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**Students' Attitudes towards Arabic, French and Tamazight in
the Department of Tamazight Language and Culture at Batna
University**

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Requirements of the "Master's" Degree in Language Studies*

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DEDICATION

To my dear mother

To the sweet memory of my father

To those who struggle to preserve their language and culture, those who refuse to surrender to the shadows of oblivion.

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Abstract

Algeria is a multilingual country with rich history and dynamic present. The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is marked by the presence of many languages which are in constant contact. The attitudes of the community's individuals toward its different languages may decide their vitality or decline. Thus, the overall aim of this research is to comprehend the attitudes of the students of Tamazight toward Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French, and Tamazight. More specifically it seeks to understand how these students consider Tamazight and its use in different domains, in addition to their standpoint concerning the rivalry between Arabic and French. This work is founded on a questionnaire administered to students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture at Batna University and a semi structured interview for their teachers. The findings underline that the students of Tamazight hold strong positive attitudes toward this language and its use in different domains. Moreover, it has been revealed that these students appreciate and use Standard Arabic more than French. The main conclusion drawn from the study is that Tamazight language witnesses a period of vitality.

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List of Acronyms

AA: Algerian Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic

CS: Code Switching

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

SA: Standard Arabic

TMZ: Tamazight

TLC: Tamazight Language and Culture

General Introduction

General Introduction

Algeria is an interesting object for investigation on sociolinguistic matters due to its rich history and dynamic present. This North African country has witnessed many invasions and migrations that contributed in shaping its verbal repertoire as it is today. This range of languages is mainly constituted of Tamazight (which has the deepest roots in this country), Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, and French.

The study of language has always been controversial, however; it is a matter of general consensus when it comes to the idea that all languages are in perpetual change. This state of persistent variation is the outcome of the contact between different people and communities.

There are many phenomena that emerge in this kind of circumstances where various languages coexist, for example; diglossia and bilingualism. And within the host communities of these phenomena, the individuals show various linguistic behaviours such as code switching and borrowing.

Individuals in communities that are often entitled as multilinguals (or bilinguals) hold different attitudes toward the existing varieties which could affect the use of a certain language instead of the other and might ultimately help one language to restore its vitality or cause another to die.

The current study attempts to investigate the attitudes of the students of Tamazight language and culture at Batna University toward the different varieties that comprise the verbal repertoire of the country. More specifically, this research will try to answer the following questions:

1. How do students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture regard and use Tamazight in different domains?
2. Which language do students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture prefer more Standard Arabic or French?

Accordingly, the researcher has proposed the following hypotheses:

1. The students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture hold strong positive attitudes toward Tamazight and its use in different domains.
2. The students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture appreciate and use Arabic more than French.

For the sake of reaching the objectives of the research, a case study was designed to deal with the students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture at the University of Batna. In this study, the researcher has collected qualitative and quantitative data using a questionnaire administered to the students of the above mentioned department and a semi-structured interview for their teachers.

Concerning the outline of this modest work, it comprises of three chapters. The first one is an attempt to describe the linguistic situation in Algeria by presenting some historical facts that have shaped the country's actual verbal repertoire. It also pays specific attention to Tamazight by shedding light on its origins, geographical distribution, and the challenges that face it in education. The second chapter deals with some aspects of the sociolinguistic profile in Algeria by bringing up some concepts from the relevant literature. The last chapter consists of two parts: The first part describes the methodology followed in this research, whereas the second part is about the analysis and interpretation of the gathered data in order to confirm or refute the research hypotheses.

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to introduce some facts about the linguistic situation in Algeria. It sheds lights on the history of the country, and how different human groups took part and helped to shape the current Algerian linguistic profile. This chapter also draws attention to the different elements that constitute the verbal repertoire of the Algerian speech community namely Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Tamazight and French. However, in this chapter we will try to focus on Tamazight and its speakers by presenting overall information on their origins and geographical distribution as well as the issues concerning the incorporation of Tamazight into education.

1.2 Historical Background

Since the ancient times, Algeria was an object of desire; the strategic geographical location, the fine climate and fertile lands made it a destination of several invaders through different epochs of history which led to the foundation of many cultures, civilizations, as well as various languages.

The earliest traces of humans (*Homo sapiens*) in Algeria go back to 500,000 years ago. In 1954, the remains of a skeleton were uncovered near Tighennif in the state of Mascara which indicate the existence of a prehistoric human. About 14,000 to 8,000 BCE, a civilization was established in the shores of what is now Jijel and in other places such as Aflou and Tafoura by the Iberomaurusien human. Another human called the Capsian established a civilization in the Neolithic period about 5,000 BCE; the remains of this human are spread through vast regions especially in Capsa Tunisia and in the high plateaus in Algeria.

The first known population of the Maghreb in general and Algeria in particular were Imazighen tribes (singular: Mazigh) which means the free and noble men, whereas the name Berber was coined by the Greek to describe peoples who have languages and cultures unlike their own, and later the term was borrowed by Romans then by Arabs¹. Around 800 BCE, a seafaring people from the eastern Mediterranean called the Phoenicians, established Carthage in the lands of modern

¹ In Aith Melwia(2007:20)

Tunisia. The peaceful co-existence between Imazighen and Phoenicians lasted several centuries before it was ended by the Punic wars² (261-146 BCE). Romans allied with Masinissa, the king of Numidia³, fought against the armies of Carthage under the command of Hannibal. The war ended and the Carthaginians were defeated which cleared the way for the Romans to expand their empire through North African territories. In 106 BCE, the grandson of Masinissa, Jugurtha, was subjugated by the Romans and later in 46 BCE it was declared a Roman province by Julius Caesar. Numidia thrived under the Roman rule. The agriculture was so remarkable that the province became known as the granary of Rome. Several towns were established such as Timgad, Djemila and Tipasa. In 435 C.E, following the decline of the Roman Empire, the Vandals conquered parts of what is now Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco after allying with the aboriginals who grew uncomfortable with the rule of Rome. One century later, the Vandals were expelled from North Africa by the Byzantines who sought to restore the lost glory of Rome. The era of the Byzantine rule was marked by constant unrest where Imazighen tribes clashed with their rivals until the Arab Muslims invaded North Africa in the seventh century C.E.

The Arab conquest was faced with fierce resistance like any other precedent invasion. The first campaigns were started during the rule of the rightly guided caliph Omar Bin Elkhattab but they were postponed after the new Islamic state experienced unrest under Othman's rule and later under Ali's. The campaigns were resumed after the Umayyads seized power. In 681 C.E, the Arabs succeeded in dominating large parts of the Maghreb with the help of Imazighen tribes led by Aksel who converted to Islam. However, the alliance did not last much, Aksel (known as Kusayla)⁴ mutinied against the Umayyad governor and killed him. The Umayyads were dethroned by the Abbasids in 750 C.E and in the course of disorder, Imazighen chieftains who were members of the Kharijite sects established

² Punic wars consisted of the three wars between Rome and Carthage

³Numidia was divided into western and eastern tribes. During the second Punic Wars (218-201) western tribes of Numidia allied with Hannibal whereas the eastern tribes supported Rome. After the war Masinissa, the leader of eastern Numidia and the Roman Ally, unified the kingdom

⁴ Hsain Ilhiane(2006:45)

their own independent principalities, for example the Rustamids at Tahert in central Algeria. From the ninth century until the sixteenth century several sovereign kingdoms were founded in what is now modern Algeria. Some of these were in particular areas; however, others were more like empires controlling vast lands such as Almoravids and Almohids⁵. In 1043 C.E, the Arab tribes of Banou Hilal and Banou Salim emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula after long years of drought to settle in Maghreb.

In 1518 C.E, following the Spanish harassments and occupation of several seaports, the Ottomans came to help their fellow Muslims which announced the beginning of their rule which lasted for nearly three centuries. In 1830 C.E, the French armies invaded Algiers and in the following decades almost all northern part of modern Algeria was occupied. After WWII, the Algerian nationalists started to regroup themselves and prepare for war. In November 1st 1954, the Algerian war of independence was launched to be later culminated in July 1962 with triumph after nearly eight years of bloody struggle.

1.3 Algeria's Present Verbal Repertoire

Algeria is an exciting, linguistically multidimensional country, the reason behind this intricate situation lays within the complexity of its history, to be precise, the successive arrival of invaders and immigrants with different linguistic backgrounds more or less shaped Algeria's linguistic map. However, there are only two languages that still have significant foothold in Algeria alongside Tamazight: Arabic with its standard and dialectal varieties and French.

⁵ Ibid

1.3.1 Arabic

Arabic is the most pervasive of all Semitic languages, its spread has gone hand in hand with the advent of Islam. The arrival of Arab armies as part of the Islamic expansion in the seventh century marked the beginning of the diffusion of Arabic in North Africa. However, Tamazight-speaking tribes who converted to Islam have gradually gone through a relatively long procedure of Arabization.⁶ The eleventh century marked the arrival of Arab tribes of Banu Hilal which contributed to the acceleration of Arabization movement. Today, the majority of Algerians acquire Arabic as a mother tongue. We can distinguish three forms of Arabic:

1.3.1.1 Classical Arabic (CA)

Classical Arabic or Qur'anic Arabic is the language of the holy Qur'an which can be described as the most eloquent form of Arabic. It was originally spoken in the prestigious tribe of Quraysh in Mecca. Nevertheless, this variety was not only restricted to Mecca but different Arab tribes regarded it as a kind of 'supra-language'⁷ and used it during the pilgrimage seasons. During the Abbasid era, Arabic went through a strict codification for fear that the Qur'an would be mistakenly read.⁸ Today CA is used by hundreds of millions of Muslims around the world including Algerians for prayers, preaches and sermons.

1.3.1.2 Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

Modern Standard Arabic is the official language of twenty two Arab countries. It is widely used both orally and written in almost all the official circles and formal domains as well as education. MSA is the direct successor of CA; actually, the discrepancies between the two are barely conspicuous except for stylistics, word choice and new terms that were introduced into MSA as a result of technological and scientific progress. In this respect McLoughlin (1999:1) states:

⁶ Chafik (1989: 92,93,94,95)

⁷ Dendane (2007: 78)

⁸ Ibid.

There is a direct line of descent from classical Arabic, the language of the Qur'an to modern Arabic, so that across 1400 years (in the Islamic calendar) the script is recognizably the same, the grammar has changed remarkably little (by comparison with, for example, German and English) and even the vocabulary has shown an astonishing integrity and consistency.

Therefore, it is legitimate to consider CA and MSA in terms of stylistic levels of the same variety as the overall grammar structure has remained particularly identical.

1.3.1.3 Algerian Arabic (AA)

It is the language of first socialization for the majority of Algerians who use it on a daily basis for all of their life aspects. Algerian Arabic (AA hereafter) is one of many Arabic dialects that spread through the Arab speaking countries. It differs from MSA in terms of lexicon, phonology, grammar as well as syntax. AA is part of what is called the Maghreban dialects which include the Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan varieties. The resemblance between them rests behind the same human populations (mainly Imazighen and Arabs) and the common history. AA itself is a combination of different varieties. While AA and the other Maghreban dialects are mutually intelligible, they are less so with the dialects of farther Arab countries, namely, dialects of the Gulf countries, Levant and Egyptian dialects, etc. This might be the result of the influence of Tamazight on the structure of AA, as pointed out in Benrabah (2014:44):

As a *substratum* language faced with unequal contacts between conquering and conquered populations, Berber had little lexical effect on Arabic (the *superstratum*). Nevertheless, it exerted far-reaching structural influence on the latter's phonology, morphology, and syntax. Hence North African Arabic varieties in general and the Algerian ones in particular can be described as "Berberized"

In addition to the huge influence of Tamazight on AA which led some researchers to classify it as one of Tamazight dialects, AA is also influenced by French, Turkish, and even Syriac.

1.3.2 French

Despite not being a member at *l'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie*⁹, Algeria is the second largest francophone community in the world according to a report brought by the organization itself in 2008¹⁰.

Historically speaking, the 132 years of French occupation left an immense linguistic impact on Algerians which is felt contrastingly through different generations. The French occupational authorities exerted a great effort to assimilate the Algerians in the French culture through suppressing the native cultures and languages. Subsequently, Algeria inherited a huge francophone legacy; right after independence, Algerian institutions functioned totally through French: Administration, education, economy, etc...

Despite the Arabisation policy that the successive Algerian governments adopted and the foreign label that was given to French, this language showed great resilience especially in education, as highlighted in Benrabe (2014:47) "...French is still the key language for studies in scientific disciplines in Higher Education".

Today, the French language continues to play a significant role in the Algerian linguistic stage; mainly, due to the geographic proximity which allows the movement of people especially the Algerians who travel to France for different reasons such as education, family affairs and business. Moreover, Algerians associate French with modernity and regard it as a language of high prestige. In the same line of thoughts, K. Taleb Ibrahim (1995:108) holds that it is: "The language of modernity, techniques, the language of social promotion, the language of opening on the world"¹¹

⁹ International Organization of Francophone

¹⁰ Le Français dans le monde, 2008

¹¹ Cited in Ait Habbouche Khadidja (2013:18), Magister thesis, Oran

1.3.3 Tamazight

This section will provide some facts about Tamazight-speakers and their geographical distribution, in addition to the issues accompanying teaching Tamazight.

1.3.3.1 Geographical Distribution of Tamazight

Imazighen are one of the world's ancient peoples. According to the Egyptian archaeological findings they were called Tehenu¹² in the third millennia BCE then Libu from 1200s BCE. They were also mentioned by different names in the Greek and Roman annals: Garamantes, Gaetulians, and Maures. The Arab chronicles distinguished two categories: the Branis which includes the tribes of Sanhaja (the backbone of Almoravid Empire), Kutama and others. The second category known as Abtar which includes the Tribes of Zenata (the Zayyanid¹³ were from Zenata), Nafusa and others (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011:14).

Today, Tamazight speakers, or Imazighen, live in the area that stretches from the Egyptian Oasis of Siwa from the east to the Canary Islands¹⁴ in the west and from the Mediterranean coasts in the north to the Niger and Senegal rivers in the south.

If Tamazight was ever unified, it would be in very ancient times. Tamazight is a branch of the Afro-Asiatic proto-languages (formerly known as Hamito-Semitic languages) which also include Semitic, ancient Egyptian, Cushitic and Chadic. The wild divergence of Tamazight is highlighted in Haddadou (2007:14) by referring to five dialectal zones. The rationale behind this division lies mainly within the geographical proximity, and, to a lesser degree, the mutual intelligibility between the dialects. The five zones are as follows:

¹² Hsain Ilhiane(2006: Xvii)

¹³ Also known as Banu Abd Al-Wad, an Amazigh dynasty ruled in Tlemcen from 1236 to 1550 C.E

¹⁴ The Amazigh population of Canary Islands known as the Guanches don't speak any Tamazight variety. Their language started to decline since the 16th century. However, a considerable population proclaim to be Imazighen

Zone 1: The dialects of the south or Touareg (spoken in southern Algeria, Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso and southern Libya) their dialects are called Tamashak, Tamahak, and Tamajek.

Zone 2: The eastern dialects (spoken in Tunisia, Libya and in the oasis of Siwa in Egypt).

Zone 3: The dialects of north-sahara (spoken in Ghardaia, Ouergla, Timimoun and Adrar).

Zone 4: The western dialects (spoken in Kabylia, Aures, Tipaza, Chlef in Algeria, and in Morocco)

Zone 5: Zznaga dialect in Mauritania.

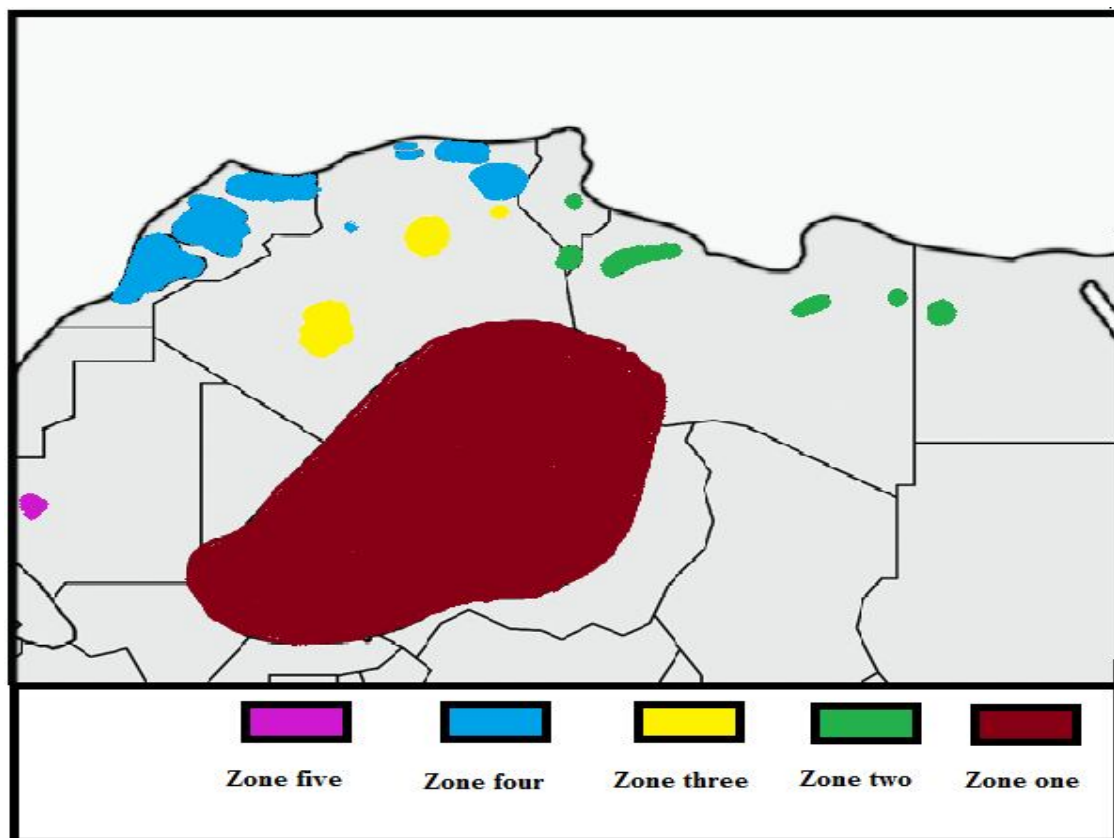


Figure 1.1 Tamazight Dialectal Zones According to Haddadou

1.3.3.2 Tamazight Varieties Spoken in Algeria

- **Chaoui** (*Tchawit* in Tamazight) is spoken in the Aures Region, southeast of Algiers. Its speakers are concentrated in Batna, Khenshela and Oum el Bouaghi, in addition to Biskra, Tbessa, Souk Ahras, and Sétif. There are two groups of varieties concerning *Tchawit*: The western varieties and the eastern varieties.
- **Kabyle** (*Tkabaylit* in Tamazight) is by far the most spoken variety in Algeria. The majority of its speakers live in the *Wilaya* of Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia in addition to Bouira, Boumerdes, Sétif and Bordj Bou Arreridj. We can distinguish two main varieties of Kabyle: The variety of Grand Kabylia (spoken in Tizi Ouzou and Bouira) and the variety of Small Kabylia (Spoken in Bejaia and Sétif).
- **Mozabite** (*Tamzabit* in Tamazight) is the dialect of Bnou Mzab who live chiefly in Ghardaia in addition to other cities of the Mzab Valley (Beni Isguen, Melika, Guerrara, and Berriane)
- **Tamahak**, also called **Tahaggart**, is spoken in the Ahaggar Region by the people who call themselves Imuhag¹⁵. Tamahak, together with Tamashak (Mali) and Tamajek (Niger) are considered the purest of the Tamazight dialects due to the isolation and the nomadic lifestyle which restricts language contact.

Besides these four major groups, there are many dispersed communities who speak their local varieties in places that are more like linguistic islets. These varieties are as follows:

- **Chenouia**: named after the mountain of Chanwa in Tipasa. It is spoken in Tipasa and Cherchell.

¹⁵ The term Amahg (plural: Imuhag) is the equivalent of Amazigh. This variation is the result of a general phonetic shift between |h| (Ahhagar) and |Z| in the dialects of the zone 4

- **Tagregrent:** This variety is spoken in Ouargla, N'Goussa, Temacine and Touggourt.
- **Taznatit:** Spoken in Timimoun and Adrar.
- The local variety that is spoken in some villages of Blida such as Ait Misra and Beni Salah.
- The local varieties which are spoken in Beni Bousaid and Beni Snous in Tlemcen.
- The local variety that is spoken in Elbayadh (Boussemgoune).
- The local variety that is spoken in Naama (Assela).
- The local variety that is spoken in some villages at Ain Defla.
- The local variety that is spoken in some villages at Tissemsilt.
- The local variety that is spoken in Zeboudja and Beni Haoua in Chlef.

The actual number of the speakers of all Tamazight dialects is rather controversial because of the absence of censuses that take into consideration linguistic parameters. However, there are some estimates that claim that the number of Tamazight speakers is around 25 to 35 percent of the population of Algeria.

1.3.3.3 Tamazight Diversity and Unity

Those who speak different dialects of Tamazight might face difficulties to comprehend each other readily. This might rise to the degree of mutual unintelligibility which led some scholars to consider Tamazight to be more than one language. One of these scholars is Vycichl, W, who regards Tamazight varieties as different languages. Vycichl (1991:77) claims that the differences between Tamazight varieties are similar to the differences between the Germanic, Roman and Slavic languages¹⁶. Quite the reverse, other scholars such as Basset¹⁷ argues that there is a remarkable unity between the varieties of Tamazight despite the ethnic diversity and the geographical dispersal. Basset (1959:3) states: "The

¹⁶ Cited in Ait Habbouche (2013:22)

¹⁷ André Basset is the founder of Berber linguistics, he is the son of René Basset the French orientalist .

language is deeply the same in its structure from end to end, the variations from speech to speech, while so many, can be confusing at first glance but remain always very superficial”.¹⁸

Along the same line of thoughts, Chaker (1995: 2291) asserts that, from a sociolinguistic perspective, the unity of Tamazight cannot be identified and localized, but the shared linguistic traits between all the varieties are undeniable. He maintains:

Despite the geographical dispersion, despite the absence of a standardization pole and despite the weakness of the exchanges between the various groups, the fundamental structural data remain the same everywhere: The degree of unity (particularly grammatical) of the Berber varieties is quite astonishing in view of the distances and the historical vicissitudes.¹⁹

1.3.3.4 Issues of Teaching Tamazight

After twenty two years since the introduction of Tamazight in some Algerian schools (Kabilya region in particular) today Tamazight is taught in the schools of more than twenty states. However, Teaching Tamazight is faced with many difficulties and challenges. The most significant and urgent issues can be restricted in three points:

1.3.3.4.1 The Goals and Horizons of Teaching Tamazight

The opinions concerning the utmost goals and objectives behind teaching Tamazight are divided. The first point of view regards Tamazight as a chance for the Algerian people to get along with their history, culture, and identity which will lead to a more stable and united society. Others think that Tamazight should not be

¹⁸ The original text reads as follows: “*La langue est profondément la même dans sa structure de bout en bout du domaine, les variations de parler à parler, aussi nombreuses qu’elles soient, aussi déroutantes qu’elles puissent être de prime abord, restant toujours très superficielles* »

¹⁹ The original text reads as follows: “*Malgré la dispersion géographique, malgré l’absence de pole de normalisation et en dépit de la faiblesse des échanges entre les divers groups, les données structurales fondamentales restent les mêmes partout : le degré d’unité (notamment grammaticale) des parlers berbères est tout à fait étonnant eu égard aux distances et vicissitudes historiques* »

restricted to the earlier goals only but to widen the horizon of the language to become a language of science and technology.

1.3.3.4.2 The Standardization

Although the Algerian constitution approves that Tamazight is a national and more recently an official language according to the fourth article in the latest constitutional revision²⁰, the mechanisms of enforcing this article remain vague. The standardization of Tamazight still controversial and the opinions are once again divided. It is the sociolinguistic reality of Tamazight that should dictate how it should be standardized, whether promoting one dialect to the status of a standard language or creating a language based on the common characteristics of the different dialects.

Even though the second possibility is founded on arguments such as the unity of Tamazight and on ideological motives, it was severely criticized by the Berberist scholars (linguists specialized in Tamazight). S. Chaker described the introduction of a common Tamazight as a “normative monster” which has no actual sociolinguistic or cultural foundation (Boukous, 2003: 28). Hence Tamazight is taught according to the region (*Tchawit* in the Aures, *Takbaylit* in Kabilya, *Tamzabit* in the Mزاب valley and so on) until the specialists agree on the right option for the standardization of Tamazight.

1.3.3.4.3 The Script Conflict

Tamazight is rather a spoken language, not really written despite the fact that it has been written through different periods. The need to enter or re-enter the scriptural market for any language is usually driven by the identity sentiments of its speakers and the desire to preserve the oral heritage from disappearance and

²⁰ The fourth article of the Algerian constitution: “تمازيغت هي كذلك لغة وطنية و رسمية. تعمل الدولة لترقيتها وتطويرها بكل تنوعاتها اللسانية المستعملة عبر التراب الوطني. يحدث مجمع جزائري للغة الأمازيغية بوضع لدى رئيس الجمهورية. يستند المجمع إلى أشغال الخبراء, و يكلف بتوفير الشروط اللازمة لترقية تمازيغت قصد تجسيد وضعها كلغة رسمية فيما بعد. تحدد كيفيات تطبيق هذه المادة بموجب قانون عضوي.

Tamazight is no exception. However, the situation is intricate because of the rivalry between three systems, i.e. Tifinagh script, Arabic script and Latin script.

- **Tifinagh²¹:** It is an ancient script of uncertain origin (most likely from Phoenician) it dates back at least to the sixth century BCE. Tifinagh is the descendent of Libyco-Berber (Numidian) script that was widely written under the reign of Masinissa and Micipsa in the second century B.C.E. The advocates of this option take into consideration the symbolic and the psychological dimensions of Tifinagh which could strengthen the linguistic and cultural identity as well as the ability of the script to suffice the phonologic needs of the language but it may raise difficulties concerning the familiarity of the script among Tamazight-speakers apart from the Touareg.
- **Arabic Script:** This option which also has its advocates is based upon some relative arguments such as the genetic relationship between Tamazight and Arabic, the familiarity of the Arabic letters among Tamazight-speakers and the ability of the script to represent a number of sounds exclusively, in addition to the religious and the sacredness associated with Arabic as a whole.
- **Latin Script:** Is widely the most used script concerning the existing body of knowledge that is written in Tamazight. The supporters of this option claim that the Latin alphabet since it is extensively used by various languages from different families offer Tamazight an opportunity to enter the universal stage. Nevertheless, the association of Latin script with the colonial past incites a kind of resentment towards it.

²¹ Tifinagh literally means “our discovery”.

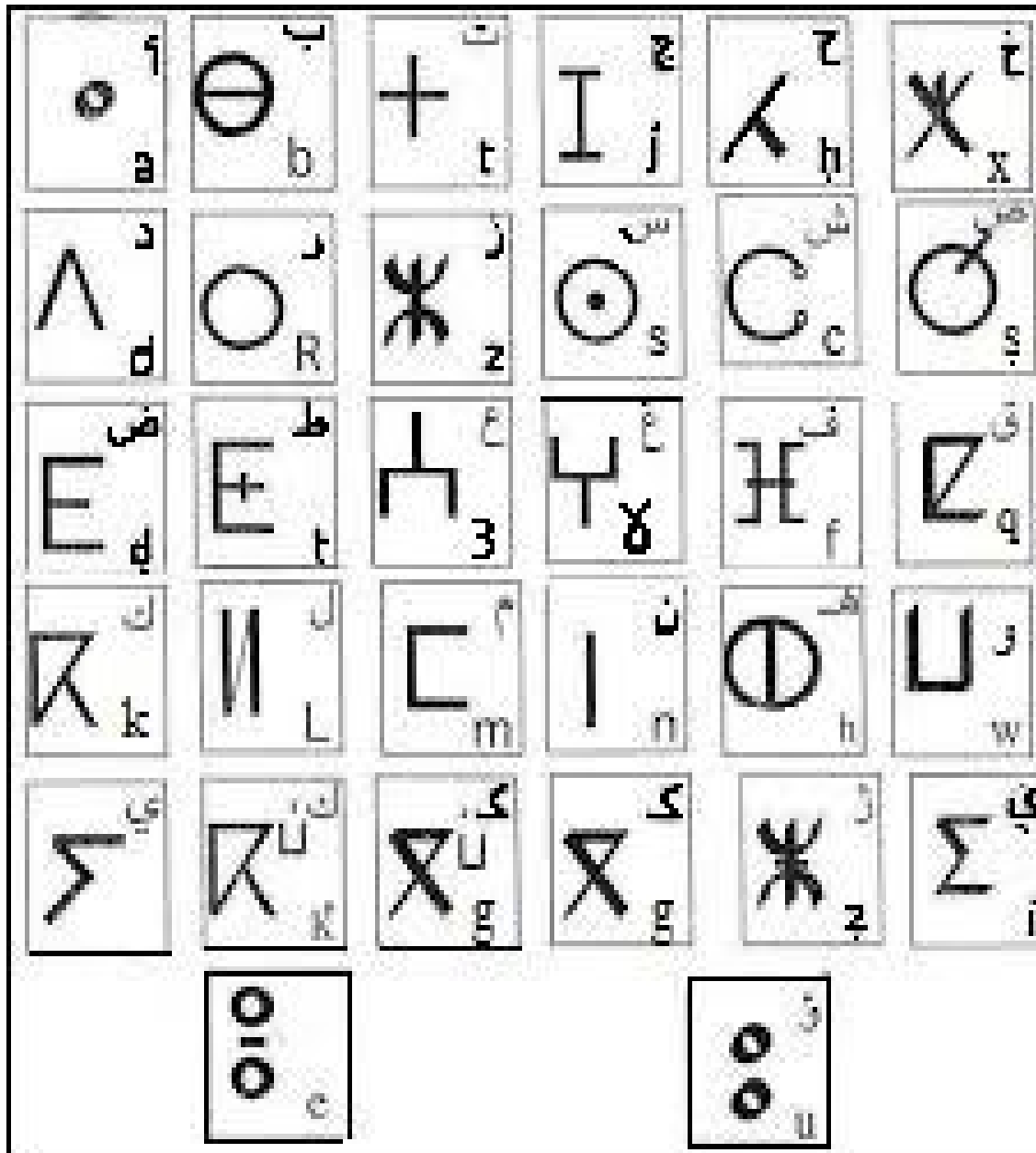


Figure 1.2 Tifinagh Script and Its Arabic and Latin Equivalents

1.4 Conclusion

The linguistic situation in Algeria is uniquely complicated though it shares a lot of characteristics with its neighbouring countries, especially Tunisia and Morocco. This situation is the result of the different invasions and emigrations that moulded the present-day verbal repertoire of Algeria which includes Arabic (all the forms), Tamazight and French. Tamazight-speakers are scattered through the whole region of North Africa, and in Algeria they speak many varieties. The largely used ones are *Takbaylit*, *Tchawit*, *Tamzabit* and *Tahaggart*. Tamazight has been recognized as an official language but there are many problems facing its standardization and incorporation into education.

Chapter Two

2.1 Introduction:

The previous chapter is an endeavour to highlight some facts about the linguistic situation in Algeria and to draw attention to the essential factors behind its rich verbal repertoire. This richness set off a number of sociolinguistic phenomena such as diglossia, bilingualism and code switching. The present chapter should provide basic theoretical background about the already mentioned concepts in relation to the Algerian settings. Furthermore, it brings to light how language attitudes can affect and, at the same time, indicate language vitality.

2.2 Diglossia

The term was originally coined to describe the Greek linguistic situation which is distinguishable by the existence of two varieties (Katharévousa and Dhimotiki), each variety used for distinct purposes (Bussmann, 1996: 314). The notion of diglossia²² was applied to the situation of Arabic in general and the situation of Arabic in Algeria in particular by William Marçais (1930) in his article “*La diglossie arabe*”. Marçais, who lived in Algeria for some time, claims that Arabic has two linguistic systems, the first one specified in writing and the other one for oral usage. Marçais (1930: 401) states

The Arabic language appears to us under two different aspects: 1- Literary language, the so called written Arabic, regular, literal or classical]... [2- The vernaculars, patois... none of which has ever been written anywhere and perhaps for a long time, those (vernaculars) are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultural circles²³

The situation of Arabic according to Marçais ascribes strictly the use of writing to CA only, though there have been many proofs of the written vernacular (at least in Algeria) in some manuscripts in the past, and today the use of the written vernacular is common especially in the advertisements.

²² Diglossia is formed of “*di*” meaning ‘two’ and “*glossa*” meaning ‘language’ in Greek

²³ The original text reads as follows:” *La langue arabe se présenter à nous sous deux aspects sensiblement différent:1- une langue littéraire, dit arabe écrit... de régulier, ou littéral ou classique]... [2- des idiomes parlés, des patois... dont aucun n’a jamais été écrit mais, qui, partout, et peut-être depuis longtemps, (sont) la seule langue de la conversation dans tous les milieux populaires ou cultivés.*

Later, Ferguson in his seminal article ‘Diglossia’ (1959) theorized the situation and brought three models alongside Greek, which are German in Switzerland, French in Haiti and certainly Arabic. For Ferguson, any diglossic situation should be characterised with two varieties of the same language (high and low), each one has separate functions and it has to be gone through a long time. Ferguson (1959a:336) states the following definition:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.²⁴

This definition was criticised for its rigid separation of Arabic into high and low varieties ignoring the middle variety or varieties; for example, the educated spoken Arabic which serves the functions of the high variety (Classical or standard Arabic) as well as the functions of the low variety (the vernacular).

Ferguson’s conception of diglossia, known as Classical Diglossia, was the subject of modification and refinement. Joshua Fishman extended the notion to include varieties that do not share the same typology. Fishman (1967) assumes that the functions ascribed to H and L of the same language can also be ascribed to varieties from different languages. He characterized the relations between diglossia and bilingualism in this way:

- **Both Bilingualism and diglossia;** for example, the situation of Paraguay where Spanish (high) and Guarani (low) are not genetically related.
- **Bilingualism without diglossia;** for example, the situation of immigrant communities in France.

²⁴ Cited in Wardhaugh (2006: 89)

- **Diglossia without bilingualism;** for example, the situation of Algeria (the Algerian colloquial and standard Arabic).
- **Neither diglossia nor bilingualism;** for example, monolingual communities over the world which are very rare. Fishman (1967: 30)

Fishman's extension of diglossia though recognizes the crucial role of functional distribution and classifies the communities according to their speech repertoires as well as relying on domain analysis, was criticised over the delusion of Ferguson's classical or narrow diglossia. This point of view holds that Ferguson's concept of classical diglossia explains better a lot of situations including Arabic in Algeria. Swann et.al (2009: 40)

2.3 Bilingualism²⁵

Probing through literature, one can find that linguists provided many definitions (usually discordant) concerning bilingualism. An early definition by Bloomfield (1935: 56) confines the state of bilingualism in one criterion "the native-like control of two languages". Conversely, Macnamara (1967a) assumes that any individual who has the least proficiency even in one of the four skills in a language besides his/her mother tongue can be considered bilingual. Between these two extremes, there are many definitions and assumptions that reflect the degree of proficiency (from a native-like to a minimal knowledge of a second language) people should acquire before they qualify as bilinguals (Crystal, 2008: 10)

Hamers and Blanc (2000: 19) made a distinction between bilingualism and bilinguality; they state that bilingualism refers to the state of a community where two languages are used whereas bilinguality is the psychological condition of an individual who is able to use two languages in the same social interaction with other members of the community.

²⁵ Bilingualism and multilingualism are under the same meaning throughout this work (the use of more than one language)

Simply put, bilingualism is a socio-cultural and a psychological linguistic phenomenon, where a community or an individual use more than one language to fulfil communicational needs.

Bilingualism can be classified according to many factors such as the brain representations of the languages. On this basis we can distinguish three types:

- **Compound bilingualism:** Is the situation where an individual acquire two languages synchronically in the same milieu. These representations (mental images) are equivalent or combined. For instance, a child raised by parents who speak different languages (e.g. *Tchawit* and AA).
- **Co-ordinate bilingualism:** Is the situation where an individual acquire two languages in different contexts, so the notions of the two languages are stored separately with different meanings. For example, *Tchawit* speaker child learning SA in school.
- **Subordinate bilingualism:** This type refers to the situation where an individual depends on translating notions to the first language because he/she does not store representations concerning the second language.

There is another technical distinction of bilingualism according to the influence of one language on the other. Two types are observed:

- **Additive bilingualism:** Also called elite bilingualism, it is the situation where an individual's mastery or proficiency of one language is not intimidated or diminished by the second language. For example, Standard Arabic-speaking Algerians Learning French.
- **Subtractive bilingualism:** In this case the first language (minority language) is threatened and maybe replaced by the second language (national or international). For instance, Algerian Arabic-speaking immigrant acquiring French.

Multilingualism is often depicted, both in the popular perception and the specialised literature, as an out of the ordinary practice, whereas monolingualism is considered as the regular human state. Yet, more or less the great majority of the world societies and individuals are multilingual to various extents. This assumption, which favours monolingualism over multilingualism, is the result of the supremacy of “one nation, one state” ideology. Gal (2006: 149).

2.4 Some Outcomes of Language Contact

Within multilingual communities and even communities with diglossic situations, a number of linguistic behaviours, such as code switching and borrowing raise to the surface.

2.4.1 Code Switching (CS)

Code switching refers to the alternate change of the use of linguistic systems during the same conversation. Gumperz (1982: 59) states that code switching is “The juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. In the same line of thoughts, Crystal (2008:83) defines code switching as the linguistic behaviour that bilingual or bidialectal speakers make between different dialects (e.g. standard and regional), between different languages (e.g. French and Arabic) and even between different styles (e.g. formal style at work and domestic style at home). Code switching is sometimes confused with code mixing which refers to the transmission of linguistic elements between two languages which often labelled as a hybrid e.g. Spanglish in the case of Spanish and English (ibid).

Code switching was traditionally considered chaotic and unpredictable, however, the studies prove otherwise; Blom and Gumperz (1972) carried out a sociolinguistic investigation in a Norwegian village and found out that the members of that community speak two dialects of Norwegian and use them according to particular structures.

Code switching was approached from different angles, mainly, socio-cultural (functional) aspects and grammatical (structural) aspects

2.4.1.1 The Socio-cultural Aspect of CS

Code switching is by far the most studied by-product of language contact in multilingual communities; several models have been made as an attempt to explain the phenomenon. Blom and Gumperz (1972) undertook an investigation on code switching in Hemnesberget, Norway. The focus of their study was about the use of Backmal (standard) and Ranamal (local) dialects and what triggers switching between them. They deduced that there are three types of code switching:

- **Situational Code Switching:** This type of switch is governed by the nature of the situation, i.e. the switch occurs when non linguistic factors change (interlocutors, subject, background, etc...) i.e. the switch occurs when the interlocutors shift from one topic to another or when settings are no more the same.
- **Metaphorical Code Switching:** Sometimes speakers tend to switch deliberately at some point during a conversation in order to produce a special communicative effect, hence attract the attention of their addressees. In other words, they switch between codes to represent or stand for a set of different social connotations which ultimately draws the hearers' attention (just like speakers use metaphors to denote complex meanings).
- **Conversational Code Switching:** In addition to situational vs. metaphorical dichotomy, Gumperz (1982) introduced another type which is conversational code switching. This type, according to Gumperz, is about circumstantial signs in which the switch happens to communicate meaning implicitly. Moreover, he suggests that conversational code switching includes the following functions: Addressee specification, quotation, interjection, reiteration, message qualification as well as personalization versus objectification.

The model presented by Blom and Gumperz (1972) and later by Gumperz (1982) is not free of problems. The model may clarify when and how the switch occurs but it does not explain why speakers code switch. Myers-Scotton (1983) introduces the 'Markedness Model' which aims at describing the social motivations that lead speakers to code switch. For her, code switching is a sign of identity negotiation; the speakers alternate between codes to affirm various statuses allocated to the different varieties that exist in the community's verbal repertoire (each variety holds a social meaning). The model is based on the premise that there is a continuum of relatively 'marked' or 'unmarked' choices. Furthermore, speakers rely on what Myers-Scotton (1993) calls 'markedness-metric', or the ability to evaluate different linguistic choices, as part of their communicative competence. To emphasise the different types of code choices, she proposes three maxim choices:

- **Unmarked Choice Maxim:** This choice maxim occurs in a situation when a speaker switches from one code to another in accordance with the already agreed upon rules and norms of communication (rules of rights and obligations)²⁶, that is to say, there is an implicit agreement or convention between the members of a speech community (usually bilingual) which makes them consider the unmarked choice normal and ordinary.
- **Marked Choice Maxim:** In contrast to the unmarked choice which follows certain social rules, the marked choice occurs in unexpected situations. The speaker switches from one variety to another in order to convey an important socially loaded message, and hence re-establish the relationship between him/her and the addressee.
- **Exploratory Choice Maxim:** In this type, speakers are unaware or confused about the suitable variety they should use in a given situation, so they explore by negotiating the choices to establish the appropriate relationship.

²⁶ 'Rules of Rights and Obligations' is an abstract conception, originated from the factors of each situation, indicating the attitudes and expectations of the interlocutors towards each other.

2.4.1.2 The Structural Aspect of Code Switching

Besides the socio-cultural factors, code switching is also determined by grammatical elements. So as to explain the underlying principles by which the switch adheres, numerous models have been created by different sociolinguists who seek the general guidelines and rules for code switching that can be compatible to all switching behaviour whatever the codes involved (universal constraints). (Janet Holmes, 2013:40)

Many sociolinguists agree that there are at least two types of code switching: Inter-sentential code switching, which occurs at sentence boundary, usually requires proficiency in both languages (one sentence in language A and another in language B). Intra-sentential code switching which occurs within the sentence (word or phrase boundary), is the focus of the models that aim at analysing the structural aspect of code switching.

Sankoff and Poplack (1981) put forward the linear approach in which they establish two constraints:

- **The Free Morpheme Constraint** prohibits switch between a bound morpheme and a lexical form except for the situations where the lexical morpheme is phonologically integrated into the language of bound morpheme.
- **The Equivalence Constraint** allows code switching only when the surface structure of the two languages grammatically corresponds with each other. In other words, the switch does not violate the syntactic composition of either language.

Although this model seems to account for all code switching occasions of Spanish-English and other language pairs with the same word order, it fails to create universal generalisation because of the divergence of the surface structures of languages.

Disciullo et al. (1986) assume that code switching is generally constrained by the government relation between different components of the sentence. If the

governing and governed constituents are lexically dependent on one another, the switching does not occur. The idea of government principal sounds more auspicious than that of the equivalence constraint, since it takes into consideration the switching between languages with dissimilar word order and incompatible distributions of the categories. However, the government principal still has limitations and it is unfit to be applied universally. (Bassiouney, 2009:34)

Another suggestion is the one proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a) in which she bases her model, the Matrix Language Frame (MLF), on two essential hierarchies:

- **The Matrix Language (ML) vs. The Embedded Language (EL):** Code switching takes place within a frame set by a dominant language (Matrix Language) where the greater part of morphemes comes from and the inserted morphemes come from the dominated language (Embedded Language).
- **System Morpheme vs. Content Morpheme:** The Matrix Language provides the grammatical frame of components, i.e. the ML is characterised by the system morphemes which include inflections, possessive adjectives, determiners, whereas the Embedded Language provides the content morphemes. This group includes nouns, verbs and adjectives. To sum up, ML provides system morphemes and content morphemes while EL provides content morphemes only.

Compared to the linear approach brought by Poplack (1980) and the government approach introduced by DiSciullo et.al (1986), Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model (insertional approach) is the most praised one, basically for the following reasons: Firstly, the model does not require a particular pair of languages (usually similar) to work on; also the model does not confine the study of code switching to the structural constraints only but takes into consideration the discourse functions. However, this model still has some empirical and theoretical issues (R.M. Bhatt, 2000).

2.4.2 Borrowing

Speakers all over the world use words from different languages in addition their mother tongues to express an idea or identify an object. Using this kind of words, which can be conscious or unconscious, is due to the close contact that leads one language to dominate the other, or simply because of the absence of their equivalents in the mother tongues.

Borrowing is usually related to code switching, yet each phenomenon has its distinctive features. Borrowing can be divided into two types:

- **Structural Borrowing:** It requires the adaptation of features from the first language into the second language phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and semantically. This type of borrowing is complicated.
- **Lexical Borrowing:** It concerns the single lexical items; nouns, verb stems and adjectives. These loan words are not specific to multilingual speech communities, even monolingual speakers use them.

The relationship between borrowing and code switching can be summarised in the idea that borrowing is a shared behaviour in a speech community that was originally a code switching used by multilingual individuals as a communicative strategy (Scotton; 1993a).

2.5 Language Attitudes and Vitality

According to Crystal (2008:266) language attitudes can be defined as “the feelings people have about their own LANGUAGE or the language (s) of others”. These attitudes (usually subjective norms and personal judgments and opinions) could be positive or negative and even neutral. The attitudes towards one language can also entail attitudes towards its speakers.

There are many factors that can influence the attitudes of individuals and communities towards languages such as the historical circumstances that usually shape the popular perception. For example, the negative attitudes towards Tamazight in some parts of Arabic speaking areas in Algeria is the result of the official propaganda that once described the Kabyle as rebellious and separatist during the uprising of 1980. The second factor is the power and prestige of the language, e.g., because of its international status and its use in the technical and scientific domains, a lot of Algerians hold positive attitudes towards French. Another factor concerns diglossic societies where the low variety is deemed corrupt, bad and a distorted way of speaking, whereas the high variety is highly respected and considered perfect.

Apart from pointing out and analysing linguistic behaviours (e.g. language choice in multilingual settings), the significance of studying language attitudes lies in predicting some aspects such as the vitality of a language. This latter is the ability of a group to preserve their language and use it in various domains and for different functions. In this respect, Baker (1992) affirms that people's attitudes towards languages in multilingual contexts can affect and produce changes in them in terms of restoration (vitality) or decline (death).

The vitality of a language can be measured by the attitudes of its speakers; in a multilingual community the variety (varieties) with high vitality is usually marked by positive attitudes of its speakers and the variety (varieties) with low vitality is marked by negative attitudes of its speakers.

2.6 Conclusion

Multilingual communities abound in different linguistic phenomena as a result of the constant contact between languages. The sociolinguistic profile of Algeria is characterised by diglossia (Arabic) and bilingualism (AA/F, AA/TMZ, F/TMZ, etc...). There are many outcomes that yield from language contact, mainly, code switching, which can be studied from different aspects and borrowing. The

speakers' attitudes towards their language can be used as an indication to evaluate the vitality of that language. Therefore, the next chapter will deal with the practical part of this work in which the researcher will illustrate the research design, data collection procedures and analysis.

Chapter Three

3.1 Introduction

The goal of this research is to examine the language attitudes of the students of the Department of Tamazight Language and Culture at Batna University. In this chapter, we will try to describe the empirical phase of the study by providing a brief description of the study settings, the outline of the research design, and the followed methodology in choosing the participants and the research instruments, as well as the procedures of analysing the gathered data. Therefore, we will analyse the collected data, interpret them and discuss the findings.

3.2 The Study Settings

We have conducted a study about student's attitudes towards different languages in the Algerian context. The concerned population are the students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture at Batna University, established in the state of Batna in the north east of the country. The Department contains more than one thousand registered students distributed over four levels (1st year, 2nd year and 3rd year Licence and 1st year Master)²⁷. Batna is the centre of the Aures Region where the majority of *Tchawit* speakers reside.

3.3 The Research Design

In order to succeed in providing a significant study and attain reliable findings, some of the hardest challenges that face researchers in sociolinguistics are designing the appropriate frame work of the research, and choosing the suitable sampling technique and research instruments.

3.3.1 The Sample's Profile

The sample is a bunch of people under study in an experimental investigation; it belongs to a larger group which is the target population. Therefore, the current research is based upon 40 students who answered the questionnaire and 3 teachers who had been interviewed.

²⁷ There is no second year Master level yet because the department was established in 2013.

3.3.1.1 The Students' Profile

In this research paper, the empirical investigation is based upon a selected group from the target population. The sample was chosen randomly from the students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture. Forty participants were handed questionnaires after being reassured that their released information will be used just for the sake of the study. The study is concerned with all TLC department students studying in different levels. The majority of the students live in the different municipalities of the state of Batna whereas the remaining students live in the neighbouring states of Khenchela, Tébessa, Oum el Bouaghi, Biskra and Sétif. The sample consists of more males than females.

3.3.1.2 The Teachers' Profile

Three teachers at the department of Tamazight Language and Culture accepted to be interviewed. One teaches sociolinguistics (in French), the second teaches anthropology (also in French) and the other teaches literature (in Tamazight). Two of them are 'Doctorate' students who have been teaching for 2 years, while the other is a 'Magister' holder who has been teaching for 4 years.

3.3.2 Data Collection Instruments

The research tools used in this case study with the purpose of examining the research hypotheses are a questionnaire administered to students and a semi-structured interview with their teachers.

3.3.2.1 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire in sociolinguistics is a direct method that is largely used by researchers to measure language attitudes. It is composed of a list of questions that allow researchers to explore how people behave in certain situations and to uncover their beliefs, knowledge and social traits (MacKenzie *et al.* 2015:71).

The questionnaire that is used to investigate the perceptions and attitudes of people is the simplest research instrument for this task since it is fast, resourceful, and effective means of gathering abundant data from a considerable group of

people. However, the obtained data could be flawed because of the nature of people who may fudge or even falsify their answers for different reasons (ibid, p: 83).

The questions used in a questionnaire could be open or close-ended according to the data that the researcher aims at obtaining, whether it is quantitative or qualitative. The former kind of data is obtained through open ended questions which ask for one idea where the informants are free to express their opinions; for example, clarification questions. The close ended questions are asked mainly to attain quantitative data. This type of questions provides pre-formulated answers from which the respondents are asked to choose. There are also mixed questions where the informants are asked to pick one answer then clarify their options.

Correspondingly, a questionnaire was administered hand to hand to 45 students at the lobby of the department, but only 40 managed to return it. The purpose of this questionnaire is to uncover the students' attitudes towards the different languages in the Algerian context in general and towards Tamazight in particular, as well as their position concerning the rivalry between French and Standard Arabic. The questionnaire is divided into three parts. The first part is concerned with some background information of the participants: residence place, sex, first language acquired (mother tongue), and the academic year. The second part which consists of 3 questions is about language use in different situations. The last part which includes 10 questions is devoted to examine opinions and perceptions of the students towards the designated languages. (For the complete questionnaire in Arabic, see Appendix A).

3.3.2.2 The Semi-Structured Interview

A semi-structured interview is a qualitative method of inquiry that combines a pre-determined set of open questions (questions that prompt discussion) with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular issues or responses, and allowing the interviewee to expand ideas. Accordingly, the researcher interviewed three teachers with the intention of gaining knowledge about the language attitudes of the students from their points of view. The adoption of this instrument is based

on the assumption that this research will benefit from the accumulated experiences and observations of these teachers.

The interviews with teachers took place in the classrooms at the end of sessions. The researcher took notes while the informants answered the questions. Concerning the design of the semi-structured interview, it consists of two parts: The first one is about some of the informants' background information, and the second part deals with the following themes: (1) the common language used in classes, (2) the languages of interaction with students outside classes, (3) the students' motivations to study TMZ, (4) the contribution of teaching TMZ in revitalizing the language, (5) the skills of students in Arabic and French.

3.4 Data analysis Procedures

After gathering the essential data, the next action is to analyse the results in order to draw conclusions and achieve the research objectives. Accordingly, we will set out to analyse the data both quantitatively and qualitatively.

3.5 Analysis of the Questionnaire

The present section is devoted to the analysis of the data emerging from the administered questionnaire.

Part One: Background Information

Question 1: Where do you live?

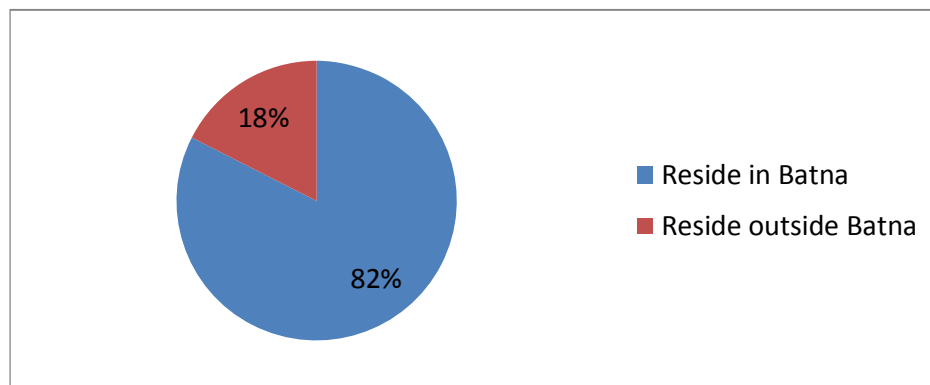


Figure 3.1 Place of Residence

The above figure shows that the majority of the participants live in the state of Batna, 82%, i.e., thirty three out of forty respondents. On the other hand, there are no more than seven (18%) who say that they live outside Batna. This indicates that the popularity of the discipline among students is restricted to the hosting state and this could be linked to the recency of the department.

Question 2: What is your sex?

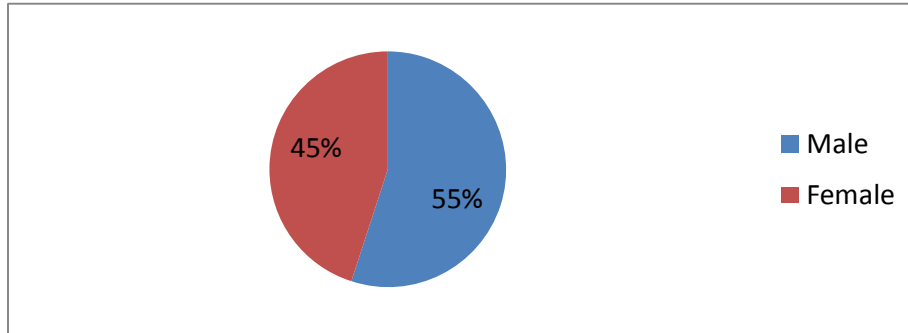


Figure 3.2 Gender Distribution

The figure for question 2 shows that our sample contains a few more males than females; 22 (55%) vs. 18 (45%). This shows that males are interested in studying Tamazight despite the fact that it is usually females who are more interested in studying languages in general. This could be the result of language loyalty that often drives males more than females.

Question 3: What is your mother tongue?

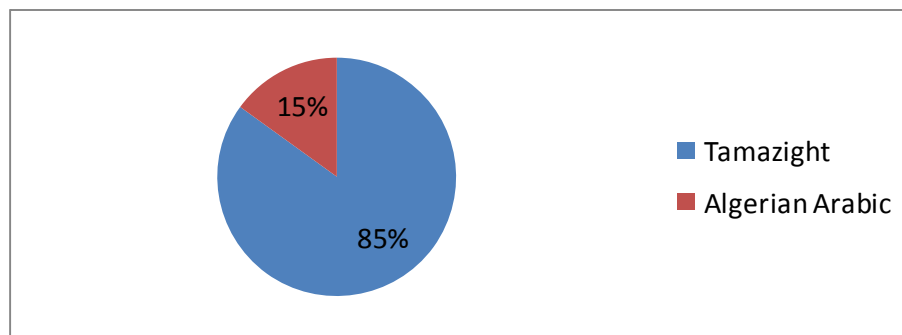


Figure 3.3 Mother tongue of the Participants

The above pie chart shows that the majority of the sample subjects, 34 out of 40, state that their mother tongue is Tamazight while the remaining 6 said that

their mother tongue is Algerian Arabic. It is quite normal to see that most of the students who chose to study Tamazight as a university major come from a Tamazight-speaking background. Concerning the 15% who stated that they acquired AA as mother tongue, it is worth mentioning that some of Tamazight speaking parents teach their children AA at an early age even before teaching them Tamazight.

Question 4: What is your academic year?

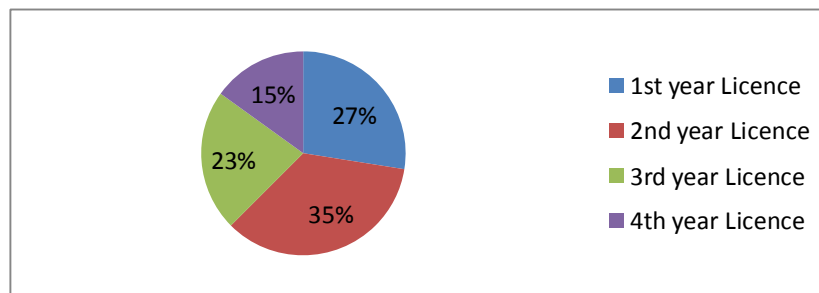


Figure 3.4 Level distribution

The results shown in the above figure may add nothing to the work, but the informants were instructed to state their level to make sure that they represent the whole department not only one level.

Part Two: Langue Use

Question 5: What language do you often use in the following contexts?

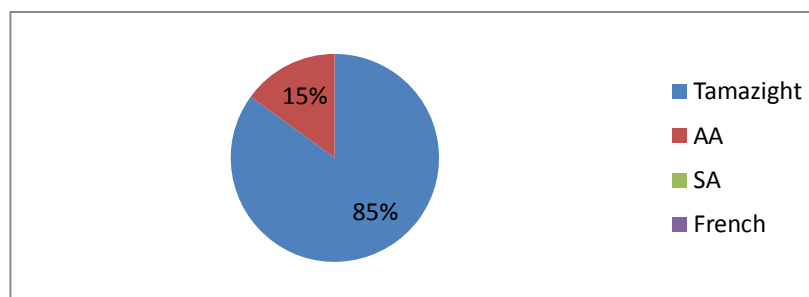


Figure 3.5 Language Use at Home with Family

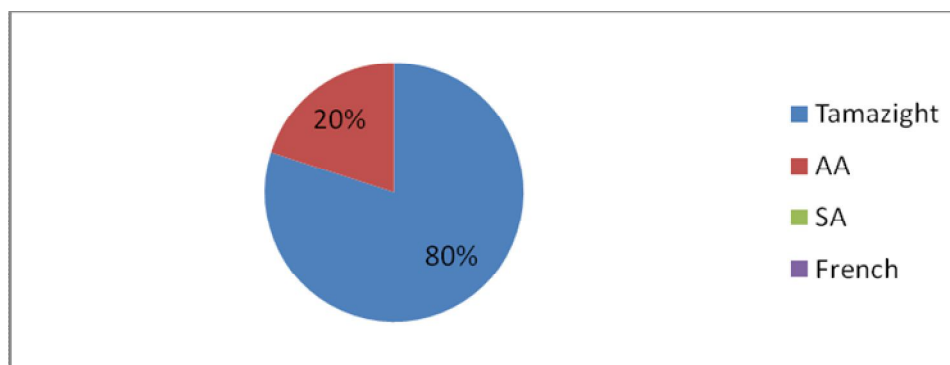


Figure 3.6 Language Use with People at Village

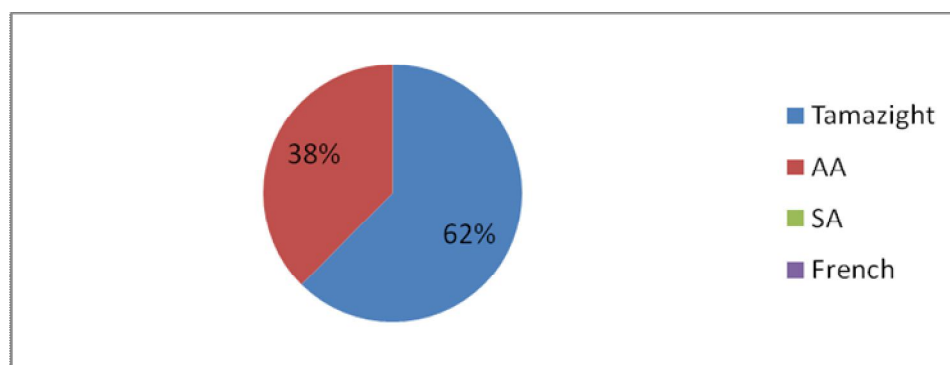


Figure 3.7 Language Use with Friends at the City

The above three figures show that the subjects of the sample ascribe large percentages to Tamazight. It scores 85% for 'at home with family', 80% for 'at village with people', and 62% for 'at city with friends'. It can be perceived that Tamazight is used more in the familiar contexts (home and village) compared with the less familiar contexts such as the city. We can also see that there is a steady increase of the use AA accompanied of course with a decrease with the use of Tamazight along the continuum of Intimacy.

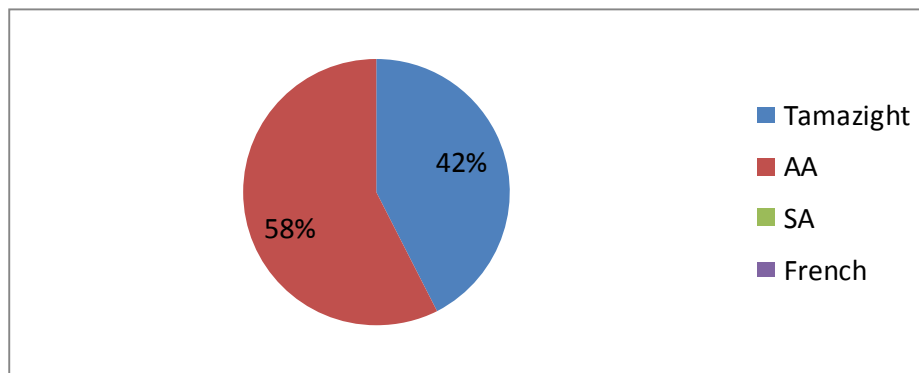


Figure 3.8 Language Use with Vendors at the Market

The figure above shows that 23 (58%) of the respondents use AA when shopping, whereas 17 (42%) of the informants stated that they use Tamazight.

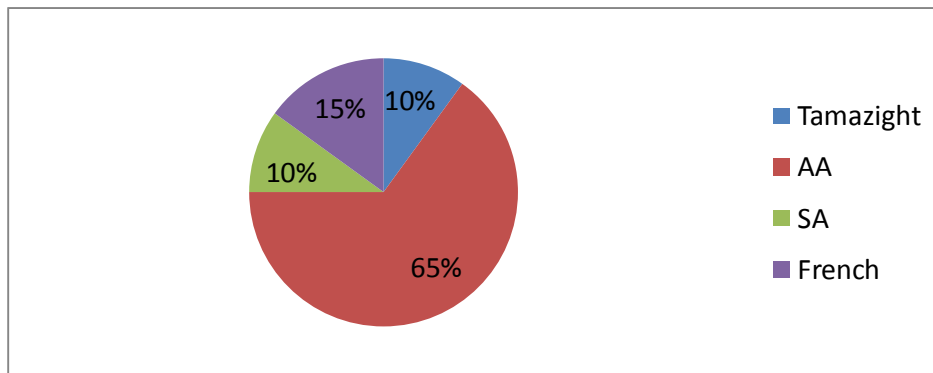


Figure 3.9 Language Use with Government Officials

Concerning the language use in the government domain, 26 (65%) of our respondents stated that they use AA, 4 (10%) of the informants opted for Tamazight and the same proportion for SA, whereas 6 (15%) of the respondents declared that they use French. Normally it is SA that is expected to be the main medium of communication in this domain and for a lesser degree Tamazight since they are the official languages of the country. However, AA is the most used among our respondents followed by French which has the status of a foreign language.

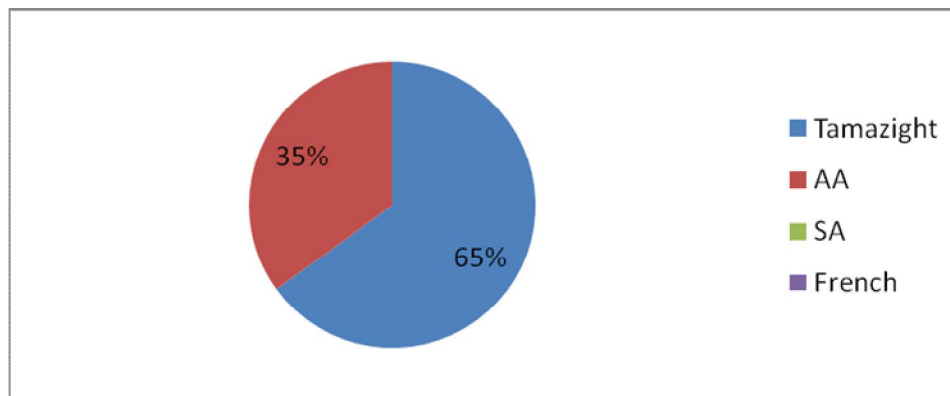


Figure 3.10 Language Use with Teachers in the class

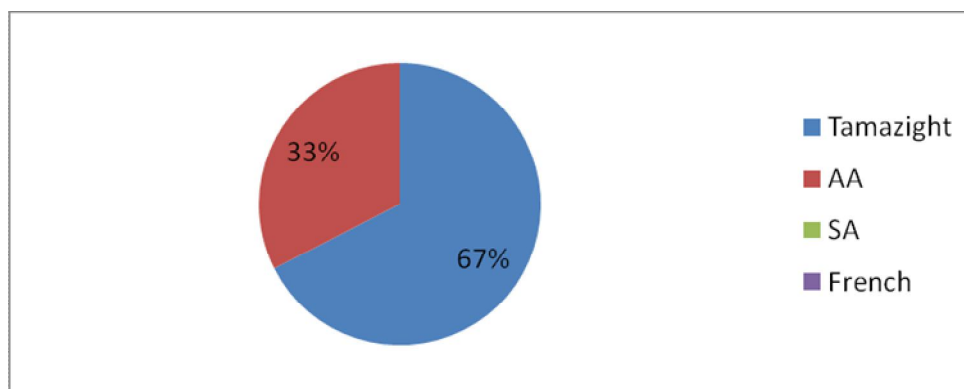


Figure 3.11 Language Use with Teachers outside the Class

The above two figures demonstrate that the respondents use only Tamazight and AA with teachers inside and outside the class. Tamazight scores 65% inside classes and 67% outside classes, whereas AA score 35% inside classes and 33% outside classes. In this context, the expected choice for students is Tamazight. However, there is a significant proportion stated that they use AA. This could be related to the low mutual intelligibility between some teachers and their students (the majority of the students speak *Tchawit* dialect whereas some teachers speak *Tkabaylit* dialect).

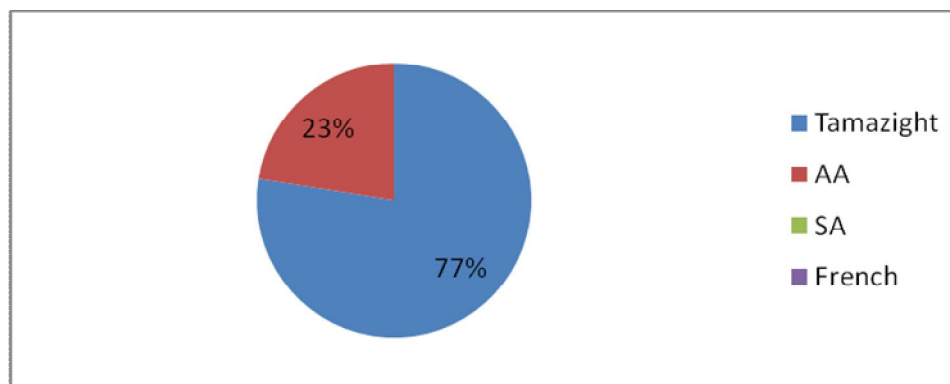


Figure 3.12 Language Use with Colleagues in the Class

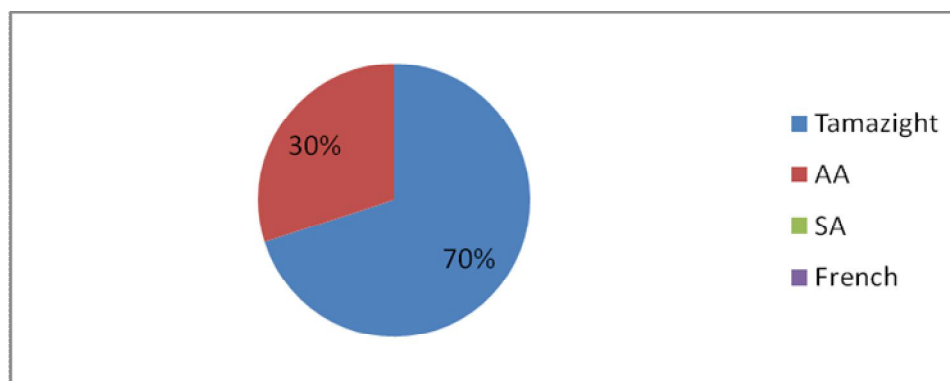


Figure 3.13 Language Use with Colleagues outside the Class

The above two figures show that the majority of the sample's subjects use Tamazight when speaking with their fellow classmates both inside classes 77% (thirty one out of forty) and outside classes 70% (twenty eight out of forty). This confirms the idea stating that people tend to use their mother tongue when having conversations in intimate contexts such as the case of friends and classmates. AA scored 23% for inside class with colleagues and 30% for outside class with colleagues. Since all the students are TMZ/AA bilinguals, they tend to use AA with their classmates regardless of sharing TMZ as mother tongue.

Question 6: In which language are you often addressed in the following contexts?

Table 3.1 The Language That the Students Are Often Addressed With

Context	Language		AA		SA		French	
	Tamazight							
At home with Family	85%	34	15%	6	0%	0	0%	0
With people in the village	87%	35	13%	5	0%	0	0%	0
In the city with friends	55%	22	45%	18	0%	0	0%	0
With government officials	12%	5	66%	26	10%	4	12%	5
With vendors at the market	42%	17	58%	23	0%	0	0%	0
With teachers inside classes	75%	30	25%	10	0%	0	0%	0
With teachers outside classes	62%	25	38%	15	0%	0	0%	0
With colleagues inside classes	75%	30	25%	10	0%	0	0%	0
With colleagues outside classes	70%	28	30%	12	0%	0	0%	0

The table 3.1 is an overall illustration for the language with which our informants are often addressed in some contexts. Tamazight scored significant percentages concerning intimate domains; 85% for home with family, and 87% for village with people. The numbers also show that the subjects of the sample are frequently addressed in Tamazight in the class domain; 75% both with classmates and teachers. In general, the results are similar concerning the language that the students often use and the language with which they are regularly addressed in the

specified contexts. It worth mentioning that code switching or even code mixing can occur more than often in these contexts, but it was overlooked to keep things less complicated.

Question 7: What language do you use when addressing someone that you do not know in the department? Why?

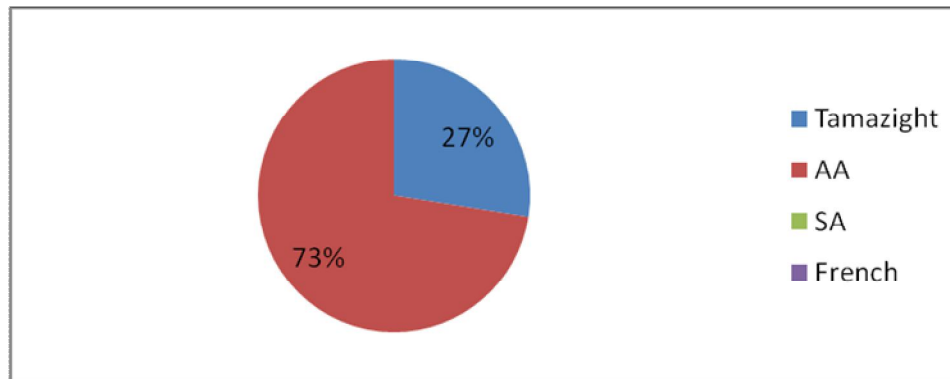


Figure 1.14 Language Use with a Stranger in the Department

In this question we instructed the respondents to inform us about the language they use when addressing a person whom they do not know at the department and to clarify their answers. 73% stated that they use AA whereas only 23% claimed that they speak Tamazight with strangers at the department. Those who opted for AA see that it is the logical choice since almost everyone understands it and speaks it, besides, not everyone speaks Tamazight and French and the use of SA would be bizarre. On the other hand, those who use Tamazight argue that since it is the department of Tamazight everyone should be able to speak it. Other informants stated that it is a personal choice. One interesting informant stated that by speaking Tamazight, one expresses his identity to others²⁸.

²⁸ Seven respondents did not answer the second part of the question concerning the clarification of their choice

Part Three: Language Attitudes

Question 8: What is the language that you like the most?

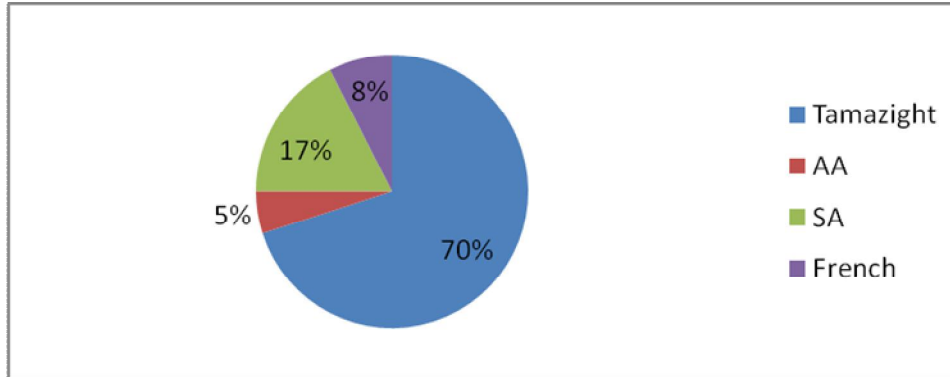


Figure 3.15 the Most Liked Language

The pie chart for question 8 shows that our respondents like Tamazight the most (70%), which is natural since they have made a decision to study it. The next language these students like the most is SA (17%) which can also be quite normal if we look to the remaining options which are French and AA. The former is not popular among our informants; two informants (5%) said they like it the most, this result can be linked mainly to the general atmosphere prevailing in Batna in which there is a kind of discrimination against the people coming from rural Tamazight speaking areas.

Question 9: What is the language that you like the least?

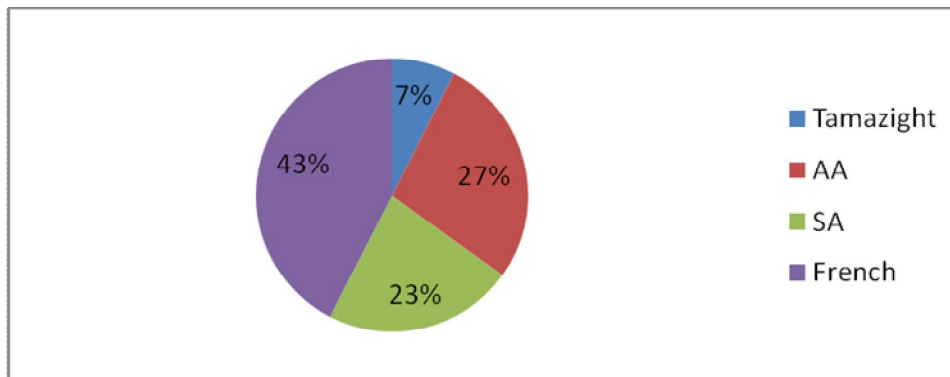


Figure 3.16 the Most Disliked Language

The results shown in the pie chart of question 9 simulate partially the results of the previous question. 43% (seventeen out of forty) of our respondents stated that

the language they like the least is French followed by AA 27% (eleven out of forty) and SA 23% (nine out of forty). French is usually associated with the colonizer and contrarily to other states of Algeria (mainly costal) it has not gained a significant standing ground among the new generation especially those who inhabit rural areas which are remote from the big urban centres.

Question 10: What is the most beautiful language according to you?

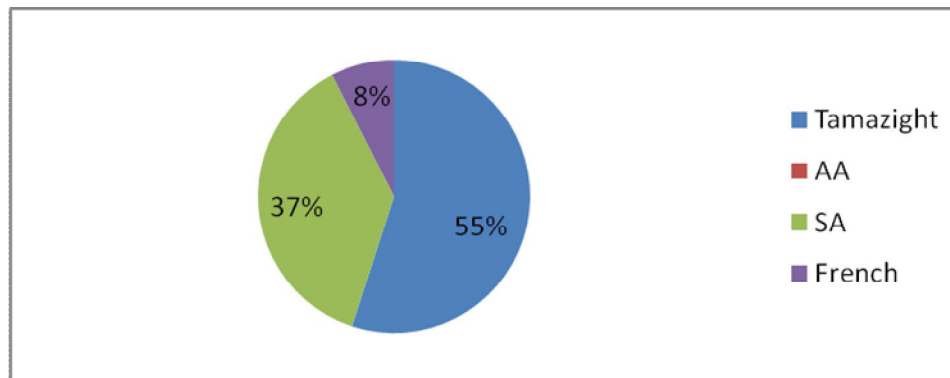
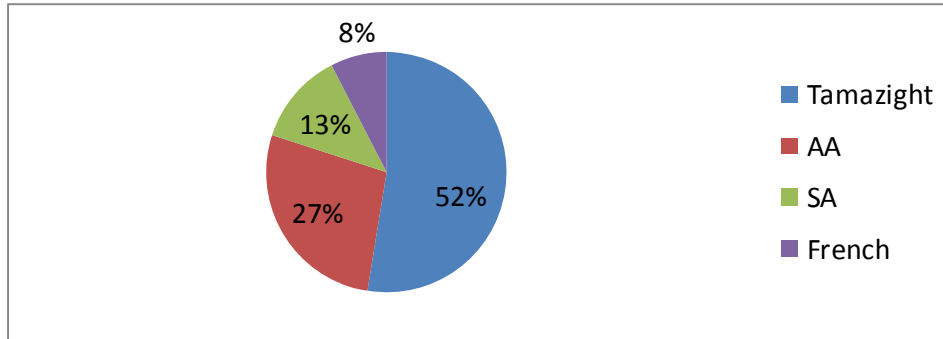


Figure 3.17 the Most Beautiful Language

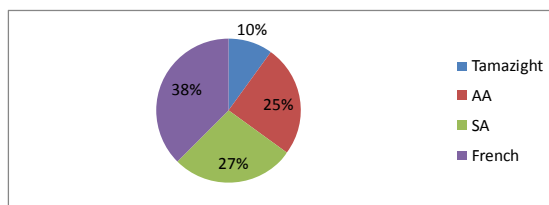
The pie chart for question 10 points out that Tamazight and SA achieve high percentages as far as the beauty of the language is concerned; 55% for Tamazight and 37% for SA, The score of Tamazight could be related to the feelings of belonging and loyalty towards the mother tongue, whereas the score of SA could be linked to the prestige and even sanctity that this highly codified form of Arabic enjoys amongst Muslims in general. French scored 8% (three out of forty), a low score that can be again linked with the association of French with colonization and its insignificant presence within the communities of this region in general. It is worth mentioning that no-one of our respondents opted for AA which is often considered as a distorted way of speaking.

Question 11: What is the most useful language in your daily life?**Figure 3.18 the Most Useful Language in Daily Life**

The above figure represents the language that our respondents deem the most useful in their daily life. 52% of the informants rely mainly on Tamazight owing to the fact that they live in places where Tamazight is the common language which is used for communication.

As expected, AA is the next in ranking (27%) as far as the usefulness in an everyday context is concerned, bearing in mind that some of our respondents said that their mother tongue is AA besides some of them live in bilingual municipalities where one portion of the people speak *Tchawit* and the others speak AA, for example, Ngaous and Ain Touta.

13% (five out of forty) said that SA is the most useful language in their daily life and 8% (three out of forty) stated that it was French. These results will be confirmed in the next question.

Question 12: What is the language that you find less useful in your daily life?**Figure 3.19 the Less Useful Language in Daily Life**

The answers for question 12, as demonstrated in the above figure, reveal that French is the less useful language on a daily life basis according to our respondents, 38% (fifteen out of forty), followed by SA, 27% (eleven out of forty). Algerian Arabic scored 25%, a percentage that reflects and confirms the results of question 5 (part two) where AA scored the highest scores in just two contexts out nine. Four informants (10%) declared that Tamazight is the less useful in their everyday life.

Question 13: What is the language that you master the best?

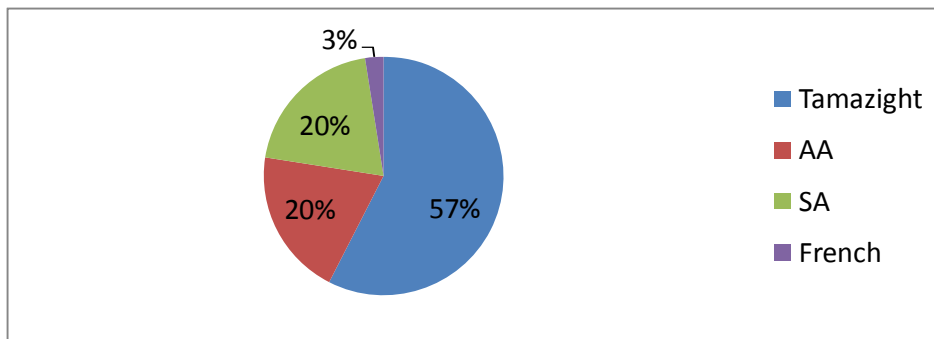


Figure 3.20 Language Mastery

The pie chart for question 13 shows that a small majority of our respondents (57%) said that they are more proficient in Tamazight than the other languages. This is simply due to the fact that they live in majority Tamazight-speaking areas which provide them with more chance to practice their mother tongue. Surprisingly, AA and SA achieved the same score (20%), we expected AA to score more than SA since the former lacks the vitality on a daily usage basis that AA has. French scored 3% in this question.

Question 14: What is the language that you feel expresses you identity?

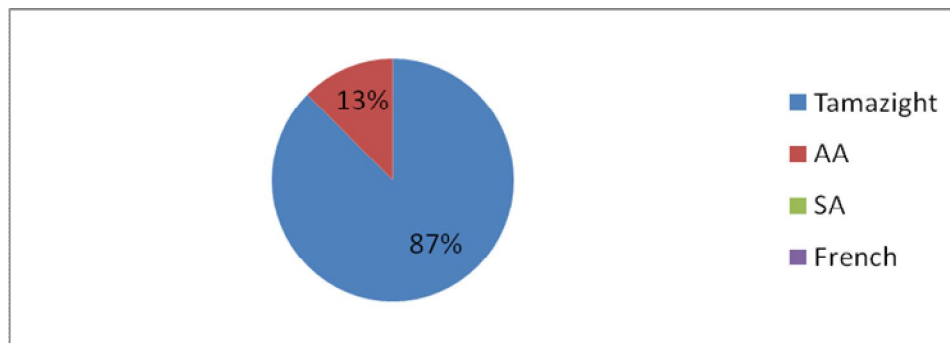


Figure 3.21 the Language that Expresses Identity

The above figure shows that the great majority of our respondents (87%) feel that Tamazight expresses their identity. This is an indication of the degree of appreciation that Tamazight enjoys amongst its speakers. AA scored 13% (five out of forty). These results nearly match the results of question 3, part one; 85% for Tamazight and 15% for AA. In other words, according to our respondents the language that expresses identity is the mother tongue.

Question 15: What is the language that you feel does not express your identity?

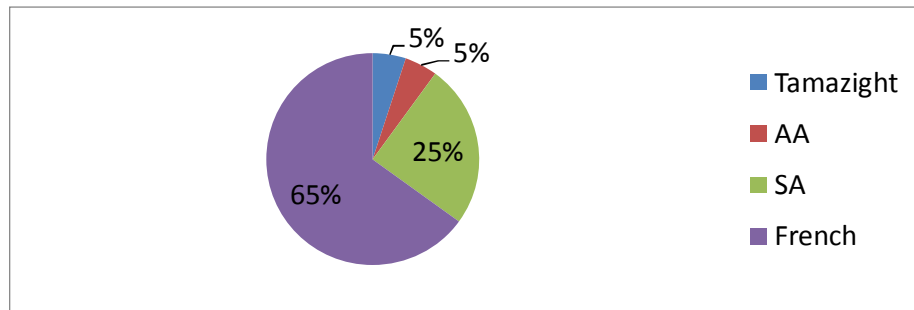


Figure 3.22 the Language that Does Not Express Identity

The figure for question 15 shows that 65% of the elements of the sample regard French as the language that do not express their identity. The reason why our respondents do not identify themselves with French is once again its association with colonization and its insignificant presence in the region especially among the new generations. As far as SA is concerned, it scored 25% for this question. This result has to do with Amazigh identity movement across Algeria which implies that SA represents Arabic identity.

Question 16: What is the language that you prefer to be a means of instruction? Why?

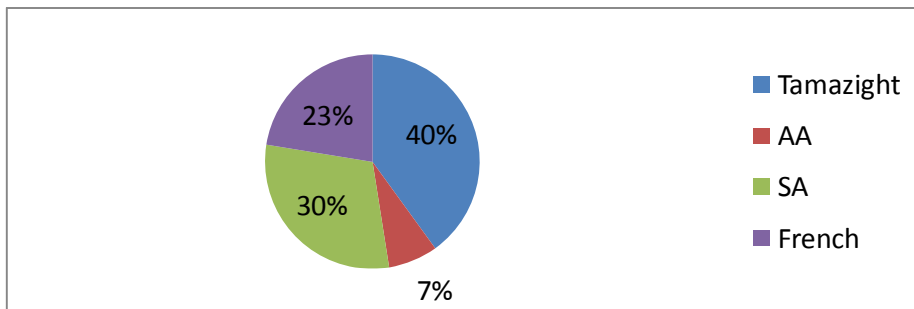


Figure 3.23 the Language that is Preferred as Means of Instruction

The above figure represents the languages that our respondents prefer to be used in teaching. The results of this question are indecisive and reflect in one way or another controversy of this issue on a national level. 40% (sixteen out of forty) favour Tamazight; in their justification for this selection they stated that since it is their mother tongue, it is the best way to receive knowledge. Others claimed that using Tamazight as a means of instruction is a chance to promote it and spread it.

Concerning Standard Arabic, 30% of the informants prefer it to be the channel for transmitting knowledge. These respondents clarified their option by stating that it is a complete language, highly codified and universal. Other respondents said that since it is the language of Islam they should preserve it and never abandon it. The former opinion is a manifestation of the sacredness associated with Arabic; one particular informant said “I prefer Arabic because it is the language of God”.

French scored 23% (nine out of forty). The respondents who favour French claim that it is the language of science, civilisation and progress; besides most scientific and technical disciplines in university are taught in French. Those who opted for AA (the remaining 7%) stated that since it is the most spread language in Algeria, Algerian Arabic should be used as means of instruction.

Question 17: When teachers ask you to do a report or a research and present it, in which language are you going to conduct it?

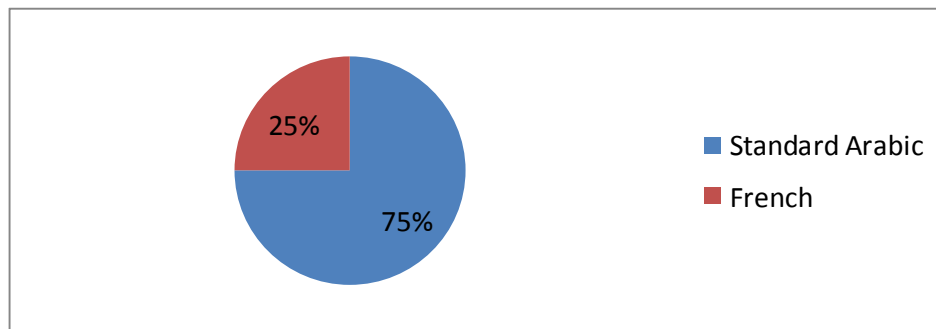


Figure 3.24 Language of Conducting Reports

The figure for question 17 shows that the majority of our informants (75%) chose SA over French which scored 25%. Among the clarifications which were provided by the respondents who favour SA is their command and mastery of this language alongside their incompetence in French. Others said that they prefer SA

because it is rich and practical. Concerning those who prefer French, they justified their option stating that French is largely spread worldwide and it is more suitable for reports and researches. Others said that their teachers appreciate more using French and judge them favourably when conducting reports in it. One particular respondent said that she prefers to use French because it can deliver her thoughts and ideas better than Arabic.

An overall comparison between language use and language attitudes results from the questionnaire shows that the language perceptions cannot always be associated with language use especially in multilingual interactions which make students act differently from what they believe.

3.6 The Analysis of the Semi-Structured Interview

This section is devoted to the analysis of the data emerging from the interviews that the researcher conducted with teachers.

Part One: Background Information

In the first part of each interview the researcher tried to collect data concerning the teacher's professional background. The first question is about the academic degree held by teachers; two of them are LMD 'Doctorate' students, while the other is a 'Magister' holder. The second and the third questions are about the modules that they teach and in which language; one teaches anthropology by means of French language, another one teaches sociolinguistics also in French, while the last one teaches literature in Tamazight. The last question in this part is about the years of teaching experience. The results of this question are explained in the following table

Table 3.2 Years of Teaching

Teacher 01	Teacher 02	Teacher 03
Two years	Two years	Four years

The above table shows that our informants have short to medium years of experience which could diminish their contribution to the research. However, it's

worth restating that the department is relatively recent (established in 2013) and those teachers are pioneers which make their observations useful.

Part Two: The Student's Language Attitudes from the Teacher's Perspective

The use of different varieties in the classroom context

According to the obtained information provided by the teachers, the common languages that are used in the class are TMZ and AA whether it is student-teacher interaction or students among themselves despite the fact that some modules are taught in French. The teachers also agree that code mixing and code switching are extremely recurrent phenomena when it comes to the classroom setting in the department of TLC.

The student-teacher language interactions outside the class

Two teachers state that they use AA when they have conversations with their students in non-class settings; both of them explain their choice by saying that AA is more practical than the other varieties whether be it TMZ, SA, or French. The other teacher claims that because of nature of his module (Tamazight literature) he often interacts with his students using TMZ, unless the addressed student is AA speaker who has difficulties in understanding TMZ.

The underlying motivations that drive the students to study Tamazight

When asked about the main motivations that lead students to specialize in TMZ, all the interviewees agreed on the ideological impulse and the sentiments of belonging. They also suggest that new branches of study usually attract students. One of the teachers claims that there are economic reasons behind such choice; Tamazight is increasingly incorporated in education which opens new slots for teachers to be employed.

The impact of teaching TMZ on developing positive attitudes towards it

The results provided by the interviewees show consensus when it comes to the impact of teaching TMZ on creating positive attitudes towards it; all three teachers agree on this point. The informants asserted that there is a positive change in

attitudes towards Tamazight in the recent years and that teaching it is one the reasons behind this shift. One teacher states that in times not very far speaking TMZ was considered reactionary, and was harshly scorned by the non-speakers of this language and sometimes by its speakers.

The level of students in French and Arabic

Concerning the evaluation of students' level in French and Standard Arabic, all teachers agree that TLC department students lack considerable skills when it comes to their competence in French, contrary to their level in SA. One teacher states that these students grew up in an environment that glorify Arabic, besides a great proportion of them studied the literary branch in secondary school which gives great importance to the mastery of Arabic language. Another teacher adds that French was targeted by the arabisation policy and eventually lost ground among the new generations.

3.7 Discussion of the Key Findings

This research was conducted with the purpose of investigating the attitudes of the students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture at the University of Batna. Thus, for the sake of developing a reliable work, we have used a questionnaire as an instrument of collecting the essential data.

Initially, the researcher tried to explore the beliefs and perceptions of the students toward Tamazight and how they regard its use in different domains. The attained results from the questionnaire administered to the students of the department of TLC revealed that these students hold strong positive feelings toward Tamazight and its use in different spheres. These favourable attitudes toward TMZ among these students are highly linked to the surge of belonging sentiments in recent years and the desire to preserve this heritage. This fact was supported by the department teachers' released statements during the interviews. From their perspectives, teaching TMZ has affected these attitudes. Therefore the first hypothesis was confirmed.

Regarding the second hypothesis which stipulates students of TLC department appreciate and use Arabic rather than French. The obtained results from the student's questionnaire showed that these students esteem and highly regard Standard Arabic compared to French. This partiality to Arabic is related to students' environment which influenced their competency. This deduction is reinforced by the outcomes of the teachers' released statements to the interview. The results stemmed from both research instruments come down to the favour of the second hypothesis was confirmed.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter was an attempt to highlight the empirical phase of the study. It was initiated by presenting some background information of the study settings. It also provided the outline of the research design; the followed methodology in selecting the participants and the research instruments, as well as the procedures of collecting and analysing data. After that, the collected data was analysed and interpreted. Finally, the main results were discussed and the hypotheses were checked.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

In order to examine the vitality or the decline of any variety in a multilingual context, the attitudes of the community's individuals toward the existing varieties are considered crucial for this matter, although these attitudes are merely personal and biased impressions about the languages. The Algerian linguistic stage is characterised by the presence of four main players, i.e. Tamazight (with its diversity), Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, and French. This research paper attempted to explore the language attitudes of Tamazight university students.

For a better understanding of what has been said; a case study research was designed to answer the following questions:

1. In what way the students of Tamazight Language and Culture at Batna University view and use this language in different domains?
2. What is the language that students of Tamazight Language and Culture like and appreciate better concerning Arabic and French?

Consequently, for the sake of answering these questions, the following hypotheses were put together and checked:

1. The students of Tamazight Language and Culture at Batna University maintain favourable attitudes toward TMZ and its use in different fields.
2. The students of Tamazight language and Culture at Batna University prefer and use Arabic instead of French.

The current work constitutes of three chapters. The first chapter attempted to illustrate Algeria's linguistic situation by linking its present verbal repertoire with its historical developments that had big impacts on shaping it. This chapter is also attributed to Tamazight by bringing some general information about it in addition to some difficulties that play against in the arena of education. The second chapter

dealt with Algeria's sociolinguistic profile in light of the relevant literature. The last chapter was devoted to the description of the methodology that was employed in this research and to the analysis and interpretation of the collected data, in addition to the discussion of the main results.

For the sake of answering the research questions we have relied on a questionnaire that was administered to the students of the department of Tamazight Language and Culture at Batna University. This direct instrument of measuring the attitudes allowed the researcher to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. After analysing the gathered data, the findings appeared to support the two hypotheses.

Within the context of higher education and abiding by the codes of ethics, it is just to reveal the limitations of this study. In the course of carrying out this research, many difficulties have faced the researcher: First, the inadequacy of similar studies that are directly related to our topic. Second, time constraint imposed upon the researcher to put aside some elements which are directly related to the objectives of this study. Third, this study could have benefited from other significant resources if they were not extremely hard to obtain. Fourth, some students did not manage to answer all the questions due their laziness and reluctance to help. Fifth, arranging meetings with teachers was difficult, and those whom the researcher could interview spared only few minutes of their time.

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Appendices

The Questionnaire in Arabic

هذه الوثيقة عبارة عن استبيان تمثل جزءا من بحث سيقدم للإيفاء الجزئي لمتطلبات درجة الماجستير في اللغة الإنجليزية، تخصص دراسات لغوية. يهدف البحث إلى دراسة السلوكيات اللغوية لطلبة قسم اللغة والثقافة الأمازيغية في جامعة باتنة. يرجى التفضل بالرد على الأسئلة التالية من خلال وضع علامة (X) في المربع المناسب أو بالإجابة المباشرة على السؤال.

الجزء الأول: معلومات خاصة

1- مكان الإقامة.....

2- الجنس:

أنثى

ذكر

3- ما هي لغتك الأم؟

الدارجة الجزائرية

الأمازيغية

أخرى.....

4- في أي سنة تدرس؟

سنة ثالثة ليسانس

سنة ثانية ليسانس

سنة أولى ليسانس

سنة أولى ماجستير

الجزء الثاني: استعمالات اللغة

5- ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها في السياقات التالية؟

الأمازيغية	الدارجة	العربية الفصحى	الفرنسية

أ- في المنزل مع العائلة

ب- مع الناس في القرية

ت- في المدينة مع الأصدقاء

ث- مع البائعين في السوق

ج- مع المسؤولين الحكوميين

ح- مع الأساتذة في القسم

خ- مع الأساتذة خارج القسم

د- مع زملاء في القسم

ذ- مع زملاء في القسم

6 ما هي اللغة التي تُخاطَبُ بها في السياقات التالية؟

الأمازيغية	الدارجة	العربية الفصحى	الفرنسية

أ- في المنزل مع العائلة

ب- مع الناس في القرية

ت- في المدينة مع الأصدقاء

الأمازيغية	الدارجة	العربية الفصحى	الفرنسية

ث- مع البائعين في السوق

ج- مع المسؤولين الحكوميين

ح- مع الأساتذة في القسم

خ- مع الأساتذة خارج القسم

د- مع زملاء في القسم

ذ- مع زملاء خارج القسم

7- ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها عندما تُكَلِّم شخص لا تعرفه في الكلية؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

لماذا؟

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الجزء الثالث: سلوكيات اللغة

8- ما هي اللغة التي تحبها الأكثر؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

9- ما هي اللغة التي تحبها الأقل؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

10- بالنسبة إليك ما هي اللغة الأكثر جمالا؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

11- ما هي اللغة الأكثر فائدة في حياتك اليومية؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

12- ما هي اللغة الأقل فائدة في حياتك اليومية؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

13- ما هي اللغة التي تتقنها الأكثر؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

14- ما هي اللغة التي تعبر أكثر عن هويتك؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

15- ما هي اللغة التي تحس بأنها لا تعبر عن هويتك؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

16- ما هي اللغة التي تفضل أن تكون وسيلة للتدريس؟

الأمازيغية الدارجة الجزائرية العربية الفصحى الفرنسية

لماذا؟

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17- عندما يطلب منك الأساتذة انجاز تقرير أو بحث، ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها؟

الفرنسية

العربية الفصحى

لماذا؟

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The Semi-Structured Interview

Part One: Background Information

1. What is the module that you teach?
2. What is the language that is used as a means of instruction?
3. What degree do you hold?
4. For how many years have you been teaching in the department of Tamazight?

Part Two: Student's Language Attitudes from the Teacher's Perspective

5. Since we are living in a multilingual country, could you describe the use of different varieties in the classroom context?
6. What about your interactions with the students outside the class? In which language do they often take place?
7. According to you, what are the underlying motivations that drive the students to study Tamazight?
8. Do you think that teaching Tamazight contributes in creating positive attitudes towards it? Explain.
9. How do you evaluate the level of students concerning Arabic and French?

Summary:

The present study attempts to empirically examine the language attitudes of Tamazight students in order to check the vitality of this language. A case study was conducted with the use of a questionnaire administered to students and interviews conducted with teachers. Moreover, the current work takes place at the Department of Tamazight Language and Culture in Batna University with all levels students. In the light of the obtained results from gathering and analysing data, it has been revealed that the students hold positive attitudes toward Tamazight which will ultimately contribute in its vitality.

Key Words: Language Attitudes, Tamazight, Vitality, Case study, Questionnaire, Interview.

Résumé:

La présente étude tente d'examiner de façon empirique les attitudes linguistiques des étudiants de Tamazight afin de vérifier la vitalité de cette langue. Une étude de cas a été menée avec l'utilisation d'un questionnaire administré aux étudiants et des interviews avec les enseignants. En outre, le travail actuel prend lieu au Département du Langue et Culture Amazigh à l'Université de Batna avec tous étudiants de tous les niveaux. Les résultats obtenus à partir l'analyse des données, en révélé que les étudiants ont des attitudes positives à l'égard de Tamazight qui ce contribuent finalement a sa vitalité.

Mots clés: Attitudes linguistiques, Tamazight, Vitalité, Étude de cas, Questionnaire, Interview.

الملخص:

تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى التحقيق التجريبي للسلوكيات اللغوية لطلبة الأمازيغية من أجل التيقن من حيوية هذه اللغة. وأجريت دراسة حالة باستخدام استبيان تم توجيهه للطلبة ومقابلات أجريت مع أساتذة. وعلاوة على ذلك، لقد اجري العمل الحالي في قسم اللغة والثقافة الأمازيغية في جامعة باتنة مع الطلبة من جميع المستويات. وفي ضوء النتائج التي تم الحصول عليها عن طريق جمع وتحليل البيانات، انتهينا إلى أن الطلبة يحملون مواقف إيجابية تجاه الأمازيغية و التي ستسهم في نهاية المطاف في حيويتها.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السلوكيات اللغوية، الأمازيغية، الحيوية، دراسة حالة، استبيان، مقابلة