem, Mila, Biskra, Naama, Arzew, Setif, Mohammadia, Birel-Ater, Tazmalt

The majority of the participants claimed that they were post-graduate or graduate. Different degrees were stated such as Professor's, PHD and Master's degrees, as well as others as in the preceding table. However, the educational level of 2,98 % of the participants was either secondary or middle schooling up to the data they provided. The sample consisted of 85 university teachers, 43 teachers in pre-university education, 88 post-graduate students from different master and doctoral classes, 3 doctors, 10 engineers, 12 administration officers, 3 lawyers, and others with one of the above-stated professions. Among the whole sample population, 54 participants mentioned that they moved to live in another city. In addition, many small towns that belong to large cities are not mentioned in this table, such as Hydra, Bab el Oued and Barraki in Algiers, Sefisef and Sidi Lahcen in Sidi Bel Abbes, Ighil Ouazoug in Bejaia, and others.

Random sampling was used to conduct the second survey, as mentioned previously. No specific information was required, since it was a step intended to support the reliability and the validity of the study. It was a way to test generally the Algerians' perspectives about the two issues reviewed in this survey. The researcher's purpose from such sampling was to deal with an Algerian population without requiring any conditions. In the letter to the respondents, there was a note soliciting the participants to share the survey with at least three of their own contacts whose literacy permitted them to answer the two questions of the survey. Some of the researcher's contacts were selected to reach an initial number of 70 participants, to whom the survey was sent. They are not the same subjects dealt with in the first survey. The initial sample for this survey consisted of university teachers, post-graduate and graduate students. Thanks to the large diffusion of the survey by the participants, the total number could reach 350 respondents in few weeks.

3.8.   Ethical Measures

It is generally agreed among researchers that a number of ethical issues should be taken into consideration when conducting social, political and other research. Some common guidelines are summarised by many research councils, such as the Economic

Social Research Council (ESRC), which is part of the UK Research and Innovation[84]. The most common ones are integrity and quality, informed consent, confidentiality of information, anonymity of the respondents and protecting the subjects involved in the study from any kind of harm. Berg (2001) believes that 'although researchers certainly do have a professional responsibility to search for knowledge, they also have an ethical responsibility to avoid exposing subjects to potential harm,' (p.61).

Given that the present study exploited official documents and involved the participation of human, mainly the elites, ethical and academic standards were specific dimensions, taken very carefully into account in this study. On the one hand, it is a duty to care about how to approach the study academically and protect the participants. On the other, the present study treated some specific sociolinguistic and political issues qualitatively. Notwithstanding that, the realisation of the practical part occurred in some particular circumstances, within which the country lived an extent of unrest, and so, many people felt insecure, mainly if involved in a political context.

The surveys' questions were general, addressed to the public, whereas those of the interview were specific, and required the participation of the elites. Hence, the interviewees were informed about the study and its objectives by receiving a preview of the questions before conducting the interview, as it was clearly mentioned in the letters to the surveys' respondents that the participation was voluntary. It was also confirmed to both samples that the information they provided would be used exclusively for the purpose of the study. The questions' selection, mostly for the interviewees, was a personal preference, and they could skip any part they do not like to be involved in. Anonymity and interview recording were also the interviewees' individual choice. So, face-to-face interviews were conducted by appointment depending on the interviewee's agenda, while a copy of the questions was sent to those who preferred to respond via email or a means of social media in a later time.

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[84]ESRC: Economic and Social Research Council is part of UK Research and Innovation (UKRI), a non-departmental public body funded by the UK government. It provides funding and support for research and training in the social sciences. It is the UK's largest organisation for funding research on economic and social issues. Other organisations have the same role in other fields such as Medical research Council (MRC), Engineering and Physical Sceince Reserach Council (EPSRC) etc...

Some participants in the first survey, once receiving the questions, apologised and refused participation even anonymously – which is a legitimate right. One of the respondents, a computer engineer, advised the researcher to omit the option of electronic information from the first survey, i.e. which defined the email address. He confirmed that after posting the survey to different groups on Facebook, and following the feedback, many of his contacts would have preferred to answer only if anonymously. To be more explicit, such a request was received from well-known people who could be identified from their account addresses. The option was deactivated for ethical ends, for those who requested that, and reactivated again for those who did not, because the researcher needed to focus on data provided by some special participants, such as linguists, university teachers and doctors.

It seems very significant for the researcher to report at this level that she decided to mention the names of some respondents, in this study, only after getting their consent, otherwise only numbers and statistics are revealed, making all efforts to keep the provided personal information confidential when necessary. Moreover, the researcher attempted to report exactly the participants' perspectives and interpret fairly the data collected via all the sources used for that end. For indirect observation, access to Twitter and Facebook accounts of some elites was open to follow them, and the selection of some texts was done only after their permission – through a mediator as stated previously in this thesis.

3.9. Validity and Reliability

It is commonly recognised that validity and reliability are among the most significant dimensions of good research, indicating how well a study is undertaken and how effective its results are. They are mostly known as the values of research often measured by the consistency of the findings of the study and the accuracy of the methodology used to achieve them. Both are used many times interchangeably, though they are different. Both are dimensions that complete one another. As stated by Cohen *et al*. (2000), 'reliability is a necessary but insufficient condition for validity in research; reliability is a necessary precondition of validity' (p.105). They are required for both qualitative and quantitative research.

In qualitative research, validity and reliability are generally associated to the researcher's sincerity in providing credible descriptions, interpretations and explanations of the material in question, as well as the recorded data truthfulness in regards to the context investigated. However, in quantitative research, they reflect purely the accuracy of the means of measurement and whether they shape correctly what they intended to measure. Patton (1990) claims that 'the credibility in qualitative inquiry is especially dependent on the credibility of the researcher because the researcher is the instrument of data collection,' (p. 600). They are the pillars on which the quality of research is based.

This research is both qualitative and quantitative based on five different methods of data collection as stated formerly. During its realisation, the researcher has taken into consideration validity and reliability as standards in every step. Given that the use of triangulation is generally favoured in research for it combines between different methods and supports validity and reliability, it is adopted in this study. It is and adequate way to achieve systematically valid and reliable findings and build similar conclusions though using different instruments (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: Golafshani, 2003). The research design was revised to test the steps of the study in terms of the sampling population and the methodology followed.

In addition, some questions in the first survey were intended to illicit form the participants the information that could lead to an extent of reliability, and hence they were asked in different ways, to describe as much as possible the authentic language landscape through the answers provided. Other items, however, were designed to maximise validity and target findings' generalizability. Similarly, the second survey was itself a validity check. It was conducted mostly to validate some issues since the context of the study was based on attitudes or perspectives, and human beings are generally subjective. Therefore, in order to test some data, the researcher waited over a year and conducted the second survey posting it to a sample different from the first survey' population, focussing on the two main questions related to the future of language policy in Algeria.

It is worth to mention that this study could contain a degree of subjectivity for it is not only based on real facts, official documents and political discourses, but also on the interpretations of the participants' perspectives and ideologies. Nevertheless, the

researcher has tried to stand objective throughout all the steps of the present research whether in reporting facts or the data collected from the surveys and the interviews, and to deal with a large varied population, mostly random, for gaining more validity and reliability. Another way to support validity was the pilot study, which was a significant and helpful step before dealing with the interviews and the two surveys.

3.10. Pilot Study

Piloting is a significant step, normally realised after setting up the research techniques and methods and designing the way they need to be dealt with. It is considered very necessary in research because it allows making prior revision before implementing the method to check. Pilot study is seen by Arnold *et al.* (quoted by Arain *et al.* 2010) as 'a small study for helping to design a further confirmatory study,' (p.1), whereas by Baker (cited in E. van Teijlingen *et al.* 2001) as 'the pre-testing or trying out of a particular research instrument,' (p.289). Hence, piloting a study increases its validity, and makes its findings more reliable. As a preparatory stage of any research, it is the fundamental key to adjust the wording of the questions in a questionnaire or an interview, their number, their logical arrangement on the one hand, and to test the practicality of the research tool in question within a small sample from the context under investigation.

Pilot studies undertaken in this research were intended to test the flexibility and the feasibility of surveys and interviews as well as the suitability of the questions designed for each, in order to determine any weakness and complete any missing points. Piloting in the present research was done sequentially into three main steps. The first step, related to the first survey, was the initial stage of piloting the study, followed by testing the interview and finally by trying out the second survey. The following sub-sections hold a detailed description of how the procedure of piloting was conducted in the present study.

3.10.1. Piloting Survey One

Piloting the first survey was done into two different stages: a pilot study of the printed version and then another for the electronic one with two different samples. Firstly, after arranging the questions of the first survey and before creating the online

form, the printed version was revised and tested, in terms of wording and items' order, trying to imagine possible answers. The original written draft was refined and rearranged in a finalised version in June 2017, and then translated into Arabic and French. After that, a pilot study was conducted with five volunteers to check the practicality of the questions and their order again, as well as the workability of the method and the quality of the information that could be provided as a feedback. The volunteers were professor of Arabic linguistics, a teacher of mathematics, an engineer in computer sciences, a post-graduate from the department of political sciences, a primary-school teacher of Arabic.

Subsequently, the researcher deduced that the identification of the email addresses of some respondents was recommended for the selection of some relevant data – specifically needed – to focus on particular participations as already stated in section 3.8. Besides, she noticed that some questions had to be separated into different items. In the initial form, questions about authentic daily language practices at the macro and the individual levels were gathered under one item. Similarly, items related to language preferences and the participants' perspectives about the appropriate language in different contexts were also grouped. After receiving the answers, the distinction seemed logical and was set to avoid any ambiguity for the participants. The final draft was then ready to be created online in Arabic and French.

Given that the researcher intended to conduct part of this study through a large-scale quantitative method using this survey questionnaire, she decided to test the survey after setting its structure on the internet, involving the same five volunteers in the written draft a week later. That was the second step of piloting survey I. On the one hand, it was intended to examine the workability of the online version, as far as the processes of transmitting the survey and receiving the feedback, and the scores realised by Google statistics programme. On the other hand, it was conducted to test the respondents' willingness to treat all the questions and estimate the required time for responding them.

After receiving the feedback and checking the scores of each question, the researcher noticed that the volunteers answered quickly without stating any breakdown or inconsistency in the process, and hence she deduced that the online form functioned adequately both in terms of readability and technical transmission. However, she

wondered whether the procedure would continue in the same rhythm with a large population with whom she did not have any contact. Therefore, the third step was to conduct the pilot study by emailing the survey questionnaire to a sample of nine participants, most of whom from different universities, thanks to the help of the professor of linguistics who provided their electronic addresses. The pilot study was conducted in the same period (June 2017) as described in the following table, extracted from the original page of answers and statistics on Google Sheet:

Table 3.3: Pilot Survey I Participants' Demographic Information

Participation date and time	Town of Origin	Profession	Level of Education
23/06/2017 22:21:33	Algiers	Professor	Ph.D.
23/06/2017 22:31:47	Nâama	Professor of Higher education	Ph.D.
23/06/2017 23:24:04	Tiaret	Teacher	Ph.D.
24/06/2017 00:14:51	SBA	University teacher	Ph.D.
25/06/2017 09:28:09	Mechria	Teacher	Ph.D.
26/06/2017 23:54:57	Barika-Batna	University teacher	Ph.D. Student
27/06/2017 10:47:23	Djelfa	Secondary-school teacher of French	Ph.D. Student in Editorial Translation
27/06/2017 13:27:07	SBA	//	Master Degree
27/06/2017 15:19:46	Oran	Administrator	Licence +2

Note: Translation was used where necessary since the answers were in Arabic or French

After receiving the answers of the pilot sample, a small-scale study was executed reviewing data and making statistics. No modification was done at this level since the pilot survey operated appropriately. Finally, the first survey was ready to be widely sent via email, published on Facebook and shared with the sample population described in section 3.7.4. It was the most important step in the quantitative research of this study, because it helped overcome the main difficulties, determine limitations and avoid ambiguities. The researcher benefited a lot from this pilot studies to identify to a large extent the flaws that might affect negatively the reliability of the findings and the validity of this survey as the most practical research method to realise the quantitative part of this study.

3.10.2. Piloting Elite Interviews

Before conducting any elite interview, a pilot study was conducted to test the questions and measure approximately the average time. The interview was semi-structured eliciting qualitative data from the selected sample. It was based on the standardised open-ended questions in order to elicit as much information from the interviewees as possible for the qualitative part of this research. The main objective was to cover the topics that might provide the appropriate information to measure qualitatively the context of the study, in terms of ideologies and perspectives. Hence, the researcher attempted through this pilot study to review the type, the wording, the suitability and the relevance of the questions.

The questions were revised and refined, before being translated into Arabic and French. After that, the pilot study was conducted in December 2017 with two university professors from Sidi Bel Abbes University; one of them was an expert in Economics and the other in Arabic Linguistics. Both volunteers favoured to be interviewed in Arabic. The pilot study was done face-to-face with one of the two professors whereas by telephone conversation with the other. It is of duty to affirm that their knowledge about the elite milieu, their rich working experience with the effective recommendations they offered, all helped modifying the order of the questions and limit their vagueness.

The most relevant data were selected to make an attempt of analysis, which was a step first to discover that the allocated time for interviews needed to be limited to facilitate keeping control over the required information, and second to know how to guide the interviewee's answers and avoid irrelevant data. This pilot study identified the flaws with the interview design in terms of the wording of the questions and the type of topics to be discussed with the participants to provide the required qualitative data. After piloting the interview, direct questions were avoided in order not to make the interviewee feel targeted, mainly when dealing with ideological issues. Necessary modifications were done; trying to limit the questions' wording exclusively to what is required for the qualitative side of this research.

3.10.3. Piloting Survey Two

After realising the qualitative part of this study and the first survey, this pilot study was conducted. The focus was on two main polls of this study, in relation to the use of Algerian Arabic as a medium of instruction and the spread of English in comparison with French, as they might be future shifts in the Algerian language policy. Hence, only two questions were formulated. Before publishing the survey on Facebook and sharing it via email, the two questions were revised with a university professor of Arabic linguistics, one of the researcher's colleagues. The same principles of piloting used for the first survey and the interview were used for this pilot study.

Survey II was piloted with six volunteers: a university teacher, an engineer in computer sciences who helped creating the surveys, a nurse, a middle-school teacher of Arabic, and two university post-graduate students of linguistics. It was created and published in the Internet on Marsh 2019.Feedback was very quickly received and the score provided by Google Form started to be shaped. Since no flaw was noticed in the questions' wording and in the technical operation of the survey, it was shared to a large extent. The pilot sample confirmed that the questions were direct, simple and readable and the procedure required no more than three minutes to be realised: that was exactly met while the realisation of the survey.

Following the same principles of conducting a pilot study, surveys and interviews were piloted in this study for the same objectives. The researcher tried to respect carefully the same characteristics of the whole population while the selection of the pilot samples, for the purpose of validity. However, data collected through the interviews and surveys pilot studies were not counted while the process of analysis and discussion, since they were used in no more than testing the reliability and the validity of the research methods. Piloting was a very helpful phase in this research, mainly for the elite interviews and the first survey. It allowed the revision and the refinement of the methods undertaken, as well as the control of the type of the questions and their wording. The researcher intended to determine the flaws of every method to make necessary modifications before putting it into action, and try the electronic creation and functioning of the surveys to avoid risks.

3.11. Data Collection Procedure

The present study employed the mixed-method approach and the procedure of data collection was done into different steps as already mentioned in the description of the research design. Since the method of triangulation was used, the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data was sequential exploratory, descriptive and explanatory in nature. Therefore, it was compulsory to arrange the phases of data collection before putting any research tool into practice, because any gap or flaw in conducting the research tool would affect the reliability and the validity of the findings and the effectiveness of the study. Marshall & Rossman (1995) believe that 'the researcher should think through carefully how he can deploy the self, as it were, to maximize the opportunities for gathering data,' (p.64).

In order to obtain a detailed description of public and elites' positions towards the language policy of Algeria and its future in the haze of globalisation, the research methods stated in the previous sections were used. The research design was sequential in nature, trying to employ the convenient method for the required data. Initially, the researcher focussed on theoretical data to provide a clear description of the conceptual framework highlighting the most relevant information in regards to the objectives of this study. After consulting the associated literature review, the procedure of data collection was sequenced into three phases: a) qualitative, b) qualitative and quantitative, c) quantitative. The researcher tried to address each research question conveniently through the research instrument(s). The whole procedure of data collection is explained in the following section.

3.11.1. Qualitative Data Collection

For an adequate qualitative data collection in this study, documents' analysis, elites' interviews and indirect observation were the most useful tools. Part of the first survey was also set to describe some data qualitatively. The researcher started in a very early stage of this study, exactly in 2014, collecting and selecting carefully the convenient material that best served the objectives and helped answering the research questions qualitatively. The practical research started by analysing the selected documents qualitatively. Furthermore, the focus was on the regulations related to language policy as stated in the sampling procedure. The reading of the documents was

intended to describe the major shifts in the Algerian language policy, highlighting the policy of Arabisation and the extent of its implementation and the policy of officialising, standardising and generalising Tamazight. Any reference to other languages in the constitution or in the Official Journal of the Republic was also taken into consideration.

The selected documents were analysed from a language planning perspective, to investigate whether the policies in question were top-down or bottom-up, covert or overt, and if implemented successfully in governmental services and in education. On the one hand, the researcher intended to relate regulations to the relevant coexisting facts, because the dimensions of the impact of globalisation on future LPP cannot be estimated without investigating the past and the present shifts. On the other, the use of documents' analysis described the chronology of the key changes in the Algerian LPP and put on view if this latter could respond the population's needs and international opportunities. Hence, documents' analysis was pointed out to answer part of the first and the second research questions.

The second research tool used to gather qualitative data was the indirect observation done on some extracts from the official Twitter accounts or Facebook pages of the Ministers and the Ministries of National Education and of Higher Education and Scientific Research. The observation was conducted ethically, by subscribing and then following the subjects in question. Video extracts of some decision makers' talks about particular language policy shifts in relation to the research topic and objectives were also investigated in order to highlight some authentic facts. The videos are extracted from the Internet, exactly those available on YouTube. Observation in such a manner focused on regulations or news about the policy of Arabisation and the process of its elaboration, the Officialisation and generalisation of Tamazight, and the implementation of English in education.

Critical discourse analysis was not the purpose in using this method. The researcher tried to underline the major facts depending on the regulations that were discussed. Hence, there was a tight relation between documents' analysis and indirect observation as both of them were related to the description of the selected regulations for the study and their settings. They were dealt with to discuss the major dimensions of the language policy followed by Algeria since its independence, and find moderate

answers to the first, second and third research questions. The selected documents were used mostly to describe the regulations with the extent of their execution, and to investigate any impact of globalisation on Algerian LPP.

Elites' interviews were as well a strong tool to collect qualitative data, nearly in relation to all the research questions, mainly the second, the third and the fourth. The elites were interviewed in order to elicit the information that provided insight into decision-making. It was the longest phase in terms of the time of its realisation, since it depended on the interviewees' availability. As explained in the section of the sampling procedure, the researcher planned to interview some ministers and ex-ministers, but it was impossible. Therefore, the sample population dealt with was moderately changed, just as explained in section 3.7.3. The purpose and the objectives of the study were explained to the participants before starting face-to-face interviews.

All the interviews were conducted in Standard Arabic; three were face-to-face and recorded, the others were via email. On the set date, time and place, the researcher was ready to conduct face-to-face interviews. The participants agreed to be recorded and showed no objection to be identified or to use data they provided for the purpose of the study. Besides, they had the right to choose the questions to answer for ethical purposes, just as done with those who favoured emailing the responses. Before starting face-to-face interviews, the researcher explained each question and its aim after providing an idea about the research topic and the objectives, except with the president of the Higher Council of the Arabic Language, Prof. Salah Belaid, who is an expert in the field, and hence, started answering immediately after having an idea about the theme of the study. Interviews mailed electronically were accompanied with a letter to explain everything, but were given more time. None of the respondents asked to omit questions or change their order.

It is worth to mention that the experts and the linguists interviewed did not hesitate to provide the required information and to help sympathetically, even though there was no opportunity to meet a decision maker. The discussion during and even after conducting the interview was beneficial and explicit. All the interviews were done in 2018-2019, except with Prof. M. Benrabah, to whom a question about his attitudes towards the officialisation of Tamazight was emailed in April 2016, waiting to meet him in Algeria, but his sudden death changed everything. Since access to some elites

was a tough task, the researcher needed to wait for an appointment with the interviewee, in case of face-to-face interview, or for a reply by email. Some participants took more than a year to fix a time for the interview and others were not ready to accept receiving the questions via email, while a small number replied immediately. Therefore, some members of the sample population were replaced by others with 'easy-access'.

Meanwhile, the researcher launched the first Internet survey as explained in the following section, even though to collect quantitative data. The whole procedure of qualitative data collection could not be completed until the end of this research, yet, after realizing the second Internet survey, because of the full agendas of the elites to be interviewed. However, it was the research tool that helped the researcher achieved immediately one of the major objectives of the research, which was to explore, to some extent, the ideologies of some elites and reveal their attitudes towards the Algerian policy and authenticity. The method gave a translucent understanding about some facts. After interviewing other members not those designed at the beginning of this research, the procedure was finalised to be ready for analysis and discussion.

3.11.2. Quantitative Data Collection

Given that one of the fundamental dimensions of this study was to test public perspectives about the Algerian policy and its future in the era of globalisation, Internet surveys were the best way to reach very quickly a varied population from different regions in the country. They were employed to gather as much varied quantitative data as possible, in terms of gender, age, origins, level of education, and profession, as already described in section 3.5, and 3.7. Both surveys were sent via email or published on Facebook, asking the participants to share the form they received with people in their milieu. It was clearly highlighted that the study aimed at involving as many Algerians as possible in order to portray a clearer image about their daily language practices, their beliefs and behaviours towards globalisation and the State's language policy. The sample populations were informed that issue of anonymity was much respected.

After setting out the surveys and realizing the pilot studies, the researcher started sending the first one to some colleagues and post-graduate students, exactly from the departments of English, Letters, Engineering, Biology, Chemistry, Exact Sciences and Technology, Economics, Computer Sciences, and Political Sciences. Some ex

colleagues form secondary and middle education, relatives and friends were also involved. Apart from the department of English, the researcher got from ten to twenty contacts in the other departments, mostly teachers or post-graduate students.

The use of Internet surveys using Google Form provided the researcher with such a possibility of tracking the email once sent, that a notification was received if answered, refused, or if the email address was wrong as explained previously. Moreover, it was very possible to resend the survey to the emails in the waiting list to remind them, those who received it but did not reply. Moreover, a note of thank was sent to those who replied. However, those who accessed the link of the surveys on Facebook could not be identified, and no notification was received about that.

The procedure of collecting data by the first survey started exactly in 14/07/2017 by displaying the survey to the researcher's relatives, friends, and colleagues from the above stated departments, and to her first-year and second-year Master students of Linguistics, asking all of them to share it with their contacts that are able to participate in the study. Both teachers and students have shared voluntarily the survey via email or Facebook, in different regions throughout the country. Therefore, the survey has reached – thanks to the collaboration of some participants – different regions from the country. A colleague, for example, has shared it with more than twenty teachers of her contacts through different universities in the Centre, the East and the South of the country. Some of the post-graduate students who have participated in the survey are nurses, engineers, teachers and administrators. It is worth to admit that they have been extremely helpful by sharing it to a wider extent in their professional environments.

The first reply to Survey 1 was received in 14/07/2017, two hours after starting the procedure. In two weeks, data from 82respondents were collected. However, the procedure became so slow during August and September that only two answers were received and the interruption continued until October 23rd. The rest of the participants carried on sending the answers until the end of December of the same year. After comparing the collected data, the researcher thought of enlarging the sample by involving more participants, most of whom were university teachers, whose email

addresses were picked up from their online-published articles[85]. They did thankfully, though after some time. The last answer was received in June 2018, as already mentioned in figure (3.3).

Some dates were selected from Google Sheet to show the progress of data collection by month; it was sometimes active, while very passive in some periods.

Figure 3.4: The Mensal Progress of Survey I Data Collection

Date	Nbr.Resp.
14/07/2017 20:41	1
31/07/2017 00:52	82
05/08/2017 11:22	83
09/09/2017 18:03	84
23/10/2017 22:50	85
31/10/2017 23:41	98
01/11/2017 04:42	99
29/11/2017 15:45	207
01/12/2017 12:40	208
31/12/2017 22:00	267
03/01/2018 19:06	268
01/02/2018 21:23	288
12/03/2018 01:06	291
22/04/2018 11:11	294
03/05/2018 23:03	311
26/06/2018 16:55	322
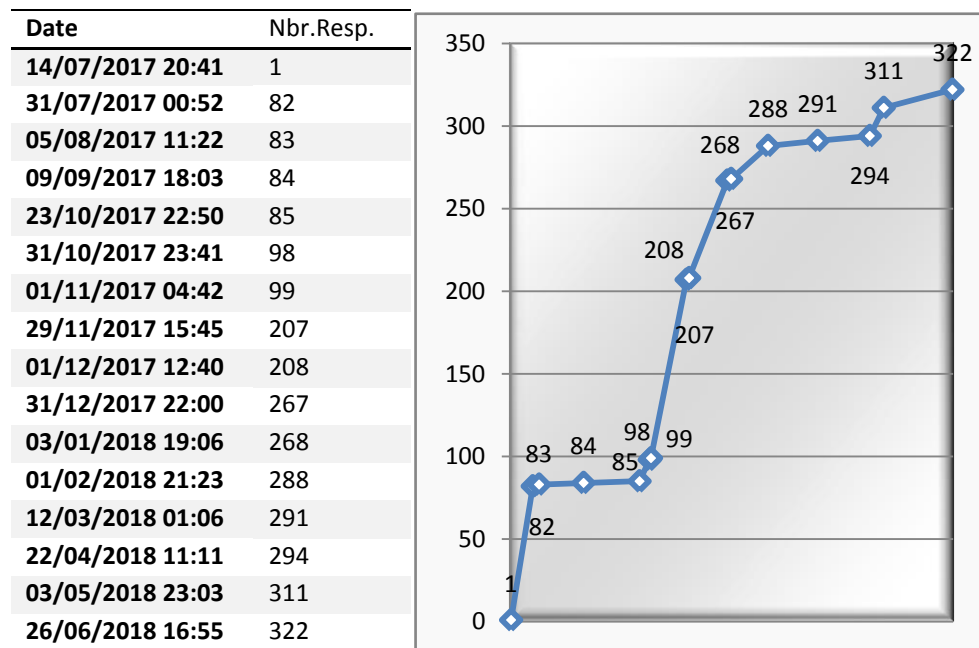
The second survey, which was the last phase of the practical side, was conducted to validate some quantitative data, exactly to confirm public position towards the implementation of Dialectal Arabic as the language of education, and replacing French with English in Algeria. The researcher decided to share this survey with a random sample population, immediately after creating the online version, which consisted of no more than two yes/no questions. It was diffused via email and Facebook to 70 volunteers from the researcher's colleagues, friends, students and relatives with a university educational level, requesting them to share it with at least three other adult literate participants with at least a secondary-school level of education. Since the survey

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[85] Some were very generous to answer very quickly, and share their ideas without hesitation, such as Prof. Arezki Abdenour, Dr. Faiza Dekhir and Prof. Fatima Z. Ferchouli.

was online, the procedure requires just to be connected and to access the survey's link, or to dictate the answers to someone to report them.

Unsurprisingly, more than 200 participants contributed to the study in a very short period. The interaction was so quick that 143 replies were received in the first 48 hours, as shows figure 3.4, but the score was nearly constant. Hence, the researcher closed the survey's link for few weeks, because she believed there might be some influence as it coincided with the 'Hirak'[86]. The link was reopened eight weeks later – in June – and the total number of participants reached 350 participations, also very fast. The researcher decided to stop receiving answers at this stage, more precisely when realising that the score was again stable. For this survey, neither demographic nor electronic information were required, but only to answer the two survey questions. It is worth to mention that the participants in the second survey were not the same dealt with in the first one.

Figure 3.5: The Progress of Survey II Data Collection

No. Resp.	Feedback Date & time
1	06/03/2019 18:09:59
51	06/03/2019 23:52:15
113	07/03/2019 00:05:43
143	08/03/2019 21:22:47
201	01/04/2019 18:54:03
202	01/06/2019 23:52:44
350	07/06/2019 00:41:48
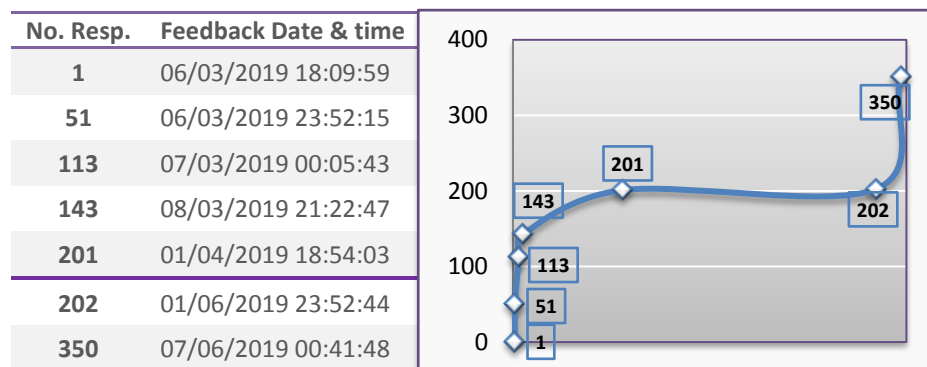
Despite the fact that both surveys were conducted on the Internet, following the same protocol for creating them, data collection through the second one was quicker than the first, because of the limited number of questions. Google Sheet stored the answers once received and provided graphs that described the score of each question. The researcher reported the data on Excel Sheet to create graphs that could be manipulated easily, since Google provided them in a form of figures that could not submit any modification of style or colour.

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[86] Hirak: protests done by the Algerian population as a rejection of the political regime

The procedure of quantitative data collection using both surveys was very handy and feasible, mostly in terms of accessing, describing the authentic language practices as well as the perspectives of a varied population. Both surveys played a great role in conducting this research and helped describing to some extent the language practices of the sample populations as well as reporting their position towards the language policy of Algeria within globalisation. Unlike the other research tools, both online surveys were the most convenient ways to approach, somewhat, different categories of participants as previously stated: linguists, researchers, teachers, doctors, engineers, students, jobless… etc. They were related to a certain extent with all the research questions – mostly the first one – and provided a high return rate as explained in what follows.

3.11.3. The Surveys' Return Rate

The procedure of data collection for survey 1 was unexpectedly slower, even though the return rate was good. As stated previously, 322 participants responded the survey's questions and sent back the forms, which were summarised by Google Form. This latter provided a detailed description and reported with every question the number of the responses received, in addition to the graphs of what they scored. In other words, when the responses were summarised, the number of answers per question was also reported, as in the sample provided in the following figure:

Figure 3.6: A Sample of Survey 1 Return Rate
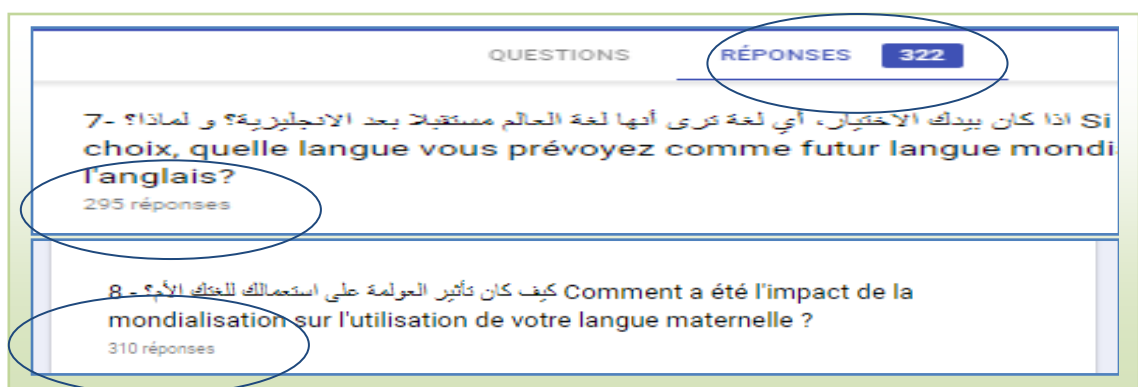
The whole summary of the survey defined that some participants, though filled the form, did not answer some questions, mainly when it is a matter of justifying their choice, they ticked up the convenient item but skipped the "why" or the "how". The first section of the survey, concerning demographic information, was fully completed,

except for email addresses. When the survey was ready for being shared, not all the participants were directly addressed at once by the researcher because some of them refused providing their email addresses. Others refused to answer the whole survey after reading the questions, claiming that they did not have time or they did not want to share their email addresses, because the email option was compulsory. Once deactivating that option, as advised by an engineer, 84 answers were received, representing 26,08 % from the survey's sample. However, for more validity, the researcher required again the email addresses, because it helped confirming who the respondents were, though anonymous.

It is worth noting that the answers to the questions were not compulsory, apart from section six. In all the sections provided, the participants were free to either answer or move to the following one, except in the Likert-scale part related to attitudes, in which they needed to provide the extent of agreement from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. However, the rate of the answers was high, and more than 90 % of the survey's sample size answered most of the questions. Items holding the "why"/ "how" question rated nearly 60 %, as described in the following table:

Table 3.4: Survey I Return Rate

	Q. 1	Q. 2	Q. 3	Q. 4		Q.5	Q. 6	Q. 7	Q. 8		Q.9
				Q.	Why				Q.	Explain	
R. Number	320,28	316	314	306,69	188	316,6	322	297	315	191	321
Rate %	99,47	98,14	97,52	95,25	58,39	98,32	100	92,24	97,83	59,32	99,68
Mean Rate	90,56										

It is a duty to mention that the number of participants taken into consideration in the preceding statistics is restricted to the responses of those who have received the survey and answered, i.e. excluding those in the waiting list. To remind, the latter consists mostly of participants with erroneous email addresses and those who failed in sending back their responses. Such a high return rate is admittedly thanks to the help of the participants who shared widely the survey, and encouraged one another filling it. After asking some of the participants, most of them provided positive attitudes towards the topic and the survey's questions, and perhaps that was a good motive that increased the return rate, and encouraged the reseracher keep sending and receiving the survey whenever possible along a whole year.

As for the second survey, the return rate was complete. The whole sample sent back the answers of the survey, yet very quickly, since it is a matter of no more than two questions. Both questions were replied by 100 % of the participants, as confirmed in the following figure:

Figure 3.7: Survey 2 Return Rate
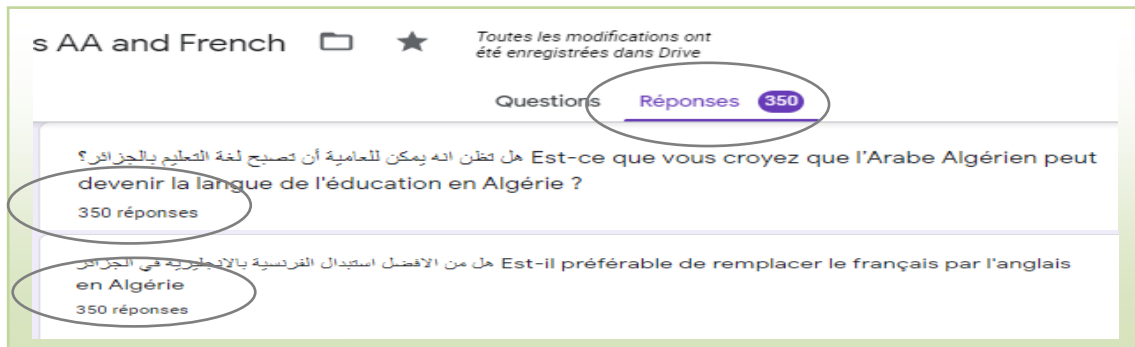
Unlike the first survey, the number of the participants was not decided or limited by the researcher from the beginning. The survey was sent to a number of participants, who shared it voluntarily with their contacts, which made the sample larger. The return rate for this survey was complete, because of the type and the number of the questions, which were intended to validate some elements. Moreover, Google Form did not record for this survey any answer in the waiting list. Thanks to the participants' motivation, understanding and collaboration, the return rate in all the questions of both surveys was good, despite some limitations, just as faced all along the realisation of the phases of the present research.

3.12.   Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

It is generally known that no research can be accomplished without limitations and delimitations in its different steps. Limitations are generally challenges associated to some elements out of the researcher's control. They are 'potential weaknesses of the study' (Creswell, 1994, p. 110). They can be associated with the research design, methods, funding constraints or other elements in the realisation of a study, and so affecting the dimensions of validity and reliability. Whereas delimitations are the study's limits set consciously by the researcher. 'Delimitations address how the study will be narrowed,' (ibid), and so they are supposed to be under the researcher's control,

such as the theoretical background, the research questions, the sample population and the sampling techniques.

After conducting the present study, it became fairly apparent that it was no more than a one-time experiment that had several limitations. The researcher's motivation at the beginning of the study made her so involved that aims were to deal with decision makers or officials in posts of authority, and with a larger varied population in terms of the geographical position, ethnicity, professional and educational levels. However, that was a spot putting limitations to this research, mostly faced in terms of its two major dimensions: public perspectives and policy regulations.

The choice of the research topic was a delimitation, because of the complexity of dealing with all the dimensions of the impact of globalisation on language policy, which is multidimensional: economic, political, cultural, social, and even individual. Hence, since the study could not investigate how all these dimensions would affect the future of the country's language planning, she focused on investigating the most relevant language regulations and changes that might reflect the impact of globalisation on language policy and on the population, and how that could shape its future.

Access to decision makers and some elites, as well as to all categories of the Algerian population was a limitation to this study. Elite Interviews were not that simple to realise because of many factors, which could be summarised in the choice of the convenient subjects to deal with, in succeeding to arrange a time to meet them, and in some specific socio-political conditions. Many participants might have refused to be interviewed because they did not like to speak about the government's language policy, mainly in the contemporaneous circumstances. They might have felt an extent of danger, perhaps, though anonymity was their personal choice. After trying with some of the selected subjects, the researcher noticed that the refusal came generally after receiving the interview questions, while others answered without any objection.

Although the study used a mixed-method approach and five different research tools with a population of more than 900 varied subjects, it could not be more expanded to investigate the opinions of all the Algerians. It was challenging to interview more elites, or to display the Internet surveys to a larger group of people with whom one did not have any contact before, and so, could not convince them to reveal their personal

opinion about the language policy of the country. Hence, the findings of this research could not be generalised since most of the participants were university teachers and post-graduate students, yet not representing all the Algerian population, in terms of regions and categories. The population was not varied in terms of native origins and levels of education. Moreover, not all the addressed population for the interview responded, and the return rate for the first survey was not complete.

Another limitation was the sudden shift in the Algerian language planning to a State bilingualism, when officialising Tamazight in 2016. However, the researcher would have preferred that such a change would not occur very quickly before accomplishing the research, though it was expected at an early stage of this study. It was a change that delayed the completion of many parts of the study since many parts of both the theoretical and practical frameworks were modified, and some were eliminated.

The last limitation was public perspectives, which might have held some extent of bias, since it was a matter of personal opinions and assumptions about particular issues. However, all the participants did undoubtedly express their forthright thoughts about how globalisation affected their language practices and beliefs about the current and the future language policy of the country. That was one of the major aims and elements of this study, intending to report authentically the population's position.

3.13. Conclusion

This chapter was a detailed description of the present study from a methodological perspective, highlighting the basic guidelines that were followed to conduct its practical framework. Aiming at investigating whether the future of language planning in Algeria might change because of globalisation, and at contrasting public perspectives to the execution of the major language policies of the State, a mixed-method approach was followed. For that, the study was conducted both qualitatively and quantitatively with a sample of more than 900 participants, with the intention of covering the most significant language policies and a large variety of public perspectives, in terms of origins and levels of education. After conducting this research following the procedure explained in this chapter, the most signifying data will be discussed and analysed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS' DISCUSSION

AND INTERPRETATION

Content

4.1. Introduction

Data analysis is systematically the step that follows the description of methodology, and hence it is the primary focus of this chapter. First, the most relevant qualitative data gathered through official documents, elite interviews and indirect observations about the major shifts in the Algerian language policy are analysed. Then, quantitative data collected through online surveys are explored, shaping, to a degree, major attitudes, beliefs and ideologies about globalisation and the Algerian LP. Hence, a dual goal is targeted in this phase, aiming first at unveiling the extent to which the main Algerian LP regulations respond to local and global needs, and second at analysing the informants' attitudes. The main findings of the study are then described in details, with illustrations as a final step to draw an image-like of how globalisation can affect the future of the Algerian linguistic landscape.

4.2. Qualitative Data Analysis

This part of research is devoted to describe and interpret the qualitative data gathered through the analysis of some official documents, elites' interviews and indirect observation. The main objective at the beginning of the study was to discuss the major dimensions of the Algerian language policy from different perspectives, including experts, policy makers, politicians, sociolinguists, language planners, and every possible source that could provide qualitative data. However, it was impossible to have access to some ministers and executive politicians. Hence, the collection of qualitative data was limited to the analysis of necessary extracts from the constitution and JORADP, the observation of some selected official declarations in relation to the research topic and the interviews conducted with only those who accepted being interviewed. The findings of the three qualitative tools are analysed in the following sections, starting with documents' analysis, and then indirect observation and finally elite interviews.

4.2.1. Documents Analysis

In this study, the analysis of some selected documents has helped understanding the major shifts in the Algerian language policy, and expecting its future. As already mentioned, the documents dealt with were exclusively those related to overt language policy. Focus was on the major shifts that appeared formally in the constitution first,

and then JORA, i.e., the articles related to the official and/or national languages that were published officially, as well as their applications. Before starting the analysis, it is worth to mention that this part is no more than a reading and a comparison of some official texts, on the basis of the chronology of the major shifts.

4.2.1.1. Constitutional Amendments related to Language

The article related to language has always been given one of the major positions in the Algerian constitution, since its first appearance. The first constitution, adopted by the Algerian government and approved by the population in September 1963, proclaimed both Arabic and Islam as the main emblems of the Algerian society. It was decreed in its second article that 'Algeria is an integral part of the Arab Maghreb, the Arab World, and of Africa', and that 'The Arabic language is the national and official language of the State' in article 5, (art.2 and art.5, const. 1963, p.3-4)[87]. Islam was declared the religion of the State in article four. While analysing the text of the first Algerian constitution, it was noticed that the term 'Arab' was repeated six times in relation to language and the origin of the Algerian people, and once in relation to the policy Arabisation. It was stated twice in each of the preamble, and art.2, and once in articles 5 and 76.There was no reference to any other language or origin in the text of the constitution, except for French, which has never been stated in any of the other constitutions. The table below shows the positions where Arabic and French were used:

Table 4.1.: The Use of the Terms 'Arabic' vs. 'French' in 1963 Constitution

	Arabic	French
Preamble	**Para.8**: Islam and the **Arabic language** have been efficient forces of resistance against the colonial regime's attempt to depersonalise the Algerians. **Para.9**: Algeria must affirm that the **Arabic language** is the **national and official language** and that it deserves its essential spiritual force from Islam ...	**Para.1**:... and the occupation of the country by *French* colonialist forces **Para.3**: The war of extermination waged by *French* imperialism...
Article 2	Algeria is an integral part of the Arab Maghreb, the Arab World, and of Africa	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Article 5	The Arabic language is the national and official language of the State	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Article 76	The effective realisation of **Arabisation** must take place as soon as possible on the territory of the Republic. However, by way of derogation from the provisions of this law, the *French language* may be used provisionally with the **Arabic language**.	

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[87] See appendix A

The constitution's text, with such signs of opposition to the French coloniser, was affirming and confirming Arabic and Islam as the major characteristics of the Algerian people, the fundamental pillars of the country, and as efficient forces of resistance, as declared in the preamble. Once independent, the new Algerian government, as a reaction to the long period of violent domination, joined the Arab countries, trying to adopt the same regime. However, it was mentioned in the preamble of the constitution and in art.4 that the republic should guarantee the respect of opinions, beliefs, and the freedom of exercising one's religion, while no space was offered for another language or dialect. This could imply that it was not the convenient time to count differences. Furthermore, it was added in art.10 that among the fundamental objectives of the republic were to safeguard the national independence, the territorial integrity as well as the national unity, and to fight every aspect of discrimination, mainly regarding race and religion.

Hence, the official status has been given to Arabic since independence, yet before, in the ceasefire agreement, in reference to some documents available in the North African yearbook (AAN)[88]. The latter clarified that the Arab-Muslim character would never be an obstacle to the Algerians' life, without race or religious discrimination, as it identified Arabic as the most important element and the first component of the national culture, and called for restoring its cultural values, dignity and efficiency as a language of civilisation (AAN, 1962). It was also claimed that it was time to work on restoring the national culture and on arabising progressively education following scientific basis, noting that it was one of the most delicate tasks, for it required modern cultural means and it could not be accomplished without the risk of sacrificing entire generations. (ibid)

The constitution revised in 1976 introduced Arabic as the national and the official language in the third article, not in the fifth, and since then, it has kept the same position in the first chapter of the general principles governing the Algerian society. Since its first published copy, the constitution has always meant the Standard variety of Arabic, whether using the term 'Arabic' or 'the Arabic language'. It is worth to note

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[88] Documents Algérie, Accord de Cesser-le-feu en algérie, in AAN| Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, available at http://www.aan.mmsh.univ-aix.fr/Pdf/ANN-1962-01_14.pdf

that it was affirmed within the same article that the government should work for the generalisation of the use of 'the national language' at the official level. Moreover, no sign to any other language was given in that constitution. The term 'Arabic language' was stated only once in the whole constitution, but 'Arab' was repeated four times, in relation to people or country. However, there was always an article proclaiming that none of the principle characters or components of the State would be the object of any constitutional amendment, yet without specifying language.

No other amendments related to language have been introduced, until 2002 and then 2016. However, in 1996's constitutional revision, Amazighity was joined, for the first time, to Islam and Arabity as the fundamental components of the State, identified in the fourth paragraph of the preamble. The Arabic language was mentioned in art.3 as in the previous constitutions, but without the requirement of the generalisation of Arabisation in that copy. Moreover, Arabic was incorporated to art.178, concerned with the confirmation that any constitutional revision should not infringe on the fundamental components and the general principles. Such addition could imply that as soon as Amazighity was recognised as a component of the Algerian character, there was a need to support the Arabic language, maybe to sustain constitutionally and officially its preservation by law. Again, there was no sign to any other language.

In 2002, after the violent Amazigh uprisings[89], the ex-president decreed officially the recognition of Tamazight as 'also a national language' (art.3, Constitution, 2008). However, the addition of Tamazight was associated with the condition that 'the State shall work for its promotion and its development in all its linguistic varieties in use throughout the national territory,' (ibid). This could imply that there was a problem of promoting Tamazight and making it spread all over the country. Moreover, saying '*... its development in all its linguistic varieties in use...*' might mean that the promotion did not concern one specific Berber variety, yet, to be promoted and developed for being ready for use should be a long-term process. The Berber varieties used in the country were mostly spoken at that time. Hence, the problem of which variety could be convenient to fit the characteristics of Standard Tamazight would be challenging, and

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[89] A young man was killed by the Gendarmerie Nationale on 18 April 2001 during Amazigh protests calling for recognition. The Amazigh Movement used to organise demonstartions every spring since the Berber Spring as stated in chapter two.

the issue of which script might be accepted to write it was the burden. For that, the text of the constitutional article was clearly set.

It is worth noting, however, that the teaching of Tamazight started in 1995, in some schools in Berber regions, but very limited. After its recognition as a national language, the government tried to generalise its teaching in pre-university education. However, people's objection to such policy has delayed it. Constitutionally, Tamazight became an official language in the revision done in 2016, still confirming that the state shall work on its promotion, as already proclaimed in 2002. Furthermore, there was an addition in each of the third and the fourth article. As soon as Tamazight was officialised, the generalisation of Arabic was more supported constitutionally too. For the first time in the history of the Algerian constitution, the article concerning the Arabic language was modified by an addition confirming its status, and yet, supporting its generalisation in scientific and technical fields, as clearly set in the constitution. The article decreeing Tamazight's officialisation as an official language was accompanied by the creation of an academy to follow its promotion and officialisation. A comparison between the articles related to Arabic and Tamazight is presented in the figure below:

Figure 4.1.: Arabic vs. Tamazight in the Algerian Constitution's Revision in 2016

Arabic

Art.3: Arabic is **the national** and **the official** language

Arabic remains the official language of **the** State

A High Council for the Arabic Language is **placed** alongside the **President of the Republic**, particularly **responsible for developing** the **Arabic** language and **generalizing its use in scientific and technological** fields, as well as **encouraging translation into Arabic for this purpose**.

Tamazight

Art.4: Tamazight is **also a** national and **an official** language

The State works for **its promotion** and its **development** in all its **linguistic varieties by use on national territory.**

An Algerian Academy of the *Amazigh Language* is **created** alongside the **President of the Republic**. It **relies on the work of experts** and is **responsible** for bringing together the **conditions for the promotion of Tamazight** to achieve, in the **long term**, its **status as an official** language.

The modalities of the application of this article are fixed by an organic law.

As proclaimed in the articles related to language status, both the Arabic language and Tamazight are official and national languages. However, comparing the text of both articles, some Berber political movements objected 2016 language shift, commenting that Tamazight did not get the same status as Arabic, in terms of the text used, since stated '***also a*** national and ***an*** official language'. It is important to note that some political movements of opposition, such as the MAK, led by Frehat Mehenni, claimed clearly that it was Taqbeilit to be officialised because of the number of its speakers as well as its cultural status. However, the government when officialising Tamazight has treated all Berber dialects the same, and it is clearly proclaimed in the constitution that 'all' the linguistic varieties of the Amazigh language are concerned with the promotion, as it is demanded from experts in the Academy to work on providing the required conditions for that, in the long term.

Therefore, the problem of script is impeding the process of standardising one common homogeneous variety of the Amazigh language. On the one hand, the existing spoken Berber dialects/vernaculars are completely different, as previously described. On the other hand, the Arabic, Tifinagh, or Latin scripts are all possible forms of writing Tamazight characters. None of the Berber dialects can be more favoured, and therefore the government has clearly determined that all the linguistic varieties of the Amazigh language are concerned. Nevertheless, the step of corpus planning has not yet been achieved, and experts are still working on the promotion of a standard Tamazight variety, in spite of the problem of which script to use, while the government is generalising gradually its use in education and in public administration. Hence, it could be deduced that the government was very careful to take such a decision, thus far, not to recognise one specific Berber variety in favour of another, but to put the process of its promotion at the level of the academy to make it to function as an official language.

However, it was noticed that as soon as the government has given an official status to Tamazight, it has sustained the generalisation and the promotion of Arabic in scientific and technological domains, as well as the encouragement of the translation into Arabic for that objective. When analysing the text of the constitution, the researcher has come across the same Arabic word '*yuhdeth*' in both additions joined to art.3 and art.4, as far as 'placing or approaching' the Higher Council of the Arabic Language (HCA) alongside the President of the Republic, and 'creating' the Algerian Academy of

Tamazight. The term has different meanings in Arabic, and since the HCA was created in 1996, in response to Law 91_05, it was not meant its creation then, but perhaps its renovation, unlike the Academy of the Amazigh language. Besides, the word '*izdihãr*' was used referring to 'promoting' and 'upgrading' the use of Arabic at the macro level, pointing out scientific and technological domains. In contrast, with Tamazight, the term '*terqiya*' was used, and it could mean to elevate, promote or develop. Therefore, it was deduced that the status of Standard Arabic was more supported since concerned with the elaboration of its functions as well as its promotion as a language of sciences and technology, while Tamazight was rather put standardisation procedure.

After the recognition of Tamazight, the government is undertaking a gradual corpus policy to make it reach a degree that guarantees its official status, for the sake of proclaiming it in the long term. The plan is nearly going on the same steps followed in Haugen' model of language planning, reviewed in the first chapter, i.e. norm selection, codification, implementation. However, which norm to select is problematic, in addition to what measures can be taken into account to produce a homogeneous Amazigh language. It is worth to note that the government, in the last reforms, aimed at generalising the teaching of Tamazight in schools, and using it in public administration when and where required, even though the aspect of acceptance has not yet been achieved. In contrast, Arabic has reached the step of elaboration and functional development, as far as official texts proclaim formally, even though authenticity has usually reflected another facet. Hence, if constitutional texts reflect the formal aspect of the language policy undertaken by the government, authenticity reveals whether the execution has been well done, even though in the long term. Accordingly, laws concerning both official languages are formally promulgated and then put into action, but their accurate application depends on different factors.

In fact, wherever there is a political change, constitutional amendments are supposed to occur to some degree. Algeria lived months of unrest during the *Hirak* period in 2019 and many changes have occurred very quickly, at different levels. One year nearly after the election of President Abdelmadjid Tebboune, the constitution was modified and passed by referendum in November 1st, 2020. Concerning language, no change was introduced in the third or fourth article, and the same text of the preceding constitutions was maintained. However, Tamazight was reinforced, as one of the

unchanging fundamental components of the Algerian identity, by article 223[90], to which it was added as one of the elements that no constitutional revision might impinge on. It was stated in the project of the revision of the constitution 2020 (JORADP, 2020, issue 54: 46-47), in art.223, that:

> **No constitutional revision may impinge on**:
> 3. The **social** character of the State
> 5. Arabic, as the national and official language
> 6. **Tamazight**, as a national and official language
> 8. The **safety** of the national territory and its unity
> 9. The **national emblem, the national anthem** as symbols of the glorious Revolution of November 1, 1954, of the Republic and of the *Umma*

In view of that, the main formal shifts in the Algerian constitution showed that the regulations associated to the official or the national status were important in terms of safeguarding the national languages, Arabic and Tamazight, and sustaining the components of the national identity. However, from another perspective, this could mean that the government's major objective was to avoid language conflicts and protect the national territory from any danger. Therefore, it was noticed that nearly all the formal changes were associated with a more support to the land and the fundamental components of the nation, the mostly through a clear text in the constitution. There is a confirmation that in whatever situation, the State protects its land and borders from risk. Since not all changes appear in the constitution, the execution and the continuity of some changes related to language policy are generally published in the Official Journal. Some laws relevant to the present study are analysed in what follows.

4.2.1.2. Some Major Changes in the Official Journal of the Republic

The Official Journal (JORA) has always been the second document in which formal decisions are published. It is a regular source of the proclamation of all official regulations for their execution, each in its specific field. In this study, some specific laws, related exclusively to language, have been selected for analysis. It is worth noting from the beginning that the most famous political decisions are the policy of

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[90] It was article 178 in the revision done in 2008, and 212 in the constitution 2016, and consisted of 6 elements in the former and 8 in the latter.

Arabisation and the officialisation of Tamazight, with their implementations. Both decisions have been long-term processes and the steps of their executions have been supported by frequent promulgation, through definite laws to adjust that. However, no reference to any other language was made in JORA, except in specific situations. Since its first official declarations, the government has repeatedly confirmed the Algerian Arab-Muslim character. It has targeted the restitution of the value and dignity of Arabic, as an efficient language of civilisation and an instrument of modern scientific culture[91].

JORA has been regularly published since independence. In July 6th, 1962[92], the first copy was published in French, while the first version in Arabic was two years later, exactly in May 29th, 1964[93].It could be noticed that the implementation of immediate rapid changes at all levels was challenging in the first years of independence, as the country was strongly hit by the war. If the first constitution took one year after independence to appear, the Arabic version of the official journal was published in mid-1964, in which Decree 64-147proclaimed that JORA should be written in Arabic, but with a provisional copy in French. In the same year, Arabic became formally the working language of the parliament and experts were designed to translate judicial texts. The government started, after independence, pointing out the spread of Arabic in schools and administrations, following a plan of gradual Arabisation. Hence, JORA issues in the 1960s often proclaimed the introduction of Arabic in a field or another.

However, education has usually been the largest surface reflecting most of the linguistic official amendments in the 1960s. The implementation of Arabic as a medium of instruction has become compulsory in Algerian schools and at all levels since 1963, though through a step-by-step program. A ministerial declaration published in JORA, October 26th, 1962, revealed that 25000 classes opened their doors in 10th of the same month for one million children, for whom 5000 teachers of Arabic were enrolled, from other countries. Therefore, the Higher Normal School, which is an institute of higher education, was founded to form teachers of letters and sciences, through a three-year

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[91] Programme du Front de Libération Nationale Adopté à Tripoli par le C.N.R.A. en Juin, 1962. (in Documents Algérie, 1962, p.696 – available at http://aan.mmsh.univ-aix.fr/volumes/1962/Pages/AAN-1962-01_14.aspx last time accessed in 14/01/2021, at 17:50)
[92] available at https://www.joradp.dz/JRN/ZF1962.htm?zAnn=1962last time accessed,06/03/2020, at 10:46
[93]available at https://www.joradp.dz/JRN/ZA1964.htm?zAnn=1964 last time accessed,06/03/2020, at 10:49

program, affording them Teaching-Aptitude Certificate of a second degree. It was proclaimed in the first Arabic version of JORA by Decree 64-134 (p.9). Starting by teaching ten hours a week in first-year of primary cycle, on the onset of independence, and then achieving total Arabisation of two grades in 1960s could confirm that education has been a challenging field for the execution of the policy, for the shortage of experts, qualified teachers, and pedagogical and financial materials. It could be clear that taking a decision is not the same as putting it into action in specific circumstances.

The generalisation of the use of Arabic reached gradually other domains. The researcher's attention was attracted first by art.91 of Law n° 66-155 (June 1966) about penal procedure code, which required the presence of an interpreter (into Arabic) with people who might express themselves in 'other languages or different idioms'. Second, in 1968, Decree N° 68-92 commanded adequate mastery of the national language, i.e. the Arabic language, by all permanent Algerian civil servants, setting January 1971 a deadline for that (Benrabah, 2007). It was completed in by a ministerial decree in February 1970, confirming that without the mastery of the national language, no promotion could be granted to workers, and by a presidential circular in the following April reminding civil servants not to refuse any document in Arabic (ibid.). In the 1970s, the Arabisation of education and of administrations has been carried on, such as the delivery of civil state's acts in Arabic and the generalisation of the use of Arabic numbers, arabising road panels and streets' names.

In the same decade, the policy was more reinforced and different decisions were officially decreed calling for total Arabisation of third and fourth grades of primary cycle, of one-third of courses in grade one of middle schooling, and of one-third of subjects in scientific streams in secondary education. Moreover, Arabic was declared the exclusive language required for the judicial system, and institutions of the Ministry of Higher education were concerned with Arabisation by a ministerial decree in August 1971. The generalisation of the use of Arabic was carried on systematically, declaring 1971 the year of Arabisation. Since 1971, Arabic has replaced French as a principal language at all jurisdiction degrees. Civil code, municipal status acts, national stamps, business advertising, Arabic numerals, prices' display, public billboards, and other

fields were all concerned with the generalisation of the use of the national language, proclaimed by laws published in JORA[94].

More levels of education were gradually arabised. In December 30th, 1975, decree 172-75 proclaimed the opening of licence degree in the Arabic language and literature and course design. The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, a Moreover, the national charter was published for the first time in Arabic, in 1976, supported by art.6 in the constitution, and then by JORA, all confirmed that it is the only and fundamental source of national policy and governmental laws. Within its text, as well, it was added to art.3, for the first time that the government should work on the generalisation of Arabisation. It was noticed in the 1970s that nearly no issue of the official journal was free of a support to the generalisation of Arabic in a domain or another.

In view of the selected documents discussed so far, the image of a new independent Algeria was clearly seen in the plan to build a nation free of the language of the coloniser, even though in a critical period. This was often met in the official documents, through the confirmation of the Arabic Moslem character of the country, and the use of Arabic as the only language of the State, even though other languages were also used. Hence, the carrying out of the policy of arabisation was very dynamically executed in the first two decades of independence, similarly as done in the countries that regained the status of their native tongue, in the era of decolonisation. However, some documents showed a degree of nationalism, such as when declaring officially that the first name of a newborn should be Algerian sounding or that civil servants could not be promoted without adequate mastery of the National language, as well as the repetition of the Arab-Muslim character.

However, this does not mean that the policy stopped or changed in the 1980s. A continuity of the generalisation of Arabic characterised the 1980s, but perhaps it was not systematic. The third issue of JORA in 1980 did not bring any change in the constitutional revision keeping the same structure of its preceding, apart from in some

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[94] Civil code and municipal status acts: law N° 70-20, 19/02/1970 – Stamps: Law N° 73-55, 1/10/1973 – business advertising: N°74-70 (3/4/1974) – Arabic Numerals: Decree N° 71-185 (30/06/1971) – Prices' display and public billboards (04/1976). (See appendix A)

laws of finance exclusively. However, in April 17th of the same year, in a regional seminar of planning in Tizi Ouzou, the ex-President Benjdid confirmed that the issue of the national identity should not be debated in an anarchic way in streets, and that the national language should be given the position it deserved in an Algerian, Arab and Islamic State. That was after the Kabyles protests[95]calling for recognition of identity, due to the cancelation of a lecture of a Mouloud Mammeri, who was an anthropologist, and a Berber activist.

The 1980s were marked by two main steps in arabisation. The first was the creation of the Algerian Academy of the Arabic Language by law No 86-10, signed on August 19, 1986, and designed to work on the translation of scientific and technical matters. The second was the end of the bilingual education in pre-university cycles, in 1989. Since then, French is no more than the other subjects, taught 3 to 4 hours a week. The period was characterised by more expansion of the policy, focussing on education, some university fields, such as economics, and on financial laws in administration. Some decrees were published from time to time in JORA, but without any modification in the constitution. However, when evaluating the 1980s, many studies consider the period as fruitless in terms of linguistic regulations. In fact, the generalisation of the policy was carried on and more fields were concerned with arabisation, though criticised of being unsystematic.

It is worth to note that the policy of arabisation was a prototype of language planning and policy in post-colonial countries. Both the acceleration of the generalisation of the policy of arabisation since independence and the continuity of its implementation in the 1980s represented two steps of language planning, the former in reference to macro LPP, since the major objective was nation-building. The latter was rather related to the goals-oriented approach, targeting total arabisation and even setting exact dates for its accomplishment. Moreover, the decade coincided with what was called the Islamic '*Sahwa*', i.e. Islamic revival. Hence, some Islamic movements emerged, and started practicing their plans by spreading their ideologies through mosques, schools and universities, supporting the spread of Arabic and rejecting the use of French, some calling for total arabisation, while others for replacing it with English.

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[95] That was the begining of the Berber Spring as explained in the previous chapter

Soon after, the period ended with the rise of socio-political events that led to the protests of October 1988, seen by some as a popular revolution.

Despite the fact that the government has set exact dates to accomplish total arabisation, the process was interrupted in the 1990s. In 1991, the law of the generalisation of arabisation (Law No 91-5) was decreed in January 16th, putting strict laws for the implementation of the policy. It aimed at arabising all sectors by July 5th, 2000, including university education, and all administrations. The law consists of 41 articles[96], all of them to be applied all sectors, in public administration, educational institutions, and in associations. It commanded the use of no other language than Arabic. Its implementation was achieved to a degree in public administration, some university fields, all literary fields, Law, economics and commerce[97]. It was an executive law that imposed clearly financial penalty for those who infringe it. The following are some of its articles and translated into English, in the following table:

Table 4.2.: Some Selected Articles from Law 91-05

Art.1	**This law sets the general rules of the use of the Arabic language in all life fields, of its elaboration as well as its preservation**
Art.2	The Arabic language is **one of the components** of the Algerian national identity, and one of the **constants** of the nation '***Umma***'
Art.3	**All institutions must** work to **promote and protect** the **Arabic** language, and ensure its preservation and adequate usage. It is **prohibited to write the Arabic language in other scripts**
Art.15	Teaching, education and training in all sectors, **in all levels and in all specialties** are delivered **in Arabic**, taking account of **foreign languages teaching methodologies**.

In fact, it is the only law in the history of LPP in Algeria that was so detailed and presented clearly strict measures to be applied against any institution or association that would not use Arabic. It specified administrations, companies,

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[96] See appendix A
[97] With the exception of Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia universities, in which French is still dominating many fields.

associations (even political), education, telecommunication, etc. However, what could be noteworthy was the text of art.4 and five, which proclaimed that Arabic should be the only language to use in communication, and in management whether administrative, financial, or technical, and all official documents or reports should be in Arabic. Besides, it was also prohibited to use any other language in formal meetings, reports and debates.

Hence, it could be deduced that arabisation was a prototype of a goals-oriented LPP, put into action to reach a hundred percent of arabisation. Article 29 sustained the preceding ones, by confirming that that any official document delivered in a language other than Arabic is null and invalid. However, such a step did not last more than few months, and the execution of the law was delayed after the resignation of the president. Later, it was put on hold due to the socio-political hard circumstances, on July 1992, by decree 92-02, which consisted of only one article defining that the law would be postponed the policy to a later date for the unavailability of adequate conditions. It continued on hold until December 1996. As to this point, it is still seen as an important impediment in the way of the generalisation of the policy, it could be noticed that once Arabisation achieved the most sensitive step in its accomplishment, it was obstructed.

It is undeniable that systematic arabisation is usually associated to the 1970s, but the 1980s were also important, since the process was much more at the hands of specialists in the academy, and planned to be accomplished in exact dates. However, everything has changed in a short while, for the critical phase Algeria has lived in the 1990s. After four years of suspension, the law was reintroduced in 1996, by President Liamine Zeroual, after the revision of the constitution. It was decreed by law 96-30 published in December 21st, 1996, as a completion to the original law, to restart the execution of the policy of the generalisation of arabisation, in the rest of the domains in concern, higher education to note. It is necessary to know that law 96-30, though supposed to be a similar copy of the preceding one, was modified. It was stated in its first article that it was about modifying and completing law 91-05. Some changes are presented in the table that follows:

Table 4.3.: The Main Changes in Law 96-30

Law 91-05	The modification in Law 96-30
Art. 11	- '**... only** the Arabic language')→ the word '**only**' was omitted - An addition setting the exception of using the suitable language for foreign relations
Art. 12	- An addition setting the exception of using the suitable language for foreign relations
Art. 23	- All the text was modified setting the creation of a **Higher Council of the Arabic Language** placed under **the control of the president**", instead of "an executive national body at the level of the Prime Minister
Art.36	- Modification of the **deadline** of the accomplishment of the total policy to **1998**, and at university education to **2005**
Art.37	- **Cancelled** and joined to art.36 (after modification)

It could be noticed from comparing the preceding laws that there was a shift from total to partial arabisation moving by a suspension of half a decade. The law seemed to be very strict at its beginning, before it coincided with the civil unrest. Once the policy was reinstated, it appeared in a new shape. The modified policy was somewhat more tolerant with the use of other languages when necessary, though still insisting on the large expansion of the use of Arabic. Grandguillaume (in Le Roux, 2017) claimed that the 'policy aimed exclusively to place an Arab and Muslim stamp on Algeria, to instil a non-Western identity and to entrench monolingualism,' (p.121). However, from another perspective, the research associated such a change with the official recognition of Amazighity as one of the basic components of the Algerian identity in the constitutional revision done in 1996, and to the political shakiness that attained Algeria in that period. Since then, Arabisation has become a secondary concern of the governments.

In 2002, the State's recognition of Tamazight as a national language, with respect to all the Berber dialects, was a step to allow officially its teaching in many regions, noting that it has started in the Kabyle regions since 1995, after the creation of the Higher Commission of Amazighity[98]. After that, circular No 631.04 November 20th, 2004 proclaimed the teaching of Tamazight in pre-university education, at least in the Berber

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[98] The High Commission of Amazighity is the first institution founded in Algeria on May 1995, to defend the Amazigh language and culture.

regions. Later, in 2005, the official bulletin (No 485)[99] was transferred to all the directions of national education, inspectors, and middle school headmasters. It was about the teaching of Tamazight. However, it revealed the decrease of teachers' and classes' numbers, supposed to ensure the process of teaching Tamazight in the sixteen wilaya in question. Its text claimed that Tamazight was not optional as a subject, and its teaching was not a choice, but should be taught in the Berber regions, for one or two hours a week. It informed that pupils who have started learning it in middle school should continue in the other cycles. Since 2004, the government is trying to expand the teaching of Tamazight at the macro scale, but more time is required to reach people's acceptance.

In fact, the government used to proclaim some decrees from time to time for compulsory use of Arabic, and the necessity of valuing Tamazight. However, it was not easy to find some text related to the officialisation and the teaching of Tamazight, in JORA, not counting the official changes that appeared in the constitution. Some examples are the act of civil and administration code procedures, N° 08-09 which appeared on February 25th, 2008, and the ministry circular N°10/00.3/77 sent in July 2010 to educational institutions. The former commanded administrators to express themselves in Arabic in workplaces, while the latter, required all teachers of foreign languages to translate the input into Arabic.

It is significant to note that regulations about the generalisation of Tamazight are very limited, in reference to the issues of JORA, though recognised as the second national language of the country. Some decrees might appear occasionally in the official journal, such as the creation of a local cultural festival of the Amazigh song and music decreed in the 24th JORA issue, in 2008. After being recognised as the second official language, the executive decree No17-18 appeared in JORA 54th issue, in September 2018. It was to design the members of the Algerian academy of Tamazight, and command the major activities required for the standardisation of the language. In August 2020, Presidential Decree No 20-228, published in the 50th JORA issue, ordered the Prize of the President of the Republic of Algeria about the Amazigh Language and Literature.

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[99] See appendix A

However, decrees supporting the Arabic language were repeatedly published in JORA, at least once a year. The policy of arabisation, even after putting the policy on hold, has not stopped. The Scientific and Technical Research Centre for the Development of the Arabic Language, which was established in December 1991, by the executive decree No 477-91, has always functioned to elaborate the use of Arabic in different fields, and encourage the translation from other languages. This could prove that the policy of arabisation was in continuity, even though considered as a secondary duty. Two ministerial decrees[100], one published in January 7th, 2007, and the second in January 11th, 2014, both proclaimed the development of the Arabic language, through some specific fields such as computational linguistics. As already mentioned, it was also confirmed in the constitution in 2016 and 2020 that Arabic should be more elaborated, and translation should be encouraged.

As a final point to the analysis of the main documents selected in this research, it has been noticed that the wide spread at the national level, the acceptance, the function, the value, and the significance of the language could be some key factors to make a language national or official. The systematic policy of arabisation in its onset could be a good illustration of a goal-oriented LPP. However, the continuity of the policy has been obstructed by some circumstances, and hence not yet totally accomplished. The three main periods of arabisation could be related to the nature of the then government's policy and socio-political conditions. Objectively, the gradual implementation of the policy has succeeded to a good extent in education and public administration, even though educational standards are usually criticised. In addition, the current status of Tamazight has not been achieved easily and quickly. Nevertheless, it is very significant to state that today's policy seems in its onset encouraging the elaboration of Arabic in scientific and technical fields, and the standardisation of Tamazight, mostly after deciding that the latter is a constant component of the nation. Indirect observation, as described in the following section, has supported to a degree the results of documents analysis.

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[100] See Appendix A

4.2.2. Indirect Observation: Ideology and Language Policy

Many events have occurred since the 1990s driving Algeria to several changes, among which language policy has also been influenced. Since then, the process of the generalisation of arabisation has been delayed, Tamazight has been gradually taking place in the Algerian LPP, and the spread of some foreign languages has been supported. This section, as stated in the preceding chapter, was conducted to investigate some of the verbal and written behaviours of the preceding presidents. The focus was first on their position towards Arabic and the policy of arabisation, Tamazight and foreign languages, and second on the language used in the government's official websites. Answers to open questions in the first survey were also taken into account, by selecting some participants, such as university teachers and doctors.

For that purpose, this study attempted to compare the position of the preceding presidents towards national languages. Three ex-presidents were subjects of this section: Boumedienne, Benjdid, and Bouteflika. First, the ex-president Boumedienne was known by his support to Arabic, as revealed in his speech (on November 1st, 1974), in which he stressed the need of arabisation (quoted in Kashani-Sabet, 1996:

> Arabization, which is an integral part of the preoccupations of this nation and which is guarantor of its national unity, is a strategic option of our socialist revolution ... We have struggled bitterly in order to conserve our national personality and ... safeguard its glory and dignity … The Frenchman speaks his language as does the Soviet, the American, and the Chinese. They speak and think about everything in their national languages, and it is absolutely unjustifiable that we speak and think in a foreign language ... We have a glorious history. We belong to a secular civilization. It is impossible for us to separate ourselves from it. (p. 272)

As already stated, the policy of arabisation was very systematic and dynamic in the 1970s, more precisely starting from the late 1960s. The then president took such a policy one of his first duties, because he used to see that as part of his socialist revolution, and a guarantor of national unity. It was a matter of dignity and personality for him. In his public discourses, he declared[101] that his objective is not

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[101] Available at http://youtube-be/Oygec7F46fU (appendix A)

only to generalise Arabic, but also to elaborate and develop it to make it the language of economy and industry. He was the first Arab president who presented his speech in Standard Arabic in the United Nations in 1974[102]. His position towards Arabic made the execution of the policy of arabisation a model of a goals-oriented approach. Although after independence, the country could not reduce the use of French in many domains, but the rapid implementation of the policy, as seen in the preceding section, unveiled the strong will of the president to succeed it.

In the period that followed, president Benjdid continued the execution of the policy all along the mandates he governed Algeria. In spite of being criticised of a sluggish implementation of the policy, Benjdid's position towards arabisation was also positive. On April 17th, 1980, in the regional seminar of planification held in Tizi Ouzou about the issues of Kabyle language and culture, president Benjdid (AAN-1980[103]) declared in his speech that the national problems should not be debated in the streets in an anarchic manner, as that would complicate things not solve them. He also said:

> We are Arabs, whether we like it or not. We belong to the Arabo-Islamic civilisation. The Algerian is treated wherever he goes as an Arab Algerian, and he has no other identity but this one. We are Algerians, our language is Arabic, and our religion is Islam. We have a cultural popular patrimony... crystallised thanks to the Arabo-Islamic civilisation. (p.867)

The generalisation of the policy of arabisation was carried on in his era, during which the Academy of the Arabic language was established, many fields were arabised, and the law of arabisation was published. However, soon after his resignation in 1992, the Algerian language policy started changing, by delaying the accomplishment of the rest of the generalisation of arabisation. In this study, the transition period in the beginning of the 1990s was avoided for the socio-political instability. Two years after the election of president Zeroual in 1994, the law of arabisation was reinstated again, but with some modifications as explained in the preceding section. Subsequently, arabisation started to expand gradually in scientific and technical fields, to be hold again by the election of president Bouteflika.

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[102] Available at http://youtube/p-4oG0zs014 (appendix A)
[103] See Chadlie Benjdid Discourse- appendix A

The Algerian language policy was gradually implemented in the first four decades of independence, following nearly the same system. There were some differences, undoubtedly. However, all the presidents before Bouteflika seemed to back the policy of arabisation and did not introduce any official change in the constitution, concerning the language of the country, except for the recognition of Amazighity in 1996. First, that a change was introduced in the fundamental components of the nation could imply that the government accepted to do. Second, that Amazighity was recognised 34 years after regaining the official status of Arabic was the first step of change. Thus, it could be deduced that the government's position towards the Berber issue was the most significant reason why Tamazight was not recognised, even though the issue was not new. It is significant to underline here the period needed to do such a simple adjustment.

In the era of the ex-president, which lasted twenty years, the government's language policy took a new shape. The ex-president who came with a strong support to the Arabic language, used to speak pure eloquent Arabic in the beginning of his first mandate. In 1999, he started addressing his public in French in many of his discourses; a shift that was strongly objected by the country's elites, notably members of the parliament, the Higher Council of the Arabic Language, and by the President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs at the People's National Assembly. As a reaction, in a televised speech, President Bouteflika was so firm in his response and asserted that it was no one's mission to choose the president's entourage or language, and for Algeria, he would speak Hebrew if necessary. He declared (quoted by Benrabah, 2007):

> Let it be known that Algeria is part of the world and must adapt to it and that Arabic is the national and the official language. This being said, let it be known that an uninhibited opening up to other international languages – at least to those used in the United Nations – does not constitute perjury. In this domain, we are neither more Arab nor more intelligent than our brothers in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, or Palestine or anywhere else. To move forward, one must break taboos. This is the price we have to pay to modernise our identity. Chauvinism and withdrawal are over. They are sterile. They are destructive. (p. 28-29)

In fact, Bouteflika was filled with the aspiration to the opening on plurilingualism and the learning of foreign languages but with enhancing the value of

Arabic and advising for its mastery (Bellatrache, 2009:112)[104]. His policy of integrating Algeria in the international market might be a cause of the expansion of English as the major lingua franca. In the same period, French was introduced as the 1st foreign language in the 2nd year of primary education in September 2004 (ibid), and English as the 2nd foreign language introduced for 1st year of middle school. Soon after, the ministry decided the shift of the teaching of French to the 3rd year of primary school, starting form 2006-2007.

He was also known by his support to English as a language of development and science. He used to confirm in many of his public talks at the beginning of his first mandate that no country could have more than an official language and that Tamazight would never be an official language[105]. In 2002, Tamazight was recognised as a national language as explained in the previous section. He started speaking in his public discourse, and mainly in electoral campaign, that the problems of language and identity should be solved and that both Arabophones and Berberophones are Algerians. Fourteen years later, Tamazight became the second official language without referendum, yet, during the severe health conditions of the ex-president.

In view of that, one can wonder why such changes did not occur with his predecessors. In fact, the language issue has always been one of the major concerns of the ex-presidents, but each one dealt with it in his own way. Besides, it could be noticed that both the ideology of the decision makers and the power of the nation are the most basic elements in making a change in language policy. When decision makers were for arabisation and the opposing parties could not have any influence on the government, no official change was done in the constitution concerning the fundamental components of the Algerian identity. Any change was considered as a danger on national unity.

However, it seemed that when the socio-political stability of the country was endangered, and more pressure was done on the government in a critical period, there was an urgent need to respond the needs of the Berberophones, even though such a step

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[104]C'est cette ouverture sur le monde à travers les langues que met en évidence Abdelaziz Bouteflika, le Président de la République algérienne, qui a marqué et qui marque toujours son attachement à l'ouverture linguistique, au plurilinguisme et à l'apprentissage des langues étrangères tout en maîtrisant et en valorisant la langue arabe. (Houari Bellatrache, 2009: 112)

[105]Available at: http://youtu.be/zrtL_6bBINw

took a long time to be achieved. It was also observed that the official recognition of Tamazight did not bring a great change, due to people's acceptance and the difficulty of establishing a standardised language system. That the preceding governments did not make such change might mean either the absence of a convenient environment for that, or the prevention of conflicts and division.

In fact, both presidents Boumedienne and Benjdid emphasised many time the need to protect Arabic as the language of the state. Their positions towards Arabic were always clear in their speeches and in their plan to generalise and spread it. In their periods, the policy of arabisation kept in progress. Moreover, no particular decision was done in favour of the Amazigh language. It is noticed the ideology of policy makers is very significant and signifying in introducing any kind of change. When Bouteflika was in presidency, changes that did not occur in the three decades after independence were done in the following years. His agenda revealed his different ideology towards French as a language of culture, his attitudes towards Francophonie[106], and his consideration of Algeria as multicultural. Yet, he maintained good attitudes towards Arabic, and supported its elaboration after he recognised indigenous languages for avoiding conflicts. He also raised awareness about the value of foreign languages for better progress in many fields.

Since French is still a *de facto* language of wider use in many sectors, notably health and economy, this study conducted an observation on the frequency of the use of Arabic as the language of the government in the official accounts of the President and some ministers, and ministries. Today that official documents and governmental websites have become accessible; the web pages of the President of the Republic, the government, some ministries and official bodies have been followed by the researcher on Twitter and Facebook. Official accounts were observed to know which language is used the most in their formal practices. The subjects observed were the official Facebook pages and Twitter accounts of policy makers, the government and sub-governmental bodies. The sample selected is provided in the following table:

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[106] The speech that President Bouteflika presented in the Summit is provided in Appendix H

Table 4.4. : Language Frequency in Official Facebook Pages and Twitter Accounts

Subject observed	The official naming	Arabic / French
The President (Twitter)	Abdelmadjid - عبد المجيد✔	SA
Algerian Presidency (Facebook)	✔ رئاسة الجمهورية الجزائرية	SA
Algerian Presidency (Twitter)	Algerian Presidency رئاسة الجمهورية الجزائرية ✔	SA
The First Minister (Twitter)	Abdelaziz DJERRAD - عبد العزيز جراد ✔	SA
Affairs of the First Minister (Twitter)	✔ مصالح الوزير الأول	SA
Interior Ministry (Twitter)	Ministère ∎ Intérieur ✔	SA
Ministry of National education (Twitter)	Min. Education DZ ✔	SA
ex-Minister of National Education (Twitter)	Nouria Benghabrit ✔	SA+ Fr.
Ministry of Higher education and Scientific Research (Twitter)	MESRS #Algérie ✔	SA+ Fr.
Ministry of Health (Facebook)	✔وزارة الصحة والسكان واصلاح المستشفيات	SA
Ministry of health (Twitter)	✔ وزارة الصحة	SA
Ministry of Commerce (Twitter)	MinistèreCommerce_dz ✔	SA
Ministry of Communication (Twitter)	Ministère Communication ✔	SA
Ministry of Finance (Twitter)	Ministère des Finances - Algérie ✔	SA+ Fr.
Ministry of Energy and Mines (Twitter)	✔ وزارة الطاقة والمناجم الجزائر	SA *
Air Algérie (Twitter)	Air Algérie	SA+ Fr.

Note: The account of the Ministry of Energy and Mines presented in the table is new. Since joining Twitter, all tweets are in SA, except one in French, and three in English.

It was noticed that Arabic was the major language to be used in all the accounts followed, whether mentioned in the table or not, but French was sometimes used. However, it was deduced that it might depend on the ideology of the owner of the page, when individual, but in governmental or official pages, the official language should be used. According to law 91-05, it is forbidden to use another language in official documents. Although the constitution and the official journal are published in Arabic, a copy in French always exists. However, law does not impose on people which language to use in their personal language practices. In the web pages, and accounts, it can be a matter of choice, and hence, Francophone senior officials are followed by millions of citizens, and so they need to use Arabic in their personal accounts for the duty of respecting the language of the State, and for they represent national symbols. Another observation was the absence of Tamazight in the formal language written practices in the accounts dealt with.

In fact, the use of SA in the accounts and web pages of the government or the ministers is very necessary as a sign of respect to the official language of the State, because they represent the State. It was noticed that none of the subjects consulted use AA to Tweet or publish a written message, and French is used less than Arabic. Hence,

it could be deduced that SA is the most used language because it is the official language, i.e. one of the three fundamental symbols of the State. However, this does not cancel the perception that French is still used in official documents, mainly in the administrations of higher education, health, and finance. Therefore, the ideology of the one in power was the key factor in introducing a change in LPP, since the ideological stance in language policy is definitely inescapable, as stated by Tollefson (1991). Moreover, the national official language should be respected as a fundamental symbol of the State by senior officials and policy makers.

4.2.3.   Results of the Interview

Interview was used in this, as one of the most suitable methodologies to collect qualitative data. The sample selected, because of the conditions explained previously, was limited to the president of the Higher Council of the Arabic Language (HCA[107]), the Algerian linguist and writer M. Benrabah, the Faculty Dean, the General Secretary of the Directorate of National Education in Sidi Bel Abbes, Chief Financial Inspector at the Ministry of Finance. The interview was conducted face to face and via email as already explained. The major focus was to obtain necessary information from the respondents about their perspectives of the State's language policy and its main changes. The two face-to-face interviews conducted were semi-structured, while the questions were sent to those who favoured to answer via email. After collecting the interview's data, it was noticed that there was a degree of conformity in the participants' answer. It is necessary to state that some of them were rather cautious in their answers.

In the present analysis, the participants' names are not provided, and the discussion is based on their answers, symbolising them by numbers. Each question is discussed individually, providing a summary of the answers. The questions were designed in a chronology starting from their opinion about the language policy of the State, highlighting the official and national languages, and then moving to details about adequate execution of regulations. The participants were asked about their perspectives of the elaboration of SA, the possibility of using AA as a medium of instruction, the

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[107] HCA is frequently used instead of HCLA for the Higher Council of the Arabic Language.

impact of globalisation, and the convenient language of teaching sciences and technology.

When asked about the adequate use of Arabic in education and administration, the participants' answers did not differ from each other in the use of SA as the official and national language in education and administration, but not in ST fields and economy. The most relevant answers are provided in what follows.

Interviewee 1: "It is true that Arabic has been the language of 'acquisition planning' since Algeria's independence. On top of that, today there are around 70% of literate people in Algeria, and the majority are presumably literate in Arabic."

Interviewee 3: "As to the Arabic language, I believe that it has not yet taken its right and adequate position as the official and national language of the State, in both education and administration, and French is still used."

Interviewee 5: "Since the 1990s, I can say that what we use today is Algerian Arabic, and we have lost control of the use of SA."

The three other interviewees have also supported the idea that SA is widely used as the language of the state, but usually mixed with colloquial Arabic, and even with French. Some of them have clarified their view that SA must be respected as the official national language. Interviewee 6, for instance, has stated the spread of French as the cause of the lack of the use of SA in some sectors, otherwise the government, according to him, is doing considerable efforts, to sustain its official use. Interviewee 5 has stated another important cause of such inadequate use of SA. He has noted that many teachers, mainly at primary and middle schools, do not hold teaching degrees, not even training, and have had the opportunity to teach any subjects, but to have a job.

In the same question, there was consensus that the officialisation of Tamazight is has not been caused by globalisation, and that its generalisation might be challenging. Although the government is working on promoting its use, it cannot be denied that it is limited to its Berber regions, according to the interviewees. None of them has viewed any influence of globalisation on such recognition to Tamazight as the official language,

and all of them have considered it limited to its regional borders. Some of the answers are quoted below:

Interviewee 1: "... From a quantitative point of view, Tamazight is at disadvantage. Nonetheless, the real issue relates to the ideological/political interference: how can you standardize a language in the 21st century, when Kabyles prefer to write their language in the Roman Alphabet, Tamashek speakers (around Tamaraste) in Tifinagh, and the Ministry in Arabic-Roman Tifinagh but with Arabic Being in the horizon... I would say that 'corpus planning' to enrich Tamazight cannot be properly done within this context.'

Interviewee 2: "Even though Tamazight is the official language according to the shift of 2016, we cannot say that it functions officially, it is still at the stage of corpus planning, it needs to be codified first."

Interviewee 6: "Tamazight cannot function for several objective reasons, which I see ideological and geographical. First, it is used by a minority in limited regions. Second, there is a problem of which scripts to use, and third, there is a great problem of how to generalise its use. It is challenging."

The interviewees' answers have somewhat provided a clear image of the authentic situation. There is a fact that Tamazight is the official and national language, and in the last revision (2020), it has been more reinforced when joined to the constants of the nation that are fundamentally the unchangeable components of national identity. So, whether accepted by people or not, it is the official language. The activity of its codification and standardisation is a long-term process. However, time is not the only required agent, according to Haugen, the factor of acceptance is important too. The other three interviewees have also claimed that the generalisation of its use in education and administration will not conveniently fit the State, because it does not have any global status. He said 'at least Arabic is at the fourth rank among world global languages." According to him, it is taught in one or two schools in the wilaya, and yet, parents refuse that their children study Tamazight. Therefore, it can be deduced that the political decision even decreed might be delayed because of many factors.

The question that could be asked is about the rationales behind officialising Tamazight. For political reasons and for issues of national stability, the ex-government took such initiative perhaps to prevent conflicts or division. Concerning this point, Interviewee 1 argued that 'decolonization is incomplete – particularly linguistic decolonization – ... it is worth noting that Ferhat Mehenni's party (MAK) was established in Paris in 2010, and many of his supporters have anti-Arab attitudes.' The other interviewees have stated the existence of some ideological issues that are affecting the language policy environment, and that the critical circumstances of the country in the last decades might also be causes for sudden shifts not only in the linguistic regulations, but in other domains too. Interviewee 4, for example, claimed that 'it is good to add Tamazight to the cultural aspect of the country, and it is nice to speak it as a dialect, but it cannot be a language of business or economy.'

However, the use of AA as a medium of instruction was totally refused, for it is a dialect for them that is the low variety of Arabic, and that such suggestion might worsen the level of the coming generations. Moreover, all of them viewed that it would be a waste of time, if done. When asked about the spread of French, some rejected the idea and claimed that today, it is more limited than the past, while others viewed that it might continue to spread because of ideological/political intrusions. Interviewees 3 and 4 and 6 viewed that today's young generations have all graduated from arabised system, and hence they have a great deficiency in using French. As to the reasons of such a use of French in many sectors, the following expressions are selected from their answers:

Interviewee 1: "... We have an inert bureaucracy that favours French and keeps using the ideology of 'divide and rule' to have instability in the country and maintain French hegemony."

Participant 4: "The use of French in some sectors and its absence in others mean that Arabisation has not been well implemented. However, there are some strong factors that have backed keeping the use of French decades after independence by a category of people; those who see it as a language of prestige or development. Otherwise, Arabic is the language of the State."

Participant 2: "I don't agree people saying that we have to speak this language and not the others. French is rooted in many sectors, there are families who speak it

at home, and it is the medium of instruction of many fields at university. It is not a matter of language conflict; languages cannot be in wars. You have languages; you should know how to use them, each in its specific place."

Conformity was usually noticed in the answers of the interviewees, though sometimes having different positions. However, none of them agreed that French could be a language of prestige, but in response to some ideologies. For the language of teaching scientific and technical fields, all of them, without exception, believed that English should be implemented very soon by the government because it is the language of science that is used all over the world. The suggestion of replacing French with English was highly welcomed by the interviewees, but it would not be possible in current circumstances according to Interviewee 6, arguing that 'such a step requires great efforts, and investments'. Interviewee 2 has also argued that 'Algeria needs to achieve globalisation and be part of the modern world, and this cannot be done without spreading the same language of powerful countries.'

For the last two points concerning the interviewees' attitudes about the global status of Arabic and any possible influence of globalisation on the future of language planning in Algeria, different answers were given. For the former, most of them agreed that Arabic has always been a language of civilisations and progress, and that it could be the language of sciences and technology, of development, and even of economy and business if it is well supported and elaborated. Interviewee 6 confirmed that 'the elaboration of Arabic in the fields of sciences will make Arabic stronger, even though Arabic is the richest terminologically.' However, interviewee 5 said that 'what we have learnt from "The tragedy of Great Power" by John J. Mearsheimer, is that English is the global language, but if all the Arabic-speaking countries work seriously to develop the Arabic language and elaborate its use in the fields of sciences and technology, it would be undoubtedly more spread in the world of economy and more accepted.'

As to the latter, that is the impact of globalisation, Interviewees 2 and 3 did not see any possible influence, but both see that Algeria must do great efforts to attend the global world, and international economy. However, the rest of the interviewees did not deny that Algeria as any country should follow the global system and submit possible changes in its language policy, at least to go conveniently within the global system. On the one hand, they agreed that SA should be the language of the State. On the other

hand, it should develop and implement global languages, without sticking to the ideologies that might destroy the future of the country or cause internal conflicts. To learn languages according to them should be advantageous, but in a well-planned way.

The analysis of the results qualitatively has revealed that the language policy of Algeria, from State monolingualism to State Bilingualism, has passed through different shifts, among which the most remarkable have been the policy of arabisation and the officialisation of Tamazight. Both policies have not yet been totally achieved. No regulation has proved the spread of French or English, but as foreign languages, even though authenticity holds another image. The perspectives of the senior officials have revealed the existence of some ideologies and political issues that have been rationales of some transformation, as already described in the historical account of the country in the second chapter. To provide more details and to explore the population's attitudes, the qualitative results are explored in the following section.

4.3.   Quantitative Data Analysis

After approaching the topic qualitatively, the main objective of this part of research is to analyse and discuss the most relevant quantitative data gathered through both online surveys addressed to shape the Algerian language policy and any expected shift due to globalisation from public perspectives. As already mentioned, the main objectives of the surveys with the wide variation of their sample populations have been intentionally directed to answer to a degree all the research questions. Hence, this part reports the data provided by the surveys' respondents, attempting to discover their perspectives through their language practices and preferences in relation to different contexts, as well as their positions and predictions about the issue of Algerian LPP and its future in the era of globalisation. In what follows, the results achieved from both surveys are discussed and explored sequentially.

4.3.1.   Analysis of the First Survey

As stated previously, this survey, even though quantitative, has also served for gathering qualitative information. The data gathered have been of a central importance for their quantitative value on the one hand, and for the wide range of the population's answers that have portrayed an image of public perspectives, including a qualitative

character. Survey 1 has helped the researcher obtain necessary data that have revealed somewhat the perspectives of the Algerians on their current language policy, pointing out the recent shifts, as well as their attitudes and expectations about the impact of globalisation on their language practices and on the future Algerian LPP. It is important to note that the survey's results are reported in numbers when more than an answer is possible but in percentage when only one choice is allowed. Part of the survey's first section was discussed in the previous chapter, describing the population's age, gender, origins, occupations and level of education. The mother tongues of the respondents as well as the languages they master are presented in the following section followed by some details about the return rate for this survey, and then a thorough description of the rest of the findings.

4.3.1.1. The Participants' Languages

The two last questions in the first section of this survey were about the participants' mother tongues and the languages they mastered. Their major aim was to have general information about the participants, since required to define their language practices and preferences. Both questions were answered by the whole sample. Some answered in Arabic, others in French, and a number of the participants filled the survey in English. Intentionally, both questions were open and without suggesting any options, in order to give the participants more freedom to answer. However, before displaying the summary of the data collected, it is significant to note that there were some spelling mistakes in writing the languages' names, unexpectedly, and that different terms were used to refer to Arabic, whether filling the survey in Arabic or in French.

Some of the spelling mistakes noticed in writing the languages' names were '*l'englais', '*Onglais', '*Arabi' or '*espaniol' in various answers. Moreover, participants who answered in French used, for example, the terms 'Arabe', '*Arab', 'la langue arabe', or 'l'arabe' to refer to Arabic. The latter was also expressed by the participants who answered in Arabic as 'Al`lugha al`arabiya', 'arabiya', 'al`arabiya' or 'Al`lugha al`arabiya al`fus`ha'. It is important to clarify that every form of writing is considered technically as a different element by Google Form or Excel, even if the change is only a capital letter. Since computers programs operate in binary, the terms 'Arabe' and 'arabe' are not similar in their calculations. Some extracts from the participants' answers are gathered in the figure below to describe that.

Figure 4.2. Spelling Variation in the Participants' Answers

Filling the survey in French, 126 participants used the terms '*Arabe /ARABE/ arabe*', while 24 others wrote '**Arab/arab*', but '*la langue arabe*' and '*l'arabe/ l'Arabe*' were, each one, the answer of six persons. 'Arabic' was also found 29 times, mostly in surveys filled by students of English. Besides, surveys filled in Arabic revealed that 59 participants used commonly the simple terms '*arabiya*' or '*al`arabiya*', in comparison with '*Al`lugha al`arabiya*', which was stated in 16 answers, or '*Al`lugha al`arabiya al`fus`ha*' found only once. Hence, it can be said that many participants did not make, or did not want to show a difference between Standard and Dialectal varieties of Arabic. There were doctors, teachers, engineers, lawyers, students and others who answered by one of the preceding forms. So, they used generally such terms to refer to the 'Arabic' they speak, unless strictly defined as did by participants No. 6 and No. 281 – '*Al`lugha al`arabiya al`fus`ha*' and 'Arabic (Standard/Classical Arabic)' respectively.

In ordinary contexts, Arabs when asked about their language, they claim generally that it is Arabic, and the distinction between the high and low varieties is not usually made, only if intentionally meant. Therefore, the preceding statistics interpreted that the mother tongue of the majority of the selected sample is Arabic, whether Dialectal Arabic, Standard Arabic, or both. The number of those who claimed Arabic their mother tongue, written in any of the preceding forms, reached 267, i.e. 82,92 % of the whole sample. However, 32 other participants specified exactly 'dialectal Arabic',

'Algerian Arabic / dialect'[108], '*Darija*', or 'my regional language' – a share of 9,94 % of the whole sample. Data displayed that Algerian Arabic and Dialectal Arabic were claimed the mother tongues of 16 and 11 participants respectively, while '*Darija*' was found in four answers and 'my regional language' was expressed only once.

Moreover, the rest of the answers reported 'Kabyle' 11 times, Tamazight six times, 'Chaouia' three times, and '*Berbère*' once. So, the number of the participants who stated a Berber dialect or Tamazight as a mother tongue reached 21 on the whole, a percentage of 6,52 %. However, it was noticed that while everyone stated one mother tongue so as expected, participants 71 and 197 reported two. The former was a university teacher from Algiers, aged 45, and the latter was a university student of English, from Sidi Bel Abbes, aged 23, and both filled the survey in French. Their answers were '*Arabe/Amazigh*' and '*Arabe-Français*' respectively. Conclusively, the summary of the data reported that Arabic – regardless to the forms of writing – was the mother tongue of 82,92 % of the participants, followed by Dialectal/Algerian Arabic, and then Berber dialects, as displayed in the following figure:

Figure 4.3: Participants' Mother Tongues
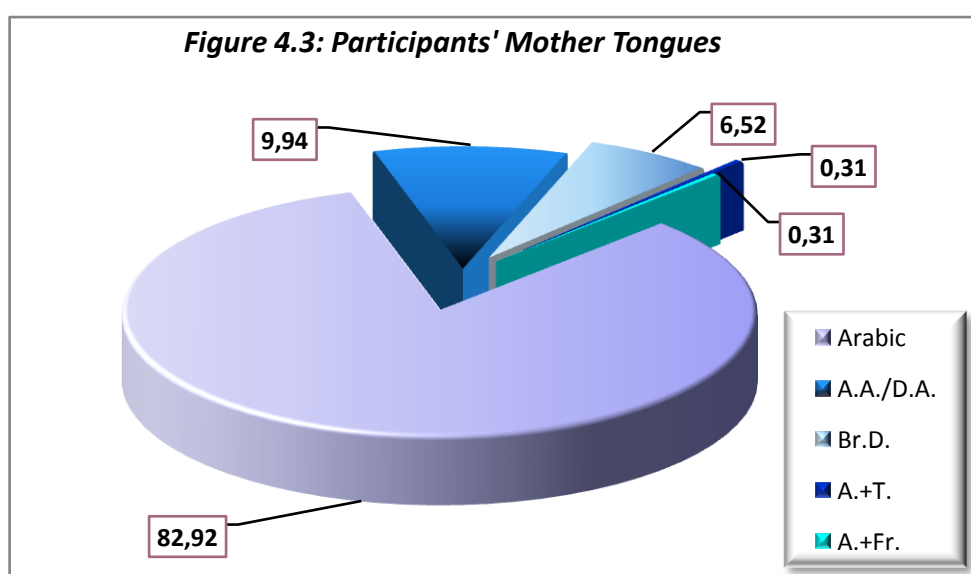
The same sample provided different answers when asked about the languages they mastered. Data revealed that most of the participants mastered at least two to three languages, while two participants did not mention any language, filling their answers

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[108] Answers like 'Arabe dialectale', 'Dialecte algérien (Bel Abbes)', 'Arabe dialectal algérien', and 'Arabe Algerien' were reported from the particpants' answers.

with a slash mark (/). It was noticed that 11,49 % of the whole sample claimed they were monolingual and spoke no more than one language, noting that Arabic was the only language stated by 33 participants, French by three, and Kabyle by only one. Most of the rest of the participants joined French and/or English to Arabic in their answers to this question. Statistics reported that 90 participants, a percentage of 27,95 %, spoke two languages, among whom 36 mastered Arabic and French, but 40 claimed they could speak Arabic and English. Moreover, without stating Arabic, "English and French" was the answer given by 13 participants, and "English and Spanish" by another one.

As for those who said that they mastered three languages, 140 participants stated Arabic with French and English, but instead of the latter, four others mentioned Spanish, Kabyle or Korean. They were 44,72 % of the whole sample. Besides Arabic, French and English, speakers of four languages who rated 13,04 %, i.e. 42 participants, added Tamazight, Kabyle, German, Turkish, Italian, Russian, Japanese, or Spanish. The latter was stated exactly by 28 respondents, unlike Tamazight and Kabyle, which rated eight and five times respectively, or the other languages that were found in the answers of one to three participants. The rest, i.e. 2,17 % of the selected sample, claimed that they could speak five languages or more. The frequency of every language stated by the participants is presented in the following table both in numbers and in percentage:

Table 4.5. The Languages Mastered by the Participants

Language	Arabic	French	English	Spanish	Tamazight + Kabyle	German	Others
Participants' Number Percentage	289 89.66 %	224 75.66 %	214 66.33 %	28 8.66 %	14 (8 + 6) 4.33 %	6 2 %	6 2 %

Note*: Every participant could state more than one language.*

In view of that, Arabic scored the highest rate among the languages mastered by the participants, with a percentage of 89,66 % of the sample, followed by French with 75,66 %, and English with 66,33 %. However, data denote that Spanish, Kabyle, Tamazight, German and others (Russian, Korean, Japanese, and Italian) were of a limited use by the selected sample. So, that most of the participants claimed that they mastered Arabic is not surprising, since most of them were Arabophones, but the rate

scored by French and English revealed the wide spread of the former for its special status in Algeria, as well as the significance of the latter that is growing increasingly among the Algerians. However, it is highly confessed that if a similar study has been done with a sample from Tizi Ouzou or Algiers, for instance, different data would have been reported concerning the linguistic background. The researcher intended to follow ethically all the measures for obtaining reliable and valid data, and hence, such a detailed description of the demographic data was given.

4.3.1.2. The Participants Daily Language Practices

Whatever stated in the official regulations of a country, people's daily language pratices are generally known to reflect the authentic sociolinguistic situation. Therefore, the aim of this part was to report a general description of the most functional language in the participants' daily life. The researcher considered that it was fundamental to point out the languages used authenticaly by the participants in some selected contexts (see section 3.5.2). Focus was on the languages used at home, in the social surrounding, for religious practices, when shopping, in studies or at work, to communicate on social media, and in leisure time. Although such a step seemed ordinary, it was one of the key elements that helped on the one hand describing the extent of the spread of the official language, the national languages and French and English in the participants' daily life, and revealed, on the other, whether globalisation influenced their language practices.

For that, the seven contexts already stated have helped investigating the extent of the use of SA, AA and Tamazight in comparison to French and English. Since more than one language could be selected, the use of two languages or more was very frequently faced in different contexts. However, the following bar graph displays the number of participants per item,reporting the score of every language by practice[109].

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[109]All the questions that allowed the participants to choose more than one language were treated in the same way. The number given reported how many participants opted for that language in that context, whether selected alone or with another one, because it was impossible to treat all the answers provided by the participants; one might select AA and SA while another would favour SA, Tamazight and Fr.

Figure 4.4. **Daily Language Practices in Different Situations**
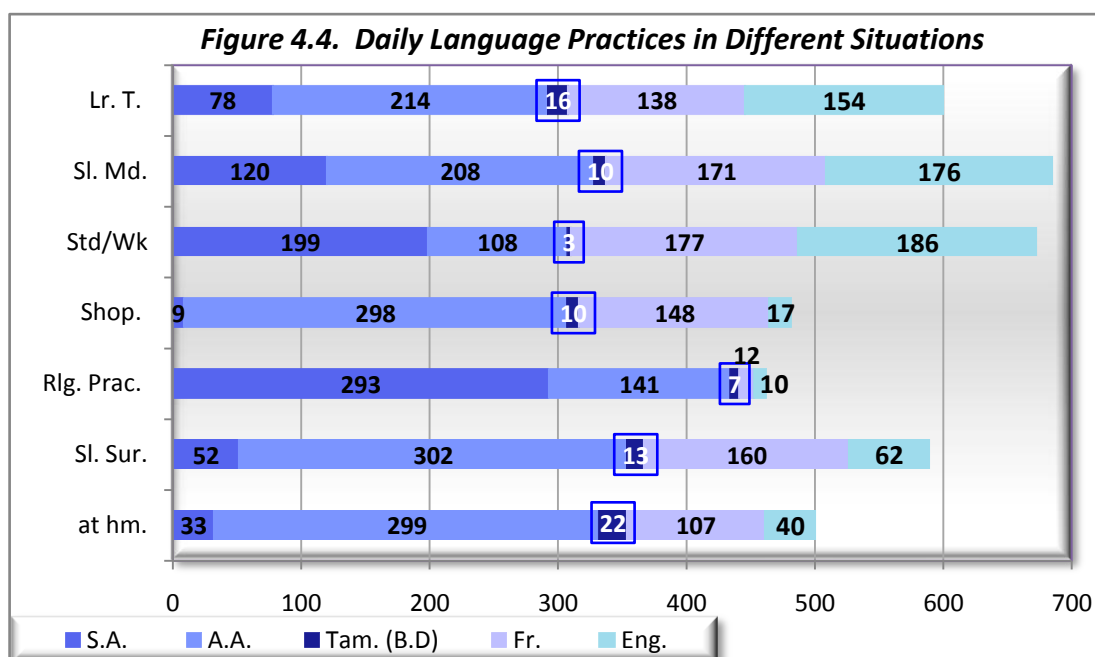
The preceding figure indicates measurably a language variation regarding each suggested item. SA scored the highest rate as the language of religious practices and studies/work, selected by 293 participants in the former and 199 in the latter, equivalent to a percentage of 90,99 % and 61,80 % respectively. However, AA was the most frequent language for nearly all the daily language practices, rating more than 92 % of the sample size as the language used at home, in the social surrounding, and for shopping, chosen correspondingly by 299, 302, and 298 participants. In the same order, French followed AA with a rate of 33,23 %, 49,69 %, and 45,96 %. Moreover, AA was used for social networking by 64,60 % and in leisure time by 66,46 % of the sample size. However, it took the second position after SA as a language of religious rituals, used by 43,79 % of the survey's selected sample.

It is worth to mention that SA was not the only language used for studies/work, but because of the participants' varied degrees of education and specialties, English and French scored high rates too. The former was chosen by 57,76 % and the latter by 54,97 % of the sample size, while AA was the choice of only 33,54 %. The participants' variation was also reflected by the languages used to communicate on social media and in leisure time, for which data revealed that English held the second position after AA with a rate of 54,66 % and 47,83 % respectively, French took the third position with 53,11 %, and 42,86 %, whereas SA scored 37,27 % and 24,22 %.

Tamazight scored the lowest rate in comparison with the other languages in all the contexts suggested; this, if considering the whole survey's sample size. However, when measuring the same data in comparison with the number of the participants from Berber origins, a different interpretation could be given. To highlight this point more explicitly, the following table is intended to summarise and compare the language practices of the Berber participants in relation to the survey's sample size.

Table 4.6.: The Language Practices of the Berber Participants

Context Population	At Home	Social Surrounding	Religious Practices	For Shopping	Studies/ work	Social media	Leisure time
Re the whole Sample size (322)	6,83 %	4,04 %	2,17 %	3,11 %	0,93 %	3,11 %	4,97 %
The 22 Berber Participants	100 %	59,09 %	31,82 %	45,45 %	13,64 %	45,45 %	72,73 %

When considering the participants from Berber origins, who stated Tamazight or a Berber dialect, mostly Kabyle, as a mother tongue, the findings would be more considerable. It is worth to note that all the Beber participants, i.e. 100 %, used Tamazight or their native Berber dialect at home, and only two of them said they used Arabic or French with their mother tongue. Besides, from 31,82 % to 72,73 % of those Berberophones used Tamazight or their mother tongue in most of the other contexts. However, the number of those who declared that they used it for studies or at work was only 0,93 %, regarding the whole sample size, and 13,64 % if considering the 22 Amazigh participants.

The data collected from the participants' answers to this question indicated that each language scored a different degree, in relation to the context of use. Unsurprisingly, the results showed that the mother tongue of every region is so spread among its speakers, mostly as the language of daily contact in different contexts. SA, in comparison with the other languages, was mostly used for religious practices and in studies/work. However, AA was the most frequent language used to communicate at home, in the social surrounding, for shopping, social media, and for leisure time. Surprisingly however, English scored higher rates than French concerning the languages used in studies/work, social media, and leisure time.

4.3.1.3. The Participants' Language Preferences

It is widely known that daily language practices do not forcebly reflect the speaker's language preferences. In many speech communities, people need to cope generally with the social surroundings and respect the dominant sociolinguistic situation. Anyone might well prefer to speak language A or B in a specific context where language C, for example, has such a dominance that he/she needs to use it for some ordinary daily language practices. One of the respondents has stated that he prefered to speak only SA, in whatever situation, but unfortunately, he found himself obliged to use AA and French in many contexts. So, the participants language preferences can be different than their ordinary practices. the following table summarises, in numbers, the sata recorded up to the participants' answers.

Table 4.7.: Daily Language Practices vs. Language Preferences

Context / Languages		At home	Social surround-dings	Religious practices	shopping	Studies or work	Social media	Leisure time
SA	L. Preferences	56	56	299	20	205	134	105
	L. Practices	33	52	293	9	199	120	78
	Difference	23	4	6	11	6	14	27
AA	L. Preferences	230	235	83	260	52	144	164
	L. Practices	299	302	141	298	108	208	214
	Difference	− 69	− 67	− 58	− 38	− 56	− 64	− 50
Tam.	L. Preferences	22	21	11	18	9	8	17
	L. Practices	22	13	7	10	3	10	16
	Difference	0	8	4	8	6	− 2	1
Fr.	L. Preferences	59	90	9	83	106	115	86
	L. Practices	107	160	12	148	177	171	138
	Difference	− 48	− 70	− 3	− 65	− 71	− 56	− 52
Eng.	L. Preferences	62	56	5	28	190	145	126
	L. Practices	40	62	10	17	186	176	154
	Difference	22	− 6	− 5	11	4	− 31	− 28

Different conceptions could be shaped from the data recorded in the preceding table, aimed at verifying the extent to which the participants' daily language practices differed from their language preferences. The number of the participants who preferred the use of SA in all the contexts suggested was somewhat higher than those who used it in their daily language practices. On the contrary, AA and French recoreded less rates in

terms of preferences than for daily practices in all the situations. However, scores were different for Tamazight and English, so that they recorded either higher,lower or constant rates from a context to another. Realising the following equation could reveal the intreval between the rate of daily language practices and language preferences, as described in the table that follows:

Σ(Nbr of ptc. L.Pref.) - Σ(Nbr of ptc. L.Prac.) = Interval

Σ (Interval per context) / Nbr of contexts = Mean Interval

Table 4.8.: The Interval between Language Practices and Language Preferences

Context / Language	At home	Social Sur.	Rel. Prac.	Shop.	Studies/ Work	Social Media	Leisure Time	Mean Interval
SA	+ 7,14	+ 1,24	+ 1,86	+ 3,42	+ 1,86	+ 4,35	+ 8,39	4,04
AA	-21,43	-20,81	-18,01	-11,80	-17,39	-19,88	-15,53	-17,84
Tam.	0,00	+ 2,48	+ 1,24	+ 2,48	+ 1,86	- 0,62	+ 0,31	1,11
Fr.	-14,91	-21,74	-0,93	-20,19	-22,05	-17,39	-16,15	-16,19
Eng.	+ 6,83	- 1,86	- 1,55	+ 3,42	+ 1,24	- 9,63	- 8,70	-1,46

Notes: - Nbr of ptc. L.Prac.= number of participants redaily language practices
        - Nbr of ptc. L.Pref.= number of participants re language preferences
   "– n" =less preferences than practices
   "+n" = more preferences than practices
   (The preceding findings are on basis of percentage)

Regarding the table above, the average interval for SA recoreded an increase in preferences of 4,04 % of the sample size, noting that 7,14 % favoured its use at home and 8,39 % in their leisure time. In contrast, not all the participants who use AA and French in their daily language practices preferred that. Surprisingly, a clear difference in language preferences was noticed after registering a decline of 17,84 % in the mean interval for AA and of 16,19 % for French. This means that when it came to preferences, a number of the participants revealed that they did not like speaking AA or French in all the contexts suggested, without exception, as represented in the above table. As for Tamazight, the 22 participants from Berber origins showed that they prefer using it in most of the contexts. However, English recorded different data. When measuring the interval per context, the use of English was more preferred 'at home', 'for shopping' and in 'studies/work' by 6,83 %, 3,42 % and 1,24 % respectively, while it marked a decline in the rest of the situations, as dispalyed in table 4.3.

In sum, comparing the preceding data shows that both the increase in the number of the participants who preferred using SA and the unexpected decline observed concerning the use of AA and French were significant to some degree, since that was noticed in all the contexts.It is worth to mention that SA has become more spread than before through social networking, mainly on Facebook and Twitter.According to Semiocast[110], the use of Arabic on Twitter is increasing because of its exploitation by a large population from the Middle East.Besides, it has become the language of different official pages of presidents, ministers, ministries, administrations, media,journalists, famous people and others throughout the Arab World, and in Algeria too. Hence, such finding, though in small percentage, might be a sign of a future spread of SA in some contexts. This has also been supported by the findings in the following sections.

Surprinsingly, most of the participants who did not favour the use of French were post-graduate and proclaimed that they mastered it. This was also noticed in a study, done by the researcher in 2010[111], about the real status of Arabic in Algerian secondary schools,the participants revealed nearly similar attitudes about the use of French as a medium of instruction. Only 1 % of the sample size considered French as the best language of pre-university education, while positive attitudes towards SA were recorded generally. However, the participants' showed in that study negative attitudes towards French, as they considered it as the language of the coloniser that should be displaced. It is worth to note that difference of the setting and the population is significant in shaping different attitudes.

In this study, the sample population is varied and today's perspective about the global conditions is no more the same. The participants in this study showed different reasons about their negative position about French; the majority claiming that it could be neither so global, nor suitable for the future, perhaps because most of them were post-graduate and might have experienced the need of an English mastery. Although the participants preferred using some languages, specifically in some contexts, they needed

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[110]See section 1.14.2.
[111] "Arabic in the Algerian Secondary Education: Authenticity and Legislations". Magister thesis - a study done on 100 secondary-school teachers and 350 students from five different high schools in Sidi Bel Abbes.

to use others authentically. So, the linguistic situation and the social environment are factors that can affect human language practices, far from personal preferences.

In sum, the discussion of the preceding data has unveiled a change of language preferences for nearly 20 % of the particpants in all the contexts concerning the use of AA and French. This can denote that some people are not satisfied by the use of some languages in their daily life. Therefore, the conceptions that there is a language problem and that there will be a future language change in Algeria are more possible, because the more something is not favoured the more it is rejected. It was noticed among the answers of the participants that there is a deviation towards replacing French by English in different fields as show the following sections. However, when it comes to AA, it can be understood that there is a clash between two different perceptions; objective and subjective. The former sees that it is a national language that is used naturally in most of the daily language practices, while the latter can be shaped in the desire of a change. The discussion of the rest of the items will provide more details.

4.3.1.4. Towards an Authentic Image of the Language Situation

After discussing the daily language practices and the participants' preferences, the researcher attempted to give an authentic image of the language situation of Algeria from the population's perspectives.Therefore, the section's main objective was to know the extent of the participants' awareness about the most spread languages in reality, highlighting some domains, like daily social practices, pre-university and university education, public administration, health services, judiciary domains, military, political discourse, economy and industry.The participants could choose more than one language in all the items suggested. Google Form has provided 10 bar graphs in reference to the choice of the language(s) up to each item dealt with in this question. However, the researcher has joined them through Excel in the following one to summarise the participants' choices.

Figure 4.5.: The Participants' Image of the Language Situation
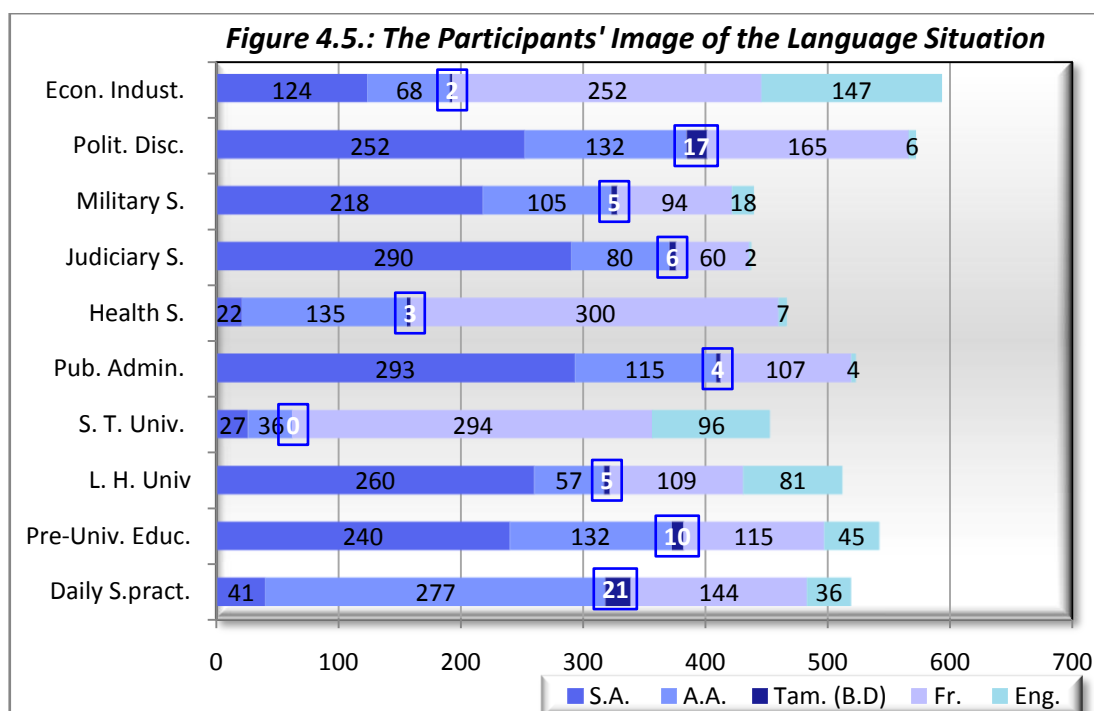
The very first remark got by the researcher from the collected data in this section was the position of SA in most of the items, as clarified in the preceding bar graph. SA attained the highest rates, as the most spread language in public administration, judicial/judiciary services, lettres and humanities, political discourses, pre-university and military domains. It scored, in that order, 90,99 %, 90,06 %, 80,74 %, 78,26 %, 74,53 %, and 67,70 %. It was also classified in the third position as a language of economy and industry, after French and English, with a rate of 38,51 % of the survey's sample size. Unsurprisingly, it was not of a high spread as a language of social practices, scientific and technical fields at university and health services, scoring 12,73 %, 8,39 %, and 6,83 % respectively.In fact, the participants described SA as the official language used in almost all the domain with a great spread. Besides, the findings of this section supported those of the preceding ones in which SA scored, as well, high rates in some contexts, notably religious practices and education.

By the same token, AA was selected by the participants as the most frequent language used to communicate at home, in the social surroundings, for shopping, social media and in leisure time. To validate such data, the item 'daily social practices' was added, for which AA attained the highest rate,chosen by 267 participants, i.e. 82,92 % of the sample size, as displayed in the preceding bar graph. In the rest of the items, however, it recorded between 11,18 % and 41,92 %, noting that the latter rate was

scored both in 'public administration' and in 'health services'. Its use in 'pre-university education' and 'political discourses' recorded also 40,99 % and 40,37 % respectively. Such data showed that AA was in the first position as the most spread language in daily social practices, and the second after SA in all the rest of the contexts, except in 'university education' and in 'economy & industry', but after French in 'Health services'. This could give an idea about its wide spread in the Algerian linguistic landscape, for its status as the most dominant national language.

Tamazight was not very highly used in all the contexts up to the collected data, because of the limited number of the Berber participants on the one hand, and its weak spread at the national scale on the other, although officialised. It was viewed as the most spread language in daily social practices by 21 participants, in political discourses by 17, while in pre-university education by only 10. The rest of the contexts knew a decline in the rate of the spread of Tamazight, restricted in an interval of 2 to no more than 6 choices. Although French was described as the most dominating language in scientific and technical fields at university, health services and economy and industry, it took the second position as the language of daily social practices, letters and humanities at university and political discourse, either after AA or SA, and was the third choice in the rest of the contexts. This means that French is still occupying a significant status in the linguistic landscape of Algeria, while English scored the third level as themost spread language of economy and industry, university scientific and technical fields, and also letters and humanities, chosen by 147, 167, and 81 participants respectively.

From the preceding data, it can be noticed that the participants' perspectives about the most spread languages in the suggested domains reflected an extent of authenticity, as well as people's awareness about the actual linguistic situation. Actually, the participants' points of view have not opposed reality, because first SA is the official language used in written practices, though not so in verbal interactions. Second, AA is highly used for oral practices, even in education where SA is supposed to be the medium of instruction. Third, Tamazight is used to some extent, but still restricted to its native speakers. Then, it is also factual that French is still dominating some fields and maintaining a considerable status in the Algerian administration, economy and education. Last but not least, Englishknows also a dynamic spread in the domains where it is needed as a lingua franca.

Far from language practices and preferences, in this question the participants described blatantly the linguistic situation of the country, providing an authentic image up to what was going on around them. It is worth to mention that if the same question was given to another, or perhaps the same, sample in another time, answers would be different. Accordingly, it could be noticed that most of the participants showed generally a degree of awarness about the formal language policy followed in the country. However, reporting reality is different than giving attitudes. Hence, in the following section, the reseracher attempted to reveal the participants' attitudes towards the most suitable language for social vs. applied domains.

4.3.1.5. Attitudes toward the Most Suitable Language

In this question where the participants were required to give their attitudes about the most suitable language for some specific situations, and asked to justify their answers,it was noticed that their description to what they lived authenticaly was different than what they viewed or believed more appropriate. The collected data determined that SA and English scored higher rates in different contexts unlike AA and French which did only once. In addition to what was suggested in the preceding section, the researcher included three more items; internal and external state's affairs as well as development and globalisation. The following bar-graph displays the collected data, to interpret them before reporting some samples of the participants' responses for analysis.

Figure 4.6.: The Participants' Attitudes toward the Most Suitable Language
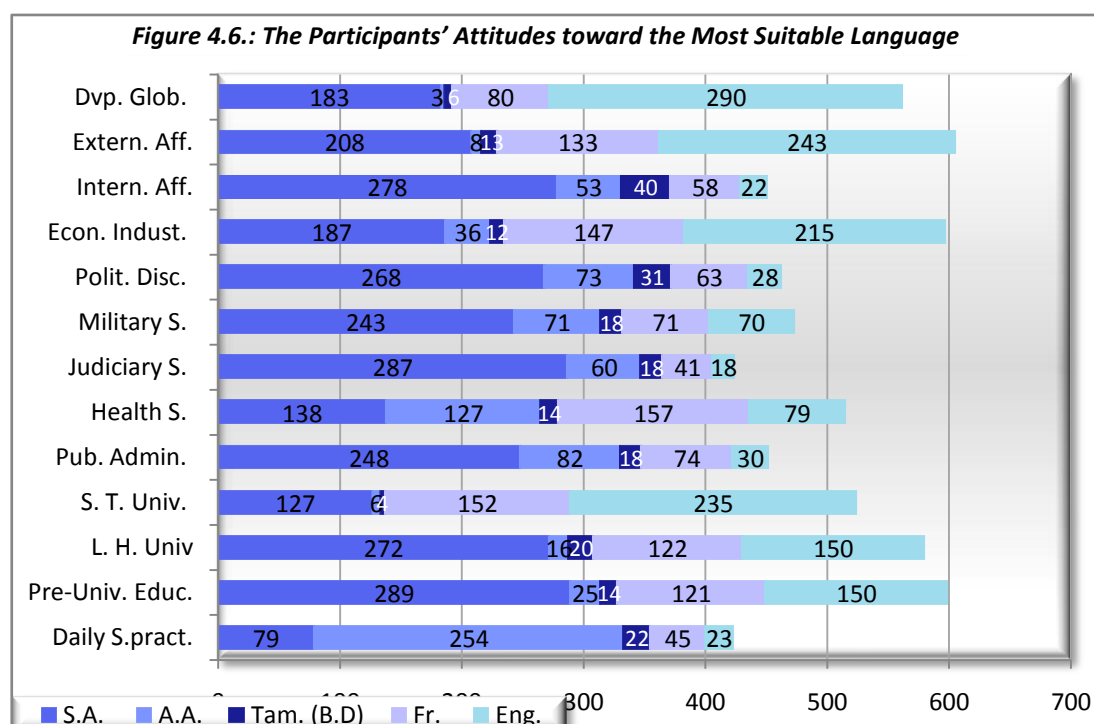
So as the variation of the blue colour shows in the preceding graph, SA rated the first position as the most suitable language seven times and English did four times, as opposed to AA and French that each did only once. Scores indicated fairly the participants' will to see a more spread of SA and English more than the other languages. SA scored the highest rate as the most suitable language for pre-university and university education, but for letters and humanities in the latter, public administartion, judicial services, military domains, political discourse and for internal affairs, reflecting the choice of 289, 272, 248, 287, 243, 268, 278 participants respectively. It was also put by 79 participants in the second position as a language of daily social pratices after AA which was the choice of 254 respondents, and it followed French as a language of contact in health services. French was selected by 157 and SA by 138 respondents, followed by AA which was the choice of 127 ones.

What should be stressed here is the rates scored by English. It was noticed that the participants' answers differed from theirs in the preceding sections. When it came to attitudes, the participants supported the use of English in many contexts. English rated the highest position as the most suitable language for teaching scientific and technical fields at university, economy and industry, external affairs as well as development and globalisation, representing the answers of 235, 215, 243 and 290 participants out of 322. Surprisingly, it was followed by French only in the former item and then by SA with a score of 152, and 106 respectively, whereas in the three latter contexts, it was SA that followed English, selected in that order by 187, 208, and 147 respondents. French was in the third position selected by 147, 113, 80 in the same sequence. Conversly, English was the second choice of 150 participants after SA, as a language of pre-university education and the teaching of letters and humanities at university, for which French rated less, since selected by only 91 resepndents in the former and 122 in the latter.

Furthermore, it was noticed that the answers to the "why" question in this section depended generally on the language the participants opted for on the one hand. The return rate in this part was the lowest, since only 188 participants, i.e. 58,38 % of the survey's sample size, explained their choices, unlike the other sections where it was not less than 92 %. Some participants did not provide any explanation for their choice, while others did in Arabic, French or English. On the other hand, answers depended also on the participants' way of thinking, level of understanding, and willingness to

answer, even though some seemed to be similar, and helped to shape public perspectives to some extent. The reasons provided for AA as the most spread language in social life, for example, turned generally around its dominance as the Algerians' means of communication. Many of the participants who supported SA claimed that they did for its official status. Besides, those who opted for Tamazight in some contexts considered its national and official status. When it came to foreign languages, answers were varied. Samples of the answers are provided in the following table to give an image about the participants' motives.

Table 4.9.:Some of the Participants' Reasons for their Language Choice

Participant	Answer
P. 100 **- (University teacher and researcher)**	**SA+Fr** (for education) - because they are the languages used habitually in pre-university education in Algeria
P. 302 **- (University teacher and researcher)**	**AA** (for social contacts) - because it is the most spoken language by the majority of the Algerian population (+ it is the language that all the Algerians understand)
P. 295 **- (Professor of the Sciences of language)**	**AA + Tamazight** (for political discourse) - because they are the language that the Algerian population understands
P. 257 **- (Professor of Economics)**	**Fr:** (for economy) - Algerian economic policy is an exact copy of the French one **Eng:**(for globalisation and development) - because it is the most dominant language nowadays, and it plays the role of the world's lingua franca
P. 155 **- (Professor of Electronics**	**SA+Fr+Eng**: (for pre-university education) Arabic is the national/official language par excellence, French is used by a large number of people, mostly in sciences, and English is the global language and the most used now
P. 254 **- (Finance Inspector)**	**SA+Fr+Eng**: (for economy and industry): it is a vital strategic domain
P.112 **- (Lawyer)**	**SA :** (Judiciary domain) **-** because it is the official language
P.115 **- (Doctor)**	**Fr:** (Health domain) – in fact we've done all our studies in French, so it's not that evident to find technical and scientific words in Arabic

Many other reasons were found in the participants' answers, reflecting sometimes their level of awarness, and indicating, in other times, their hopes for some changes in language policy. Most of the answers were supporting more spread and elaboation of Arabic for the country's unity, and ore english for development and globalisation.

From the preceding data, it can be noticed that the participants' perspectives reflect authenticity to a certain extent. On the one hand, the new constitution has supported the spread of Arabic in its third article, as already clarified. However, the sudden circumstances that have hit Algeria might have delayed the process. The new government elected after the *Hirak* has not introduced any change at the level of the above stated article, up to the last revision of the constitution planned to be passed in referendum next November(1/11/2020). On the other hand, data of the online survey done by the ex Minister of Higher education and scientific reserach, Tayeb Bouzid, have revealed that 96 % of those who responded the questions have favoured the use of English in pre-university and university education. However, the language practices in some domains and administrations have been a sign of the constant existence of French at least in todays' Algeria, as argued by some participants. The common argument among most of the participants was noticed in their description to SA as the official language par excellence, and AA as the language understood by most of the Algerians.

4.3.1.6. The Language of Identity, Unity, Prosperity and Contact

In this section, the participants were asked about the language of national identity, unity, development, as well as contacts with the world in general and the Arab countries specifically. It was designed to confirm the participants justifications to their choices in the preceding section. More than one choice was also possible. Statistics showed that SA scored the highest rates, when it came to identity and unity, selected by 266 participants in the former and 273 in the latter, followed by AA and Tamazight, each with 112, 102, and 98, 89 in that order. However, as far as 'the language that promotes development' and 'the language of world's relations', English scored the highest rates, as it was the choice of 269, and 300 participants respectively, followed by SA in the second position and then French in the third one with less scores as in the bar graph that follows. Surprinsingly, French was selected by no more than 14 participants in the rest of the items. More details are displayed explicitly in the following bar graph.

Figure 4.7. The Language of Identity, Unity, Development and Contacts
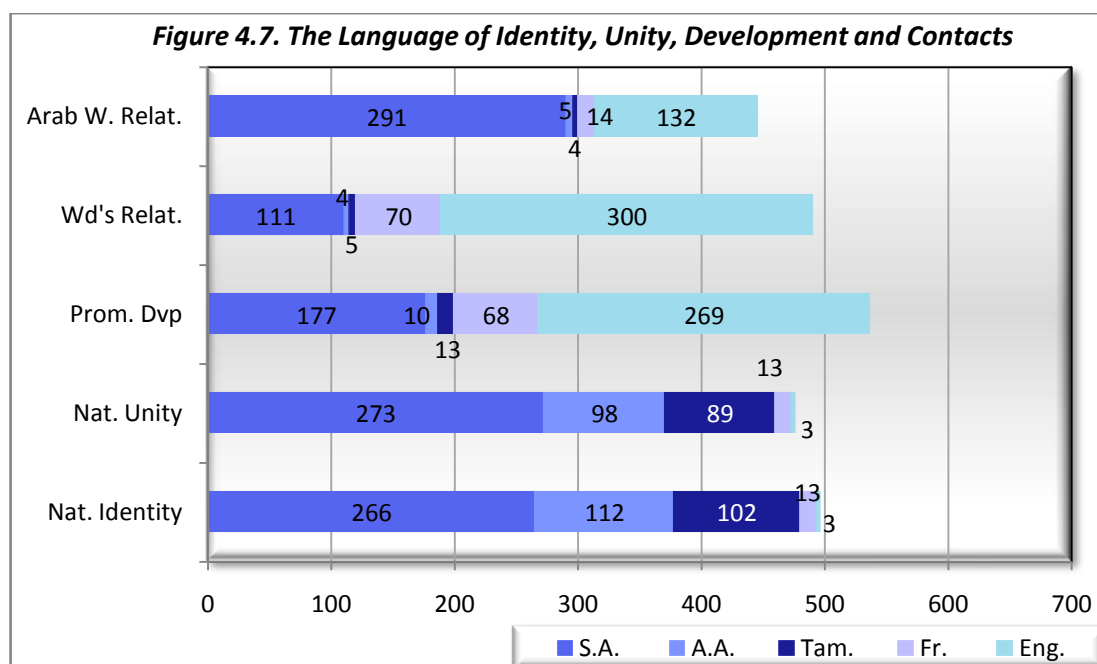
In view of the data presented in the preceding bar graph, both the official and the national languages of the country were placed at the top of the languages that best symbolise national identity and unity. Since more than one answer was possible, many participants selected SA, AA and/or Tamazight, while others' choices were restricted to one language only. Expectedly, a few of the answers reported a foreign language in such contexts. So, it was obvious that most of the participants considered SA, AA, and Tamazight as symbols of identity and unity, even though there were only 22 participants from Berber origins. Furthermore, SA was the only language that scored higher rates in all the items in general, unlike the rest of the languages that if well placed in one or two contexts, they were not in the others. The highest rates were attained by SA on the whole, so that it scored from 34,47 % to 90,37 %, as opposed to all the other languages that recorded lower percentages of less than 1 % to 4 % at least in two items.

In fact, English is the most dominant international language, used to promote development and world's relations all around the world. Algeria, as part of the world, is also living such a fact, even though no official change has been done. Hence, whether deliberately or not, the Algerians are involved in and influenced by the world's transformations. It is worth noting that most of the participants showed their visions to a more spread of English in front of their desire of a more preservance of the national and official languages. Although, SA is basically used in written practices, most of the

participants viewed the need to sustain and extend its use, because it is the only language that could symbolise and preserve national unity and identity.

4.3.1.7. Attitudes towards the Status of SA

It was significant to reveal the participants' attitudes about the official status of SA, focussing on education, administration and internal affairs because an official language should function generally as a medium of instruction and a language of administration. The aim of the question was to recheck and confirm the preceding findings. The question was direct, explicitly specifying whether the participants agreed or not about the statements suggested. The answers of most of the participants reported a large agreement about the necessity of keeping SA as a medium of instruction, a language of administration and of internal affairs. The collected data showed that the large majority either strongly agreed or agreed about all the items in questions. However, a minority showed indifferent and negative attitudes as described in the following bar graph that reports data by percentage since only one choice was allowed.

Figure 4.8.: Participant's Attitudes towards Keeping SA as a medium of instrcution, the Language of Administration and Internal Affairs
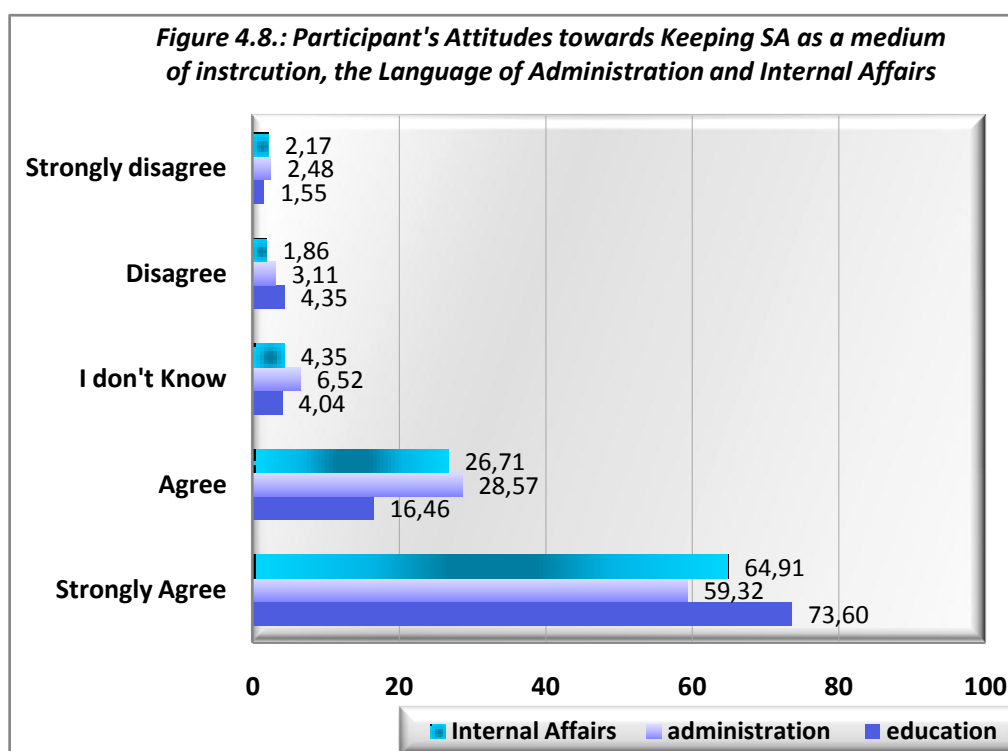
Based on to the data provided in the preceding bar graph, the majority of the participants strongly agreed and agreed on the three items provided. The data reported that 73,60 % in addition to 16,46 % of the survey's sample size, i.e. 90,06 %, strongly
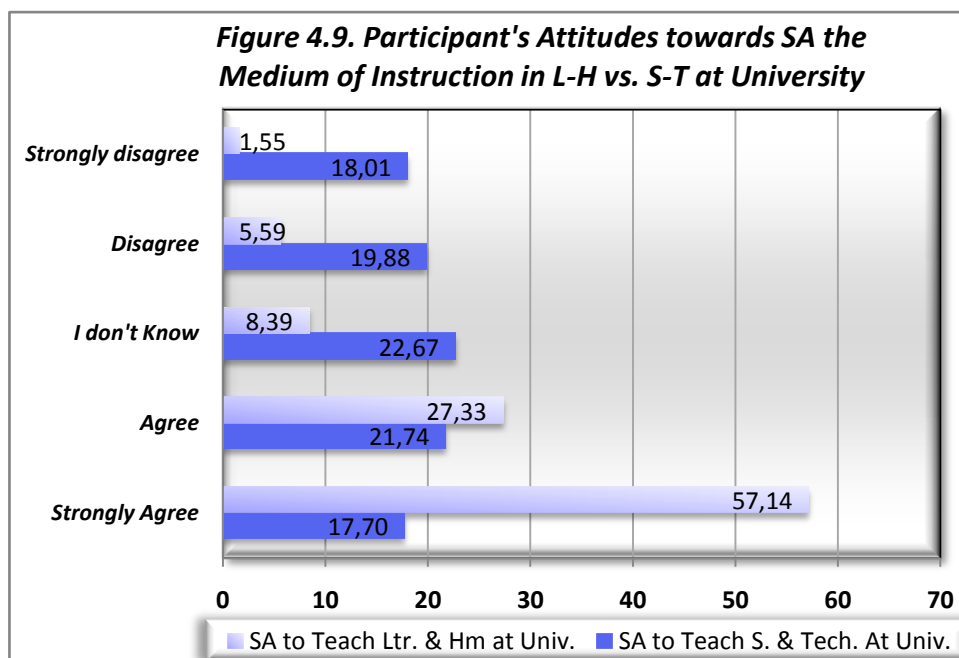
agreed and agreed on keeping SA the medium of instruction. As to the language of administration, the total of 91,62 % of the participants agreed on keeping the use of Arabic, noting that 59,32 % among them strongly agreed. When asked about maintaining the use of SA as the language of conducting internal affairs, 64,91 % strongly agreed and 28,57 % agreed, making a sum of 87.89 %.The rest of the participants were divided into two groups; those who claimed that they did not know about the issue, and those who disagreed and strongly disagreed. The percentage of the former share varied from 4 % to 6,5 %, and of the two latter groups from 1,5 % to 4,3%.

The participants' perceptions of the status and the use of SA started to be more explicit in this subsection. In comparison with the preceding sections, SA usually took the first or the second position, in terms of language practices, preferences and spread. It could be noticed that SA scored higher rates, on the whole, in most of the items suggested previously. Similarly, the participants have maintained their position towards the use of SA, at least in the domains where it should function as 'the' official language. It is worth reminding that it has also been placed at the top in the last subsection as the symbol of national identity and unity. Hence, the participants seemed to have a strong will to preserve SA as the official language, mostly in sensitive sectors, such as education and administration.

4.3.1.8. Attitudes towards SA as the medium of Instruction at University

After obtaining a general idea about the participants' perspectives of the use of SA in education, the focus in the present subsection was on the language of teaching letters and humanities in comparison to science and technology. It can be said before the reading of the findings that the Algerians have become more familiar with the teaching of letters and human sciences in SA, mostly in written interaction. The question has not hold any specific indication of other fields taught in Arabic, such as Law, Political Sciences, Economics, Industry, etc. The aim here was rather to know the participants' position towards the use of SA as a medium of instruction in scientific and technical fields at university, because that was the case in the fields of letters and humanities, and many others, since the generalisation of the policy of Arabisation. The teaching of foreign languages is generally done in the target language.

Results showed that the majority agreed with the use of SA to teach letters and humanities, but not scientific and technical fields, just as expected. The following bar graph displays in percentage the participants' attitudes.

Figure 4.9. Participant's Attitudes towards SA the Medium of Instruction in L-H vs. S-T at University

Attitude	SA to Teach Ltr. & Hm at Univ.	SA to Teach S. & Tech. At Univ.
Strongly disagree	1,55	18,01
Disagree	5,59	19,88
I don't Know	8,39	22,67
Agree	27,33	21,74
Strongly Agree	57,14	17,70

The first observation in the preceding graph was that the scores of SA for sciences and technology streams were nearly close to each other. Surprisingly, the sum of the participants who agreed made a percentage of 39.44 % of the survey's sample size, among whom 17,70 % strongly agreed, and those who disagreed were 37.89 %, including those who strongly disagreed (18,01 %). So, the interval between the former and the latter was only 1.55 %, while 22,67 % of the sample size were neutral and claimed that they did not know. In fact, the issue of the medium of instruction in technical and scientific fields has always been controversial in Algeria, even though the generalisation of arabisation should have been completed by July 05th 2000, in reference to the law of January 1991 (No 91-05).

However, the use of SA to teach letters and humanities at university was welcomed by the participants who showed very positive attitudes towards that. As indicated by the above-presented graph, a percentage of 81,98 % of the sample size agreed, among who 57,14 % strongly agreed, with the item, while 9,01 % preferred to be neutral and rather chose the option 'I don't know'. As for those who disagreed, they were 6,52 % while those who strongly disagreed made a percentage of 2,48 %. Hence, it

was deduced that if the participants were more familiar with the use of SA as a medium of instrcution in literary fields and humanities, the issue at the faculties of sciences and technnology would continue to be debatable unless the government took serious decisions to implement a change.It is worth to remind that the majority of the participants (72,98 %) favoured the use of English as the most suitable medium of instrcution in streams of sciences and technology. In sum, the results showed that not all the participants were for the use of SA to teach scientific and technological fields, yet nearly the two fifth of the sample size rejected the idea.

4.3.1.9. SA: a Global Language vs. a Language of Development

It seemed very significant for the researcher to know the participants' perceptions of SA as a global language and a language of development. The question was designed to know more about the thoughts of the participants about SA. After testing the necessity of using SA as a medium of instrcution at university, the data provided through the next bar graph put more light on the participants' positions.

Figure 4.10. The Participants' Positions towards Arabic a Language of Development and a Global Language
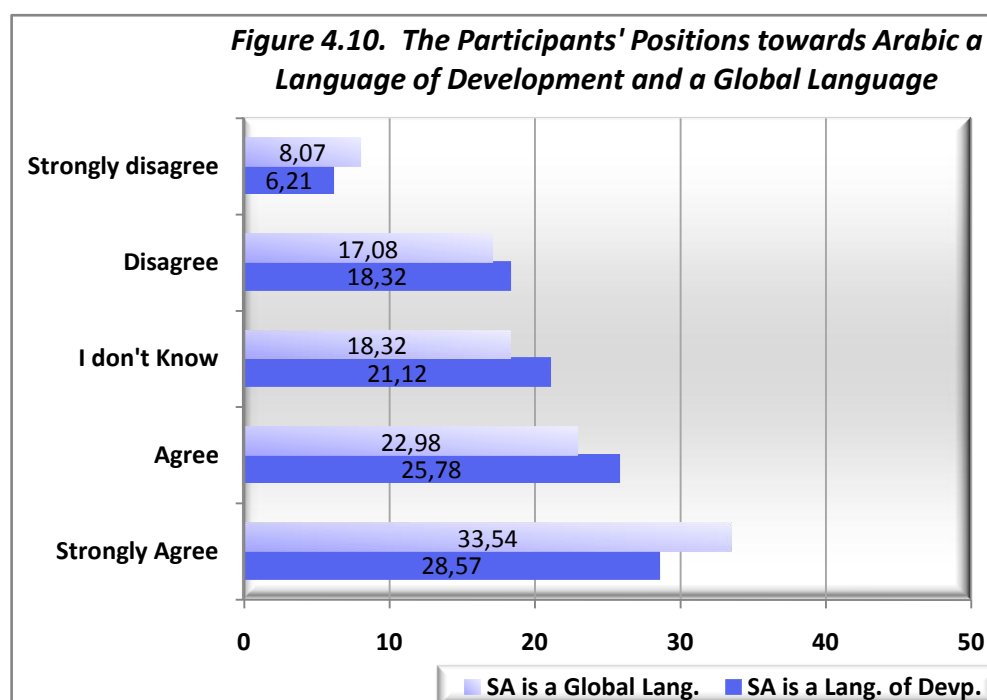
As clarified by the data in the preceding figure, the highest rate was signaled by the participant's positive perceptions to SA a global language and a language of development, with a total percentage of 62,11 % of the sample size, including 33,54 % who strongly agreed with the former and 28,57 % with the latter.Moreover, 22,98 % of

the participants agreed with SA a global language, and 25,78 % with SA a language of development, both making a sum of 48,76 %. So, it was noticed that more than half the sample size agreed with both statements. However, those who were neutral and showed no attitudeabout SA as a global language made a percentage of 18,32 %, as opposed to 21,12 % with SA a language of devlopment. In contrast, nearly one fourth of the sample size disagreed with the two items, more exactly, 18,32 % and 17,08 % diasgreed, while 6,21 % and 8,07 % strongly disagreed with SA a language of development and SA a global language respectively.

The findings obtained from the varied sample of the participants reflected to a high extent their positive peceptions of Arabic in general, and SA more specifically. When comparing the participants' attitudes towards the most suitable language for globalisation, and the language of development and prosperity with theirs in this section, it could be noticed that nearly similar findings were recorded. As to the former, 183 participants, i.e. 56,83 % of the sample size, opted for SA which scored the second position after English. In the latter, 177 participants, i.e. 54,97 %, placed SA in the second position, again after English. In the present section,56,52 % of the survey's sample size considered SA a language of globalisation, and 54,35 % agreed with SA a language of development. This is reflecting to some extent the conformity of the findings. However, further validity could be achieved by revealingthe participants' attitudes towards the other languages in specific contexts, mostly AA and French as described in the following sections.

4.3.1.10. Attitudes towards AA a Medium of Instruction

The participants' positions about AA was an important link in the chain of this research, because first, it wasrecommended as a medium of instrcution by some linguists and policy makers, and then, it has always been of a significant wide use in different daily life domains. After revealing the participants' attitudes about the status, use and significance of SA, the data collected from this question showed the second face of the coin. As represented in the following bar graph, the question aimed to shape the participants' perspectives about the use of AA as a medium of instruction in the three cycles of pre-university education. The findings reflected the participant's strong disagreement, as in the graph.

Figure 4.11. Attitudes about the Use of Algerian Arabic as a Medium of Instruction in Primary, Middle, and Secondary Education
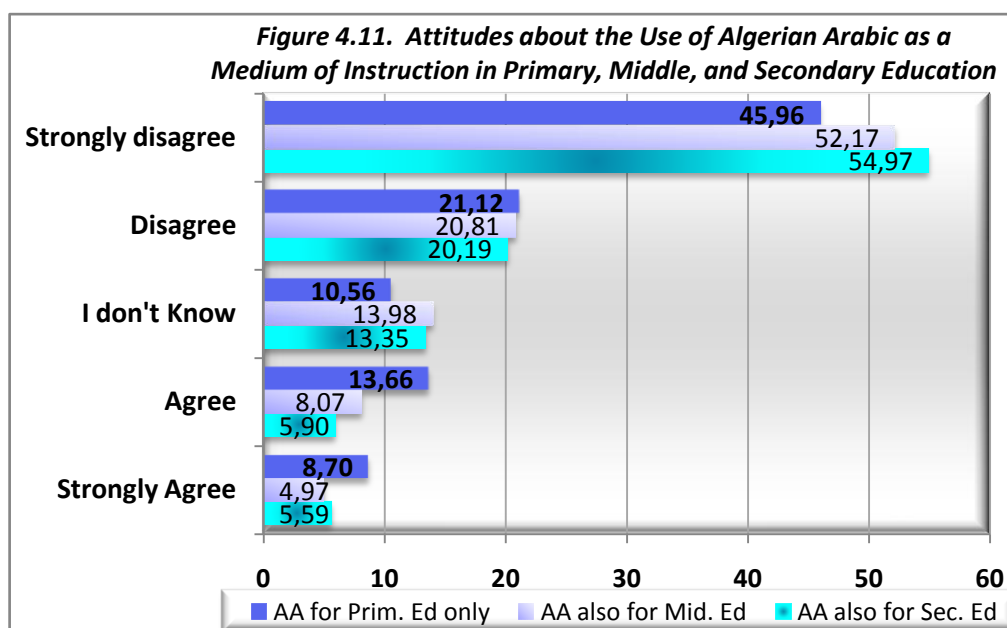
The majority of the participants rejected the use of AA as a language of education, just as expected. Negative attitudes towards AA medium of instrcution did not concern only the primary cycle but middle and secondary levels too. Those who strongly disagreed made the highest percentage followed by those who disagreed, those who were neutral, and then by those who agreed and strongly agreed. According to the data presented in the preceding graph, 45,96 %, 52,17 %, and 54,97 % of the sample size strongly disagreed with AA a medium of instruction in primary, middle, and secondary education respectively. In addition, 21,12 %, 20,81 % and 20,19 % of the sample size disagreed with all the three above stated items. However, those who claimed they did not know rated from 10,56 % to 13,66 %. Last but not least, those who showed positive attitudes made different proportions, recording 13,66 %, 8,07 %, 5,90 % who agreed and 8,70 %, 4,97 %, and 5,59 % who strongly agreed with those items, exactly following the above stated order.

Comparing this section's results with the precedings', it could be noticed that AA scored different rates. When asked about the language which is authentically the most spread in pre-university education (see 4.3.1.4), AA scored the second position, after SA, with a percentage of 40,99 %, but as the most suitable language of pre-university education (see 4.3.1.5), AA was given the fourth position after SA, English, and then French, by 25 participants, exactly 7,76 %. Surprisingly however, calculating the mean percentage of those who agreed (including those who strongly agreed) with

the use of AA as a medium of instrcution in all the three levels has given nearly the same preceding percentage, exactly 7,82 % as clarified in the next table:

*Table 4.10.: The Mean Percentage of those who agreed with AA a MI*

	Strongly Agree	**Agree**
AA for Prim. Ed only	8,7	13,66
AA also for Mid. Ed	4,97	8,07
AA also for Sec. Ed	5,59	5,9
Sum	**19,26**	**27,63**
Mean Sum	(/3) = **6,42**	(/3) = **9,21**
Mean perc. of those who agree	(6,42 + 9,21) /2 = **7,82 %**	

Therefore, it could be said that nearly all the participants who revealed their positive attitudes towards AA the most suitable language for pre-university education, are the same who agreed with AA a medium of instrcution in primary, middle and secondary schooling. However, what should be stressed here is the rate of those who agreed and strongly agreed with the use of AA as a medium of instrcution in primary education. It made a total of 22,36 %, i.e. over one fifth of the survey's sample size. So, it could imply that implementing AA as a medium of instrcution in early years of schooling might be more acknowledged and welcomed than in higher levels; middle and secondary education. One might expect the extent of people's acceptance of the use of AA in education if the population was of a bigger size, mostly if claimed to be the most dominant spoken language.

However, many were very clear in justifying their choices in the preceding sections when explaining that AA could not be more than a national spoken language. According to the participants' answers about the most suitable language for pre-university education, AA was the unique choice of only two participants out of 322; a language teacher at university and a post-graduate student. In contrast, it was generally put at second, third and even fourth position. It was preceded by SA, French and/or English in the answers of all the other 23 participants, who viewed that AA could be a suitable language of pre-university education. Most of them considered AA as the easiest and the most familiar language that could be used to simplify oral interaction or to explain difficult tasks, mostly for children in their early years of education. Hence, it could be deduced that the notion of using AA as a medium of instruction was not very adequate, up to most of the participants' answers.

4.3.1.11. Attitudes towards the Generalisation of Tamazight

Since the official recognition of Tamazight, the policy of its generalisation in education and administration has been between pros and cons. Therefore, the researcher attempted to verify the participants' perceptions of the issue, focussing on education, administration and internal affairs, after having an idea about that in the section concerning their attitudes about the most suitble language. The data collected showed that most of the participants had negative perceptions of the generalisation of Tamazight in all the suggested contexts, but mostly in education, just as with AA in the last question. The rest of the participants consisted of those who were indifferent and those who showed positive perceptions. The following bar graph provides more insight about the participants positions towards the issue.

Figure 4.12. Extent of Agreement on the Generalisation of Tamazight in Education, Administration and Internal Affairs
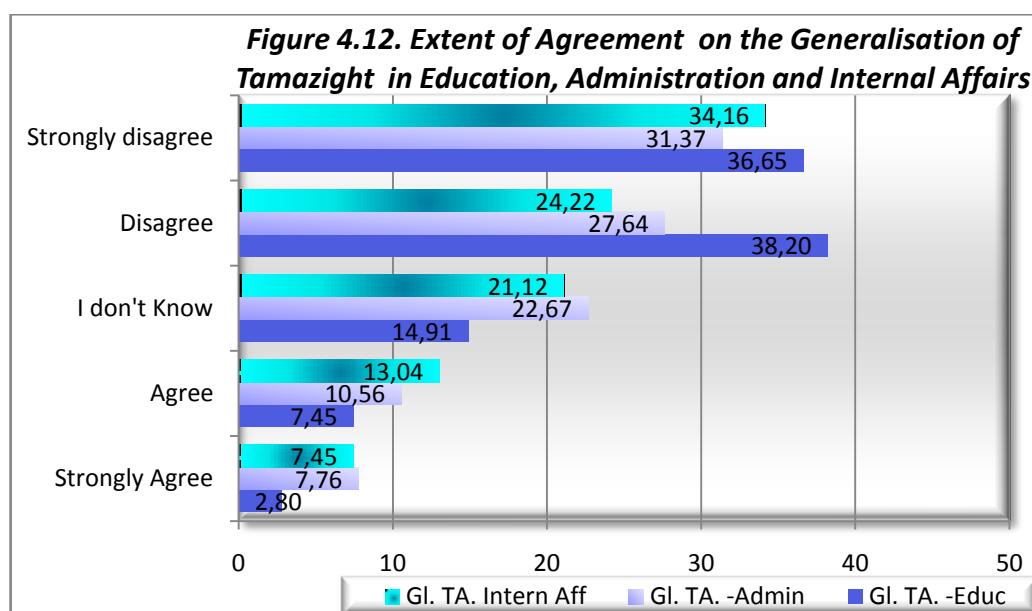
Regarding the results reported on the preceding graph, the participants who rejected the generalisation of Tamazight in pre-university education, administartion and internal affairs made the largest mass, with total percentages of 74,84 %, 59,01 % and 58,39 %, respectively, including those who disagreed and strongly disagreed. In the same respect, 14,91 %, 22,67 % and 21,12 % of the total survey's sample size showed neutral attitudes. However, less proportions agreed and stronly agreed, as clearly recorded in the above displayed graph. While 7,45 %, 10,56 %, and 13,04 % of the sample size agreed, 2,80 %, 7,76 %, and 7,45 % strongly agreed.

However, when compared with the findings obtained in section 4.3.1.5, it was noticed that more participants showed positive perceptions of Tamazight. To remind, only 14 particpants viewed Tamazight as the most suitable language for pre-university education, 18 for administration and 40 for conducting internal affairs. However, if reporting the exact numbers in this section instead of percentage, 33 participants agreed for the generalisation of Tamazight in education, 59 for administration, and 66 for internal affairs. On the one hand, even though some participants showed different opinions about Tamazight as the most suitable language, they did not oppose its generalisation since recognised as the official language. On the other hand, not all those who showed positive attitudes in the present section spoke Tamazight or a Berber dialect. Many of them stated Arabic as their mother tongue, and claimed that they did not know or master Tamazight as clarified in the following table:

Table 4.11.: Details about those who agreed with the Generalisation of Tamazight

Agree with :	T. generalisation in Pre-university education (33)	T. generalisation in Administration (59)	T. generalisation in Internal Affairs (66)
Num./ Mother tongue	20 → Arabic / the Arabic language	35 → Arabic / the Arabic language	40 → Arabic / the Arabic language
	04 → AA / Darija	08 → AA / Darija	09 → AA / Darija
	07 → Kabyle	10 → Kabyle	10 → Kabyle
	02 → Tamazight	06 → Tamazight	07 → Tamazight
Mastered Tamazight	07 participants	12 participants	12 participants

As clarified in the preceding table, not all the 22 participants who claimed they were from Berber origins and spoke Tamazight (mostly Kabyle) as a mother tongue were for its generalisation in one or more of the above stated contexts, and not all those who showed positive attitudes mastered it. Participants 26 from Boumerdes, and 295 from Tazmalt (Béjaïa), for example, both stated Kabyle as their mother tongue and had different perceptions of the issue. Both were university teachers and researchers, and claimed they had doctorat degree. The fromer strongly disagreed with the three items, and the second agreed with generalising the use of Tamazight only in administration. The findings could mean that Tamazight has not yet reached enough acceptance to be generalised in the stated contexts, even though recognised as official and many of the participants considered it a language of identity and national unity as presented in the preceding sections.

However, it could be implied after describing the data of the preceding sections that Tamazight was neither viewed as a language of science nor of development, just as AA. Both were generally described by the majority of the participants as functional language in daily contacts. In contrast, SA, "the" official and national language par excellence scored higher rates in similar contexts in most of the preceding sections, as a language of education, administration, religious rituals, etc, even though mostly in written and formal practices. Yet, contemporary language issues in Algeria might cause some expectations about the language policy that the Algerian government would follow in the future to promote development and prevent conflicts. More details are provided through analysing the data of the next sections.

4.3.1.12. The Participants' Perceptions of the Future Official Language

Starting from this section, the researcher attemptted to know more about the population's expectations about the future of language planning in Algeria. The main question here was about the official language of the country and whether the participants agreed on keeping the state bilingualism proclaimed in the present-day constitution, shifting back to the last constitution, replacing SA with AA along with Tamazight, or limiting it to this latter. As clarified in the following bar graph, most of the survey's sample size opted for either maintaining the contemporary language policy or shifting back to the habitual monolingualism that has lasted for many years. From around one fourth to one fifth of the selected sample were neutral, while the rest of the participants rejected the other suggestions. The next figure could be more descriptive.

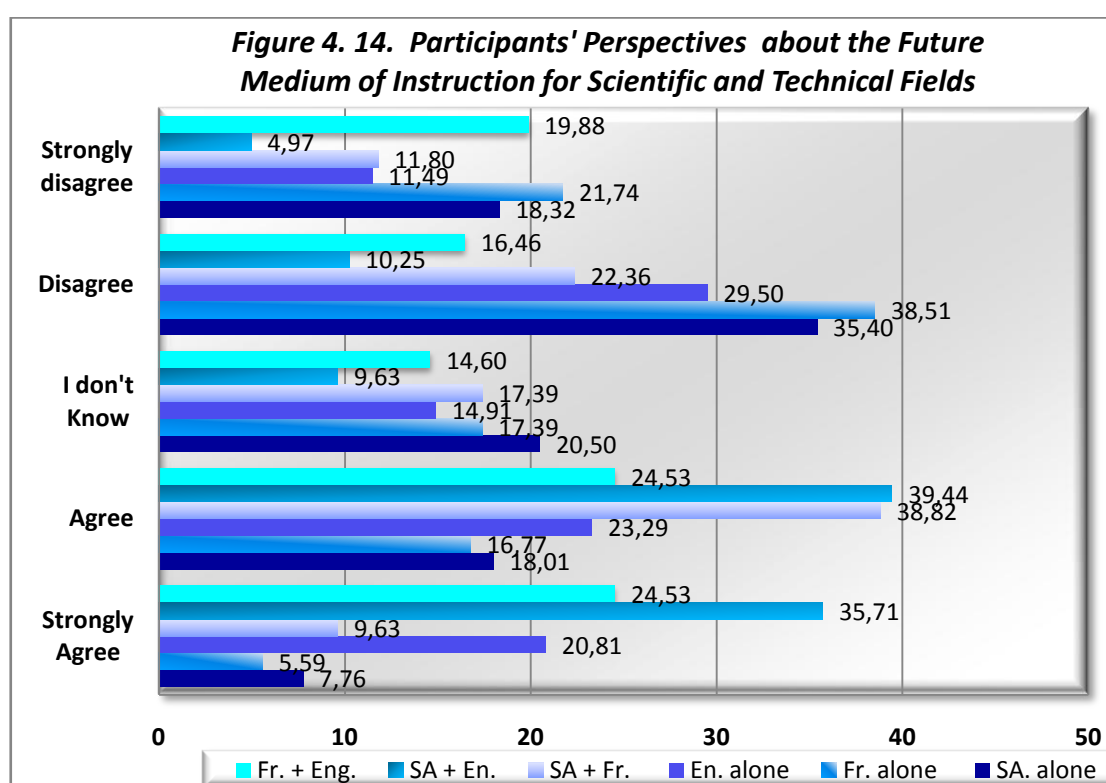Figure 4.13. Participants' Favourite Official Language
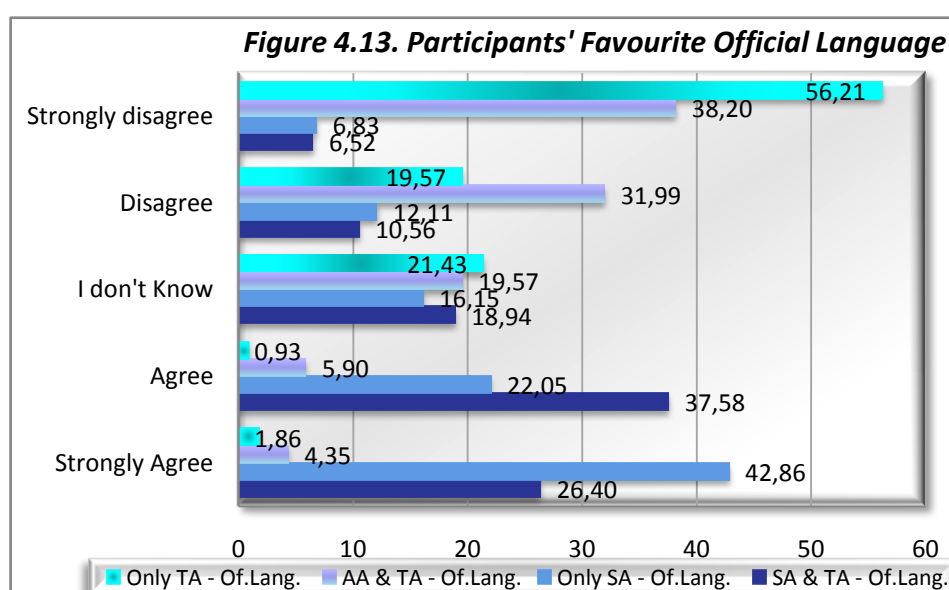
According to the findings, a total sum of 63,98 % of the sample size agreed with keeping SA and Tamazight the official languages of the State, while 64,91 % favoured shifting to SA the only official language. However, it was noticed that among the above stated sums, nearly 2/3 of the former agreed while 2/3 of the latter strongly agreed. When it came to the two other suggestions, exactly 10,25 % was the total percentage recorded by the participants who agreed with having AA and Tamazight as official languages, while a sum of 2,80 % represented those who agreed with limiting the official language of the state to Tamazight only. As to those who showed neutral attitudes, they were 18,94 %, 16,15 %, 19,57 % and 21,43 % for each of the present policy, the preceding one, a shift to AA and Tamazight and a new monolingual policy in favour of Tamazight. All the rest of the sample were divided into those who disagreed and strongly disagreed with the above-stated order, recording a total percentage of 17,08 %, 18,94 %, 70,19 %, and 75,78 %. So, around ¾ of the selected sample rejected any shift to AA & Tamazight or to only Tamazight, noting that the majority strongly disagreed.

Accordingly, the selected population seemed to have strong positive feelings towards the official and national language stated in the constitution since the independence of the country, as they did not oppose the present-day language policy. Besides, they showed positive attitudes towards AA and Tamazight as symbols of national unity and identity, and as languages of public contacts. They also regarded the usefulness of French and English in specific contexts, not to repeat them here. This could imply a degree of validity and reliability, if compared with the findings of the preceding sections, where SA scored higher rates, except as a language of science and technology. Therefore, the following section was designed to suggest any future change concerning the eduational policy, rather than to verify the participants' perceptions of SA a medium of instruction in fields of sciences and technology.

4.3.1.13. Participants' Perception of the Future MI in ST Fields

The medium of instruction in technical and scientific fields, as one of the major concerns in the Algerian language policy, has already been dealt with in the preceding sections when discussing the most suitable language for such domains and when investigating the issue in comparison with letters and humanities. In this section, the researcher aimed to know more about the participants' perceptions of any possible

change of the medium of instruction in ST fields at university. Therefore, the suggested items were varied, proposing a monolingual vs. a bilingual system of study. The first three items were restricted to one language only; SA, French or English, whereas the three last ones proposed the use of Arabic-French, Arabic-English, or French-English to teach such fields. The findings determined the participants' interest in the implementation of English as a co-medium of instruction in the faculties of sciences and technology. The majority were for the use of SA with English, nearly half the sample size were for SA with French, French with English or English alone, as reported in the bar graph that follows.

Figure 4. 14. Participants' Perspectives about the Future Medium of Instruction for Scientific and Technical Fields

The preceding figure was an image of the participants' perspectives about the probability of any future implementation of a new teaching policy in the technical and scientific fields at univeristy, yet reflecting authenticity to some degree. It is blatantly seen that the majority agreed and strongly agreed with the use of English as a medium of instruction along with SA, recording a total percentage of 75,15 % of the sample size. The participants agreed also with the use of English-French, SA-French, and English alone, each recording a total of 49,06 %,48,45 %, and 44,1 % respectively. When it came to the use of only SA or French, 53,72 % of the participants disagreed and strongly disagreed with the former, and 60,25 % with the latter. Besides, the use of

English alone was also rejected by 40,99 % of the sample size, while 34,16 % and 36,34 % also disagreed with the use of SA-French, and French-English to teach Technical and scientific matters. However, only 15,22 % disagreed with the use of English along with SA as media of instruction. From 10 % to 20 % favoured to classify themselves among those who did not want to show any attitudes.

Hence, the above described findings, mainly if compared with those of section 4.3.1.8, could mean first that perceptions of the use of SA as a medium of instruction in ST fields were positive to a certain extent. In the former, 39.44 % of the survey's sample size welcomed the use of SA to teach ST fields, while in the present one, 25,77 % viewed that it could be by its own a medium of instruction, and from ½ to ¾ the sample believed that it should be used with either French or English. Second, the results might also imply that French was also the favourite choice of nearly ½ the sample size when joined with either SA or English, but of less than the ¼ when suggested alone. In contrast, English was the language that was the participants' favourite medium of instruction in ST fields. Further results are provided in the following table to prove the above stated interpretation by comparing the mean percentage regarding the participants' positive attitudes per language.

*Table 4.12.: Mean Percentage of Positive vs. Negative Attitudes per Language*

(+)	SA			FR			Eng		
	alone	SA+Fr	SA+Eng	alone	SA+Fr	Fr+Eng	alone	SA+Eng	Fr+Eng
Agree	25,77	48,45	75,15	22,36	48,45	49,06	44,1	75,15	49,06
	Σ = 149,37			Σ = 119,87			Σ = 168,31		
Strongly agree	M=Σ/ n =149,37/3 = 49,79			M=Σ/n = 119,87/3 = 39,96 ↓			M= Σ/n = 168,31/ 3= 56,10 ↑		
(-) Disagree	53,72	34,16	15,22	60,25	34,16	36,34	40,99	15,22	36,34
	Σ = 103,1			Σ = 130,75			Σ = 92,55		
Strongly disagree	M=Σ/ n =103,1/3 = 34,37			M=Σ/n = 130,75/3 = 43,58 ↑			M= Σ/n = 92,55/ 3= 30,85 ↓		

The results reported in the preceding table strengthened the probability of the implementation of English as a medium of instruction in scientific and technological fields. It could be said that the participants' perceptions of SA and English as media of instruction in ST fields represented a sign of a demand of change and a rejection of the traditional policy. Along the preceding sections, the results proved that the participants

were in favour of a more spread of SA, the official language, and English, the global language. Therefore, a future change of the university language policy, at least at the level of scientific and technical fields, would be recommended. However, English has not yet reached such a great acceptance among Algerians that it will easily replace French in different domains; it is not a matter of displacing a language or implementing another, but rather of following a well-planned policy. So, if English is highly recmmended at the level of univeristy, the following section will verify the extent of its acceptance at the level of administrations and national education.

4.3.1.14. Attitudes towards a more Spread of English

The use of English as a medium of instrcution in scientifc and technical fields at university was discussed in the preceding sections. In this section, however, the main objective was to know the extent of the participants' acceptance of the use of English in national education and in public administration. The item concerning English in ST fields in this section was added merely to make the comparison with the other domains clearer, and the findings confirmed the paticipants' positive attitudes towards that. As to the two other items, the question was based on the idea of a more spread of English that it would become the language of national education and public administration. Therefore, the data reported that more than half the sample size showed positive attitudes towards English the language of pre-university education. In contrast, the majority rejected the use of English in public administration. In comparison with the teaching of sciences and technology that scored the highest rates in the options 'agree' and 'strongly agree', the interval with the other items was very clear. The table that follows provides exact data.

Figure 4.15. : Attitudes towards a More Spread of English
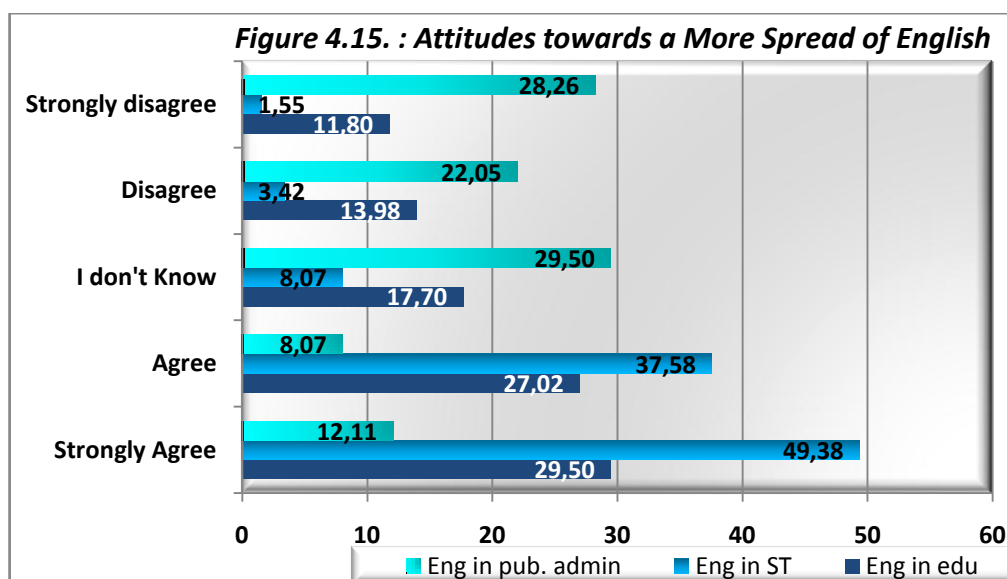
When a total percentage of 86,96 % of the sample size agreed with the implementation of English in ST fields, the sum of 56,52 % did with pre-univrsity education, noting that most of them strongly agreed. However, only 20,11 % showed positive attitudes towards the use of English in public administration. Those with neutral perceptions of the use of English in public administration, national education and ST fields made percentages of 22,05 %, 13,98 % and 3,42 % respectively. Last but not least, participants with negative attitudes towards the items just stated made 50,31 %, 25,78 %, and 4,97 % of the sample size.

From these findings, it could be deduced that the participants' positions towards the use of English have been more positive than negative, perhaps because many Algerians have adapted the idea that English has achieved in the last years such a degree of global acceptance and prestige that many have learnt it, for a reason or another. However, the possibility of replacing French with English in education and in public administration, though welcomed, might require more time to be put into action; this if planned as a language policy. To verify and confirm these results, the focus in the following question was on the future status of French providing some data for more clarifying the participants' perceptions.

4.3.1.15. Expectations about the Future Status of French

As just explained, the main objective of this question was rather to confirm the participants' positive attitudes towards French *vis-à-vis* English and Arabic. The options

that were suggested turned around keeping the current status of French, displacing it and using Arabic instead, or replacing it by English. The participants' expectations shaped a closer image to the authentic situation, providing some clarifications, as displayed in the following graph.

*Figure 4.16. Attitudes towards the Future of French in Algeria*
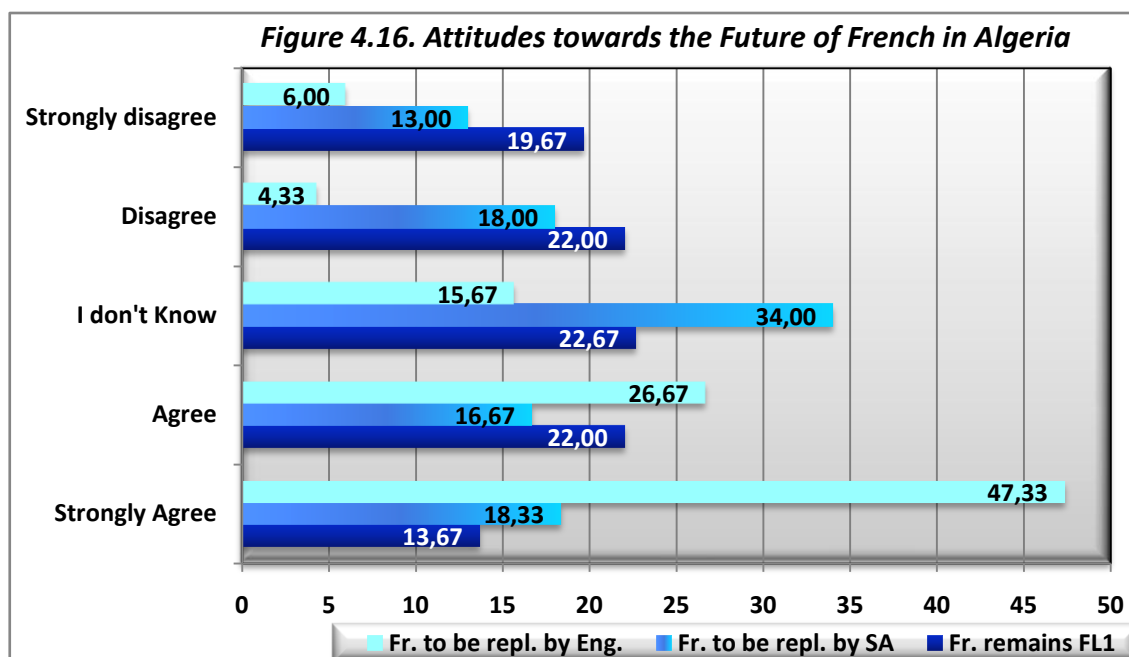
The participants who made the majority were those who showed positive attitudes (agree and strongly agree) towards replacing French by English, with a total percentage of 74 % of the sample size. In contrast, those who disagreed and strongly disagreed with the same item, represented the lowest percentage; 10,33 %. However, it was noticed that those who agreed with keeping French as the first foreign language made equal percentage with those who disagreed, and a close one to those who were indifferent, as presented in the figure; all around 22 %. While 13,67 % of the sample size strongly agreed with that, 19,67 % strongly disagreed. Besides, the participants' attitudes towards replacing French with SA recorded a balanced percentage, nearly 1/3 of the sample size, if counting those who agreed and strongly agreed (35 %), those who disagreed and strongly disagreed (31 %), as opposed to those with neutral view (34 %).

Accordingly, the position of the participants towards French was similar on the whole in the preceding sections. In their answers about the authentic language situation and the most suitable language, French scored good rates as a medium of instruction in ST university fields and as a language of contacts in health servises, economy and industry. However, in most of the other sections where French was one of the options,

many participants showed negative attitudes towards it, and this could imply that a change in favour of English would be ideal, mostly when verifying the scores recorded by English and SA. So, the participants' expectations about the future status of French revealed more inclinations towards English as a global language, but the results of the following question added more clarifications about the role of globalisation in shaping public perspectives of some major shifts in the country's language policy.

4.3.1.16. Participants' Attitudes towards the Impact of Globalisation

The aim of this question was to know the participants' views about the impact of globalisation, highlighting the officialisation of Tamazight, the spread of English, the use of French in political discourses, and last but not least any future shift in the State's language policy and planning. Results, revealed that most of the participants agreed with the second and the last items, but not with the others, as graphically demonstrated in the following figure.

Figure 4.17. The Participants' Attitudes towards the Impact of Globalisation
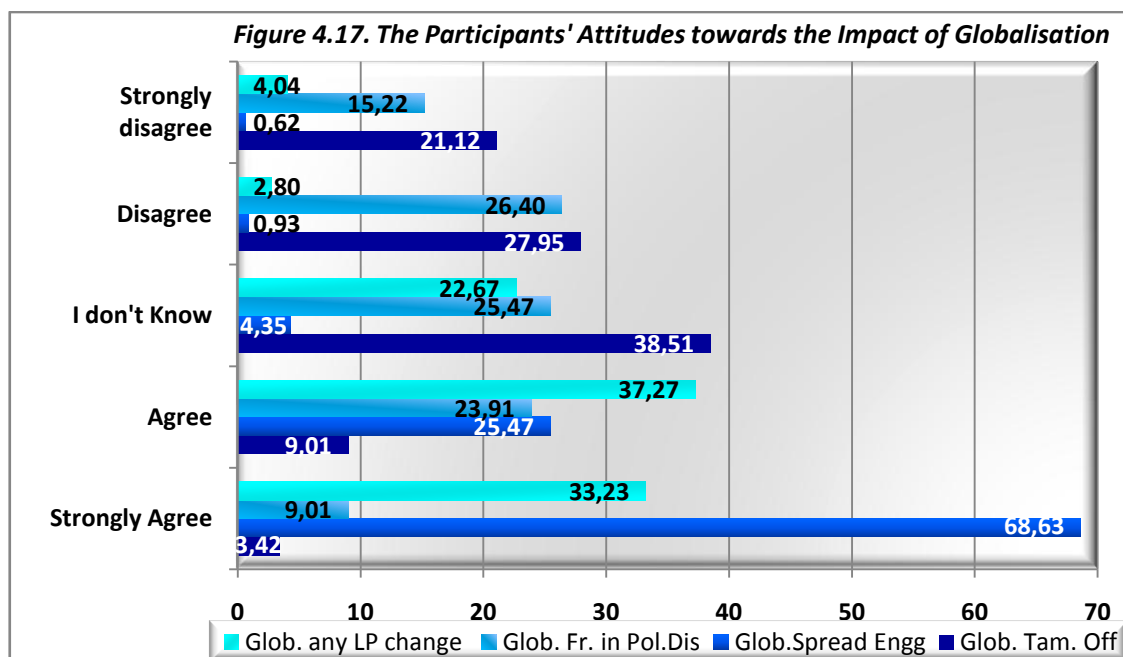
That globalisation has boosted the spread of English as a global language is a very common concept. Similarly, the findings showed that the survey's sample population also agreed with that, recording a total percentage of 94,10 %, among whom 68,63 % strongly agreed. In contrast, globalisation was considered as the reason of the officialisation of Tamazight by only 3,42 % and 9,01 % who strongly agreed and agreed respectively, as opposed to 38,51 %, 27,95 %, and 21,12 % who were indifferent,

disagreed and strongly disagreed. However, a total sum of 32,92 % viewed that the wide use of French in political discourses might be an effect of globalisation, and 22,67 % stood neutral. Reading the rest of the results made clear that 70,5 % of the sample size agreed and strongly agreed that globalisation would cause any shift in LPP in Algeria, while 25,47 % were indifferent. In sum, the participants' attitudes showed to some extent their awaress about the impacts of globalisation.

4.3.1.17. Expectations about the Future Global Language

The present section was attempted to reveal the participants expectations about the future global language after English asking them to justify their answers. No limited options were suggested, so that the participants could provide their answers freely. A wide range of choices was noticed, yet, 27 participants did not provide any answer, while four others claimed very clearly that they did not know which language could gain the status English has got.Some participants suggested two languages, and so more than 322 answers were recorded. Unexpectedly, the majority opted for Arabic, noting that the same problem of naming and spelling was faced as in the first sections; 'Arabic', *'la langue Arabe'*, 'l'arabe', 'Al`lugha al`arabiya' or *'al`arabiya'*, but it is worth to clarify that it was clear from their answers that they meant SA. Chinese, German, Spanish, French, and otherswere expected to dominate the global linguistic sphere, according to the participants. The findings are displayed in the figure below:

Figure 4.18.: Participants' Expectations about the Future Global Language
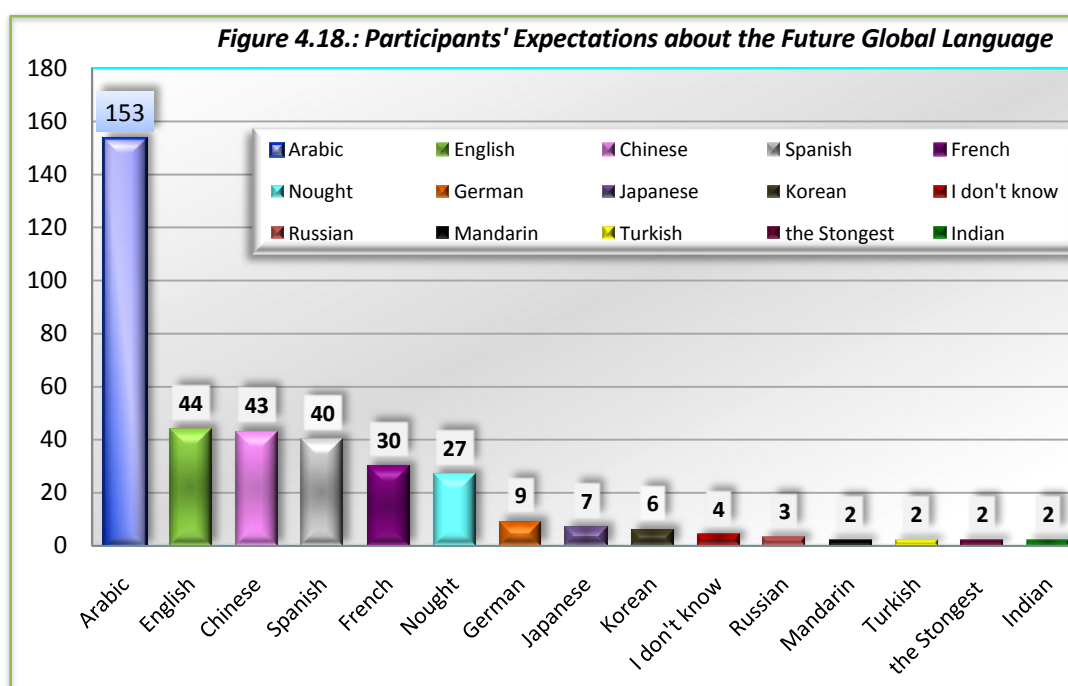
From the data graphically sketched in the figure, it could be summarised that the five top world languages scored the highest rates, Arabic to the fore, followed by English, Chinese, Spanish, and French. Arabic was the choice of 153 participants, most of whom gave the reasons of its spread, and its relation to Islam that is becoming more expanded worldwide. Even though the question was about the language that might achieve the global status after English, the latter was also the choice of 44 participants, who emphasised on its dominance. The other languages supposed to be global were Chinese, Spanish, or French according to 43, 40, and 30 participants, respectively.

The reasons provided differed depending on both the status of the selected language and the participant's perception. Those who were for Spanish or Chinese claimed they did because of their high numbers of speakers, and for the economic growth of China too. The rest of the languages were the choice of 2 to 9 participants, for different reasons. The participants' answers shaped somewhat their perceptions of the future global language, but it also made clear that Arabic and English were put together many times, for being related to a power. The former was described by most of the participants as the language of Islam, the most spreading religion, and the latter as the global language. So, both were connected to constant powers. Some of the participants' reasons are presented in the table below.

Table 4.13.: Mean Percentage of Positive vs. Negative Attitudes per Language

Language	Participant's Reasons
Arabic	- A rich language - very wide spread because of the significant increasing number of the Muslims. - Arabic, not because it is my language, but because it is the only language that hasnot died or disappeared, as it is the language of Quran - Arabic is the language that deserves to be global, because it is a Semitic language, one of the most ancient languages in the world, and it contains sounds and letters that other languages do not.
English	- It will continue to be global for a long time. The spread of a language is tightly linked to social, cultural, economic, and technological growth, which is the case of English. - It is the language of Anglo-Saxon nations; they are at the top of every economic power, besides its simple structure and grammar that make it easier to be acquired than any other language.
Chinese	- Because China and Japan are affecting the world culturally and economically - It is spoken by more than a billion speaker, yet China is an economic power
Spanish	- It is one of the most spoken languages around the world

Other explanations were provided by the participants, whether choosing Arabic, English or another language. However, it was deduced that if English was not stated in the question, the findings might be different. Many considered it as the unchanging global language for its powerful status related to development and economy. So, both Arabic and English have been put at the top of the participants' choices as the future global languages. It is worth noting that 'Chinese, the language of the most leading economic power in the near future', was also a common reason of the participants, though selected by no more than 13,35 %. Apparently, many researchers see that by 2050, China will be the leading economic power. Be it or not, the question is whether Chinese will achieve such a spread, status and acceptance English has. Moreover, this depends on globalisation and the changes it will make.

4.3.1.18.   The Impact of Globalisation on the Participants' Mother Tongue

It is commonly agreed that globalisation has influenced peoples, their cultures and their languages. The Algerians, as well, have usually been complaining about that. Therefore, the participants were asked in this section to describe theinfluence of globalisation on their mother tongue, whether negative or positive, and to explain how it was. It has already been stated that 97,83 % of the survey's sample size have ticked up one of the option provided 'positive/negative', among who 59,32 % have explained their answers. Seven participants, i.e. 2,17 %, did not provide any answer, while 154 claimed that the impact was negative making a percentage of 47,83 %, and 161, i.e. 50,00 %, said that it was positive as graphically presented in the next figure.

Figure 4..19.: The Impact of Globalisation the Participants' Mother Tongue
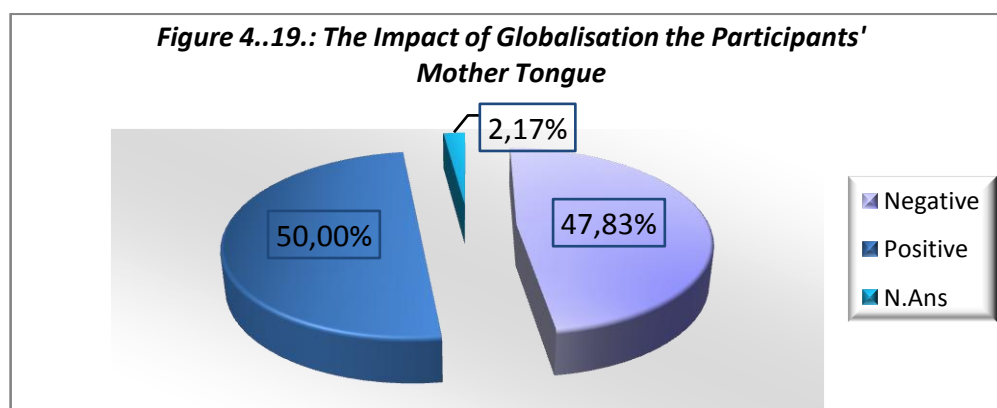
Although the study was not related to age, gender's attitudes differences or linguistic variation, the researcher wanted to know, as an extra step, whether the impact

of globalisation was general or specifically on one category. The group of the participants who claimed that their mother tongues were negatively influenced consisted of 44,16 % males and 55,84 % females. However, those who felt the impact was positive were 47,83 % males and 52,17 % females. Concerning age, 110 participants (71,43 %) in the former group and 112 (69,57 %) in the latter were aged from 17 to 35, as opposed to 44 (28,57 %)and 49 (30,43 %), respectively, who were more than 36[112].So, globalisation affected more younger participants than elder, and more female than male, both positively and negatively, based on the preceding findings. However, if compared with the total sample of the survey, which consisted of more female than male as well as more young than old respondents, both genders and different ages are influenced, whether positively or negatively. The comparison provided in the following table clarifies more the idea.

Table 4.14.: Positively vs. Negatively Affected Groups vis-à-vis the Total Sample

Respondents' group	Female/ %	Male/ %	Aged 17-35 / %
Total sample	54,97 %	45,03 %	71,12 %
Group negatively affected	55,98 %	44,16 %	71,43 %
Group positively affected	52,17 %	47,83 %	69,57 %

It can be noticed that the interval is small between negatively and positively affected participants, and regarding the complete sample too. Besides, the participants' explanations to the impact have been more explicit and described the extent of the influence. Most of the participants who considered the impact as negative claimed that they noticed, to some extent, a loss of vocabulary in their mother tongue because of the use of other languages, a change in educational programs because of cultural globalisation, and many other statements. In contrast, those who believed that it was positive argued that globalisation pushed them to discover more foreign languages or cultures, and spread theirs, while most of them said that they became more caring about maintaining their language and defending their identity. Some said frankly that they could neither know if positive or negative, nor even identify the reasons. A screenshot

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[112] The percentage of gender and age were counted on the basis of the negative vs. positive impacts of globalisation (i.e. 154 vs. 161) not on the survey's sample size (322).

taken randomly from the original summary of the participants' answers provide by Google Form in presented in the figure that follows.

*Figure 4.20.: A Screenshot of the Participants' Answers from Google Form*

you will see that each nation has a dominant native and official language so it encourages us to preserve our native language

I don't use arabic most of time because the context doesn't necessitate using it

I don't see a positive impact because we don't use our mother tongue arabic. What is negative is that globamisation doesn't improve the use of arabic

Je tiens toujours à respecter et mieux valoriser ma langue

It did not effect my language but even improove it

قناعتي الشخصية بلغتي الأم لا يمكن التأثير فيها

I started to notice the weakness of English and the sophisticated nature of Arabic

زادني تمسك بالعربية

mobilisez les sens national concernant la langue Arabe Classique(ou est notre langue), et réduire l'utilisation de la langue Française

l'arabe dialectal n'a aucun lien avec la mondialistaion

زادني أكثر تشبثا بلغتي مع احترام اللغات و الشعوب الأخرى

اكتشفت جمال لغتي أكثر فأكثر . فتمسكت بها أكثر

jcp -_-

Parceque je ne peux pas utiliser ma langue maternelle dans mes études

Summarising this idea, the above-stated findings confirmed the impact of globalisation on the mother tongue of the participants. The participants' answers indicated, on the one hand, their admiration for their mother tongue as well as their concern and desire to maintain and preserve it. On the other hand, they showed their will to attend globalisation and to spread their language. Whether in Arabic, English or French, many participants expressed their regret to the lack of the use of their mother tongue in studies, and in other contexts. Trying to interpret claims like 'globalisation ...does not improve the use of Arabic', 'Where is our language?', or 'because I can't use my mother language in my studies', it could be realised that they meant they would like if it was possible. Besides, statements like '...it encourages us to preserve our native language', 'I become more attached to my language', 'I started to notice ...the sophisticated nature of Arabic', and many others might mean steps of change. Whether negative or positive, it could be evident that signs of a future change have become undeniable. Globalisation has not only influenced people's languages, brought foreign

words, or fused external cultures, but it has changed ways of thinking, beliefs and convictions too. Hence, it seemed interesting to discover their point of view about any globalisation impact on the future language policy of the country.

4.3.1.19. Globalisation andthe Future Algerian LPP

The last question of the first survey aimed to discover the image of the future language policy of Algeria through the participants' views. They were asked more precisely about any influence of globalisation on the country's LP in the coming years. Three options were suggested: 'yes', 'no', and 'probably'. More than 99,5 % of the sample size answered the question, divulging their perceptions about the impact of globalisation on the future of Algerian language policy. The majority viewed that globalisation would influence the future LP of the country, as displayed in the following pie chart.

Figure 4. 21.: Participants' Perspectives about any Future Impact of Globalisation on Algerian LPP
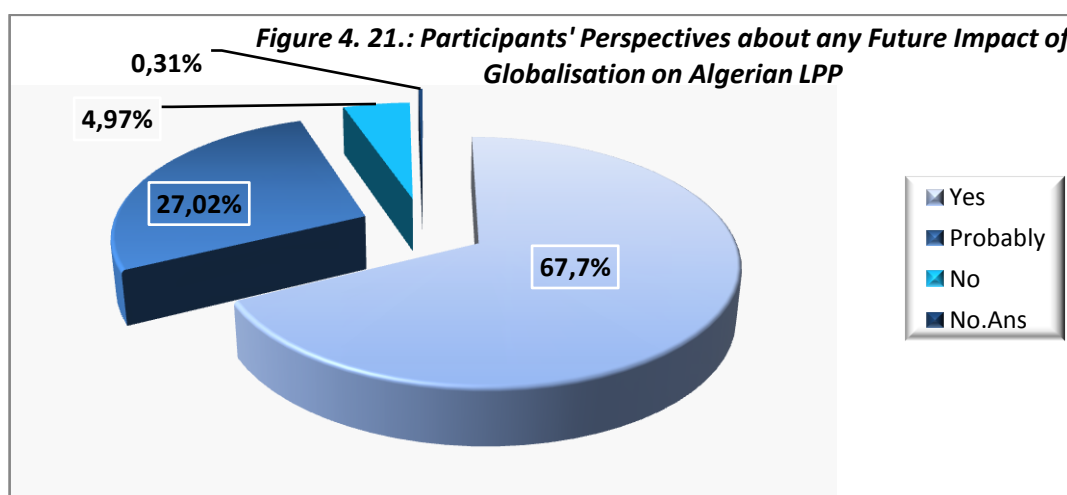
The preceding findings indicated that most of the participants, i.e. 67,7 %, seemed convinced that the future Algerian language policy would be affected in a way or another by globalisation, as opposed to a small proportion of 4,97 % who did not expect any influence. However, those who were less sure made a percentage of 27,02%, reminding that one participant, the equivalent of 0,31 %, did not tick any of the suggested options. So, if taking into acount those who selectedthe 'yes', and 'probably' options, it could be deduced that almost all the participants expect a change in, or a future globalisation impact on the Algerian language policy, mostly when reviewing their answers to the preceding sections.

As a final step of the findings' description, three main (points could be kept in mind/) conclusions were achieved. First, the participants' preferences were different from their daily language practices, which could imply that they would use more freely their favoured languages in many contexts, if it were possible. Second, the participants' description of the contemporary Algerian linguistic situation was very authentic, reflecting, on the one hand, their perceptions of the current language policy, and on the other, their awarness of different issues. Third, their attitudes towards SA, in comparison to the other existing languages, were generally positive, notably as the language of the State par exellence, the medium of instruction, and the working language in administration. Last but not least, their perceptions of globalisation and its impact as well as their expectations of a future change were confirmed.

4.3.2.   Analysis of the Second Survey

The second survey was an additional step of confirmation, focussing on the suggestions of implementing AA as a medium of instruction and of replacing French with English, as they were the most possible shifts that could occur in the future Algerian language policy. The present survey was used as a quantitative method, to verify the major findings of the first survey, and discuss the impact of globalisation on the future of the Algerian language policy. For more validity, another sample was selected at random, involving 350 participants, but not even taking into account their demographic data, as previously explained. The questions were addressed directly to the sample who shared the survey and replied very quickly, providing the data presented in the bar graph that follows:

Figure 4. 22.: SII -Participants Position towards AA as a Medium of Instruction and Replacing French with English
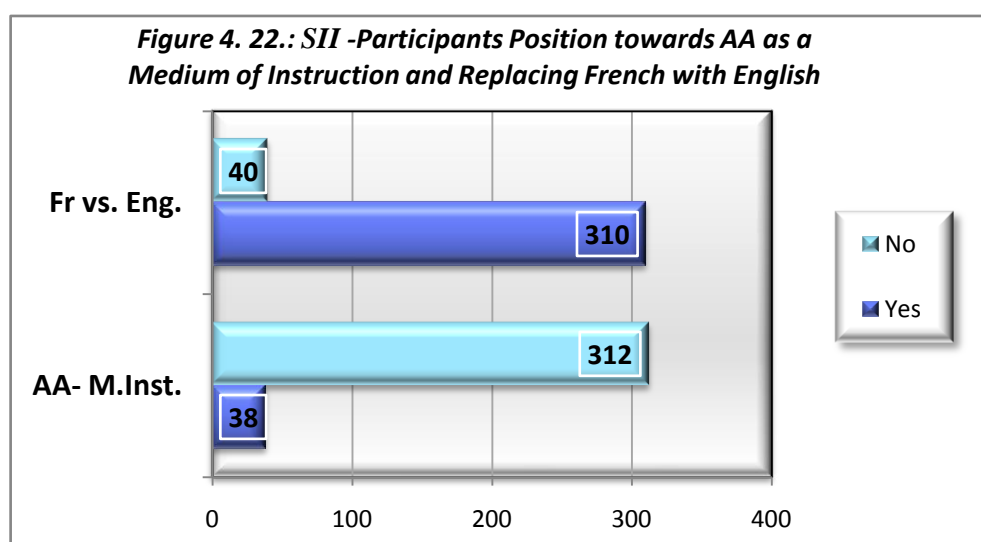
To verify the findings obtained in the first survey, notably those concerning the possible future shifts in the Algerian language policy, the sample was changed intentionally to know attitudes of other participants. It could be noticed that 312 participants, equivalent to 89,14 %,refused the implementation of AA as a medium of instruction, while 310, i.e. 88,57 %, accepted replacing French with English. In contrast, 38 participants, i.e. 10,86 %, were for the first idea, and 40 participants, equal to 11,43 %, were against the second. So, when comparing the attitudes of the first and the second surveys' samples towards the status and the use of SA, English, AA and French, not a great difference was found.

On the one hand, AA was rather viewed by most of the participants in the first survey as a symbol of identity and national unity, or a language of daily contact. However, it was moderately present, in the participants' description of the authentic linguistic situation, as a means of oral communication wherever necessary, such as in public administration, political discourses, health service and pre-university education. However, the mean percentage of those who agreed and strongly agreed with AA as a medium of instruction in pre-university education was 15,63 %, among who the majority were for its use only in primary schooling. Besides, re-examining the participants' answers revealed that 51,85 % of those who claimed that they used AA in their studies showed negative attitudes when it came to language preferences. Therefore, this could imply that most of the participants, in both samples, did not agree with implementing AA as a medium of instruction, even though authenticity has usually reported its wide use at the level of oral interaction.

On the other hand, the majority of the participants showed negative attitudes towards French and welcomed its replacing with English, in reference to the findings in both this section and the former. While French scored higher rates as the most spread language authentically in scientific and technological fields at university, English was viewed as the most suitable means for that. Besides, French also recorded a decline of 40,11 % when it came to language preferences, regarding those who claimed that they used it habitually in the same domains. Revisiting the preceding survey's findings about the participants' perceptions of the future medium of instruction in ST Fields, 60,25 % of the sample size refused the use of French alone for that, but 49,06 % and 48,45 % agreed for its use with English or SA respectively.

In contrast, most of the participants, i.e. 75,15 %, were for the use of English with SA, while 44,1 % accepted but40,99 % refused the use of English alone as a medium of instruction. In view of that, it could be deduced that the use of French was rejected as a medium of instruction in ST Fields, even though it has always been the case. Most of the participants were for the spread of English instead of French, not only in education, but also in the other suggested contexts as revealed by the findings of the preceding survey, which reflected a step for a future change. The participants' perspectives of French and its wide spread in some domains, in comparison to SA and English, were also a sign of its necessity as it might remain as the first foreign language, and continue as the language of contact in health domains, and in education. However, their positions towards English were clearly positive.

It has already been stated that this survey has coincided two main periods: the "*Hirak*" and the attempt of Tayeb Bouzid, the ex-minister of higher education, to promote the use of English in universities and scientific research. The former was a long-term protest through which the Algerians made their voice heard in the world. They expressed their rejection to the ex-regime's corruption using many utterances such as "*Yetnahaw ga3!*" (i.e. they should all be removed), which has become famous since then. The expression was suddenly said by a simple young Algerian man[113] during the *Hirak* 2019, who interrupted the news broadcast on Sky News Arabia channel. It has become a slogan and achieved a very quick and wide spread on social media. The *Hirak* has offered a degree of prestige to AA, which has attracted the interest of many people from other countries. Moreover, it could not be denied that the Algerian *Rai* music and songs have achieved a degree of fame in many countries in the world, even without understanding the meaning of the lyrics. In spite of all that, the participants' perspectives of AA as a national spoken variety seemed to be unchanged.

The latter was the online survey done by ex-minister Tayeb Bouzid to investigate the Algerians' insights on enhancing the use of English in Algerian universities. The results' summary was announced overtly, revealing the participants' will to support the teaching of English in all university levels, recording a percentage of

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[113] Sofiane Bekir Turki, aged 33, as a reaction during protests said the stated utterance in 11/03/2019

93,6 % of the sample population in concern. Two national commissions[114] were designed by the Ministry of higher education, in order to put into action the project of enhancing the teaching and the use of English in Algerian universities. This could signify a step towards a change in the university language policy, mainly after receiving a formal document from the Ministry to write the running head of official and administrative documents into English.

In the preceding sections, most of the participants showed positive attitudes towards SA, as well as the implementation of English as a medium of instruction in scientific and technological fields and as a language of economy and development. Correspondingly, results in this section were also compatible, as already explained. Therefore, it could be concluded that data of this section have sustained those of survey one, and the participants' perspectives were not far from the government's plans to introduce a change. Although the change concerning the implementation of English has not yet been put into action in terms of an official educational reform or an overt language policy, but many signs have showed that English is gaining a specific status, mainly at university.

In view of that, there is a great probability of a shift, at least in the educational policy at both pre-university and university education. If the current circumstances continue in the same flow, English will be the medium of instruction in scientific and technical fields; yet, this depends on the policy of the coming government and the decisions it will take. As to AA, it cannot be deleted from oral practices in administration, interaction in education, or official discourse, because it is the spoken language of the greatest majority of the population. It is used mostly to facilitate contact and understanding, in addition to its status as the national language, perhaps the only intelligible variety in all the territory

4.4.   General Discussion

In view of the results achieved through all the research instruments exploited in conducting the present study, a degree of conformity has been noticed, and each part

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[114] See appendix N

has completed the other. After analysing the selected official documents, it is noticed that the most common elements of the different LP paradigms dealt with in the theoretical framework of this study describe some facets of the language policy undertaken by Algeria. The Algerian government has followed the footsteps of the new independent countries that have tried to preserve their national languages and displace the colonisers' to some extent. The objective of Algeria, in the era of decolonisation was its nation-building, and hence it focussed on the major components of national identity and unity. Though criticised of not recognising French and Tamazight, the Algerian efforts to build a strong Algeria were intensive in the first two decades.

It could be noticed that the Algerian government has attempted to give a new shape defining the Algerian cultural aspect, but focussing on the Arab-Muslim character. However, it could neither generalise Arabic for the shortage of teachers, nor stop the use of French because of its wide expansion in different domains and in daily language practices, mostly by the elites. Therefore, it was stated in its first constitution, that French would be used provisionally with Arabic along with the carrying out of the policy of Arabisation. It was previously cited that Fishman confirmed that native languages were generally used in multilingual countries as their symbol of national identity and indigenisation, whereas the coloniser's language was usually kept as a means of wider communication and modernisation, mainly by elites and newly educated people. In fact, it was not easy for Algeria to displace French immediately after independence, as it was not time to promulgate a law recognising Berber varieties, and Arabic was the best choice that could represent the Algerian independent character.

When trying to link the major changes with the new modifications introduced in the Algerian constitution, it became apparent that the amendments regarding language status, even though not often overt, were signifying and significant. Sustaining the status and the preservation of Arabic or Tamazight, on the one hand, and reinforcing the components of national unity, on the other hand, or supporting some of its related factors might indicate that the government has targeted the prevention of language conflicts as well as the protection of the territory from any risk. It has been confirmed in

the second chapter of the constitution[115] that 'in no case may it abandon or alienate a part of the national territory.' For that reason, all formal amendments related to Arabic and/or Tamazight have been accompanied generally by more support to the preservation of the major components of national unity and identity, the conformity of the State's territory as well as its fundamental symbols, such as the national emblem and anthem.

After analysing the selected decrees, three remarks were obtained. First, the two decades of independence were characterised by the government's support to the policy of Arabisation. Second, Arabic was confirmed repeatedly as the unique national and official language of the State, even though other languages were largely spread: French to note in education and administration. Third, the implementation and the control of the policy of Arabisation were very active in the 1970s. It is worth to mention that a stamp of nationalism was noticed to some extent in some texts, such as when declaring officially that the first name of a newborn should be Algerian sounding or that civil servants could not be promoted without adequate mastery of the National language, as well as the repetition of the Arab-Muslim character.

In fact, it is obvious that no language law has been as detailed and strict in the Algerian policy as the law of January 1991 (N 91-5). It set exact dates and strict measures to accomplish the implementation of the policy, but soon delayed because of the socio-political conditions, and the objection of the francophone decision makers, as confirmed through some interviews. The ideology of the governors is very central in guiding and controlling any policy. Therefore, in the era of the presidents who backed arabisation, the policy has been executed, whereas in the period ruled by pro francophonie, it was put back. A twenty-year presidency is fair enough to discard a policy that was about to be accomplished after a long-term implementation, and boost other policies, related basically to the ideology of the one in power.

Such a period is characterised by three main shifts in the country's language policy, among which two were proclaimed by constitution. The first change was the promotion of multilingualism few months after the election of Bouteflika, while the

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[115]Art. 15, in the new constitution (appeared as art. 14 in Constitution 2016, and art.13 in the previous years, but did not exist in the constitutions of 1976, 1963)

second and the third were the recognition of Tamazight as national and then as official, as clarified previously. Subsequently, both changes were sustained by laws or decrees, which appeared in JORA.

From the analysis of qualitative data, it could be said that the period between each formal change and the other in the Algerian LPP was somewhat long, and the time constraints set in JORA were not generally respected. The implementation of arabisation, for example, though systematic and active in the 1970s, was not accomplished in its exact dates. Law 91-05 set July 5th, 2000 as the date for the total arabisation of all levels of education, including university. Although strict measures were set for any use of a foreign language in official documents, French is still used in many administrations. Another illustration might be the recognition of Tamazight as a national language forty years after regaining the official status of Arabic, and as official, fourteen years later. The following figure attempts to explain the time lag between the official changes in LP.

Figure 4.23.: The Lag Time between the Major Shifts in Algerian LPP

All along the six decades, the text of the Algerian constitution has always been clear towards the status of Arabic and generalising its use at the macro level, under whatever conditions. Since its independence, the government has been extending the use of Arabic, though gradually, in all domains. The status of Arabic has been maintained, rather supported, in all the constitutional revisions. This, if considering the official regulations, but authenticity usually reports that there is an inadequate execution of the policy, and hence a lack of the use of the official language, mainly in oral practices. Besides, laws and regulations also have often declared that Tamazight has

been generalised in schools, and in administrations, but the facts of people's refusal, the issue of unintelligibility, and the problem of scripts faced have reversed the formula. In spite of that, the new constitution has also unveiled a new ideology, by maintaining Arabic and Tamazight as the fundamental constants of the Algerian people. So, it could be deduced that the new policy attempts to end all inconsistencies about the language issue in the country.

Thus, in whatever system, some hindrances might generally obstruct the execution of a policy no space has been given formally to any other language. In Algeria, the ideological orientations of decision makers about Arabic have been the rationales either to boost the execution of policy of arabisation or to hinder it. It was very active in the first two decades because of two main factors. First, it was highly supported by the ruling party, the president to the fore, perhaps without whom the extent of arabisation achieved in education and administration would have never been realised. Second, it was widely accepted by the population, since the majority were very nationalist in the onset of independence.

When comparing issues of JORA published in 1970s with some published in the late 1980s, it could be said that the latter completed the former to an extent. That the most important phase of the policy was nearly achieved in the era of president Boumedienne might be one of the reasons of the slow execution of the process in the 1980s. Moreover, the process has also been slowed down since the 1990s because of many reasons as already explained, and the language policy has not been as overt as it used to be, and Tamazight though recognised, has not yet met necessary conditions to function as the language of the State.

It was also deduced that to give the official status means to value a language and boost its significance at all scales. This depends on who is backing the plan, the language's functional and factual status, people's acceptance, as well as the way it is implemented, i.e. 'who plans what for whom and how,' (Cooper, 1989, p. 31). Thus, after reviewing the qualitative data, it has become clear that the Algerian language policy, whether overt or convert, has usually been a prototype of a goals-oriented process. After independence, the main goal was to regain the value of Arabic as the official language of a nation, mostly identified by its Arabic identity for centuries.

Therefore, in its long-term plan, Algeria's language policy has been gradually expanding the use of Arabic at the national level, in almost all domains.

It is significant to note that the ideology of the policy makers or the decision takers is the most important factor in succeeding, accelerating or delaying a process. There are other factors undoubtedly, but the power of such ideologies is nearly manipulating the execution of any policy, in regards to specific intentions. The following points were revealed:

- The extent achieved by arabisation in each period could reflect the intention of the then president and government.
- The policy of arabisation and the recognition of Tamazight as well as their generalisations were top-down decisions in their natures.
- The execution was generally overt.
- The implementation of the policy of arabisation has succeeded to a good extent at the macro scale in many domains, though not yet totally accomplished in others.
- Almost all sectors, even where French is still used, have been concerned with the policy of arabisation, mostly in written practices. According to the law of arabisation modified in 1996, some domains were allowed to use other languages, mainly when dealing with foreign countries.
- That scientific and technical fields at university are not yet totally arabised could mean that the policy has not been adequately applied or followed. However, the process of the promotion and elaboration of Arabic is in progress, according to the two last constitutions, and some JORA issues.
- From the chronology of the key changes analysed so far, it could be deduced that the goal of arabisation, in the era of nation-building, was to preserve national identity and give an aspect to self-autonomy. However, the aim of the recognition of Amazighity and Tamazight has targeted national unity, and the main components of Algerianity. Hence, both policies have responded to some extent the population's needs.
- The promotion of multilingualism might respond to international needs.

From a language planning perspective, both the policy of arabisation and the recognition of Tamazight were top-down. Some practices were covert and others were

overt, according to the objective of the government. As to the evaluation of the policy, it could not be done without relating each regulation to the relevant coexisting facts. Today, education, administration, and many other sectors are arabised, even though French is still used. One cannot deny the drawbacks of the policy and the inadequate implementation of the regulations, but the origins of such weakness should also be wrong practices, inadequate educational programs, for example, or the lack of training. Hence, the future of LPP depends of the past and the present shifts. The chronology of the key changes in the Algerian LPP has put on view that this latter has responded to some extent both the local and international needs.

Through the analysis of quantitative data, the findings revealed that public perspectives, though varied, matched with the qualitative results. If the participants showed positive attitudes towards the use of Arabic in different domains means that the policy of the State has succeeded to a certain extent. If the majority agreed with a maintaining the Arabic language as the official language, it is because they are no more than the product of the policy of arabisation. Most of the participants have graduated from the arabised educational system, and all of them have lived at least the two last decades. Hence, they have witnessed some key changes that have pushed them to accept keeping Arabic as the constant official language of the country, and to agree with replacing French with English. The best instance of that is the last people's protest against the previous government, the Hirak. People have protested in February 2019, against the fifth mandate of the last president, demanding aloud for three main changes: ouster to the fifth mandate, justice against authority symbols, and replace French by English. In fact, change is a life dogma, but time and conditions, along with the power of the governor are the major agents that make it.

4.5. Summary and Conclusions

The Algerian language planning has usually been characterised by being complex and unstable. In the era of nation building, the new independent Algerian government needed to take the challenge and establish an independent State, and had to care about the fundamental components of a strong homogeneous nation; independence, language, and religion. Therefore, after regaining the status of Arabic as the official language, it planned to arabise systematically education and public administration, before it moved to other sectors. After discussing the findings, it has become clear that

the events and the changes that Algeria has lived so far have been a strong rationale for a complicated language situation and an unstable language policy.

On the one hand, the diglossic situation of Arabic, which has always characterised Algeria, is the first reason why Arabic has been the national and official language, just as in the other Arabic-speaking countries. However, the policy of arabisation was the best choice for the country, at least at that time, when there was a need to displace French from the official status, and none of the existing spoken dialects could fit. It is fairly apparent in this study that it is better to give the official status to a standard language of wider communication related to the fundamental components of the nation, than to waste time, efforts and money to standardise a spoken dialect, though national, or officialise a foreign language, mostly of the coloniser. Thus, the Algerian language policy undertaken after independence is seen in this study as adequate.

On the other hand, the need to be integrated in the modern life has led the government to keep using French and promote other foreign languages. The use of French in different domains has left its impact on spoken varieties, and many words have become part of the Algerians' language. Besides, it is not an object to be displaced at any time, for it has penetrated in the linguistic landscape, and many families, mainly in large cities, use it at home. From a language planning perspective, the theories and the modals presented in the first chapter show that the Algerian language policy is a prototype of a goals-oriented approach. However, it has been apparent after discussing theoretical data that the policy of arabisation was not applied by experts and language planners, and not well supervised.

The majority of the participants dealt with in the study showed special satisfaction towards the Arabic language and refused any change at the level of the language of pre-university education and administration. The analysis of findings has revealed that the population wants at the same time to attend globalisation and to preserve Arabic. Hence, it could be said that the first hypothesis was confirmed since the government is elaborating Arabic, and spreading more English, for its role in the worldwide interconnectedness and the wide spread of social media and global technological devices can shape public perspectives more positively.

The findings, both qualitative and quantitative, have unveiled a positive position towards encouraging the translations of scientific and technical fields into Arabic. Thus, the process has been put into action, by experts designed by the government by decree published in JORA. However, not all the population agreed that Arabic is a language of science, but the process is in progress. Hence, the second hypothesis has been confirmed, since all the findings confirmed that neither Algerian Arabic nor Tamazight could be considered as languages of development or science, and hence they cannot respond to all public needs at the national scale, or help the State challenge globalisation.

Because of its religious and cultural value Arabic was highly supported by the participants, and for its international status, English was very required as a language of science and development. However, no formal change has been noticed except some translations and support to a more spread of English. Therefore, if English is a global lingua franca, a language of science that is penetrating in to the language practices, mainly formal, French is a language that has proved its presence as a language of administration for at least a century. Therefore, the third and the last part of the fourth hypothesis are also confirmed, and both languages could be kept for some reasons.

The Algerian decision to officialise Tamazight and its recognition in the constitution as one of the constant components of the nation are signs that the government intends to prevent division or conflicts and it attempts to generalise its teaching to make it accepted at the macro scale. The latter may be caused by Berber activists who call for *'Amazighising'* Algeria. This shows that the first part of the fourth hypothesis is confirmed. Up till now, it is taught as a secondary subject in some regions, even though more than ten years from being taught in schools. It is used in the headings of some documents, and in public administration. More progress is done to standardise it.

Algerian Arabic was refused to be a language of education according to the findings of this study, because it is no more than a spoken dialect. Though it holds the emblem of the Algerian culture, it is neither codified nor standardised. It is commonly known that it is a low variety inseparable of Standard Arabic. It cannot even stand without the rules of the high variety. Though there seem to be some disparities in terms

of vocabulary and pronunciation, but if truthfully viewing the differences, it can be said that they are not very large. Perspectives viewing the institutionalisation of Algerian Arabic compare the case of Algeria to some countries that are home to tens of minority languages. In multilingual nations where such a big number of languages exist, language choice is very difficult to do, and if one language is selected for the official status, great conflicts will rise. In contrast, language planning is carried out to stop conflicts, not to produce them. Moreover, it is not recognised internationally and a language to be implemented for education or in administrations needs to be academic, because it is going to be the language of both written and oral instruction.

Conclusively, within the current critical conditions, a shift in language policy will worsen the situation. In this respect, the government needs to consider the current circumstances before making any decision. Besides, following strict measures in testing and controlling the implementation of a policy is as crucial as the evaluation of the activities involved through any language policy. At the end, it should be said that, Standard Arabic is the language that conveniently suits the Algerian context. What is required is to review the policy of arabisation, correct the mistakes, in order to face the world challenges. The future of Arabic within the haze of global languages and Globalisation cannot be seen as insecure, for it is a significant global language making today its prestige. The Algerian LPP remains at the hands of decision makers.

4.6.   Conclusion

At the end of this research, after analysing and discussing the findings, it has been proved that SA has usually been mostly viewed positively, and that English has been favoured more than French. It is recommended to involve experts in language policy. It is not a matter of competition between languages. SA needs, however, to be maintained as the language of the country in all levels, with supporting the use of foreign languages. Thus, it could be said at the end that Algeria is in need of a policy that preserves the fundamental components of the nation, and then that fits modernity and enables it to make a convenient position with the era of globalisation. Thus, the future of the Algerian LPP remains stable if the current government keeps working as it has started.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The third millennium has been a huge global revolution, referred to as globalisation. It has instigated deep transformations in almost all domains, from simple life styles or ordinary activities, to local and global economic and political powers. Accordingly, human behaviours, ways of thinking, and sociolinguistic practices have been affected, and so, implementing a convenient language policy and planning has become challenging. This has been a central parameter of many studies in the field of LPP, mainly in complex or multilingual contexts, like Algeria. Investigating the major impacts of globalisation on language policies, their future, or on daily sociolinguistic practices requires generally the description of all the factors that amalgamate to contribute to a change, whether positive or negative, and their analysis from different perspectives.

The situation of language policy and planning in Algeria often viewed as problematical, even before the interaction of different global changes, has been the origins of the researcher's assumptions on which this study has been based. As other Arabic-speaking countries, Algeria is known by the linguistic diversity of its people, who consist of Arabophones and Berberophones. Its sociolinguistic background has also confirmed the existence of other languages, among which French is a language of wider communication, and English is in expansion because of its prestige as a global language. In view of that, the researcher's main objective in the present study was to describe the nature of the language policy of the Algerian government, and expect its future within the era of globalisation, from official and public perspectives.

Although it was difficult to document perfectly this research in terms of time and circumstances, some significant findings indicate that the evolution and the practice of the Algerian LPP have usually been very slow but symbolic. It has been clear through the study that the current language situation in Algeria has resulted after many years of numerous interactions paving the way for potential adjustment. Hence, any required change, though time-consuming, is possible and might not be surprising. Yet Globalisation is another direct key factor that has affected LPP in Algeria and thus there is a great possibility of future changes,

mostly in terms of the medium of instruction in education and the spread of English, which may affect the status of French someday.

Language policy, in its broad sense, is undertaken by a state to adjust the status of a language(s) in its territory and solve problems. In view of that, the research suggests that whichever change in LPP in Algeria should be well treated from all angles. It is indispensable for the government and decision makers to care about how to meet language education challenges, and how to instigate and support language policy and planning changes, to endorse the development of Algeria and know how to position its nation within a globalised developed world. However, it is also a prerequisite to be aware of how to preserve its language, culture and identity. In fact, the findings of this study identify several complexities of the actual LPP in Algeria.

On the one hand, the officialisation of Tamazight pose first the issue of which script is suitable and can be accepted; Arabic, Latin or Tifinagh, which are actually used in course-books. Second, since Tamazight is still being standardised and this requires a long term to be done, it is too early to test public acceptance towards Tamazight or evaluate its elaboration, though most of the respondents have shown negative attitudes towards the generalisation of teaching. Moreover, such a shift in the Algerian LPP is endorsing more multilingualism, promoting both dialectal Arabic and the Berber dialects to reach an official status.

Focus in this study was on revealing people's attitudes towards some major shifts in the Algerian policy, pointing out, Arabisation, the officialisation of Tamazight, the spread of French, the need to use English and the possibility to implement Algerian Arabic as a medium of instruction. This has been a step to reveal whether globalisation could cause any change in the Algerian language policy. To answer the research questions and confirm the hypotheses, the mixed method approach has been used, focusing on both qualitative and quantitative methods. The research has not considered all the factors that could interact to cause a change, but few.

After reviewing some relevant literature to define key concepts and the famous models and approaches in the field of LPP, a description of the historical

background of the country was provided to clarify some obscurity about the policy that the government has undertaken after independence. It has stated a chronology of some major events associated to formal changes in language policy, as well as a description of the sociolinguistic situation of the country.

After documenting the evolution of the Algerian LPP, through both the reading of some texts about the history of its language policy and the analysis of some formal decisions selected from the constitution and the official journal, it has become clear that the basic concern of the government was to focus on the policy of arabisation. Other languages were not taken into consideration, though French was highly present in education and administration. Neither the issue of Tamazight, nor the spread of other foreign languages were exposed at the national level, in the era of independence. As for the major activities undertaken by the government in setting out the policy of arabisation, they were very slow at the beginning, very active from 1968 to 1976, somewhat passive during 1980s, and then revitalized in the very beginning of the 1990s, but put on hold in the same period, and then reinstated in the same decade, to be suspended again in the era of the ex-president Bouteflika. Such disturbance in the execution of the policy has delayed the achievement of its major ends.

It could not be denied that the policy of arabisation has succeeded to some extent, mainly in arabising pre-university education, public administration, judiciary domain and other fields. However, it was noticed that the measures taken about the continuity and the control of a policy depend on the nature of the government per se, and the ideology of the decision makers. Therefore, it is deduced that the policy of arabisation has been welcomed and supported in some periods, and hindered in others, but in spite of that, the Arabic language has remained the de-facto language of the State. It has always been the medium of instruction, the formal language of all written practices, and even in some oral communications when necessary. It is undeniable that Algerian Arabic has always been the most used language in the last two decades, French was used in political public discourses in many occasions, and that also

This study have described throughout the findings that the hypotheses got at the outset of research have been confirmed. It has become first unambiguous that

the Algerian language policy and planning did not well apply the policy of arabisation, so that it has carried on a top-down activity that has been for years imposed on nation, without achieving how to develop its policy, i.e. the stage of language elaboration as described by Haugen.

It is worth to note that through the data discussed previously, the spread of Arabic in different domains is a proof that LPP in Algeria could not be a failure, but it has not been well realized in terms of execution and evaluation. Nearly seven decades after setting out the process of Arabisation, still some fields are bilingual; the fact that is widely seen incomplete independence. However, the last decade has been marked by the spread of English as revealed in the findings too. Thus, a change is being introduced gradually, which confirm the hypothesis of a future change.

Through the findings of the study, it has been achieved that many factors have been knitted to produce such a situation, and that blame is not only to lay on the government's policy, though this latter seem to be the most important agent. Therefore, the government endeavoured the implementation of the process of arabisation gradually, without being able to eradicate bilingualism – which is a natural activity because of the authenticity of the existence of many languages in one sociolinguistic context. Therefore, it could neither carry on the policy of monolingualism nor shift to a new monolingual policy, if recognizing Tamazight as the only official language. Therefore, Algeria changes its policy by recognizing Tamazight and promoting foreign languages, notably French and English, but by preserving the Arabic language, up to the formal decisions stated in the constitution.

English has been imposed by the global system, not only on Algeria, for its significance, its relation to the expansion of English-speaking powerful countries, its wide use as a language of science, and for its impact of cultures. The findings have revealed that the sample population agreed with the necessity of sustaining the use English, as a lingua franca. However, the ideology of the Francophones has delayed the spread of English. If it is used in economic and industrial sectors, as well as in higher education, it cannot be described as a language of wider communication, even though the young generation is usually seen as more

frequently using English than French. So, the language of wider use does not depend only on its global status or spread, but there are other internal factors that may change from a nation to another. Such factors may delay the spread of a global language.

It is worth to note that the Algerian current context is not yet ready to replace French with English. The process is in progress, starting by implementing the latter is some specific domains, for its global position. Accordingly, the plan to expand English today can start by stretching awareness among people for the value and the need of global languages, notably English, and preserve national languages. As nations interact mostly across borders and interrelations are of a great importance in modern life, competence in different languages – at least more than one foreign language – becomes a prerequisite, so that some see a common language as a common good. In addition, as a language eminence is so far depending on the number of its speakers, it is highly crucial to preserve one's native language from the risk it might confront under the wave of Globalisation.

As for the major regulations that have appeared so far on the Algerian language policy atmosphere, three major shifts could be noted. The policy of arabisation is the first policy that has always been identified by implementing SA in all domains, and generalising throughout time its use in different processes. Authentically, the execution of this policy has achieved a degree of success, being implemented as a medium of instruction, and instruction and the language of administration par excellence. It might have been more successful, if it were well implemented, controlled and evaluated. However, the process of the elaboration of Arabic that is in progress can be the key of its generalisation in ST Fields, yet if backed by policy makers. Therefore, what could be said is that the ideology of the one in power is the strongest agent to cause a change in language policy; it is the 'who plans what'.

The officialisation of Tamazight is the second shift that has made strong demands for recognition achieved. Today, that it has become officially preserved among the constants of the nation, and hence becomes maintained as the official language. The process of corpus planning is in progress, despite the challenges of acceptance and scripts, even though the government has tried to raise awareness of

its cultural richness. Its teaching in schools is limited regarding the findings achieved in the study, and in administration too. This also depends on some ideologies that have supported it, and on others that oppose totally the process. Therefore, Berber linguistic and cultural recognition has taken a long time to see light. Again, the factor of ideology plays its role to either boost a change or hinder it. Regardless to which language needs to be used, national languages should be objectively considered, but the need of an adequate official language that can fit at least national requirements, represent national identity and unity, is necessary.

The need to use foreign languages is a factor that has made the third shift in the Algerian language policy. French and English, and why not other foreign languages, if each is given its right status can be a good step forward. However, it is worth noting that acquiring foreign languages for no more than prestige, culture and cinema cannot support economy and industry, or develop sciences and technological fields. The findings have revealed positive attitudes towards the use of English. Moreover, language planning and policy cannot be based only on people's attitudes, but the State's affairs are more important. Therefore, it is the policy maker and the decision 'taker' who has the power of introducing a change, but preferably by taking into consideration public perspectives, mostly experts.

In view of that, and in reference to the findings of both qualitative and quantitative data, it could be deduced at the end of this research, three factors major can shape the Algerian language policy: the political ideology, the need to preserve its land and nation, and the necessity to cope with global changes. As to the first research question, globalisation *per se* cannot be a direct factor of change in Algerian LP, but it is indirectly imposing the need of attending global modernisation. Hence, the first hypothesis has been confirmed, since peoples' perspectives have changed. To develop economy and support exports and imports, to better the level of education and to be well placed among the modern world, there is a need to review the Algerian language policy.

The second hypothesis concerning the elaboration and the promotion of Arabic, real progress cannot be seen until putting the policy into practice. However, it it stayed ink on paper as did the policy 1991, it would be no more than a waste of money, efforts and time, mostly that Algeria has not yet achieved the

line of a developed country. The findings have proved that Tamazight is still seen as a minority language, and effectively, it cannot be a language of development or science, and so it cannot respond to all public needs at the national scale, or help the State challenge globalisation. After years of covert codifying and standardising a language, Tamazight is not yet standard.

French cannot be removed easily from the Algerian context, for it is not an object to be displaced if not needed. When a language achieves an extent of spread in social and official domains, it is difficult to make a change. The problem is not the language itself if still needed, but it is the ideology to devalue the national languages; and this is the danger. However, the need to use French in Algeria can be a factor of its wide use, and the natural contact, mainly for a long period make that a habit in some contexts and a need in other domains, mainly when the floor is ready for more spread. So, the third hypothesis was also confirmed.

After documenting the rationales of the Berber crisis, and the delay of the government's recognition, it is viewed in this research that Tamazight was recognised to prevent conflicts, mainly that the parties of opposition are backed by foreign countries. The political agendas of the ex-governments have also proved that language policy is a fundamental step to care about in building and protecting a nation, whether from inside or outside danger. The fifth hypothesis was also proved after reading the findings. All senior officials and most of the participants agreed that there is need to reconsider the status of English, for its global position. Therefore, Algeria in such a situation needs to:

- guarantee the security of its national and official languages

- develop Arabic use and elaborate its use as language of science

- Support the use of English, and perhaps Chinese, since it is estimated to be the next global language

- Keep simultaneously contact with the modern world through a suitable lingua franca.

In the present sociolinguistics and socio-cultural disparities in a world guided by the belief of challenge, it is certainly confirmed that one of the most powerful forces acting on language change and language spread has been religion, as it is evident that the everlasting religion is Islam. Accordingly, the existence and the power of Arabic with its meaningful connection to the wholly Book Qur'an is preserved by the preservation of this latter, and will live the more its users are alive. It is just required that they develop it as it was one day, and make from it an international Standard language suitable for everyday and for all use.

The language issue has become of secondary concern in contemporary Algeria, after the last socio-political issues, the change of the government, the continuous *Hirak*, the economic crisis, and the external tension. Therefore, it is preferable to delay any change in language policy, because if adequate and well studied, it costs time and money. It is rather preferable to control the implementation of the policies set, since testing and controlling the implementation of a policy is as fundamental as the evaluation of the activities involved for its execution.

In fact, Algeria is identified as an Arabic-speaking country, wherever in the world, as stated by the ex-president Benjdid, and hence Arabic is the language that conveniently fits to be official. Therefore, any expected would not be in the status of Arabic. What is expected is more support to the generalisation of the policy of arabisation since Arabic is the fourth global language, even though the Algerian LPP remains at the hands of decision makers. Besides, no change could be expected concerning the use of Tamazight, except its codification, which we expect, will take as long as its recognition has taken. The change that could be set at the end of this study is to carry on the process of replacing French with English, if suitable conditions meet, far from any ideologies.

As a final point, it is deduced that the Algerian government is still working hard to better its policy, maintain its official national languages, suit modernisation with its economic, social and cultural systems, and to develop its nation and provide it at least with required possibilities of facing the global changes. At the end of this work, it is recommended to involve the public in question by the government in its policy. It is not a matter of competition between Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic. SA needs, however, to be maintained as a language of

education in all pre-university levels, with supporting the teaching of foreign languages. Though it is confirmed that the majority of the population under study favours Standard Arabic, and the use of English instead of French, still many questions could be raised, wondering about which future could Algerian LPP have if the government changes? Is it depending on ideologies and the perspective of each president? Then, is it necessary to continue depending on the policy of other countries that still have some interest in their post-colonies?

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APPENDICES

Content

APPENDIX A

Linguistic Regulations from the Constitution and JORA[116] **Concerning Arabic**

Extract from the constitutions 1963 + 1976

Extract from the constitution 2020
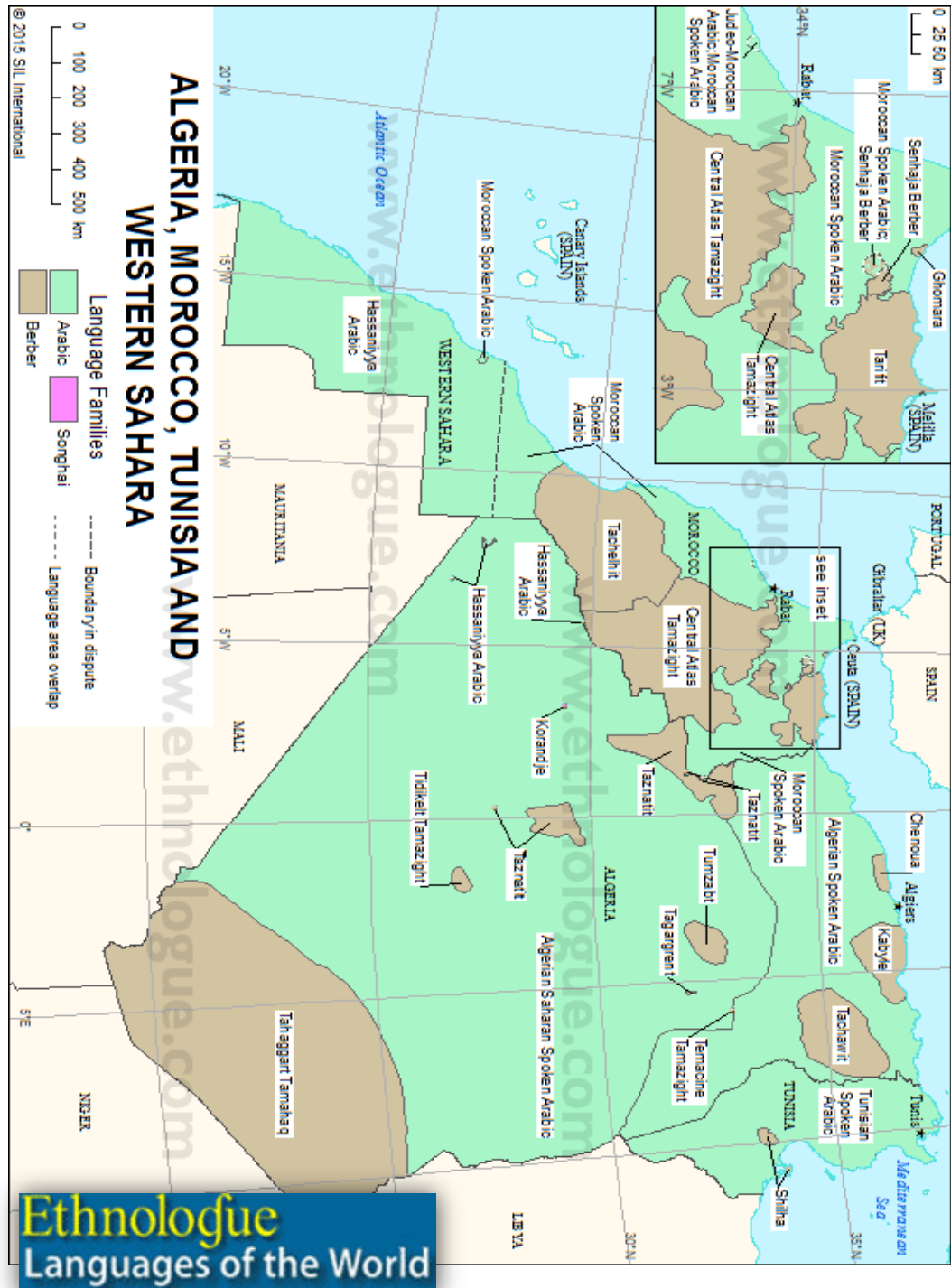
Extract from JORA 1964

Decree 68- 95 1968

Extract from JORA 1975

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[116] All the documents are taken from the official website of the government. Click on the year, then on the number of the issue. They are available at www.joradp.dz

APPENDIX B

Ethnographic Map of Algeria (adapted from Ethnologue)

From: Simons, Gary F. and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2017. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twentieth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com

APPENDIX C

Law of arabisation

Regulations in relation to the proclamation of the use of Arabic are highlighted

+

law 90-30 1996

APPENDIX D

Presidents' Discourses about Arabic

Benjdid discourse 1980 – printed

Boumediene's discourse

https://youtu.be/Oygec7F46fU

https://youtu.be/p-4oG0zs014

Bouteflika's discourses

https://youtu.be/2D2_lzrCtrQ

https://youtu.be/zrrL_6bBINw

President Tebboune' discourse

https://youtu.be/tO76WyyahZQ

APPENDIX E

Copy of Survey 1

APPENDIX F

Copy of Survey 2

APPENDIX G

Interview Question + Interviews' Answers (on CD) **Interview**

1. According to the constitution, Arabic is the official and national language of the country, and Tamazight too.

   a. Do you think that Arabic is used properly as a language of education and administration?
   b. Do you think that the officialisation of Tamazight is an effect of globalisation?
   c. To what extent, do you think Tamazight is accepted at the national level in education and in administration?

2. What is your personal point of view about the use of AA as a medium of instruction in at least the first year of primary education?

3. How do you the process of the elaboration of Arabic and the support of arabisation, mainly as far as the translation of sciences is concerned?

4. How do you see the corpus policy followed to standardise Tamazight?

5. How do you explain the current spread of French: a habit, a need, a prestige, of a response to some ideologies?

6. What is the most convenient language to teach sciences and technology?

7. Do you agree on the use of English instead of French in the teaching of sciences and technological fields? Why?

8. For you, is Arabic a language of development and globalisation? Why?

9. How do you see the influence of globalisation on the future of language planning and policy in Algeria?

APPENDIX H

Bouteflika's Speech in the Summit of the Francophonie

L'Algérie pays francophone ?

« L'Algérie a payé un prix très fort pour son indépendance, mais elle a payé encore plus lourdement la récupération de sa personnalité, qu'une longue domination coloniale avait gravement mise en danger. Il n'a pas été facile pour le peuple algérien de renouer avec ses origines, et ceci explique en grande partie notre attachement sourcilleux, à tout ce que nous considérons comme les fondements de notre algérianité amazigh, et de notre arabité. Cette phase de récupération de soi-même est indispensable, avant que l'on puisse s'ouvrir aux autres, pour les reconnaître, mais également, pour être reconnus par eux.

Nous savons maintenant, qu'après avoir été récupérée et renforcée, notre arabité est suffisamment affirmée, pour ne courir aucun risque. Cette confiance en nous-mêmes nous a conduits à reconnaître le tamazigh - dans toute la diversité de ses déclinaisons – comme langue nationale, étant assurés, que loin d'attenter ainsi à notre unité nationale, nous venions d'ouvrir une voie pour un enrichissement de notre culture, et un raffermissement de notre cohésion sociale.

Pour les mêmes raisons, c'est sans appréhension aucune, que nous nous associons aujourd'hui aux travaux de ce sommet, car nous avons conscience que l'usage de la langue française permet à nos jeunes d'élargir leur horizon, et de participer à l'évolution du monde moderne.»

Allocution au 9ème Sommet de la Franophonie à Beyrouth, El-Moudjahid, 19 octobre 2002.

APPENDIX I
The Message of the Director-General of the UNESCO about Arabic

APPENDIX J

Decrees of the Preservation of Arabic in Jordan and Qatar

APPENDIX K

Decrees about Teaching Tamazight

APPENDIX L

A Selection of some tweets in Arabic from official accounts

APPENDIX M

SOME NOTIFICATIONS FROM MAIL DELIVERY SUBSYSTEM

APPENDIX N

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

Survey Insights[1]: Enhance English in Algerian Univers-

1. هل تفضل تدريس كل المواد باللغة الإنجليزية في ق
2,884 responses

- D - الهندسة
- Masi - المادة
- La - الفيزياء
- الكيمياء

2. هل تفضل أن تكون اللغة الإنجليزية مادة تكون
2,884 responses

- Compuls - الإجباري
- Optional - الاختياري

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
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الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

3. ما طريقة الدراسة الأنسب؟
2,884 responses
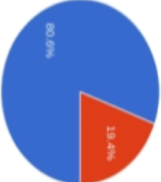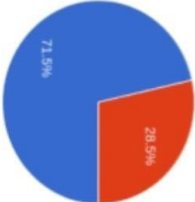
- Classic teaching - التعليم الكلاسيكي
- E-learning - التعليم عبر الإنترنت

4. كيف أن تدريس اللغة الإنجليزية سيطور من
2,884 responses

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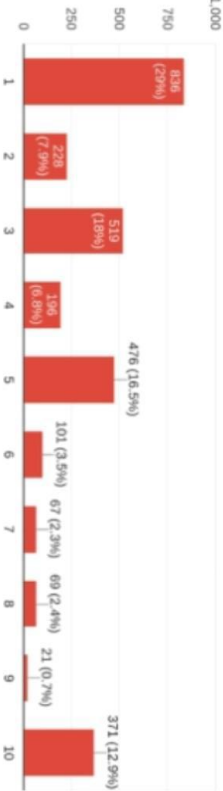
[1] Insights representing a survey conducted by the Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research

APPENDIX O

Nouria Benghabrit ✔ @NBeng... · 29 juil. 2015 ⌄

إنّ #الإشاعات المتعلقة بالتدريس #بالعامية وكذا حذف بعض المواد من إمتحان البكالوريا التي وردت في بعض الصحف الوطنية كلها كاذبة.

💬 75   🔁 70   ♡ 113   ⌣

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
المجلس الشعبي الوطني

الجزائر في 2015/07/29

بيـــان

تلقت المجموعات البرلمانية ونواب الشعب بالمجلس الشعبي الوطني باستغراب شديد القرار الذي أعلنت عنه وزارة التربية الوطنية والذي تداولته بعض وسائل الإعلام عقب "ندوة تقييم الإصلاح التربوي" والقاضي باعتماد اللهجات العامية (الدارجة) بدل اللغة العربية الفصحى في التعليم على مستوى الطور الابتدائي ما يعد سابقة خطيرة في تاريخ التعليم في الجزائر. وعليه فإن المجموعات البرلمانية ونواب الشعب يسجلون ما يلي:

✓ رفض قرار وزارة التربية الناتج عن ندوة تقييم الإصلاح التربوي التي أوصت باستعمال اللهجات العامية في التدريس في المرحلة الابتدائية. ويرون ذلك تعديا على الدستور   وعلى قوانين الجمهورية.

✓ إن اتخاذ هكذا قرارا بعيدا عن المؤسسات الرسمية (البرلمان) يطرح التساؤل عن الخلفيات والنوايا الحقيقية لمن حضّروا له.

✓ الدعوة إلى المحافظة على الوحدة والهوية الوطنية ـ العربية والإسلام ـ وأن اعتماد هذا القرار من شأنه أن ينسف الوحدة الوطنية، وانسجام المجتمع الجزائري.

✓ رفض تسييس المنظومة التربوية والعودة إلى الصراع اللغوي وإلهاء المجتمع بالمشاكل الجانبية .

✓ إن المجموعات البرلمانية والنواب يطالبون برحيل الوزيرة فورا، نظرا لجرأتها وتعديها على الخطوط الحمراء باستهداف مقومات المجتمع الجزائري، ويرون أن بقاءها سيعقد الأوضاع وينذر بدخول اجتماعي ساخن جدا.

✓ ندعوا الجميع من فعليات المجتمع المدني وأحزاب و نقابات ومنظمات الى التصدي لهذا القرار الذي يراد به تحطيم المدرسة الجزائرية الأصيلة.

فيلالي غويني
رئيس الكتلة البرلمانية
لتكتل الجزائر الخضراء
بالمجلس الشعبي الوطني

منصور عبد العزيز
حركة البناء الوطني

A.A.V

GLOSSARY

Acceptance by the community: when **speech communities** agree to take on a particular **variety** of language suggested, engineered or imposed by the authorities. Giving a language a specific status requires matters of making use of the selected language and implementing its functions, so that it would be accepted 'or rejected' by the nation – supposed to use it (in education, and other domains).

Acquisition planning: (or language-in-education planning) a type of language planning proposed by Cooper 1989. It ensures that the planned language is spread and promoted by being taught and learned through educational institutions: once **corpus planning** and **status planning** decisions have taken place, **acquisition planning** refers to the role of educationists in deciding how a variety will be acquired.

Authority: The amount of power that institutions have in terms of implementing and maintaining a **standard language**.

Bidialectalism: This term refers to a speaker's ability to use two or more **dialects**, and to know how to **code-switch** appropriately between these different varieties.

Bilingualism: The ability of a speaker or group to speak two or more languages. It is important to emphasize often used to refer to those who can speak many languages. Bilingualism can be further split into **coordinate** two or more here, as, whilst the term is used by some sociolinguists to describe speaking two languages, it is **bilinguals**, referring to speakers who have learnt two languages from birth. This contrasts with **compound**

Bilinguals: who have learnt their native language and then another language.

Borrowing: When speakers transfer lexical items from one language to another.

Change from above: Linguistic changes of which speakers are consciously aware ('above' the level of consciousness).

Change from below: Linguistic changes of which speakers are not consciously aware ('below' the level of consciousness).

Classical language: A language which no longer has native speakers but has been **standardised** and still has **prestige**, such as Latin.

Code mixing: When speakers engage in **code switching** within sentences, also known as **intra-sentential** code switching. Mixing often makes it difficult to decipher which language is being spoken at any one time.

Code switching: When speakers switch between different codes in the course of a single interaction. Often used to refer to **bilingual** or **multilingual** speakers.

Code: A neutral term used in a very general sense to cover any form of communication. Its usage avoids the political and social evaluations that are reflected in terms such as language, **dialect** and **register**.

Codification: During the process of **standardisation**, when a variety becomes fixed through the publication of resources such as dictionaries and grammar books.

Corpus planning In **language planning**, corpus planning refers to attempts to change the forms and structures of the language itself. This task is often undertaken by national language planning agencies.

Correctness When **standardisation** has taken place, speakers develop evaluative views as to the 'correct' way in which language should be used. Often these notions are based on nothing more than folk linguistic beliefs embedded with social prejudice which serve to perpetuate negative stereotyping of social groups with less political and economic **power**.

Covert prestige When speakers will use a **non-standard** variety more frequently as an in-group identity.

Dialectology: The scientific study of **dialects**. As this field of investigation has developed, further categorizations have been made between **traditional dialectology** and **urban dialectology**.

Dialect: The pronunciation, **lexis** and grammar of a language variety, associated with a particular geographical area or social group.

Diglossia: Two distinct forms of a language that exist with clear functional separation in a socially stable situation. They are categorized as a 'high' variety and a 'low' variety. The high variety is the prestigious form used in formal situations, whereas the low variety is the informal form used in everyday talk. Speakers are conscious of the switch from high to low varieties.

Endangered language: A language that is in danger of becoming extinct, often due to younger generations no longer learning particular varieties.

Grammaticalization: In reference to **language change**, the evolution of new grammatical functions from current lexical items.

Graphisation The act of devising an orthography for a previously unwritten language.

Identity Broadly speaking, a category that refers to the sense of who we are as individuals or groups. It can be very roughly split into social and regional identity. Aspects of our social and regional identities, such as

Ideology Used in two different ways, first to refer to the beliefs that individuals or groups have about the world, and second from a Marxist-influenced perspective, to refer to the system of commonsense assumptions that we have about the world which hide authority and hierarchy and treat it as natural. The second definition is commonly used in **critical discourse analysis**.

Independent variable: a term from statistics denoting a factor with a value varying independently of another, **dependent variable**. For example, **social class** is an independent variable whose value may be determined and controlled by the researcher (e.g. by making the choice to group individual speakers in the sample by income bracket rather than, say, occupation). Independent variables are also known as predictor variables.

International language A language used, or intended for use, for communication across national boundaries by speakers not sharing a common language, such as Esperanto.

Language attitudes: Study of how people judge and evaluate themselves and others based upon usage of different varieties.

Language change: One of the facts about language is that it is continuously changing. Change occurs when use of a particular **variant** increases and gradually ousts the previous norm. It can occur on a phonological level, a grammatical level or a lexical level, and can be overt or covert. Observing variation in language is vital for understanding language change, as, although not all variability in language structure involves change, all change involves **language variation**.

Language contact: A situation in which more than one language exists in a given area or **speech community** which may lead to speakers of one language deliberately or subconsciously introducing into their own language features of the other language. Can be equally applied to dialects, known as **dialect contact**.

Language death: When a **speech community** shifts to another language, or when the last speakers of a language die.

Language endangerment: A situation in which a language is in danger of undergoing **language death**. Many world languages are endangered today.

Language loss: if a community shifts to speaking another language without any use of the mother language, then this latter will be lost, such as the loss of Dutch in immigrant communities in Australia.

Language maintenance: Refers to the situation whereby a language(often a transplanted **minority language**) is retained and used by speakers alongside, or instead of, a more dominant language.

Language murder: When governments or other institutions try to 'kill off' minority languages by passing laws or punishing speakers; this puts pressure on speakers from the outside.

Language planning: The role that governments or institutions play in planning which varieties are acceptable in a given **speech community**.

Language policy: Used generally to refer to the aims of language planners, though it can be used as a synonym for **language planning**.

Language shift When the language of a population changes from one variety to another.

Language suicide When people in a **speech community** feel they would be better off economically, politically or socially if they spoke a different language. Pressure for change therefore comes from the inside to stop using a 'worthless' variety and adopt a new 'useful' one instead.

Language: Not only a linguistic but also a political, cultural, social and historical term. It is a system of sounds, words, patterns, etc used by human to communicate thoughts and feelings. It is a system of signs, symbols, gestures, etc used for conveying information.

Lingua franca: A variety used as a form of communication between two or more different speakers or groups of speakers who do not share a common language.

Linguistic diversity: The linguistic diversity of a country or region depends on the number of languages spoken within it, as well as on how closely they are related to one another.

Linguistic variable: In sociolinguistics, a descriptive and analytical unit used to describe and quantify patterns of variation in speech and writing. Variables are categories containing two or more distinguishable **variants**, which can be dependent or independent.

Literacy: Broadly, the ability to read and write, i.e. the competence in different forms of reading and writing.

Minority language: A language spoken as a **mother tongue** by a small number of speakers relative to the population of a region or country as a whole which has a different language as its **national language**. Some minority languages have strong **vitality**, such as Basque in Spain, while others are moribund or **endangered languages**, such as Gaelic in Scotland.

Monolingualism: The ability of a speaker or group to speak one language. Contrast with **bilingualism** and **multilingualism**.

Mother tongue: The language used by an individual from birth (also referred to as first language, L1, primary language, home language). It is usually also the language of the home and the community, but this may not be the case in **bilingual** or **multilingual** situations.

Multilingualism: The ability of a speaker or group to speak three or more languages, though some sociolinguists use it interchangeably with **bilingualism**. Others argue that multilingualism should be used only as an overarching term in reference to societies and not individual speakers.

Multilingualism is the use of more than one language by a single individual or community. In the popular imagination and in linguistic theory, multilingualism is often assumed to be an anomalous, exceptional practice. The knowledge and use of a single language – **monolingualism**– has been taken as the natural human condition. Yet, both historically and currently, most of the world's communities and a majority of speakers are multilingual to a greater or lesser extent.

National language: A language which is associated with a particular country. The language may also be seen as a symbol of national identity. In some countries more than one national language may be recognized, such as Switzerland, in which German, French, Italian and Romansh are all national languages.

Native speaker: A speaker who acquires a language from birth as a native or First language. The acquisition is achieved through interaction with family and community members and not through formal instruction.

Observation – a primary research technique of ethnography (Johnstone 2000: 81), i.e., the action/ process of observing something/ someone carefully in order to gain information.

Official language: An institutionally approved language for communication within and across national borders.

Qualitative methods – a set of methods that aims to gather an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of the study. Smaller rather than larger samples are used for qualitative research. Qualitative research aims to answer questions *how* and *why*, rather than *what* and *how many*. Qualitative research is usually inductive.

Quantitative methods – a set of methods that is based on quantification or measurement and that employs statistical, mathematical and computational techniques. Quantitative research is usually deductive.

Questionnaire surveys, systematic note taking of quantitative approaches — statistical analyses.

Register Broadly, the combination of lexico-grammatical choices appropriate to the social setting and context. In **systemic linguistics**, register can be described by **field**, **tenor** and **mode**.

Research question – a problem statement or interrogative question that addresses the problem examined in the study.

Semi-structured - This is a more commonly used interview technique that follows a framework in order to address key themes rather than specific questions. At the same time it allows a certain degree of flexibility for the researcher to respond to the answers of the interviewee and therefore develop the themes and issues as they arise.

Social status The sense that **power**, privilege and respect accrue to particular people sharing certain valued social positions, such as of **social class**, or education.

Sociolinguistic interview: technique involving a question-and answer session, often guided by a questionnaire or other protocols.

Sociolinguistics, to distinguish it from traditional, geographically based **dialectology**.

Speech community: A community defined or strongly identified by its shared linguistic practices.

Standard (language/variety): The **variety** of a language (usually a historically significant **dialect**) which has been officially elevated to prestige status and is preferred in official documents, media, public and formal speech.

Standard language ideology The perspective that insists upon the rightness of standardisation, often with an associated moral injunction to use the standard form in all settings.

Standardisation The process, often imposed by institutions or through the education system, of marking out a language variety as the approved and sanctioned form.

Status planning In **language planning**, status planning refers to the decision to confirm a language in its functions and its domains or to introduce a new language into these functions and domains.

Structured - Follows a set of specific questions, which are worked through systematically. This type of interview is used when the researcher wishes to acquire information where the responses are directly comparable.

Triangulation – *Data triangulation* (the application of more than one sampling method for data collection) **–** *Methodological triangulation* (the use of more than one methodology) **–** *Theoretical triangulation* (the use of more than one theoretical stance)

Trilingualism: The phenomenon in which an individual speaks three languages, often in a community which recognizes a functional (triglossic) or social use for each variety.

Unstructured - This method of interview does not follow any predetermined pattern of questions or themes. Rather, the interviewer will address the issues as they emerge

in the interview. The method is useful when the researcher wishes to explore the full breadth of a topic.

Variable: A feature of language which shows variation in different social contexts.

Variety: A systematic pattern of language use, such as a language, a **dialect**, an **accent**, a **sociolect**, and so on.

Vernacular Traditionally regarded as the **mother tongue** of a speaker, the **vernacular** has been used to refer to **non-standard** varieties often perceived to stand in contrast with the **standard** variety.