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THE RELATION OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH AS FOREIGN
LANGUAGES IN ALGERIA

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
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SUMMARY

In 1962, the call for Independence in Algeria was accompanied by the proclamation of Classical Arabic as the national language of the new Algerian nation. The French language was maintained for several reasons. Firstly, Algeria needed a prestige language like French for its worldwide communication. Secondly, a considerable number of Algerian teachers and professionals were already trained in French. Thirdly, French cooperation was needed to ensure continuity in education.

After more than twenty five years of Independence, Algerian professionals, scientists and scholars who aspire to the world of science and technology soon discovered that today's password is generally English. French, one of the great languages of science over the centuries, has suffered an obvious decline in the global international arena. New elements appear to have set the Algerian linguistic scene for substantive changes.

The future of French as a scientific language is inextricably bound up with what happens internationally. This point came through loud and clear in the opinions and views expressed by informants who took part in this research. The questions one might ask here are: can a language like French which is declining as a scientific language retain ground in Algeria which needs to acquire western science and technology (almost always handled in English) for its economic development? Are educated Algerians changing their attitudes towards French? Is there an undercurrent in favour of English?

The purpose of this study is to answer these questions by examining the conflicts over national language planning, by analysing how the policy of Arabization affected in the long term the status of French in Algeria and how educated Algerians react to the use of French and English. It is also our task here to discuss the sociolinguistic issues related to the maintenance of French and the possibility of a shift towards English.

D E C L A R A T I O N

This thesis has not been submitted for a Degree at any other University. The work herein has been carried out by the author and is being made public for the first time.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The French occupation of Algeria which began in 1830 ended in 1962. At Independence, four languages dominated the Algerian context. Before the French arrived and imposed their language, Algeria was already a bilingual Berber/Arabic country (see section on Algerian Spoken Arabic/Berber, p 35) and Classical Arabic, the prestige variety of the Arabic language (see p 9) was the language of education.

Thus, in 1962, Algeria, like most of the developing countries in South and South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America, had to face cultural pluralism and problems of language planning. According to Jernudd, language planning can be defined as:

"A political and administrative activity for solving language problems"¹.

The problem of language planning for multilingual societies is basically one of bringing about national cohesiveness and of generating a national identity without displacing the original ethnic-cultural identities of the component groups. In Algeria, these component groups are the Berbers, i.e. 'Kabyles', 'Chaouis', 'Mozabites' and 'Touaregs'. Describing the role of language as an aid and barrier to involvement in the national system, Kelman made an observation which we found particularly relevant in the Algerian context:

"In determining whether a common language would be helpful and if so, what form it ought to take, policy makers and language planners must consider not only the potential of such a language in binding the population to the nation-state, sentimentally and instrumentally, but also the sentimentally and instrumentally based resistances that the proposed policy

¹Jernudd, Björn H, 1973 'Language Planning as a Type of Treatment', Language Planning: Current Issues and Research, p 11.

would call forth in different sub-groups within the population"².

His suggestion in this matter is that language policies ought to be designed to meet the needs and interests of all segments of the population. What Kelman is saying here is that even for creating a national identity through the development of a common language, it is necessary that the interests of the socio-cultural systems of the component groups should be protected. Hence for every distinctive group or community, language is not only the medium of communication but it is also very often the symbol of its uniqueness and identity, of its traditions and cultural heritage.

In any social activity, people must be able to communicate with each other. For this reason, a common language is often desirable. This language is often chosen as a symbol of linguistic cultural identity.

The newly independent Algerian state had many alternatives to choose from as far as the adoption of a common national language was concerned: Classical Arabic, French, Algerian Spoken Arabic and Berber. The existence of these four alternatives made planning possible. The first language planning activity in the Algerian context consisted in taking a decision concerning the conscious choice of a national language among alternative languages. Halliday who analysed the question of national languages and language problems in multilingual societies suggested that the choice of a national language depends on whether the community has or has not a clear candidate for the status of national language.³ In Algeria, with Arabic being the language of the majority (see section on Arabic, p 9), the choice had to be made between Classical or Algerian Spoken Arabic.

In this connection, Ferguson refers to language standardization as:

²Kelman, H.C. 1971, 'Language as an aid and barrier to involvement in the national system', Can Language be Planned?, Honolulu, p 48.

³Halliday, M.A.K., 1972, 'National Language and Planning in a Multilingual Society', East African Journal, 9 (8), p 4.

"The process of one variety of language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supra-dialectal norm - "the best" form of the language rated above regional and social dialects"⁴.

In the case of Arabic in Algeria, the main issue was not one of standardizing different Arabic dialects as there is one Algerian Spoken Arabic (see p 12 for full discussion) but that of selecting an appropriate national language that it can use to facilitate communication with other Arab nations, conduct its official business (international as well as national) to communicate with and unify its ethnic and linguistic communities and minorities and at the same time can call its own.

For a newly independent state like Algeria, these requirements could not be fulfilled by one language alone, but necessitated the participatory function of another language. In this context, Garvin explained that the participatory function refers to participation in worldwide cultural development such as science and technology, international business and diplomacy.⁵ This is how, for example, English and Swahili worked together in Tanzania and Kenya (cf. Whitelaw 1984:68). Thus, Classical Arabic (see p 15) with a long and celebrated history encompassing both arts and science was enshrined as the national language; French which offered ready-made links with the outside world was maintained and given a participatory function.

The process of national language planning in Algeria involved decisions that were taken at different levels. For example, the designation of a national language was a decision taken at the highest level of government. At a lower level, ministries, local

⁴Ferguson, Charles, 1968, 'Language Development', Language Problems of Developing Nations, New York, p 31.

⁵Garvin, P, 1973, 'Some comments on language planning', Language Planning: Current Issues and Research, Washington, p 30-31.

government councils and institutions had the delegation of authority to work out at which level approved languages, that is French and Classical Arabic, may be used as languages of instruction. The status of each language was planned by decree which specified the role given to the national language and French. This language planning activity is referred to as status planning and may involve maintenance, extension, or restriction of the range of uses of a language for a particular function (cf. Kloss 1969:81, Rubin 1983:340-341).

In its first Chapter, the Algerian 'Charte Nationale' (document embodying a series of articles which define the Algerian political orientations) states:

"L'arabe est la langue nationale. L'état oeuvre à généraliser l'utilisation de la langue nationale au plan officiel".⁶

In addition to the existence of a national official language, Classical Arabic, Algerians use two native languages: Algerian spoken Arabic and Berber; and two foreign languages: French and English. Before the setting up of the 'école fondamentale' (the new Algerian school which combines primary and middle education in a nine year course) French used to be considered as a language of study, especially in bilingual sections at Middle and Secondary education, where natural sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering and technical disciplines were taught in French, while literary disciplines were taught in Classical Arabic. Under the new educational system, implemented since 1980, French is considered as a foreign language. In an interview given in 'Parcours Maghrebins' (1986) Kassim confirms this view in the following statement:

"C'est une langue étrangère [French] comme les autres"
[parenthesis mine].⁷

⁶Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, 1976, Documents Algérie : Charte Nationale, Chapitre I article 3, Paris, p 771.

⁷Kassim, Mouloud, 1986, 'Pour un Usage Adéquat' Parcours Maghrebins, No. 3, p 31.

Commenting on the same issue Djaad explains:

"La chance historique que nous avons de disposer aux moins de deux langues [i.e., French and Arabic], susciterait en nous la vocation sinon la nécessité vitale d'acquérir cet outil de communication par excellence: l'anglais. C'est ce vers quoi nous devons tendre, c'est là notre intérêt commun, car la langue française en dehors de la France et de quelques poches francophones, c'est du borborygme" [parenthesis mine].⁸

As will be seen at a later point of our discussion (see section on foreign language use and preferences in Algeria p 99) recent years have seen an increasing awareness among Algerians of the necessity to acquire English. Algerians are more and more aware of the possibilities offered by English to communicate with the outside world on a wider scale. The impact of English on the international scene was strongly felt among Algerians, who no longer regard French as the medium and key to modernity. As Kassim underlined, most Algerians no longer consider French as the prestigious bond between Algeria and the western world as it is only used today within France and certain areas of French linguistic influence. This Algerian author remarked:

"L'ouverture sur le monde ne se fait pas seulement par le français, il y a beaucoup de Français qui écrivent en anglais dans des revues scientifiques spécialisées pour la bonne raison que leur langue n'est plus la grande ouverture qu'elle était du temps de Descartes, et de Christine de Suède ou de Voltaire et de Frederic de Prusse et de Catherine II de toutes les Russies. C'est une ouverture mais seulement l'une des ouvertures; la première ouverture c'est aujourd'hui l'anglo-américain" [emphasis mine].⁹

⁸Djaad, Abdelkrim, 1986, 'Un peu de rêve, un peu d'amour', Parcours Maghrebins, No 3, décembre 1986, p 13.

⁹Kassim, Mouloud, 1986, Interview in Algérie Actualités, No. 1003, semaine du 3 au 9 janvier 1986, p 28.

In fact, French scholars no longer regard French as the language of sciences as De Broglie suggested:

"Le français chassé des sciences (...). Les faits sont là: l'usage du français dans la recherche scientifique est en train de disparaître dans le monde et surtout en France".¹⁰

The question is whether a language like French, whose use is dropping sharply in science and technology, can hold itself in Algeria against English, the first language of scientific scholarship. It is in this context that the present study is focused.

The first part of this work provides a historical background on the languages of Algeria, the national language planning of Arabization and its impact on the French language.

The second part is a study of language preferences among educated Algerians based on a survey conducted in Algeria.

The third part focuses on the use of French and English in different domains.

The fourth part examines the weakening of French as a language of science and technology.

The fifth part is a general summary and conclusion.

¹⁰De Broglie, Gabriel, 1986, Le français pour qu'il vive, Paris, p 36.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a historical background on the various languages spoken and used in Algeria before the French occupation (1830) and after Independence (1962). In the first part of this chapter we will see how the Arab and French invasion of Algeria created a linguistic situation whereby several linguistic combinations emerged among Algerian speakers, e.g. Berber/Algerian spoken Arabic or Algerian spoken Arabic/French. In the second part we will examine how national language planning in Algeria, after Independence, consisted of setting up a long term planned Arabization policy which would gradually be applied to all levels of education while French would continue to be used as a foreign language alongside the national language. The use of two languages in education led to an educational bilingualism in addition to other bilingual combinations used among Algerian speakers. The third part of this chapter focuses on the impact of Arabization policy on French and the emergence of English in the Algerian linguistic scene.

This chapter will be divided into three sections:

- I The Languages of Algeria
- II Bilingualism/Multilingualism in Algeria
- III The Impact of Arabization Policy on French

1. LANGUAGES OF ALGERIA

1.1 ARABIC

In his fourteenth century, 'Muqaddimah', the Moslem historian Ibn Khaldoun pointed out that prior to the Arab invasion, there were no Arabs in the Maghreb, and the original inhabitants of the Maghreb were Berbers, he wrote:

وذلك الآن الملك الذي جعل لهم يمنعهم عن سكنى الضاحية ويجعل
 بهم إلى المدن والأصهار فلقد اقلنا ان العرب لم يوطنوا
 بلاد المغرب ثم أنهم دخلوا إليها من مشرق المغرب
 الخامس واو طنو واغترفتوا بابها يتعم وحلوا في جهاته كم نذكر الان¹¹

The first Arabo-Islamic conquest, which took place during the second decade of the VIIth Century had as its primary objective the spread of Islam, cultural assimilation and the introduction of the Arabic language in the Maghreb. During the second half of the XIth century, there came another wave of Arab conquerors, which completed the work of the first Arab conquerors. This second invasion led to a further assimilation of the Berbers to the conquering Arabs and the introduction of Arabic on a larger scale.

The occupation of Algeria by the Arab conquerors and the cultural assimilation they imposed upon the Berbers created a linguistic situation whereby two varieties of the same language existed side by side, each enjoying a particular status and fulfilling sociolinguistic functions. One, Classical Arabic represents the high written and prestigious variety, the second, Algerian Spoken Arabic is the low variety and is used and found throughout the Arab world. This phenomenon is known as diglossia¹². In

¹¹As quoted in Marcais, William, 'Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée', Annales de L'Institut d'Etudes Orientales, Tome XIV 1956, Alger, p 6.

¹²Murphy, Dermot F, 1983, 'Colonial and post colonial language policy in the Maghreb', Language in Tunisia, Tunis, p 285.

other words, diglossia is the recognition of both formal literary and colloquial standards of a language¹³.

A French writer, Bremot, observed in this connection:

"Les Musulmans écrivaient seulement la langue du Coran ou l'arabe classique - leur latin en quelque sorte - qui n'a sans doute jamais été une langue parlée, même à ses origines".¹⁴

Another French writer, Lanly, who studied the use of French in North Africa before and during French colonization, described Spoken Arabic as:

"Le vulgaire, l'arabe dialectal Maghrebin, avait de tout temps été jugé indigne de cet honneur".¹⁵

Describing the linguistic situation in Algeria on the eve of the French conquest, he stated:

"Il n'y avait pas, à l'arrivée des Français, de littérature écrite en langue vulgaire".¹⁶

This seems to indicate that the low variety of Arabic language, i.e., Algerian Spoken Arabic, never served as a written literary language and was confined to a spoken language. Classical Arabic, the high variety of the Arabic language, which one might identify as the prestigious language of the Koran and education, was used in the Koranic schools during the French occupation (see Section entitled: French, p 18) and identified as the official national language after Independence.

¹³Fishman, Joshua A, 1972, Languages in Sociocultural Change, Stanford, p 135

¹⁴As cited in Lanly, André, 1970, Le français d'Afrique du Nord, Paris, p 36.

¹⁵Ibid, p 36.

¹⁶Ibid, p 36.

Describing the Arabic dialects spoken in North Africa, and basing his study on Ibn Khaldoun's thoughts on the subject, Marçais suggested that the spoken Arabic found in the cities can be directly linked to the 'Koine Citadine', which goes back to the Arab Conquests in the VIIth, VIIIth and Xth Century, while the spoken Arabic used in rural areas rests upon the prototype introduced by the nomadic Arab conquerors of the XIth century¹⁷.

Lanly observed the same phenomenon and difference between the spoken Arabic found in the cities and the spoken Arabic used in the open country. He thought:

"Et à l'intérieur de chaque pays [North Africa] il [spoken Arabic] n'est pas exactement le même à la ville et dans les campagnes" [parentheses mine].¹⁸

Discussing the nature of the Arabic dialects used in North Africa, Meillet and Cohen have stressed that the spoken dialects of the Maghreb, regardless of the regional varieties, form a homogeneous group, in so far as they maintain the essential characteristics of their origins: urban spoken dialects related to the first invasion and rural dialects linked to the second Arab invasion¹⁹.

In short, when the French entered Algeria, there was a uniform spoken Arabic used in the cities, deriving its linguistic origins from the Arabic dialects brought by the first Arab conquerors, and a uniform spoken Arabic in the open country deriving its linguistic roots from the Arabic dialects introduced by the second Arab conquerors.

In what follows we shall examine the two varieties of Arabic language and their actual use in Algeria today.

¹⁷Marçais, William, 1956, 'Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée', Alger, p 6.

¹⁸Lanly, André, 1970, Le français d'Afrique du Nord, Paris, p 36.

¹⁹As quoted in Lanly, André, *ibid*, p 37.

1.1.1 ALGERIAN SPOKEN ARABIC

Algerian Spoken Arabic [henceforth ASA] is one of the two native languages used by the vast majority of Algerians as Saadi observed:

"En premier lieu, il convient de souligner que la langue de communication de presque 82% de la population algérienne est l'arabe dit dialectal, langue vivante à la prédominance orale".²⁰

Mazouni, an Algerian writer, confirms this view. He states:

"L'arabe dialectal ... langue de l'écrasante majorité numérique des Algériens, elle est aussi le moyen d'expression exclusif de la langue majorité d'entre eux".²¹

Thus, the most important means of communication between the vast majority of Algerians is ASA. In its capacity of being the means of daily communication of the vast majority of Algerians, it encompasses in its history the collective memory of the Algerian population that uses it, and serves as a basis for the establishment of the socio-cultural identity of the majority of Algerians through its popular poetry (strictly oral recited or used in popular traditional songs), proverbs, traditional tales and legends.

ASA is the first linguistic link of the child (with the exception of Berbers who learn Berber as their first mother tongue) with his society, in the sense that the first process of socialization before education is achieved through Algerian spoken Arabic. In the course of the first six years of his early life (education starting at the age of six in Algeria), the Algerian child relates to his family and environment through ASA.

The duration of the French occupation in Algeria (1830-1962) has

²⁰Saadi, El Hadi, 1983, Les langues et l'école: bilinguisme inégal dans l'école algérienne, Berne, p 25

²¹Mazouni, Abdallah, 1969, Culture et enseignement en Algérie et au Maghreb, Paris, p 20.

created a linguistic situation whereby several types of linguistic mixing between Algerian Spoken Arabic and French appeared. As will be shown in the section below, the hegemony of the French language during the French occupation has resulted in a linguistic impoverishment of ASA. Mazouni described this phenomenon as a degradation of the (spoken) Arabic language in Algeria. He formulated the problem as follows:

"C'est que le dialecte algérien ... en son état actuel est, d'une part assez dégradé au double point de vue morphologique et syntaxique, et, d'autre part, très pauvre en vocabulaire et souvent farci d'un nombre excessif d'emprunts au français".²²

In examining this question we have noticed that the linguistic mixing, which occurred between Algerian spoken Arabic and French during French occupation, concerned only certain specific domains: French administration, the judicial system, agricultural or industrial techniques and French institutions. In short, the French introduced with them not only a language, French, but also a western culture imbued with the technical and scientific discoveries and which were not part of the common knowledge of the natives in that part of the world (before the French Conquest).

Among the authors who have dealt with this issue, we can cite Saddok who explored in his paper entitled 'Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique'²³, the various fields in which the linguistic mixing occurred. He provided a full list of the various French institutions which inspired word borrowings from French to Algerian Spoken Arabic. He cited the military barracks, school, work conditions involving a situation where a native is employed by a French citizen, agriculture, the car industry, means of transportation, commercial activity, judicial system, clothing industry, the building industry, show business, sports,

²²Mazouni, Abdallah, 1969, Culture et enseignement en Algérie et au Maghreb, Paris, p 20.

²³Saddok, Mohammed Hadj, 1955, 'Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique', Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales, Tome XIII, Alger, p 95.

election campaigns, medicine, religious terminology (Christian). According to Saddok, a total of 1,665 words were borrowed from French into ASA.

In education, for instance, some of the words which have been borrowed from French are:

- 'cahier' (French for note book) became /kayyi/ in ASA
- 'crayon' (French for pencil) became /kriyyu/ in ASA
- 'école' (French for school) became /likul/ in ASA

Other examples include:

- 'chauffeur' (driver) became chifor
- 'pneu' (tyre) became bnu
- 'freiner' (to put on your brakes) became frini

What these examples indicate is that Algerian speakers of ASA combine the French derived words with the morphology of their own Arabic dialect. For instance, they tend to substitute the French singular/plural form and gender forms with the forms of ASA.

As will be seen later on, the process of French word-borrowings has been weakened by the extensive policy of Arabization enforced in 'l'école fondamentale' in the sense that arabized pupils who do not learn French until the fourth year under the new school system, combine their native tongue (ASA or Berber) with Classical Arabic (see the Impact of Arabization Policy on French, p 50 for further discussion). A few English words began to appear in ASA, to name but a few: sandwich, fast food, hamburger, self-service. Today most of the sign posts indicating city or town boundaries use Classical Arabic, French and English. A decade ago, the only international language used alongside the national language, Classical Arabic, was French. Today the situation is different. Weakened in its own linguistic environment by various journalists, who resort to word borrowings from English, as in le point, l'express, le nouvel observateur (French magazines). French can no longer be considered the first international language for several reasons (see The Use

of French and English in Different Domains, p 250). One of the reasons why French recedes is that more and more French scholars tend to publish their articles in English. French offers today a pale silhouette of what it used to be and has to face a strong challenge on the part of English.

In the previous section (Algerian Spoken Arabic) we have discussed the role of ASA and how the duration of French colonial rule affected ASA. Here we shall examine the role of Classical Arabic and give some background to the discussion of the consequences of Arabization on the French and English languages in Algeria.

1.1.2 CLASSICAL ARABIC (CA)

As was pointed out earlier, Classical Arabic (or El Fusha) is the national official language according to the Algerian 'Charte Nationale'. In education, Classical Arabic is, beyond all question, the language of study (in all disciplines) at 'l'école fondamentale' including scientific and technical subjects; the latter used to be given in French prior to the implementation of the reform of education in 1980 which led to the creation of 'l'école fondamentale'. 'L'ordonnance No. 76-35 portant organisation de l'éducation et la formation²⁴' defined the primary objective of 'l'école fondamentale'. The new Algerian school aimed at unifying primary and middle education in a nine year course given in the same language, CA. This measure put an end to the domination of French in the scientific and technical subjects. La résolution No. 29 du comité central (publications du F.L.N. comité central, secrétariat permanent, novembre 1985, p 48) revealed that the only place reserved to French in 'l'école fondamentale' is that of a foreign language. Thus, in the new Algerian school, French recedes as a mere foreign language, but without the prestige of English. We shall come back to this at a later stage of our study when we contemplate the future of French and analyse the interviews we have collected in this connection (see The Use of French and English in Different Domains, p 250).

²⁴Ministère des Enseignements Primaires et Secondaires, 1976 Hamzat - El Wasl No, 11, 1975-1976, Alger, p 34.

As will be indicated in the section: The Impact of Arabization Policy on French (see p 50), at secondary level French is on the verge of collapse. The last generation of bilingual pupils graduated in June 1989. With an entirely arabized 'fondamentale' generation entering Secondary Education, French will concede its privileged status as a language of study in Secondary Education and recede as a foreign language, due to the fierce competition of a strong linguistic challenger - English. (The attitudes of primary and secondary pupils towards foreign languages will be discussed at a later point: see Foreign Language Use and Preferences in Algeria, p 98 and The Use of French and English in Different Domains, p 250).

Classical Arabic is the official language used in political speeches, national ceremonies or rallies, official meetings, at Governmental level, religious rites and cultural events. However, unlike ASA, Classical Arabic is seldom used as a language of daily conversation (except in cases where it is used in a conversation between highly educated Algerians whose language of study is Classical Arabic). A further discussion on Classical Arabic will follow when we examine the progress of Arabization in the section below (see p 50).

So far, we have outlined the two varieties of Arabic, Algerian spoken Arabic and Classical Arabic. We began in our introduction by noting that Algerians used two native languages, we already examined the native language of the majority of Algerians. In what follows, we shall concern ourselves with the second native language - Berber. However, it must be stressed that we do not intend to provide an exhaustive study of the Berber issue in Algeria in view of the controversial political nature of the problem. Our main concern here will focus around the sociolinguistic issues only, and the historical facts relevant to our study.

1.2 BERBER

The term 'Berber' refers to the first known inhabitants of North Africa²⁵. Balta and Rulleau note that the Berbers, who call themselves 'Imazighen' (free men) and whose native language is referred to as 'Tifinigh', are found in the Djebel Nafoussa (Lybia), in some fifteen Tunisian villages of Krimourie, in Kabylia (Algeria), in Aurès (Algeria), in the Atlas, the Rif (Morocco), Tombouctou, Djanet and in the Hoggar. Further, Balta and Rulleau believe that the Berber language comprises several varieties²⁶.

In this connection, Murphy observes that it is very difficult to make any distinctions on ethnic grounds between the language varieties. He adds that the only satisfactory criterion for distinguishing Arabs from Berbers is on the basis of their mother tongue²⁷.

Adopting Murphy's point of view, one may state that Berbers, in Algeria, are distinguished in terms of the dialects they speak. There is, in fact, no single unified Berber language, but at least six different varieties. The 'Kabyle' variety spoken in Greater Kabylia and Lesser Kabylia, 'Chaoui' spoken in the East (Aurès), 'Targui' spoken by the Touaregs (South and Hoggar) and 'M'zabite' spoken by the inhabitants of M'zab²⁸. The sociolinguistic issues relating to the conflict opposing Classical Arabic and Berber will be discussed at a later point (see section Berber/ASA, p 35 and the Golden Age of French, p 43).

1.3 FRENCH

Having briefly introduced the two varieties of Arabic, i.e, Classical

²⁵Mazouni, Abdallah, 1969, Culture et enseignement en Algérie et au Maghreb, Paris, p 78.

²⁶Balta, Paul and Rulleau, Claudine, 1982, L'Algérie des Algériens, Vingt ans après, Paris, p 182.

²⁷Murphy, Dermot F, 1983, 'Colonial and Post Colonial language Policy in the Maghreb', Language in Tunisia, Tunis, p 286.

²⁸Le Monde, 28 avril, 1980, p 5, col 6.

Arabic/Algerian spoken Arabic and Berber, we may now turn to French. In order to understand the use of French in Algeria, the emergence of a mixed 'Arabo-French', the issues related to bilingualism, Classical Arabic/French, and the urge to press ahead with Arabization, it is necessary to understand the ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic background of the French colonization, i.e. its policy of cultural alienation and ethnic discrimination between Berbers and Arabs.

Before any discussion of the French cultural policy, it is essential to establish the role of language as the vehicle of a culture in order to understand how a language or a culture may become alien to a specific group.

At the societal level, language provides the platform through which societal regulations, taboos, rituals, laws, customs, traditions, beliefs, folklore and knowledge are transmitted from one member of a given community to the other (e.g. from father to son/daughter, from one family to the other, from one tribe to the other, from one clan to the other). Thus the binding between different members of a given community is achieved through language, which serves as the major medium for the transmission of knowledge of a given society through education. This leads us to say that the norms, the socio-cultural history, the literature and scientific achievements of a given society being transmitted through education, enables the individual to advance from his/her societal heritage. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that the transmission of other societal values and cultures may be transmitted through education. But as far as this discussion is concerned, we note that, through the educational system, the individual discovers his/her own culture and learns about other cultures by learning other languages.

But in a situation where one native language is devalued by the colonizer, the colonizer's language becomes alien to the colonized. Algeria fits the pattern described above. In what follows we propose ourselves to study how the Algerian population was forced to accept the colonizer's language and culture.

Prior to the French colonization (1830-1962), Classical Arabic was the language of education given in two types of schools. The first type of school, called 'Zaouiate', widespread throughout the whole country, provided a training under the form of seminars for the Primary and Secondary cycle²⁹. The 'Zaouiates' were controlled by religious brotherhoods. They ensured a teaching which mainly consisted of learning the Classical Arabic language, the Koran, history, geography and mathematics.

The second type of school was directly linked to the Mosques and was called 'Médersas'. The teaching organisation was similar to the first, i.e. courses in the form of seminars. Graduates from the 'Médersas' had to attend the Zitouna University in Tunis or El Azhar University in Cairo.

Thus, when the French entered Algeria a certain form of education in Classical Arabic was already in existence. Valze, presenting the Conclusions of the 'Commission d'Afrique', recognized that at the time of the Conquest of Algeria by France, all Arabs who have studied in the Zaouiates, or Médersas knew how to read and write. There were at least two schools in each village³⁰. Furthermore, according to Bedeau, there existed in about 1837 in Constantine ninety Muslim Primary Schools (presumably Koranic), attended by 1,300 to 1,400 pupils³¹.

The process of French colonization, which started in 1830 and lasted 130 years, makes Algeria a special case in the history of colonialism, in the sense that the French rulers concentrated their colonization process on strengthening their domination through a strong assimilation policy which consisted of continuous efforts to weaken and abolish the native by forbidding the teaching of Arabic and restricting religious practices.

²⁹Lacheref, Mostefa, Algérie, nation et société, Alger, 1978, p 315.

³⁰Monteil, Vincent, 1964, 'L'arabisation culturelle de l'Algérie', Preuves, janvier 1964, p 32.

³¹Ibid.

One of the effects of the French colonization of Algeria was the cultural indoctrination of the natives into its own cultural values and languages through education. Kodjo, an African writer, has described this process of acculturation. He writes:

"Educational policies and practices directly or indirectly supported efforts to assimilate colonized people culturally".³²

The French assimilation doctrine has been well described by a prominent advocate of French colonialism, Beaulieu who said:

"The way to dominate a people is to assimilate it, to seize the youth in its infancy... the knowledge of Koran is disappearing in Algeria: it must not be revived; it is a book full of bellicose exhortations against infidels and includes thousands of texts that can be used against us. North Africa (...) will only belong to us if we conciliate Arabs and to a certain extent, frenchify them".³³

Another advocate of colonialism and assimilation policy, Bernard, stated:

"Our final goal conforming to our ideal of yesterday and today, the ideal of Richelieu, Louis XIV, as well as the French Revolution, is the foundation of a France Overseas where our language and civilization will be established through the collaboration, more and more close, of the natives and Frenchification".³⁴

As was pointed out earlier, the French assimilation policy did not only consist of closing down schools and forbidding the teaching of Arabic, but also concentrated on restricting the impact of

³²Kodjo, Samuel, 1979 'Educational strategy for cultural independence in West Africa', Journal of Asian and African Studies, No 14, p 67.

³³As cited in Gordon, David. North Africa's French Legacy 1954-62 London, 1962, p 11.

³⁴Ibid.

religious influence on the natives. The French efforts to abolish Islam have been well described by Hubaraci who said:

"...For the only armour the Algerians had against the French was their own creed: Islam. The French were well aware of it. They attacked Islam as hard as they could and from all angles".³⁵

The immediate reaction of the French to stop the influence of Islam on the natives was the closure or conversion of mosques into churches.

The French rulers believed that, by closing down schools, prohibiting education and the use of Arabic and religious practices, they could crush Algerian cultures.

At this point we may now consider the sociolinguistic aspects of the French colonial process of assimilation, de-Arabization and Frenchification.

1.3.1 DE-ARABIZATION AND FRENCHIFICATION OF ALGERIA

We shall define de-Arabization as the process which consisted of forbidding the use of Arabic following the closure of Koranic schools, 'Zaouiates' and 'Medersas'; and Frenchification as the attempt to assimilate the indigenous population into the French language and culture.

The process of de-Arabization implied in the first place, as mentioned above, the closure of schools, which we will call here de-schooling. This process of de-schooling lasted until the first law concerning schooling in Algeria was introduced in 1883, and more precisely, Le décret du 16 juin 1883, which stipulated in its first article:

³⁵Hubaraci, Arslam, 1966. Algeria, A Revolution That Failed, New York, p 27.

"Art 1. Toute commune algérienne de plein exercice ou mixte est tenue d'entretenir une ou plusieurs écoles primaires publiques ouvertes gratuitement aux enfants européens et indigènes".³⁶

De-schooling inevitably led to illiteracy amongst the Algerian population. The French seriously thought that the linguistic dispossession would bring Arabic culture to an end, leaving the Algerians with only one alternative left, namely the acceptance of the legitimacy of French culture and language. When the Third Republic in France decided to study seriously the question of indigenous education, it suggested the creation of two types of school providing education in Algeria: (a) 'école française' strictly reserved for French and European pupils, (b) 'école indigène', strictly reserved for Algerians, to which only a small minority would have access. But all the teaching was given in French. It follows that the negation of the Algerian personality culture and language (Arabic) enabled the French rulers to integrate and assimilate a specific group of privileged Algerians to French culture and language. The process of acculturation was thereby partially accomplished.

Perhaps one of the most telling aspects of de-Arabization and Frenchification was the operation which consisted of redesigning all the names of Algerian towns, cities and streets. To give but a few examples: 'Phillipeville' replaced 'Rusicade'; 'Constantine' replaced 'Cirta'; 'Bone' replaced 'Hippone'. At the same time street names like 'Rue Voltaire', 'Rue Michelet', 'Bouvelard des Glycines', 'Avenue Lavarande' appeared in Algeria.

³⁶Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux Arts, 1883, Décret sur l'organisation primaire en Algérie, Paris, p 4.

1.3.2 THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPACT OF FRENCH ON THE ALGERIAN SOCIETY

In order to study the sociolinguistic implications of the French policy of acculturation and assimilation, one needs to point out that the French doctrine of assimilation aimed at convincing the native population that French culture and language were superior to the indigenous ones. At this point in our discussion one must stress that the key link between the individual and other members of a given community is a common shared language, which facilitates mutual communication between them. The French educational policy was aimed at breaking this limit. Eliou, who has studied this phenomenon, has argued that the ideology transmitted through the French educational system in Africa during colonialism aimed at convincing the Africans that French language and culture were superior to the indigenous African cultures and languages³⁷.

This process not only enabled the French to establish the superiority of their language and culture, but also created a new phenomenon, cultural alienation. In connection with the goals of French educational policies, Brevie has explained that:

"The colonial duty as well as the political and economic necessities impose a double task on our educational work: on the one hand it is question of producing indigenous cadres who are destined to become our auxiliaries in all domains and of supporting the ascension of an élite carefully chosen; on the other hand one has to educate the masses of population in order to bring them closer to us and transform their way of life".³⁸

It becomes clear then that the goals of the doctrine of assimilation observed by the French rulers was aimed at creating a specific élite within the native population whose purpose would be to serve as an

³⁷Eliou, Marie, 1979, 'Erosion et permanence de l'identité culturelle', Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, No 66, p 80.

³⁸As quoted in Kodjo, Samuel, 1979, 'Educational strategy for cultural independence in West Africa', Journal of Asian and African Studies, No 24, pp 70-71.

intermediary between them and the indigenous population. In other words the French educational system was expected to offer education to a specific group chosen to be the élite. This enabled the French to establish a tradition of cultural and political allegiance to the colonizer on the part of the colonized, who would be taught to believe that his own culture was inferior to the French culture.

For Memmi, this process leads not only to the creation of cultural alienation but also to a mutual dependency between colonizer and colonized and a deep psychological link between them, which persists after independence³⁹.

For the colonized, this cultural and psychological alienation is perceived as a sense of one's inferiority in the face of what they are led to believe is the superior culture. In trying to explain the link between language, education and cultural alienation one must point out that since language is the medium between the individual and the other members of a given community who share the same culture and through which socialization is completed, and given that education is one of the ways in which a particular society transmits its language and culture, the French, who were aware of this close relation, used the link between language and education to this end. Through education and the imposition of the French language on the indigenous population, the colonized were forced to accept an alien language and culture as superior and in the process under-estimated their own.

The important thing to bear in mind is that the French rulers destroyed all the cultural basis essential for the establishment of the Algerian's identity. Consequently, the colonized became more and more dependent on the colonizer's language and culture. This resulted in cultural alienation whereby the Algerians oscillated between two cultures during and after colonization. This cultural alienation is mainly due to the fact that the native's culture has been undermined by the French colonizer, and at the same time the colonized is alienated by the culture of the colonizer as a result of the selective nature of its educational policies.

³⁹Memmi, Albert, 1965, The Colonizer and the Colonized, Boston, p 96.

One of the most telling aspects of the French doctrine of assimilation and selective educational policy was the separation of the two indigenous races, Arabs and Berbers. Hence, the French rulers conducted in Algiers a limited, selective and, at times, contradictory educational policy founded on the principle that the 'Kabyles' could be easily assimilated into French culture.

Two advocates of this separation of the indigenous, races, Girard and Morieux, have stated:

"Il convient également de faire des distinctions entre les régions de l'Algérie. La Kabylie, par exemple, a été francisée plus vite et plus profondément que le reste du pays. La langue berbère, uniquement orale, offrait une moindre résistance que l'arabe maghrebin. D'autre part, les Français eurent toujours un faible pour ces populations montagnardes, aux particularismes séduisants, à l'intelligence brillante, et au courage forgé par une vie difficile".⁴⁰

Ironically, it was this racial discrimination between the two races, Arabs and Berbers, and the very fact that the Arabic language was excluded and disregarded, that stimulated and brought together Berbers and Arabs, who shared 13 centuries of common religion, Islam and neighbourship, in their revolt against the colonizer.

In summary, we can say that during the French rule, French became the official language in Algeria, while Arabic was regarded as a foreign language, just like English or Spanish. After 130 years of colonial rule the process of Frenchification was completed. The use of French was widespread, thanks to Primary education entirely given in French and the social contacts between the colonizer and the colonized. From the shoebblack to the doctor French was spoken⁴¹.

⁴⁰Girard, Marcel et Morieux, Christian, 1979, 'La langue française en Algérie' Le français hors de France, Paris, p 316.

⁴¹Saddok, Mahammed, Hadj, 1955, 'Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique de l'Algérie', Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales, Tome XIII, Alger, p 65.

French was the language used by Algerians who wished to address the French rulers. It also became the linguistic hyphen between Algerian speakers using different dialects, e.g. a Berber Kabyle would be more inclined to use French if he was dealing with a speaker from Oran, than Arabic, just as in the same manner a speaker from Cherchell would feel more at ease using French if he was to deal with a speaker from Algiers⁴².

Put differently, French seemed to have put an end to the linguistic conflicts between Algerian speakers, who used different Arabic dialects. French had become the linguistic common link between the various speakers of the different Arabic and Berber dialects in Algeria. In the countryside, the French language was as popular as in the cities. The local population remained attached to its dialects, but loans from the French language began to appear. Commenting on this issue, Tabory and Tabory have observed:

"... the legacy of over 130 years of colonization was that dialectal Arabic became increasingly anemic and artificially incorporated foreign words".⁴³

Further, Saddok stated:

"Cependant, là aussi; on assiste à une rapide et sérieuse transformation du langage. Cette transformation affecte principalement le vocabulaire qui, par le jeu des emprunts et des abondons, est en train de se renouveler presque à vue d'oeil. On peut parler, sans exagérer, d'une véritable irruption des vocables français dans l'arabe dialectal, au point que celui-ci devient inintelligible à l'arabisant autant qu'à l'arabophone pur".⁴⁴

⁴²Ibid, p 25.

⁴³Tabory, Ephraim and Tabory, Mala, 1987, 'Berber unrest in Algeria: lessons for language planning', International Journal of the Sociology of Language, No 63, p 71.

⁴⁴Saddok, Mahammed Hadj, 1955, 'Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique de l'Algérie', p 68 (see footnote 41).

It is worth noticing, in the light of the above statement, that at some point, the linguistic mixing and loanwords from the French language became so frequent that ASA began to sound so frenchified that the educated in Classical Arabic would find it difficult to understand. An example will make clear what we mean:

[krazatu] is derived from French écraser + [u] for third person singular in ASA.

[mafina] is derived from French machine + [a] for feminine in dialectal Arabic.

[morsowet] is derived from French morceaux + [wet] for plural in ASA.

The examples given above illustrate and show how French words were introduced into Algerian spoken Arabic, but were given an Arabic pronunciation and morphological endings from dialectal Arabic.

We have examined the aims and goals of the French process of assimilation and selective educational policies. Let us now look at the reaction of the natives.

The first observation concerned the Algerian reaction to the educational policy and the use of the French language. It must be stressed that the indigenous population believed that the teaching of French may be useful to them, since the language of administration, and the mass media is French. They felt it was necessary to learn French to fight back administrative rules against them, to defend themselves in court and to use the written information available in the daily newspapers, books and other written documents.

An Algerian writer, Boutefnouchet noted:

"Cette première utilisation de la langue française démontrait les capacités mentales du dominé qui pouvaient atteindre et

dépasser le dominateur sur son propre terrain. Aujourd'hui les plus grands écrivains algériens en langue française sont aussi parmi les plus grands écrivains français dans leur propre langue s'agissant de la période contemporaine".⁴⁵

In this context, the colonized used the colonizer's language to express his/her own genius and cultural alienation. The process of learning the colonizer's language consisted of using it to serve the purposes of the colonized in his resistance to colonial oppression and presence. It has also served to reassert the culture of the colonized.

In conclusion one can say that the Arabic language and culture played an important part in the Algerian War of Independence. Islam as a religion and Arabic as a language, which dialectically relates to Islam, armed the Algerians with an Arabo-Islamic personality and constituted a strong rampart and protection against the destruction of Arabic, the language of the Koran.

This conflict opposing French and Arabic was well described by a French-educated Algerian writer, Kateb who said:

"Finalement l'essentiel des rapports entre les Algériens et les Français après une lutte de cent trente ans, c'est l'affrontement entre les hommes à travers les langues".⁴⁶

On the eve of Algerian Independence, French was deeply rooted in the Algerian linguistic scene. ASA was affected by the French language through word-borrowing. Algerians who studied under the French educational system already spoke ASA or Berber (or even both as was the case for Berbers, see Section 2.4, p 43) and learnt French as the main language of instruction and CA as a foreign language. Some have become bilingual, others multilingual.

⁴⁵Boutefnouchet, Mostefa, La culture en Algérie, mythes et réalités, Alger, 1982, p 38-39.

⁴⁶Kateb, Yacine, Interview in Jeune Afrique, No 34, 2 mars 1965, p 3-5.

Having examined the sociolinguistic circumstances which have shaped the destiny of the French language in Algeria and which explains the presence of French in Algeria at the present time, we may now look at the various linguistic combinations existing in independent Algeria.

2. BILINGUALISM⁴⁷/MULTILINGUALISM⁴⁸ IN ALGERIA

"It is probably true that no language group had ever existed in isolation from other language groups, and the history of languages is replete with examples of language contact leading to some form of bilingualism".⁴⁹

The presence of different ethnolinguistic groups in Algeria (Arabs, Berbers, Spanish, French) and the social interaction amongst them, has led to the emergence of several types of bilingual or multilingual situations at different periods of Algerian history. The classical linguistic combination - Berber/ASA has appeared in the course of the Arab Conquest. The linguistic combination Algerian spoken Arabic/Spanish occurred during the Spanish invasion and continued to take place during the French occupation. The linguistic combinations French/Algerian spoken Arabic and Berber/Algerian spoken Arabic/French appeared during the French Colonial rule. The bilingual and multilingual combinations Classical Arabic/French; Classical Arabic/Berber/French/Algerian spoken Arabic emerged in independent Algeria. It is interesting to note that the linguistic combination Classical Arabic/French has emerged as a result of bilingual education.

Before going any further in our discussions, let us examine some of the authors who have dealt with bilingualism in Algeria (it is impossible to list here all the authors who wrote on the subject, as this would take us far afield). Our aim is not to provide an exhaustive study of bilingualism, but to provide some background to the main linguistic issues and language planning in Algeria.

In his article 'Bilingualism in North Africa', Charles Micaud (1974)

⁴⁷Bilingualism is perceived here as the use of two languages.

⁴⁸Multilingualism is understood here as the use of more than two languages.

⁴⁹Grosjean, François, 1982, Life with Two Languages: Introduction to Bilingualism, New York, p 1.

attempts to describe the sociological implications which led to bilingualism in North Africa. The major objection one can make to his work is that his analysis of bilingualism and biculturalism takes Tunisia as the major example. His work is entirely based on field studies undertaken by Tunisian students. He named Habib Ounah 'la langue des étudiants' and Zohra Biahhi 'la langue des élèves du secondaire', who described the language problem in Tunisia. Thus, we believe that his article is more relevant as a study of the Tunisian linguistic problem. The only mention he makes of Algeria are generalizations derived from the Tunisian linguistic experience.

In her article 'Bilinguisme et système scolaire en Algérie', Yvonne Mignot-Lefebure (1974) provides a good description of the linguistic situation in Algeria. She reports that bilingualism in Algeria is not just a linguistic phenomenon, but it is also a social phenomenon. She compares the French colonial educational policies with the Algerian system of education and draws the conclusion that the presence of French in Algeria is not the mere product of coincidence, but the result of a long process of colonialism. In another part of her work, she describes the impact of bilingualism on the personality of the bilingual child and how it affects his competence in the two languages. Her work, based on a very rich bibliography, reflects a high understanding of the nature of the socio-cultural and psychological implications of bilingualism in Algeria in the early 70's but, despite the attraction of the theoretical analysis reflected in her work, one still feels that a work of this nature requires, and lacks, some field study, especially when one broods over issues related to personality, identity crisis and psychological behaviour.

In his article 'Izdiwaj i'yyat allogha wa wihdah atha'qafah fi Al-Djazair: Dirassa Meidaniyya' (Bilingualism and the unity of culture in Algeria: a field study), Ahmed Mohamed Ezzouabi (1980) deals with bilingualism in Algeria. His work was inspired by the student strike which took place in Algeria and lasted from November 1979 to January 1980. The student strike came as a reaction against the freeze policy in Arabization during the period 1977 to 1979.

Ezzouabi entitled his work 'a field study', because he conducted a survey using a self-administered questionnaire distributed to 500 students in the University of Oran (250 Arabic-educated students and 250 French-educated students).

As a contribution in the field of Algerian bilingualism his work deserves our attention, but on the other hand the major criticism one may direct to Ezzouabi is that his conclusions are not reliable for the following reasons:

1. His field study concerns only a small fragment of the Algerian population, the student population. His work is methodologically weak because it analyses only the Oranese students' reactions, excluding all the other segments of the Oranese population.
2. His sample entirely conducted at the University of Oran is not representative of Algeria. One cannot expect Kabyle students to react in the same manner as students from Algiers or Oran. Further, secondary pupils' reactions may differ from students' reactions.
3. His field study takes no account of the socio-economic variables, i.e., attitudes of the various socio-professional groups concerned with bilingualism in Algeria.

For these reasons we feel that one cannot study bilingualism in Algeria, basing one's field study on the reaction of students in one single city in Algeria.

A more recent study on bilingualism in Algeria was conducted by El Hadi Saadi (1983). In his 'Les langues et l'école: Bilinguisme inégal dans l'école algérienne', Saadi reviews the issues related to bilingualism in Algeria. He argues that the educational bilingualism 'bilinguisme scolaire' envisaged by the Algerian authorities was the result of a legacy, the French legacy. Saadi examines the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic issues related to the acquisition of the two languages in Algerian education, French and

Classical Arabic, and compares the role played by the two languages of education with the native language of the learner. He also describes the linguistic interferences and code switching as well as word borrowings.

Saadi's work provides new insights in the field of Algerian bilingualism. His approach not only reflects his expertise in language planning and educational policies, but also reflects methodological consistency in his approach. His observations on the sociological and psychological impact of bilingual education and its effects on the mother tongues remain a major source of reference.

However, we feel that his analysis of 'l'éducation fondamentale' did not take into consideration the serious pressure put on French by Arabization. We believe that he has dealt with 'l'école fondamentale' lightly and has not analysed the process of Arabization and how it actually reduces the role of French in Primary and Middle education. Moreover, the section dealing with Algerians' language attitudes is more concerned with 'Kabyles' than with Arabs. This is why we are tempted to believe that his analysis of language attitudes requires a field study that would account for his distinction between Algerian 'Kabyles' and other Algerian speakers (not mentioning the 'M'zabites' language attitudes, and the 'Touaregs' language attitudes, which would themselves require a separate study).

An Algerian child from Algiers would react differently from a Touareg child. The former acquires spoken Arabic as his first language. The latter acquires Touareg's dialect. Another child from Algiers would learn French from his parents and spoken Arabic from his peer group as his native tongue, while a 'M'zabite' would only learn 'M'zabite' language as his first language, and only acquire spoken Arabic at school, when he socializes with his classmates, and French and Classical Arabic at school.

Another recent work on bilingualism was written by an Algerian

author, Nacer Ouramdane (1986). In his article, entitled 'La coexistence de deux langues', he states that bilingualism is a linguistic fact in Algeria. Instead of a thorough analysis and comparative study of the use of the two languages in Algeria, Classical Arabic/French, we find a study purely based on speculations according to which no progress has been accomplished to reduce the impact of bilingualism in Algeria, i.e., the two languages are still coexisting together.

We felt that since he is a French-educated Algerian author, Ouramdane was trying to convince himself and his readers that French is still the dominant language, but he contradicts himself at a certain point of his article by suggesting that:

"Connaitre la langue arabe est une nécessité bien visible aujourd'hui: enseignée, utilisée dans les médias, sur les enseignes des rues, des commerces, etc. Elle baigne vraiment notre vie".⁵⁰

In our opinion, a serious analysis of the coexistence of Classical Arabic and French in Algeria must take into consideration the linguistic situation and status of the languages in question. Ouramdane focussed his arguments on the use of French without providing a full account of the progress accomplished in the field of arabization, so very much so that he came to admit himself that knowing French in Algeria today is no longer sufficient to understand a news bulletin, or read road signs and shop signs which are in Arabic (Classical). His own statement suggests that French no longer coexists with Classical Arabic but survives to maintain its privileged position.

Bearing this in mind, let us return to the linguistic combinations mentioned at the beginning of this section. Let us start with the oldest form of bilingualism: Berber/ASA.

⁵⁰Ouramdane, Nacer, 1986, 'La coexistence de deux langues en Algérie', Parcours Maghrebins, No 3, p 14.

2.1 BERBER/ALGERIAN SPOKEN ARABIC

In retrospect, one may note that the Berbers, who converted to Islam, had to learn the Arabic language brought by the Arab conquerors. In addition to this, the Berbers had to learn the Arabic language of the (Arab) occupier in order to deal with them. Migrations, mixed marriage⁵¹ and forced population transfer, imposed by the French rule, have helped the multiplication of contacts and social relations between Berbers and Arabs and resulted in a further spreading of the Arabic language among the Berber communities.

Roberts, who has studied Berberism, has observed that the 'Kabyles' did not just use Arabic for religious purposes, but to establish social and commercial relations with the Arabs. They are noted for their mastery of such crafts as weaponry, jewellery, shoe making, leatherwork, pottery, weaving and their agricultural skills, e.g., olive oil.⁵²

Roberts argues that in their social interaction both Arabs and Berbers use Arabic as the common means of communication.⁵³

Arabs and Berbers, in Algeria, have lived together and shared 13 centuries of common religion (Islam) and language (Arabic). It is

⁵¹In this connection, Brace provides a good comparison of the various occupations in the Maghreb and explains why Arabic took root in this part of the world. He writes:

"If the Arabic Islam and language took root in North West Africa more deeply than the cultures of the previous invaders, this result was partly due to the technique of Arab imperialism. Instead of settling colonists, as had the Romans and later the French, who symbolized a stronger, alien civilization, the Arabs furthered their influence by founding a ruling class from descents [sic] of mixed marriages between local women. This imperialism of blood fusion was so generally practised, that after a few generations the leaders, Arabic in spirit and culture, had no more than a trace of Arab blood". (Brace, Richard M, 1964, Morocco Algeria, Tunisia, New York, p 23).

⁵²Roberts, Hugh, 1983, 'The economics of Berberism: the material basis of the Kabyle question in Algeria', Government and Opposition, No 18, 2, Spring, p 219.

⁵³Ibid, p 221.

quite natural that after such a long period of neighbourhood and common life, Berbers have become bilingual speakers today⁵⁴. Among the Berber speakers, some groups have become multilingual. Multilingualism among Berbers will be discussed in a further section (see the Golden Age of French, p 43). Let us first examine the second type of bilingualism that took place in Algeria during the Spanish invasion.

2.2 ALGERIAN SPOKEN ARABIC/SPANISH

At the end of the XVth century, the Maghreb was divided into small kingdoms fighting each other. This lack of unity between the various kingdoms of the Maghreb encouraged Spanish ambitions⁵⁵. The Spanish Armada occupied Mers-El-Kebir (Oran) in 1505⁵⁶. When the French entered Algeria, the presence of the Spanish in Oran was still very important. Larnaude estimated that in 1911 the Spanish and naturalized Spanish represented 65% of the European population living in Oran⁵⁷. Describing the population living in Oran, Lespes wrote in 1938:

"A Oran plus voisine de la péninsule Ibérique les espagnols ont supériorité numérique sur les autres populations étrangères (90%)".⁵⁸

While discussing issues related to the French language in North Africa, Lanly reported:

"Aussi les statistiques officielles de l'Algérie ne relèvent-elle en 1954 que 59.404 étrangers (dont 37.103 pour la seule

⁵⁴Berbers, who live in the mountainous regions of Kabylia have remained monolingual.

⁵⁵Julien, Charles André, 1956, Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, Paris, p 251.

⁵⁶Ibid, p 252.

⁵⁷Larnaude, Marcel, 1954, L'Algérie, Paris, p 114.

⁵⁸Lespes, René, 1938, Oran, étude de géographie et d'histoire urbaine, Paris, p 586.

Oranie, presque tous espagnols)".⁵⁹

The views formulated by Larnaude, Lespes and Lanly indicate that the vast majority of the European population living in Oran during the French occupation were Spanish. The presence of the Spanish Oran for 5 centuries, the geographical location of the city, and its nearness to the Iberian peninsula not only facilitated commercial exchanges between Oran and the Spanish, but also created a social interaction between them. The Arabs, who had to deal in their daily life with Spanish, came into contact with the Spanish language, as Lanly noted:

"En Algérie dans les zones de fort peuplement d'origine Ibérique, l'Oranie ... on parle encore surtout l'espagnol".⁶⁰

At Independence in 1962, almost all foreigners left Algeria, including the Spanish, but the inhabitants of Oran, who came into contact with the Spanish before and during French colonization, had become bilingual and used Algerian spoken Arabic as their mother tongue and Spanish in their social relations with Spanish native speakers. Today, Spanish is still spoken in many parts of Oran. To test the degree of use of Spanish in Oran we have conducted an opinion poll in different parts of Oran⁶¹.

300 participants took part in this survey conducted in the following parts of Oran: Es-senia, the old-city, new city, centre city, Mers-El-Kebir, the port of Oran, University of Oran and various schools and grammar schools. Our participants were representative of all socio-cultural groups, ranging from pupils, students, engineers, teachers, lecturers, seamen, nurses, rich landowners, business men to illiterate workers. To speed up the procedure and simplify the task of our informants, our opinion poll consisted of one single question:

⁵⁹Lanly, André, 1970, Le Français d'Afrique du Nord, Paris, p 13.

⁶⁰Ibid, p 123.

⁶¹Opinion Poll conducted between 10 and 17 December 1987. This is the first opinion poll about the use of Spanish in Oran.

"Do you speak Spanish in addition to Algerian spoken Arabic?"

In view of the delicacy of the operation and given that Algerians are not used to polls, we had to operate in the streets or outside schools or public offices. The difficulties encountered here were mainly due to the fact that some informants were not willing to waste time writing out a questionnaire, i.e., they wanted to take away the questionnaire and fill it in whenever they felt like it. In addition to this we spent more time explaining the purpose of the questionnaire than collecting data. The use of a written questionnaire presupposed written official permission. Considering that this opinion poll was a secondary work beside our major survey concerning foreign language use and preferences, we decided to collect our data orally. This decision provoked positive attitudes on the part of our participants, i.e., they were reassured knowing that no name or personal handwriting was required.

The data we collected orally included the following particulars:

Male/Female distinction

Under 25/over 25

Profession

Area of residence

Within each area 50 participants were questioned. Within each category, 5 informants were chosen at random. Note that the choice of areas and neighbourhoods within Oran was made in consultation with appropriate specialists from the O.N.S. (Office Nationale des Statistiques). The results obtained can be summed up in the following tables:

Table 1 : Answers per socio-professional categories

SOCIO- PROFESSIONAL CATEGORIES	LANGUAGE	
	SPEAK SPANISH	DO NOT SPEAK SPANISH
Pupils	20	10
Students	25	5
Engineers	22	8
Teachers	21	9
Lecturers	25	5
Seamen	27	3
Health Service Workers	15	15
Private Owners	17	13
Civil Servants	16	14
Illiterate Workers	15	15

TOTAL: 203 YES

TOTAL: 97 NO

Table 2: Results per sex and socio-professional categories

Yes - stands for can speak Spanish

No - stands for cannot speak Spanish

Sex	Socio-Professional Categories										
	Pupils	Students	Engineers	Teachers	Lecturers	Seamen	Health Service Workers	Private Owners	Civil Servants	Illiterate Workers	
MALE	Yes	10	15	18	10	19	27	9	15	12	10
	No	8	0	2	5	1	3	11	10	3	9
	Total	18	15	20	15	20	30	20	25	15	19
FEMALE	Yes	10	10	4	11	6	0	6	2	4	5
	No	2	5	6	4	4	0	4	3	11	6
	Total	12	15	10	15	10	0	10	5	15	11
TOTAL	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30

Total Number of Female Participants: 103 - 34.34% of the total sample population

Total Number of Male Participants: 197 - 65.66% of the total sample population

The results set out in Tables 1 and 2 clearly indicate that the majority of our participants, that is 69.66%, speak Spanish while the minority, that is 30.34% did not speak Spanish. Within this minority, some of the informants we questioned were not natives from Oran, i.e., they spoke a northern Algerian spoken Arabic, which suggests that they were recent immigrants.

Thus, over a total sample composed of 300 participants, 203 informants knew Spanish and Algerian spoken Arabic, as well as other languages they may have learnt at school or at university, i.e., French, English. To make sure that our participants used spoken Arabic and Spanish, but did not learn Spanish at school or at university, we explained to each participant that by asking him "Can you speak Spanish?" we wanted also to know whether they had learnt Spanish at home or picked up the language from friends, who had acquired it from their parents. In each case our participants replied that all their friends, including themselves, learned to speak Spanish within their family, and even those whose parents did not speak Spanish came to learn Spanish in the neighbourhood or through friends.

This evidence supports our view that the bilingual combination Algerian spoken Arabic/Spanish, which emerged during the Spanish occupation and was reinforced during the French occupation, is still present in Oran today. Three Air Algérie agents and four agents working in the Algerian Company for Maritime Transports confirmed to us that 80% of the tickets they issued to Algerians were routed to Alicante or Madrid or Barcelona. Further, they explained to us that Oranese like to go to Spain because they can speak the language fluently*.

From Algerian spoken Arabic/Spanish we move to another form of bilingualism, which has aroused a great deal of controversy in Algeria - Classical Arabic/French - which we propose to examine in the coming paragraphs.

* Oran, interviews conducted between December 10 and 17, 1987.

2.3 CLASSICAL ARABIC/FRENCH

By way of introduction to our discussion let us say that neither Classical Arabic nor French are Algerians' native languages, that is, no Algerians learn Classical Arabic or French⁶² as their first mother tongue. Both languages are acquired through education. Hence this form of bilingualism is only reflected in education.

Bilingualism in education was envisaged by the new Algerian government as an effective method to achieve modernisation through the use of French for scientific and technological education, as well as international trade negotiations, and the use of CA for all other aspects of Algerian life. Hence, the rationale of this bilingual orientation was that French was a major condition for accelerated modernisation.

Grandguillaume, a French author, has analysed the anthropology of Arabization in the Maghreb. He reported in this connection:

"La langue française est présente au Maghreb à double titre : en tant que langue de colonisation, et comme langue de l'ouverture à la modernité".⁶³

Thus, as far as Algerians are concerned, the French language serves as a means of communication with the modern world. This idea of linking modernism with French language has always been present in the Algerian's mind before and after colonization. Many years after Independence, the Algerian educational system continued to operate a policy of educational bilingualism, French/CA, with a strong domination of French in scientific and

⁶²With the exception of some Algerian families with a French educated background, who continue to identify themselves with French culture and bring up their children in French ways, i.e., they teach their children French as their mother tongue. With the winds of Islam blowing in all directions in Algeria, these families tend to be more and more isolated and hardly identify with Algerian Arabs.

⁶³Grandguillaume, Gilbert, 1986, 'Langue Arabe et état moderne au Maghreb', L'annuaire de L'Afrique du Nord, Paris, p 81.

technical branches.

2.4 THE GOLDEN AGE OF FRENCH

At Independence, the linguistic landscape in Algeria was rather confusing and complex. This was mainly due to the conflict opposing the Algerian 'élite' educated in Classical Arabic (at the Zitouna or Al Azhar University) and the French-educated 'élite'. The former claimed that only one language should be used (and that was Classical Arabic) and refused to tolerate any other language. The latter, educated in French, feared that Classical Arabic monolingualism would not be the adequate solution, in so far as Classical Arabic would not be able to cope and deal with science and technology on an equal footing with French. As Etienne observed:

"L'arabisation peut ralentir l'orientation scientifique et technique option fondamentale du régime, non par son caractère culturellement traditionnel, mais parce qu'il est plus facile de recruter des enseignants arabisants dans les matières littéraires moins fonctionnelles pour le développement en Algérie. Cette situation ne peut que raffermir la prépondérance des cadres techniques français maitres du marché".⁶⁴

Thus, at Independence, the French educated élite thought that Classical Arabic alone was not ready to take up the challenge of technical and scientific development. As Souriau reported:

"L'arabe écrit n'en fut pas sauvé de son confinement de l'état de langue de liturgie, de droit et d'érudition littéraire - ou tout simplement de langue morte. Ce fut une matière enseignée et non une langue d'enseignement. Tandis que le français reste paré des attraits et des avantages de la culture scientifique et profane indispensable à l'industrialisation et au développement".⁶⁵

⁶⁴Etienne, Bruno, 1977, L'Algérie: cultures et révolution, Paris, p 181.

⁶⁵Souriau, Christiane, 1975, 'L'Arabisation en Algérie', Introduction à l'Afrique du Nord Contemporaine, Paris, p 386.

Summarizing, the élite which emerged after the Algerian War of Independence was either frenchified or arabized. The élite, which seized power in 1962, was mostly frenchified. They proclaimed Classical Arabic as the only national language, but justified the continuity of French, as Ibrahimi declared:

"Seul un enseignement bilingue pouvait assurer la transition entre un enseignement colonial et un enseignement authentiquement national".⁶⁶

He continued:

"Pour nous l'arabe doit prendre une place de plus en plus en grande dans notre enseignement et dans notre vie".⁶⁷

The need and inevitable urge to resort to the French language was clearly expressed by Lacheref who stated:

"Après la transition douloureuse que connut une société algérienne bouleversée, privée des ses droits élémentaires et de ses biens nationaux, de ses libertés, on éprouva le besoin d'une culture ou plus exactment d'un enseignement ... C'est dire combien un peuple qui a une longue tradition de culture tolère difficilement et se sent capable, pour satisfaire un tel besoin, d'adopter une autre langue, à défaut de la sienne propre qui lui est désormais interdite".⁶⁸

It was clear, right from the beginning, that French was there to stay as a temporary solution. In this context, Ibrahimi described bilingualism, that is the use of both Classical Arabic and French, as a transition, while Lacheref believed that the use of French was inevitable. In both cases, bilingualism was perceived by the Algerian leadership as a temporary solution.

⁶⁶As cited in Souriau, Christiane, 1975, 'L'Arabisation en Algérie, Introduction à l'Afrique du Nord Contemporaine, Paris, p 385.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Lacheref, Mostefa, 1978, L'Algérie, nation et société, Alger, p 315.

At Independence, the main Algerian preoccupation was education and Arabization. In this study we refer to Arabization as a return to the Arabic language in the sense that the language of education and culture used in Algeria prior to the French occupation was Classical Arabic (see p 15). In other words Arabization implies the substitution of French by Classical Arabic. Hence the major obstacle to an immediate Arabization centred around the lack of teachers trained in Classical Arabic. The shortage of teachers at all levels seemed to be the most crucial problem to solve in 1963. According to the statistics of the Ministry of National Education⁶⁹ 939,006 pupils attended schools in June 1963 at Primary and Secondary level, and 38,107 students attended a University course. Both at Primary, Secondary and University level the training was provided in French.

In our opinion, immediate Arabization seemed impossible for two reasons. First of all, it would have been impossible to arabize education at once, as this would have implied that all the pupils and students who were already committed in second or third year at Primary, Secondary or University level would have to start their education all over again in Classical Arabic. This would have resulted in an important loss of human potential for Algeria. Secondly, immediate Arabization would have implied the loss of an important number of 'cadres' trained in French who would not have been able to perform their duties and assume a role in Algeria under a totally arabized administration.

It becomes clear that the immediate Arabization of Algeria was difficult to envisage. Thus, while at the same time proclaiming Classical Arabic as the official language, Algerians expressed their wish to become part of the modern world by clearly stating that they wanted to take up the scientific and technological challenge aimed at rebuilding the newly independent country. This option was clearly expressed in the first quadrennial plan 1970-1973*. Put differently, to put an end to their

⁶⁹Ministère de L'Education Nationale, Direction des statistiques et de la planification, 1964, effectifs scolaires, Alger, p 1.

* Ministry of Information and Culture, 1974, The Algerian Revolution: Facts and Prospects, Algiers, p 122.

historical backwardness, the choice of bilingualism was inevitable.

The crucial point that emerges is that during the first years of Algerian independence, the French language was to play a dominant part in the Algerian linguistic scene. French became the language of work for the majority of Algerians at various levels, while classical Arabic assumed the role of the language of Algerian culture and link with their past, as Etienne reported:

"La civilisation arabo-islamique a sauvé l'Algérie de l'assimilation française".⁷⁰

Related to the issue of bilingualism at the educational level is the fact that training was provided in two languages, Classical Arabic and French. In view of the top priority given to education and the increasing number of pupils and students, Algeria's first task was to solve the shortage of teachers. This was achieved by appealing to all the Algerian teachers available at that time (the vast majority of whom were trained in French) and international co-operation. French co-operation filled the gap in the teaching of French while Arab co-operation (mainly from Egypt) helped in the teaching of Arabic (see the Impact of Arabization Policy on French, p 50 for figures).

As was stated earlier, for Algerian pupils attending school for the first time, both Classical Arabic and French were foreign languages. In this respect Viratelle noted:

"En attendant, la confusion est totale : la langue officielle est l'arabe (littéraire), mais l'homme de la rue ne comprend et ne parle que l'arabe dialectale ou le berbère ... L'élite algérienne parle et 'pense' français".⁷¹

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Algerian pupils

⁷⁰Etienne, Bruno, 1977, Algérie, cultures et révolution, Paris, p 169.

⁷¹Viratelle, Gérard, 1970, L'Algérie algérienne, Paris, p 275.

who enrolled in Primary education become trilingual or multilingual. On the one hand, there are those whose native tongue is ASA but who learn at school two more languages, Classical Arabic (the first year of Primary education was arabized in 1963) and French. This situation was well described by Souriau who reported:

"On s'aperçoit immédiatement que le dualisme culturel est une lourde charge pour un enfant algérien obligé d'apprendre à lire et à écrire en deux langues qui diffèrent totalement d'écriture, de morphologie, de syntaxe, de concepts et même de méthodes d'apprentissage".⁷²

It is interesting to note in this context that Berber children who live in the mountainous regions of 'Kabylie', Aurès, M'zab and the Hoggar acquire Berber as the first native language and remain monolingual until they reach schooling age. However other Berber children living in urban areas (towns or cities) learn ASA dialectal Arabic to communicate with their neighbours, or play with their peers or classmates who are not Berber. Before entering Primary School, Berber children are already bilingual, i.e., they speak and use Berber and ASA. Upon entering Primary School, they learn Classical Arabic as a third language and French as a fourth, and later on a fifth language: English. They become multilingual. Psychologically speaking an already bilingual child learning two more languages entirely different from each other in linguistic structure ends up torn between the four languages. As Redjala put it:

"Arabophone, l'enfant algérien est tiraillé entre trois langues: l'arabe populaire au foyer et dans les rues, l'arabe classique et le français sur les bancs de l'école. Quand le jeune algérien à le malheur de naître berbèrophone, il devra, lui s'adapter à quatre langues: le berbère au foyer, l'arabe dialectal dans la rue s'il habite dans une grande ville, enfin l'arabe classique et le français dans les établissements

⁷²Souriau, Christiane, 1975 'L'arabisation en Algérie', Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, Paris, p 367.

scolaires. Et l'on s'étonne que cet enfant soit traumatisé".⁷³

Coming back to the role of Classical Arabic and French, one may stress that French remained the dominant language in the first decade of Algerian Independence. In the course of the seventies, the Algerian leadership defined the role of the French language in the following terms.

"Sous peine de faillir à sa mission, l'enseignement du français ne saurait se définir dans son contenu et ses méthodes qu'en fonction des ses données d'une part, l'orientation générale du pays et ses options fondamentales d'autre part, le fait que le français soit si répandu quel qu'en soit l'usage doit être à présent considéré à présent en Algérie comme une langue étrangère. Dans ces conditions qui lui donnent son caractère spécifique et original; cet enseignement doit s'assigner des objectifs essentiellement linguistiques ... Il s'agit d'enseigner aux élèves une langue plutôt qu'une culture étant bien entendu que l'apprentissage d'une langue comporte tout naturellement une ouverture sur une civilisation et un système de référence dont il serait regrettable de ne pas relever le génie et les valeurs propres".⁷⁴

The tone of the above statement suggests that the presence of the French language must be understood in terms of the mission it was assigned within the framework of the country's national priorities. In this respect, French must only be regarded as a foreign language, and its main role is to fulfil Algerian linguistic objectives.

The Algerian attitude towards the role and status of French was confirmed by the Minister of National Education in his opening speech at the start of the academic year 1972/1973:

⁷³Redjala, Mbarek, 1973, 'Remarques sur les problèmes linguistiques en Algérie', L'homme et la société, No. 28, p 169.

⁷⁴Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Préambule au Directives et Conseils: Année Scolaire 1971-1972, Alger, 1971, p 5.

"La langue arabe occupera une place de plus en plus importante jusqu'à l'arabisation totale ... Nous ne négligeons pas l'apprentissage des langues étrangères tels que le français et l'anglais notement afin de donner à nos enfants, le moyen de rester en contact avec le monde extérieur".⁷⁵

Thus, the use of two languages within the Algerian community was dependent on each language serving a function which the other did not. It is then the fulfilment of separate functions by different languages which permits bilingualism within the community⁷⁶. Knowing and speaking a language also involves a personal sense of identity. Thus language carries symbolic values and those who chose Classical Arabic were also choosing an identity closely associated with that language. Arabization was called upon to fulfil this function.

In the course of the coming decade of Algerian Independence, the process of Arabization, which was started in the 60's, will be reinforced while the reform of education implemented in 1980 will change the face of Algerian education.

This leads us to the study of the impact of Arabization policy on French and the emergence of English in the Algerian linguistic scene.

⁷⁵Discours de Monsieur le Ministre des Enseignements Primaires et Secondaires, Rentrée Scolaire 1972-1973', El Moudjahid du 20 septembre 1972, p 1.

⁷⁶Fishman, Joshua A, 1972, The Sociology of Language, The Hague, p 92.

3. THE IMPACT OF ARABIZATION POLICY ON FRENCH

Statement of the Hypothesis

The process of Arabization in Algeria implies:

- a) the weakening of French, especially in education
- b) as French backs up, more and more attention is being given to English.

To corroborate this hypothesis we shall provide a chronological exposition of the process of Arabization in Algeria from the early years of independence to the present time and examine the current linguistic situation of French and English in Algeria in various socio-economic fields.

As was stated earlier, Arabization and the adoption of Classical Arabic as the national language was viewed by the Algerian government as a means to establish Algerian linguistic and cultural independence. The immediate implementation of Arabization at all levels of education and at all levels of society was impossible to envisage. The adequate solution to this problem was a long term planned Arabization.

3.1 ARABIZATION IN THE 60's

In the course of the academic year 1962/1963, the total number of hours devoted to the teaching of Classical Arabic per week was 7½ hours at Primary education level⁷⁷. In the course of 1963/1964 this number was increased to 10 hours, i.e., 34% of the Primary School schedule⁷⁸.

⁷⁷Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Discours de Monsieur le Ministre de l'Éducation Nationale, Tome I, 1965-1966, p 89.

⁷⁸Ibid.

In 1964 the Algerian Ministry of Education decided on the Arabization of the first year at Primary School education. To ensure the success of this operation Algeria called upon the help of 1,000 Egyptian teachers. At this point, the total number of hours devoted to the teaching of the Arabic language increased from 10 to 15 hours per week. In the course of the same year (1964) an Islamic Institute was opened in Beni-Douala in Greater Kabylia. This institute was put under the supervision of the Ministry of Religious Affairs⁷⁹. Another step towards the decolonization of Algeria was taken with the creation of an Institute of Arabic language within the city of Algiers⁸⁰. This institute was launched to train the future teachers of Arabic language at University and Secondary level.

In 1965 the theme of Arabization became one of the major political issues. The restoration of the Arabic language and the role of the national language in the life of the new nation was clearly stated in the objectives of the Revolution.

Note that the policy of Arabization was mainly centred around education, which was given, at Independence, top priority, in view of the high degree of illiteracy inherited from the French elitist system of education, i.e., only some privileged families were allowed access to education.

In 1965 a new Algerian government, which took over power in June, intensified the Arabization procedure. A reform of the educational system was envisaged on the basis of four principles: 'democratisation' (making education accessible to every Algerian born child), Algerianisation (employing more Algerians), Arabization and scientific and technical orientation (defining an educational policy consistent with the scientific and technological orientation of the country).

In the course of 1967 a Special Committee was assigned the task

⁷⁹Grandguillaume, Gilbert, 1983, L'arabisation et politique linguistique au Maghreb, Paris, p 33.

⁸⁰Souriau, Christiane, 1975, 'La politique algérienne de l'arabisation', Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, CNRS, Paris, p 369.

of supervising the progress of Arabization. 'La commission d'arabisation' received instructions to supervise the gradual implementation of Arabization (putting it into effect first in primary education and progressing towards secondary education). It was not surprising that in the course of the same year, the second year at Primary level was totally arabized⁸¹. At this point in our discussion it is interesting to note that in 1967 French had receded in importance in first and second year at Primary level.

Furthermore, three Secondary schools ('lycées') providing a course entirely given in Classical Arabic were created in 1967⁸². These Secondary schools were created to receive those pupils who studied in the Koranic schools and had a good command of the Arabic language, and who did not wish to continue their studies in French. We note in passing that French was taught as a foreign language in these 'lycées'. French was just one of the foreign languages to be chosen together with English, German, Spanish and Russian.

As Souriau pointed out, the coming years (1968-1970) were to see an increasing controversy between 'arabisants' and 'francisants'. For the time being the Algerian administration used French, and French seems to be the key to social promotion, and modernisation was to be effected through French, e.g., medicine and engineering were taught in French. The 'Arabisants' felt a deep sense of frustration at the prestige and possibilities offered by French.

Etienne observed in this context that:

"L'étudiant qui n'est qu'arabisant a peut-être récupéré son âme mais il a le sentiment d'avoir manqué sa chance d'ascension sociale".⁸³

⁸¹Ministère de l'Education et de l'Enseignement Fondamentale de la République Algérienne, 'L'éducation', Revue Pédagogique et Culturelle, No. 3 (mai-juin), 1982, p 113.

⁸²Ibid, p 113.

⁸³Etienne, Bruno, 1977, Algérie, cultures et révolution, Paris, p 184.

It is crucial to note here that, in the spheres of industry and technology, French was not the only language used. We have stated earlier that Algerians had committed themselves to put an end to their under-development by resorting to the modernisation of the country. In their commitment to modernisation and advance in the modern world, Algerians tend to buy in a total western package by the importation of ready built factories complete with western experts who train Algerians to master technology. For example, the American oil companies, which were considered by the Algerians as the world leaders in the field of oil technology and which were asked to build oil refineries, trained Algerians to master oil technology in English.

Etienne observed in this context:

"Le secteur nationalisé fonctionne lui aussi en français (et de plus en plus en anglais)".⁸⁴

A note of summary is essential here. In the course of the first decade French remained the dominant language, but in technology and industry, French was challenged by English. Foreign companies, e.g., American, British, Japanese, used English to train Algerians. All Algerians who attended Middle or Secondary education learned English in the third year of Middle education (with the exception of those who chose to learn German, Spanish or Russian, whenever the teaching of these foreign languages was available).

Thus, aware of the fact that Algerians learned English in the course of their education, foreign companies, which used English as their trading language (for further discussion see Section 4 on English, p 86) opted to train their workers in English. Those who trained in English, learnt how to use English to communicate with their teacher, i.e., conversational English was part of the intensive course included in the curriculum. They also used it in their works to read instruction manuals written in English related to the operating and maintenance of the machines. In addition their background reading

⁸⁴Etienne, Bruno, 1977, Algérie: Cultures et Révolution, p 185.

to their subject was in English.

French was not the only foreign language used by Algerians. In their education they also learnt English, which was included in the Algerian curriculum. In addition, as we have seen above, part of the industrial and technological training provided by some foreign companies was in English. Furthermore, as was reported to us by one of the oldest pilots in Air Algérie,⁸⁵ who started to work for the organisation in the early seventies, a knowledge of English was essential. Algerian trainees were sent to British schools to learn English for a year as part of their training. This topic will be discussed at a later point (see interviews, Air Algérie, p 306-315).

Thus, in the course of the first decade and early seventies, English had taken roots in the Algerian linguistic landscape.

3.2 ARABIZATION IN THE 70's

Coming back to the subject of Arabization, one notes that new measures concerning Arabization were taken. L'arrêté interministériel du 12 février 1970, launched by the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of National Education, introduced Arabization and the use of Arabic language in the Civil Service 'fonction publique'. The arrêté stipulated:

"Tout fonctionnaire en place qui désire une promotion ou un avancement et tout candidat qui se présentera à partir de 1971 devront passer un examen écrit et oral en langue nationale".⁸⁶

This new measure ensured that within the Algerian Civil Service, promotion could not be obtained without a certain degree of knowledge of the Arabic language. This also meant that those Algerians who studied Classical Arabic in the Médersas were encouraged to improve their knowledge of Classical Arabic.

⁸⁵Interview given on November 23 1987, in the course of a flight, Annaba-Marseilles.

⁸⁶El Moudjahid, 13 February 1970, p 2.

In the meantime, arabized sections within the departments of history, philosophy, geography and sociology were created to receive arabized students, who were awarded a 'Baccalauréat arabisé'.

In 1971, the daily newspaper El Moudjahid (8 janvier 1971) published in its first front page 'L'année qui débute a été déclaré l'année de l'arabisation'. The 'Journal Officiel', No. 7, du 22.1.71 contained an 'ordonnance', which rendered a knowledge of Classical Arabic obligatory. The décret du 27 juin 1971 introduced the Arabization of the Justice Department in Algeria. In the course of the same year a further step in the Arabization of Primary education was launched. Now French was removed from the third and fourth year at Primary level as the main language of study. The first four years of Primary education were taught in Classical Arabic, with French being introduced as a foreign language.

In the course of 1971, one third of the classes in the fifth and sixth year at Primary level were arabized (here again French stepped back as a foreign language, as opposed to being the main language of study), while the remaining two thirds of the Primary classes were bilingual (here literary branches were taught in Classical Arabic, while scientific branches were still taught in French).

At Secondary level, one third of the Middle classes (first year and fourth year) were arabized in 1971. Similarly, in 1972 one third of the Middle classes (this time second and fifth year), were arabized⁸⁷.

In 1975, all the bilingual sections in Middle education were arabized with the exception of mathematics and natural sciences⁸⁸. At Secondary level, all the disciplines in literary branches were arabized. This meant that in the remaining bilingual sections French

⁸⁷Souriau, Christiane, 1975, 'La politique algérienne de l'arabisation', Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, CNRS, Paris, p 373.

⁸⁸Ministère des Enseignements Primaires et Secondaires, 1975, Bilan des activités de Juillet 1965 à Juin 1975, Alger, p 55.

served as the language of study in scientific disciplines, while philosophy and literary branches were taught in Classical Arabic⁸⁹.

At the level of higher education, l'arrêté du 25 août 1971 (Journal Officiel de la République Algérienne No 78 du 24 septembre 1971) imposed the organisation of a compulsory course in Arabic language at all levels. At all levels of Algerian education, in 1975, candidates sitting for any exam or entrance examination had to undergo a compulsory test in Arabic⁹⁰.

In 1974, all the 'écoles normales' in charge of the training of Algerian teachers were arabized and re-labelled 'Institut de technologie de l'éducation'. This decision put an end to the training of Primary and Secondary bilingual teachers. In the course of the same year, the courses 'pédagogie et psychopédagogie', previously taught in French, were also arabized⁹¹.

In other fields we note, as was pointed out earlier, that the Ministry of Justice was arabized following the publication of 'L'arrêté du 27 juin 1971'. This meant that all proceedings in courts, i.e., trials, verdicts, pleadings and counsel's speeches, were to be given and read in Classical Arabic⁹². The daily newspaper 'An-Nasr' previously distributed and published in French was arabized.

Summarizing, one notes French was removed from the first to the fourth Primary year. In Middle education, French has stepped back as a foreign language in the arabized sections and has

⁸⁹Ministère des Enseignements Primaires et Secondaires, 1975, Bilan des activités de Juillet 1965 à Juin 1975, Alger, p 55.

⁹⁰Ibid, p 55.

⁹¹El-Asâla, numéro spécial, 1974.

⁹²Temporarily, Lawyers and Judges were allowed to use dialectal spoken Arabic whenever they could not use Classical Arabic properly.

only maintained its status of language of study in bilingual sections, and even at this level, French is only used in scientific disciplines, and hence was losing its status as a language of study in literary disciplines in bilingual sections. At the level of the Ministry of Justice, French has lost a linguistic battle and has been wiped out by the Arabic language. Little by little, French retreats.

In 1976, the Algerians adopted a 'Charte Nationale' defining the major orientations of the Algerian revolution and the role that was to be played by the national language.

The texts of the 'Charte Nationale' expressed very clearly in 1976 the linguistic choice facing Algeria and the part to be played by the official language and French.

"Il ne s'agit nullement de choisir entre la langue nationale et une langue étrangère [here implying indirectly French]. Le problème du choix est dépassé et irréversible. Le débat sur l'arabisation ne peut porter désormais que sur le contenu, les moyens, les méthodes, les étapes, la conception générale d'une langue appelée à jouer un rôle qui doit lui revenir si les siens savent en faire, par leur travail et un effort acharné et positif de perfectionnement, l'outil culturel et scientifique destiné à propulser la marche en avant de l'Algérie socialiste".⁹³ (emphasis and parenthesis mine).

We note in passing that the last passage suggests a recognition of the backwardness and handicaps of the Arabic language: 'si les siens savent en faire ...'. The use of 'si' here denotes the formulation of the hope that one day it may become 'l'outil culturel et scientifique ...'. Thus, indirectly it was admitted that this language is not yet 'l'outil culturel et scientifique'.

⁹³Front de Libération Nationale, 1976, Charte Nationale, Alger, p 65.

The backwardness of the Arabic language was also one of the major preoccupations and themes discussed by the Algerian author and historian, Lacheraf. He described this backwardness as follows:

"En effet, une langue aussi prestigieuse soit-elle n'est jamais infallible ... Elle peut connaître de graves ruptures et des périodes de stérilité quand les siens s'écartent du cours utile de l'histoire et sombrent dans l'obscurantisme. Elle périclité dès qu'elle n'est pas travaillée, remodelée, actualisée; et le sous-développement fait le reste. Elle peut dévier de sa trajectoire initialement scientifique pour brasser des concepts religieux accessoires, hors de la tradition spirituelle, et se complaire dans un bas juridisme de décadence comme ce fut le cas pour la langue arabe de la fin du 15ème siècle à la fin du 19ème siècle ... Nous affirmons que l'enseignement de notre langue reste en état de compétitivité hasardeuse".⁹⁴

The theme related to the backwardness of the Arabic language has also been the subject matter used by the francophiles in their defence of the French language, and the bilingualists in their attempt to maintain a bilingual education and French as a language of study of work, beside the national language, Classical Arabic.

The francophiles and bilingualists fear that Algeria will regress if total Arabization is implemented⁹⁵. The bilingualist orientation's rationale is that bilingualism is there to stay for at least two other decades and justifies the major condition for an accelerated modernisation of the country. The major claim of the francophiles and bilingualists is that, since scientific and technological

⁹⁴Lacheref, Mostefa, 1977, 'Les problèmes de l'enseignement et de l'éducation' Revue Algérienne Scientifique, Juridique, Economique et Politique, No 14/3, p 462-63.

⁹⁵Gordon, David, 1978, The French Language and National Identity (1930-1975), The Hague, p 167.

contributions have been made through other languages such as English and German, and are available in French, Algerian children can advance more quickly by studying these subjects in French.

The arabophiles believe that the constant presence of the French language reinforces the colonial influence. Cheriet, a spokesman for the arabophile orientation sensed that:

"Le bilinguisme n'est pas un système révolutionnaire d'enseignement. C'est tout au plus un système réformateur susceptible de permettre, à la langue, la formation d'une 'élite' instruite, issue des classes bourgeoises. Cette 'élite' sera, nécessairement, le prolongement de celle qui domine, aujourd'hui l'appareil administratif dans le pays. Elle sera donc, comme elle, coupée, socialement et culturellement des masses populaires".⁹⁶

According to this author, bilingualism will continue to create an elitist system of education, mainly among the bourgeois milieu. The bilingualist orientation, he believes, will lead to the cultural and linguistic weakening of its own patrimony, because the educated elite, rather than contributing to the enrichment of its own language and culture, participates in the strengthening of the colonizer's culture and language. He added:

"Car le bilinguisme peut-être utile entre deux langues d'un niveau de développement proche. Mais entre deux langues dont l'une est au début de son évolution et l'autre au faite, cela veut dire que l'on court le risque de voir la langue évoluée écraser l'autre et la chasser de chez elle".⁹⁷

Employing the point of view proposed by Cheriet one may argue that bilingualism has been viewed by the arabophile as a serious threat to the development of the Arabic language, in the sense that it creates

⁹⁶Cheriet, Abdallah, 1983, Opinion sur la politique de l'enseignement et de l'Arabisation, Alger, p 59.

⁹⁷Ibid, p 63.

a situation whereby French, a language which is associated with modern sciences, technology and economics, can overshadow Classical Arabic, which has remained mostly connected with tradition and religion, as was stressed by Lacheref. Thus, in a country like Algeria, where the issues of progress, modernization and development are central to the Algerian government and orientations of the revolution, Arabic is left with its association with tradition, but, tradition may recede in importance.

Having examined Arabization from the bilingualist's point of view, let us now look at the problem from a different angle and examine the ideology of Arabization. Grandguillaume, a French scholar, who has studied Arabization in the Maghreb, observed that Arabization in Algeria was perceived as a cultural recovery as well as a complementary element of linguistic and political independence. He stated:

"L'arabisation est souvent présentée par les responsables et les idéologues comme la face culturelle de l'indépendance élément complémentaire de l'indépendance politique et économique. Le maintien de la langue française dans d'importants secteurs est perçu comme un résidu de l'ancienne domination, d'où la nécessité de lui substituer une langue nationale".⁹⁸

This view is shared by the advocates of Arabization, which includes the arabized élite and the members of the FLN party (Algeria's only political party), who believe that the francophiles and bilingualists have underestimated the colonial influence, which may lead to a situation where an independent country is still controlled by the colonizer's influence, so long as that country's cultural patrimony, educational and administrative system continue to use the language of the former colonizer as an instrument of communication. The main orientation of the arabophiles revolves around a central theme: total Arabization in all sectors is the only way to restore the Arabic

⁹⁸Grandguillaume, Gilbert, 1983, Arabisation et politique linguistique au Maghreb, Paris, p 33.

language to its proper place and therefore, recover the Algerian identity, which has always been associated with the Arabic language throughout the past centuries.

At this point in our discussion we must stress that there is a confusion, which is common among both the francophiles and bilingualists. They tend to confuse the arabisants with Muslim fundamentalists. Within the Muslim fundamentalist movement we may find arabisants as well as francophiles, i.e. doctors, engineers and other professionals. What we must bear in mind is that the ideologies behind arabisants and Muslim fundamentalists are quite different in their orientation. As we have indicated above, the arabisants' ideology rests primarily upon a cultural basis, but in their orientation they believe in a commitment to modernisation through an extensive use of the Arabic language. The Muslim fundamentalists believe in a re-Islamisation and return to Islamic roots, i.e. implementation of Islamic laws and doctrine at all levels, including governmental level in the form of an Islamic Republic. In other words, the Muslim fundamentalists believe in the Islamisation of modernism.

Adopting Grandguillaume's point of view we believe that arabization is quite different from the return to the past. A re-Islamisation process would take Algeria centuries back and would endanger the process of modernisation, which, in its essence, implies international involvement at economic, industrial and technological levels. Further a fundamentalist re-Islamisation would mean adopting an insular and parochial attitude towards Europeans and Americans, who are regarded by Muslim fundamentalists as infidels and unworthy of trust. We think that Arabization should be viewed as a component of Algerian culture and an important step towards linguistic and cultural Independence. The process of nation-building implies a unifying factor among the members of this nation. This common link is a common language, which unites a nation around the same sense of national and cultural identity.

Arabization must be called upon to perform this unification. The national entity encompassed in the Arabic language is the only tenet that Algeria can use to assert itself nationally and internationally, i.e. belong to a group of nations on a larger scale. In the same way as France identifies itself on the international level to Europe, Algeria would identify itself with Arab nationhood.

Thus, on the eve of the adoption of a National Charter and Constitution, Arabization is called upon to play a major role in the Algerian battle for cultural recovery. As will be seen later, this process of linguistic recovery has been clearly manifested in the curricula of 'l'école fondamentale'. With this background in mind let us examine the next steps in Arabization and the fate of French in Algeria in the course of the year 1975-1976.

In 1975, the specific role and status of the French language was defined as follows:

"Le français sera utilisé comme une langue étrangère occupant un statut spécifique en fonction des considérations historiques bien connues".⁹⁹

This statement clearly reveals that French explicitly became a 'langue étrangère'.

Furthermore, to show their concern for Arabization, the Algerian government convened its first National Conference for Arabization, which took place during May 1975. The major objective of this national conference was to reinforce and give a push to the Arabization process which had slackened off in the course of the preceding years.

The conference set forth a programme based on a three phase operation; each phase, after careful study, had to fulfill a specific task and ensure the Arabization process had been carried out realistically.

⁹⁹Discours présidentiel d'ouverture de la Première Conférence de la Jeunesse, El Moudjahid, 21 May 1975, p 3.

The first phase, which was envisaged as a short term phase, aimed at arabizing certain areas where the least knowledge of Arabic was required. In this respect it was decided that all street signs, road signs, public notices, store names, product labels, and towns or cities' names were to be arabized and printed in Arabic (except where touristic information was concerned). Similarly, all children's programmes on the media were arabized. This measure aimed at giving Algerian children an opportunity to learn to speak and use Classical Arabic at home.

In a second phase all civil documents related to marriage licences and birth certificates were to be arabized.

In a third phase, which was envisaged as a long term phase, Arabization was to be introduced gradually at all levels (factories, public offices, post offices, health services) under the form of compulsory courses in Arabic.

Le Journal Officiel du 12 mai 1976 ratifies in one of its Ordonnances the nationalization of private teaching, previously organized by Catholic Communities or by the Ministry of Religious Affairs¹⁰⁰. This meant that Algerians had to send their children to public schools.

It was also in the course of the year 1976 that the first experimental 'écoles fondamentales' (écoles pilotes) were launched. 532,000 pupils attended for the first time these experimental schools, which offered a new type of teaching entirely provided in Classical Arabic¹⁰¹. We shall come back to this at a later point (see further discussion, p 70).

¹⁰⁰Junqua, Daniel, 1976, 'Nationalisation de l'enseignement privé', Le Monde de l'Education, October 1976, No 21, p 24.

¹⁰¹Ibid, p 24.

In 1977, the previously French language newspaper El Joumhouriyya (La République, printed in Oran) was arabized¹⁰².

In 1979, a 'Circulaire' issued by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary education stipulated that all school diplomas and degrees were to be in Arabic. That is to say, all the printed forms related to Primary and Secondary degrees must be printed in Arabic with no mention of the language of study. In this way it was impossible to determine whether the holder of the degree had attended a bilingual or arabized course¹⁰³.

In the course of the same year a second Circulaire, relating to the discontinuance of the first Secondary year 'lettres bilingues' was issued nationwide.

At the end of 1979, the arabized Algerian students went on strike to protest against the slow pace of Arabization. Despite the emphasis placed on the policy of Arabization, the graduate arabisants thought that they were discriminated against in terms of job potential and absence of arabized post-graduate studies. Grandguillaume described the arabisants' strike in the following words:

"Le motif mis en avant pour cette grève était le manque de débouchés pour les étudiants qui sortent de l'université munis de diplômés arabes, de même que le manque de filières de 'post-graduation' arabisées au sein de l'université".¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²El Moudjahid du 2.1 1977, p 2.

¹⁰³Ministère des Enseignements Primaire et Secondaire, Circulaire portant arabisation des diplômes, April 1979.

¹⁰⁴Grandguillaume, Gilbert, 1980, 'Relance de l'arabisation en Algérie?', Maghreb Machrek, No. 88, avril-mai-juin 1980, Paris, p 55.

One of the major demands put forward by the students on strike was for an immediate Arabization of the Algerian administration. To support their argument, the students used official texts concerning Arabization that were put into effect, i.e. texts issued in the course of the National Conference for Arabization and the National Charter. For example, the experimental 'écoles fondamentales', which were launched in 1976, were discontinued in the course of the year 1977-1978 on account of the academic difficulties encountered. Lacheref, who was appointed Minister of Primary and Secondary education in April 1977, thought that Algeria could not afford such a reform of education. He justified his position in the following statement:

"Ce qui manque c'est une langue d'enseignement dûment travaillée, une formation substantielle et sans complaisance, des maîtres, des manuels bien faits et attrayants ...".¹⁰⁵

The strike, which began at the beginning of November 1979 lasted two months and forced the Algerian government to revise its language policy. Consequently, new steps towards further Arabization were taken.

Following these events, a special meeting of the 'Comité Central' of the FLN was summoned on December 26th, 1979. The following decisions concerning Arabization were taken: At Primary and Secondary level the 'école fondamentale' project was given a new impulse. Mathematics was to be arabized at Primary level. More Arabization at Middle education level was envisaged. The Arabization of scientific disciplines at Secondary level was also under consideration. In higher education, new measures concerning the Arabization of social sciences were envisaged.

At this point, we must bear in mind that the students' strike movement in support of further Arabization is an indication of an old established trend in favour of the Arabic language, which has been transmitted from one generation to the other. During the period

¹⁰⁵As quoted in Balta, Paul, 'Le ministre s'en prend aux arabisants intégraux', Le Monde de l'éducation, 1977, p 39.

of French colonization and after Independence, this movement in favour of Arabization (but with a strong commitment to modernisation through the Arabic language as opposed to French) has symbolized in Algeria today the 'avant-garde' linguistic group, which has prevented a linguistic shift from Classical Arabic to French. Without their constant determination to increase the use of Classical Arabic, the unequal bilingualism in education, i.e. a bilingual education system whereby one language (French) dominates the other (Classical Arabic), may have resulted in a progressive linguistic shift (in the long run), in which case French would have gradually eclipsed and reduced Classical Arabic to a purely religious language, confined to literary purposes. We would have then been facing a linguistic situation where the original colonial assimilation process would have been achieved without the presence of the Colonizer. The linguistic group representing the defence of the Arabic language may be praised in this respect; they have prevented a linguistic shift in favour of the French language. Not only have they preserved the legitimacy of the Arabic language in Algeria, reinforcing its role in Algerian life, but they have also managed to maintain the Arabic language on the Algerian scene at all levels - except in scientific and technological branches at University levels. The maintenance of Classical Arabic in Algerian education has resulted in the weakening of the status of French as a language of instruction.

The Algerian leadership, which had just spent two months (November 1979 - January 1980) trying to solve strikes by the arabisants protesting against the slow pace of Arabization and privileges granted to French speaking University Graduates, had to face another strike on the part of the 'Kabyle' Berbers this time.

The 'Kabyle' students strike originated in Tizi-Ouzou, capital of Kabylia, on March 10th, 1980, following a decision taken by the Wali of Tizi-Ouzou to ban a Conference on Berber poetry due to be given by the 'Kabyle' writer, Mouloud Mammeri¹⁰⁶. The 'Kabyle' demonstration

¹⁰⁶Grandguillaume, Gilbert, 1980, 'Relance de l'arabisation en Algérie?', Maghreb Machrek, No. 88, avril-mai-juin 1980, Paris, p 57.

aimed at protesting against the decision taken by the Algerian leadership to accelerate Arabization (in response to the previous student strikes organized by the advocates of Arabization).

Quoting the speech given by President Chadli himself prior to the 'Kabyle' demonstrations, Germain-Robin observed that the Algerian Head of State felt that an incoherent Arabization could arouse linguistic conflicts among francophiles, who had a poor knowledge of Arabic and enhance the cleavage between francophiles and arabisants¹⁰⁷.

Discussing this issue, Tabory and Tabory argued that Berber unrest in Algeria exemplified the conflicts facing many states concerned with national unity through a common language, and having to solve the problem of ethnic minorities demanding a return to their native tongue. They stated:

"The unrest in Algeria at the beginning of the 80's serves a focus on the conflicts faced by many states between language unification as a means of nation building on the one hand, and the worldwide trend of indigenous groups to demand recognition of their native tongue as a means of preserving their endangered identity on the other hand".¹⁰⁸

A French journalist, Galissot, argued that Berber riots in Algeria reflected a general malaise in Algerian society. He believed that national unity could be achieved without condemning the Berber cultural demands or denying cultural pluralism. He also felt that the negation of the Berber minorities' cultural demands (including that of the use of Berber) could be interpreted as a negation of Algerian's distinct values and further cultural under-development¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁷Germain-Robin, Françoise, 1980, L'Humanité, 3 mai 1980, p 8.

¹⁰⁸Tabory, Ephraim and Tabory, Mala, 1987, 'Berber unrest in Algeria: lessons for language policy', International Journal of the Sociology of Language, No 63, Amsterdam, p 63.

¹⁰⁹Gallissot, René, 1980, 'Crise de Kabylie ou crise de l'état', Le Monde, 6 août, p 2.

Hence, the language policy initiated by the Algerian government did not allow linguistic and cultural diversity side by side with Arabization. The denial of cultural diversity fuelled the quest for linguistic and cultural freedom on the part of the Kabyle students. The latter limited their demands to the maintenance of cultural pluralism and the use of their language which they believed was indissociable from the Berber identity. Stressing the tie between the Berber language and identity, Adam remarked:

"L'existence d'une entité berbère est liée au maintien de la langue. Celle-ci n'a cessé de reculer, lentement, depuis des siècles. La scolarisation et les mass médias ne peuvent qu'accélérer le rythme de l'arabisation. Déjà la langue berbère a presque disparu de la Tunisie".¹¹⁰

Thus, the survival of the Berber cultural identity is closely related to the maintenance of their language. The denial of Berber cultural legitimacy on the part of the Algerian authorities meant that the Kabyles could no longer participate in the Algerian culture on a wider basis. In November 1981, President Chadli stated that there is only one national language, which is Classical Arabic, the language of our civilization and the symbol of our identity. He added that there are no ethnic problems in Algeria, nor any minority problems¹¹¹.

Refusal on the part of the Algerian leadership to grant Berber language and culture an official status created more frustration among Kabyles and widened the gap between Kabyle groups and the Arabs. The Kabyles, who remain the only Berber group hostile to Arabization, perceived this policy as a threat to their native language and the survival of their culture. On the other hand Algerians viewed the Kabyle demands as a betrayal of Arabo-Islamic civilization. A French anthropologist, who analyzed the question of

¹¹⁰Adam, André, 1973, 'Quelques constantes dans le processus d'acculturation chez les Berbères du Maghreb', Actes du Premier Congrès d'Etudes des Cultures Méditerranéennes d'Influence Arabo-Berbères. Alger, p 444.

¹¹¹El Moudjahid du 27-28 novembre 1981, p 1.

cultural identity in the Maghreb, Camilleri, commented:

"....De ce fait il donnerait les moyens de stigmatiser d'avance comme traître à la patrie, voire comme sacrilège et impie tout discours diversificateur fondé sur des différences de toute sorte ... Selon l'expression de B Ghalioumi, "il ne s'agit plus que d'une 'identité-alibi'".¹¹²

Camilleri further believes that cultural identity is linked with the unity of culture. He added:

"L'identité culturelle repose sur l'unité de la culture".¹¹³

In light of the above statement we can state that Algeria's tendency to assert its culture through a unifying Arabo-Islamic was legitimate. In this connection, Khôi wrote:

"Naturellement l'emploi de la langue classique s'impose. C'est la langue de l'unité, du Coran, de la communication entre tous les peuples arabes ...".¹¹⁴

Algeria's commitment to unification and nation-building through a common language and culture, Arabo-Islamic civilization, could not possibly admit and grant official status to the Berber language and culture. But on the other hand the Kabyles are developing their own culture into a counter culture that participates more in their own than in the Arabo-Islamic culture, while the Algerian youth, which does not accept this culture, is turning more and more to western cultures, e.g. hair style, clothes style, Anglo-American music, French or American lifestyle.

¹¹²Camilleri, Carnel, 1984, 'Les usages de l'identité: l'exemple du Maghreb', Revue du Tiers Monde, No. 97, janvier - mars 1984, Paris, p 40.

¹¹³Ibid, p 40.

¹¹⁴Khôi, Lé Thành, 1982, 'L'enseignement en pays Arabo-Musulmans', Revue du Tiers Monde, No 92, octobre-décembre 1982, p 862.

The experimental 'écoles fondamentales' first opened in 1976 (see p 63), were officially launched in 1980¹¹⁵. The reform of education was expected to ensure the unification of instruction through one common language, Classical Arabic, from the first year to the ninth year. With the implementation of 'fondamentale' school, French recedes as a foreign language, introduced in the course of the fourth year of 'L'école fondamentale'. A second foreign language, English, is introduced at the beginning of the eighth year. But more and more concern about the status of French as the first foreign language is reflected in recent debates among pupils, students, teachers and senior educational officials. A full discussion on this subject will be given in the section related to interviews (see p 255-335).

In 1980, in an official speech given at the opening of the academic year 1980-81, the Minister of Higher Education announced the Arabization of social sciences, i.e. sociology, history, geography, economics, law¹¹⁶.

The Arabization of social sciences was completed in the course of the year 1983/1984¹¹⁷. In the course of the following years Arabization was introduced in the following sections: 'sciences exactes', biology, geology¹¹⁸. As of the academic year 1987/1988 a new discipline concerned with the teaching of political, ideological, cultural and Islamic training was introduced at all levels, i.e. all departments of Algerian Universities or University Centres were instructed to incorporate this discipline into their curricula. This discipline was to be taught in the national language¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁵Maghreb développement, No 40 mars 1981, p 34.

¹¹⁶Clair, Jean-Marie, 1981, 'Université: une évolution économique et culturelle', Europe-Outre mer, No 619, p 11.

¹¹⁷Zitouni, M, 1987, 'L'arabisation au sein de nos universités', Algérie-Actualités, No 1141, semaine du 27 août au 2 septembre 1987, p 19.

¹¹⁸Note that in addition to the arabized sections cited above, there are also sections operating in French.

¹¹⁹Zitouni, M, Algérie-Actualités, No 1141, p 19.

In 1985, the Ministry of Postal Services announced its decision to arabize telegrams, previously printed in French and Arabic. Further, the same Ministry stated that it was taking the necessary measures to arabize all its services¹²⁰. In the course of 1987 the Ministry of Postal Services launched the first arabized postal cheques (arabized sample included, p 72). Similarly, the ministry of finance announced the Arabization of insurance policies (see p 73).

The Arabization of 'fondamentale' school implied the gradual Arabization of secondary education. Consequently, the first year at secondary level was arabized as of 1986-1987¹²¹. In the course of the following year 1987-1988 the second year at secondary education was also arabized and the last surviving bilingual section will have disappeared by 1990¹²².

3.3 THE RETREAT OF FRENCH

At present, French has been completely replaced in the following areas -

1. In Primary and Middle education French has been replaced as a language of study by Classical Arabic in the context of the new Algerian school, 'l'école fondamentale', which combines Primary and Middle education in a 9 year course.
2. In Secondary education, French survives in a few bilingual sections as the language of study of scientific branches, but it has already been removed from the first secondary year and, as M Haddad predicted:

"La langue scientifique des bacheliers scientifiques de juin 1989 aura été selon toute probabilité arabisée".¹²³

¹²⁰El Moudjahid du 9 décembre 1985 (article signed A.M.).

¹²¹El Moudjahid du 28 août 1986, p 4 (article signed by A.C.).

¹²²Messauoudi, M.T., 1987, El Moudjahid du 15 janvier 1987, p 5.

¹²³Haddad, Mustapha, 1986, 'Arabisation de l'enseignement des sciences', Annuaire de L'Afrique du Nord, Paris, p 105.

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Note that payez, à M., the name and address remain in French.

GENERALISATION DE L'UTILISATION DE LA LANGUE NATIONALE

Le télégramme et les assurances en arabe

Les Ministères des P et T et des Finances ont pris dernièrement des initiatives louables, dans le cadre de la généralisation de l'utilisation de la langue nationale.

Le Ministère des P et T a en effet rendu possible l'envoi des télégrammes en langue nationale.

Pour sa part, le Ministère des Finances a entamé l'arabisation des Assurances, dont les attestations et formulaires sont rédigés en langue nationale.

Sur le plan technique en effet, l'unité tarifaire destinée à l'estimation du coût phrétique des dépêches télégraphiques était, à ce jour, appliquée uniquement sur le caractère latin. De même que les communications télégraphiques inter-arabes se faisaient à ce jour, en arabe certes, mais en caractères latins.

C'est à ce titre que l'initiative du Ministère des P et T prend également toute sa signification.

L'Algérie a, rappelons le, proposé un système d'unification ta-

rifaire lors de la dernière session des Ministres arabes des Postes et Télécommunications. Ce projet fut adopté. Il est désormais possible de communiquer par télégramme en langue nationale que ce soit à l'intérieur du pays ou avec l'ensemble des pays arabes.

De même, l'utilisation de la langue nationale par les services des Assurances permettra de résoudre les problèmes d'indemnisation des citoyens, problèmes nés de la mauvaise coordination avec les secteurs primordiaux tels que la justice et l'Etat civil entièrement arabisés. Il est vrai que dans certaines agences S.A.A., l'opération n'a pas encore été entamée.

Cependant, le Ministère des Finances entend généraliser dans un prochain avenir l'utilisation de la langue nationale dans l'élaboration des nomenclatures des traitements et salaires des travailleurs. Pour les P et T, les mandats télégraphiques seront rédigés prochainement en langue nationale.

A.M.

At 'L'école fondamentale' and Secondary level, French could not survive as a scientific language. Instead it has receded to the position of a foreign language.

In her recent survey conducted for the monthly magazine South, Turner observed:

"The Arabization of the education system is due to be finished by next year's school [academic year 1988-1989]".¹²⁴

3. At University level, French has completely disappeared from the curricula of Social Sciences not only as a language of study, but also as a foreign language where English was preferred to it¹²⁵.
4. In the field of television broadcasting, Classical Arabic is the main language used on Algerian television. The French news bulletin which used to be broadcast on Algerian television has been discontinued¹²⁶. Now the only language used in for example, news broadcasting, interviews, quiz games, and all sorts of sports and cultural events, is Classical Arabic.

It is interesting to note that the use of French on Algerian television is strictly confined to two major areas: films and documentaries, i.e., French speaking films or French dubbed films and French speaking documentaries.

¹²⁴Turner, Janice, 1987, 'Schools Bulge at the Seams', South, No. 86, December 1987, p 86.

¹²⁵Currently, Social Sciences students have to take a compulsory course in English in order to complete their Degree. Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, Direction des Enseignements, 1985, Programmes des Enseignements Option Sociologie, Alger, p 2.

¹²⁶No reference concerning this decision was made in the official press. The French news bulletin was off the air as of 1st January 1987. We have been able to confirm that the French news bulletin is still off the air. At present (March 1990) there is still no French news bulletin broadcast on Algerian television. Both news editions (8 o'clock and late news broadcast after the main feature film or series) are read in Arabic.

In order to investigate the future of French and English on Algerian Television we have conducted interviews with staff members of Algerian Television.

FIRST INTERVIEW (Conducted in Algiers, January 8, 1988)

Interviewee No. 1 is aged 38 and works in the Algerian Board of Film Classification. In the process of viewing films in order to determine whether or not the film or films in question should be screened, this interviewee has to have a knowledge of foreign languages in order to make a preliminary judgement as to the technical merits of foreign films, i.e., sub-titles and dubbing, and a substantive judgement as to its contents to determine if and when it may be screened. In order to explore the linguistic situation in this particular area, we asked:

QUESTION:

Nous avons constaté depuis quelque temps que La Télévision Algérienne a commencé à montrer des films en version anglaise, alors qu'auparavant presque la quasi-totalité des films diffusés étaient soit des films réalisés par des cinéastes français ou des films étrangers doublés en français.

Est-ce que cela doit être interprété comme un signe précurseur que le français, langue étrangère en Algérie doit faire face à la compétition linguistique incarnée par l'anglais, et s'il en est ainsi pouvez - vous prédire le futur de français au niveau de la diffusion?

Briefly summarized, according to this interviewee, the dominant language at Algerian television broadcasting level remains Arabic (see L1-L5; henceforth 'line' - L). He clearly indicates that the future of French in this area is very bleak (L5-L6) and the screening of French speaking films is merely intended to satisfy viewers who cannot follow an Arabic speaking film (L14-L19), but even this category of francophone viewers is psychologically preparing itself for an eventual Arabization (see L19-21). In this respect

he also pointed out that a great number of Algerians are now aware that French is linguistically speaking trailing behind English, not only as a scientific and technological language, but also as an international language (L25-L29). Still, according to this interviewee, in the field of film industry and technology, English is leading (L29-L30) and in recent years, the French themselves have started to screen American films in their original version (L33-35) with French sub-titles. In support of the view that more and more attention is given to English, he cited the examples of national Radio III which broadcasts one hour per day in English, and the example of the national daily newspaper 'Horizons' which now edits two pages in English (L36-40). He concluded by stating that the choice of foreign films and the foreign language will largely depend on 2 factors:

- a) The linguistic status and position of French on the international arena.
- b) With more and more arabized pupils taking a strong interest in English and looking upon French as the symbol of a remote colonial stigma, an increase in the screening of English speaking films cannot be excluded (L61-72).

INTERVIEWEE NO. 1:

Il n'y a pas l'ombre d'un doute que seul la langue arabe demeure la langue nationale en Algérie. D'ailleurs, comme les programmes de la télévision attestent, et à part les quelques documentaires et films en langue étrangère et encore les vidéo clips, toute la diffusion se fait en arabe. Pour répondre à votre question, le futur du français est très menacé. Nous espérons avec l'aide de films produits en arabe par les réalisateurs d'expression arabophones renforcer l'usage de la langue arabe et réduire le nombre de films en version française et pourquoi pas l'éliminer systématiquement. En ce qui nous concerne, il faut être très clair, il n'y a qu'une seule langue qui a un avenir en Algérie c'est l'arabe. Pour nous, le français est une langue étrangère. Cependant dans le souci de pourvoir à tous les goûts et

dans l'espoir de satisfaire une plus grande variété de téléspectateurs, nous devons tenir compte qu'il existe une catégorie de téléspectateurs francophones dont la connaissance relative de la langue arabe ne permet pas de suivre et de comprendre un film en langue arabe littéraire. Pour cette catégorie et en attendant une arabisation totale des programmes, nous continuons à diffuser des films en langue française. Mais même cette catégorie de téléspectateurs francophones se prépare psychologiquement à une arabisation imminente tôt ou tard.

Il faut aussi considérer le fait que la plus grande partie des Algériens a compris, aujourd'hui, que le français n'est plus le porte parole de la modernité tel qu'on le croyait lors de la première décennie qui a suivi l'indépendance. Les Algériens sont, aujourd'hui, conscient du fait que le français en tant que langue scientifique, technologique et internationale traîne lamentablement derrière l'anglais même en matière de technologie et de production cinématographique. Toutes les nouvelles technologies en matière de production et de diffusion sont en anglais. Le marché cinématographique est littéralement inondé par la production américaine. Les Français ne peuvent que se contenter de traduction et de doublage en langue française. Tous les nouveaux films américains sont aujourd'hui projetés en version américaine dans tous les cinémas français avec des sous - titres en français.

La radio nationale Alger chaîne III était déjà consciente de l'importance de l'anglais et a introduit dans son programme, il y a déjà plusieurs années, une tranche d'une heure réservée à la diffusion en langue anglaise. Le journal hebdomadaire Horizons consacre deux pages de son édition en anglais. Et ceci constitue une preuve irréfutable que le français recule et commence à perdre sa place de première langue étrangère en Algérie.

Le motif de la diffusion de films en version anglaise est de permettre aux élèves, étudiants et cadres désireux d'apprendre cette langue, de se perfectionner et d'améliorer leur connaissance de l'anglais en étant directement en contact avec cette langue à travers les films.

Il va sans dire que les Algériens, ayant récupéré leur identité et leur patrimoine culturel grâce à l'arabisation et au retour à la civilisation arabo-musulmane, sont maintenant capables de se détacher de la langue française et n'ont maintenu avec cette langue qu'un lien purement linguistique qui se reflète à travers toute langue étrangère. Prenons par exemple le cas de mon fils qui est en 8^{ème} année fondamentale. Ce dernier m'a répété à plusieurs occasions, que bien que la français reste la première langue étrangère qu'il a appris, il préfère apprendre l'anglais parce qu'il estime que le français ne lui servirait pas à grand chose. La raison étant bien sûr que toutes les correspondantes qu'il a préfèrent écrire en anglais et pour plus de cause, sa correspondante française lui a fait comprendre qu'elle préférerait correspondre en anglais pour progresser dans la pratique de cette langue.

Bref, pour conclure, disons que le futur de français est plutôt pâle. N'étant qu'une simple langue étrangère, le français doit relever le défi de la compétition linguistique et relever de défi de l'anglo-américain qui est supérieur dans tous les domaines de la science et la technologie moderne. Le choix de films étrangers dépendra désormais de ce facteur, et du fait que l'école fondamentale a créé une génération d'enfants totalement arabisés (ées) qui s'intéressent de plus en plus à l'anglais et qui ne considèrent le français que comme le symbole d'un passé colonial lointain. A la lumière de ce facteur, la possibilité de réduire le nombre de films en français et d'augmenter ou de les remplacer par des films en version anglaise n'est pas à exclure. Cependant, il faut souligner que la priorité principale de la télévision algérienne reste l'arabisation totale de la diffusion.

SECOND INTERVIEW (Conducted in Algiers, January 8, 1988)

Interviewee No. 2 is aged 36, and is concerned with the selection and screening of foreign documentaries at R.T.A. (Radio Télévision Algérienne). To complement our linguistic investigation in this field, we asked him:

QUESTION NO. 1:

Actuellement tous les documentaires diffusés sont soit en langue nationale soit en version française. Quel est d'après vous le futur du français dans ce domaine de la télévision?

In his reply to this question, interviewee No. 2 remarked that a great number of the documentaries shown on Algerian Television are of a scientific or technological nature (see L1-2). He observed, in this respect, that documentaries in Arabic are screened for arabized viewers while documentaries in French are intended for those viewers who are more familiar with French than with Arabic (see L9-L12). Concerning the future of French on Algerian television, this interviewee argued that the creation of a section concerned with the dubbing of foreign documentaries in Classical Arabic and further measures of Arabization will reduce the role of French and increase the number of documentaries in Arabic (L13-L17). He further stated that in sciences and technology, English is the dominant language and the French have themselves come to admit the supremacy of English (L17-L20).

INTERVIEWEE NO. 2

Comme vous avez pu remarquer, la plus grande partie des documentaires que nous diffusons est d'une nature scientifique ou technologique. Dans le souci de satisfaire tous les téléspectateurs dans ce domaine, nous devons tenir compte d'un certain nombre de facteurs:

- a) 70 à 80% de nos programmes sont diffusés en langue nationale.
- b) La compréhension de documentaires scientifiques ou technologiques nécessite une connaissance (disons, un minimum de rudiments) de la matière et aussi de la langue.

Donc il est tout à fait légitime de concevoir qu'un documentaire en langue nationale soit diffusé à l'intention de téléspectateurs arabisés (ées) et qu'un documentaire en langue française soit diffusé à l'intention des téléspectateurs plutôt familier avec le français.

Pour revenir à votre question, nous espérons qu'avec l'aide de la création d'une section de doublage en langue arabe, et en attendant de nouvelles mesures d'arabisation, réduire et diminuer le nombre de documentaires en langue française, et augmenter la diffusion de documentaires en version arabe. D'autant plus que dans le domaine des sciences et de la technologie le français est vraiment secondaire par rapport à l'anglais. D'ailleurs les Français, eux-même, ont depuis longtemps reconnu la supériorité de l'anglais.

At this point of the discussion we invited our interviewee to reflect on this question: Why not screen English speaking documentaries for those viewers who have completed their studies in English?

QUESTION NO. 2:

Alors pourquoi ne pas utiliser, en attendant une arabisation totale, des documentaires en version anglaise à l'intention de cadres ou enseignants qui ont subi une formation en anglais?

Interviewee No. 2 indicated in his answer to this question that Algerian broadcasting authorities will have to consider this alternative sooner or later (L1). He suggested that the retreat of French in Algeria as a foreign language, the supremacy of English, the increasing number of Algerians learning English and the growing interest in this language, provides a good justification for the replacement of French speaking documentaries by English speaking documentaries (L3-L14). He concluded his statement by stressing that French has no future whatsoever in Algeria in the sense that the only foreign language that may be used alongside the national language, Classical Arabic, in the near future will be English (L15-L18).

INTERVIEWEE NO. 2

Nous y arriverons tôt ou tard. De toute façon, il est certain que la diffusion d'un documentaire en version anglaise nécessite une connaissance de base en anglais. Maintenant que le

français a été réduit au statut de langue étrangère, il suffit tout simplement d'invoquer la supériorité de la langue anglaise pour trouver une justification au remplacement du français par l'anglais, tant est si bien que maintenant qu'il y a de plus en plus d'Algériens qui s'intéressent à l'anglais, qui apprennent cette langue à l'école fondamentale, au lycée à l'université et dans les divers instituts, la demande concernant la diffusion de documentaires en anglais se justifiera d'elle même lorsque le nombre d'élèves, d'étudiants et de cadres (travaillant ou ayant besoin de l'anglais, par exemple les cadres qui ont obtenus un master ou PhD dans des pays anglophones) augmentera.

En résumé, disons que le français n'a aucun avenir dans un pays comme l'Algérie qui valorise sa langue nationale. Dans un futur très proche, la seule langue étrangère qui peut servir de complément à la langue arabe est l'anglais. Le français c'est le passé.

A study of the Algerian 'TV Times' stretching from January 1988 to July 1989 (see Table 1 and 2 p 82-83) shows that out of a total number of 74 hours of weekly broadcasting, Algerian television devotes 75% of the total weekly broadcasting time to Arabic (56 hours), 17.5% to French (15 hours) and 7.5% to English (5 hours). Note that these figures vary slightly from week to week.

Table 1

Weekly amount of time devoted to Arabic, French and English

Year: 1988

Week 1	Month/Year	Arabic	French	English	Source
14th-20th	January 1988	56	14	5	Algérie-Actualités No. 1161 du 14 au 20 janvier 1988, p 6
4th-10th	Feb 1988	57	13	4	Algérie-Actualités No. 1163 du 4 au 10 février 1988, p 6
24th-30th	March 1988	58	12	5	Algérie-Actualités No. 1171 du 24 au 30 mars 1988, p 6
21-27th	April 1988	56	14	5	Algérie-Actualités No. 1175 du 21 au 27 avril 1988, p 6
5th-11th	May 1988	58	15	5	Algérie-Actualités No. 1177 du 5 au 11 mai 1988, p 6
16th-22nd	June 1988	54	14	5	Algérie-Actualités No. 1183 du 16 au 22 juin 1988, p 6
21st-27th	July 1988	56	15	5	Algérie-Actualités No. 1188 du 21 au 27 juillet 1988, p 6
11th-17th	August 1988	58	13	6	Algérie-Actualités No. 1191 du 11 au 17 août 1988, p 6
22nd-28th	Sept 1988	55	14	5	Algérie-Actualités No. 1197 du 22 au 28 septembre 1988, p 6
13th-19th	October 1988	57	15	5	Algérie-Actualités No. 1201 du 13 au 19 octobre 1988, p 6
3rd-9th	Nov 1988	58	13	6	Algérie-Actualités No. 1203 du 3 au 9 novembre 1988, p 6
15th-21st	Dec 1988	57	16	4	Algérie-Actualités No. 1209 du 15 au 21 décembre 1988, p 6

Table 2

Weekly amount of time devoted to Arabic, French and English

Year: 1989

Week 1	Month/Year	Arabic	French	English	Source
21st-27th	January 1989	58	14	5	Révolution Africaine No. 1298 due 21 janvier 1989, p 64
18th-24th	Feb 1989	54	16	5	Révolution Africaine No. 1302 du 18 février 1989, p 10
12th-18th	March 1989	57	15	5	Révolution Africaine No. 1305 du 12 février 1989, p 13
4th-20th	April 1988	57	16	4	Révolution Africaine No. 1310 du 14 avril 1989, p 11
12th-18th	May 1989	58	15	5	Révolution Africaine No. 1314 du 12 mai 1989, p 57
16th-22nd	June 1989	57	15	5	Révolution Africaine No. 1319 du 16 juin 1989, p 11
7th-13th	July 1989	58	14	5	Révolution Africaine No. 1322 du 7 juillet 1989, p 11

The figures checked against a period of time stretching from January 1988 to July 1989 reveal that there is no movement in the allocation of time in Algerian television. This is an indication that French is, for the time being, holding itself against English. A possible explanation is not a specific policy of retaining French, but instead the availability of French produced or dubbed material for the Algerian television service.

Illustrations of the ability of French to hold itself against English on Algerian television are the showing of Disney productions, American series such as Crime Story, Dallas and Dynasty but dubbed in French and the British production Bergerac also dubbed in French. It might seem surprising that productions in English have to be dubbed in French. One has examples here of the francophone movement which continues to exert influence in countries where the official policy is that of Arabization.

Another possible explanation has been given by interviewee No. 2. He stated that the Algerian viewing public is not familiar enough with English to cope with full entertainment programmes in English (see p 80 L1-3). In this connection, both interviewees No. 1 and No. 2 expressed the viewpoint that the future of French on Algerian television is uncertain (see interview 1 L5-6 and interview 2, question 2 L15-16) and is likely to be affected by further Arabization.

With regards to English, it is worth noting that both interviewee No. 1 and No. 2 agreed that further increase in the amount of hours allocated to this language will be envisaged as soon as the Algerian viewing public becomes more familiar with English (see interview No. 1 L67-71 and interview No. 2, question No. 2 L10-14).

The evidence discussed in Tables 1 and 2, pages 82 and 83, indicates that Arabic is the dominant language of Algerian television broadcasting. Three quarters of the total amount of weekly broadcasting are allocated to Arabic. This means that only 25% of weekly broadcasting time is devoted to foreign language on Algerian Television.

In this short period of time allocated to foreign languages, English is gradually permeating the territory where French used to be the dominant foreign language. A brief examination of the Algerian 'TV Times' in 1974 shows that French was allocated 50 to 55% of the total weekly broadcasting time (73 to 75 hours). We note that English was not used as a language of broadcasting during the same period.¹²⁷

Having examined the decline of French at different levels, let us study the status of English in Algeria.

¹²⁷El Moudjahid du 16 janvier 1974 p 2; El Moudjahid du 4 février 1974 p 2
El Moudjahid du 22 mars 1974 p 2; El Moudjahid du 2 avril 1974 p 2
El Moudjahid du 13 mai 1974 p 2; El Moudjahid du 10 juin 1974 p 2
El Moudjahid du 29 juillet 1974 p 2; El Moudjahid du 7 août 1974 p 2
El Moudjahid du 5 septembre 1974 p 3; El Moudjahid du 30 octobre 1974 p 3

4. ENGLISH

At present, English plays the role of the second foreign language in the Algerian educational system. But there are other areas which we propose to examine where English is the first foreign language and language of study. Let us examine the position of English at each level of Algerian education.

4.1 Ecole fondamentale

English is taught from Grade 8 upwards. Prior to the implementation of the reform of education, English used to be taught from Grade 9. At present English is taught four hours per week. Text books for the teaching of English at this level are prescribed by the I.P.N. (Institut Pédagogique Nationale) which prints the texts and determines the methods by which they are taught.

4.2 Education secondaire

At secondary level, English is a compulsory course from the first to the final year. In the 'lycées', English is taught according to streaming in the 'lettres' section. English is taught five hours a week in the first and second years, and four hours in the third, while in the science stream it is taught for three and two hours respectively¹²⁸.

4.3 Higher Education (Undergraduate Studies)

In Social Sciences, English is taught in the following subject areas: Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Political Sciences, Law, Arabic Literature, History, both at undergraduate and postgraduate level.

¹²⁸English Language and Literature Division, 1984, English Teaching Profile : Algeria, The British Council, London, pp 1-14.

In Electronic Engineering, English is introduced as a compulsory course from the second year and is taught for two hours a week¹²⁹.

In Geology, English is taught as a compulsory course in the fourth year 2 hours a week¹³⁰ and this applies to all the various branches within the Geology department, i.e., petrogeology and hydrogeology.

In Computing, English is introduced as of the 2nd year and is taught two hours a week in the second and third years¹³¹.

English is also taught at all postgraduate levels in Algerian Universities (see interview p 217-218).

It is the main language of study for those students who enrol at the Department of English. Most graduates from the Department of English become teachers of English in the 'lyceés'.

For the time being the Department of English and the Institute of Educational Technology are the only institutions in charge of the training of teachers for the 'lyceés' and 'écoles fondamentales'.

At University level, the Department of English fulfills two major roles: a) teaching English to students who have taken

¹²⁹Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur Directions des enseignements, 1985, Programme des Enseignements, Option Electronique, Alger, p 2.

¹³⁰Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, Directions des enseignements, 1985, Programme des Enseignements, Option Géologie, Alger, p 2.

¹³¹Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, 1985, Arrêté du 24.7.85 fixant les programmes annuels des trois premières années d'études de la branche d'ingénieurs en informatique, Alger, p 2.

up English as their major option and b) training and teaching English to students of other departments as a foreign language such as social sciences, engineering technology, medicine, chemistry and physics.

There is another institution within the University concerned with the teaching of English as well as other foreign languages and Classical Arabic: C.E.I.L. (Centre d'enseignement intensif des langues). The C.E.I.L. provides English courses at three different levels:

- a) Beginners: i.e. students who are willing to learn English from the very beginning.
- b) Intermediate: this course is designed for those who have already studied English, but would like to improve their knowledge of the language.
- c) Advanced: students who have a good knowledge of English and would like to reach a higher degree of proficiency in the language.

Students who attend courses in English at the C.E.I.L. are awarded a Certificate stating that they have successfully attended and passed the final exams.

It should be noted that no English course at the C.E.I.L. is compulsory. The course is purely intended for those who are interested in English or other languages¹³².

In an interview given to us by the Director of the C.E.I.L. of the University of Annaba¹³³ it was revealed that the vast majority of students, 80% in all, prefer to

¹³²Interview with the Director of the C.E.I.L. University of Annaba, December 20 1987. All information and explanations provided above concerning the C.E.I.L. were given to us by the Director of the C.E.I.L. of the University of Annaba.

¹³³Ibid.

enrol for the course of English. In an English classroom we visited we briefly asked the students who attended the class why they had chosen to learn English, and not other foreign languages. One student explained to us that it is more useful for him to learn English because he could use it everywhere in the world as an international language. A second student added 'Why should I learn Spanish when I can only use it in Spain or Latin America? If you speak English, you can use it in Spain or Latin America and the entire world'. A third medical student informed us that many medical periodicals available in her library were in English; she could not read them, because her knowledge of English was not good enough, so she had decided to take up this course to brush up her English and improve her knowledge of the language. A post-graduate student in biochemistry reported that he could not advance in his subject because a great deal of his research bibliography was in English but his poor English did not enable him to understand the articles he wanted to read. He continued by stating that it was difficult to find a teacher who specialized in translation. To add to his frustration, not only could he not find the articles he wanted to read in French, but even the most specialized articles written by French scholars were in English. It made him feel like wanting to go back to primary school to learn English all over again.

In the light of this evidence, we conclude that most of the students who are registered in an English course in the C.E.I.L. feel that French can no longer fulfil their linguistic expectations. Here again, English emerges as a strong language which not only challenges French as a foreign language but dominates in its status of being the first international language of science and technology. Note that as soon as a student or a lecturer wishes to progress in his/her field, he/she realises that French fails to serve their linguistic expectations (see interviews p 261-266). With regards to English in Algerian educational institutions we notice that English is not just a foreign language taught at

schools, lycées or universities but it is also the language of study in certain institutions.

4.4 I.N.E.L.E.C.

Institut National de l'Électronique was the first English Medium Technological Institute in Algeria. It was founded in Tlemcen (located in the Western part of Algeria) following a project established by the World Bank, on March 10th, 1976¹³⁴. The language of instruction in the Institute is English. Preliminary training began in temporary quarters at Bourmerdes in 1976. This institute now trains two types of students: engineers and 'techniciens supérieurs'. Entry qualification for engineers is a 'Baccalauréat' in science or mathematics and 'techniciens supérieurs' require a statement that they have attended the final years of secondary education. The former students attend a 5 year course while the latter attend a 4 year course.

4.5 I.A.P.

'L'Institut Algérien du Pétrole' is another institution in Algeria which has a programme using English as the language of instruction. The Institut Algérien du Pétrole trains technicians and engineers in the field of 'Pétrochimie' and 'hydrocarbures'¹³⁵.

4.6 The I.T.O.

The 'Institut des Télécommunication d'Oran' is an organization which trains future 'cadres'¹³⁶ destined to work in the postal

¹³⁴International Handbook of Education Systems, 1983, Algeria, London, p 603.

¹³⁵English Language and Literature Division, 1984, English Teaching Profile ; Algeria, The British Council, London, p 8.

¹³⁶The term 'cadres' which will not translate directly in English is used here to refer to trained staff (see table 4, p 107 for categories of cadres).

services at telecommunication levels or various services specialized in transmissions. The main language of instruction in this institute is English. Students who graduate from this institute are either engineers or high technicians. Entry qualification is on the basis of an entrance examination for all Baccalauréat holders in science or technology. The institute is located in Oran.

4.7 C.I.T.A.M.

One of the affiliates of SIDER (sidérurgie), C.I.T.A.M. is a training organization which runs a course in English intended for future engineers and technicians who must learn English for their daily operation of industrial machinery and apparatus, i.e. reading a manual of instructions, or for their research and bibliographical study¹³⁷.

4.8 The British Council

The British Council runs classes in English in Algiers. The classes in English organized in the British Council are attended by a wide cross section of the 'Algérois' (inhabitants of Algiers) and their classes vary from beginners to advanced level (First Certificate in English, F.C.E.). The British Council also assists in arranging courses in British Universities attended by university students or lecturers of English¹³⁸.

4.9 The American Cultural Center

The American Cultural Center which is directly attached to the American Embassy organizes an English Teaching course which

¹³⁷Interview with the head of the Department of Training at SIDER held on the December 19, 1987. A full discussion of this interview will be developed at a later stage (see p 326).

¹³⁸English Language and Literature Division, 1984, English Teaching Profile : Algeria, The British Council, London, p 9.

offers five classes at different levels. The course is run by American teachers. In addition the American Cultural Center offers every year four scholarships given to Algerian teachers and distributes nationwide an American magazine for teachers of English, FORUM.

This brief description of the various institutions concerned with the teaching of English reveals that English is not just a foreign language: at I.N.E.L.E.C., I.T.O. and I.A.P. it is the language of study of the scientific and technological disciplines.

So far we have discussed the evidence that French has receded in 'l'école fondamentale' and will have inevitably equally receded in secondary education by June 1989¹³⁹. We have also seen that in certain areas at University level where the process of Arabization has been completed, i.e. Social Sciences, French has given way to English as the only foreign language. Furthermore, the interviews we have conducted with staff members of the Algerian broadcasting institution revealed that more and more emphasis is placed on English as Algeria moves into an era of Arabization leaving behind its historical connection with French. We have thus seen that English speaking films serve a linguistic purpose for all Algerian viewers willing to help improve their English. As interviewee No. 2 reported (see p 79), in science and technology, French is far behind English and with further Arabization, English speaking documentaries may replace one day French speaking documentaries.

French could not play this role where high technology is involved, i.e. Electronics, Telecommunications and Oil Technology. We have also seen that various institutions have started to organize their training in English. This language attracts more and more Algerians who have become aware of the fact that French is no longer the legendary instrument of modern civilization.

¹³⁹Algérie-Actualités No. 1237 semaine du 29 juin au 5 juillet 1989, p 32.

In Primary and Secondary education, French has been 'désinstrumentalisé', i.e. it no longer serves as an instrument of instruction. In other areas, e.g. Social Sciences, it has simply been removed as a foreign language. In the field of Television Broadcasting it has been seriously challenged by English. Elsewhere English has become the main language of instruction in scientific and technological fields where French could not take on such a challenge.

The foregoing evidence corroborates our hypothesis that French has receded and has lost ground in education, being pushed to one side by the Arabic language and to the other side by the growing role of English in science and technology, as more and more attention is given to the latter language.

SUMMARY DISCUSSION

Arabization which reflects, in Algeria, a return to the values of Arabo-Islamic civilization must be acknowledged for having prevented French from becoming a third native language, beside ASA and Berber, but it is felt that the Arabo-Islamic civilization must not overshadow the Algerian popular culture which must be regarded as a strong ingredient in the cultural achievements of a country. Rai Music, for example which originated from Oran has won prestige and acknowledgement throughout the whole world¹⁴⁰, and has become representative of Algerian modern music; and yet it is the pure product of Oranese popular culture. Classical Arabic is without a shadow of doubt the official language of Algeria and will probably remain so for many generations to come. Islam is the religion of Algerians and will probably remain the religion of the future Algerian population. But both Classical Arabic and Islam must be blended with a recipe of Algerian popular culture in order to provide Algeria with the cultural authenticity and originality required to identify itself as a nation with its own cultural archetype, so as to establish itself not only as a contributing member to Arabo-Islamic culture, but also to world culture.

One of Algeria's greatest achievements is the setting up of an Algerian school 'l'école algérienne' which illustrates Algeria's own experience in education and its capacity to break away from an inherited colonial system of education based on élitism. 'L'école fondamentale' in Algeria reminds us of the Swedish reform of education, undertaken at the beginning of the 50's, which gave birth to a nine year course (similar to the Algerian 'école fondamentale'), followed by a reform of secondary education in the 60's¹⁴¹.

Arabization can also be considered as one of the main Algerian achievements in language planning which, after many years of linguistic struggle with French, has come a long way and has finally

¹⁴⁰Révolution Africaine, 1988, 'Quand le Rai conquiert les Etats unis', No. 1262 du 6 mai 1988, p 7.

¹⁴¹Lowbeer, Hans, 1977, 'Au seuil de nouvelles réformes en Suède', Education permanente et potentiel universitaire, Paris, p 20.

managed to do away with French in its curricula and algerianize the contents of the curricula and school manuals.

In analysing the linguistic situation of French in Algerian education and television broadcasting we have established that the future of Algeria holds very few prospects for French. A French scholar Philippe de Saint Robert has come to the same conclusion. He states:

"Or les pays africains subissent depuis quelques années une triple offensive linguistique qui vient tant d'un retour légitime à leurs langues nationales et d'une avancée de l'arabe pour des raisons religieuses que d'une offensive générale de l'anglo-américain se présentant comme la langue <<universelle>> nécessaire à ces pays dès lors qu'ils reviendraient à la pratique de leur langues d'origine et s'arabiserait partiellement. Bref, il y aurait place pour tout, sauf pour le français".¹⁴²

He recognized that there was no room for French in African countries where, on the one hand, Arabization is taking over and on the other hand, the pressure of Anglo-American is increasing.

There is another reason related to the decline of French not only in African countries, but within France itself. French people are no longer convinced about the international role of their language. Reporting on this issue Philippe de Saint Robert wrote:

"Il est vrai si j'en juge d'après la grammaire d'aujourd'hui qui vient de me parvenir, que nombre de français sont peu convaincus du rôle international de leur langue, puisqu' on peut lire ces propos <<Le français a longtemps eu le statut de langue internationale. Il l'a progressivement perdu au profit de l'anglais depuis le début du XX^e siècle>>".¹⁴³

¹⁴²Philippe de Saint Robert, 1986, Lettres ouvertes à ceux qui en perdent leur français, Paris, p 104.

¹⁴³Ibid p 125.

The problematical position of French proceeds from the difficulties it has encountered in trying to maintain itself as a language of science and technology. Saint Robert was well aware of this fact. He observed:

"L'anglo-américain qui a investi la langue des sciences (y compris les sciences humaines) et des techniques, peut ainsi prétendre s'imposer comme langue des affaires et de la gestion ... J'éprouve pour ma part quelque pitié lorsque je vois des hommes d'affaires français débarquer au Caire ou ailleurs et parler dans un anglais lamentable à des interlocuteurs parfaitement francophones".¹⁴⁴

It seems reasonable to assume that the decline of French in Algeria is not just due to Arabization but also to the position of French as an international language and the wide use of English. Another French scholar, Claude Hagège, has analysed the linguistic position of French in relation to English. He noted:

"La diffusion de l'anglo-américain dans le monde a depuis longtemps détroné le français".¹⁴⁵

Thus, even in a country like Algeria which was a French colony, French can no longer be considered as the first language of science and technology. Despite the superficial appearance that French is still a well established language in Algeria, e.g. some French educated Algerians continue to greet each other in French, or exchange conversation in French at airports, hotels or work, there are specific domains in which English is the dominant language (see section on the use of English in different domains p 250). Even professionals who talk in French, but who have to work in computing or other scientific or technological fields have to use English. How do Algerians react and view the increasing use of English in science

¹⁴⁴Philippe De Saint Robert, 1986, Lettres ouvertes à ceux qui en perdent leur français, Paris, p 141.

¹⁴⁵Hagège, Claude, 1987, Le français et les siècles, Paris, p 148.

and technology? Do they prefer to use French or English? Which foreign language do young school boys and girls, students and professionals like to learn and master? Which language do Algerians think will be most used in the future? Is there a shift in language preferences among Algerians? How do they view the future of French in Algeria? These are the questions we will be answering in the next section.

CHAPTER TWO

FOREIGN LANGUAGE USE AND

PREFERENCES IN ALGERIA

INTRODUCTION

It is clear that for historical reasons French continues to be the first foreign language in Algeria as Kassim noted:

"Actuellement pour des raisons historiques, matérielles, par les facilités qu'offre le français pour être la première langue étrangère, parce qu'il est déjà là, l'on peut comprendre à la rigueur, de par le nombre d'Algériens le parlant, qu'il soit la première langue étrangère chez nous"¹⁴⁶.

But Algerians are also aware that in the field of sciences French falls behind English as Mouloud Kassim remarked:

"Le français est, du reste, en retard actuellement par rapport à d'autres langues..... La langue la plus répandue à présent, à travers l'univers est l'anglais. Le français ne suffit plus"¹⁴⁷.

The questions to ask here are: do Algerians prefer to use (or learn) French because it is a language that is already widely spoken in Algeria, or do they prefer other foreign languages such as English because of its instrumental utility and because of its widespread use as a conduit of new scientific and technological information? Would, an Algerian cadre who has to work in computing or other scientific or technological branches prefer to use English or French? Are educated Algerians changing their attitudes towards French? Is there a shift in language preferences among Algerians?

The aim of this study is to find answers to these questions and describe foreign language usage in Algeria, foreign language preferences and attitudes among educated Algerians and some of the sociolinguistic variables that underlie shifts in language preferences. In order to achieve this a survey of 1370 informants

¹⁴⁶Kassim, Mouloud, 1986, 'Pour un usage adéquat', Parcours Maghrébins No. 3, Alger, p 32.

¹⁴⁷Ibid, p 31.

was conducted in Algeria.

Sociolinguistic surveys of language use, problems and shift have occupied the attention of many researchers. For example, French and English Bilingualism in Montréal (Liebersohn 1972, 1980), Language Use and Preferences in the Phillipines (Sibayan 1968, 1970, 1978 and 1984), The use of Swahili (Whiteley 1969, 1972, 1974, and Harries 1976) Language Use in Malaysia (Platt 1977 and Kuo 1979), Cases of Shift in Oberwart (Gal 1978, 1979), Cases of Shift in East Sutherland in the Northern Highlands of Scotland (Dorian 1981), Language Use and Problems in Arab Countries (Altoma 1974 and Zughoul and Taminian 1984), to name but a few.

Thus, a sociolinguistic study of foreign language use and preferences among educated Algerians is instructive in its own right because it can be used as a tool in illuminating the social importance of foreign languages in Algeria and as one way of understanding Algerians' perception of foreign languages.

In the course of this survey, we will not ask informants for their general opinion about attitudes towards language itself, e.g. informants will not be asked whether they think French or English is 'rich', 'poor', 'easy to learn' and the like, or attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or variety of a language, or attitudes towards a language that serves unifying or separatist functions for socio-cultural groups¹⁴⁸.

Our interest is rather in foreign language preferences as part of the whole area of language attitudes. By asking informants to choose which foreign language(s) they would most prefer to learn, master or use in their scientific or academic reading, we hoped to examine the domains of language use among educated Algerians, determine whether or not language preferences are related to sentimental or instrumental orientations. In other words, is the French language

¹⁴⁸Attitudes towards Arabization and the national language in Algeria have been studied by Assous Omar, in an unpublished Ph.D thesis entitled 'Arabization and Cultural Conflicts in Algeria', North Eastern University, Boston, June 1985.

maintenance due to the fact that it is the first foreign language acquired in Algeria and the inclinations of educated Algerians towards this language associated with sentimentalism? Or is the possibility of a shift towards English related to the fact that educated Algerians prefer this language to other foreign languages because of its usefulness as a tool and hence their inclination towards shift going with instrumentalism?

We will also examine to what degree language use, preference and shift are favoured by factors of age and socio-professional categories. Underlying this study are three hypotheses (to be corroborated).

1. In actual use French is on the retreat as more and more educated Algerians use both French and English as foreign languages.
2. Asked which foreign language (out of a choice of several foreign languages including French and English) they would prefer to master, learn and use in their academic or scientific research, the majority of educated Algerians would favour English to French and other foreign languages.
3. There are indications that a shift towards English is in progress.

This Chapter is divided into five sections:

Part One: A presentation and description of the methodology used to conduct this survey

Part Two: A statistical analysis of the findings

Part Three: General summary and discussion of the findings

Part Four: Generalization of the findings to the whole population

Part Five: Conclusion

PART ONE : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY1.1 SAMPLE SURVEY¹⁴⁹

The national survey in question was conducted between October 1 1987 and January 2 1988. It is essential to stress right from the start that an entire population cannot be investigated in so far as it is often costly, time consuming and even physically impossible for an investigator to carry out a study that would take into account the whole of the educated population.

Bearing this in mind, we have applied a method known in applied statistics as a sample survey ('sondage par enquête') and which consists of deciding upon the choice of a certain number of elements (within a given population) by means of which one can derive a study of the characteristics of a given population on the basis of the characteristics of these chosen elements. As Colli put it:

"Choix d'un certain nombre d'unités dans une population, destinée à permettre l'étude des caractéristiques de cette population en se fondant sur les caractéristiques des unités choisies"¹⁵⁰.

Thus, in order to study the linguistic attitudes within the educated Algerian population and the use of foreign languages in the near future in this country, we have conducted a sample survey which is based on the observations of part of this population i.e., we draw a sample from the Algerian educated population.

¹⁴⁹This is the first published survey about Algerian public opinion of French and English. Many thanks are due to colleagues in the O.N.S. (National Office of Statistics) in Algiers and Annaba for their assistance in the setting up of the questionnaire.

¹⁵⁰Colli, Bernard, 1976, Vocabulaire économique et financier, Paris, p 347.

Ideally, the sample should reflect as accurately as possible the characteristics of the said population. In this particular case, statistical methods recommend the procedure of random sampling. The composition of the sample is achieved by the operation of chance alone, and therefore biases of selection, personal judgement and personal estimations are eliminated within known limits.

One of the problems that may occur when drawing a random sample is that certain groups within the population may be over-represented and other groups under-represented, i.e., the sample may not be representative of the population of interest. To overcome this problem and ensure that the sample is representative, the investigator may divide the population of interest into parts called strata. A stratum, in this case, may be defined as a sub population¹⁵¹. The procedure consisting of the sub division of a population or a sample into parts or strata is called stratification. Once the population has been divided into strata, then a sample from each stratum, may be taken using random sampling. The sample resulting from this operation is called a stratified random sample. In this connection Ya-Lun Chou wrote:

"Efficiency in stratification can be further increased, when the nature of the data permits, by classifying the strata into sub-strata, which in turn may be sub-divided into smaller groups"¹⁵².

It becomes clear that in order to simplify the study of a given population it is convenient to divide the population of interest or sample into strata and at a later stage identify a certain number of units or sub-strata within each stratum. In this particular case the population of interest was divided at two different levels.

In the first place, we have stratified our field of study (population

¹⁵¹Anderson, T.W., Clove, Stanley, L., 1979, An Introduction to the Statistical Analysis of Data, Boston, p 642.

¹⁵²Chou, Ya-Lun, 1969, Statistical Analysis, New York, p 362.

and territory) into urban centres (see section below). In this matter, the northern, southern, eastern and western aspects of the population of interest and territory were equally represented. This first level stratification or division has enabled us to provide a view of the demographic, economic and social background.

In the second place, we have further stratified each urban centre into units (or sub-strata), i.e., types of institution to be sampled within each urban centre. These units have in turn been sub-divided into smaller groups. For instance, the educational stratum was sub-divided into pupils, students, teachers and lecturers. The pupil sub-stratum was in turn sub-divided into primary and secondary pupils. The student stratum was itself sub-divided into undergraduate and postgraduate students (see section below for further details).

The important thing to bear in mind here is that the units making up the sample have some characteristics which are similar to a considerable degree, that is being part of the educated population (see description of the sample, p 105). They are either learning foreign languages or at some stage using foreign languages. They constitute variables.

The process of drawing a sample from a population of interest and deriving a study of the said population by generalizing from the sample to the entire population is known in statistics as inference¹⁵³.

In statistical inference, probability is the measure of the uncertainty or reliability of the conclusion drawn about a population from an analysis of a sample¹⁵⁴.

This brief outline of the statistical methodology used in this study takes us to the composition of the sample.

¹⁵³Haak, Dennis, G., Statistical Literacy, Massachusetts, p 119.

¹⁵⁴Ibid, p 10.

1.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The elements of composing our sample must bear the following characteristics:

- a) They were in the process of learning foreign languages.
- b) They were already familiar with foreign languages.

In both cases, these elements were expected to be able to decide upon the choice of one foreign language (or more) when asked which foreign language they would like to learn first or master.

This gives us a sample composed of elements who were asked to choose, on the basis of their knowledge or use of foreign languages, one (or more) specific foreign language from a selection of languages offered to them in the questionnaire (see p 120).

In the light of this requirement, the illiterate population and children between 0 and 6 years who could not possibly fulfill our criterion were not incorporated in our sample. Thus our sample is composed of educated elements mostly concentrated in the urban centres in the sense that the Universities, Hospitals, Industrial Institutions and a great number of Primary and Secondary Schools are concentrated in the urban centres. Put differently, the majority of trained staff ('cadres'), namely Professors, Lecturers, Doctors, Engineers and other cadres who may use a foreign language such as English or French are found in urban centres.

The elements composing our sample have been classified into three different categories:

The first element we have selected within the educated population is represented by the population at school and is represented in the following table:

Table 1 - Population at School (1986-1987)

Source: Office National des Statistiques, 1987, L'Algérie en quelques chiffres, Alger, p 6.

Pupils		Teachers	
In 1st & 2nd Cycle (6-13 years) -	3,635,332 [64.7%]	Moniteurs -	494 [0.22%]
		Instituteurs -	79,430 [36.8%]
In 3rd Cycle (13-16 years) -	1,472,545 [26.2%]	Secondary School Teachers -	90,344 [41.9%]
In Secondary Schools (16-19 years) -	503,308 [9.1%]		
Total	5,611,185	Total	215,531

The second type of element we have selected within our sample concerns the population at the level of higher education and which may be represented in the following table:

Table 2 - Population at Higher Education Level 1986-1987

Source: Office National des Statistiques, 1987, L'Algérie en quelques chiffres, Alger, p 7.

Student's Enrolment in undergraduate and post graduate studies	University Lecturers	
154,700	Total	12,204
	Nationals	10,393 [85.1%]

Our sample includes also Hospitals and Doctors in the Health Service which may be represented in the following table:

Source: Office National des Statistiques, 1987, L'Algérie en quelques chiffres, Alger, p 7.

Number of Hospitals	Number of Doctors
238	13,304

Finally our sample includes the trained staff which will be referred to here as cadres.

Table 4: Cadres 1986-1987

Source: Figures taken from Office National des Statistiques, 1986, L'emploi en 1985 dans les unités économiques des collectivités locales, juillet, Alger, p 3.

Note: Categories mentioned in this table are explained on Page 108.

Category of Cadres	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Professionals (1) and Officials (2)	7,587	2.64	179	0.06	7,766	2.7
'Techniciens Supérieurs' (3)	2,568	0.9.	56	0.02	2,624	0.92
Agricultural Technicians (4)	17,598	6.1	710	0.3	18,308	6.4
Trained Personnel (5)	107,565	37.7	3,242	1.2	110,807	38.9
Technical Workers (6)	25,616	9.0	446	0.16	26,062	9.16
Unqualified Personnel	110,889	38.9	2,907	1.0	113,796	39.9
Apprentices in Training	5,000	1.7	308	0.1	5,308	1.8
TOTAL	276,823	96.94	7,848	2.84	284,671	100.0

- (1) Professionals refer to those who hold a University degree (e.g., PhD, docteurs d'état, Professors, Engineers, Architects, Lawyers, Interpreters, etc., and those who do not necessarily lecture at the University).
- (2) Officials refer to those who have reached management level, such as Senior Officials, Company Directors, Mayors, Department Heads and Personnel who occupy a position of authority.
- (3) 'Techniciens Supérieurs' refer to a category of technicians who have specialized as technicians in a specific discipline, such as Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Electronics, and Computing.
- (4) Agricultural Technicians refer to a category of technicians trained (in agriculture) to repair or look after irrigation or agricultural equipment.
- (5) Trained personnel refers to Nurses, Book-keepers, Office Typists, Secretaries and Clerks, Accountants and Electricians.
- (6) Technical Workers refer to workers who are trained to operate certain types of technical equipment, medical equipment or industrial equipment. They hold a degree inferior to 'techniciens supérieurs' and the period of their training is shorter than the 'technicien supérieur'. Hence they cannot detect or repair a fault in a medical or industrial apparatus whereas a 'technician supérieur' is trained to do so.

As we notice, the trained population, i.e., cadres, only represents a small percentage, 3% of the total Algerian population, which is, according to the latest population census conducted in March 1987, 22,971,558¹⁵⁵. Thus the trained population represents a rather small proportion, 12.5%, and includes the total school, university and cadre population.

¹⁵⁵Office National des Statistiques, 1987, Statistiques, No. 16, Alger, p 1.

It is also interesting to note, as the foregoing figures suggest, that the category 'female cadre' represents a rather small proportion of the total trained population. This explains why our results reflect a smaller percentage of female representatives.

Having delimited the type of population we wanted to study, our next move is to determine the units to be analysed within each urban centre.

a) Primary and Secondary Schools

We have incorporated the school population in our sample because two thirds of the Algerian population is made up of children attending either Primary or Secondary School. Such an important part of the population could not therefore have been omitted from our sample. In addition to this, 'l'école fondamentale' providing teaching in the Arabic language offered us a good opportunity to explore an arabized segment of the population and gather the opinion of pupils who are trained in Arabic and use Arabic as the only official language and French and English as foreign languages.

Of equal importance is the fact that Secondary Schools provide a training entirely in Arabic, except for the final year 'terminale' in certain scientific branches where the training is bilingual. As of the year 1989-1990, all the teaching in Algerian secondary schools will be carried out in Arabic. In fact, this measure concerns also the 3679 pupils¹⁵⁶ who attend French schools in Algeria and will be forced in the course of the year 1988-1989 to join the Algerian 'fondamentale' schools¹⁵⁷. Note that even those Algerians who have joint nationality (French and Algerian) and those

¹⁵⁶Duteuil, Mireille, 1988, 'Enseignement: La croisade arabe', Le Point, No. 834, 12 septembre 1988, p 39.

¹⁵⁷There are 35 French schools and 3 major secondary schools in Algeria which were tolerated on the basis of the 'accords d'Evian' in 1962 (an agreement between the newly independent Algerian government and the French government according to which Algerians were to tolerate and keep some French schools in operation, and in return the French were to provide technical co-operation in order to ensure continuity in education).

who are both from a mixed marriage (father Algerian, mother French or vice versa) are affected by this measure and have to attend Algerian schools.

b) University

Our second choice is the Universities and University Centres. They offer a rather controversial picture insofar as that the social sciences are totally arabized while French survives as the language of study in scientific disciplines, i.e., technology, computing, physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics. Linguistically speaking, the University enables us to cover an interesting area of study, and a domain which reflects a lack of linguistic balance in the transmission of knowledge (see interviews D2, D3, D4 for further discussion p 271-287).

c) Oil Industry

Oil is the most important natural resource in Algeria. This field of Algerian industry deserves attention inasmuch as Algerian Oil companies in their external transactions (export) have to resort to foreign languages in their marketing operations. It would be worth exploring the linguistic reactions of the cadres as regards the foreign languages (French, English, German, Spanish) they think would be of higher priority to them.

The Centres of development in this field are mainly concentrated in Algiers (Marketing Division) Arzew, Barkauoui (Sahara) and Hassi-Messaoud. Our survey includes samples from these places.

d) 'Sidérurgie'*

'Sidérurgie' represents one of the most important achievements in Algerian heavy industry. Here again, a sample taken from the most important siderurgical plant in Annaba will prove revealing. In this area which promotes exports and therefore develops external relations

*Sidérurgie refers to steel and all other industries related to it.

with the rest of the world, it would be a worthwhile venture to study the use of foreign languages.

e) 'Air Algérie'

We have incorporated 'Air Algérie' for the following reason: being the only national company in charge of air transport, 'Air Algérie' members are bound, in their relations with international airports, to have to resort to foreign languages.

f) Enterprise Nationale des Systèmes Informatiques

Mainly located in Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Ouargla and Annaba, this national company offers us a chance to discover which language (French, English, German, Spanish) is dominant in the field of Computing.

g) Hospitals

The reason that led us to insert hospitals in our sample is based on the fact that they not only enable us to incorporate within our sample a proportion of highly trained staff, i.e. 'cadres médecins', 'techniciens supérieurs' of the health service (mostly concerned with blood, urine, and other bacteriological analysis) but also enable us to approach Doctors and Surgeons who, in their daily training and research, attend international seminars, read scientific and medical periodicals, and have, therefore, to resort to the use of foreign languages.

h) National Office for Tourism, Touring Club Algérie

Both companies are affiliated to the Ministry of Tourism and are more likely to use foreign languages to accommodate and advise foreign tourists from all over the world. One example of this type of touristic activity is the Organization of the Paris-Alger-Dakkar Rally. Travel Agents employed in this ministry are also concerned with the reception of foreign skiers who come in the winter. This type of touristic activity which involves receiving and looking after foreign tourists from all over the world requires a

certain knowledge of foreign languages. Hence our interest in these touristic organizations.

i) "Assemblée Populaire Communale" (City Halls)

We have chosen this area because it represents for us a sample for which the need for the use of a foreign language is not necessary. This is a totally arabized institution¹⁵⁸.

However the organization of international cultural events on behalf of this institution, i.e. 'Journées du Cinéma Méditerranéen de Annaba', concerts and various other international cultural manifestations, requires the use of foreign languages especially when invitations are forwarded to an anglophone African country (e.g. Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Ghana) or Commonwealth nations such as India where English is the second language used after the native tongue.

j) Attorneys and Lawyers

Here again, we are dealing with a totally arabized field, but the need for a foreign language is not excluded as attorneys and lawyers are sometimes invited to international seminars held in languages other than Arabic. We therefore felt it would be of interest to consider this segment of the Algerian cadre population¹⁵⁹.

k) Interpreters

These form an obvious category for our analysis¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁸Unfortunately given the numerous practical difficulties we have encountered throughout this survey, we were unable to collect samples from all the city halls of the Urban Centres related to this study. We had to make do with whatever information we were able to find. The main difficulty encountered here was the absence of any mention of Arabic, but as we explained to the participants, our questionnaire focuses on the use and the choice of foreign languages and Arabic being the national language in Algeria could not possibly figure in a list of foreign languages.

¹⁵⁹See Footnote page 113.
& ¹⁶⁰

1) Journalists

This is a linguistic area where French has survived as the language of publication of the daily newspapers: El Moudjahid, Algérie-Actualités, El Hadeff and Hôrizons (a recent newspaper which has introduced a two-page edition in English - see interview No. 1, p 78). The use of foreign languages is essential in this field which is mainly related to contact with countries outside Algeria. It is inevitable that journalists must have a command of foreign languages¹⁶¹.

m) Post Office

In their relation with foreign countries the Telecommunication section of the post office has to resort to the use of foreign languages¹⁶².

The various institutions and categories of cadres, the School population (including pupils, teachers and staff) and the University population (including students, lecturers and staff from different branches) provide considerable variety within our sample, and therefore give access to a greater representation of the educated population; hence the importance of the precision and reliability of our sample.

¹⁵⁹The major difficulties we have encountered are mainly due to
¹⁶⁰the fact that Algerians are not accustomed to surveys and
¹⁶¹polls. There is no institute in Algeria specializing in
¹⁶²surveys and polls, i.e. 'Institut de Sondage'. The only
national office authorized to conduct statistical surveys is the
O.N.S., National Office for Statistics.

Thus the absence of a national institute for polls and the lack of familiarity with surveys have, at times, rendered our task difficult. This explains the suspicion and refusal to fill in our questionnaire on several occasions by lawyers, journalists, post office officers and interpreters. This is the main reason why our work has been incomplete in certain parts of the country. Hence the limited number of lawyers, interpreters, journalists and post-office officers who kindly accepted to contribute in this study, has had to suffice for our research.

Having defined the elements of our sample our next step is to establish a methodology ('méthode de sondage'). In what follows we shall explain the method we have applied in carrying out our survey.

1.3 SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

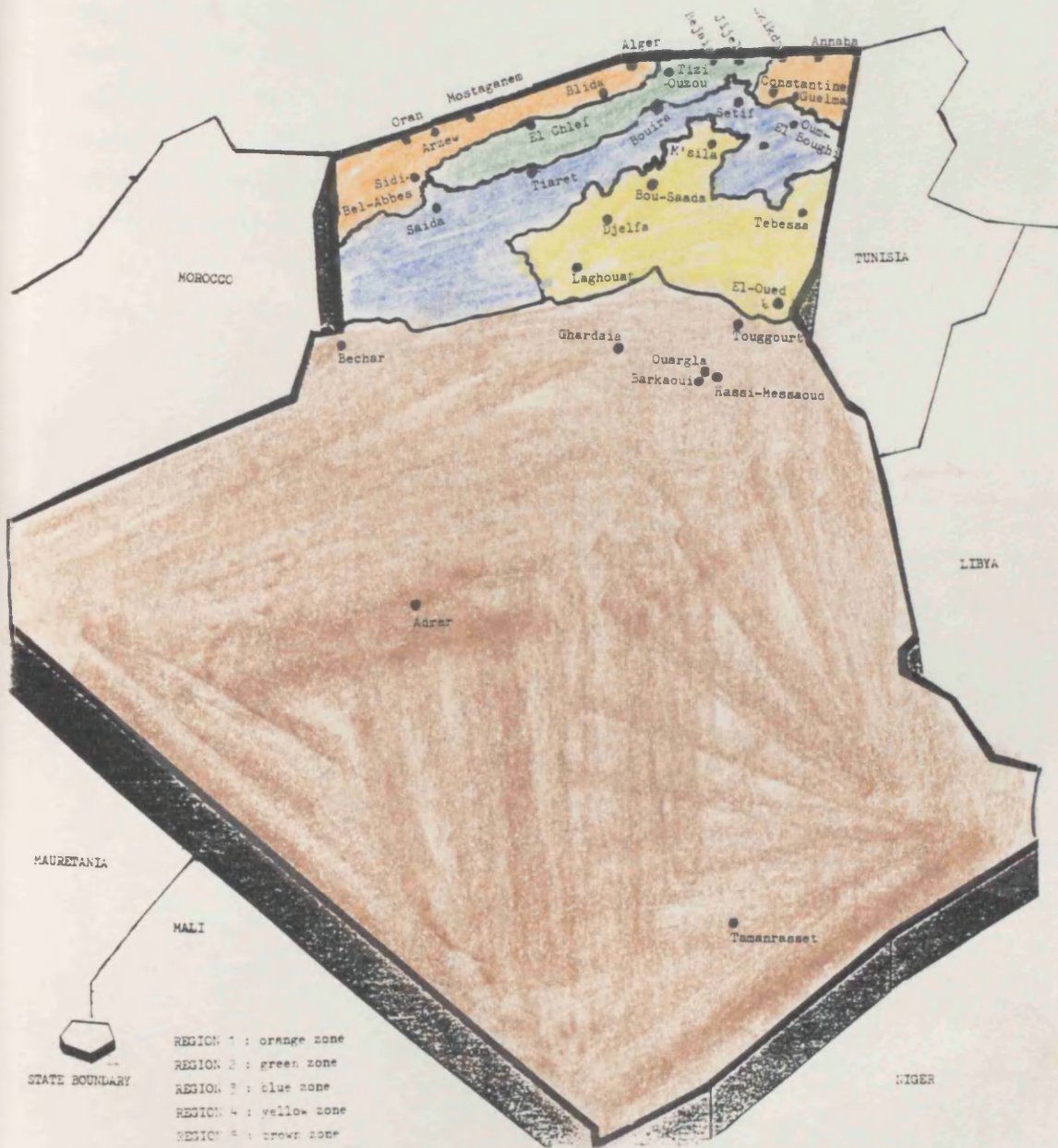
In setting up the methodology to be applied throughout this survey we have taken into consideration the distribution of our population in terms of geographical regions¹⁶³.

a) Region 1

This is composed of the 'Wilayates': Alger, Blida, Skikda Constantine, Annaba, Guelma, Oran, Mostaganem and Sidi-Bel-Abbes (see map on page 115).

This region is generally regarded as the most advanced part of the country from the economic and social point of view. First of all this region includes Algiers which is by far the largest and most populated city in Algeria with 1,687,579 inhabitants, i.e., 7.34% of the total population. All the ministries, embassies and cultural centres are located in Algiers. Secondly, this region is important because it includes the four main Algerian Universities respectively located in Alger, Oran, Constantine and Annaba; they are also regarded as the four major cities in Algeria. The other places, Guelma, Mostaganem, Sidi-Bel-Abbes, Blida and Skikda have University Centres. Thus this is an urban region mostly characterized by the concentration of important economic activities, e.g., oil refinery in Skikda, construction of electronic equipment (television, hi-fi) in Sidi-Bel-Abbes, various industrial activities in Algiers such as chemical products (perfumes, detergents), siderurgie in Annaba, oil industry in Arzew (near Oran). In addition to this, Alger, Annaba, Mostaganem and Skikda are important ports in Algeria.

¹⁶³The geographical distribution of the Algerian population into five different regions was based on the territorial division provided by L'Office National des Statistiques, 1988, Revue Statistique, No. 18 mars, Alger, p 32.



Annaba
 Constantine
 Algiers
 Blida
 Tizi Ouzou
 Oran
 Mostaganem
 Bouira
 Setif
 El Chief
 M'sila
 Saida
 Tiaret
 Bou-Saada
 Djelfa
 Tebessa
 Laghouat
 El-Cued
 Touggourt

MOROCCO

TUNISIA

LIBYA

MAURETANIA

MALI

Tamanraasset

NIGER

STATE BOUNDARY

b) Region 2

The second urban region includes El Chlef*, Tizi-Ouzou, Bejaïa and Jijel. This region used to be an important pole of immigration in so far as unskilled workers from this part of the country used to emigrate to large cities (Algiers, Oran) in search of a job in ports, newly built factories and other sectors of economic activity. For instance, we find many Berber 'Kabyles' from Tizi-Ouzou and Bejaïa who either own small shops, cafés, restaurants, or work in various administrative centres (e.g., Ministries, Banks, the Universities) or drive buses.

With the creation of University Centres in El Chlef, Tizi-Ouzou, Bejaïa and Jijel, the construction of a siderurgical plant in Jijel, the setting up of a national company for the construction of electronic amenities based in Tizi-Ouzou and the burst of economic activity in this region, this immigration tends to slow down.

c) Region 3

This part of the country is known as 'Les hautes plaines' and comprises: Saida, Tiaret, Bouira, Sétif, Batna and Oum-El Boughi. This is an important urban pole. The most populated urban centre here is Sétif with 977,482 inhabitants, i.e., 4.25% of the total population¹⁶⁴.

d) Region 4

This is the region of the 'Steppe' and Saharan Atlas. The most important urban centres are El-Oued, Laghouat, Djelfa, M'sila, Bou-Saada and Tebessa.

Animal breeding ('élevage') and palm trees ('dattes') remain the most important agricultural activity in this area beside other industrial activities.

¹⁶⁴Office National des Statistiques, Statistiques, No. 16, 1987, p 1.

* Also known as El Asnam before the 1980 earthquake.

e) Region 5 (Sahara)

This is the southern part of the country surrounded by the Sahara and comprising urban centres such as, Béchar, Ouargla, Adrar, Tamanrasset, Touggourt, Ghardaïa and Tindouf. This region can be distinguished in terms of two major economic activities: an industrial activity mainly characterized by the oil industry concentrated in Bechar, Hassi-Messaoud, Barkaoui and Hassi R'Mel on the one hand, and touristic activity centered around Tamanrasset and Ghardaïa on the other hand.

With this geographical distribution of the population in mind, it was necessary to establish a procedure for the selection of the sample at four different levels¹⁶⁵, bearing in mind that the choice of the elements composing a given sample must be chosen at random¹⁶⁶.

1.3.1 FIRST STEP : SELECTION OF THE 'WILAYATES'

In the first place we have chosen randomly a certain number of 'wilayates' for consideration while at the same time ensuring that the socio-economic aspect of the region was observed. At the end of this random selection the following 'wilayates' were chosen -

Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Annaba, Setif, Arzew, Hassi-Messaoud, El-Oued¹⁶⁷.

1.3.2 SECOND STEP : SELECTION OF SCHOOLS, HIGH SCHOOLS, AND UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS

In each urban centre, a list of schools and high schools, pertaining

¹⁶⁵Employees of the French 'Institut de Sondage' in Sofres and Algerian O.N.S. kindly advised us on the most appropriate methodology to be used.

¹⁶⁶Reginald, Lavoie, 1981, Statistique appliquée: Auto-apprentissage par objectifs, Québec, p 81.

¹⁶⁷The random selection of the wilayates was calculated for us by employees of the National Office of Statistics in Annaba.

to the particular wilayate we were visiting, was provided for us by the local authorities in charge of primary and secondary schools.

We then inserted pieces of paper with the name of each secondary school in two separate boxes. In order to ensure a random choice a name was selected from each box. The result of this operation gave us the name of the primary and secondary school to be sampled within each urban centre¹⁶⁸.

The decision to visit a particular wilayate, as well as a particular school or high school within the said wilayate, was chosen randomly.

After the completion of this random process, we made contact with the chosen school, whereupon we were handed a list of all the classes within that particular school. Once again, the decision as to which individual class we would be sampling was chosen by lot¹⁶⁹. Similarly, a list of all the teachers belonging to this school was handed to us. Once again the drawing of lots decided the number of teachers who would receive our questionnaire¹⁷⁰.

The same procedure was applied when we contacted the chosen high school.

At University level, our task was simplified by the fact there was only one University or University Centre within each urban centre

¹⁶⁸Given the importance and size of the population of Algiers experts of the National Office for Statistics and SOFRES advised us to draw two schools and two high schools at random.

¹⁶⁹It was impossible for us to take more than one class as a sample within each school or high school in view of the time limit imposed on us by the Ministry of Education, as well as the disturbance of the school routine we would have caused within each school or high school. We had to settle for one class (40-50 pupils) as a sample within each school and lycée (except for Algiers where we have taken into consideration the size of the population and therefore sampled two classes in two different schools randomly chosen and two classes in two different high schools randomly chosen).

¹⁷⁰For the same reasons, we had limited the number of teachers who were randomly selected to 5.

(except El Oued). The name of the institute and department to be sampled was selected on a random basis. Similarly a further drawing of lots was operated to decide on the specific teachers who would fill in our questionnaire, within each randomly selected institute and department¹⁷¹.

1.3.3 OTHER INSTITUTIONS

As regards the rest of the other institutions we have used the same procedure. At a hospital, a list of the Doctors was provided, and the names of five of them were drawn randomly from a box containing the names of all the Doctors. The five Doctors whose names were randomly chosen were then asked to complete our questionnaire.

The same procedure was applied in our visit to Oil Industry, Sidérurgie, Air Algérie, Enterprise Nationale des Systèmes Informatiques, National Office for Tourism, City Halls, Attorneys and Lawyers, Interpreters, Journalists and Post Offices.

After the completion of this process we finally obtained a sample composed of mixed elements from different socio-professional categories. This diversification of the socio-professional categories, which was established in relation to the geographical distribution of the territory to be covered, remains constant within each urban centre¹⁷².

¹⁷¹Here again the same problem arose, and in view of the short time available to us we had to make do with one class within each institute and five lecturers, except for Algiers where two classes randomly chosen within two different institutes and five teachers from each institute were sampled.

¹⁷²As was stated earlier, and because of the disproportionate number of inhabitants in Algiers as compared to other cities and urban centres in Algeria (compare 1,687,579 inhabitants in Algiers as opposed to 662,330 inhabitants in Constantine, 453,951 inhabitants in Annaba, 286,696 inhabitants in Ouargla and 379,512 inhabitants in El-Oued) and on the advice of the O.N.S. and Sofres colleagues, the decision to double our sample in Algiers was made. (Figures cited above are taken from O.N.S., 1987, 'Premiers résultats du recensement général de la population et de l'habitat', Statistiques No. 16, juillet septembre, pp1-3, p7, p 10.

Our sample in this particular case is composed of 1370 informants, Hence $n = 1370$.

Finally, we can deduce from this analysis that our sample has been selected on the basis of the 'critère aléatoire' (cf. Levy 1979:15). In other words, our sample has been selected on the basis of a random choice where the criterion hazard has been carefully observed throughout all levels of the constitution of our sample.

So far we have defined our sample and the strategy of the stratification of our sample at two different levels. Having clearly identified our two levels of stratification and explained the procedure applied in the composition of our sample and the method used in conducting this survey, let us turn our attention to the nature of the questionnaire itself.

1.4 QUESTIONNAIRE

A two part questionnaire written in Arabic and French (to make sure that those who were not familiar with one of the languages would understand it) was devised¹⁷³. The questionnaire was designed as an inquiry into the use and choice of foreign languages and comprised two parts:

¹⁷³Each time we entered a school, high school, University or any other institutions, an explanation of each question was provided and all participants were informed that they may, if necessary, add any other foreign language that does not figure in the list of foreign languages included within each question contained in the questionnaire.

It must be stressed that we had, at no time during this survey, interfered with participants' choice or answers, nor had we tried to influence their choice when some participants were undecided. Our intervention was strictly confined to clarification of questions. All answers reported on the questionnaires remained strictly confidential.

The first part comprised a question which itself was subdivided into three subquestions.

QUESTION NO.1:

Quelles langues étrangères utilisez vous le plus souvent¹⁷⁴:

ما هي اللغة الأجنبية التي تستعملونها في أغلب الأحيان؟

a) 175
dans le domaine scientifique —————
في الميدان العلمي

Français
Anglais
Espagnol
Allemand

b) —————
comme langue internationale
كلغة دولية

Français
Anglais
Espagnol
Allemand

c) —————
comme langues écrites
كلغة الكتابة

Français
Anglais
Espagnol
Allemand

The second part consisted of four questions aimed at discovering which foreign languages the participants would like to learn, master or use.

¹⁷⁴It was explained to all the participants who filled in the questionnaire that they were entitled to tick more than one foreign language if they felt they could use more than one foreign language and if need be add to this list any other foreign language, e.g. Russian, Italian.

¹⁷⁵At school, high school, University and health service level the term 'scientific' suited our purpose. However when we dealt with Touring Club Algérie, Air Algérie and the rest of the other institutions, we explained to the members who contributed to our survey that the term 'scientific' may be understood as 'professional', i.e. foreign language(s) they would use more frequently in their profession, in the sense of 'administrative', 'technical' and 'scientific'.

QUESTION NO.2:

Quelles langues étrangères aimeriez-vous le plus apprendre par ordre de priorité?
 ماهي اللغات الأجنبية التي تفضلون التعمك فيها باك سقيه؟ (أذكر لغتين)
 (على الأقل)

Donnez deux langues 176 _____

Français

Anglais

Italien

Espagnol

Allemand

QUESTION NO.3:

S'il vous était offert d'apprendre une langue étrangère, quelle langue étrangère aimeriez-vous le plus apprendre?
 اذا أتيت إليكم الفره لتعلم لغة أجنبية ماهي اللغة التي تفضلونها (أذكر لغة واحه)

Donnez une seule langue

Français

Anglais

Espagnol

Allemand

Question 3 is a reformulation of the previous question, but this time with the emphasis on a specific foreign language. In other words, while the previous question allowed a minimum choice of two foreign languages, this question stated in clear terms that only one foreign language may be cited. The formulation of this question enabled us to focus on the specific foreign language Algerians would prefer to learn.

¹⁷⁶Note that our list of foreign languages includes French. This is justified by the actual status of French as a foreign language in Algeria. The informants who were asked to fill in the questionnaire were requested to use No. 1 for their first choice (first foreign language they would prefer to master in priority) and No. 2 for the second foreign language they would most prefer to master).

QUESTION NO. 4:

Quelle langue étrangère pensez-vous sera la plus utilisée à l'avenir?
 قرأكم الخاص ما هو اللغة الأجنبية التي ستصبح مستعملة مستقبلا (اذكر اللغة واحد)

Donnez une seule langue

Français
Anglais
Espagnol
Allemand

The formulation of this question enabled us to discover which foreign language the participants thought would be more used than others. In asking this question, we hoped to find out whether Algerians would still consider French as the first most used language in Algeria¹⁷⁷.

QUESTION NO. 5:

Dans quelle étrangère aimez-vous le plus lire votre documentation, périodiques? (Donnez une seule langue)
 ما هو اللغة الأجنبية التي ترون المطالعة بها في الكتب في المبدأ العلمي الثقافي الأدين المجلات المتعممة (أذكر لغة واحدة)
 ما هو اللغة الأجنبية التي ترون المطالعة بها في الكتب في المبدأ العلمي الثقافي الأدين المجلات المتعممة (أذكر لغة واحدة)

In this question, we asked our participants to inform us of the foreign language they would like to use in their academic and scientific research or in the course of their reading (foreign scientific or technical periodicals, journals, bulletins and annuals).

¹⁷⁷It was explained to those who filled in the questionnaires that the list of foreign languages provided in this question was open and they could, therefore, add any foreign language they wished to see listed. Our participants were also informed that they could indicate more than one foreign language if they felt they would like to use more than one foreign language in their reading, provided that they indicated in their answer a first and second choice. Note that informants who fall into the category of school children were told that academic and scientific research as far as they are concerned relates to school or reading material of their own interest.

QUESTION NO. 6:

Langues écrites et parlées¹⁷⁸.
لغات الدراسة والعمل

In this section we asked informants to report the written and spoken languages they use in their daily life. This enabled us to identify which foreign language(s) were used alongside their native language and also understand attitudes regarding the use of native language and foreign languages.

The final part of the questionnaire contained background questions about: sexe (sex); age (age in years); profession (occupation); lieu de résidence (residence).

On the basis of the specifications reported on the questionnaire it was possible to classify informants according to gender (male/female), age groups e.g., 8-15, 16-19, 20-25, 26-54, see p 132), socio-professional categories (e.g. primary pupils, secondary pupils, students and cadres, see p 129-130), describe their geographical distribution in terms of urban centres and finally identify the languages they use in their daily life¹⁷⁹.

1.5 METHODOLOGY OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

This section aims at providing insights into the Methodology of Statistical Analysis which served us as a basis for the analysis and interpretations of the results. Various topics related to the Methodology of Statistical Analysis will be discussed. They include:

1. SPSSX
2. Classification of participants in terms of age
3. Classification of participants in terms of occupation
4. Re-grouping of language variables

¹⁷⁸Question 6 will enable us to complement our study of language use in Algeria.

¹⁷⁹It was suggested by members of ONS and SOFRES that names should be omitted from the questionnaire in order to preserve the confidentiality of views. This procedure encouraged more spontaneity and provided a greater degree of freedom on the part of respondents.

1.5.1 SPSSX

The resulting data collected from 1370 informants was subjected to statistical analysis using the SPSSX program on the University of Glasgow mainframe ICL 3980 computer. Among the full range of program options available under SPSSX the crosstabs sub-program was applied to the said data¹⁸⁰.

The crosstabs procedure which produces tables resulting from the joint distribution of two or more variables, cell entries displaying information about relationships between the variables, low totals and percentages, was essential to the statistical analysis of our data.

A second statistical analysis based on cell counts, low totals and percentages produced by the crosstabs program was run in order to simplify the reading of the tables. Hence by grouping together variables, tables of tables, and percentages of percentages we arrived at a summary of the tables and information produced by the crosstabulation procedure.

In what follows we shall briefly discuss the procedure used in the summary of the crosstabulations and the reasons behind this reorganisation of the statistical data.

1.5.2 CLASSIFICATION OF PARTICIPANTS IN TERMS OF AGE

In order to simplify and reduce the number of cell counts and tables accounting for age, participants were classified into homogeneous groups of age composed of elements presenting similar characteristics, for instance, participants aged between 8 and 15 are

¹⁸⁰By definition a crosstabulation is:

'A joint distribution of cases according to two or more classificatory variables. The display of the distribution of cases by their position on two or more variables is the chief component of contingency table analysis and is indeed the most commonly used analytic method used in the social sciences'.

Nie et al., 1975, SPSS, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, New York, p 219.

children attending school, studying under a totally arabized system and learning two foreign languages, French and English. Using this procedure the following age groups were produced.

1. Age Group 8-15

This age group represents the new breed of pupils attending the 'l'école fondamentale' and aged between 8 and 15¹⁸¹. These pupils reflect in their answers the influence of school environment inasmuch as the development of their personality partly takes place at school. Hence the educational institution is bound to influence their personality as Jean Piaget indicated:

'L'être humain est plongé dès sa naissance dans un milieu social qui agit sur lui même au même titre que le milieu physique'.¹⁸²

At 'l'école fondamentale' pupils discover for the first time two foreign languages: French and English. The latter has become a second foreign language in 'fondamentale' education following a ministerial decision which stipulated:

'Suite à l'extinction de l'enseignement de l'allemand et de l'espagnol je rapelle que seul l'anglais est enseigné comme 2^{ème} langue étrangère dans le 3^{ème} cycle'.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹Pupils below this age were not concerned with this study because at this stage of their training they are still unfamiliar with foreign languages.

¹⁸²Piaget, Jean, 1967, La psychologie de l'intelligence, Paris, p 167.

¹⁸³Ministère de l'Education Nationale. Direction de l'Enseignement Fondamentale, 1986, Circulaire No. 021/D.E.F./20/86. Alger le 14 octobre.

Furthermore, many pupils attending 'l'école fondamentale' have pen-friends from all over the world and are aware of the utility of English as an international language. In choosing one or the other language, pupils express a choice that reflects their experience and personal tendency, that is, they learn French and English as foreign languages with Arabic remaining the main language of study throughout the duration of their studies at 'l'école fondamentale', but their choice of a foreign language is a matter of personal preference.

At this age, a considerable number of pupils have already travelled abroad with their parents and experienced the need to use a foreign language especially when their destination is other than France, e.g., Italy, Spain, Great Britain etc.

It is also interesting to note that the International Variety Show broadcast every Thursday on Algerian Television provides a good incentive for learning English. As was shown in a previous section, the vast majority of video clips feature either British pop charts or American pop charts. Here again Anglo-American songs play an important part in the child's willingness to learn English to understand the lyrics.

Note that the use of foreign languages at this stage remains purely literary while, as will be seen later, the use of a foreign language within the age groups 20-25, 25-50 is not just literary but also vocational.

2. 16-19 Age Group

This section represents participants from secondary schools, 'lycées'. At this age, adolescents become more categorical in their choice and decision. A further training in foreign language completing the 'cycle fondamentale' enables the elements within this age group to decide on the choice of foreign languages or the specific foreign language they would like most to learn. Pupils in the 'lycée' are not

exposed to research or use of a foreign language as an instrument (except for the final year 'terminal bilingue' where French is for the last year the language of study of scientific disciplines). Thus a knowledge of English is essential for them in order to understand the content of lyrics of Anglo-American songs, or correspond with international pen-friends whose native language is not French, or communicate with other adolescents when they are abroad and where French may not be understood e.g. Italy, Spain, West Germany etc (see Motivation, p 363-367).

3. 20-25 Age Group

This group represents the students. It was pointed out earlier that the use of foreign languages by members of this age group is not merely literary but also instrumental in the sense that French and English are instruments of work, especially for final year students who are writing their dissertation. In this particular case, a foreign language is the main tool in their bibliographical research. Postgraduate students who are writing a thesis have to read several periodicals or material mostly written in English as the results of our survey show. (See section on Motivations for further details, p 363-367.)

4. 26-54 Age Group

This group represents the cadres who use foreign languages. it includes participants who have been educated during the French occupation, and are therefore trained to use French as their main language; they are 'francophones'. The important thing to note here is that the members of this age group use a foreign language on a purely instrumental basis: the lecturer or health consultant, engineer, computer engineer, sales and marketing manager (trading abroad), financial advisors, travel agent representative, diplomat and research student will

consider the acquisition or the mastering of a foreign language as a necessary tool. Hence their choice is not just motivated by a personal preference but is also the result of a linguistic necessity to advance in one's research within a profession or field of specialization (see Reasons for the Need to Use English, p 340).

1.5.3 CLASSIFICATION OF PARTICIPANTS IN TERMS OF OCCUPATION

At this stage, participants were grouped together in terms of their socio-professional background. The following four categories were produced:

1. Primary Pupils

This category includes all pupils at 'l'école fondamentale'.

2. Secondary Pupils

This category incorporates pupils attending 'lycées'.

3. Students

The category of students regroups University students and medical students. The latter pertains to the 'Institut des Sciences Médicales' which is affiliated to the Ministry of Health service. It also includes agricultural engineering students from the ITA (Institut de Technologie Agricole) and postgraduate students from various universities.

4. 'Cadres'

We have grouped under the category of cadres all the trained staff employed in various ministries or institutions without specifying the name of the enterprise, institution or company which employs them. This category includes the following cadres:

- 'Air-Algérie' cadres
- Oil Industry cadres (Ministry of Energy and Hydrocarbons)
- Travel Agents (O.N.A.T. and T.C.A. affiliated to the Ministry of Tourism)
- 'Licenciés (ées) cadres' holding a 'Licence' (degree equivalent to a British B.A.) and employed in various ministries and other national institutions
- Lawyers (Ministry of Justice)
- Journalists (Ministry of Culture and Information)
- Interpreters (employed in various ministries)
- Postal cadres (Ministry of Postal Services and Telecommunication)
- Accountants (Ministry of Finance)
- Ph. D/'Doctorat d'état' cadres (employed in various ministries)
- Primary Teachers (Ministry of 'Fondamentale' Education)
- Secondary Teachers (Ministry of 'Fondamentale' and Secondary Education)
- Lecturers (Ministry of Higher Education)
- Doctors from the Health Service (Ministry of National Health)
- ENSI Engineer (Ministry of Planning)
- Computer Engineers (employed in various ministries namely: Heavy Industry, Energy and hydrocarbons, Higher Education, Chemical industry, Urban planning)
- Sider Engineers (Ministry of Heavy Industry)
- 'Techniciens Supérieurs' (employed in various ministries, laboratories, enterprises, companies, building companies, equipment offices and industrial plants)
- Directors (employed in various institutions)
- Ministerial High Officials (employed in various ministries)
- Personnel Management (employed in various institutions)
- University Officials (namely 'Vice-Recteurs', heads of departments, deans of institutes)
- Secretaries (employed in various companies, enterprises pertaining to various ministries)

The variable of geographical location which includes eight different Urban centres (see map p 115): Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Annaba, Sétif, Mostaganem, El-Oued, Ouargla and the industrial regions: Hassi-Messaoud, Barkaoui and Arzew, has not been modified. However, the re-organization of the categories discussed above made it possible for us to further simplify tables related to this variable whenever it was possible.

1.5.4 REGROUPING OF THE VARIABLE 'LANGUAGE' IN QUESTION 1A, 1B AND 1C

The variable of the first language combination in question 1A, 1B and 1C which originally included the following 19 categories:

(0) no answer; (1) French; (2) English; (3) German; (4) Spanish; (5) French-English; (6) Italian; (7) English-Spanish; (8) French-Italian; (9) English-French; (10) French-Spanish; (11) French-English-Russian; (12) French-English-Spanish; (13) English-German; (14) French-German; (15) German-Italian; (16) French-German-English; (17) Italian-English; (18) French-Arabic; (19) Arabic;

was reduced to 10 categories. We have regrouped together all the possible combinations where English and French appear as the first language listed, i.e. first choice. The ten categories obtained as a result of this regrouping are as follows:

(0) no answer; (1) French; (2) English; (3) German; (4) Spanish; (5) Italian; (6) Arabic;

(7) English	—	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td>French;</td></tr> <tr><td>Spanish</td></tr> <tr><td>German</td></tr> </table>	French;	Spanish	German						
French;											
Spanish											
German											
			(8) French	—	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td>Arabic</td></tr> <tr><td>Italian</td></tr> <tr><td>Spanish</td></tr> <tr><td>English-Russian</td></tr> <tr><td>German-English</td></tr> <tr><td>English-Spanish</td></tr> </table>	Arabic	Italian	Spanish	English-Russian	German-English	English-Spanish
Arabic											
Italian											
Spanish											
English-Russian											
German-English											
English-Spanish											

(9) German-Italian; (10) Italian-English

1.5.5 REGROUPING OF THE VARIABLE 'LANGUAGE' IN QUESTION 2

The variable of the second language combination in question 2 included the following 26 categories;

(0) no answer; (1) French 1 - English 2; (2) English 1 - French 2; (3) English 1 - Italian 2; (4) English 1 - Spanish 2; (5) English 1 - German 2; (6) French 1 - Italian 2; (7) French 1 - Spanish 2; (8) German 1 - English 2; (9) English; (10) French 1 - Arabic 2; (11) French 1 - German 2; (12) German 1 - Spanish 2; (13) Arabic 1 - English 2; (14) Spanish 1 - English 2; (15) German 1 - Italian 2; (16) Italian 1 - Spanish 2; (17) German 1 - French 2; (18) Spanish 1 - German 2; (19) Italian 1 - German 2; (20) Italian 1 - French 2; (21) Arabic 1 - English 2; (22) Spanish; (23) English 1 - Russian 2; (24) Arabic 1 - French 2; (25) Arabic; (26) English 1 - Japanese 2.

which were reduced to the following 9 categories and regrouped according to all the possible combinations of English, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Arabic, as a first choice as follows:-

(0) no answer

(1) English 1	French 2 Italian 2 Spanish 2 German 2 Japanese 2 Russian 2
---------------	---

(2) French 1	English 2 Italian 2 Spanish 2 Arabic 2 German 2
--------------	---

(3) German 1 ———— { English 2
Spanish 2
Italian 2
French 2

(4) Spanish 1 ———— { English 2
German 2

(5) Italian 1 ———— { German 2
Spanish 2

(6) Arabic 1 ———— { Spanish 2
English 2
French 2

(7) Spanish; (8) English; (9) Arabic.

1.5.6 REGROUPING OF THE VARIABLE 'LANGUAGE' IN QUESTION 3

The variable of the third language combination in question 3 which originally included 12 categories:

(0) answer; (1) French; (2) English; (3) German; (4) Spanish; (5) Japanese; (6) Chinese; (7) Arabic; (8) Latin; (9) French-English; (10) Italian; (11) French-Spanish; (12) Russian;

was reduced to 11 categories as shown below:

(0) answer; (1) French; (2) English; (3) German; (4) Spanish; (5) Japanese; (6) Chinese; (7) Arabic; (8) Latin; (9) Russian; (10) Italian;

(11) French ———— { English
Spanish

The categories included in the variable language for question 4 remained unchanged in view of the fact that these categories did not contain any combinations of two languages that would allow us to regroup together certain categories displaying a language as first choice and another as a second choice.

1.5.7 REGROUPING OF THE VARIABLE 'LANGUAGE' IN QUESTION 5

The variable of the fifth language combination included 10 categories:

(0) no answer; (1) French; (2) English; (3) German; (4) Spanish; (5) English-French; (6) English-French-Spanish; (7) English-German; (8) English-Spanish; (9) French-Spanish; (10) Arabic.

The combinations where English appeared on several occurrences as first language enabled us to regroup these 10 categories into 7 categories listed as follows:

(0) no answer; (1) French; (2) English; (3) German; (4) Spanish;

(5) English	{	French
		French-Spanish
		German
		Spanish

(6) French-Spanish; (7) Arabic

1.5.8 REGROUPING OF THE VARIABLE 'LANGUAGE' IN QUESTION 6

The variable of the sixth language combination in question 6 which originally contained the following 20 categories:

(1) no answer; (2) Arabic-French; (3) Arabic; (4) French-English; (5) French-Arabic-English; (6) French-English-Arabic-Spanish; (7) French; (8) French-German; (9) English; (10) French-Arabic-German; (11) French-English-German-Arabic; (12) French-English-Spanish; (13) Spanish-French-English; (14) Spanish; (15) German; (16) Arabic-English-French-German; (17) Kabyl-Arabic-French-English; (18) Kabyl-French-English; (19) French-Russian; (20) Arabic-English-French-Russian;

was reduced to 10 categories:

(1) no answer

(2) Arabic — [French
English-French-German
English-French-Russian

(3) French — [English
Arabic-English
German
Arabic-German
English-Arabic-Spanish
English-German-Arabic
English-Spanish
Russian

(4) Spanish-French-English; (5) French; (6) English; (7) Spanish; (8) German; (9) Kabyl Arabic-French-English (10) Arabic-French-English.

This takes us to the statistical analysis and interpretation of the results.

2. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

2.1 QUESTION 1

The first part of this study asks questions about the use of foreign languages and contains three sub-questions 1A, 1B and 1C. In this stage of our analysis each question will be treated separately.

QUESTION 1A

In this part of the questionnaire we asked:

Which language do you use most frequently in the scientific field from the following?

French

English

German

Spanish

Table 1b (see p 140) shows what percentage of the male and female respondents chose English, French and other languages, and what percentage of the total number of participants is male or female. We notice, in this respect, that out of a total sample comprising 1370 informants, 56.4% are male and 42.9% are female. The remaining percentage, 0.7%, omitted to indicate their sex while they were filling out the questionnaire.

The main reason why the female percentage in the total sample is less than the male percentage is due to social and strong religious pressure exerted upon many young school girls or women who are forced to abandon their education after marriage. In this connection we noticed throughout the country that the number of women working in public institutions and services is significantly less than the number of men (apart from Algiers and Oran). It would have been ideal to include in this study an equal number of male and female participants, but apart from Primary, Secondary, and

Higher education institutions, the number of men far exceeded the number of women¹⁸⁴. For these reasons the female percentage representing our sample is lower than that of the male percentage.

In summary, the majority of our participants, that is 49.7% out of a total sample of 1370 replied that they used French as the first language and English and the other languages as second or third language in the scientific field. As the survey shows the majority of participants, that is 47.2% replied that they used French as the first language and English as the second language. A small percentage, 7.4%, said that they used only English and 2.5% suggested that they used English as their first language and French and Spanish as a second language for the same purpose.

The important thing to note here is that a small proportion (8.2%) of the 'fondamentale' population reported that they use French (see Table 4b, p 146) whereas a larger proportion of the student population (51.4%, see Table 4b, p 146) and the cadre population (44.5%, see Table 4b, p 146) where French remains the language of scientific studies or has been (in the case of cadres) the main language of study, replied that they use French in the scientific field. Hence we have here a situation where older speakers reported more use of one language, French, and younger speakers more use of another one, Classical Arabic.

Lieberson (cf. 1980:14-15) described a similar case in his demographic study of French-English bilingualism in Montreal. He observed that there was no tendency among French Canadians in Montreal to pass on English to their children. According to him young children under school age were overwhelmingly monolingual in French. In Algeria, the situation is slightly different because

¹⁸⁴With the exception of Algiers and Oran where the western influence still survives temporarily and where women still enjoy a certain degree of independence and social privilege, i.e., work among men, sit in public places for a coffee or soft drink without shocking public opinion.

neither Classical Arabic nor French are the native tongues of Algerians. The shift from French to Classical Arabic in education is mainly due to intensive Arabization and the fact that the generation of older speakers who acquired French as a medium of instruction is unlikely to pass on this language to younger speakers because the latter learn Classical Arabic as a medium of instruction and French only as a foreign language (see General Summary/Discussion p 222 for a full discussion).

Table 1a. Responses to Question 1A by sex

	Sex	0	Male	Female	Row Total	%
Languages						
No Answer			13	19	32	2.3
French		2	300	177	479	35.0
English			58	44	102	7.4
German			1	1	2	0.1
Spanish		4	3	1	8	0.6
Italian-English			1		1	0.1
Arabic			10	20	30	2.2
English ---	[French [Spanish		19	16	35	2.5
French -----	[Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [German-English [English-Spanish [English [German	4	367	310	681	49.4
Column Total		10	772	588	1370	
Percentage		0.7	56.4	42.9	100.0	100.0

Table 1b. Responses to Question 1A by sex (percentages)

Languages	Sex		0	Male	Female
No Answer				1.6	3.2
French			20.0	38.8	30.1
English				7.5	7.5
German				0.2	0.2
Spanish			40.0	0.4	0.2
Italian-English				0.2	
Arabic				1.3	3.4
English --	[French			2.4	2.7
	[Spanish				
French ---	[Arabic				
	[Spanish				
	[English-Russian				
	[German-English	40.0		47.5	52.7
	[English-Spanish				
	[English				
	[German				
Total Column Percentage		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 2a. Responses to Question 1A by age-groups

Languages	Age Groups						Row Total	%
	No Answer	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54			
No Answer		25		1	6	32	2.3	
French	6	37	164	135	137	479	35.0	
English		27	26	19	30	102	7.4	
German			1		1	2	0.1	
Spanish	4			1	3	8	0.6	
Arabic		12	15		3	30	2.2	
Italian-English			1			1	0.1	
English - [French		12	2	8	13	35	2.5	
[Spanish								
[Arabic								
[Spanish								
[English-Russian								
French --- [German-English	5	245	197	111	123	681	49.7	
[English-Spanish								
[English								
[German								
Column Total	15	358	406	275	316	1370		
Percentage	1.1	26.1	29.6	20.1	23.1	100	100	

Table 2b. Responses to Question 1A by age-groups (percentages)

	Age Groups					
	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54		
Languages						
No Answer	6.9		0.3	1.8		
French	10.3	40.4	49.1	43.3		
English	7.5	6.4	6.9	9.5		
German		0.2		0.3		
Spanish			0.3	0.9		
Arabic	3.3	3.6		0.9		
Italian-English		0.2				
English --- [French	3.3	0.4	2.9	4.1		
[Spanish						
[Arabic						
[Spanish						
[English-Russian						
French --- [German-English	68.4	48.5	40.3	38.9		
[English-Spanish	33.3					
[English						
[German						
Total Column Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

Table 3a. Responses to Question 1A by urban centres

Urban Centres	0	Algiers	Oran	Const-antine	Annaba	Setif	El Chlef	Mostaganem	Ouargla	Arzew	H Messaoud Barkaoui	El Oued	Row Total	%
Languages														
No Answer				5	3	10						14	32	2.3
French	1	90	58	58	71	23	41	82	21	3	7	24	479	35.0
English		13	11	8	13	5	16	14	18	2		2	102	7.4
German						1		1					2	0.1
Spanish		2				4		1	1				8	0.6
Arabic		4		2	24								30	2.2
Italian-English		1											1	0.1
English - [French - [Spanish		16	5	2	2	3	1	5				1	35	2.5
[Arabic														
[Spanish														
[Eng-Russ														
French- [German-Eng	1	109	91	41	55	96	39	87	70	10	13	68	681	49.7
[Eng-Span														
[English														
[German														
Column Total	2	235	165	116	169	142	97	190	110	15	20	109	1370	100
Percentage	0.1	17.2	12.0	8.5	12.3	10.4	7.1	13.9	8.0	1.1	1.5	8.9	100.0	

Table 4a. Responses to Question 1A by socio-professional categories

Languages	Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres	Row Total	%
No Answer			25			7	32	2.3
French		2	30	164	126	157	479	35.0
English			30	21	16	35	102	7.4
German				1		1	2	0.1
Spanish					2	6	8	0.6
Arabic			11	15		4	30	2.2
Italian-English			1				1	0.1
English ---	[French [Spanish		13	1	5	16	35	2.5
French -----	[Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [German-English [English-Spanish [English [German		259	199	96	127	681	49.7
Column Total		2	369	401	245	353	1370	
Percentage		0.1	26.9	29.2	17.8	25.7	100.0	100.0

Table 4b. Responses to Question 1A by socio-professional categories (percentages)

Languages	Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres
No Answer			6.7			1.9
French		0.1	8.2	40.9	51.4	44.5
English			8.2	5.3	6.5	9.9
German				0.2		0.3
Spanish				3.7	0.8	1.7
Arabic			2.9			1.2
Italian-English			0.2	0.2		
English -----	[French [Spanish		3.5		2.1	4.5
French -----	[Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [English-Spanish [German-English [English [German		70.2	49.6	39.2	35.9
Total Column Percentage		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

QUESTION 1B

This question aimed at determining the language or languages used as international language(s) i.e. language(s) of wider communication other than CA.

40.4% (Table 8a, p 155) of the total sample comprising 1370 said that they used English as the only international language. In addition to this, 3.3% (Table 8a, p 155) pointed out that they used English as the first international language and French and Spanish as second international languages. In all, 43.7% of the total sample replied that they used English as the first international language.

Note that the highest percentage of participants who said that they use English as an international language are concentrated in the major urban centres:

Constantine -	61.2%
Sétif -	47.2%
Annaba -	42.1%
Alger -	38.3%
Oran -	31.5%

It was interesting to observe that only 12.6% (see Table 8a, p 155) answered that they use French as an international language and the highest proportion of this percentage, that is 40.1% out of 172 participants who said they use French as an international language belong to the cadre category, which as was pointed out earlier, received a training in French. Note that 34.5% of the total cadre population (Table 8b, p 156) replied that they use English as an international language.

The important thing to bear in mind is that, on the international scene, English tends to become more and more popular, especially among the school population: 44.2% of the Primary school population and 45.3% of the Secondary population revealed that they use English. This is a clear sign that language attitudes are changing in

Algeria. As the figures in Table 6b, p 152 indicate, 44.4% of the population aged between 8-15, 46.3% of the population aged between 16-19, 35.6% of the population aged between 20-25 and 33.2% of the population aged between 26-54, responded that they use English as the only international language. This clearly reveals that attitudes towards French are changing in Algeria (see General Summary and Discussion, p 222).

Table 5a. Responses to Question 1B by sex

Languages	Sex		No Answer	Male	Female	Row Total	%
No Answer				5	8	13	0.9
French			1	110	61	172	12.6
English			3	316	234	553	40.4
German				4	5	9	0.7
Spanish			4	8	9	21	1.5
Arabic				3	2	5	0.4
Italian-English							
English -----	[French			29	17	46	3.3
	[Spanish						
French -----	[Arabic						
	[Spanish						
	[English-Russian						
	[German-English	2	297	252	551	40.2	
	[English-Spanish						
	[English						
	[German						
Column Total		10	772	588	1370	100.0	
Percentage		0.7	56.4	42.9	100.0		

Table 5b. Responses to Question 1B by sex (percentages)

Languages	Sex		0	Male	Female
No Answer				0.6	1.3
French			10.0	14.2	10.4
English			30.0	40.9	39.7
German				0.5	0.8
Spanish			40.00	1.3	1.5
Arabic				0.4	0.3
Italian-English					
English ----- [French [Spanish				3.7	2.89
French ----- [Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [German-Spanish [English [German				38.4	42.8
Percentage			100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6a. Responses to Question 1B by age-groups

	Age Groups	No Answer	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54	Row Total	%
Languages								
No Answer			8			5	13	0.9
French		1	27	30	55	59	172	12.6
English		3	159	188	98	105	553	40.4
German		1		5	1	2	9	0.7
Spanish		5	2	8	2	4	21	1.5
Arabic				4		1	5	0.4
English -----	[Spanish [French		21	6	9	10	46	3.4
French -----	[Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [English-Spanish [German-English [English [German	5	141	165	110	130	551	40.2
Column Total		15	358	406	275	316	1370	
Percentage		1.1	26.1	29.6	20.1	23.1	100	100.0

Table 6b. Responses to Question 1B by age-groups (percentages)

	Age Groups					
	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54	
Languages						
No Answer		2.3			1.5	
French	6.6	7.5	7.4	20.0	18.6	
English	20.0	44.4	46.3	35.6	33.2	
German	6.6		2.6	0.3	0.6	
Spanish	33.3	0.5	1.9	0.7	1.3	
Arabic			0.9		0.3	
English -----		5.8	1.5	3.2	3.2	
[Spanish						
[French						
[Arabic						
[Spanish						
[English-Russian						
[English-Spanish	33.3	39.4	40.6	40.0	41.1	
[German-English						
[English						
[German						
Total Column Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Table 7a. Responses to Question 1B by urban centres

Urban Centres	No Ans	Algiers	Oran	Const-antine	Annaba	Setif	El Chlef	Mostaganem	Ouargla	Arzew	H Barkaoui	El Messaoud	El Oued	Row		
														Total	%	
Languages																
No Answer					1	7		1					4	13	0.9	
French	1	29	26	7	36	10	8	21	9	2	3		20	172	12.6	
English	1	90	52	71	71	67	46	58	54	3	3		37	553	40.4	
German		3	1		2			3						9	0.7	
Spanish		2				6	3	9	1					21	1.5	
Arabic		1			4									5	0.4	
English - [French - [Spanish		23	9	3	1	1	1	7			1			46	3.3	
[Arabic																
[Spanish																
[Eng-Russ																
French - [Engl-Span		87	77	35	54	51	39	91	46	10	13		48	551	40.2	
[Germ-Engl																
[English																
[German																
Column Total	2	235	165	116	169	142	97	190	110	15	20		109	1370		
Percentage	0.1	17.2	12.0	8.5	12.3	10.4	7.1	13.9	8.0	1.1	1.5		8.0	100.0	100.0	

Table 8a. Responses to Question 1B by socio-professional categories

Languages	Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres	Row Total	%
No Answer			8			5	13	0.9
French		2	30	25	46	69	172	12.6
English			163	182	86	122	553	40.4
German				5	1	3	9	0.7
Spanish			2	9		10	21	1.5
Arabic				4		1	5	0.4
English -----	[Spanish [French		23	5	6	12	46	3.3
French -----	[Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [English-Spanish [German-English [English [German		143	171	106	131	551	40.2
Column Total		2	369	401	245	353	1370	
Percentage		0.1	26.9	29.2	17.8	25.7	100.0	100.0

Table 8b. Responses to Question 1B by socio-professional categories (percentages)

Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres
Languages					
No Answer		2.2			1.4
French	0.1	8.2	6.2	18.7	19.5
English		44.2	45.3	35.1	34.5
German			1.3	0.4	0.8
Spanish		0.5	2.2		2.8
Arabic			0.9		0.2
English ----- [Spanish [French			1.3	2.4	3.4
French ----- [Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [English-Spanish [German-English [English [German		38.7	42.6	43.3	37.1
Total Column Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

QUESTION 1C

Here, informants were asked to state the language or languages they could write. The highest percentage of informants, that is 51.9% informed us that they could write French and English. 30.5% of the informants stated they could write French. Within this category of informants, we note that the highest percentage of informants who indicated that they can only write French belong to the student category (51.8% of the total student population; see Table 12b, p 166) and the cadre population (44.5% of the total cadre population: see Table 12b, p 166). On the contrary the lowest percentage of answers with French as the only written language was provided by Primary and Secondary pupils: respectively 13.0% and 20.9% (see Table 12b, p 166). Note that students and cadres who have received either a bilingual training where French was the language of study of scientific or technological disciplines or were entirely educated in French, i.e., during the French colonization, continue to use French as the main language - hence their choice of French as an international language and as a written language. By contrast, pupils from the Primary and Secondary schools who are studying under an arabized educational system and are learning French as a foreign language replied that they used both French and English. The small percentage of pupils who said that they could write French belong to families where both parents or at least the father or mother speak French fluently and use French at home. Hence they teach their children the use of this language in the early stage of their life.

English as a written language was the answer given by 6.3% of participants from the four major socio-professional categories, 8.1% of the Primary school population, 6.9% of the Secondary school population, 4.9% of the student population and 4.9% of the cadres population (see Table 12b, p 166).

Note that 1.3% (Table 12a, p 165) of participants said that they could write Spanish; 0.4% reported that they could write German.

This does not surprise us in the knowledge that these languages are rarely taught at 'fondamentale', Primary or University level (apart from students who are reading for a licence degree in Spanish at the University of Algiers and Oran, which remain the only universities in Algeria offering a course in Spanish).

Table 9a. Responses to Question 1C by sex

Languages	Sex		No Answer	Male	Female	Row Total	%
No Answer				13	16	29	2.1
French			2	279	137	418	30.5
English				50	36	86	6.3
German				2	3	5	0.4
Spanish			4	7	7	18	1.3
Arabic				4	9	13	0.9
English -----	[Spanish [German [French			15	12	27	1.9
French -----	[Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [Italian [English-Spanish [German-English [English [German		4	402	368	774	56.4
Column Total			10	772	588	1370	100.0
Percentage			0.7	56.4	42.9	100.0	

Table 9b. Responses to Question 1C by sex (percentages)

Languages	Sex		0	Male	Female
No Answer				1.6	2.7
French			0.1	36.1	23.3
English				6.5	6.1
German				0.2	0.5
Spanish			0.2	0.9	1.2
Arabic				0.2	1.5
English -----	[Spanish [French			1.9	2.1
French -----	[Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [English-Spanish [German-English [English [German		0.2	52.1	62.5
Total Column Percentage			100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 10a. Responses to Question 1C by age-groups

Languages	Age Groups						Row Total	%
	No Answer	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54			
No Answer		21		1	7	29	2.1	
French	6	47	91	138	138	421	30.7	
English		27	29	15	15	86	6.3	
German		2	2		1	5	0.3	
Spanish	4	4	6	2	2	18	1.3	
Arabic		5	7		1	13	0.9	
English ----- [Spanish [French [German		13	6	3	5	27	1.9	
French ----- [Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [Italian [English-Spanish [German-English [English [German	5	239	263	121	143	771	56.3	
Column Total	15	358	406	275	316	1370	100.0	
Percentage	1.1	26.1	29.6	20.1	23.1	100.0		

Table 10b. Responses to Question 1C by age-groups (percentages)

	Age Groups					
	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54	
Languages						
No Answer		5.8		0.3	2.2	
French	40.0	13.2	22.4	50.2	43.6	
English		7.5	7.2	5.4	4.7	
German		0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	
Spanish	26.0	1.1	1.4	0.7	0.6	
Arabic		1.3	1.7	0.3	0.3	
English ----		3.6	1.4	1.8	1.5	
[Spanish						
[French						
[German						
French -----	33.3	66.7	64.7	52.0	45.2	
[Arabic						
[Spanish						
[English-Russian						
[Italian						
[English-Spanish						
[German-Spanish						
[English						
[German						
Total Column Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Table 11a. Responses to Question 1C by urban centres

Urban Centres Languages	0	Algiers	Oran	Const- antine	Annaba	Setif	El Chlef	Mosta- ganem	Quargla	Arzew	H Messaoui	El Oued	Row Total	%
No Answer			2		3	10		1				14	29	2.1
French	1	91	50	33	68	24	33	52	28	5	9	24	418	30.5
English		10	6	6	19	3	5	21	14			2	86	6.3
German		1	1	1				1	1				5	0.4
Spanish		2	3			5	1	7					18	1.3
Arabic		1			12								13	0.9
English - [Spanish [French [German		11	6	2		2	1	5					27	1.9
French- [Italian [Eng-Span [Germ-Engl [German [English	1	119	98	74	67	98	57	103	67	10	11	69	774	56.6
Column Total	2	235	165	116	169	142	97	190	110	15	20	109	1370	
Percentage	0.1	17.2	12.0	8.5	12.3	10.4	7.1	13.9	8.0	1.1	1.5	8.0	100.0	100.0

Table 12a. Responses to Question 1C by socio-professional categories

Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres	Row Total	%
Languages							
No Answer		21			8	29	2.1
French	2	48	84	127	157	418	30.5
English		30	28	12	16	86	6.3
German		2	2		1	5	0.4
Spanish		4	6	2	6	18	1.3
Arabic		4	8		1	13	0.9
English ----- [Spanish [French [German		13	6	2	6	27	1.9
French ----- [Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [Italian [English-Spanish [German-English [German [English		247	267	102	158	774	56.5
Column Total	2	369	401	245	353	1370	
Percentage	0.1	26.9	29.2	17.8	25.7	100.0	100.0

Table 12b. Responses to Question 1C by socio-professional categories (percentages)

Languages	Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres
No Answer			5.7			2.3
French		100.0	13.0	20.9	51.8	44.5
English			8.1	6.9	4.9	4.5
German			0.5	0.5		0.3
Spanish			1.1	1.5	0.8	1.6
Arabic			1.1	1.9		0.3
English -----	[Spanish [French [German		3.5	1.5	0.8	1.6
French -----	[Arabic [Spanish [English-Russian [English-Spanish [German-English [German [English		66.9	66.5	41.6	44.7
Total Column Percentage		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2.2 QUESTION 2

In this question, we asked informants to identify the two languages they would prefer to master, stating a first priority and a second priority according to the importance they attach to each language. The following answers were given:

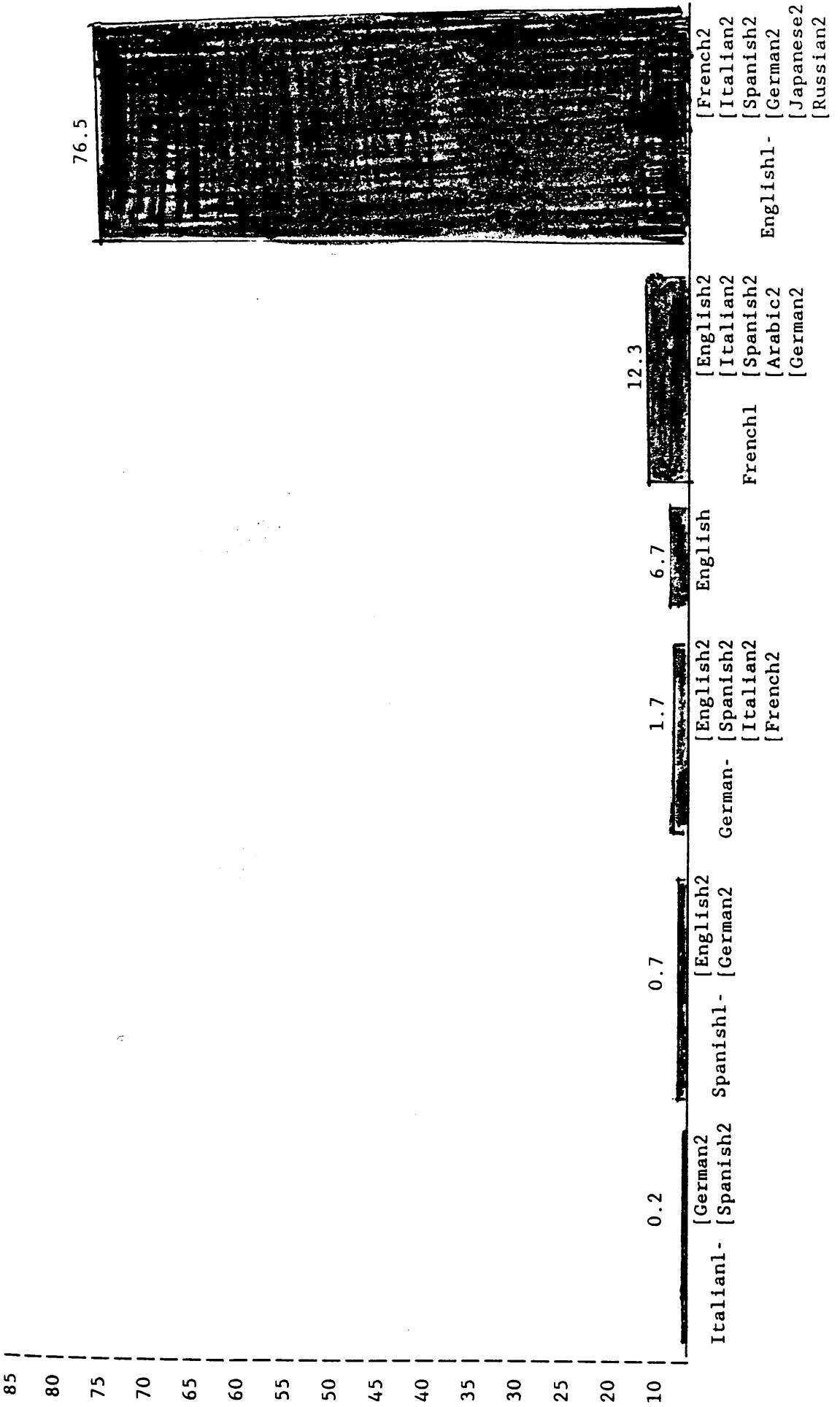
Out of 1370 informants, 1048 informants (76.5%; see Table 13a, p 171) indicated that they would like to learn English in the first place and French, Italian, Spanish, German, Japanese and Russian following in the second place.

In a different category of answers 87 informants, that is 6.3% (see Table 13a, p 171), clearly expressed their choice of English as the only language they would like to learn (despite the formulation of the question requesting participants to list two languages in order of priority). Within this category we notice (see Table 14a and 14b, p 173 and 174) that the highest percentage of answers in this respect derives from the Secondary school, university student, and cadre section, with respectively 6.2%, 6.9%, 9.7% from the respective category who have identified English as their unique choice. It becomes clear from this evidence that there is a growing awareness, among Algerian educated pupils, students and cadres, of the advantages of learning and mastering English.

Adding together the percentage of informants who listed English as the unique choice with the percentage of informants who gave first priority to mastering English and each of the other languages, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Japanese and Russian as second language choice, we would obtain a total percentage of 82.8% giving English top priority.

The various percentages in connection with Question 2 may be represented in the following chart:

Language Preferences given in Percentages (Question 2)



In examining Table 14a, p 173 and Table 14b, p 174, one notices that there is a constancy in the percentage of answers given within each age group, that is the percentages 80.5% (8-15 age group) 76.4% (16-19 age group) 76.4% (20-25 age group) and 73.4% (26-54 age group). The results observed in these tables reveals that the top priority given to English is common to all ages throughout the sample.

A further interesting example of this constancy in the percentage of answers indicating English as first choice is shown on Tables 15a and 15b (p 175 and p 176) which describe the percentage of answers within each urban centre and which are as follows:

80.8% (Algiers), 81.2% (Oran), 81.1% (Constantine), 66.8% (Annaba), 73.2% (Setif), 79.4% (El-Chlef), 75.8% (Mostaganem), 80.9% (Ouargla), 86.6% (Arzew), 80.0% (Hassi-Messaoud-Barkaoui) 66.9% (El-Oued).

There appears to be no explanation for the comparatively low figures for Annaba and El-Oued. Certainly, there is no sociological factor.

Similarly, the same constancy may be observed when we consider the percentage of answers given within the socio-professional categories (Table 16b, p 178).

Primary pupils (79.9%)

Secondary pupils (77.3%)

Students (76.7%)

Cadres (71.9%)

This evidence supports the view that the tendency to consider English as the most important language is common to all informants from different age groups, socio-professional categories and different geographical locations. The results above clearly reveal that French is declining in the estimation of the Algerian public (see General Summary/Discussion, p 222). Hence there is a growing desire among Algerians (at this point of our discussion we shall restrict our generalization to informants who contributed in this

survey) to not only use English but also to master the language; and this tendency is felt throughout all age-groups, socio-professional categories, male and female (see Table 13b, p 172 which shows that 76.8% of the male population and 76.7% of the female population listed English as first priority) and different urban centres. Similarly in a survey of Ethiopian bilingualism Cooper, Singh and Germazion found that a substantial proportion of Amharic mother-tongue speakers mentioned English as the language they would like to know (as cited in Cooper R.L. 1984:22).

Table 13a. Responses to Question 2 by sex

Languages	Sex		0	Male	Female	Row Total	%
No Answer			2	4	9	15	1.1
[French2							
[Italian2							
[Spanish2	4		4	593	451	1048	76.5
[German2							
[Japanese2							
[Russian2							
[English2							
[Italian2							
[Spanish2	4		4	96	70	170	12.3
[Arabic2							
[German2							
[English2							
[Spanish2				10	13	23	1.7
[Italian2							
[French2							
[English2				6	4	10	0.7
[German2							
[German2				1	2	3	0.2
[Spanish2							
[Spanish2							
[English2				7	4	11	0.7
[French2							
Spanish				1		1	0.1
English				52	35	87	6.3
Arabic				2		2	0.1
Column Total			10	772	588	1370	
Percentage			0.7	56.4	42.9	100.0	

Table 13b. Responses to Question 2 by sex (percentages)

Languages	Sex		0	Male	Female
No Answer			20.0	0.5	1.5
English1	[French2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [German2 [Japanese2 [Russian2		40.0	76.8	76.7
French1	[English2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [Arabic2 [German2		40.0	12.4	11.9
German1	[English2 [Spanish2 [Italian2 [French2			1.3	2.2
Spanish1	[English2 [German2			0.7	0.6
Italian1	[German2 [Spanish2			0.2	0.3
Arabic1	[Spanish2 [English2 [French2			0.9	0.6
Spanish				0.2	
English				6.7	5.9
Arabic				0.2	
Total Column Percentage			100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 14a. Responses to Question 2 by age-groups

Languages	Age Groups							Row Total	%
	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54				
No Answer	2	12	1				15	1.1	
English1 ----- [French2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [German2 [Japanese2 [Russian2	6	289	310	211	232		1048	76.5	
French1 ----- [English2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [Arabic2 [German2	6	32	59	36	37		170	12.3	
German1 ----- [English2 [Spanish2 [Italian2 [French2		9	5	4	5		23	1.7	
Spanish1 [English2 [German2		1	1	2	6		10	0.7	
Italian1 ----- [German2 [Spanish2			2	1			3	0.2	
Arabic1 ----- [Spanish2 [English2 [French2		1	3	2	5		11	0.7	
Spanish English Arabic	1	14	25	19	29		1	0.1	
Column Total	15	358	406	275	316		1370		
Percentage	1.1	26.1	29.6	20.1	23.1		100.0	100.0	

Table 14b. Responses to Question 2 by age-groups (percentages)

Languages	Age Groups					
	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54	
No Answer	13.3	3.3	0.2			
[French2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [German2 [Japanese2 [Russian2	40.0	80.5	76.4	76.7	73.4	
[English2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [Arabic2 [German2	40.0	8.9	14.5	13.1	11.7	
[English2 [Spanish2 [Italian2 [French2		2.5	1.2	1.4	1.5	
[Spanish2 [German2		0.2	0.2	0.7	1.8	
[German2 [Spanish2			0.4	0.3		
[Spanish2 [English2 [French2		0.2	0.7	0.7	1.5	
Spanish English Arabic	6.6	3.9	6.2	6.9	9.7	
				0.7	0.6	
Total Column Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Table 15a. Responses to Question 2 by urban centres

Languages	Urban Centres	0	Algiers	Oran	Constantine	Annaba	Setif	El Chlef	Mostaganem	Ouargla	Arzew	H		Row Total	%
												Messaoui	Barkaoui		
No Answer				1		3	11							15	1.1
French2															
Italian2															
English1 -		1	190	134	94	113	104	77	144	89	13	16	73	1048	76.5
German2															
Japanese2															
Russian2															
English2															
Italian2															
French1 -		1	19	21	6	28	12	13	24	9		2	35	170	12.4
Arabic2															
German2															
English2															
Spanish2			7	1		3	2	4	6					23	1.7
Italian2															
French2															
Spanish1 -			4				1		2	1	1		1	10	0.7
German2															
Italian1 -				1					2					3	0.2
Spanish2															
Spanish2															
Arabic1 -			2			2		1	5		1			11	0.7
English2															
French2															
Spanish														1	0.1
English			11	7	16	20	12	1	7	11		2		87	6.3
Arabic			2											2	0.1
Column Total		2	235	165	116	169	142	97	190	110	15	20	109	1370	
Percentage		0.1	17.2	12.1	8.5	12.3	10.4	7.1	13.8	8.0	1.1	1.5	8.0	100.0	100.0

Table 16a. Responses to Question 2 by socio-professional categories

Languages	Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres	Row Total	%
No Answer			13	2			15	
English1	[French2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [German2 [Russian2 [Japanese2	1	295	310	188	254	1048	76.5
French1	[English2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [Arabic2 [German2	1	36	54	33	46	170	12.3
German1	[English2 [Spanish2 [Italian2 [French2		8	6	4	5	23	1.7
Spanish1	[English2 [German2 [German2 [Spanish2		1	1	1	7	10	0.7
Italian1	[Spanish2 [Spanish2 [English2 [French2			3	2	5	11	0.7
Spanish						1	1	0.1
English			15	23	16	33	87	6.3
Arabic						2	2	0.1
Column Total		2	369	401	245	353	1370	
Percentage		0.1	26.9	29.2	17.8	25.7		100.0

Table 16b. Responses to Question 2 by socio-professional categories (percentages)

Languages	Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres
No Answer			3.5	0.5		
English1	[French2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [German2 [Russian2 [Japanese2	50.0	79.9	77.3	76.7	71.9
French1	[English2 [Italian2 [Spanish2 [Arabic2 [German2	50.0	9.7	13.4	13.5	13.1
German1	[English2 [Spanish2 [Italian2 [French2		2.1	1.5	1.6	1.4
Spanish1	[English2 [German2 [Italian2 [Spanish2		0.3	0.3	0.4	1.9
Arabic1	[English2 [French2		0.3	0.7	0.8	1.4
Spanish						0.3
English			4.1	5.7	6.5	9.4
Arabic						0.5
Total Column Percentage		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2.3 QUESTION 3

In order to emphasize the importance of acquiring a foreign language and to determine the specific foreign language among the list of foreign languages informants wanted most to learn and master, informants were this time requested to indicate a single choice of the foreign language they would like most to learn if given the opportunity to do so. The results obtained were revealing.

76.2% of the male population and 69.1% of the female population, or 73.1% of the population regardless of sex, said that they would prefer to learn English (see Tables 17a and 17b, p 182a and p 182b). This is an important figure especially when we consider that the remaining percentage of 26.9% represents all other languages merged together. 0.3% stated no choice.

As regards French, only a small portion of informants (9.5% of the total sample) chose French as the foreign language they would like to learn if given the option to do so.

It was found that the percentage of students and cadres is approximately 10% to 12% higher than the percentage of primary and secondary pupils who listed English as the language they would like to learn: Primary pupils (66.6%), secondary pupils (68.3%), students (82.1%) and cadres (78.7%).

The need to learn English is felt most strongly among the age group ranging from 20 to 54 who have, through experience, e.g., academic study and research, scientific and technological research, international transactions and trading, realized the importance and the instrumental utility of this language. It is also worth noting that the percentage of informants who indicated French as the language of their choice is higher among primary pupils and secondary pupils as we observe that 15.9% of the primary school population and 8.9% of the secondary school

population preferred to learn French (see Table 19b, p 187) as opposed to 4.5% of the student population and 6.7% of the cadre population (see Table 19b, p 187) who formulated the same choice.

The conclusion to be drawn must be that French is used only by a small proportion who were first acquainted with French. However the first priority as the survey shows has been given to English. This proportion of informants represents only a small fraction of the total percentage of pupils who prefer to learn English. This is due to the fact that 66.6% of the primary school population and 68.9% of the secondary school population (see Table 19b, p 187), which represents more than half the total primary and secondary school population, indicated in their answer that they preferred to learn English.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Spanish is the second language chosen after English, with 9.7% of the total percentage of informants preferring this language to French and other languages. This clearly shows that there is an interest among Algerians to learn this language, not only in Oran, and Mostaganem where the Spanish influence is still felt, but also in other major cities. The highest percentage of participants who expressed the wish to learn this language was recorded in Constantine (12.5%, see Table 18, p 185), Mostaganem (12.6%), Annaba (11.8%), Algiers (9.7%), Setif (7.7%) and Oran (8.4%) (all percentages taken from Table 18, p 185). It is especially within the youngest age groups, 8-15 and 16-19 that we find the highest percentage of informants who selected this language. Table 17d, p 184 shows that 15.5% of the 16-19 age group population and 8.9% of the 8-15 age group population expressed the wish to learn this language (see p 229).

With only 9.5%, French recedes into third position. This is a clear indication that French is declining in the opinion of our informants, who do not even consider this language as the second most important language; despite the fact that it

still enjoys the privilege of being the first foreign language introduced at school and the fact that it is the main language of study in scientific and technological branches at University level. This denotes that many informants are more and more aware that French is no longer the world's most useful language and that English is a necessary language to learn and acquire (see General Summary, p 222 for further details).

It is also worth noting that 0.7% of all informants have chosen Japanese. This shows that some Algeriens are progressively turning their attention away from French and considering other languages such as Japanese as a language because of its dominant technology. Hence the importance of Japanese here is perceived in terms of the economic dominance associated with this language.

German, with 6.0% of informants choosing this language, comes into fourth position after English, Spanish and French. The other languages, Chinese, Latin, Russian and Italian, occupy the last position in the choice expressed by informants.

There are several reasons why these foreign languages fail to attract the attention of a considerable number of informants. First of all, as was reported earlier (see p 89 and p 226), the majority of informants prefer to acquire English because of its instrumental value; secondly, the Algerian foreign language policy favours the teaching of French and English as the two major foreign languages in the school and university curricula, thus no teaching of these languages is provided in Algeria presently, and finally informants may have considered the importance of Chinese, Russian, Italian and Latin in terms of their international status as world languages.

The mention of Latin requires particular comment. Only one informant mentions this language, and we suggest that this may have been because of an 'excès de zèle'.

Table 17a. Responses to Question 3 by sex

	Sex	0	Male	Female	Row Total	%
Languages						
No Answer			4		4	0.3
French		2	72	56	130	9.5
English		7	588	406	1001	73.1
German			43	39	82	6.0
Spanish		1	55	97	133	9.7
Japanese			4	5	9	0.7
Chinese			2		2	0.1
Latin				1	1	0.1
English French - Spanish			1	2	3	0.2
Italian			2	1	3	0.2
Russian			1	1	2	0.1
Column Total		10	772	588	1370	100.0
Percentage		0.7	56.4	42.9	100.0	

Table 17b. Responses to Question 3 by sex (percentages)

Languages	Sex	0	Male	Female
No Answer			0.5	
French		20.0	9.3	9.5
English		70.0	76.2	69.1
German			5.5	6.6
Spanish		10.0	7.2	13.1
Japanese			0.5	0.8
Chinese			0.2	
Latin				0.1
French - [English [Spanish			0.1	0.3
Italian			0.2	0.1
Russian			0.1	0.1
Total Column Percentage		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 17c. Responses to Question 3 by age-groups

Languages	Age Groups						Row Total	%
	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54			
No Answer		2				2	4	0.3
French	2	56	36	15	21	130		9.5
English	10	238	279	221	253	1001		73.1
German		23	20	22	17	82		6.0
Spanish	3	32	63	17	18	133		9.7
Japanese		3	5		1	9		0.7
Chinese		1	1			2		0.1
Latin			1			1		0.1
French ----- [English [Spanish		1			2	3		0.2
Italian		1	1		1	3		0.2
Russian		1			1	2		0.1
Row Total	15	358	406	275	316	1370		100.0
Percentage	1.1	26.2	29.6	20.1	23.1	100.0		

Table 17d. Responses to Question 3 by age-groups (percentages)

	Age Groups				
	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54
Languages					
No Answer		0.5			0.6
French	13.3	15.6	8.8	5.4	6.6
English	66.6	66.5	68.7	80.4	80.0
German		6.4	4.9	8.0	5.3
Spanish	20.0	8.9	15.5	6.1	5.6
Japanese		0.8	1.2		0.3
Chinese		0.2	0.2		
Latin			0.2		
French ----- [English [Spanish		0.2			0.6
Italian		0.2	0.2		0.3
Russian		0.2			0.3
Total Column Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 19a. Responses to Question 3 by socio-professional categories

Socio-Professional Categories	0		Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres	Row Total	%
Languages								
No Answer			2			2	4	0.3
French			59	36	11	24	130	9.5
English	2		246	274	201	278	1001	73.1
German			21	24	19	18	82	6.0
Spanish			33	61	13	26	133	9.7
Japanese			4	4		1	9	0.7
Chinese			1	1			2	0.1
Latin				1			1	0.1
French ----- [English [Spanish			1			4	5	0.3
Italian			1		1	1	3	0.2
Russian			1			1	2	0.1
Column Total	2		369	401	245	353	1370	
Percentage	0.1		26.9	29.3	17.8	25.7	100.0	100.0

Table 19b. Responses to Question 3 by socio-professional categories (percentages)

Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres
Languages					
No Answer		0.5			0.5
French		15.9	8.9	4.5	6.7
English	100.0	66.6	68.3	82.1	78.7
German		5.6	5.9	7.7	5.1
Spanish		8.9	15.2	5.3	7.4
Japanese		1.1	0.9		0.2
Chinese		0.3	0.2		
Latin			0.2		
French ----- [English [Spanish		0.3			1.2
Italian		0.3		0.4	0.2
Russian		0.3			0.2
Total Column Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2.4 QUESTION 4

The main purpose of this question was to establish which language informants thought would be most used in the future. Here again we observe that the vast majority of informants, 79.5%, (see Table 21a p 192) thought that English would be the most used language in the future. As the figures in Table 21b, p 193 indicate, the percentages of informants who expressed this opinion is constant throughout all age groups, sex, urban centres and socio-professional categories. This constancy can be observed in the following percentages:

Language	Age Groups			
	English	8-15	16-19	20-25
Percentage	80.2	75.6	77.5	84.8

(See Table 21b, p 193)

Language	Sex	
	English	Male
Percentage	79.7	78.9

(See Table 20, p 191)

Language	Urban Centres										
	English	Alg	Oran	Const	Annaba	Setif	Chlef	Mosta	Ouar	Arz	HM
Percentage	85.3	83.6	83.6	72.2	77.4	89.6	73.2	81.8	93.3	95.0	64.2

(See Table 22, p 194)

Abbreviations: Alg = Algiers, Const = Constantine, Mosta = Mostaganem, Our = Ouargla, Arz = Arzew, HM = Hassi-Messaoud.

Language	Socio-Professional Categories			
	English	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students
Percentage	80.7	72.8	82.1	83.8

(See Table 23b, p 196)

Our results thus far indicate that the clear majority of informants, regardless of age, sex, geographical location and occupation, have unanimously indicated that English will be in future the most used language in Algeria.

In this connection it is worth noting that only a small section of the sample (14.4%) thought that French would be the language most used in the future. The majority of this category of informants belong to the school population aged between 8 to 19, that is, 14.8% of the Primary school population and 20.4% of the Secondary school population (see Table 23b, p 196). From discussions with informants falling into this category, it transpired that the belief that French is the most prestigious language is related to the fact that it is the first foreign language they acquire at school. Thus the introduction of French as the first foreign language in Algerian Primary education influenced their decision as to which language would be most used in the future¹⁸⁵.

As mentioned already, this category of informant illustrates an insignificant percentage in comparison with the percentage of participants who thought the contrary, and does, under no consideration, affect the statement that the vast majority of interviewees believed that English is the foreign language of the future.

A small percentage of informants, 1.6%, (See Table 21a, p 192) indicated that Arabic will be the most used language in the future.

¹⁸⁵Interviews conducted with 18 pupils from Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Setif, 18 students and cadres across the whole country between July 1987 and January 5, 1988.

Here again, due to the recent Islamic surge and revival in Algeria, a certain number of extremists believe that the language of the Koran, Classical Arabic, will become one day the first universal language, but they only represent a small insignificant percentage within our sample.

Other languages mentioned in this connection were Spanish and German, with 1.5% of informants selecting each of the two languages and Japanese and Chinese with 0.4% of informants opting for one of the two languages.

Table 20. Responses to Question 4 by sex

Languages	Sex		0	Male	Female
No Answer				0.7	0.6
French			10.0	13.2	15.9
English			90.0	79.7	78.9
German				1.8	1.1
Spanish				1.6	1.3
Chinese				0.2	0.6
Japanese				0.2	0.2
Arabic				2.1	1.1
Total Column Percentage			100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 21a. Responses to Question 4 by age-groups

Languages	Age Groups						Row Total	%
	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54			
No Answer		3	3			4	10	0.7
French	1	53	74	40		29	197	14.4
English	14	287	307	213		268	1089	79.5
German		5	6	3		6	20	1.5
Spanish		9	6	1		5	21	1.5
Chinese		1	3	2			6	0.4
Japanese			2	3			5	0.4
Arabic			5	13		4	22	1.6
Column Total	15	358	406	275		316	1370	100.0
Percentage	1.1	26.1	29.5	20.1		23.1	100.0	

Table 23a. Responses to Question 4 by socio-professional categories

Languages	Socio-Professional Categories						Row Total	%
	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres			
No Answer		3	3		4	10	0.7	
French		53	82	25	37	197	14.4	
English	2	298	292	201	296	1089	79.5	
German		4	7	3	6	20	1.5	
Spanish		10	5		6	21	1.5	
Chinese		1	4	1		6	0.4	
Japanese			3	2		5	0.4	
Arabic			5	13	4	22	1.6	
Column Total	2	369	401	245	353	1370		
Percentage	0.1	26.9	29.3	17.8	25.7	100.0	100.0	

Table 23b. Responses to Question 4 by socio-professional categories (percentages)

Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres
Languages					
No Answer		0.8	0.7		1.2
French		14.3	20.4	10.2	10.4
English	100.0	80.7	72.8	82.1	83.8
German		1.1	1.7	1.2	1.7
Spanish		2.7	1.2		
Chinese		0.2	0.9	0.4	
Japanese			0.7	0.8	
Arabic			1.2	5.3	1.1
Total Column Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2.5 QUESTION 5

In this question, informants were asked to indicate in which foreign language(s) they would like to read bibliographical material, documentation, magazines, journals and scientific or technological publications.

The results in Tables 24, 25a, 25b, 26, 27a and 27b (see p 200-205) show that English is the first language chosen by 49.6%. A different category, 12.6% of informants, indicated that they would prefer to read in English and secondly in French, German and Spanish. 0.1% of informants pointed out that they preferred to read in English, French secondly and Spanish thirdly. In all, 52.3% of the total number of informants selected English in response to this question.

Thus here again one can draw the conclusion that the majority of informants preferred to read materials in English, thus giving top priority to English once more.

This may be compared with the findings of Sibayan who conducted an in-depth survey of language and attitudes of Filipinos towards language. When asked in what language they prefer to read certain types of material, Sibayan discovered that there was a definite preference for English among Filipinos.¹⁸⁶

As regards this study we note that the percentage of informants who said they preferred to read in English remains constant within the three age groups 16-19, 20-25 and 26-54, with respectively 47.5%, 42.9% and 40.2% (see Table 25b, p 202). The highest percentage of informants in this connection is illustrated by the 8-15 age group with 66.5% (see Table 25b, p 202). It must be stressed that we did not expect school children to read scientific or technological material in a foreign language. At this stage, many school children

¹⁸⁶Sibayan, B.P., 1984, 'Survey of language use and attitudes towards language in the Philippines', Language Planning and Language Education, Kennedy, Chris (ed), London, p 83.

are interested in computers, video games, science fiction and comic magazines. For this reason, it was emphasized to informants aged between 8 and 15 that Question 5 concerns only basic computer reading material or basic literature written in foreign languages and related to the area of their reading interest, e.g. comic magazines such as Flash Gordon, Batman, Superman, Disney comic magazines and other basic reading material.

Thus the high percentage of informants among the 8-15 age group who said they preferred to read in English show the popularity of English among the Primary school population despite the fact that English is the second foreign language introduced in the 'ecole fondamentale' curriculum. Nevertheless, this does not affect the attraction English has for pupils.

As the results in Tables 24, 25a, 25b, 26, 27a, 27b (see p 200-205) show, French comes in second position after English, with 43.3% of informants. The important thing to note here is that the lowest percentage of answers in favour of French were recorded among the Primary school population with only 27.1% (see Table 25b, p 202). This is a distinct indication that there is a linguistic shift from French to English among the younger generation, despite the fact that French is the first foreign language they are acquainted with. It is worth noting that the highest percentage of answers in favour of French was recorded among the 20-25 and 26-50 year old groups with respectively 51.2% and 50.9% (see Table 25b, p 202). One can easily understand that an undergraduate, post graduate student, or cadre who has been trained in French and uses French in his daily work would like to read and progress in his field in the language in which he feels more confident. For some cadres, English is a language they have long ceased to practise and study (apart from those who in their international trading transactions have to resort to English), but as was seen earlier, the majority of students and cadres formulated the wish to learn English when given a chance. For instance, while answering Question 2, 76.7% of the student population and 71.9% of the cadre population (see Table 16a, p 177) revealed that they would prefer to learn English.

Spanish emerges as the third language with 1.9% of informants indicating that they would prefer to read in Spanish. Here again we note the same interest in this language in the western part of the country, namely Mostaganem with 3.6%, El-Chlef 3.1% and Oran 1.2% (see Table 26, p 203). This interest in Spanish should be taken into consideration by language planners when making a decision about the choice of foreign languages to be taught in the western part of Algeria.

German comes in fourth position recording 1.2% of the total percentage of answers given in relation to this question. Arabic, in spite of all our recommendations not to report this language as it is the official language in Algeria, was mentioned by one informant who apparently believes that this language is the only one he would like to use in his reading.

Table 24. Responses to Question 5 by sex (percentages)

Languages	Sex		0	Male	Female
No Answer				0.3	1.7
French			70.0	44.4	41.3
English			30.0	48.7	51.2
German				0.6	2.0
Spanish				1.9	1.8
[French [French-Spanish English -- [German [Spanish				3.6	1.7
French-Spanish				0.2	
Arabic					0.1
Total Column Percentage			100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 25a. Responses to Question 5 by age-groups

Languages	Age Groups	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54	Row Total	%
No Answer			4	4	1	4	13	0.9
French		9	97	185	141	161	593	43.3
English		4	238	193	118	127	680	49.6
German		1	3	8	2	3	17	1.2
Spanish			13	8	3	2	26	1.9
English ---	[French [French-Spanish [German [Spanish		3	7	9	19	38	2.7
French-Spanish		1		1			2	0.1
Arabic					1		1	0.1
Column Total		15	358	406	275	316	1370	
Percentage		1.1	26.1	29.6	20.1	23.1	100.0	100.0

Table 27a. Responses to Question 5 by socio-professional categories

Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres	Row Total	%
Languages							
No Answer		3	5	1	4	13	0.9
French	2	101	176	123	191	593	43.3
English		240	202	108	130	680	49.6
German		6	5	2	4	17	1.2
Spanish		16	5	2	3	26	1.9
[French [French-Spanish [German [Spanish		3	7	9	19	38	2.7
French-Spanish			1		1	2	0.1
Arabic					1	1	0.1
Column Total	2	369	401	245	353	1370	
Percentage	0.1	26.9	29.3	17.8	25.7	100.0	100.0

Table 27b. Responses to Question 5 by socio-professional categories (percentages)

Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres
Languages					
No Answer		0.8	1.2	0.4	1.1
French	100.0	27.3	43.8	50.2	54.1
English		65.1	50.3	44.1	36.8
German		1.6	1.2	0.8	1.1
Spanish		4.3	1.2	0.8	0.8
[French [French-Spanish English ----- [German [Spanish		0.8	1.7	3.6	5.3
French-Spanish			0.2		0.2
Arabic					0.2
Column Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2.6 QUESTION 6

In this question we asked our informants to indicate the languages they currently use in their daily life and work. Responses relate to respondents' understanding of what is meant by 'use' (utiliser).

As the survey shows 48.2% of informants replied that they used French, Arabic and English. Percentages displayed in Table 29b, p 219 indicate that the use of French, Arabic and English is commonly found within the youngest age groups 8-15 and 16-19. In actual figures 89.4% of the 8-15 age group population and 66.5% of the 16-19 age group population specified that they use all three languages. The percentage of informants using these languages is lower in the 20-25 and 26-54 age group, with respectively 17.8% and 6.3%. These percentages constitute a sharp contrast with the first two percentages recorded, the 8-15 and 16-19 age groups.

What all these percentages indicate is that the category of informants who specified that they use French, Arabic and English and who represent the Primary school population, was, at the time this survey was conducted (and still is) studying under a totally arabized system of education with Arabic as the main language of study and French and English as foreign languages. This explains why the highest percentage of informants who indicated that they can use French, Arabic and English was recorded among the Primary school population. The second most important percentage of answers in this connection was found among the Secondary school population which, as was pointed out earlier, contains a bilingual section in the final year, whereby French is the language of study of the scientific and technological branches of the Secondary school curriculum. Hence the informants who were studying under the bilingual system at the time this survey was conducted, were either able to use French, Arabic and English (if they were under the arabized system with Arabic as the main language of study and French and English as

foreign languages) or were able to use French and English (if they were using French as the main language of study and English as a foreign language). 3.2% of informants falling within the 16-19 age group category (see Table 29b, p 217) brought to our attention that they can use only French and English. This meant that their knowledge of the Arabic language was not sufficient to provide them with the confidence to list this language as one of the languages they can use. In addition to this, many pupils from the Secondary schools who fit this description belong to the middle class or *élite* families, where French is commonly used at home by both parents who themselves received their education in French during the French occupation. Under these circumstances, the Secondary pupils in question acquire a certain competence in the French language that makes them feel more confident in French than in Classical Arabic. The latter is a language practised at 'lycée' level and is rarely used in socializing within family groups and close acquaintances.

We can note in passing that the same observation does not apply to Primary school pupils, as no informant in this category indicated this choice (see Table 29a, p 216 and Table 29b, p 217), the reason being that, at 'l'école fondamentale', all Primary pupils learn to use Arabic first. Nevertheless, we can say that the majority of informants reported that they use French, Arabic and English.

A further analysis of the results provided in connection with this question reveals that the second highest percentage of informants, that is 18% of the total percentage of informants (see Table 29a, p 216), declared that they can only use French. We find among this class of informants (2.9% of the Secondary school population; see Table 29b, p 217), students (37.1% of the student population; see Table 29b, p 217) and cadres (39.8% of the cadre population; see Table 29b, p 217). No Primary pupils in the 8-15 age group claimed to use French on its own.

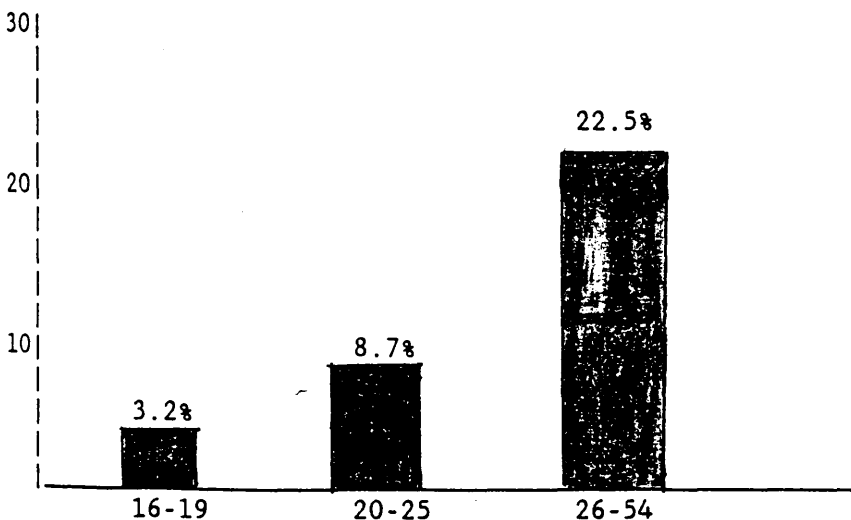
The absence of reported use of French on its own in the youngest age group can be interpreted as a sign that a language shift is in progress. Thus we have here a situation where a proportion of older speakers reported more use of one language, French, than the youngest speakers. The latter reported that they use French with Classical Arabic and English. This is a clear indication that the older speakers, who said they can only use French, continue to use this language as a working instrument, while the younger speakers reported the use of this language (alongside with English) as a foreign language, since Classical Arabic is the language of instruction in 'l'école fondamentale'. This is an unmistakable sign of the advance of Classical Arabic and English into the domains of French. The retreat of French in the youngest age group is caused by intensive Arabization in the curriculum of 'l'école fondamentale'. In the new Algerian school both French and English are introduced as foreign languages. But in spite of the fact that French is the first foreign language they learn, the youngest speakers have shown preference for acquiring and mastering English. Evidence from Question 2 and 3 revealed that respectively 80.5% and 66.6% (see Table 14b and 17b, pp 174, 184) in the 8-15 age group have stated their preference for acquiring and mastering English. We have here an indication of language shift (see General Discussion, p 222).

The third choice in this category of answers is Arabic. As our sample included a wide variety of speakers of different languages, the results in Tables 31a and 31b (p 220 and p 221) show that 9.5% of the total percentage of informants pointed out that they use Arabic. Within the Primary school population, 9.2% specified that they use only this language. In the knowledge that all pupils attending 'l'école fondamentale' study in Arabic and learn French and English as foreign languages, we assume that this section of pupils believed that their knowledge of French and English was not sufficient to enable them to report that they could indeed use them. The alternative explanation is that some Primary pupils may have just omitted to complete their answer from pure neglect or insufficient understanding of the nature of the question in spite of all our explanatory details of each question. On a slightly different level, the percentage of Secondary pupils,

6.7% (see Table 31b, p 221) who said that they used Arabic belong to the arabized sections and for whom Arabic is the main language of study. Here again the same argument discussed above holds for this category of informants, who besides being under an arabized system also learn foreign languages.

Leaving aside the details, 13.6% within the cadre population (see Table 31b, p 221) said that they used Arabic. In those sectors of Algerian administration such as city halls, courts, 'écoles fondamentales' (here meaning teachers specialized in the teaching of the Arabic language) and educational institutions, it is quite understandable that a cadre entirely trained in Arabic with a random knowledge of French and English, may indicate that he can use only Arabic.

French and English is the linguistic combination which occupies the fourth position with a percentage of 7.9% informants indicating that they use both French and English. The percentages representing this linguistic combination may be represented in the following bar chart:



(Figures taken from Table 29b, p 217)

As the foregoing chart shows, there is an increase in percentages as we move from one age group to the other. First of all, we notice that the 8-15 age group is not represented in this category of answers, as they indicated that they use French, Arabic and English and other linguistic combinations. The lowest percentage of answers in this category may be found within the Secondary pupil population with 3.2%. Secondary pupils who stated that they use these two languages are final year Secondary pupils in scientific or technological sections where French is the main language of study and English is the foreign language. The same observation applies to the 8.7% of students who stated that they use French and English. In this context it was found that the highest percentage, that is 22.5% (see Table 29b, p 217) of informants who reported that they use French and English are members of the cadre section. As noted previously (p 105) the class of cadres includes a wide variety: to name but a few, lecturers, travel agents, engineers and high officials. The point here is that cadres use French (apart from those who are arabized and use Arabic) in their daily work, but have to resort to English (see section on the Use of French and English, p 250) as soon as they deal with international companies, trading transactions or require access to printed academic material.

In a different category of answers, 2.4% of informants indicated that they use the linguistic combination of French, English, Arabic and Spanish. The highest percentages concerning this linguistic combination which includes Spanish are found in the western part of the country, namely in El-Chlef (9.7%) in Mostaganem (7.9%) and in Oran (5.4%) (see Table 30a, p 220). We have here further evidence that Spanish is holding its own in the western part of the country. If a foreign language policy is to be reviewed in Algeria, a particular case concerning the maintenance and the teaching of this language in the western region of the country should be made.

Other linguistic combinations listed by informants are 'Kabyle', French and English and 'Kabyle', Arabic, French and English. 1.1% of

informants (see Table 31a, p 220) said that they use these linguistic combinations. We observe, in this respect, that some pupils of 'Kabyle' and 'Chaoui' origin did not state, in their answers, that they use Berber ('Kabyle' or 'Chaoui'). In a series of interviews conducted with individual 'Kabyle' pupils and 'Chaoui' pupils, we asked each informant why they did not mention 'Kabyle' or 'Chaoui' in their answer. One pupil reported:

"I can speak 'Kabyle' but I only use it with my parents, but I can't write it whereas I can write Arabic, French and English"¹⁸⁷ (translated from 'Kabyle' Berber).

Another 'Kabyle' pupil remarked:

"Arabic, French and English are written languages as well as spoken languages. 'Kabyle' is a dialect that I can't even use to communicate with non-'Kabyle' classmates, neighbours, teachers and friends, so what's the point of stating that you use a language that you don't use outside the home"¹⁸⁸ (translated from 'Kabyle').

A 'Chaoui' pupil revealed:

"I learnt to speak Berber 'Chaoui' when we were still living in the countryside. Now that we live in a big city, Constantine, even my parents don't use it anymore, I don't use this language anymore; I have probably forgotten half the vocabulary by now. I speak Arabic, French and English and I really use them and it would be cheating to reply that I use 'Chaoui'. This is why I didn't report it"¹⁸⁹ (translated from spoken Arabic).

¹⁸⁷Interviews conducted with pupils from 'L'Ecole Fondamentale Oum-Omra', 'Lycée Aissat-Idir' and 'Redha-Houhou' (respectively in Algiers and Constantine) between November 3 and 14, 1987.

¹⁸⁸Interviews conducted with pupils from 'L'Ecole Fondamentale

¹⁸⁹Oum-Omra', 'Lycée Aissat Idir' and 'Redha-Houhou' (respectively in Algiers and Constantine) between November 3 and 14, 1987.

Hence it appears that within the Berber community, certain speakers, as was shown above, tend to disregard the Berber dialect for two reasons: firstly it is not a written language taught at schools; secondly it is a dialect that cannot be used within their own school and social environment, in the sense that they cannot communicate with their classmates, friends and teachers (obviously non-Berber speakers) in this dialect. Hence its use is strictly confined to family use.

However this does not seem to apply to informants who reported that they use 'Kabyle'. In subsequent conversations with participants who expressed this opinion, a contrasting view from the proceeding emerged. According to these Berber 'Kabyle' speakers, Berber dialect is the first language they learn. It conveys the sense of cultural identity which differentiates them from Arabs but that does not make them less Algerian than the others. Still, according to these speakers, they see no reason why they should be ashamed to mention that they use 'Kabyle'. On the contrary it gives them a certain sense of pride to preserve the dialect of their ancestors. As was indicated to us, 'Kabyle' speakers use Arabic, French-English or French-English in their academic studies, but 'Kabyle' remains the privileged means of communication as far as they are concerned¹⁹⁰. Here we have noticed that 'Kabyle' speakers, rather than insert themselves in the student community, tend to form a closed group of 'Kabyles', avoiding as much as they can social contacts with Arab speakers and using 'Kabyle' as a barrier to prevent Arabs from infiltrating their closed intimate group.

Our purpose here is not to discuss the linguistic conflicts related to Berberism, but to stress the linguistic issues related to this phenomenon. To conclude this section, we can say that some Berber speakers do not feel the need to use the Berber dialect in order to avoid social isolation from the rest of the Algerian population, while other speakers consider this dialect to be inseparable from their identity. As Haugen has pointed out:-

¹⁹⁰Series of interviews conducted with students from the Technological Institute of Agriculture in Mostaganem, November 28, 1987.

"Language is more than an instrument, among other things, it is also an expression of personality and a sign of identity".¹⁹¹

So far, we have dealt with the results and findings with reference to each specific question in the questionnaire. In the remainder of this section a general summary of the findings comprising a generalization of the results to the whole sample population will be presented. This general summary will be followed by a generalization of the findings to the whole Algerian educated population using the confidence interval test.

¹⁹¹Haugen, Einar (1971) 'Instrumentalism in language planning', Can Language be Planned?, Honolulu, p 281.

Table 28a. Responses to Question 6 by sex

Sex	0	Male	Female	Row Total	%
Languages					
No Answer	6	1	3	20	0.7
[French2					
Arabic 1 - [English2-French3-German4		71	32	103	7.5
[English2-French3-Russian4					
[English2					
[Arabic2-English3					
[Russian2					
[German2					
French1 -- [English2-German3-Arabic4	1	437	406	844	61.6
[Spanish2					
[English2-Spanish3					
[English2-Arabic3-Kaby13					
[Arabic2-English2-Spanish3					
Spanish-French-English		8	2	10	0.7
French	3	172	71	246	18.0
English		4		4	0.3
Spanish		3	1	4	0.3
German		2	2	4	0.3
[Arabic2-French3-English4					
Kaby11 --- [13	2	15	1.1
[French2-English3					
Arabic		61	69	130	9.5
Column Total	10	772	588	1370	100.0
Percentage	0.7	56.4	42.9	100.0	

Table 28b. Responses to Question 6 by sex (percentages)

Languages	Sex		0	Male	Female
No Answer			60.0	0.1	0.5
[French2					
[English2-French3-German4				9.1	5.4
[English2-French3-Russian4					
[English2					
[Arabic2-English3					
[Russian2					
[German2					
[English2-German3-Arabic4			10.0	56.6	69.1
[Spanish2					
[English2-Spanish3					
[English2-Arabic3-Kaby13					
[Arabic1-English2-Spanish3					
Spanish-French-English				1.1	0.3
French			30.0	22.2	12.1
English				0.5	
Spanish				0.3	0.1
German				0.2	0.3
[Arabic2-French3-English4				1.6	0.3
[French2-English3					
Arabic				7.9	11.7
Total Column Percentage			100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 29a. Responses to Question 6 by age-groups

Languages	Age Groups						Row Total	%
	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54			
No Answer	6			1	3	10	0.7	
[French2								
[Eng2-French3-Germ		1	44	32	26	103	7.5	
[Eng2-Fren3-Russian4								
[English2								
[Arabic2-English3								
[Russian2								
[German2								
French1 -- [English2-Germ3-Arabic4	2	325	313	86	118	844	61.8	
[Spanish2								
[English2-Spanish3								
[English2-Arabic3-Kaby13								
[Arabic1-English2-Span3								
Spanish-French-English			2	6	2	10	0.7	
French	6		12	102	126	246	18.0	
English	1		1	2		4	0.2	
Spanish			2	1	1	4	0.3	
German			2		2	4	0.3	
[Arabic2-Fren3-Eng14				14	1	15	1.1	
[French2-English3								
Arabic		32	30	31	37	130	9.5	
Column Total	15	358	406	275	316	1370		
Percentage	1.1	26.1	29.6	20.1	23.1	100.0	100.0	

Table 29b. Responses to Question 6 by age-Groups (percentages)

	Age Groups					
	0	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54	
Languages						
No Answer	40.0			0.3	0.9	
[French						
Arabic --- [English-French-German		0.3	10.8	9.4	8.2	
[English-French-Russian						
[English			3.2	8.7	22.5	
[Arabic-English			66.5	17.8	6.3	
[German			0.7	1.8	6.6	
French --- [Arabic-German			0.5	0.4		
[English-Arabic-Spanish		1.4	4.9	1.4	0.3	
[English-German-Arabic			0.7	0.7		
[English-Spanish			0.5	0.4		
[Russian					0.6	
Spanish-French-English			0.4	2.1	0.6	
French	40.0		2.9	37.1	39.8	
English	6.6		0.2	0.7		
Spanish			0.4	0.3	0.3	
German			0.4		0.6	
[Arabic-French-English						
Kabyl ---- [5.1	0.3	
[French-English						
Arabic		8.9	7.3	11.2	11.7	
Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Table 30a. Responses to Question 6 by urban centres

Urban Centres Language	0	Algiers	Oran	Const- antine	Annaba	Setif	El Chlef	Mosta- ganem	Ouargla	Arzew	H Messaoud Barkaoui	El Oued	Row Total	%
No Answer	2			3		5							10	0.7
[French														
[Engl-Fren-														
[-Germ	7	4	5	8	2	3	16	14	1	103			103	7.5
[Engl-Fren-														
[-Russ														
[English														
[Arab-Engl														
[German														
[Arab-Germ														
[Engl-Arab-														
[-Spanish	187	119	20	101	87	67	121	82	10	3	47	844	844	61.8
[Engl-Germ-														
[-Arabic														
[Engl-Span														
[Russian														
Span-Fren-Engl		2	6				2						10	0.7
French		27	32	24	54	38	25	3	5	16	7	246	246	18.0
English			1		1		2						4	0.3
Spanish		1	1				2						4	0.3
German			2				2						4	0.3
[Arab-Fren-														
Kabyle- [-Engl							15						15	1.1
[Fren-Engl														
Arabic		11		61	8	10	2	11				12	130	9.5
Column Total	2	235	165	116	169	142	97	110	15	20	109	1370	1370	
Percentage	0.1	17.2	12.0	8.5	12.3	10.4	7.1	8.0	1.1	1.5	8.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 31a. Responses to Question 6 by socio-professional categories

Language	Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres	Row Total	%
No Answer		2		1	1	6	10	0.7
Arabic	[French [English-French-German [English-French-Russian		1	38	35	29	103	7.5
French	[English [Arabic-English [German [Arabic-German [English-Arabic-Spanish [English-German-Arabic [English-Spanish [Russian		334	325	58	127	844	61.8
Spanish-French-English				3	6	1	10	0.7
French				2	107	137	246	18.0
English				1	2	1	4	0.3
Spanish				2		2	4	0.3
German				2		2	4	0.3
Kabyle	[Arabic-French-English [French-English				15		15	1.1
Arabic			34	27	21	48	130	9.5
Column Total		2	369	401	245	353	1370	
Column Percentage		0.1	26.9	29.3	17.8	25.7	100.0	100.0

Table 31b. Responses to Question 6 by socio-professional categories (percentages)

Language	Socio-Professional Categories	0	Primary Pupils	Secondary Pupils	Students	Cadres
No Answer		100.0		0.3	0.4	1.6
Arabic - - - - -	[French [English-French-German [English-French-Russian		0.2	9.5	14.3	8.2
French - - - - -	[English [Arabic-English [German [Arabic-German [English-Arabic-Spanish [English-German-Arabic [English-Spanish [Russian		90.5	81.1	23.6	35.9
Spanish-French-English				0.7	2.4	0.2
French				0.4	43.6	38.8
English				0.2	0.8	0.2
Spanish				0.3		0.4
German				0.4		0.4
Kabyle - - - - -	[Arabic-French-English [French-English				6.2	
Arabic			9.2	6.7	8.5	13.6
Total Column Percentage		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

III GENERAL SUMMARY OF FINDINGS/DISCUSSION

3.1 FOREIGN LANGUAGE USE IN ALGERIA

3.1.1 IN THE SCIENTIFIC DOMAIN (QUESTION 1A)

The results obtained in Question 1A show that 47.2% use French and English in the scientific field, while 35.0% use French and 7.5% use English for the same purpose. As was indicated in an earlier section, French with its strong historical connection with Algeria continues to be used by a considerable number of speakers, mostly among informants who have received a bilingual education where French dominated Arabic in scientific and technological subjects and cadres who have been entirely trained in French during the French occupation.

The first conclusion one can draw here is that the tendency to use French as a main language is declining within the school population, especially the 'fondamentale' section which is trained under a totally arabized system (see section on Arabization and 'fondamentale' teaching, p 70), whereby French has receded from its position and status as a language of study to that of a mere foreign language. The evidence discussed so far enables us to state that French has declined and has only maintained a status as a language of study in higher education where some scientific and technological branches, e.g. computing, civil engineering, biology, medicine, mechanical engineering, electronic engineering, physics and chemistry, are still taught in French. Note that the Arabization of Secondary education has been completed at the beginning of the academic year 1989-1990¹⁹². Here again French as a main language of study has receded.

The 35.0% of answers indicating French as the main language used in the scientific field is not enough to make French stand out as the

¹⁹²El Moudjahid, mardi 26 septembre 1989, p 4.

first language practised in this domain. To get French to the top, it has got to be seen alongside English.

But already on the basis of the results above, we can say that French is no longer the only language used in the scientific field. Alongside English, it has become one of the languages utilized in this domain; and, as will be shown below, as soon as informants are asked which of the two languages they practise as an international language, it has to take second place to English.

3.1.2 AS INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGES (QUESTION 1B)

The results presented in Question 1B show that 40.4% of the total sample percentage (see Table 6a, p 151) employ English as an international language as against a small percentage of 12.6% (see Table 6a, p 151) who claimed that they practise French for the same purpose, and 36.6% who use both French and English as international languages.

The conclusion one can draw in this context is that English is gaining more and more in popularity and emerges as the first international language practised by the majority of informants who contributed to this survey. The evidence gathered in connection with this question clearly indicates that French has lost its attraction among the 'fondamentale' school population in the sense that only a small percentage of respondents within the Primary school population 8.2% (see Table 8b, p 156) have pointed out that they use French as an international language. In fact the results in Tables 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b (p 147 to 156) prove that English is the first international language indicated at all levels of our sample, when measured in terms of the sex, age-groups, geographical locations and occupations of the informants.

3.1.3 AS WRITTEN LANGUAGES (QUESTION 1C)

51.9% of informants (see Table 9a, p 159) reported that they can

write both French and English. It is interesting to note that 35.0% of informants who reported in Question 1B that they use French, as an international language, revealed in Question 1C that they can only write French as a foreign language. An additional percentage of 6.3% expressed in their answers that they can write English and other languages, Spanish, French and German (see Table 12a, p 165).

3.1.4 DISCUSSION

So far we have established that the maintenance of French is due to historical circumstances and the presence of speakers who have either received their education in French during the colonial period or studied under a bilingual system whereby French dominated in the scientific and technological branches. However upon closer examination of the results of Questions 1A, 1B and 1C, we have found that the majority of informants specified that they use French and English in the scientific field. They employ English as an international language and are literate in both French and English. The mere fact that the percentage of participants using French alone is lower than the percentage of respondents using both French and English indicates that French as a foreign language is declining both as a language of study and of work. In other words, French has been superseded by English as an international language and shares the first position with English as a written language. On the basis of this evidence we can infer that English is leaking into domains previously dominated by French, e.g. scientific and technological. The advances of English into French domains suggest that there are certain indications of language shift to look for (see Signs of Shift, p 232 for full discussion).

Further evidence of the retreat of French was found in connection with the results of Question 6. Here the largest proportion of informants, representing 48.2% of the total percentage of informants, reported that they used three languages, Arabic-French-English. French here again had to settle for second place in this linguistic combination.

The data related to Question 6 represent the changing use of languages in Algeria. In examining the results of this question one can clearly observe the emergence of two linguistic patterns.

- a) The tendency to use three languages, Arabic, French and English, is found within the school population, where the highest percentages have been recorded (89.4% Primary and 66.5% Secondary). This linguistic pattern is representative of the arabized educational system whereby pupils acquire first Arabic as the national language, and then French and English as foreign languages. We are aware that school pupils do not have a full command of foreign languages, but the willingness to report the knowledge of English, even if its use is confined to academic (or personal) purposes and despite the fact that it is the second foreign language acquired, reveals the incentives and positive attitudes towards the learning of this language and the inclination towards shift.

- b) French users are representative of the second linguistic pattern (we are aware that all Algerians acquire either Algerian Spoken Arabic or Berber as their first native tongue). This category of French users represents the second largest group of informants as far as Question 6 is concerned. The highest percentages of informants falling into this linguistic group have been observed within the student and cadre population with 37.1% and 29.8% respectively.

The interpretation one can give here is that French users who, as was pointed out earlier, studied or were trained in French represent the continued maintenance of French. It is instructive in terms of language maintenance to note that French is holding its ground but is not actually gaining between generations. With Algerian Spoken Arabic being the native tongue of the majority of Algerians and French being a language acquired at school or used in the employment domains (for some jobs), the generation of older speakers who use French as a tool of work is not likely to pass on French to the younger generation of speakers who acquire firstly Algerian Spoken Arabic (or Berber) and study under a totally arabized system which uses Classical Arabic as the medium of instruction. The point here

is that the generation of school pupils who acquire Classical Arabic as the medium of instruction will further strengthen its maintenance by using it as an instrument of work as soon as they enter employment in those sectors already arabized, while French users will continue to use French for employment or professional purposes in those sectors where French is maintaining itself. But this does not mean that a shift towards French will take place because even those sectors still operating in French may be arabized one day to receive the generation of arabized graduates seeking employment in these specific sectors. Even when it comes to selecting a foreign language they would most like to learn, master or use in academic or scientific reading, informants clearly expressed their preference for English. As will be seen in the section below, the study of language preferences will reveal that the majority of informants favour and have positive attitudes towards English.

3.2 FOREIGN LANGUAGE PREFERENCES AND SHIFTS

3.2.1 FOREIGN LANGUAGE PREFERENCES (QUESTION 2)

In expressing their choice of the two foreign languages they would most like to master, the overwhelming majority of informants (76.5%; see Table 13a, p 171) indicated that they would like to learn English in the first place and French and other languages in the second place. The results in Table 15b, p 175 show a clear preference for English in the major cities of Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Annaba, Mostaganem and Sétif as well as in the smaller cities of El Chlef, Ouargla, Hassi-Messaoud, Barkaoui and Arzew, with percentages ranging between 66.8% (lowest percentage) and 86.6% (highest percentage). The increasing popularity of English in Algerian cities and towns is reflective in various economic activities : international trading transactions such as marketing, industrial or agricultural import and export, international fairs and staff training, and at the touristic level where the knowledge and mastery of English becomes more and more indispensable to deal with air tickets, hotel bookings and touristic guidance in the desert in connection with the Paris-Algiers-Dakkar Rally, Saharan holidays; and finally in the domain of computing where English is a necessary tool (see interview with Ensi computer engineers, p 334).

Related to this is the fact that another additional percentage of 6.3% (see Table 16a, p 177) mentioned that English is the only language they would like to master. The highest percentage of informants (9.4% see Table 16b, p 178) who formulated this choice has been recorded among the cadre population where the need to master English is felt strongly, especially by those cadres who are working in industrial, economic and diplomatic sectors where English is a necessary means of communication with other nations (see section on the use of French and English in Different Domains, p 251).

In all, 1135 informants representing more than three quarters of the total sample of 1370 indicated that their top priority is to master English. With English securing 82.8% of the total sample percentage, (this percentage including those who specified English as a first choice within the linguistic combination including two languages and those who listed English as the only language they would like to master), all the other linguistic combinations and single choice languages were left with a mere 17.2%.

A small proportion of informants, 12.3%, indicated that they would like to master French in the first place and English and other languages in the second place. Those informants who have already achieved some familiarity with French prefer to master this language.

However this category of informants represents only a small percentage in comparison to the majority of informants who gave English as their first choice.

The remaining 4.9% of informants chose as first language German (0.7%; see Table 16a, p 177), Spanish (0.1%; see Table 16a, p 177 and discussion p 222), Arabic (0.1% despite our recommendation not to mention this language as it is the national language, not a foreign language, in Algeria). These percentages indicate that the use of these languages remains purely educational or confined to cultural use. However, through the English language Algeria can draw upon the scientific and technological information so much needed for its all-round development. Thus the use of English is not just

educational (école fondamentale, lycée) but is also instrumental in the sense that a wide variety of cadres and students have said that they preferred to master this language.

We conclude that we have an unmistakable sign that a language shift from French to English is in progress. The first indication is the unanimous choice of English (as first foreign language to master) by the overwhelming majority of informants (82.8%). The second indication of this shift is the constancy in the proportion of the youngest and the older speakers who said they preferred to master English in the first place (80.5%, 76.4%, 76.7% and 73.4%; see Table 14b, p 174). This shows that the incentive to master English is not just limited to one specific age group, but is common to all speakers. Hence inclinations towards shift (in favour of English) are common to all educated Algerians.

3.2.2 FOREIGN LANGUAGE PREFERENCES (QUESTION 3)

Here again the unanimous choice of English by the overwhelming majority of informants (73.1%) from the younger and older generation shows that educated - Algerians have positive incentives and attitudes towards the learning of English. A further examination of the findings presented in this question reveals that the highest percentage of answers giving priority to English was found in the southern part of the country (Hassi-Messaoud and Barkaoui) with 95% (see Table 18a, p 185). This remote part of the country constitutes a strategic region where the most important oil fields are concentrated. The cadres who are responsible for equipment maintenance and other socio-economic activities related to this field are fully aware of the importance of a world language such as English. One factor that contributes to those cadres' incentive to learn English is the importance of foreign trade to the Algerian economy. Thus English is more likely to be needed by Algerian cadres for international trade.

This may be compared with the findings of Cooper and Seckback who conducted a survey on the economic incentives for Israelis to learn English. They found that English was mentioned as a requirement in about 10 per cent of all jobs listed in the Israeli press and in 17 per cent of all jobs listed in non-classified, advertisements. They have also listed that one of the categories most requiring English was that of white-collar workers (26 per cent). They concluded that it is not only the university trained worker who needs English in Israel¹⁹³.

In the case of Algeria, we have seen that the incentive to learn English was not restricted to one specific proportion of informants but to all categories of informants. On the basis of these findings, we can draw the conclusion that there is a shift in the opinion of the vast majority of informants from French to English. In fact, French cannot even secure a second position among the list of foreign languages given for this question.

As regards the rest of the findings related to this question we can say that two languages are clearly emerging from the total: English and Spanish. English, as we have just seen, is the first choice of the majority of informants. Spanish, which comes in second place, attracts the youngest speakers (Primary pupils: 8.9%, Secondary pupils: 15.2%) as well as the older speakers (students: 5.3%, cadres: 7.4%). Informants from the southern part of the country (Mostaganem 12.6%, Oran 8.4%, Chlef 4.1%) and the other parts of the country (Algiers: 9.7%, Sétif: 7.7%, Annaba: 11.8%, Constantine: 12.9% and Ouargla: 20.0%). They preferred to learn Spanish in the first place if they were given the opportunity.

Thus, it is crucial in evaluating foreign language planning that one consider the attention given to Spanish particularly in the western part of the country. The results found here may be used as input to policy decisions concerning the teaching of foreign languages. Unfortunately, government officials do not often base language

¹⁹³As cited in Cooper, R.L., 1984, 'Language Planning, Language Spread and Language Change', Language Planning and Language Education, Kennedy, Chris (ed), London, p 33.

decisions on language data, either out of ignorance or because political considerations are given precedence. Only by taking the initiative in making decision-makers aware of the importance of linguistic input in language planning can linguists have the kind of impact that is needed¹⁹⁴.

It must be noted in this connection that in spite of the fact that Spanish has secured second place, its use remains purely literary and cultural, in the sense that it is not used as an instrumental language, i.e. as a scientific and technological language.

The third language chosen in relation to this question is French. The interesting thing to note here is that the highest percentage of informants who said they preferred to learn French in the first place is concentrated among the Primary and Secondary pupils with 15.9% and 8.9% (see Table 19b, p 187). These speakers use French and English as mere literary foreign languages rather than as instrumental ones, while, on the contrary, students and cadres who have to deal with foreign languages on the instrumental level, represent the lowest percentage of informants who selected French (with 4.5% and 6.7%). The older speakers (students and cadres) also represent the highest proportion of informants who chose to learn English, with respectively 82.1% and 78.1% (see Table 19b, p 187).

Thus, the pattern of language preference described above is consistent with the hypothesis that there is a trend among younger speakers as well as older speakers to prefer English at the expense of French. Thus present findings related to Question 3 point to a favourable attitude towards a shift in favour of English.

¹⁹⁴Paulston, C.B. 'Language Planning', Language Planning and Language Education, Kennedy, Chris (ed), London, p 65.

3.2.3 FOREIGN LANGUAGE PREFERENCES (QUESTION 4)

As was pointed out earlier, English has been indicated as the language that would be most in use in the future by the vast majority of informants (79.5%; see Table 23a, p 195) leaving French a long way behind with a small percentage of 14.4% (see Table 23a, p 195). This is a clear indication that more than three quarters of informants no longer hold French to be the language of the future or indeed to have much of a future in Algeria. This evidence lends support to the hypothesis that the importance of French is declining in the opinion of informants. Findings in Question 4 are consistent with the fact that favourable attitudes toward shift (in favour of English) are related to the instrumental value of this language.

3.2.4 FOREIGN LANGUAGE PREFERENCES (QUESTION 5)

Here again, as was mentioned earlier, more than half the total sample population, that is 52.3% (including informants who listed English as a single language and informants who listed English as the first language within other linguistic combinations; see Table 25a, p 201) reported that English is the foreign language they would like to use in their academic and scientific research. We are aware of the nature of this question and that results concerning school children should be treated with caution. For that purpose, pupils were informed that as far as they were concerned this question relates to basic reading material regarding their hobbies or personal interest (and written in foreign languages).

These results are illustrative of the retreat of French before the advance of English. These findings are even more revealing in terms of determining Algerians' positive attitudes and willingness to acquire English. The selection of English as an instrument for reading academic or scientific material by the majority of informants from all segments of the sample confirms the view that informants have positive attitudes towards English and favour its use over French and other languages. Here the incentives and willingness to use English can be interpreted as further evidence that a shift towards English is in progress.

3.3 SIGNS OF SHIFT

To sum up the evidence of the questionnaire results supports the hypothesis that a language shift towards English is in progress. The ways in which this shift show up in our survey data can be summed up in the following findings -

3.3.1 FIRST FINDING

The first sign of this shift is indicated by the results related to Question 1A. Here we have found that there is a larger proportion of older speakers who reported more use of French than younger speakers. Compare the following figures -

Age-Group	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54
Percentage	10.3	40.41	49.1	43.3

(Figures taken from Table 2b, p 142)

Describing the ways in which a shift can show up in survey data, Fasold pointed out:

"The thing to look for is age-distribution numbers. If older speakers report more use of one language and younger speakers report more use of another one, this can be an indication of shift(...). If there is a genuine shift taking place, it would certainly show up in the larger proportions of older speakers using the declining language than younger speakers".¹⁹⁵

Moreover, the percentage of younger speakers who said they use French and English is higher than the percentage of older speakers. Compare the following figures -

Age-Group	8-15	16-19	20-25	26-54
Percentage	65.9	47.1	36.4	36.1

(Figures taken from Table 2, see Appendix p 7-11)

¹⁹⁵Fasold, Ralph, 1984 'The Sociolinguistics of Society' Language in Society, 5, Trudgill Peter (ed), Oxford, p 215.

Thus one can conclude that the progressive use and growing interest in English through the teaching of this language has caused French to retreat further.

Consequently, French as a simple choice language is no longer the language used by the majority of informants, i.e. younger speakers use both French and English as foreign languages.

3.3.2 SECOND FINDING

Central to the issue discussed in relation to Question 1B is the fact that English has been selected as the first international language used by the majority of informants. Hence the findings show that French has only managed to secure second place thanks to the help of English as a second backing and has had to settle for third place when standing on its own as a single choice.

On the basis of this evidence one can conclude that the unanimous choice of English by the overwhelming majority of informants can be interpreted as a sign of a shift towards English and an indication of the weakening and retreat of French.

3.3.3 THIRD FINDING

Throughout the statistical discussion related to Question 1C, it was established that the majority of informants could write French and English. This is another indication that a shift towards English is in progress, in the sense that French is no longer the sole linguistic instrument written and spoken by the majority of informants. This is mainly due to the advances of Arabization which covers more and more ground in the educational system (Primary and Secondary) and the growing use of English as a world language which is encroaching on scientific and technological domains formerly dominated by French.

3.3.4 FOURTH FINDING

It has also been established that when asked to rank the two languages they would most like to master, the overwhelming majority

of informants listed English as their top priority and French and other languages as the second priority. Thus language choice and the preference of English by the vast majority of informants can be interpreted as a sign of a progressive shift towards English, in that the wide gap between the percentage of informants who listed English as their first choice and French as their first choice (82.8% as opposed to 12.3%) shows the imminent decline of French in the opinion of the majority of informants and an increasing surge in the mastery of English.

3.3.5 FIFTH FINDING

English is not only the language most informants would like to perfect: it is also the language that the vast majority of informants would most like to learn if given the opportunity to do so. Here again the wide gap between the percentage of informants who specified English as their choice and those who selected French (73.1% as opposed to 9.5%) is an unmistakable sign that a shift towards English is taking place.

It becomes clear that there is a shift in the opinion of the vast majority of informants from French to English. This is mainly due to the attitude adopted by informants towards French which they no longer consider as the most important language to acquire. At independence, Algerians believed that the only way to recover their cultural identity was to go back to the roots of Arabo-Islamic civilization. As we have seen earlier, Islam and the Arabic language have provided Algerians with a strong cultural platform to resist colonial assimilation. Today, Islam and Classical Arabic continue to challenge the linguistic presence of French, which is still regarded by Arabization supporters as a colonial vestige. This historical conjuncture and eagerness to push ahead with Arabization has created the proper atmosphere for English to step onto the Algerian linguistic scene.

3.3.6 SIXTH FINDING

The ardent desire and eagerness to master and acquire English on the

part of the majority of informants is related to the view that English will be the most used language in the future. This opinion was expressed by more than two thirds of the total sample population (79.5%; see Table 21a, p 192), who do not consider French as the language that will be most employed in the future. These findings are consistent with the view that the majority of informants are well aware of the declining role of French in the international arena and the growing role of English as a world language; they therefore have favourable attitudes to a shift towards English.

3.3.8 SEVENTH FINDING

The regard and fascination for English is further illustrated by the view expressed by the majority of informants (52.3%; see Table 25a, p 201), who said that English is the language they would most like to use in their academic and scientific research. Here again we have another unmistakable sign that a shift towards English is in progress. Inclinations towards a shift, in this case, are related to the instrumental value of English as the most used foreign language and first language of science and technology (see Reasons for the Need to Use English, p 340 for a full discussion) and the decline of French on the International scene (see the Weakening of French as a Language of Science and Technology, p 345).

3.3.8 EIGHTH FINDING

It has been established in our previous discussion that the majority of informants use three languages, Arabic, French and English, and that that majority is concentrated amongst the younger speakers. Pupils attending Primary and Secondary schools study in Arabic and learn two foreign languages, French and English. Thus, the first observation in this context concerns the retreat of French in Primary and Secondary education as the main language of instruction. This explains why a large segment of the school population reported that they use all three languages: Arabic (main language of study), French and English. The second observation one can make here is that the use of French is concentrated amongst students and cadres. We have here a case where older speakers

continue to report more use of the declining language, French, which is, as far as they are concerned, the main language of study or work, and younger speakers report less use of the same language, i.e. as a language of instruction. The possibility of a language shift is indicated by the fact that a proportion of older speakers (37.1% in the 20-25 age group and 29.8% in the 26.54 age group; see Table 29b, p 217) said that French is the only language they can use, whereas we find no illustration of this case in the 8-15 age group. We note that this language is only mentioned alongside Arabic and English in this age group.

We conclude that there is ample justification and evidence for supporting the view that French has lost its linguistic supremacy and has declined in the opinion of the vast majority of informants, who have unanimously shown their preference for English. Moreover, there is also ample evidence to support the hypothesis that a language shift towards English is in progress.

So far we have drawn a certain number of conclusions from opinions of the informants who contributed to this survey and generalized our findings to the entire sample population. In the remainder of this section we shall generalize the findings so far obtained to the whole of the education Algerian population, using confidence intervals to evaluate the reliability of our results.

IV GENERALIZATION OF THE FINDINGS TO THE WHOLE POPULATION

4.1 CONFIDENCE INTERVAL

This method consists of constructing a confidence interval from the sample we have drawn from the population which will contain the population quantity of interest with probability 0.95: this is the confidence interval (cf. Lavoie 1981: 6.41(3)).

Once the confidence interval statement has been formulated and the procedure has been completed, it may be used to test a hypothesis about the unknown proportion P . The test of a hypothesis concerning the unknown proportion P may be performed by constructing a confidence interval.

The formula for a confidence interval in this context is -

$$P \pm 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

where P is the observed proportion.

In this connection, it is important to bear in mind that opinion polls in Britain generally consist of 1200 responses. One expects them to have a margin error of 5%. In comparison with opinion polls, it is believed that a sample of the size of ours, namely 1370, is reasonably representative; for most purpose this is sufficient¹⁹⁶. Hence it is clear in this respect that the more representative of the population the sample is the more closely will the resulting estimate approach its population counterparts¹⁹⁷.

Having said this, we may now proceed to the application of the method discussed above.

4.2 GENERALIZATION OF THE FINDINGS TO THE UNKNOWN PROPORTION¹⁹⁸ (QUESTION 1A)

Question 1A reads:

Which foreign language(s) do you use most frequently in the scientific field?

Here, 47.2 is the percentage p representing informants who said that they could use both French and English in the scientific field.

The information implies that:

¹⁹⁶Interview with Dr. P. Breeze, Lecturer in Statistics, Department of Statistics, University of Glasgow, November 25, 1988.

¹⁹⁷Kane, Edward J., 1969, Economic Statistics and Econometrics: An Introduction to Quantitative Economics, p 178.

¹⁹⁸The statistical results obtained in this section were checked by colleagues from the O.N.S.

$$p = 47.20\% = 0.4720$$

$$n = 1370$$

$$x = 646$$

$$\text{hence } \frac{x}{n} = \frac{646}{1370}$$

Considering that P represents the National Percentage (unknown proportion), the confidence interval may be established when applying the expressions.

$$\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}, \quad \frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

$$\frac{646}{1370} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.4720(1-0.4720)}{1370}}, \quad \frac{646}{1370} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.4720(1-0.4720)}{1370}}$$

Hence the two endpoints of the interval are:

$$(0.4618 ; 0.4821)$$

We are fairly sure that the National Percentage (or proportion) of individuals within the Algerian educated population who use French and English is likely to lie between the two endpoints of the interval which are 46.18% and 48.21%. Hence the inferential statement that the highest number of individuals within the educated population use both French and English in the scientific field, cannot be rejected.

4.3 GENERALIZATION OF THE FINDINGS TO THE UNKNOWN PROPORTION (QUESTION 1B)

Question 1B reads:

Which language(s) do you use most frequently as an international language?

The percentage of participants who indicated that they use English as an international language and who represent the majority is 43.72% (this includes English as a single choice and English as a first choice in various linguistic combinations).

Using the same formula we obtain the following result:

$$p = 43.72 = 0.4372 = \frac{559}{1370} = \frac{x}{n} \quad \text{where } x = 559 \text{ and } n = 1370$$

$$\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}, \quad \frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

$$\frac{559}{1370} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.4372(1-0.4372)}{1370}} = 0.4270$$

$$\frac{559}{1370} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.4372(1-0.4372)}{1370}} = 0.4473$$

Hence the percentage is included within the two endpoints of the interval:

(0.4270 ; 0.4473)

With a 95% probability we are certain that the National Percentage (or unknown proportion) of individuals who use English as an international language is likely to lie between the percentages 42.70% and 44.73% with an interval length of 2.1%. The inferential statement that the majority of educated individuals within the Algerian education population use English as an international language cannot be rejected.

4.4 GENERALIZATION OF THE FINDINGS TO THE UNKNOWN PROPORTION (QUESTION 1C)

Question 1C reads

Which language(s) do you use most frequently as written languages?

The percentages representing the majority of informants who answered that they can write both English and French is 51.90%.

Using the same formula we have the following results:

$$\text{Hence } p = 51.90\% = 0.5190, \quad x = 711, \quad n = 1370 \quad \text{thus} \quad \frac{x}{n} = \frac{711}{1370}$$

The confidence interval is as follows:

$$\frac{x}{n} \pm 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

An interval estimate for P, which represents the National Percentage, may be obtained by determining the two endpoints of the interval:

$$\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}, \quad \frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

This can be re-written as:

$$\frac{711}{1370} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.5190(1-0.5190)}{1370}} = 0.5194,$$

$$\frac{711}{1370} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.5190(1-0.5190)}{1370}} = 0.5270$$

Hence the two endpoints of the intervals are:

(0.5194 ; 0.5270)

We are fairly certain that the National Percentage (or unknown proportion) of element within the Algerian educated population who can write both French and English is between 51.94% and 52.70%. Hence the hypothetical statement that the highest proportion of educated Algerians can write both English and French cannot be rejected.

4.5 GENERALIZATION OF THE FINDINGS TO THE UNKNOWN PROPORTION

(QUESTION 2)

Out of 1370 informants, 1135 (i.e. 82.8%, including participants who indicated English as a first priority and informants who indicated English as a single choice) specified that they would most like to master English.

Hence the percentage of informants who said they preferred to master English is -

Using the same formula we have the following result:

$$p = 82.84\% = 0.8284$$

$$x = 1135$$

$$n = 1370$$

$$\frac{x}{n} = \frac{1135}{1370}$$

The population of individuals willing to master English in the first place at national level may be obtained by determining the two endpoints of the confidence interval. This can be written as:

$$\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}} ; \frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

the upper endpoint of the interval is:

$$\frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}} = \frac{1135}{1370} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.8284(1-0.8284)}{1370}} = 0.8303$$

the lower endpoint of the interval is:

$$\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}} = \frac{1135}{1370} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.8284(1-0.8284)}{1370}} = 0.8264$$

the two endpoints of the interval are:

$$(0.8303 ; 0.8264)$$

There is a 95% probability that the National Percentage of individuals within the Algerian population who would like to master English in the first place is included between 83.03% and 82.64%. Thus the statement that the vast majority of educated Algerians would prefer to master English cannot be rejected.

4.6 GENERALIZATION OF THE FINDINGS TO THE UNKNOWN PROPORTION
(QUESTION 3)

As was seen previously, 1001 informants pointed out that they would like to learn English if given the opportunity. That is 73.1%.

Using the same formula we have the following result:

$$\begin{aligned}x &= 1001 \\n &= 1370 \\p &= 73.10 = 0.7310\end{aligned}$$

The two endpoints of the interval are:

$$\begin{aligned}\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}, & \quad \frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}} \\ \frac{1001}{1370} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.7310(1-0.7310)}{1370}} & = 0.7348, \\ \frac{1001}{1370} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.7310(1-0.7310)}{1370}} & = 0.7271\end{aligned}$$

P is likely to lie between the two endpoints of the interval:

$$(0.7348 ; 0.7271)$$

We can assert with a 95% probability that the National Percentage of individuals within the Algerian population is contained between the two endpoints of the confidence interval, i.e. between 73.48% and 72.77%. This allows us to assert that the inferential statement that the majority of Algerian educated individuals, when given a choice, would like to learn English, cannot be rejected.

4.7 GENERALIZATION OF THE FINDINGS TO THE UNKNOWN PROPORTION
(QUESTION 4)

The percentage of informants who specified that they believed that

English will be the language most used in the future is 79.50%. 1089 participants expressed this opinion.

Using the same formula we have the following result:

$$p = 79.50 = 0.7950$$

$$x = 1089$$

$$x = 1089, n = 1370, \frac{x}{n} = \frac{1089}{1370}$$

The confidence interval can be constructed as follows:

$$\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}, \frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

The two tails of the confidence interval where P is likely to lie may be constructed as follows:

Upper Tail:

$$\frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}} = \frac{1089}{1370} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.7950(1-0.7950)}{1370}} = 0.7984$$

Lower Tail:

$$\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}} = \frac{1089}{1370} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.7950(1-0.7950)}{1370}} = 0.7915$$

Thus we have constructed a 95% confidence interval which enables us to assert that the National Percentage (unknown proportion) of educated Algerian individuals who believe that English will be the language most used in the future is likely to lie between the two tails of the confidence interval 79.84% and 79.15% with an interval length of 0.69%. Given the reduction in the interval endpoints, we can assert that the hypothesis that the majority of Algerians think that English is the language of the future cannot be rejected.

4.8 GENERALIZATION OF THE FINDINGS TO THE UNKNOWN PROPORTION

(QUESTION 5)

Altogether 718 informants (=52.3%) pointed out that they prefer

to read, in English, scientific and academic material written in foreign languages.

Using the same formula we have the following result:

$$n = 1370, \quad x = 718 \quad \frac{x}{n} = \frac{718}{1370}$$

$$p = 52.30 = 0.5230$$

$$\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}, \quad \frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

Hence the confidence interval may be constructed as follows:

$$\frac{718}{1370} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.5230 (1-0.5230)}{1370}} = 0.5310,$$

$$\frac{718}{1370} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.5230 (1-0.5230)}{1370}} = 0.5149$$

P is then likely to lie between the two tails of the confidence interval:

(0.5310 ; 0.5149) with an interval width of 0.0161.

Having constructed a 95% confidence interval, we can assert that the National Percentage P of individuals who wish to read scientific and academic material in English is likely to lie between the percentages 53.10% and 51.59%. This confirms the inferential statement that the majority of educated Algerians would like to read in English.

4.9 GENERALIZATION OF THE FINDINGS TO THE UNKNOWN PROPORTION

(QUESTION 6)

48.2% of the sample reported in their answer to this question that they used three languages: Arabic, French and English.

Using the same formula we have the following result:

$$p = 48.2\% = 0.4820$$

$$x = 600, n = 1370$$

In order to infer information provided by p to the unknown population P we construct a confidence interval with two endpoints such that:

$$\frac{x}{n} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}, \quad \frac{x}{n} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

Substituting $\frac{x}{n}$ and p in this expression by actual figures we obtain the following confidence interval.

$$\frac{660}{1370} + 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.4820 (1-0.4820)}{1370}} = 0.4929,$$

$$\frac{660}{1370} - 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.4820 (1-0.4820)}{1370}} = 0.4718$$

Hence the two endpoints of the interval are:

$$(0.4929 ; 0.4718)$$

Note that, with a 95% confidence interval, we can generalize the statement that the majority of individuals within the educated Algerian population use Arabic, French and English, and the percentage of educated Algerians who use Arabic, French and English is likely to lie between 49.29 and 47.10, which are the two endpoints of the confidence interval we have constructed above. This supports the view that the majority of educated Algerians use three languages, Arabic, French and English.

CONCLUSION

The evidence discussed so far corroborates the hypothesis that, in actual use, French is not the only foreign language used in Algeria. For instance, in the scientific field, findings were consistent with

the view that the largest proportion of informants used both French and English (or other foreign languages such as Spanish, Russian and German). Similarly it was established that the number of informants who reported that they used English as the first international language was higher than the number of informants who reported French and other languages. In the same manner, the amount of informants who indicated that they could write both French and English was greater than the amount of informants who reported that they could only write French.

The present findings also support the hypothesis that the majority of educated Algerians prefer English to French and other languages. One of the arguments in favour of this statement was that more than three quarters of the informants who took part in the survey indicated their clear preference for English when asked which foreign language they would most like to master and learn in the first place (Questions 2 and 3). Another argument in support of this hypothesis was revealed in connection with informants' opinions about the foreign language they thought would be most used in the future. Here again, the overwhelming majority of informants favoured English to French and other languages (Question 4). Further evidence in favour of this hypothesis was also found in the findings presented in Question 5, inasmuch as the majority of informants favoured English when asked to indicate which foreign language they would like to use when reading academic or scientific material.

We have also found a number of indications that are consistent with the hypothesis that a progressive shift towards English is taking place. The signs that point to this shift can be summed up as follows:

- a) The first sign of this shift showed up in the data related to Question 1A. We have seen that the dominant pattern in the youngest age groups is the use of two foreign languages in the scientific field, namely French and English, while the dominant pattern in the oldest age group is the use of one foreign language, French.

The first linguistic pattern illustrates the impetus to shift towards English. The second linguistic pattern is representative of the tendency to retain French by the oldest age groups who, as we have already indicated, learned French as a medium of instruction and continue to use it as a language of work. Thus, as we can see, the maintenance of French and the impetus to shift towards English are associated with factors of age and socio-professional categories, in the sense that the inclination towards shift predominates within the youngest age groups who were still at school at the time this survey was conducted; while the tendency that illustrates the retention of French prevails among the oldest age group who (apart from students who were still under training at the time this survey was conducted) were in those employment sectors still operating in French, e.g. the oil industry and heavy industry.

- b) The second sign of a shift was revealed in findings obtained in Question 1B which showed a contrasting difference in the number of informants who reported use of English as the first international language and the number of informants who reported use of French for the same purpose (compare: 40.4% for English and only 12.6% for French). The same patterns described above emerged again here. The highest figures pointing to the use of English were found among the youngest age-groups and the lowest figures amongst the oldest groups. However, where French was concerned, the pattern was reversed. The lowest figures were disclosed in the youngest age groups and the highest figures were representative of the oldest young groups. Once again the tendency to shift is common to the youngest age groups who are still at school, whereas the tendency to maintain French is found in the oldest age groups who (with the exception of students) already exercise a profession or occupy a position.

This confirms once more that the tendency to a shift or a maintenance in this case are related to factors of age and socio-professional categories.

- c) Foreign language preferences are another indication that signals a shift towards English. The selection of English by the overwhelming majority of informants, as the language they would most prefer to master or learn, or use in their academic reading, shows that a change in attitudes is taking place among educated Algerians, because even within the age groups that indicated in previous questions their inclinations towards the maintenance of French in actual use, there was a large proportion of informants who reported their willingness to learn or master English in the first place. It is interesting to note in this context that we also find a large proportion of informants belonging to the oldest age group who said that English would be the foreign language most used in the future.

Two facts stand out from the present findings: one, informants who represent the continued maintenance of French belong to the oldest age-groups, but do not show resistance to shift as a great number clearly revealed their preference for English as the first foreign language they would like to learn or master; two, informants who in the first place manifested their inclination towards shift pertain to the youngest age groups. One concludes that maintenance and shift are related to sentimental and instrumental orientations. Thus for those advocates of the maintenance of French, beside Algerian Spoken Arabic, which is as we have already pointed out the native tongue of the majority of Algerians, French is the first foreign language or medium of instruction and thus considered as a second native language.¹⁹⁹ This explains why loyalty to French and the tendency to maintain its use is related to sentimentalism. However the shift in foreign language preferences and inclination towards English is tied to instrumentalism. Those informants from all age groups and socio-professional categories who favoured English to French and other languages viewed English in terms of its instrumental usefulness as a tool.

¹⁹⁹Daniel, Jean, 1990, Alger : 'le ciel et la rue', Le Nouvel Observateur, no. 1319, du 15 au 21 février 1990, p 38.

Further evidence that Algerians are changing their attitudes towards French surfaced in the recent polemics over the foreign language issue in the curriculum of 'l'école fondamentale'. The final report related to the reform of education which was presented at the National Conference which took place in June 1989 included a motion concerning the removal of French as the first foreign language and its systematic replacement by English as the first foreign language in the curriculum of 'l'école fondamentale'²⁰⁰. This opinion expressed by a group of Algerian teachers²⁰¹ shows that this impetus to shift towards English is not just a passing fad but the beginning of a change in attitudes. Thus, at the start of the academic year 1989-90, French has been maintained as the first foreign language taught in 'l'école fondamentale', but the recent controversy over the withdrawal of French shows that Algerians have favourable attitudes towards English and suggests that French has a much reduced role to play in Algeria. Its retreat from 'l'école fondamentale' is only a question of time.

We can predict, on the basis of this evidence and present findings, that French will retreat as a first foreign language in 'l'école fondamentale' within the next few years. In Higher education, French has already lost some grounds as a language of instruction at the beginning of this term (89-90) as it has been replaced by Classical Arabic in all first year undergraduate studies²⁰². This, as was already noted, results from the completion of Arabization in Secondary education.

Having examined foreign language use, preferences and the possibility of a shift towards English on the basis of opinions expressed by 1370 informants, our next move is to investigate the actual use of English in various domains related to education, science and technology by collecting informants' perception about what foreign language is most useful in their profession or field of study.

²⁰⁰El Moudjahid, mardi 26 septembre, 1989, p 4.

²⁰¹Algérie-Actualités No. 1237 du 29 juin au 5 juillet 1989, p 32.

²⁰²Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

THE USE

OF

FRENCH AND ENGLISH

IN

DIFFERENT DOMAINS

INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter we have asked informants questions about foreign language preferences in general. We have seen that the tendency to retain French prevails among the oldest age groups, but as soon as they are asked to select a foreign language they would most like to acquire or use, the majority of informants including the generation of older speakers have shown their clear preference for English. It also emerged from the previous discussion that the two most used foreign languages in Algeria were French and English. In what follows, we propose to continue our study of foreign languages in Algeria by specifically focusing on these two languages French and English.

Our purpose, in this section, is to take a close look at what goes on behind the Algerian linguistic scene and the superficial domination of French by asking informants to answer direct interview questions about the specific foreign language (French or English) that is more useful to them in their profession or research and about the particular foreign language they think would be most useful to them in the future.

These interviews will enable us to closely examine to what extent English is spilling over into linguistic domains previously dominated by French, and also to analyse Algerians's attitudes and perceptions of the use and future of French and English in their own academic or professional field, hence giving us deeper insights into the practical use of both French and English in various academic, scientific and technological domains.

This Chapter is divided into three sections:

- Section 1 Objectives and Methodology
- Section 2 Analysis of the Interviews
- Section 3 General Discussion and Conclusion

1 OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

Our interest here is to reveal how Algerians feel about having to use more and more English in certain domains where they thought French would be useful to them. We will be interested in finding out how Algerians who are travelling for the first time to countries where French is not the native language feel about discovering that English is the lingua franca of travel and business. Do Algerians really still believe that French must be retained? Or are they changing their attitudes towards this language and shifting their attention to another language, English? To find answers to these questions, interviews from 81 informants were collected.

1.1 INTERVIEWS

Interviewing as a method of inquiry is universal in the social sciences. The literature of sociology and anthropology is a product of the interviewing of informants. Public opinion research, as a common resource of the political scientist, public administrator, social psychologist and historian, is built upon the foundations of interviewing²⁰³. The role of the social scientist as an adjunct to policy making requires continual fact finding or research as events occur or are anticipated and the interview method in conjunction with sampling is adapted to such time pressures. Thus in this study we will make use of interview data in order to examine attitudes and the status of two foreign languages in Algeria (French and English) from the point of view of educated Algerians. For example supporters of Arabization may show negative attitudes towards the presence of French and positive attitudes towards the further spread of English. Interviews were not tape-recorded but detailed notes were made during the course of the conversation. This takes us to the selection of interviewees²⁰⁴.

²⁰³Hyman, Herbert H., et al., 1976, 'The Technique of Interviewing', Modern Sociology, p 92.

²⁰⁴This is the first published transcript of views about English and French in Algeria. The transcripts are approximate to a verbatim report of what was said and consequently reflect the syntax and lexis of the speakers. No attempt has been made to remove inconsistencies of expression.

1.2 SELECTION OF INTERVIEWEES

In general, the majority of informants were chosen at random. Ideally we should have randomly sampled all interviewees, but in the circumstances it was not possible to observe a random procedure in every case. For instance, officials happened to be available at that time and inevitably we had to interview the only official who was in charge of the service or domain relevant to our inquiry. Other interviewees were made available to us by senior staff in the institution concerned, when those who were randomly selected refused to take part in the interview or were not available at that time.

The sample of informants selected here is representative of various age groups and socio-economic sectors, e.g. school, university, health service, transport, tourism, industry and technology. This selection will enable us to inquire about the use of English and French in various domains, and examine the way informants from different socio-economic categories feel about the future of two foreign languages, French and English.

1.3 OBJECTIVE

Our objective here is to test the following hypothesis:

"English, as a foreign language, is infiltrating the Algerian linguistic scene and spilling over into many scientific and technological sectors where French used to be the dominant language and hence causing French to further retreat."

The purpose of these interviews is to corroborate this hypothesis by looking at different domains which require the use of foreign languages especially in science and technology, analyse the progressive spread of English, and at the same time, reveal how educated Algerians feel about having to use a language (French) which is loosing ground on the international scene as a language of science and technology. The interviews centered on the feeling that 81 informants, from different socio-professional and geographical backgrounds, had about the use and future of French and English in Algeria.

1.4 CLASSIFICATION OF INTERVIEWS

To simplify the presentation of this work, interviewees have been classified according to the socio-economic sector to which they belong:

Educational Sector: pupils, students, teachers, university lecturers and educational authorities.

Health Sector: doctors and health administrators.

Tourism: travel agents from Air Algérie, travel agents from O.N.A.T. (National Office for Algerian Tourism) and T.C.A. (Touring Club)

Industrial and Technological Sector: Oil and Gas Industry, 'Hydrocarbures', Electronics, 'Sidérurgie', Computing and Telecommunications.

Certain interviews related to the same sector and which are similar in content (e.g. informants working in the same service under the same management and located in the same region) have been grouped together in one interview summarizing views expressed by the specific group of interviewees. In this particular case, repetition of the same argument within the same field can be avoided.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

2.1 EDUCATIONAL SECTOR

In what follows we will investigate the use of French and English in the educational sector by examining and discussing data collected from various pupils, students, teachers and educational officials. We have already seen in previous sections how precarious is the actual status of French as a first foreign language. In the coming paragraphs we will test the hypothesis that, at University level, English has established its linguistic domination in scientific and technological subjects, while at the level of 'fondamentale' education, the position of French as a first foreign language is very unstable.

Interviewees have been divided into four major groups: Group A - pupils, Group B - students, Group C - teachers, Group D - officials.

2.1.1 GROUP A (PUPILS)

P1

P1 is a final year pupil studying in a 'lycée' in Algiers, aged 19. Being in a scientific section (natural sciences), this interviewee is exposed to two main languages of studies: Arabic (CA), the main language of study of literary subjects (philosophy, literature), and French, the main language of study of scientific subjects (mathematics, physics, natural sciences and chemistry). In addition to this, he learns and studies English as a foreign language. He has travelled abroad on three occasions, visiting respectively Paris, Rome and London. This case was of particular interest to our study in the sense that his travelling experience, school experience and knowledge of three languages illustrates the opinion of a new breed entirely unaffected and unfamiliar with French colonial rule i.e., one of a generation born in independent Algeria.

In order to elicit information concerning the actual status of French

and English we asked the following question:²⁰⁵

Q Selon votre propre expérience en tant qu'élève et ayant voyagé plusieurs fois à l'étranger, quelle langue étrangère (français et anglais) vous est la plus utile?

P1 Lors de mon premier voyage à Paris, j'ai constaté que même dans une ville française qui n'est autre que la capitale de France, seul les Français et quelques touristes qui ont appris à parler le français font appel à cette langue. Le reste utilise
5 la langue anglaise. Par exemple à la Tour Eiffel j'ai rencontré beaucoup de jeunes touristes garçons et filles de toutes nationalités. La première constatation que j'ai faite a été que la langue française ne m'a pas été d'une très grande utilité. Tous les touristes avec qui j'ai fait connaissance parlent
10 anglais. J'étais très content et je m'estimais très heureux de pouvoir m'exprimer en anglais. Pour moi c'était quelque chose d'extraordinaire. Me voila à Paris capitale de la France je parlais bien français, bien mieux que l'anglais, mais je ne pouvais pas l'utiliser avec les non-Français qui étaient là:
15 il me fallait utiliser une autre langue étrangère, l'anglais.

A Rome, c'était la même chose, mon français ne me servait à rien du tout, presque tout les copains et connaissances que j'avais faite là bas parlaient anglais et ils n'étaient pas Algériens. A Londres aussi, je m'étais rendu compte que tous les étrangers
20 que j'avais passé sur mon chemin communiquaient en anglais. Par exemple, dans un restaurant ou j'avais mangé à Covent Garden, j'étais attablé avec trois autres étrangers. Je ne savais pas d'où ils venaient mais une chose était certaine: ils parlaient anglais avec un accent étranger. A l'hôtel où je
25 passais mon séjour le mot de passe pour faire connaissance dans le 'living room' était "do you speak English"?

En revenant en Algérie je m'étais rendu compte que je connaissais une langue, le français, qui ne servait qu'à parler avec des

²⁰⁵ Interview held in Algiers, January, 5, 1988.

francophones, français, belges, suisses; le reste du temps seul
 30 l'anglais me servait. Ma plus grande surprise était qu'à Paris là
 où je m'attendais à pratiquer le français que je connaissait bien,
 il fallait s'adresser en anglais à toute personne que n'était pas
 française. Finalement pour répondre à votre question le français
 ne me sert pas à grand chose, c'est surtout l'anglais que je
 35 voudrais connaître mieux.

Here we are dealing with a case which clearly illustrates the linguistic dilemma of an Algerian pupil who found himself in a situation whereby he had a better knowledge of French, because he studies scientific subjects in French, but who had to resort to English, a language he speaks less fluently than French. For him, English was only a foreign language he studied at high school while French was a main language of study for him. In Paris, where he expected to practise his knowledge of French, he ended up speaking English to communicate with non-French speakers who were visiting the same place. Elsewhere this interviewee discovered that English was the main linguistic passport to communicate with other foreigners like him.

P2

P2 is an 18 year old second year lycée pupil enrolled in a literary section where CA is the main language of study and French and English are taught as foreign languages. He has visited Barcelona twice and Lyon. His main hobby is pen-friendship. He informed us that he has eleven pen-friends respectively from West Germany, Holland, Canada, La Réunion, Sweden, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines. According to him, he writes to his pen-friends from La Réunion and Canada in French, and in English to the rest of his pen-friends. Being in touch with several pen-friends scattered all over the world and having travelled abroad, this particular interviewee is in a good position to comment on the use of foreign languages.

We asked this pupil the following questions:²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶Interview held in Oran, January 3, 1988.

Q Vous avez voyagé à l'étranger, vous échangez des lettres de correspondance avec beaucoup de correspondants de diverses nationalités pouvez - vous nous dire selon votre propre expérience quelle langue étrangère (français ou anglais) vous est la plus utile?

P2 Pour moi la langue la plus utile et je dirai même nécessaire reste l'anglais. Côté voyage, je parle anglais, français et espagnol. A Barcelone, je parlais espagnol avec les Espagnols, mais avec tous les touristes que je rencontrais ou avec qui j'avais fait
 5 connaissance je m'exprimais en anglais. A Barcelone, presque toutes les personnes que j'avais rencontré parlent anglais. Même les Espagnols de Barcelone veulent parler anglais pour pratiquer la langue. C'est vraiment étonnant d'être à Barcelone, de penser que celui qui ne comprend pas ou ne parle pas espagnol soit perdu,
 10 mais à première vue avec un peu d'anglais on s'en tire facilement. Il m'est vraiment difficile d'envisager que la langue française puisse servir à grand chose à Barcelone à moins de tomber sur un étudiant en français ou quelqu'un qui a étudié le français au lycée ou à l'université. En fait j'ai passé 20 jours à Barcelone
 15 je n'ai pas entendu un seul touriste s'exprimer en français. Dans les hôtels ou restaurants la réception propose toujours la formule: 'English spoken' mais jamais 'français parlé'. Disons d'une manière générale que j'ou trouve l'anglais beaucoup plus utile que le français. A Lyon on parlait français mais c'était
 20 les Français ou les ex-colonisés par la France qui s'exprimaient en français; les touristes étrangers pour la plupart, plus ou moins ceux que j'ai rencontré à la gare, dans les monuments parlaient anglais.

Côté correspondance, en dehors de quelque pays francophones où le
 25 français est enseigné comme L1 ou L2, la majorité des correspondants souhaitent écrire en anglais dans l'espoir de tomber sur quelqu'un qui possède une meilleure maîtrise de l'anglais et qui puisse corriger leur fautes grammaticales de temps en temps. J'ai obtenu les adresses de mes
 30 correspondants(es) par l'intermédiaire d'une organisation très populaire à Oran.

Sur les 20 correspondants qui figuraient sur ma liste seul 2 parmi eux désiraient correspondre en français (je vais même vous étonner en vous disant qu'une correspondante de nationalité française
 35 voulait écrire en anglais pour améliorer son vocabulaire) les autres avaient formulé le voeu d'écrire en anglais. Alors je suis arrivé, pour revenir à votre question, à une conclusion que quelque soit le nombre d'années que vous passez à apprendre le français et plus vous apprenez et vous maîtrisez le français plus
 40 vous vous rendez compte que c'est l'anglais qui vous sert le plus, tout au moins en ce qui concerne mon expérience.

Q Est ce que vos camarades, copains, amis de classe pensent la même chose?

P2 Tous mes copains et amis pensent comme moi, ils pensent tout que le français ne leur sert qu'au lycée ou en France ailleurs dans le monde entier (exception faite des pays à caractère francophones) c'est l'anglais qui est la passe-partout et ça vous pouvez le
 5 demander à tout le monde ici.

At our request, a group of his classmates joined in the discussion.

Pupil 3 suggested:207

"Moi je pense que l'anglais est beaucoup plus utile et intéressant que le français. Je suis entièrement d'accord avec l'arabisation mais je ne vois vraiment pas l'utilité de la langue française à part qu'elle nous rappelle qu'on a été colonisé par la France et que maintenant ce n'est pas les citoyens français qui nous colonisent mais leur langue".

Pupil 4 suggested:208

"Moi je suis allé en Yougoslavie, j'ai appris à mes propres dépens que j'aurai mieux fait de travailler avec plus d'assiduité mon anglais au lieu de compter sur le français".

207, Interviews held in Oran, January 3, 1988.

Pupil 5 suggested:²⁰⁹

"L'été passé, je suis allé en Grèce avec des copains, à notre grand étonnement, nous avons remarqué que seul l'anglais pouvait nous servir pour communiquer avec les habitants du pays et les étrangers qui visitaient le pays. Avant de partir je croyais, en toute naïveté que ma connaissance du français allait me servir, mais c'était l'anglais qui s'était avéré plus utile".

Pupil 6 suggested:²¹⁰

"Je me rate jamais les variétés internationales et les vidéos clips du jeudi et je n'ai qu'un seul souhait et un seul regret, ne pas connaître l'anglais assez bien pour comprendre les paroles".

It emerges from the interviews conducted with P2, P3, P4, P5 and P6 that although they have a better knowledge of French, i.e., they have studied French for a longer period than English, they have come to realise that English is the language they used more frequently abroad with non-French speakers. For instance, P2 suggested that his knowledge of French was not of great use to him while he was in Barcelona. On the contrary, he discovered that English was the language he most needed to communicate with non-Spanish speakers. He made the same observation concerning Lyon where he realised that foreigners he had met there conversed in English. As regards his pen-friends, this interviewee noted that most pen-friends he applied for wanted to correspond with him in English. Similarly P4 pointed out that he did not once use French while he was in Yugoslavia. Instead he had to refer to his knowledge of English. In the same way, P5 sincerely believed before he left for Greece that his knowledge of French would be of great communicative help to him but he soon found out that English was the language he needed to express himself with either Greek speakers or tourists. P3 went even further and suggested that she could not see the use of French at all and that its

²⁰⁹Interviews held in Oran, January 3, 1988.

²¹⁰

linguistic presence brings back colonial memories. According to her, the linguistic presence of French implies that the French are still, linguistically speaking, colonising Algeria. P6 wished he knew English better so that he could understand the lyrics of the songs broadcast on the international variety show every Thursday on Algerian Television. We note in passing that the status of French as a language of instruction (as was the case for P1) or as the first foreign language acquired (as was the case for P2 and his classmates) does not affect pupils' attitude and admiration for English.

It is instructive in terms of attitudes to note that Algerians who are travelling outside the country for the first time expect French to be useful to their worldwide communication but discover to their own amazement that the lingua franca of travels and tourism is English. It is also interesting to note in this respect that one interviewee viewed French in terms of its historical perspective in relation to colonialism. Consequently he adopted a negative attitude towards French by rejecting its use. The views expressed so far show the instrumental nature of the motivation for learning English which is stimulated by its utility.

2.1.2 CATEGORY B (STUDENTS)

S1

S1 is a 23 year old third year technology student at the University of Annaba. He has, on several occasions, travelled to France, Holland, West Germany and Denmark and worked as a part-time organizer in 'Journées du Cinéma Méditerranéen', 'Festival de la Jeunesse Méditerranéenne' and 'Les Jeux Olympiques Africains' (held in Algiers). With this background, this interviewee is quite familiar with situations where foreign languages are used. We asked this interviewee to tell us about his experience in foreign languages.²¹¹

Q Dites-nous, en votre qualité d'étudiant et ayant participé à différentes manifestations internationales, quelle langue étrangère vous a été la plus pratique et la plus utile entre le français et l'anglais?

²¹¹Interview held in Annaba, September 28, 1988.

S1 Personnellement je dirai que c'est l'anglais. A l'université les modules de technologie sont enseignés en français, mais cela ne veut rien dire, nous savons tous que c'est l'anglais qui domine dans le monde entier. Nous avons aussi un module d'anglais technique et scientifique et ça nous sert beaucoup. J'ai l'impression qu'un jour on sera tous amené à travailler en anglais. Notre professeur de physique aérodynamique nous a dit l'autre jour qu'il suivait des cours d'anglais au centre d'enseignement intensif des langues pour améliorer sa connaissance de l'anglais, car il pense que toutes les brochures ou publications qui paraissent dans son sujet sont publiées en anglais.

Comme je vous l'ai dit tout à l'heure, j'ai participé à divers manifestations culturelles à Annaba. En tant qu'agent d'accueil, j'ai remarqué que la majorité des participants s'exprimaient en anglais. Prenons par exemple, le festival du cinéma méditerranéen mis à part les pays Nord Africains et la France qui utilisaient couramment le français comme langue de communication, tous les autres pays participants s'exprimaient en anglais, même les Egyptiens dont la langue maternelle est l'arabe parlaient couramment anglais. Avec les Italiens, les Yougoslaves, les Espagnols, les Grèques, les Albaniens, les Turcs, on communiquait en anglais. Il en était de même pendant le festival de la jeunesse méditerranéenne quant aux 5^{ème} jeux d'Athlétisme Africains, on parlait français avec les pays africains francophones (qui ont été colonisé par la France), arabe avec les pays arabophones (où l'arabe est la langue officielle (par exemple la Maurétanie, Lybie, Soudan, Egypte, etc) et anglais avec les pays Anglophones (pays Africains Colonisés par la Grande Bretagne : Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Ruwenda, Botswana, Ghana, Kenya etc). D'une manière générale, pendant les trois événements internationaux j'ai beaucoup plus utilisé l'anglais que le français.

Q Quelle leçon avez retenu de cette expérience?

S1 Qu'avec l'anglais on peut communiquer avec un continent en entier (l'Afrique) ou une communauté entière (pays méditerranéens).

Par contre, avec le français on ne peut communiquer qu'avec les français ou les pays qui ont eu un rapport colonial avec la France.

Même avec les pays francophones, on peut communiquer en anglais, tout le monde connaît l'anglais, ou a appris, à un certain moment donné, l'anglais. En un mot, avec un peu d'anglais on peut se tirer d'affaire avec tous les pays du monde entier - avec un peu de français on peut se tirer d'affaire avec seulement quelques pays d'expression francophone.

In his status as a student and in his experience as a part-time organizer in three international events, this interviewee reckons that, in the long run, English offers more possibilities to communicate with a greater number of nations than French, which can only be used when dealing with francophone nations including France. At University level this interviewee is aware of the fact that some day in the future English will be the dominant language. He supports his argument by citing the example of his teacher who was forced to improve his knowledge of English by attending a course in English at the centre for the intensive teaching of languages in order to use journals and periodicals published in English. What this interview proves is that Algerian students are more and more aware of the linguistic importance and role of English on the international scene. The evidence discussed so far shows that interviewees who have travelled abroad, or are writing to pen-friends or have participated in international events have come to compare and test their knowledge of French with that of English at international level and have come to realise that English is a necessary tool and instrument of communication they can use all over the world, while the use of French is strictly restricted to Francophone nations. On the face of this evidence we can say that Algerian pupils and students feel that the use of French restricts their worldwide communication.

S2

S2 is a 22 year old second year medical student at the University of Setif. He has been to Holland, France and Italy and is planning a visit to the United States. His main hobbies are

listening to Anglo-American songs and travelling.

We asked him the following question:²¹²

Q Vous suivez actuellement des cours de médecine dispensés en langue française et vous étudiez en même temps l'anglais comme langue vivante étrangère. Pouvez - vous nous dire, en toute franchise, quelle est votre attitude linguistique vis à vis des deux langues?

S2 En toute franchise, je ne considère pas le français comme ma langue maternelle, c'est une langue que j'aime bien car je la maîtrise bien mais ma première priorité c'est l'anglais car c'est une langue qui prend de plus en plus en d'ampleur. L'année
5 passée, à Strasbourg, j'ai assisté à un séminaire sur la résistance bactériologique des streptocques et des staphylocoques à l'usage de la spiramicyne. Toutes les conférences (à part une, donnée par un professeur français) étaient en langue anglaise. Il y avait même des conférenciers
10 français qui avaient lu leur exposé en anglais. Pour moi c'était vraiment quelque chose qui me dépassait. Me voilà au beau milieu de la France, en plein séminaire en France, mais ce n'est pas le français qui domine, c'est l'anglais qui l'emporte. Je m'étais déjà rendu compte qu'au niveau de la
15 bibliothèque de l'institut le nombre d'ouvrages en anglais dépassait de très loin le nombre d'ouvrages en français, mais jamais je n'aurai pensé qu'en France même l'anglais aurait supplanté le français dans son propre contexte linguistique.

20 Ceci dit, personnellement j'aime beaucoup la musique pop surtout les variétés américaines et anglaises.

Q Comment faites vous pour comprendre les paroles?

²¹²Interview held in Sétif, October 20, 1988.

S2 On trouve généralement les paroles au verso des disques ou dans une pochette contenu dans le disque. Je fais un petite recherche dans mon dictionnaire pour trouver les mots que je ne connais pas, le reste est facile.

Q Est ce que la musique et les chansons anglo-américains jouent un rôle quelconque dans votre apprentissage de la langue anglaise?

S2 Ah oui beaucoup! Naturellement on parle pas d'hématologie ou de physiologie biologique dans les chansons mais, ça aide beaucoup à comprendre les fonctions grammaticales de la langue surtout des chansons à textes comme celle de Bob Dylan ou de Leonard Cohen ou
5 il y a une certaine recherche au niveau de la poétique de texte. Chez les chanteurs poètes j'apprends le langage de la poésie lyrique, chez les chanteurs qui se spécialisent dans le hip-hop ou rap j'apprend les expressions populaires de l'argot américain. De plus j'apprends comment on prononce certains mots, certaines
10 expressions. J'apprends aussi à différencier entre la prononciation américaine et britannique.

Q Vous avez été en Hollande et en Italie? Quelle langue vous a été la plus utile lors de vos déplacements?

S2 L'anglais sans aucun doute. Je ne parle pas Italien et je ne pipe pas mot du jactage hollandais. Alors vous pensez bien que c'est l'anglais ou plus ou moins ce que je connais de cette langue que
m'ont permis moi et mes copains de nous en tirer en Italie
5 c'était sympa les nanas aiment bien les mecs qui parlent anglais car ça leur permet de pratiquer leur anglais. En Hollande c'était le même chose, je parlais tout le temps anglais. A l'auberge de la jeunesse ou j'ai passé mon séjour tous les touristes et visiteurs que j'avais rencontré à Amsterdam parlaient
10 anglais. Il suffit de brancher la conversation sur 'where do you come from?' et c'est parti pour un blabla dans la langue de 'Shakespeare'.

In the course of this interview S2 revealed that his major priority is to perfect and better his knowledge of English.

He was rather surprised to discover the number of English-speaking participants who attended a medical seminar held in Strasbourg. Furthermore this interviewee takes a special interest in Anglo-American songs, which according to him, helps him improve his knowledge of English. As previous interviewees stated, S2 used English while he was abroad.

What we must bear in mind here is that once again we are dealing with an Algerian student who found himself in situations where he had to resort to his knowledge of English in spite of his command of the French language, but a language that could not serve his communication purposes, e.g., seminar held in Strasbourg, and trip to Holland. Here again the view that Algerians are changing their attitudes towards French has been confirmed once more by this interviewee, who also emphasized the limitations involved with the use of French on the international scene.

2.1.3 GROUP C (TEACHERS)

T1

T1 is a University Lecturer at the University of Algiers where he teaches Biology. He graduated from the University of Grenoble. His main language of study and work is French but he can speak and read English. As part time "Doctorat d'état" student at the University of Grenoble this research student and University Lecturer is quite familiar with the role of English in this field of study. In the following interview he answered our questions:²¹³

Q1 En votre qualité en tant que maître assistant et étudiant chercheur pouvez-vous nous donner votre impression sur l'usage de l'anglais et du français au niveau de votre travail et recherche?

T1 Il est difficile de dissocier les deux problèmes. Dans mon travail et dans ma recherche je me heurte constamment au même problème linguistique: l'anglais scientifique et technique. Pour avancer dans mon travail et enseigner la biochimie ou biologie il

²¹³Interview conducted at the University of Algiers, January 5, 1988.

5 me faut consulter les derniers ouvrages publiés à ce sujet et je ne vous surprendrai pas en vous affirmant que la plus grande partie des publications portant sur ce sujet sont en anglais. Ceci d'une part, d'autre part une grande partie de la bibliographie et documentation que je dois consulter pour avancer
10 dans ma recherche personnelle est aussi en anglais.

Q2 Tout cela veut dire quoi au juste?

T1 Tout cela veut dire tout simplement qu'on ne peut pas prétendre être un maître assistant et chercheur sans avoir une certaine connaissance de l'anglais.

Q3 Vous voulez dire que le monolinguisme ne suffit plus!

T1 Exactement, être monolingue c'est à dire maîtriser uniquement le français ne suffit plus même pour enseigner à l'université à moins de se transformer en professeur d'histoire de la biologie, et même étant professeur d'histoire de la biologie vous n'échappez pas à
5 l'usage de l'anglais car l'histoire progresse aussi et pour lire les derniers développements sur ce sujet il vous faut faire appel à l'anglais pour être au courant de tout ce se passe au niveau de cette discipline.

Q4 Quelle est la solution alors?

T1 L'unique solution pour sortir de ce cercle vicieux est de passer du monolinguisme (maîtrise d'une seule langue par exemple le français) au bilinguisme (maîtrise de l'anglais et du français). Le français, dans ce cas, vous permet de vous exprimer au niveau
5 de vos cours et l'anglais vous permet d'avancer dans votre sujet ou recherche. Sans l'anglais, vous ne pouvez pas prétendre avancer, ni au niveau de votre profession, ni au niveau de votre recherche personnellement. En un mot être monolingue et ne maîtriser que le français veut dire tout simplement avancer très
10 partiellement et ne progresser que par les publications en français, or les publications en français se font de plus en rare. Même les Français se sont mis à publier en anglais pour faire connaître leur travail à un niveau international. La

connaissance de l'anglais n'est pas souhaitable seulement, elle
 15 est nécessaire car le français seul ne suffit plus même pour
 enseigner dans un pays sous-développé. Pour rester avec son
 temps il faut prendre le train de l'anglais, prenez par
 exemple l'informatique. En France 50% du vocabulaire
 informatique est en anglais pour ne vous donner que quelques
 20 exemples: Log in, log out, hardware, software, basic etc.,
 etc., Vous quittez le territoire français et partout
 ou vous allez c'est l'anglais qu'il vous faut utiliser pour
 communiquer.

This interview illustrates the example of a University Lecturer who
 is convinced that the use of English is indispensable at professional
 level, in order to keep up with recent developments in the specific
 topic of teaching, and at research level whereby most publications
 relating to research are written in English.

This interviewee noted, in this respect, that even French scholars
 are currently publishing their articles in English. He added that
 French is no longer sufficient to help a University Lecturer or a
 researcher progress in his field. He believed that
 monolingualism leads to academic stagnation, even in an under-
 developed country. He backed up his statement by evoking the case
 of computing whereby 50% of the vocabulary used in this field is
 derived from English terminology.

Here again the main theme that emerges from this interview is the
 urge and increasing awareness among educated Algerians of the
 necessity to master the English language. Similarly, as the evidence
 above suggests, more and more educated Algerians are discovering
 through personal experiences, e.g., travelling abroad, attending
 international seminars, carrying out doctoral research or
 bibliographical research, that French plays a secondary role (in
 comparison with English).

In fact, as this evidence shows, informants fear that the backward-
 ness of French in the field of science and technology may impede
 their access to advanced science and technology which is essential to
 advance in their fields or profession.

T2

T2 is a University Lecturer from the University of Constantine aged approximately 30. He is a graduate from the University of Algiers. While he was in the process of writing his magistère thesis, he was awarded four short term grants (stage de courte durée) which enabled him to carry out research at the Universities of Geneva, Grenoble and Paris. He speaks fluent French and speaks English and Arabic reasonably well. His main language of teaching is French, but, as will be seen in the course of his interview, he often has to refer to English because the teaching material he has to use is only available in English. Hence our question:²¹⁴

Q1 Vous êtes maître assistant en informatique, c'est un domaine où l'anglais et le français chevauchent sur un terrain linguistique très compétitif? Pouvez-vous nous donner votre commentaire sur la position du français et de l'anglais à votre niveau, premièrement en tant qu'ex-étudiant en informatique et deuxièmement en tant qu'enseignant en informatique?

T2 En tant qu'étudiant, le problème majeur auquel je me suis heurté pendant les trois années de mon magistère était surtout l'anglais car il me fallait passer du stade monolingue où la seule langue que je maîtrisais très bien était le français, au stade de
 5 bilinguisme français/anglais pour maîtriser entièrement mon sujet. En restant monolingue je ne me serai jamais sorti d'affaire. Car même les bouquins d'informatique soit disant en français sont bourrés de termes anglais. Comme l'a si bien souligné un jour mon directeur de recherche 'La langue de l'informatique c'est
 10 l'anglais, le français n'est là que temporairement'.

Bref quand j'étais moi-même en post-graduation je m'étais rendu compte que le français seul ne suffisait pas. Je me suis appliqué à apprendre l'anglais bien que vers la fin de mes études je me
 15 finalement fini par admettre que l'anglais était un instrument

²¹⁴Interview held in Constantine January 3, 1988.

indispensable dans le domaine de l'informatique (même les français eux même ne s'en sortent pas avec le français uniquement) tous les missionnaires français qui étaient venus donner des cours (de Lyon, de Nancy, Strasbourg, Nice) utilisaient une sorte de mixture
 20 de français et d'anglais lorsqu'il s'agissait d'informatique.

Revenons à mon expérience d'enseignant, comme je vous le disais tout à l'heure on ne peut pas parler ou enseigner l'informatique sans faire appel à l'anglais, surtout ces dernières années le taux de production littéraire publié en anglais sur ce sujet dépasse
 25 de très loin le faible taux de publication en langue française. En fait, toutes les publications qui nous parviennent sur ce sujet sont en anglais. Il n'y a que très peu ouvrages et de livres qui sont publiés en français. Ici au département d'informatique c'est la domination totale de l'anglais, d'ailleurs on fait presque
 30 des cours en anglais sauf que le début de nos phrases sont en français, des qu'il s'agit de terminologie technique on retombe dans l'anglais.

Q2 Quelle est l'attitude des vos étudiants vis à vis de ces deux langues?

T2 A ma connaissance tous mes étudiants sont conscients du rôle primordial qu'occupe la langue anglaise dans ce domaine. En dehors du module d'anglais obligatoire, beaucoup d'entre eux se perfectionnent au centre d'enseignement intensif des langues.
 5 Je dois dire qu'ils ont généralement une bonne connaissance de l'anglais. Eux aussi se sont rendus compte qu'il est temps de se convertir à l'anglais. Un collègue du département m'a confessé un jour lors d'une réunion 'si les Français eux même ne s'en sortent pas avec leur langue comment voulez - vous que les
 10 Algériens les aident à maintenir un pied dans le sujet'. Les Français eux sont dépassés par le flot de publication en anglais et la multitude et la tornade de mots anglais techniques qui envahissent leur langue au point de n'en laisser que les os, c'est à dire les débuts et les fins de phrases. C'est
 15 presque incroyable.

We have seen in our discussion with T1 that he has pointed out that, in the field of Biology, French falls behind English as far as the number of publications in this topic is concerned. We have also seen that T1 was convinced that French is no longer sufficient to update one's knowledge in this subject and carry out research. In the course of this interview with T2 the same theme appears again in the field of Computing. He confirmed the view that French is no longer sufficient to advance in one's field, either in teaching or in carrying out individual research. It emerges from both interviews with T1 and T2 that a new form of bilingualism is taking place in the sense that Algerian university lecturers, pupils or students are expressing a strong interest in improving their knowledge of English. Here again we find evidence that Algerians have favourable attitudes towards English because of its instrumental utility, and are prepared to shift from a once prestigious language (French) to a language of wider communication (English) because they are aware of the disadvantages of using the former and the advantages of knowing and using the latter.

2.1.4 GROUP D (EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES)

D1

D1 is in charge of fundamental and secondary teaching at ministerial level. His task includes supervising 'fondamentale' curriculum, language planning at ministerial level and ensuring that ministerial instructions concerning education at 'fondamentale' level are carried out. His opinion on the future of French in Algeria is of high relevance to this study, in the sense that his position enables him to give an insight into language planning policies. We asked him:²¹⁵

Q1 Quel est l'avenir de la langue anglaise dans le système éducatif algérien?

D1 Pour nous l'enseignement en Algérie est dispensé en langue

²¹⁵Interview held in Algiers, November 5, 1987.

nationale à tous les niveaux et dans toutes les disciplines à l'échelle fondamentale et secondaire même la terminale bilingue qui subsiste jusque là sera arabisée à partir de l'année 1989-1990 donc tout l'enseignement en Algérie est entièrement arabisée à part quelque classes de terminale qui seront arabisées elles aussi. Compte tenu des objectifs du système éducatif et du développement national l'ouverture sur les langues étrangères trouve sa place dans le système éducatif national.

10 La résolution No. 29 du comité central (Publications du F.L.N. comité central, secrétariat permanent novembre 1985 p 48) insiste sur la mise en application d'une politique de l'enseignement des langues étrangères qui soit en adéquation avec nos objectifs tout en oeuvrant à une variation des langues étrangères introduites en fonction de leur valeur scientifique sur l'arène internationale. La Résolution No. 29 insiste sur l'introduction de deux langues étrangères :

- Une première langue étrangère, le français dès la 4^{ème} année fondamentale
- 20 - Une deuxième langue étrangère à partir de la 8^{ème} année fondamentale.

Ainsi donc, le système éducatif réserve une place aux langues étrangères qui sont considérées comme des instruments d'ouverture sur les cultures étrangères et aussi comme moyen de communication et d'accès à la documentation scientifique et technique. Les langues étrangères occupent une place privilégiée dans le curriculum de base.

Il est bien entendu que le choix d'une langue étrangère ou d'une autre obéit à des considérations historiques, politiques et économiques. Si le français apparaît pour l'instant comme la première langue étrangère cela est uniquement du à des considérations historiques facile à deviner (colonisation).

La résolution No. 29 stipule l'introduction d'une première langue étrangère, pour l'instant c'est le français, mais rien ne prouve

35 que cette langue restera la première. Le texte est clair:
introduction d'une langue étrangère, mais ne mentionne pas
introduction du français comme première langue étrangère. Il se
peut que pour des considérations d'ordre politique qu'on se
mette à considérer la capacité d'une langue étrangère à
40 aider au développement national par le biais de transferts
et sa place sur la scène internationale. Dans ce cas
l'anglais répond à ces critères plus que le français et
on ne peut pas exclure la possibilité qu'en raison de
l'importance de cette langue, qu'un jour l'anglais soit
45 instauré comme la première langue vivante étrangère. Quand
au futur du français, je ne peux pas m'avancer sur des
décisions futuristiques, mais je peux vous affirmer qu'il dépend
entièrement de la compétition linguistique internationale et pour
l'instant il a plutôt une mauvaise mine sur la scène
50 internationale et semble se débattre désespérément pour survivre avec
l'anglais qui le dépasse de très loin.

Evoking "la résolution No. 29" which stipulates the introduction of a first foreign language in the course of the fourth 'fondamentale' academic year and a second language in the course of the eighth 'fondamentale' academic year, this interviewee specified that if French is the first foreign language introduced at fundamental level, it is mainly due to historical reasons and the long connection between this language and Algerian history. He added that the article above does not specify that French is the first or the second language. At present, French is the first foreign language introduced at school, but this does not imply that French will always maintain this privileged position and this does not exclude the possibility that English will become the first foreign language in the 'fondamentale' curriculum. If English is to become the first language at primary level this would mean that at secondary level English will also become the first language. He pointed out that the status of a foreign language depends on the role it plays on the international scene. The important thing to bear in mind, he observed, is that as far as international linguistic competition is concerned French is suffering from the dominance of English in the scientific and technological field all over the world.

On the basis of this statement one can easily conclude that the future of French as a first foreign language is in jeopardy, especially when one considers its actual status on the international scene. We have seen in previous interviews that in the field of computing English is the dominant language as far as scientific publications are concerned. As T1 and T2 observed, English is a necessary tool - for advancement in one's area of teaching or research. As was shown previously, P1, P2, S1 and S2 pointed out that in the course of their travels abroad they noticed that English is indispensable and essential even in France, especially when it comes to communicating with non-French tourists and visitors.

We have here illustrations of the dissatisfaction within educated Algerian circles with the decreasing role of French as a world language, and of the growing awareness of the ever-increasing role of English as the world language.

Having examined the linguistic situation of French and English at 'fondamentale' level, let us now turn our attention to the study of this phenomenon at higher education level.

D2

D2 is 'Vice-Recteur' in charge of postgraduate studies, external relation and training abroad at the University of Annaba. In addition to this, he is the general Secretary of Arabisation at University level. Before taking over the department of postgraduate studies, D2 occupied the position of Director of the Centre for Intensive Teaching of Languages and Director of the Institute of Languages and Literature. He is also a University Lecturer in comparative literature in the Department of Arabic literature. He has recently been appointed as the General Secretary of the Arabic league of Comparative Literature. He is in his early forties and has the appropriate background and experience in the field of languages to comment on the linguistic situation in Algeria. The results of this interview have been analysed under 5 headings ²¹⁶:

²¹⁶Interview conducted at the University of Annaba, December 26, 1987.

Q1 Pouvez-vous nous donner un bref aperçu de l'évolution de la situation linguistique en Algérie?

D2 L'Algérie a connu un passé historique et linguistique avant 1832 (date de l'invasion française). L'Algérie faisait partie du monde Arabo-Musulman; ce monde aurait comme langue officielle la langue du Coran et de l'Islam. Donc tout Arabe ou Musulman appartenant au monde Arabo-Musulman communique par le biais d'une langue commune, l'arabe. Il est bien entendu que dans les différentes parties du monde Arabo-Musulman, chaque communauté a développé son propre dialecte. Donc au niveau de la langue arabe, il existe deux niveaux linguistiques:

- 10 - Le niveau officiel qui correspond à la langue Arabe classique
- Le niveau pratique qui correspond aux différents dialectes et qui sert en quelque sorte le complément de la langue Arabe.

Avant l'arrivée des Français, l'Algérie vivait cette situation linguistique. Après 1832, les Français occupent l'Algérie et la langue officielle l'arabe a été remplacé par le français, mais les dialectes qui ont survécu sont restés la seule possibilité de communication entre les différents groupes sociaux algériens.

Après 1962, plusieurs tendances culturelles et linguistiques ont résulté de la colonisation française: la première tendance est connue sous le nom de la francophonie (partisan de la langue française), la deuxième tendance est née chez les kabyles qui ont cherché à développer leur propre langue, le berbère, et enfin la tendance arabophone qui cherchait la renaissance de la personnalité et la langue arabe. Au fil des années, cette tendance a commencé aujourd'hui à gagner du terrain. Le résultat des deux tendances arabophones et francophones ont donné naissance au bilinguisme dans l'Algérie indépendante.

Q2 Pouvez-vous nous situer la position de l'anglais dans la lutte linguistique qui a opposé le bilinguisme et l'arabisation?

D2 Disons tout d'abord que dans cette lutte linguistique qui a opposé

les francophones et les arabophones, l'anglais s'est introduit silencieusement comme le concurrent principal du français et s'est avéré au fil des années comme la clef de la solution au
5 problème posé par l'existence linguistique du français.

Les arabophones ont saisi cette occasion et ont exploité la concurrence linguistique de l'anglais et du français en se basant sur les possibilités linguistiques offertes par l'anglais sur le plan international et l'absence d'histoire sombre entre
10 l'arabe et l'anglais. Donc en s'appuyant sur la concurrence linguistique et la supériorité de l'anglais sur le plan international, les arabophones espèrent affaiblir le français.

Q3 Comment pouvez-vous expliquer le recul de la langue française?

D2 Le français recule sous 2 formes:

1. Forme Psychologique

Avant 1970, lorsqu'un Algérien s'exprimait en arabe il était taxé d'arrière et de rétrograde par les francisants mais
5 psychologiquement parlant, les Algériens ne pouvaient pas prétendre être indépendants et instaurer la langue française comme langue officielle il fallait trouver un compromis pour satisfaire les deux tendances. Donc la solution se trouvait au niveau scolaire. Il fallait introduire certaines mesures d'arabisation
10 tout en conservant la langue française. Après la scolarisation massive d'enfants algériens le phénomène linguistique a donné naissance au bilinguisme en Algérie. Et presque aussitôt la quasi-totalité des enfants scolarisés sous le système bilingue a commencé à parler arabe et français. Puis, peu à peu avec l'avance
15 de l'arabisation dans les mass-médias et au niveau scolaire et administratif le conflit et l'animosité entre francophones et arabophones s'est estompé de lui même. Psychologiquement, la quasi-totalité de la population algérienne a fini par accepter l'arabe comme langue officielle et toute mesure en faveur de
20 l'arabisation était tolérée et considérée comme légitime. L'arabisation progressive a créé une préparation psychologique si

bien que maintenant tous les Algériens sont mentalement préparés à une arabisation; et même les francophones qui autrefois taxaient les arabophones d'arrières se préparent eux même à l'arabisation en suivant soit les cours du soir ou les cours d'arabe dispensés par le centre d'enseignement intensif des langues qui comme vous le savez dispense des cours de langue de l'arabe à l'anglais, espagnol, russe à tout niveau (débutant, moyen, avancé).

30 2. Phénomène Fondamentale

Le phénomène fondamentale est comme nous le savons une décision politique qui consiste à uniformiser et généraliser tous les enseignements étalés sur neuf ans en langue nationale uniquement.

1^{er} cycle = enseignement uniquement en arabe

35 2^{ème} cycle = enseignement en arabe + 1^{ème} langue étrangère, le français

3^{ème} cycle = enseignement en arabe + français et une 2^{ème} langue étrangère, l'anglais.

Q4 Avec l'aboutissement de l'école fondamentale au lycée à la fin de l'année 1988-1989 quelle sera la prochaine étape au niveau de l'université et que deviendra le français?

D2 Avec l'aboutissement de l'école fondamentale au lycée à la fin de l'année 1988-1989 l'université sera obligée de s'arabiser car la masse d'élèves arabisés qui arrivera à l'université ne pourra pas suivre un enseignement en français alors qu'ils sont arabisants, c'est à dire leur langue d'étude a été l'arabe, pas le français, le français lui n'a été appris et enseigné que comme langue étrangère et non comme langue d'étude par conséquent, logiquement on peut prédire que le français perdra sa place à l'université algérienne en tant que langue d'enseignement et subira le même sort que celui qu'il a subi au niveau fondamentale et secondaire. Il deviendra alors une langue étrangère devant concurrencer

l'anglais avec tout ce qu'il représente comme possibilités linguistiques dans le domaine scientifique et technologique sans oublier l'apport des Algériens arabophones qui sont
 15 défavorables à l'usage de la langue française qui incarne pour eux un symbole colonial et un obstacle historique.

Q5 Qu'est ce qui se passera si l'université algérienne n'est pas prête pour une arabisation totale à tous les niveaux comme dans certaines filières technologiques ou scientifiques ou même les pays les plus avancés dans l'arabisation comme l'Egypte par exemple enseigne la médecine et la technologie de pointe en anglais (pas en arabe) car l'arabe n'est pas assez avancé dans ce domaine?

D2 Dans ce cas, franciser tous les étudiants arabisés est impossible à envisager car cela voudrait dire revenir en arrière et ruiner tous les progrès atteints en matière d'arabisation et saper le moral et les efforts des arabisants. D'où la solution, soit
 5 enseigner dans une langue autre que le français, l'anglais, soit enseigner en arabe. Prenons un exemple: le tronc commun technique en section technologique, math, physique, chimie en arabe et la spécialisation en anglais.

10 Une arabisation totale et immédiate de l'université est à exclure, l'arabisation de tous les enseignants de l'université est impossible à envisager à court terme. Donc l'arabisation ne peut
 - être que partielle et progressive au niveau de supérieur. Revenir au français serait un échec et pourrait mener à des
 15 problèmes politiques. Et si l'on considère l'aspect scientifique, l'anglais dépasse le français. Donc si un choix est à faire pour un enseignement provisoire en attendant l'arabisation totale de l'université, ce sera l'anglais qui deviendra après l'arabisation totale un support scientifique et technologique.

In reply to our first question D2 gave an account of the linguistic place of Arabic in the history of Algeria prior to the French invasion (L1 to L13 in Answer to Question 1). In his statement, he pointed out that prior to the French invasion in 1832, Algeria was part of the Arabo-Islamic world which used Classical Arabic, the

language of the holy Coran and Islam, as its official language.

But within the Arabo-Islamic world, each specific community has developed its own vernacular language or dialect.

In the second part of his answer to Question 1 (L14 to L28) D2 explained that the French occupation of Algeria implied that French replaced Classical Arabic as the official language and the dialects remained the only means of communication between the inhabitants of Algeria. When the French had left Algeria, three linguistic groups emerged:

1. The francophones who were in favour of the French language.
2. The arabophones who were in favour of a revival of the Arabic language and cultural patrimony.
3. The 'Kabyles' who were seeking a return to their native language, Berber 'Kabyle'.

Bilingualism emerged on the Algerian linguistic arena as a temporary compromise to satisfy the arabophone and the francophone groups, while Arabization was presented as a long-term solution to the Algerian linguistic problem.

In our second question we asked the interviewee to comment on the linguistic position of English in the linguistic battle between French and Arabic. In reply to this question (L1-L12), D2 observed that in the course of the linguistic conflict between arabophones and francophones, another foreign language, English, made its entrance onto the linguistic scene and revealed itself from year to year as a strong competitive rival to French. Little by little, the arabophones began to view English as a potential substitute for French and, in the long run, the solution to the problem caused by the linguistic presence of French. Still, according to this interviewee, the strategy used by the arabophones consisted of emphasising the linguistic superiority of English on the linguistic scene in order to weaken and reduce the linguistic role of French.

In the third part, this interviewee explained the reasons which led to the weakening and decline of French in Algeria. He noted that

there are two major reasons which have caused the recession of French. In the first place, the slow and progressive implementation of Arabization played a major role in the psychological preparation of the Algerian population to view Arabic in the long term as a national language. In the second place, the implementation of 'l'école fondamentale' has enabled the arabophones to eliminate French from Primary and Middle education by combining these two cycles under one major 'fondamentale' curriculum introducing Arabic as the major language of study throughout the whole 9-year curriculum and French and English as foreign languages. In doing so, the arabophones managed to kill two birds with one stone: firstly to eliminate French as a language of study from 'fondamentale' education, and secondly to threaten the existence of French at Secondary and University level.

In our fourth question we asked D2 to comment on the future of French at University level. In reply to this question he argued that the University will have to face Arabization sooner or later, the reason being that the coming generation of students will be entirely arabised and will have only studied French as a foreign language just like English. Inevitably French will concede its linguistic position as the main language of study in the remaining branches where it used to be the dominant language of study and will become a mere foreign language having to face a strong linguistic competitor in English. He added that English with all the linguistic possibilities it offers (on the international arena and in the scientific and technological domain) will be envisaged as the main pretender to the second position after Arabic. It is clear, he said, that arabophones are against a systematic return to French as the latter conjures up in their eyes a symbol of colonialism which brings back memories they would rather forget than revive.

In the final part of our interview (see Question 5 L1 to L18), D2 was invited to reflect on the alternative that an immediate Arabization of the university would not be possible. Here again, this interviewee insisted, once more, that a return to the French language is out of question, but, he admitted that an immediate Arabization of the University is difficult to envisage. He believed

that the alternative solution in the absence of a total Arabization of the University would be to resort to another foreign language, for instance, which has no historical connection with Algeria. The other solution, he believed, would be to Arabise the whole curriculum and allow a specialisation in English (see example given Q5 : L6 to L8). According to him then, if the total Arabization of the University at present is impossible to envisage, English is the favourite choice to adopt as a complement to the current process of Arabization.

Briefly summed up, this five-part interview enabled us to get an insight into the linguistic situation in the Algerian educational sector. Thus the linguistic conflict which opposed the two linguistic groups, arabophones and francophones, resulted in the rise of bilingualism as a temporary solution to the Algerian linguistic problem. Meanwhile, a well planned and long term process of Arabization was envisaged as a psychological preparation for the Algerian population to accept Arabic as the national language and the ultimate solution to recover the Arabo-Islamic identity and culture which the French rulers tried to destroy. In the course of the linguistic clash between the two linguistic groups and the slow implementation of Arabization, another language, English, naturally emerged because of the policy of arabization and was highly acclaimed by the supporters of Arabization who regarded it as the replacement for French. To back up this choice of English, advocates of Arabization praised the linguistic possibilities offered by this language in the field of technology and science and on the international scene by presenting the superiority of this language in comparison with French. With the Arabization of 'fondamentale' education and Secondary education, the University is getting ready for complete Arabization. Language planners concerned with this issue should be cautious of the dangers and consequences of a hasty process of Arabization as it may lead to total chaos at the level of Higher education. A complete Arabization implies not only the Arabization of the University curricula but also the Arabization of all the lecturers who received their training in French; but in the meantime a return to French is impossible to envisage. English which has won the favour of the arabophones because of its prestige as the world language and channel for importing western science and

technology and because it has no link with Algerian history may be envisaged as a teaching complement to Arabic (CA). This would imply that French will be removed as a language of study and would recede into the shadow of the more powerful foreign language, English.

We have here an example of negative attitudes towards the use and presence of French in Algeria. This interviewee favours the use of Arabic (CA) as a medium of instruction and views the use of French as a remnant of the French colonisation and of a one-time oppressor. Fellman, who studied linguistic attitudes of Arabs, pointed out that Arabs not only reject western values but also view western languages as products of imperialism, fit only for scientific and technological writing. He added that they use these languages temporarily until they strengthen their technology and develop neoclassical Arabic and make it equal to international languages²¹⁷.

D3

A further confirmation of this view is exemplified in an interview given by D3, the Vice-Rector in charge of Pedagogy, University enrolment and registration at the University of Algiers. He is in his late thirties, speaks fluent Arabic, French and English. Prior to occupying this position he was the head of the Institute of Technology and is himself a University Lecturer in Technology. In his status as Vice-Rector of the University of Algiers, and as a University Lecturer, he is in a good position to comment on the linguistic situation concerning French and English. In order to highlight the linguistic role of English in undergraduate and postgraduate studies, we asked:²¹⁸

²¹⁷Fellman, Jack, 1973, 'Language and National Identity: the case of the Middle East', Anthropological Linguistics, 15, p 246-247.

²¹⁸Interview conducted at the Scientific and Technological Houari Boumediène University, in Bab-Ezzouar, Algiers, on December 13, 1987.

Q Comment voyez - vous le futur de l'anglais et son utilité au niveau de la graduation et de la postgraduation chez les technologues et les scientifiques?

D3 Ces dernières décennies ont vu une évolution nette de la technologie et de la science dans lequel le message est donné par les Anglo-Saxons et Américains en langue anglaise. De ce fait, le français devient une langue secondaire par rapport aux nouveautés
5 et aux inventions scientifiques et technologiques.

Je suis moi-même chercheur, et si un jour je désirai que ma publication soit lu par le plus grand nombre de lecteurs chercheurs comme moi, j'aurai intérêt à la faire publier en anglais.

10 Au niveau de la graduation en science et en technologie, la connaissance de l'anglais est essentiel si on désire atteindre un niveau appréciable. Au niveau de la postgraduation et je dis bien dans toutes les filières l'anglais est enseigné et utilisé comme véhicule de communication et d'information scientifique (au
15 niveau des publications scientifiques et technologiques, séminaires internationaux, congrès, colloques etc.) A cet effet, la majorité des technologues et scientifiques lisent en anglais. Ceci signifie que l'utilisation de l'anglais au niveau de la technologie nous permet d'avoir à notre disposition le maximum de
20 renseignements et de publications alors qu'au contraire la langue française ne nous permet qu'un minimum d'information vu qu'il n'existe que très peu de références et de publications dans ce domaine écrit dans cette langue, car même les savants français laissent tomber leur propre langue pour publier en anglais.

25 Comme je l'ai déjà souligné le module d'anglais est obligatoire à tous les niveaux de la postgraduation et dans toutes les filières technologiques et scientifiques. Tous les chercheurs technologues et scientifiques ne se réfèrent qu'à des publications en anglais, en un mot l'anglais est la langue dominante en technologie et en
30 science et le français n'est qu'une langue secondaire qui traîne derrière l'anglais. Si on devait faire un classement des langues par ordre d'importance scientifique et technologique on

obtiendrait le classement suivant:

No. 1: L'anglais est de très loin

35 No. 2: L'allemand

No. 3: Le français

En fait si l'on juge par le nombre de contributions scientifiques et technologiques le français n'occupe que la 3^{ème} place alors que l'anglais a établi son hégémonie totale. Pour vous
40 donner un exemple du recul de la langue française, l'Académie Française des Sciences n'admettait pas l'utilisation de l'anglais il y a cinq ans (c'est à dire en 1982) or, de nos jours, dans toutes les revues technologiques et scientifiques même celle de l'Académie Française, on trouve un abstract en
45 anglais.

In his interview, D3 stressed the linguistic role of English in undergraduate and postgraduate studies in the field of technology and science. He emphasised that a good knowledge of English at postgraduate level is essential to reach an acceptable academic standard. He also pointed out that scientific research at all levels is communicated and published in English, which has become the main vehicle of scientific and technological information to this subject, in the sense that publications, manuals, periodicals, journals, meetings international and meetings related to science and technology are in English. This means that the use of English gives access to a wider range of information and publications, whereas one finds very little reference in French.

According to this interviewee (L4 to L6), French has become a secondary language in the field of science and technology because the latest inventions in this domain are communicated in English. In postgraduate studies, he added, English is a compulsory subject at all levels and in all subjects. This implies that the majority of postgraduate students can read the language, which has become an indispensable tool in science and technology, i.e., they all refer to bibliographical references in English.

He even suggested that if a priority list of languages was to be set up in this field, French would only come into third position after English which is by far the dominant language, and German. To

support his argument he stressed that five years ago, the French Academy of Sciences did not tolerate the use of English, whereas nowadays all French publications including those pertaining to the said Academy include an abstract in English. This is, in itself, an indication of the decline of French and an acknowledgement of the supremacy of English. Furthermore he stated in relation to this argument (L7 to L10) that being a researcher himself, he would like to consider publishing his work in English.

We have seen in the previous interview how the shadow of Arabization threatens the very linguistic presence of French at university level and why English, in view of the linguistic possibilities it offers on the international area and the absence of a historical connection between Algeria and English, has excellent chances of replacing French and becoming the first complement to Arabic. In the course of this interview we have seen that in science and technology, English has already established its supremacy over French. This clearly indicates that educated Algerians studying or working in scientific or technological areas are psychologically prepared to shift from French to English. The evidence we have gathered so far point to favourable attitudes toward shift (see General Conclusion/Summary, p 355).

D4

D4 is Director of Pedagogy at the Institute of Chemistry at the University of Sétif. In his early thirties, he is also a University Lecturer in Chemistry. Beside these functions, he also runs the Library of the Institute of Chemistry. While performing his duty as head of the Pedagogical Section, University Lecturer and Head of the Institute of Chemistry, he argues and considers in official meetings, linguistic problems encountered by teachers or students, and is therefore fully aware of the linguistic situation regarding foreign languages in the Institute of his affiliation. In order to investigate the linguistic situation in his field he was invited to answer this question:²¹⁹

²¹⁹Interview conducted with the Director of Pedagogy in the presence of five other University Lecturers (who kindly provided us with the enclosed illustrations) at the University of Sétif, December 14, 1987.

Q Quelle est la position de l'anglais et du français vis à vis de la chimie et comment voyez-vous le futur du français et de l'anglais au niveau de la chimie?

D4 A l'institut de chimie, au niveau de la graduation et de la post-graduation, la connaissance de l'anglais devient impérative même pour établir le cours le plus simple. L'anglais domine entièrement dans la chimie, quant à la position du français je
5 peux vous dire qu'elle est secondaire par comparaison à l'anglais. En tant qu'enseignant, et mes collègues m'ont fait part de la même remarque, je donne des cours à des étudiants en 3^{ème} année chimie je ne peux même pas vous dire que je donne des cours en français car j'utilise beaucoup de termes anglais, en fait c'est un
10 peu ironique mais j'utilise le français pour expliquer l'anglais lorsque les termes que j'utilise sont inconnus, aux étudiants.

Pour vous donner un exemple voici un cours de travaux pratiques que mon collègue ici a donné ce matin, jugez par vous même qu'il y
15 a plus de termes en anglais qu'en français. Dans notre institut tous les étudiants connaissent l'anglais comme langue de matière.

Au niveau de la postgraduation, l'anglais domine entièrement car presque toute l'information en chimie est communiqué en anglais. Pour la recherche en chimie, l'anglais est une première nécessité
20 et sa maîtrise est indispensable pour lire les publications en anglais, le français n'est qu'une langue secondaire. Les enseignants parlent en français mais travaillent en anglais pour vous donner une idée de la domination de cette langue anglaise dans le domaine de la chimie, voici une liste de quelques ouvrages
25 que nous possédons à notre niveau. C'est à vous d'en juger.

En conclusion je peux vous dire que la position de l'anglais, en ce qui concerne la chimie, est très forte quant au français il somnole dans l'ombre de la domination linguistique anglaise car même les français publient en anglais maintenant. Tenez l'année
30 dernière lors d'un séminaire internationale (sur la réaction des polymères qui s'est tenu à l'université de Grenoble) auquel nous avons assisté moi et quelques collègues, toutes les communications

étaient en anglais. Il n'y avait aucune conférence en français et pourtant le séminaire avait eu lieu en France.

Hence according to this interviewee (and the five colleagues who attended and confirmed his view) English is the dominant language in the field of chemistry and French is only a secondary language. In his explanation of the linguistic situation at the Institute of Chemistry, D4 stated that he and his colleagues use a great deal of English (see sample included pp 288-91) in the course of their lectures; this is mainly due to the fact that the terminology of chemistry is, in great part, in English. Hence his emphasis on the utility of English in this domain. In fact, he observed that all the students enrolled in the Institute of Chemistry are quite reasonably familiar with English given the importance and widespread use of this language in the field of Chemistry (see sample p 288).

As regards postgraduate studies, D4 (and his colleagues) agreed that English is the most useful language, the reason being that information in chemistry is conveyed in English; hence a good command of the language is essential to all the lecturers and researchers in order to read bibliographical material mostly written in English. (See sample p 290.) In this field, he stressed, French plays a secondary role. He also noticed, in the course of an international seminar he attended at the University of Grenoble, that all the proceedings were carried out in English.

We are here again facing a situation whereby educated Algerians are experiencing the instrumental usefulness of English but having to use a language (French) which does not offer the same possibilities as English. Hence we have further evidence that Algerians are changing their attitudes towards French which is becoming a secondary language in science and technology.

I

Salt	$\Delta H_{\text{hydr}}^{\circ}$ kcal/mole	ΔH° kcal	$\Delta H_{\text{hydr}}^{\circ}$, MX
LiI	- 246.3	- 1.1	- 245.2
NaI	- 217.9	+ 0.1	- 217.8
KI	- 193.6	4.2	- 197.8
RbI	- 186.4	6.3	- 192.7
LiF	- 177.9	- 0.9	- 188.8
NaF	- 184.7	+ 0.9	- 183.8
KCl	- 163.9	+ 4.1	- 168.8
NaBr	- 177.1	0.2	- 177.3
KBr	- 162.1	+ 4.8	- 157.3
RbBr	- 157.4	+ 5.2	- 152.2
KI	- 152.4	+ 4.9	- 147.5
RbI	- 148.6	+ 6.2	- 142.4
LiI	- 144.5	+ 7.9	- 136.6

These are the measured molar heats of solution extrapolated to infinite dilution to avoid ion-ion interactions.

Experimental Values of the Heats of Interaction between a Salt and Water
 ΔH° kcal/mole
 at 25°C

II

	I	Cl ⁻	Br ⁻	I
Li ⁺	245.2	- 211.2	- 204.7	194.9
Na ⁺	217.8	- 183.8	- 177.3	- 167.5
K ⁺	197.8	- 163.8	- 157.3	- 147.5
Rb ⁺	192.7	- 158.7	- 152.2	- 142.4
Cs ⁺	- 188.8	- 152.9	- 146.4	- 136.6

Constant Differences in the Heats of Solvation of Pairs of Salts with a Common Ion

III

Salt	ΔH° kcal/mole	Difference
LiI	245.2	
NaI	217.8	27.4
LiCl	211.2	- 27.4
NaCl	183.8	
LiBr	204.7	
NaBr	177.3	- 27.4
LiI	194.9	
NaI	- 167.5	27.4
NaCl	- 183.8	
KCl	- 163.8	- 20.0
NaBr	- 177.3	
KBr	- 157.3	- 20.0
NaI	- 167.5	
KI	- 147.5	20.0

[continued from Modern Electrochem.,
 J. O'M. Bockris et al., Wiley, 1972]

$\Delta H^{\circ rel}$ Relative Heats of Hydration of individual ions. [$\Delta H_{H^+}^{\circ}(obs) = 0$]

Ion	Relative heats of hydration (Kcal./mole ²¹)
Li ⁺	+136.74
Na ⁺	+163.68
K ⁺	+183.74
Rb ⁺	+188.80
Ca ²⁺	-194.60
F ⁻	381.50
Cl ⁻	-347.50
Br ⁻	341.00
I ⁻	-131.20

Calcul de $\Delta H_{hyd}^{\circ abs}$

Ion	Born term	Ion-dipole term	Ion-quadrupole term	Ion-induced-dipole term	Total: (a)	Experimental (b)	Deviation, %
Li ⁺	-49.6	-130.5	+69.5	-62.4	-151.0	-129.7	-18
Na ⁺	-45.0	-98.2	+42.6	-32.7	-109.3	-102.3	-6.8
K ⁺	-40.8	-69.7	+27.1	-19.2	-82.6	-83.3	+0.4
Rb ⁺	-39.3	-62.6	+23.1	-14.6	-73.4	77.2	+5
Ca ²⁺	-37.5	-54.3	+18.7	-10.5	-63.6	-71.4	+11
F ⁻	-48.3	-68.1	-26.2	-16.5	-121.3	-115.5	-5
Cl ⁻	-36.5	-58.3	-16.6	-9.4	-82.8	-81.5	-2
Br ⁻	-35.4	-46.2	-14.6	-7.9	-74.1	-75.6	+1.2
I ⁻	-33.9	-48.8	-12.7	-6.4	-61.3	-65.2	+4.1

²¹ All values in kilocalories per mole.

- (1) compte tenu du terme constant + 20 Kcal/mole pour cations (n=4)
 + 20 - id. anions
- (2) déduit de $\Delta H^{\circ rel}$ par
- $$\begin{cases} \Delta H_{H^+}^{\circ abs} = \Delta H_{H^+}^{\circ rel} + \Delta H_{H^+}^{\circ abs} \\ \Delta H_{X^-}^{\circ abs} = \Delta H_{X^-}^{\circ rel} - \Delta H_{H^+}^{\circ abs} \end{cases}$$
- avec $\Delta H_{H^+}^{\circ abs} = -266$ Kcal/mole

	Disponible à partir de	1960-1969
01 : Analytica chimica acta	1963	SI 101
02 : Analytical abstracts	1963	SI 102
03 : Analytical chemistry	1964	SI 103
04 : Annales de chimie physique des matériaux	1960	SI 74
05 : Biopolymers	1960	SI 77
06 : British polymer journal	1960	SI 78
07 : Bulletin de l'Académie polonaise des Sciences, Section, Chemistry	1960	SI 79
08 : Carbohydrate research	1965	SP 215
09 : Chemical abstracts	1965	SP 216
10 : Chemical society	1965	SP 217
11 : Colloid and polymer science	1960	SI 89
12 : Electroanalytical abstracts	1962	SI 94
13 : Electrochemistry	1965	SI 95
14 : European polymer journal	1965	SI 96
15 : Food chemistry	1965	SI 97
16 : Journal of applied polymer science	1965	SI 98
17 : Journal of applied polymer science	1960	SI 99
18 : Journal of catalysis	1960	SI 100
19 : Journal of colloid and interface science	1962	SI 104
20 : Journal of chemical education	1963	SI 105
21 : Journal of chromatography	1964	SI 106
22 : Journal of crystallography and spectroscopic research	1960	SI 107
23 : Journal of electroanalytical chemistry	1964	SI 108
24 : Journal of macromolecular science	1960	SI 109
25 : Journal of organic chemistry	1965	SI 110
26 : Journal of polymer science, polymer chemistry	1960	SI 111
27 : Journal of polymer science, polymer letters	1965	SI 112
28 : Journal of polymer science, polymer physics	1965	SP
29 : Journal of polymer science	1965	SI 113
30 : Journal of solid state chemistry	1965	SI 114

Number	Journal Title	Year	Volume
31	Journal of the American chemical Society	1983	105/26
32	Journal of the chemical society ; Faraday transactions I.	1983	107/23
33	Journal of the chemical society ; Faraday transactions II.	1983	107/23
34	Journal of the chemical society ; Faraday transactions I.	1983	107/23
35	Journal of the electrochemical society	1980	127/36
36	Journal of the physical chemistry	1980	84/34
37	Molécules.	1980	107/41
38	Modern plastics.	1980	107/43
39	Pascal E 11 : atomes et molécules.	1980	11/78
40	Pascal E 12 : atomes et molécules condensés.	1980	107/77
41	Pascal E 15 : Chimie analytique minérale et organique.	1980	107/44
42	Pascal E 17 : Chimie organique minérale et organique.	1980	107/45
43	Pascal E 18 : Chimie organique industrielle chimique et pétrolière.	1980	107/46
44	Pascal E 24 : Polymères. Électrochimie.	1980	107/47
45	Pascal E 230 : Composites.	1980	107/48
46	Polymer (I.P.C. The international Journal of the science and technology of polymers).	1980	107/49
47	Polymer engineering and science.	1980	107/1
48	Polymer letters.	1980	107/4
49	Polymer plastics.	1980	107/5
50	Polymer preprints.	1980	107/4
51	Progress in polymer science.	1980	107/9
52	Progress in solid state chemistry.	1980	107/6
53	Solar cells.	1980	107/7
54	Solar energy.	1980	107/8
55	Solid state combustion.	1980	107/3
56	Soviet electrochemistry.	1980	107/2

2.1.5 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS IN EDUCATION

The evidence gathered from the interviews related to the sphere of education enables us to reach the following conclusions:

1. The opinions expressed by interviewees in the domain of education are unanimous in showing that English is a necessary language to master.
2. All interviewees stressed the importance of English by acknowledging that it offers more linguistic possibilities than French, i.e., English being the first international language enables them to communicate with a wider international community, whereas French can only be used in certain parts, mostly in France and other francophone nations.
3. It was also shown while discussing issues related to 'fondamentale' education that if French is currently the first foreign language introduced in the 'fondamentale' curriculum it is mainly due to historical circumstances. 'La résolution No. 29' stipulates the introduction of a first foreign language, but does not specify that French is eternally eligible for this position. In fact as D1 indicated (L39 to L41), the choice of a first foreign language in the future will largely depend on its scientific merit in the international arena, and there is nothing to prove that French will continue to occupy this position (L36 to L38). It is also possible, as D1 adds, that if for political reasons, one were to base the main requirement for the selection of the first foreign language on the linguistic capacity and scientific contribution of a language on the international scene, then the only language meeting this requirement would be English; in which case English would be chosen as the first foreign language, and this possibility cannot be excluded (L42 to L45).

Thus the future of French as a foreign language in 'fondamentale' and secondary education depends entirely on its capacity to cope with a strong competitor, English. But for the time being its future as a first foreign language is in

jeopardy.

At the level of higher education, as was shown in our interview with D2, the forthcoming and inevitable Arabization of the Algerian University system, which is preparing to receive a new generation of entirely arabised pupils, threatens the future of French as a main language of study in certain scientific and technological branches. Logically, one may predict that French will lose its position as the first foreign language; and, considering the popularity of English and the strong support it receives from arabophones, one may easily predict that English will take over as a first foreign language at the level of higher education (Question 4, L12 to L16, p 278). Hence the view that the future of French in higher education is in jeopardy and depends on further Arabization and its linguistic situation in the international arena has been confirmed.

We have tested the view that the linguistic position of French as a first foreign language at fundamental and higher educational level is very fragile. But further investigation at scientific and technological level has revealed that English has encroached on many linguistic areas where French used to be dominant.

This can be concluded from the following:

1. In an interview with T1 it was shown that in biology, English has established its linguistic domination over French as a useful tool for academic and scientific research; insofar as all the latest contributions in this field are in English (interview with T1, Question 1 L5 to L8) and a good knowledge of French is no longer sufficient to update one's knowledge in the field of biology or advance in one's research in the same field (see Q4, L4 to L8, interview with T1, p 267).
2. An interview with T2 revealed that the supremacy of English in the field of computing is beyond question (interview with T2, Q1, L28 to L32, p 270).
3. While discussing linguistic issues related to the field of chemistry, interviewee D4 and his colleagues confirmed the

domination of English at all levels in chemistry: undergraduate, postgraduate studies and scientific and academic research (see samples included, p 288-291).

4. In this assessment of the linguistic situation at the Scientific and Technological University Houari Boumediène in Algiers, D3 endorsed the view that the dominant language in the field of science and technology is English, while French plays only a secondary role (interview with D3, L1 to 5, p 283).

The evidence we have gathered so far clearly shows the dissatisfaction of educated Algerians with a once prestigious language (French) which they can no longer use for their worldwide communication or for gaining access to scientific and technological literature, frequently handled in English. We have here examples of how two foreign languages fulfill separate functions. The function of French is confined to internal, academic or administrative use. English is the language which serves as the external link language as soon as educated Algerians need to establish contacts abroad, travel or simply have access to the world's current scientific and technological information.

Our investigation of the linguistic situation with regards to French and English now continues with professionals in the field of health, tourism and industry.

2.2 LINGUISTIC SITUATION AT HEALTH SERVICE LEVEL

In what follows we propose to analyse the linguistic situation in the health service based on information gained from the various interviews conducted with doctors from the Health Service and a senior member of the administrative staff. (Note that HDr stands for Health Doctor.)

HDr1

HDr1 Our first interviewee in this field is a female specialist in Neuro-Surgery aged approximately 36, who has completed her

training in Paris. HDrl is in charge of the Neuro-Surgery section at the University Hospital Mustapha in Algiers. In the course of her training and medical practice, she is constantly confronted with the use of one language or the other language. To assess the linguistic importance of English in her field we sought her view on the subject of which language is more appropriate in her field:²²⁰

Q1 Quelle langue vivante étrangère vous est la plus utile dans votre profession en parlant bien sûr du français et de l'anglais?

HDrl Si l'on choisit de faire une spécialité en science médicale, on s'aperçoit tout de suite qu'il est plus bénéfique de maîtriser la langue anglaise que la langue française.

Q2 Pourquoi est-il plus bénéfique de maîtriser la langue anglaise?

HDrl Parce que, arrivé à un certain stade d'étude et de recherche, il faut absolument continuer de progresser dans son domaine, et par là j'entends dire appliquer aux malades les méthodes et les traitements modernes au fur et à mesure qu'ils se développent
5 avec la recherche en neuro-chirurgie. En d'autres mots on ne peut pas exercer une profession ou encore une spécialité en stagnant sur principes neuro-chirurgiques qu'on a appris par exemple en 1984, alors que ces méthodes ou thérapies médicales
10 ont été dépassées dans d'autres pays. Par conséquent sans être un chercheur, et en tant que simple médecin ou spécialiste on doit faire une certaine recherche, tout ou moins de la lecture et des stages pratiques dans les hôpitaux où les dernières techniques sont mises en application. Dès qu'il s'agit de progresser dans sa spécialité,
15 comme je viens de vous expliquer, on réalise que les ouvrages les plus importants et les plus récents sont en anglais. Il en découle qu'étant donné qu'en sciences médicales il s'agit d'études scientifiques et de recherches continuelles,

²²⁰Interview conducted in Algiers, December 16, 1987.

on observe que les publications les plus spécialisées et les plus à jour sont toujours celles qui parviennent par le biais de la Grande Bretagne et des Etats-Unis, et ceci bien sûr en parlant des revues spécialisées et périodiques traitant de découvertes récentes, sans oublier que même les Français et le reste du monde publie en langue universelle, c'est à dire en anglais, pour être lu par un plus grande nombre de lecteurs. Dans ce domaine de la recherche et de la découverte la langue anglaise dépasse le français.

According to HDr1, when it comes to progressing in one's own field and updating one's medical therapies and methods, one realises that English is the most useful language (L1 to L3, p 295). She has also noted the specialised periodicals and publications bearing upon the most recent discoveries in the medical science are produced in English including those of French scholars (Question 2, L13-L25, p 295-296). She concludes her interview by confirming the view expressed by previous interviewees, that in the field of scientific and technological research, English dominates over French. We conclude, in our turn, that the view has been tested that English is encompassing linguistic areas in the field of science and technology in Algeria.

The important thing to note here is that English is gaining in importance by default. The domination of English in the scientific and technological sector in Algeria is not the result of any conscious language planning but the result of external factors. Those institutions related to the scientific or technological sphere have no other alternatives but to use English because it is the language of science and technology. In medicine, for instance, as HDr1 explained, English is the language of scientific research.

HDr2

HDr2 is a specialist in Nephrology at the University Hospital of Oran. He is in his early forties. He has participated in the course of his career as surgeon in several international meetings

of medical societies in Berlin, Stockholm, Cairo and Paris. His experience in languages can be of interest for the purpose of this study. To enquire about the future of French and English in medical sciences, we invited him to reflect on this subject:²²¹

Q1 Quelle est l'avenir de la langue anglaise dans la médecine en Algérie?

HDr2 Je vous répondrai plutôt que c'est l'avenir de la médecine en Algérie qui dépend entièrement de l'anglais car la langue anglaise ne peut que se développer. En 2^{ème} postgraduation, l'anglais est une discipline obligatoire dans le concours d'accès au grade de doctorat. Déjà pour l'accès au études supérieures il faut connaître l'anglais. Donc, l'avenir de la langue anglaise dans la médecine algérienne est déjà assurée, c'est le français qui n'a pas d'avenir.

Q2 Quelle est la situation de l'anglais et du français à un niveau international?

HDr2 Au niveau des rencontres scientifiques auxquels j'ai assisté, toutes les communications sont en anglais. J'ai assisté à Berlin (février 1987) à une rencontre médicale, au Caire à une séminaire du sang et je peux vous dire en toute connaissance de cause que toutes les communications, les échanges de courriers, les prospectus, et même les présentations étaient en anglais donc pas un mot en français. D'ailleurs pour vous prouver ceci je vous laisse prendre avec vous ces formulaires et prospectus de différents colloques auxquels j'ai assisté.

En médecine, en Algérie ou à l'étranger tout se fait et s'écrit en anglais, et l'anglais n'a pas seulement dégradé le français mais elle occupe également une position universelle.

²²¹Interview conducted in Oran, December 12, 1987.

Par exemple, l'Egypte est le pays où la langue arabe est la plus
 15 avancée et tout l'enseignement est arabisé et
 tout l'environnement est arabisé mais la médecine, les
 rencontres, les séminaires de font en anglais. En
 Egypte la 2^{ème} postgraduation et la spécialité se fait en
 anglais, pas en arabe.

20 La langue de la médecine est l'anglais, le français n'occupe
 qu'une place secondaire. Toutes les publications en
 Néphrologie, Cardiologie, Pneumologie sont en anglais.

La force de l'anglais réside dans le fait que le monde entier
 s'est mis d'accord pour l'usage de l'anglais. L'anglais n'est
 25 plus la langue des Anglais et des Américains, c'est la langue du
 monde entier.

Hence, in medical sciences, for the second time we are dealing with a
 specialist in Nephrology who also believes in the supremacy of
 English as a medium of science. While he was attending medical
 seminars in various cities, he was aware that all conferences,
 correspondence and leaflets were in English (Q2, L1 to L9, p 297).
 He also cited the case of Egypt which is considered to be the
 most advanced in Arabization, but where English is used as the
 medium of instruction in medical postgraduate studies as
 well as in international medical meetings, leaflets, hotel
 reservations (see samples included, p 299-303).

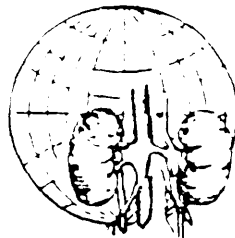
We have here another example of how a language (English) is gaining
 in importance by default. Algerians who are in the field of
 science and technology discover that English is a necessary tool to
 master in order to advance in one's research or own field of study.
 This explains why English is increasing in importance.

Thus the more Algerians learn English, the more useful it becomes as
 a lingua franca, encouraging a rapid increase in the number of
 Algerians who know it. As the proportion of Algerian speakers
 requiring English as a lingua franca increases, the use of this
 language encroaches upon the boundaries of another lingua franca
 (French) (see General Discussion/Summary, p 336 for full discussion).

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF NEPHROLOGY

**AMERICAN KIDNEY AND
ELECTROLYTES CONFERENCE**

CAIRO, 22-26 FEB. 1987



PREPARATION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The language for all papers is English. The original, on 8 1/2" x 11" bond paper, and two clear copies are required. Papers must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout (including references, legends, and tables) and must have at least one inch of margin on all four sides. Do not break words at the end of a line.

Any abbreviations used should be spelled out fully the first time they are used. Thereafter, the abbreviation may be used without elaboration. For easy reading, however, avoid too many similar or complex abbreviations.

Title page. The title page must be separate and consist of the title, all authors' full names (no degrees), the name(s), city(ies), and country(ies) or the institution(s) with which they are affiliated, and the address for correspondence. Information concerning sources of financial support should be placed in an Acknowledgement section between the Conclusions and References.

The title should be concise and lend itself to indexing: i.e., do not start with "Significant New Results..." or "Recent Investigations on" Also include a "short title" of no more than 40 characters. Each subsequent page of the manuscript should have the page number in the upper right-hand corner.

Illustrations. Figures and tables should supplement and not duplicate text material or they might be eliminated at the editor's direction. All illustrations (except tables, which may be typewritten) must be professionally rendered and suitable for production. Glossy photographs are required. Only one set of photographs is necessary but the two copies of the manuscript must each have a photocopy set of the original glossy photographs. Do not send negatives, slides, or original artwork. Care must be taken to spell words on glossies correctly, as no corrections can be made on them. Words, numbers, and symbols should be large and clear enough to remain legible when the figure is reduced to column width. Indicate stain for photomicrographs and provide a scale bar in such photographs. Identify glossy prints by affixing a label on the back with author's full name, the figure number, an arrow showing "top". The preferred size for photographs is 5 x 7 inches.

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Current Field of Interest _____

Signature _____

Date _____

This application form should be accompanied by:

- 1) curriculum vitae
- 2) list of membership in other societies
- 3) list of publications

Mail To: Dr. *Conrad A, Baldamus*
 Universitetsklinik Koeln
 Dept of Nephrology
 Joseph-Stelzmann-Str. 9
 5000 Koeln—Lindenthal
 FRG



FORM

HOTEL RESERVATION FORM

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF
BLOOD PURIFICATION

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, JUNE 22—24, 1987

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Please book accomodation for person (s) as follows:

Price category	Number of rooms	Single room SEK	Number of rooms	Double room SEK
A		930—1010		1340—1450
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Price in SEK/night. All rooms with bath/shower.

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Hotel reservation is binding unless notice of cancellation or alteration is received at least one week before arrival. No deposit is required.

Prices indicated are including breakfast, service and taxes.

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Special wishes concerning your accomodation:.....
.....
.....
Date Signatur

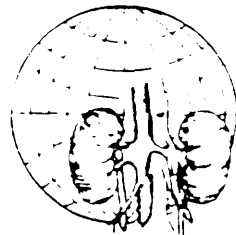
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Provide a set of legends, typed double-spaced, as the last element of the manuscript. Do not type each legend on a separate sheet of paper. Do not incorporate the legend into the illustrations. In the legends explain all symbols and abbreviations used in the figures.

Tables. Each table should have a brief, concise title. Column headings within the table should also be brief. Indicate units clearly. Use table footnotes for additional information such as statistical methods and explanations of abbreviations. Double-space when typing and do not rule in any lines.

References. References must be complete and accurate. References must be typed double-spaced. Arrange all references in order of first appearance in the text. References should be kept to reasonable minimum—no more than 25. Follow abbreviations for journal titles as they are used in Index Medicus. Within the text, indicate references online in parentheses. (For specific instructions and examples see the following Guidelines.)

Guidelines for References

In the main body of the text: Reference citations in the text must be in ascending, numerical order and correspond to ascending, numerical order in the reference section of the work. Reference numbers are always inside (to the left of) punctuation.

- ... according to recent abbreviations (6-12).
- ... according to recent abbreviations (6,7).
- ... according to recent abbreviations (7,9,11,12).

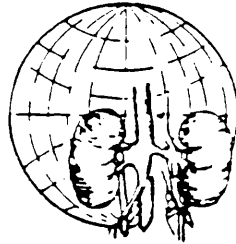
At the end of the text: It is important that all information necessary for the reader to locate a source document be given. If in doubt, put it in

1. References must be typed double-spaced.
2. Limit citations to 25.
3. Author's last name first, no comma, then initials with no space between first and subsequent initials.
4. Author's names and initials must be in upper and lower case.
5. All authors must be listed.
6. No colon after authors' names.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF NEPHROLOGY

AFRICAN KIDNEY AND
ELECTROLYTES CONFERENCE

CAIRO, 22-26 FEB. 1987



Cairo, 28th March 1987

Dear Sir,

We note that we have not yet received the manuscript of your paper(s) presented in the conference. It is still possible to publish it in the proceedings if you could manage to send it before 30th April 1987.

Please consider this as our final call for your paper.

Best regards.

Sincerely Yours

Miss Mona Shenouda
Conference Secretary

HDr3

The next interview in the field of medicine was conducted with the Director of the University Hospital of Mostaganem in the presence of six other colleagues in the same profession (surgery). He is a Professor of Cardiology in his early fifties. He is a well travelled scholar who speaks French and English fluently and has on several occasions taken part in international meetings and medical events.

In the course of his work as Professor of Cardiology and in order to maintain an up-to-date knowledge in his field he has to read and refer to literature written in English and French. His linguistic background is suitable to the nature of the question that we wanted to investigate. Hence our question:²²²

Q Quelle est la situation linguistique de l'anglais et du français dans la médecine et quel rôle linguistique joue l'anglais dans ce domaine?

HDr3 L'anglais est la première langue de communication dans le domaine de la médecine. La plupart des ouvrages écrits, périodiques, séminaires, colloques sont en anglais. Le français n'est qu'une langue secondaire.

5 Tenez par exemple pour faire un cours en français à mes étudiants je lis d'abord les ouvrages en anglais et je traduit ensuite en français. C'est vous dire à quel point l'anglais est scientifiquement supérieur au français, vu la rareté de documents scientifiques en cardiologie, pour faire un cours
10 magistral ou une conférence, il faut l'alimenter avec un peu d'anglais.

De plus, les brochures accompagnant les équipements médicaux sont en anglais pour les mettre à la disposition des agents qui ne comprennent pas l'anglais on est obligé de traduire.

²²²Interview conducted in Mostaganem, December 5, 1987 in the presence of six other colleagues from different hospitals located in Mostaganem wilaya.

15 Personnellement j'ai assisté récemment à un séminaire en
 Scandinavie, tout le séminaire était en anglais. Les
 organisateurs (même ceux qui comprenaient le français),
 refusaient de s'exprimer en français. A Lyon aussi lors d'un
 séminaire, c'était la même chose, même les Français
 20 s'exprimaient en anglais.

Pour terminer, ici en Algérie, à Mostaganem, à Oran, ou à Alger
 tous les collègues que j'ai rencontré pensent la même chose.
 Pour moi la langue anglaise c'est le véhicule principal de
 l'information en médecine.

The views on the linguistic role of English expressed by him
 correlate with the point of view formulated by the previous
 interviewees HDr1 and HDr2. In his reply to the above question
 he indicated that English is the first language in which
 medical information is conveyed. Here again another doctor
 of the health service has endorsed the view that French plays a
 secondary role in the area of medicine.

2.2.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS IN THE HEALTH SERVICE

We have seen while discussing linguistic issues related to medical
 sciences that all three interviewees stressed the ever-
 increasing role of English which has become the password for Algerian
 Doctors who aspire to advanced research. The role of French as a
 scientific language has been reduced in Algerian medicine to the same
 role as in France, in the sense that the most recent research, the
 latest discoveries and the latest publications in medical sciences,
 are produced in English and even the French contribution in this
 field is produced in English. Thus in order to progress and
 advance in one's own profession, one needs to refer to material
 written in English either in the preparation of lectures, or to
 keep abreast of any further development in one's field of
 specialization.

On the basis of this evidence we can conclude that the domination of
 English is due to externally driven factors. We are dealing here

with examples of linguistic situations where the growth and increasing role of English is not due to a conscious and planning process. English is imposing itself by virtue of being the first language of science and technology.

French is still used in the writing of case notes, report forms, referrals, prescriptions, internal memos and at board meetings. We have an example of the use of two foreign languages, French and English. French is used for internal purposes in the day-to-day running of the hospital and as a medium of instruction in medicine; English fulfills an external participatory function and is used as soon as Algerian professionals in the field of medicine need to get access to worldwide contributions in their domain. It is clear that French is having to give way to English where science and technology is concerned, even in a country like Algeria where French is still the first foreign language acquired.

2.3 TOURISM

Our next task is to study the linguistic situation in the sphere of tourism. Tourism is an economic activity which requires knowledge of foreign languages.

To investigate the use of foreign languages in this particular domain, a series of interviews were conducted with travel agents pertaining to various national touristic institutions such as 'Air-Algérie', O.N.A.T. (Office National Algérien de Tourisme) and T.C.A. (Touring Club Algérie). The abbreviation used for these interviewees is TA.

To account for a wider linguistic experience in this field, interviews conducted in this connection covered several cities in Algeria and ranged from members of staff occupying positions of authority to simple counter assistants. In view of the fact that interviews collected in this area are short and brief, we have, in order to simplify the interpretation of the findings, grouped all interviews under one heading: Tourism.

TA1

Our first interviewee is the Director of the Commercial section affiliated to the 'Air Algérie' Agency in Constantine. He is in his early forties and speaks French and English fluently. In his capacity of being the main officer in charge of commercial transactions, he uses foreign languages to deal with foreign companies. His long experience in this field proved helpful to our linguistic investigation. The question put to him was:²²³

Q Parlant du français et de l'anglais quelle langue étrangère domine au niveau de l'aéronautique?

TA1 La première langue étrangère utilisée au niveau d'Air Algérie est la langue anglaise, car toutes les tarifications, les contacts radio entre avions se font en anglais. Sans tourner autour du pot, la langue officielle de l'aéronautique c'est
5 l'anglais. Tous les manuels de travail (par exemple K.L.M., Air France, Lufthansa, S.A.A., British Airways) sont en anglais. Les pilotes algériens même au sein du territoire algérien communiquent en anglais aux tours de contrôle algériennes. Même
10 en France, les communications entre Français se font en anglais. Lorsqu'un avion algérien survole le territoire français, les contacts radio entre algériens et français se font en anglais. Pour Air Algérie, la connaissance de l'anglais est indispensable et le français n'est qu'une langue secondaire dans le domaine de l'aéronautique.

In his response he made it clear that in the field of aerial navigation English is the first means of communication. He observed that all travel manuals, price manuals and radio contacts with all control towers even in France are made in English (L1 to L11). Note that this is common knowledge: there is no alternative, all control tower communications are conducted in English. Here again we have a situation where the increasing growth of English in air navigation (in Algeria) is due to external factors and this results from the fact that English has

²²³Interview conducted in Constantine, November 2, 1987.

become the language of aeronautics.

TA2

Our second interviewee is the head of the Marketing section at the Air Algérie Head Office in Algiers. He is in his late thirties and speaks Arabic, French and English. His main task consists of supervising and analysing new markets concerning 'Air Algérie' with a view to expanding the company. In view of the fact that his work involves trading transactions with foreign companies, advertising 'Air Algérie's' flights abroad, supervising sales, creating new markets and setting up new agencies abroad, he is bound to use and refer to foreign languages to achieve his goals. We asked him to explain the linguistic situation in his field.²²⁴

Q Du point de vue du marketing, quelle est le rôle de l'anglais et du français?

TA2 Ici au service marketing c'est l'anglais qu'on utilise le plus souvent. Toutes les correspondances et les communications téléphoniques à l'étranger sont en anglais. L'usage du français est vraiment secondaire car c'est une langue de support qui
5 n'est utilisée que lorsqu' on n'a plus besoin de l'anglais. Pour être en contact avec l'étranger, négocier des marchés, créer de nouveaux marchés, c'est en anglais qu'on le fait même pour correspondre avec des Français en France on le fait en
10 anglais et les Français nous rendent la courtoisie en répondant en anglais. Le français n'est plus qu'une langue secondaire.

He revealed that in the field of Marketing, English is the medium used in correspondence and telephone communications; French is a secondary language used outside the working environment (L1 to L5). Thus to set up new markets, expanding the Company by opening new branches nationwide and abroad, and corresponding with foreign countries in business, the only language used is English (L5 to L8).

He added that even when dealing with French authorities we use

²²⁴Interview conducted in Algiers, September 26, 1988.

English and they respond to us in English, in which case French plays no linguistic role at the level of 'Air Algérie' except that of being a supporting means of communication (L8 to L10).

This statement carries a considerable sociolinguistic importance for the understanding of the use of two languages (English and French) in the field of marketing. We have here another example where the domination of English in marketing is linked to externally driven factors. Employees in this sector who need to set up business transactions with foreign companies or open new branches abroad find themselves forced to use the first language of business, English. The increased use of English by Algerian professionals has relegated French to a minor role. It is this increasing external pressure and widespread use of English by Algerian professionals that will provide the impetus for English to take over from French in Algerian science and technology.

TA3

Our third interviewee is a travel agent in an 'Air Algérie' agency located in Tamanrasset (in the south of the country) and is in his early twenties. His work involves selling air tickets and booking travellers on scheduled flights. He uses foreign languages in his daily work and in order to enquire about his linguistic experience in the field we asked him:²²⁵

Q Quelle langue étrangère vous est la plus indispensable et domine dans votre travail quotidien?

TA3 D'abord tout le vocabulaire qu'on utilise dans les billets (à part bien sûr le nom des passagers et des villes) est en anglais. Voici quelques exemples:

O.K. pour dire passager réservé

5 Request pour dire liste d'attente

Open pour dire non réservé

Listing liste des passagers

Transit pour dire passager en transfer d'une ville à l'autre.

²²⁵Interview conducted in Tamanrasset, September 29, 1988.

10 Au niveau des réservations sur ordinateur, c'est la même chose;
 c'est l'anglais qu'on utilise, le vocabulaire de base est en
 anglais, même les telex envoyés par les collègues d'Air Algérie
 sont en anglais, les telex qui nous parviennent de France sont
 en anglais. Les réservations sont en anglais. Bref au niveau
 de la billetterie, et de la réservation informatique c'est
 15 l'anglais qui domine. On parle français uniquement avec les
 touristes francophones et arabe avec les Moyen-Orientaux, pour
 le reste du monde entier on converse en anglais.

What evidence we have gathered so far suggests that in two major
 areas related to 'Air Algérie', that is, Air navigation and
 Marketing, English plays a major role. In the course of the
 interview with TA3 it was also found that in the field of ticket
 issuing and computer and telex reservations. The role of French
 has been reduced to a minor one due to the growing importance of
 English as the world language. We have further evidence of how
 French is having to give way to English as a link language between
 Algerians and non-Algerians (apart from Arabic-speaking and
 French-speaking countries).

TA4

Our fourth interviewee is a Commanding Officer Pilot posted at
 Oran Airport. Having flown to numerous countries in Europe and
 Africa in the course of his career, he has considerable linguistic
 experience in the field of foreign languages. We started our
 interview by asking him:²²⁶

Q Au cours des vols que vous avez effectués quelle langue
 étrangère a joué un rôle majeur?

TA4 Comme je vous l'ai dit au début de notre conversation j'ai
 survolé l'Afrique, l'Europe, au cours de ma carrière en tant que
 commandant de bord c'est surtout l'anglais que j'utilise le
 plus souvent. Comme vous le savez à chaque atterrissage,
 5 décollage et tout le long du vol on doit communiquer notre

²²⁶Interview conducted at Oran Airport, October 2, 1988.

position, altitude de vol aux divers tours de contrôle et c'est en anglais qu'on le fait, que ce soit en Afrique ou en Europe ou en Algérie. C'est l'anglais et seulement l'anglais qu'on utilise. Donc pour moi, dans mon métier c'est l'anglais qui joue un rôle primordial, quant au français c'est une langue d'ordre secondaire. Même en survolant le territoire français on communique avec les tours de contrôle françaises en anglais pas en français. Alors vous voyez à quel point l'anglais est indispensable et le français peu important.

Here we have interviewed a Commanding Officer who, in his turn, confirmed that in the domain of air-navigation all radio contacts with control towers within France and other countries where he has flown are in English (L1 to L14).

TA5

The fifth interviewee is in his late thirties and is the director of the O.N.A.T. (Office National Algérien du Tourisme) agency located in Sétif. Part of his work involves organizing excursions and group trips abroad as well as receiving and guiding tourists across the country. This is a restricted use of English mainly consisting of writing to international hotels and booking accommodation. Foreign languages are necessary tools in his daily routine. As a representative of this tourism office we asked his opinion on this matter:²²⁷

Q Dans le domaine du tourisme quelle est la langue étrangère la plus dominante?

TA5 Dans le tourisme, nous avons beaucoup de contacts avec l'étranger, on organise des voyages organisés un peu partout. Pour organiser un voyage, il faut contacter des hôtels ou des cités universitaires et cela on le fait en anglais. Par ailleurs il faut aussi contacter des compagnies de transports qui s'occuperaient des tours organisés de nos voyageurs et

cela aussi on le fait en anglais. Mis à part les touristes français et les touristes francophones, la majorité des touristes que nous recevons s'expriment en anglais et on leur
 10 répond en anglais. Donc comme vous pouvez le constater l'anglais est la langue la plus dominante bien qu'on utilise le français à notre niveau il reste secondaire et local.

This interviewee reported that the administrative procedures involved in the preparation and organization of holidays such as hotel bookings, means of transport and guided tours are conducted in English (L3 to L6). As regards tourists visiting Algeria, English is the major instrument of communication used by the majority of tourists. French is only used with French or tourists who wish to speak this language (L6 to L8). He concluded by reporting that the most needed language in this field of tourism is English (L8 to L10).

This is an example in the sphere of tourism where a minimum knowledge of English is required by employees working in this sector in order to deal with tourists (who cannot speak French or Arabic). The evidence discussed so far in connection with TA1, TA2, TA3, TA4 and TA5 shows how the growing use of English by a greater number of tourists and third parties involved in this trade creates the need for English in Algerian touristic companies participating in international trade. This illustrates how English, the lingua franca of international trade, business and tourism, is encroaching upon the boundaries of another lingua franca (French), as the number of Algerian professionals requiring a knowledge of English increases and the number of those requiring a knowledge of French slackens off.

TA6

The sixth interviewee in the field of Tourism is a young travel agent in his mid twenties, who works in a T.C.A. (Touring Club Algérie) in Algiers. His work mainly consists of organising guided tours across the country. Foreign travel agents who wish to organise a guided tour in this part of the country get in touch with him either by phone or by mail. In return, he replies to their requests by arranging a convenient date, provides touristic advice and guidance on the places to be visited and appoints a touristic

and advice, this interviewee communicates with foreign tourists using a foreign language. This requires a minimum knowledge of English. To enquire about the specific languages he uses in the course of his work we asked him:²²⁸

Q Quelle est la langue étrangère que vous utilisez le plus souvent dans votre domaine?

TA6 A notre niveau nous avons surtout affaire à des touristes étrangers qui ne connaissent pas le pays. Nous organisons pour eux des tours organisés, des excursions pour leur faire connaître et découvrir les sites historiques et les charmes du
5 paysage multi-géographique Algérien. Dans ce cas, les guides touristiques qui accompagnent les voyageurs s'expriment en anglais qui est la langue universelle et qui offre la possibilité de communiquer avec un plus grand nombre de touristes.

10 Dans l'organisation du Rallye Paris-Alger-Dakkar, depuis l'arrivée sur le territoire national jusqu' à la limite des frontières du Sahara Algérien, l'Algérie joue un grand rôle dans l'orientation touristique des conducteurs et participants en leur prodiguant des conseils d'itinéraire, des cartes
15 géographiques de la région et aussi en veillant au bon déroulement des événements sur le territoire national. Là aussi, l'élément indispensable de communication avec la plupart des participants se fait en anglais. On ne fait appel au français que lorsqu'on a affaire à des participants qui
20 s'expriment plus aisément en français qu'en anglais et généralement il ne représente qu'un nombre très restreint. La participation algérienne dans ce Rallye est très considérable et nécessite une organisation énorme pour le bon déroulement du parcours. Il s'agit de s'occuper de l'hébergement des
25 concurrents, de la restauration, prendre en charge les divers étapes pour traverser le territoire national. Cela constitue un

²²⁸Interview conducted in Ghardia, August 14, 1988.

champ linguistique où la communication entre Algériens et concurrents est très vitale et où une langue universelle peut délier tous les problèmes de communication. La langue anglaise
 30 reste maîtresse comme langue internationale dans ce domaine non seulement touristique, mais aussi à caractère international.

In the statement above, he stressed that in the context of guided tours and when dealing with large or small groups of foreign tourists, members of the Touring Club use English, a 'universal' language, which enables them to communicate with a greater number of tourists (L1 to L6). He also pointed out that all administrative procedures related to booking foreign tourists in hotels, providing them with time-tables and tourist guidance regarding the Paris-Algiers-Dakkar Rally, are conducted in English (L10 to L18).

It is evident from this interview that the foreign language used with tourists who are either visiting the country on a guided tour or are concerned with the Paris-Algiers-Dakkar Rally is English, which in its capacity of being the universal language offers a higher possibility of linguistic communication than other languages e.g. French, which can only be used as an instrument of communication when dealing with French speakers.

2.3.1 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS RELATED TO TOURISM

Throughout our discussion so far we have seen that in the context of 'Air Algérie', all four interviewees, regardless of their professional rank, agreed that the most useful language is English; French was only regarded as a secondary language as far as their linguistic worldwide tourist activities were concerned. For example, TA1 who supervises a commercial section at 'Air Algérie' level concluded in his statement that there was a greater demand for English as far as his professional domain was concerned i.e. price manuals, travel manuals. TA2 observed in his turn, at Marketing level, that English is the most needed language. He reported that international mail and correspondence concerning marketing and promoting tourism, telephone communication in connection with market prospects related to 'Air Algérie', and further developments and expansion of 'Air Algérie' abroad, are

operations conducted and carried out in English, even when dealing with France. TA3 confirmed the same view by stressing that all operations related to reservations, ticket issuing and telex messages are conducted in English. In his turn TA3 revealed that the role of English is increasing in importance in his professional area. While TA4 who is a Commanding Officer on board 'Air Algérie' aircrafts argued along the same line by adding that as far as air-navigation and radio contacts between Algerian pilots and control towers are concerned, English is the password. Even when Algerian aircraft fly over the territory of France, the language used is English. This evidence enabled us to support the hypothetical statement that in 'Air Algérie' the use of French has been relegated to a minor internal one due to external pressure and widespread use of English as the universal language of aeronautics, tourism and international trade.

In our interviews with TA5 and TA6, we have explored a different field of tourism. TA5 in his turn stressed the importance of English as a lingua franca in the organization of holidays and touristic guidance. TA6 who is also working in the same field but is in charge of organizing guided tours within Algeria and providing guidance and advice throughout the Paris-Algiers-Dakkar Rally reported that a knowledge of English is essential because this language facilitates wider communication with tourists from all over the world.

Thus, as was already noted, due to increasing external pressure English is gaining in importance. Algerian professionals in the sphere of air-navigation or other tourism activities who are willing to keep astride of the latest discoveries and advertising methods in their field, have no other alternatives than to use English. In its capacity of being the first language of business, science and technology, English is imposing itself in the domain of tourism as a result of Algerian involvement, in the international context. One concludes that English is taking over as a language of scientific scholarship. With this in mind, we may now turn to a different economic sector which also requires the use of foreign languages.

2.4 INDUSTRY

Industry constitutes one of the most important economic activities in Algeria.

In the following section, we shall concentrate on the use of English and French in the industrial sector by analysing interviews we have conducted with members who are working in this field. It would have been impossible for us for reasons of time and space to conduct interviews throughout the whole industrial sector. To limit our area of interest we have confined our study to the most important sectors in Algerian industry, that is the Oil and Gas Industry, 'Sidérurgie' and Electronics. This section is subdivided into three parts. Each part is devoted to a particular industrial area:

GROUP A

This part examines interviews conducted in the field of the Oil and Gas Industry and includes administrative cadres as well as engineers (abbreviation used : IGA, which stands for Interviewee Group A).

GROUP B

This part deals with interviews conducted in the field of Electronics and includes administrative staff as well as engineers (abbreviation used : IGB, which stands for Interviewee Group B).

GROUP C

This part studies interviews conducted in the 'Sidérurgie' sector and includes members of staff as well as engineers (abbreviation used : IGC, which stands for Interviewee Group C).

2.4.1 GROUP A OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY

IGA1

The first interview was held with a group of administrators and cadres who run the Marketing Section at Sonatrach (Oil and Gas

National Company). The interview was conducted in the presence of six cadres who are all employed and in charge of the Marketing section, including the head of section itself, who acted as the spokesman for their particular area of specialisation. This data was gathered from a group discussion and sums up view expressed by each contributor in the discussion. The conversation started with the following question:²³⁰

Q Quelle est la langue étrangère qui domine le plus dans les transactions effectués dans le domaine du marketing?

IGA1 La Direction Marketing correspond avec tous les organismes en anglais. Toutes les transactions portant sur des contrats de vente de pétrole et de gaz, les marchés avec l'étranger même avec la France se font en anglais. Toutes les correspondances même celles destinées aux marchés français sont en anglais. Comme nous travaillons et nous échangeons des marchés avec beaucoup de pays, nous avons adopté la langue universelle, c'est à dire l'anglais. Donc avec les Allemands, les Français et les Japonais pour ne citer que quelques uns les échanges commerciaux se font en anglais. Le français est dépassé. On ne peut pas communiquer avec le monde en utilisant une langue secondaire sur le plan international. Dans la bibliothèque la plupart des revues ayant attrait à la pétrochimie ou aux hydrocarbures sont en anglais. Dans la section financière les rapports internationaux sur les index des prix du pétrole sont en anglais. Dans le service chargé des relations extérieures les contacts et rapports sur les marchés les plus récents sur la scène internationale sont en anglais. Dans la section marketing research tous les programmes informatiques dans le domaine du marché pétrolier et les communications les plus récentes sont en anglais.

²³⁰Interview conducted in Algiers, November 21, 1987.

En un mot, la section Marketing ne fonctionne plus en français tout comme le français a lui même été dépassé dans ce domaine et et même les Français se sont mis au diapason de la langue anglaise. Pour être à jour il faut utiliser l'anglais, et l'anglais est, pour répondre à votre question, la langue la plus incontestablement dominante dans le domaine du marketing pétrochimique.

The evidence shows that the decision to use English in the field of the oil and gas industry is related to two factors. In the first place the decision to adopt English as the language of marketing, advertising and business by professionals employed in this sector results from an internal choice (L1 to L8). This is an example of planning which involves a lower-level decision taken by a company concerning the use of English because its widespread use facilitates foreign trade and economic development. In the second place the growing use of English as the language of manufacturing, banking, marketing, and trading concerns directly involved in world trade creates an external pressure and a need for the use of English because all the financial reports, oil price index and the latest scientific and technological research related to the oil and gas industry are handled in English (L12 to L28).

Thus, the role of English in international trade affects language decisions in the field of oil and industry. The importance of Algerian oil and gas exports, the volume of international trade involved in this sector, and the economic importance attached to this market play a part in sustaining a demand for English.

We have also more evidence here that the growing use of English as the language of international trade, science and technology has reduced the role of French to a secondary one (L23).

IGA2

This second interview has been conducted with a group of four Engineers who are working in an oil field located in Hassi-Messaoud.

The present interview is a synthesized version of four interviews conducted separately with each of the four engineers. The decision was taken on the grounds that the same observations in this field were made by all four interviewees and the outcome of the four interviews revolved around the same arguments. Hence to simplify our task and avoid repetition, we have grouped the four arguments together.

In their daily work, they use foreign equipment which can only be manipulated according to instructions and operating manuals written in the language of the manufacturer. In the domain of the oil industry, the technological transfer is often accompanied by a linguistic transfer as well, and the use of a foreign language is essential as was explained to us in the reply to this question:²³¹

Q Pouvez-vous nous expliquer la situation de l'anglais et du français dans le domaine de le pétrochimie?

IGA2 Dans le domaine des hydrocarbures, le français à tendance à reculer en tant que langue vivante et aussi en tant que langue internationale vis à vis de la langue anglaise qui est non seulement la première langue internationale mais la langue de la technologie. La supériorité de la langue anglaise peut se résumer en trois points:

1. en tant qu'outil de travail : La maîtrise de la technologie et l'avance des Américains dans le domaine de la technologie des hydrocarbures sur les Français, s'explique par le fait qu'on a de plus en plus de tendance à dépendre de cette technologie et de plus en plus de tendance à dépendre de l'outil de travail dans lequel la technologie des hydrocarbures est produite.

²³¹Interview conducted in Hassi-Messaoud, December 9, 1987.

2. comme moyens de communication : Le transfert technologique et l'échange de la technologie dans le domaine des hydrocarbures se fait accompagner par un transfert linguistique et un échange linguistique à travers lequel la langue anglaise devient le moyen essentiel de communication par le biais duquel l'échange linguistique et technologique s'accomplit. Par exemple, la majorité des équipements pétroliers sont fournis en terminologie américaine qui est reprise même en français, des termes comme 'work-over', 'completion', 'drill-hole', 'boring', 'launching silo', peuvent être retrouvés même dans la terminologie française.
3. en tant qu'outil de documentation : Etant donné que l'anglais est la première langue de la technologie des hydrocarbures, pour avoir accès à cette technologie il faut une documentation. Comme la documentation la plus riche dans le domaine pétrolifère est en anglais, on adopte aussi l'anglais comme langue et outil de documentation. Ainsi dans le domaine de la pétrochimie l'anglais prime sur le français vu que la recherche scientifique dans le domaine pétrolifère est plus avancée aux Etats-Unis qu'en France.

The participants attributed the domination of English in the field of oil production to three factors:

1. Given that Americans are ahead in the field of oil production, the technology in this field is handled in English. Therefore the tendency to depend on their technology implies dependency on the instrument of communication in which this technology is transmitted.
2. English is dominant because a technological transfer is also followed by a linguistic transfer in which the language which serves to transfer the technology becomes the means of communication in which the technology transfer is conveyed.
3. The statement that the latest discoveries in the field of oil technology are produced in English implies that any time one

wishes to consult documentation relating to this specific domain, reference to English becomes essential. In this particular case English become an instrument of 'documentation'.

What this interview shows is that the domination of English as an instrument of work, communication and documentation in the field of oil technology is due to the fact that the most advanced technology in this area is produced by Americans. Consequently the predominance of American technology in oil production means also the predominance of English as a language which conveys this technology. It follows that French is overshadowed by English in this area because scientific contributions written in French are less important (see p 346).

This is another illustration of the increasing demand for English due to external pressure and the widespread use of this language in science and technology. The use of French in Algeria, in this domain, has been reduced to the same role as in France (see the Weakening of French as a Language of Science and Technology, p 345 for full discussion).

IGA3

This third interview was conducted in the presence of two production engineers, three maintenance engineers, four lecturers from the I.A.P. (Institut Algérien de Pétrole) five students and the head of the training department affiliated to the gas production unit (G.N.L.) in Arzew. The interview was carried out under the form of a collective discussion, which in fact was inspired by a question addressed to every participant. Here again we have gathered data collected from individual statements and presented it in the form of a summary which reflects the common views expressed by all participants.

Hence we are dealing here with an administrator who is in charge of the pedagogical, academic and administrative organisation of a course which is intended to train future engineers in gas production and equipment maintenance and where the use of a foreign language is essential in the transmission of technology

conveyed in a foreign language. Teachers who have taken part in this discussion are graduates from American Universities and have a good command of English, in addition to being experts in the field of gas production. This linguistic and professional background influenced the decision to invite them to join in our discussion. For the same reasons, engineers working in this gas production unit were included in the discussion on account of their linguistic and professional training in the U.S.A. and their experience in the field. We believed that they would be well informed about the linguistic situation in their field of specialisation. On consideration of the fact that their training consisted in acquiring a technology often transmitted in a foreign language, we considered that a student's contribution to this discussion may reflect the actual linguistic situation at their level of training. As was pointed out earlier, the discussion was inspired by the question which reads:²³²

Q Quelle langue étrangère domine dans votre domaine?

IGA3 1. Enseignement

Dans l'enseignement, il va sans dire, que toute la technologie ayant rapport à la production du gas est en anglais. Les ingénieurs, les techniciens qui étudient à l'I.A.P. (Institut Algérien de Pétrole) de Bourmerdés sont formés(ées) entièrement en anglais, toutes les disciplines sont enseignées en anglais. Ici au G.N.L. les étudiants et futur-ingénieurs, techniciens supérieurs subissent un stage obligatoire de formation pratique qui continue à être dispensé en anglais. D'ailleurs les professeurs à ce niveau sont tous formés au Etats - Unis et sont spécialisés dans la langue anglaise. Il faut aussi souligner le fait que les équipements sont fournis par les Américains et par conséquent toute manipulation nécessite une connaissance de l'anglais. Donc au niveau de l'enseignement, l'anglais est seul maître à bord et domine toute le formation du début

²³²Interview conducted in Arzew, December 5, 1987.

jusqu'à la fin, et la présence de la langue française est vraiment dérisoire sinon inexistante en tant que langue de formation. C'est tout simplement une langue étrangère au sens propre du mot.

20 2. Documentation

On disait donc que la langue française n'existe qu'à titre facultatif et dérisoire car toute la documentation au niveau de la bibliothèque est en grande partie disons à 99% en anglais et 1% en allemand et en français. La compagnie
 25 G.N.L. elle même a été fondé par la compagnie Américaine CHEMICO qui elle même a été remplacée par BECHTEL et récemment par EL PASO. Donc toute la documentation depuis son début a été établie et fondée par des Américains en anglais. D'où la conclusion, dans le domaine de la
 30 documentation technologique du gaz l'anglais est dominant. Tous les enseignants, ingénieurs et techniciens parlent et utilisent l'anglais.

This discussion focuses on the predominance of English at two different levels:

1. Participants in this interview stressed that students who are studying at the I.A.P. (Institut Algérien de Pétrole) to graduate as engineers or high technicians receive their theoretical training in English. Those who wish to specialize in gas production continue their training practice in English on their arrival at this gas production unit under the supervision of teachers affiliated to this unit, and who are themselves graduates of American Universities and have specialized in English and gas production technology (L1 to L2). It was also explained that the necessity to use English is not only justified by the fact that technology in this field is handled in English, but also by the fact that equipment being provided by Americans requires a good knowledge of English for a full control and expert manipulation, produced in English (L12 to L17). Here the conclusion drawn by all interviewees is that French plays a secondary role (L17 to L20).

2. The dominance of English is also justified by the fact that the documentation available in this area is produced in English. The library of the unit has been set up by Americans, firstly by Chemico, then by Bechtel and completed recently by El Paso. As matters stand, 99% of the actual documentation stored in the library of this unit is written in English while only 1% is produced in German and French (L19 to L25). Hence the conclusion drawn by all interviewees is that English is the first language of advanced oil and gas technology and is also the dominant language used by teachers, engineers, students and members of staff (L25 to L30).

On the basis of the above evidence provided by all fourteen participants who took part in this interview, we can conclude that a shift towards English is gradually progressing within the Algerian scientific community working in the area of oil and gas technology, due to externally driven factors and increasing use of English as the premier language of advanced science and technology. This evidence supports the view that a once prestige language (French) is giving way to another language of wider communication and higher prestige (English).

2.4.2 GROUP B ELECTRONICS

Electronics is a significant sector in the Algerian economy as it constitutes one of the major exports of the country. Algerians produce television sets, midi hifi systems, refrigerators, air conditioners and many other electronic items such as electric food mixers, coffee grinders etc. In this section, which is mainly concerned with import and highly related to foreign trade, the use of foreign languages is essential.

The present interview was conducted in several production units which manufacture electric and electronic equipment and which are stationed in Tlemcen, Algiers, Sidi-Bel-Abbes and Tizi-Ouzou. The discussion below includes interviews conducted with the following participants:

1. A linguistic advisor who is in charge of supervising the editing of operating manuals at national territory level.
2. A production consultant who takes care of administrative matters in connection with production and selling abroad.
3. An advertising and marketing officer involved in business development and advertising the products of the company abroad.
4. Two engineers who supervise and check the assembling of spare-parts.
5. A lecturer in charge of training future high technicians in this production line.

The resulting interview is a summary of notes we have gathered from views expressed by the above members. Here again the discussion revolved around the question:²³³

Q Quelle langue étrangère domine dans votre profession?

IGB Au niveau de la composition des manuels d'instructions et des instructions qui accompagnent les appareils électro-ménagers, l'anglais est la langue dominante.

5 En ce qui nous concerne la technologie de l'électronique, presque toute la documentation qui paraît est en anglais, les manuels qui accompagnent les équipements sont aussi en anglais. Ici le français est secondaire. De plus au cours de la formation des techniciens, la langue anglaise est indispensable et
10 obligatoire.

²³³Interview conducted in Tlemcen, Algiers, Sidi-Bel-Abbes, Tizi-Ouzou, between September 8 and 18, 1988.

Les prospectus publicitaires destinés à l'étranger pour promouvoir la vente de nos produits sont en anglais. C'est la langue universelle. Nous utilisons de temps en temps le français mais c'est surtout l'anglais qui prime surtout lors
15 des foires d'exposition.

Here again we see how Algeria's involvement in international trade creates a need for the use of English. Thus English is taking over because of externally driven factors. This area of electronics and the technology related to it has been brought in from outside. It is not Algeria's decision to replace French by English. Algerian professionals who work in this sector have no other alternatives than to speak and use English because it is the language of trade, science and technology.

2.4.3 GROUP C/SIDERURGIE

'Sidérurgie' is one of the most important industrial sectors in Algeria. This sector represents one of the most important area of economic development. From the point of view of this discussion there is only one aspect of the industrial sector that we need to be aware of : the linguistic situation and the use of foreign languages. To explore the linguistic scene in this industrial sector we have conducted an interview with several members employed at the siderurgical complex of Annaba which is considered as the first centre of 'sidérurgie'. The following members participated in the discussion:

1. The head of the training department of Sider who is in his mid-thirties and who is in charge of supervising the training of future engineers and technicians in 'sidérurgie' from the pedagogical and administrative points of view. This position as an administrator enables him to assess the linguistic situation.
2. A production engineer also in his early thirties and who holds a Ph.D. In his daily routine he manipulates equipment

and documentation related to this field. As an expert in this sector, it is believed that he is well informed and aware of the linguistic situation in 'sidérurgie'.

3. Two computer engineers in their early thirties and who hold a 'Doctorat d'état' from Grenoble University. These interviewees run computer programs, computer analysis mainly related to sidérurgie. In this particular area, the use of foreign languages is of prime necessity.

The following question triggered off the discussion:²³⁴

Q Quelle langue étrangère dans le domaine de la sidérurgie est la plus dominante?

IGC Dans le cadre de la formation des cadres, il faut souligner que l'utilisation de l'anglais est primordial; la langue anglaise est la langue la plus utilisée en technologie surtout en sidérurgie, c'est aussi la langue la plus utilisée dans les séminaires et rencontres internationales et publications en technologie. Dans le domaine de l'informatique il n'y a aucun doute que la langue la plus utilisée et la plus dominante est l'anglais.

10 Il faut aussi dire que non seulement dans le domaine de la technologie en général, mais aussi dans le domaine de la sidérurgie, l'anglais est passé du stade de langue étrangère au stade de langue de travail. C'est l'outil indispensable dans le secteur sidérurgique pour suivre de près les progrès accomplis dans ce domaine, il faut se référer aux publications les plus
15 récentes et systématiquement il faut avouer que l'anglais est la langue de diffusion de la technologie.

On observe au contraire un recul de la langue française, non seulement en tant que langue de travail mais aussi en tant que langue internationale.

²³⁴Interview conducted in Annaba, December 19, 1987.

Two major points emerge from this interview:

1. In the domain of technology and 'sidérurgie' the dominance of English can be felt at different levels. Firstly it is the universal language of technology and consequently the language of modern 'sidérurgie'. Secondly, all documentation and recent discoveries in sidérurgie and in technology in general are transmitted in English. Thirdly, applying computing to 'sidérurgie' in order to ease the administrative task implies using the first language of computing which is also English. Fourthly, all international meetings are held in English (L3 to L9).

2. English is no longer just a foreign language in the domain of technological 'sidérurgie': it has become an instrument of work, whereas French, which can no longer compete with English in this field, recedes not only as an instrument of work, but also as a language of wider communication (L18 to L20).

The evidence discussed above supports the view that English is taking over from French in the field of 'sidérurgie' due to external factors (see General Discussions and Summary, p 336).

2.4.4 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS IN THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

So far we have explored three major areas in the industrial sector and analysed evidence gathered from 33 participants who contributed in this research. The summary of the findings related to this sector can be summed in three points:

1. Oil and Gas Industry

This section can be divided into three subsections:

a. Marketing

It was established while discussing evidence gathered from the six interviewees employed in this sector and who

contributed to our discussion, that English has overshadowed French in this field and become the most dominant language in marketing with respect to business letters and contracts, financial reports and quotations, public relations, documentation related to this field and computer programmes related to research marketing in the oil and gas industry (IGA1).

b. Hydrocarbons

It was established in our discussion of interview IGA2 conducted with four members employed in this sector, that the domination of English in 'Hydrocarbures' is manifested under three forms:

1. As an instrument of work to master technology in this area.
2. As a means of communication and transmission of the transfer of technology.
3. As a linguistic instrument to get access to documentation and publications referring to this subject.

c. Gas

While discussing linguistic issues related to gas production and technology, it was found that all fifteen participants who took part in interview IGA3 reached the following conclusions:

1. English is the dominant language of instruction and training practice in the teaching and training of future engineers, high technicians and technicians.
2. The linguistic role of French is negligible compared with the part played by English in this sector.

3. English is the first language in which the literature and documentation in the field of gas technology is transmitted.
4. Engineers, teachers, administrators, students use more English in their daily work or training than French.

Hence, the evidence discussed above corroborates the hypothesis that English is the dominant language in the oil and gas industrial sector, and that French has receded to a secondary position.

2. Electronics

As was pointed out earlier, five participants took part in a discussion related to electronic technology. All five interviewees supported the view that English is the dominant language as far as manuals accompanying electronic equipment destined for export, technological terminology and literature related to this subject, training of students and future engineers, advertising, brochures and international expositions, e.g. international fairs, are concerned (IGB).

The evidence discussed in connection with the electronic industry and technology supports the view that English is also the dominant language in this sector.

3. 'Sidérurgie'

The evidence discussed in the context of our analysis of interview IGC discloses that all three interviewees supported the view that English predominates in the field of 'sidérurgie'. Their arguments centered around three major areas:

- a. English is a necessary language in the training of cadres in this field.

- b. In the field of siderurgical technology, English is the most important and dominant language.
- c. English is also the first language used in the Computing Centre related to siderurgical technology.
- d. English is also the most widely used language in the technical literature related to the siderurgical industry.

Here again, the hypothesis that English is the most widespread language in 'sidérurgie' has been corroborated on the basis of the evidence discussed above.

We conclude this section on industry by stating that the hypothesis that English has engulfed linguistic areas in the industrial sector where French was formerly the dominant language, has been corroborated.

2.5 TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Details aside, this is a domain where the use of foreign languages may prove useful. To evaluate the linguistic situation with regards to foreign languages, we conducted an interview with various employees in this sector.

The interview below is a summary of interviews gathered from interviewees from four different cities: Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Sétif and reflects common views and opinions expressed by all interviewees in reply to the same question. In all, eight interviewees (two from each city, including one telephone operator and one telex operator) took part in the interview. Participants were aged approximately between 23 and 27 and all were graduates from the I.T.O. (Institut de Télécommunications d'Oran) where the entire instruction and training is given in English (see p 332).

All interviewees were asked the same question which reads:²³⁵

(Abbreviation O = operator)

Q Quelle est la langue étrangère que vous utilisez le plus dans le domaine des télécommunications et qui vous semble dominer?

O Disons tout de suite que la langue la plus dominante en télécommunications, sur la scène internationale, est l'anglais qui est sans aucun doute la première langue internationale adoptée par le monde entier. La domination de l'anglais est due en grande partie au fait que la plus grande partie de la documentation sur les télécommunication postales est en anglais. Les ingénieurs et techniciens supérieurs en télécommunications postales sont formés en anglais et ont suivi une formation en anglais. A l'I.T.O. (Institut de Télécommunication d'Oran) la formation est en anglais. Ceci indique clairement que l'anglais occupe une place primordiale dans le domaine des télécommunications.

Pour répondre à la demande des clients qui souhaitent appeler un numéro à l'étranger et qui n'ont pas la ligne directe chez eux, nous appelons de leur part le numéro, lorsque le numéro est difficile à obtenir ou ne figure pas sur les lignes directes, nous appelons l'opérateur en service dans la poste de la ville ou le client désire s'entretenir. Dans ce cas les échanges entre opérateurs algériens et opérateurs étrangers se font en anglais (sauf pour les pays Arabophones où nous utilisons la langue nationale algérienne que est l'arabe). D'une manière générale, les échanges linguistiques entre opérateurs Algériens et étrangers même avec les Français se font en langue universelle, c'est à dire en anglais, puisque le français n'est plus la première ouverture qu'elle était auparavant.

²³⁵Interview conducted in Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Sétif between September 1 and 4, 1988.

Quant au service Telex, la majorité des Algériens qui envoient des télégrammes ou des Telex composent leur texte en anglais (sauf pour la France). Puisque le texte original est en anglais, la transmission se fait également en anglais. Là aussi la remarque qu'on peut faire est que la langue anglaise est la plus utilisée et domine en tant que langue universelle.

It was found throughout the discussion above that the dominant language in the field of Telecommunications is English (L1 to L4). Interviewees explained that the dominance of English is mainly due to the fact that the greatest and most considerable part of the documentation concerning this field is written in English (L4 to L6). Hence its predominance is related to externally driven factors.

Participants in the interview above also pointed out that engineers and technicians specializing in this sector are trained in English at the I.T.O. where the language of instruction is English (L8 to L12).

This is another example of planning which involves an internal decision to use a language of wider communication, such as English, but at the same time, this decision is affected by the fact that this technology is handled in English, even in France²³⁶. Hence the decision is influenced by external factors and pressure from outside.

In the postal services, it was found that linguistic exchanges between Algerian operators connecting callers from Algeria to different parts of the world and non-Algerian operators are conducted in English (L18 to L20). However they noted that telephone connections between Algerian operators and Arabophone nations are conducted in the national language, namely Arabic. But telephone connections concerning all other nations including France are carried out in English (L20 to L26). Hence in the field of telecommunications connections, English is more useful than French, which is regarded as a foreign language, but without the instrumental value of English (L30 to L32).

²³⁶Cenki, Danielle, 1986, 'Le français face à l'entreprise' La Documentation Française, Paris, p 41.

In the telex service, it was found that the most important parts of Telegrams and Telex messages are composed and transmitted in English. This may not be the case when Arabs are sending telegrams or telex messages to other Arabs because the language used here would be Arabic. It is therefore legitimate to state that, apart from Arabic and French speaking countries, the language used in telegram and telex communications is English.

The evidence discussed above corroborates the hypothesis that in the field of Telecommunications, English is infiltrating more and more areas formerly reserved for French (see p 347 for further discussion).

2.6 ENSI (Entreprise Nationale des Systèmes Informatiques)

ENSI is a national enterprise which specialises in the running of computer programmes and data analysis for companies all over the country. One of the prerogatives of this enterprise is to create statistical, financial, pedagogical, industrial, management, and technical files for various companies who wish to get access to computer facilities or wish to introduce computer data at their level. In this field, the use of English is inevitable. We set out to explore the linguistic situation in this area and conducted for this purpose a series of interviews with computer engineers employed in this service.

The present interview is the result of successive discussions with three computer engineers from Algiers and two computer enigneers from Oran who answered the same question:²³⁷

(ENSI stands for ENSI engineers)

Q Quelle est la langue étrangère la plus dominante dans le domaine de l'informatique?

²³⁷Interviews conducted in Algiers and Oran, between September 1 and 4, 1988.

ENSI1 En informatique, il n'existe aucun doute que la langue dominante est actuellement l'anglais. Certes le français est utilisé ici et là mais la langue anglaise reste l'apport principal de l'informatique.

5 Par exemple dans le Software, soit au niveau du COBOL, FORTRAN, ERIC, ou au niveau de PASCAL ou du BASIC, l'anglais reste tributaire de la première place linguistique.

Dans le domaine de la documentation, soit au niveau des manuels d'utilisation ou des revues sur l'information, les
10 recherches les plus récentes sont publiées, en anglais. Même si on maîtrise parfaitement le français, il faut toujours se documenter en anglais, plus l'informatique avance plus le français sera dépassé.

We have here further evidence of how English is gaining in importance by default. Here again, it is not Algerians who have decided to use English in computing. It is the case that Algerian professionals who are working in computing or any other area related to this sector are forced to use the first language of computing which is English. They have no other choice; not knowing English, or too little English would reduce Algerian professionals capability of communicating with non-Algerians and impede the flow of information from abroad (or, at the very least, increase the need for translation).

3 GENERAL DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

So far, we have analysed data gathered from 81 interviewees (of whom 9 occupied managerial positions) employed in various socio-economic sectors throughout the country and ranging between the ages of 15 and 40. In what follows we shall discuss the socio-linguistic issues related to the use of French and English in various domains.

3.1 ATTITUDES TOWARDS FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN THE EDUCATION SECTOR

As was pointed out earlier, the linguistic inquiry concerning the educational sector enabled us to corroborate the hypothesis that the linguistic position and status of French as a first foreign language at 'fondamentale', secondary and university level is unsteady and rests on its capacity to withstand linguistic competition on the international arena as well as its resistance to the growing scientific and international role of English, which has, as was shown above, superseded French in scientific and technological subjects at university level.

The viewpoints expressed by the 19 interviewees who were questioned in this respect, reflects an attitude of dissatisfaction towards French which they no longer consider as the first world language. On the contrary they have shown positive attitudes towards English which they regard as a superior language in its status of being the first international language and the language in which modern science and technology is handled. What all this means is simply that Algerians are changing their attitudes towards French because they have discovered, in the course of their travels abroad, or while attending international seminars, or even while carrying out their own research or keeping abreast of the latest scientific and technological discoveries in their own field, that French is no longer an indispensable instrument of communication or work. In other words, Algerians are becoming more and more aware of the linguistic importance of English as a result of external factors.

3.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN THE HEALTH SERVICE

The evidence discussed in relation to the health service corroborates the hypothesis that English is the dominant language in the domain of medicine. Here again, the same attitude and linguistic tendency to regard English as a superior language was reflected in the opinions expressed by the 9 doctors of the Health Service interviewed in this connection. Of equal importance is the fact that the interviewees employed in this section share the viewpoint that French is no longer the first language, but just a secondary language striving to maintain its linguistic status in the medical field entirely dominated by the English language at research, international meetings and publication levels. Here again, participants have confirmed the view that English is an indispensable tool and instrument of work.

3.3 ATTITUDES TOWARDS FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN THE TOURIST DOMAIN

In this domain, once again the hypothesis that English is the most needed language has been tested and the opinions expressed by interviewees employed in 'Air Algérie' or tourist offices correlate and confirm the general attitude we have discussed above. Whether in air transport or touristic and holiday organization, interviewees have shown the same favourable attitude towards English which they regard as a superior language. Here again we have noticed a shift in the general opinion concerning French. Due to the increased use of English as the conduit of new scientific and technological information in the field of air navigation and tourism, Algerians working in this sector are becoming more and more aware of the fact that English offers more linguistic possibilities as a universal language and means of communications, and the fact that the myth of superiority associated with the French language is no longer prevailing. In their daily experience Algerian Travel Agents have discovered that English is an essential tool of communication and work.

3.4 ATTITUDES TOWARDS FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

The linguistic situation in the industrial sector has been studied on the basis of data collected from 25 interviewees employed in various industrial areas throughout the country. The subgroups of interviewees show strong agreement on the superiority and dominance of English in the industrial sector. The respondents as a whole viewed English as superior to French in terms of its universality and because it is the main language of science and technology. This can be attributed to the fact that most of the industrial documentation, research and international meetings are in English.

The findings discussed in connection with this sector lend support to the hypothesis that, in the industrial field, English has superseded French as far as oil, gas, electronics and 'sidérurgie' are concerned.

Here again, it is worth noting that the opinions expressed by interviewees in this field reflect the same language attitude described and observed while discussing other areas: that is, French is no longer regarded as an important language (see IGA1 L12, L25, 26, 27 ; IGA2 L1, L2, L3 ; IGA3 L17 to L20). In the same manner, participants have strongly preferred the use of English to French.

3.5 ATTITUDES TOWARDS FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN THE AREA OF TECHNOLOGY

The results disclosed in the analysis of Telecommunications and ENSI confirm the conclusion that English is the first language of telecommunications. All 13 interviewees who participated in this study subscribe to the view that French remains a secondary language as far as modern technology is concerned. In this sector, we have observed the same attitude towards French and English as described above. Here again, interviewees felt that English is a superior language in view of its instrumental utility and the direct relation between the knowledge of English and technological progress.

In conclusion, one can say that the evidence discussed above supports the main hypothesis that English, as a foreign language, is infiltrating the Algerian linguistic scene and is gaining in science and technological areas. Thus French is being superseded by English in the scientific and technological sector.

3.6 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE USE OF FRENCH AS A LANGUAGE OF COLONIZERS

As we have seen previously, one of the main purposes of the French Colonization and policy of assimilation consisted of forbidding the use of the Arabic language and imposing French language and culture upon the natives of Algeria. The French, as was pointed out earlier, believed that the imposition of French language and culture would enable them to undermine the culture and language of the colonized in their own eyes (see section entitled French, p 18).

During the French rule, the colonizer tried to convince the colonized that French culture and language was superior to the indigeneous ones, and hence create a sense of cultural alienation. As a direct consequence of this cultural alienation, the colonized tended to regard the colonizer's language and culture as superior to his own culture. It follows that this process led to the destruction of the cultural identity of the colonized who became more and more dependent on the colonizer's language and culture during and after colonisation.

After Independence, as was noted earlier, the Algerian educated élite was either educated in Arabic or French. The long period of French colonisation ended in 1962 but the linguistic presence of French was still there and an immediate or hasty Arabization was too hazardous to envisage (see Impact of Arabization Policy on French, p 50). Education of the masses was the primary pre-occupation and bilingualism in education offices a temporary solution to the linguistic conflict between supporters of Arabic and French.

After Independence, the cult of linguistic superiority associated with French as a key to modernism survived. Little by little, Algerians have been able to recover their Arabo-Islamic identity by preserving their religion (Islam) and the language of the Koran (Classical Arabic), which served as a repository of Islamic culture and religion. The recovery of the Arabic language and patrimony have enabled Algerians to value their own national language and look upon French as a language of the ex-colonizer.

With the implementation of 'fondamentale' education and further measures of Arabization, Algerians have come to accept Arabic as their official language and legitimate linguistic heritage. As we have seen while we were discussing linguistic issues related to education, the health service, tourism, industry and technology, Algerians have rejected the concept of superiority associated with the French language, which they view as a language of ex-colonizers; they no longer consider it an indispensable tool for getting access to modern science and technology.

The evidence we have discussed in this connection is conclusive and shows that Algerians are changing their attitudes towards French. For Algerians, French represents a symbol of colonialism, cultural alienation and a language which is becoming progressively irrelevant in science and technology. As the years rolled by, Algerians have realized that they need another foreign language (English) to put them in contact with the world's technical and scientific information and knowledge which is essential for their economic development.

3.7 REASONS FOR THE NEED TO USE ENGLISH

Because languages are tools, they are rarely acquired for their own sake as Whiteley suggested:

"It is worth remembering that the desire to learn another language springs only very rarely from a disinterested wish to communicate with one's fellow humans".²³⁸

²³⁸Whiteley, W., 1969, Swahili: The Rise of a National Language, London, p 13.

In connection with English as a tool, three reasons why it is by far the most needed foreign language in Algeria today are also valid in many other countries:

1. Its general importance and prestige in today's world, that is, the realization that English is now the world's chief link language. French is a language which cannot be used any longer as a language of science and technology - as was reported to us by most interviewees. Hence the need to use English as a language of wider communication.
2. The access it gives to most of the world's current scientific and technological literature. The interviewees reported in this respect that English is the major key to useful foreign contacts and specialized knowledge.
3. As a result of reason 2, English may be needed for scientific advancement in one's profession. Depending on the job, English, as we have seen, may be useful, desirable, or essential. Naturally, the house painter or construction worker has little or no need for English while on the job, but not so the doctor, the engineer, the university lecturer, the computer analyst, the telephone operator, the travel agent, the commanding officer flying an aircraft, the student travelling abroad, the manager of an oil company and the engineers working in an oil field. They have all shown that English is essential and needed.

It will be realized that the foregoing three reasons all concern the 'practical' value of English, that is its importance or usefulness as an instrument of worldwide communication. English is generally not studied for reasons of sentiment, inasmuch as it has no emotional value for most informants we have interviewed (as, say, Classical Arabic had throughout the ages for Algerians). The values of English as a key to high culture is not often a factor in its popularity as a subject of study here, the reason being that none of the interviewees we have questioned has reported that he/she was

motivated by the desire to read Shakespeare or Joyce or Shaw in the original (apart from those who study English in the universities as their major subject). The need to know and use English is linked to utilitarian motives.

Thus the need for English is related to its usefulness and value as the most widely studied foreign language; as the foreign language most needed in education, business, international trade, science, technology and the professions; and as the chief language for worldwide communication. Attitudes towards English, in this particular case, are associated with instrumental orientations because, as the interviewees have reported, English is the world's chief link language and instrument which enables them to have access to scientific and technological literature almost always available in English. With this in mind, it is easy to see why a knowledge of English is eagerly desired by an ever-growing number of Algerians, why a knowledge of English, is preferred to a knowledge of French, and why the use of English is encroaching on the use of French.

CONCLUSION

The situation of English in Algeria has been different from its situation in other countries in other ways too: it was never the language of government after independence, or the language of internal communication in a highly multilingual state without a single widespread indigenous language (as in India or Nigeria), or a language actively used by a middle or upper-class élite (as in India) or the medium of instruction in schools because the indigenous languages are for one reason or another not yet suited for such a function (as in the Philippines), or the language of high culture (as in Guyana).

English, in Algeria, is an example of a language which has emerged by virtue of externally driven factors because Algeria, which is looking to the west to aid its economic growth, has to import western science and technology and the body of knowledge associated with it which is established in English.

It is clear that the widespread use of English as a language of business, science and technology described by the interviewees is not the result of a national language planning activity but the result of external reasons. The point here is that the emergence of English is due to external reasons because Algeria which seeks to modernise its industry and technology must use English which is the language of science. Even the internal choice made by Algerian professionals working in the sphere of tourism, trade, business and technology to use English is due to the growing use of English as the first language of international trade, business, science and technology and therefore due to external pressure.

One concludes here that the function previously attributed to French as the main language for acquiring western science and technology is being taken over by English in many areas of Algerian industry and technology as a result of the growing role of English as today's channel for importing western knowledge and the decline of French as a language of science and technology. It is to this decline of French as a scientific language that we now turn.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE WEAKENING OF FRENCH

AS

A LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

THE WEAKENING OF FRENCH AS A LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In view of the fact that French is no longer the scientific language of some French scientists, it is inevitable that Algerian science and technology is not going to benefit from the decline of French as a language of science and technology. This perception of the decline of French was clearly described by Kassim who stated:

"Le français est, du reste, en retard actuellement par rapport à d'autres langues (...) La langue la plus répandue à présent, à travers l'univers, est l'anglais. Le français ne suffit plus".²³⁹

As a matter of default French is leaving, English comes in. There is no case of treating French as a scientific language. Our objective here is to test the hypothesis that French as a language of science and technology is losing ground to English. This hypothesis will be tested using views expressed by authors who have dealt with this issue.

The decline of French as a scientific language has been the concern of many French scholars. Authors like Duneton, Iciyan, Cans, Moles, Bornes, Jacot and Nau, to name but a few, have all analysed the retreat of the French language as a language of science and technology and the increasing use of English by French scientists. We have, for reasons of time and space, restricted our study to France, as the inclusion of other countries using French as L1 would take us far afield.

In 1977, Duneton, a French author who has analysed the impact of Anglo-American on the French language, published 'L'anglo-américain est en train de nous avaler tout crus'. This article reflected the French concern about the growing role of English on the French linguistic arena. He wrote in this connection:

"Le fait que l'anglais soit la langue officielle des Etats-

²³⁹Kassim, Mouloud, 1986, 'Pour un usage adéquat' Parcours Maghrebins, No. 3, p 31.

Unis, première puissance mondiale, que ce soit la langue scientifique et commerciale de tout l'occident, la langue véhiculaire des sociétés multinationales, et donc, d'ores et déjà, la langue du pouvoir réel en Europe, pose un problème scientifique".²⁴⁰

As was seen previously, many interviewees who took part in this study came to the same conclusion that English is the scientific language (see interviews D2, D3, D4, HDr1, HDr2, HDr3). In the foregoing statement, this French author supported the same view. It is his belief that English is becoming a real threat and serious contender in the scientific field.

We have seen while discussing linguistic issues related to the Oil and Gas industries that interviewees insisted on the dominance of English in this field. Inciyan, a French writer supports the same view in his 'L'anglais, Latin du XX^e siècle". He observed:

"Partant en poste dans les pays du Golfe, les salariés de la française des pétroles - total, apprennent les rudiments de l'anglais des pétroles".²⁴¹

In the course of our linguistic investigation, several interviewees (T1, D3, D4, HDr1, HDr2, HDr3) pointed out that English has become so dominant that French scholars themselves have decided to publish their own articles in English. Inciyan remarked on this issue:

"Les chercheurs français publient eux même en anglais dans les revues américaines, qui confèrent notoriété à leur travaux".²⁴²

²⁴⁰Duneton, Claude, 1977, 'L'anglo-américain est en train de nous avaler tout crus', Le Monde de l'Education No. 27, avril 1977, p 9.

²⁴¹Inciyan, Eric, 'L'anglais, Latin du XX^e siècle', Le Monde de l'Education, No. 137, avril 1987, p 35.

²⁴²Ibid.

It was also found in the course of this study that interviewees (D3, D4, HDr2, HDr3, IGC) emphasised that international meetings are held in English. The same author, Inciyan, corroborated this view. He noted:

"Les colloques internationaux se tiennent en anglais y compris en France. Quand, par extraordinaire, un orateur se risque à utiliser le français, il arrive que la salle se vide des trois quarts de ses participants".²⁴³

During a colloquium 'L'anglais, langue scientifique française' held in 1982, French scholars reckoned that:

"L'anglais devient progressivement le latin du XX^e siècle".²⁴⁴

It is interesting to note that Inciyan supports the same view expressed by interviewees employed in Telecommunications according to which English is the dominant language in this area. He explained:

"Côte Télécommunications, l'anglais domine ainsi nettement. La direction générale des Télécommunications (D.G.T.), organisme gouvernemental placé au centre du système français, a dû former quatre mille de ses employés à l'anglais entre 1981 et 1985".²⁴⁵

The interesting thing to note in this context is that French, which cannot hold its ground in French Telecommunications, cannot pretend to dominate in Algerian Telecommunications, as Inciyan has observed, the French Board of Telecommunications has favoured the training of 4000 employees in this field in English from 1981 to 1985. There is no way French is going to retain ground in Algeria in the field of science and technology.

²⁴³As quoted in Inciyan, Eric, p 35.

²⁴⁴As quoted in Inciyan, Eric, Ibid.

²⁴⁵Inciyan, Eric, Ibid.

We have also observed while exploring the linguistic situation in Algeria that several interviewees pointed out that in science and technology English is the dominant language in which the literature related to scientific or technological subjects is transmitted (see T1, T2, D3, D4, HDR1, HDR2, HDR3, TA2, IGA1, IGA2, IG3, IGB, IG3, O, ENSI). Here again, Inciyan confirms this view. According to him:

"En 1980, 65% des publications scientifiques étaient en langue anglaise, 12% en russe et 9.8% en français. Le phénomène est très engagé dans les sciences exactes. Les sciences sociales n'y échappent pas. La part de l'anglais est particulièrement forte dans les nouvelles technologies: Ainsi par exemple, 70% des articles en électronique sont rédigés en anglais contre à peine 6% pour le français".²⁴⁶

In connection with the same linguistic issue, Cans, a French author, stressed the dominance of English in the field of computing. He wrote:

"Au centre de calcul de Saclay (Essonne) on ne se pose même plus la question: La langue de travail est devenue l'anglais, ou plutôt une espèce d'anglo-informatique".²⁴⁷

A few examples of 'anglo-informatique' given by Cans are:

<<bulk transfer>>, <<process control>>, <<production batch>>, <<logués>>, <<back-up manual>>²⁴⁸. Note that the same observation concerning the linguistic hegemony of English in computing has been made by the following interviewees: T2, TA3, IGA1, IGC, O and ENSI.

²⁴⁶Inciyan, Eric, Ibid.

²⁴⁷Cans, Roger, 'Le français est - il encore une langue scientifique?', Le Monde, mardi 3 novembre, 1981, p 14.

²⁴⁸Ibid, p 14.

We recall that interviewee D4 has emphasised the supremacy of English in the domain of chemistry. With reference to this subject, Cans, who supports the same view, pointed out:

"Aujourd'hui, la situation a encore évolué au profit de l'anglais. Une visite à la bibliothèque du laboratoire de chimie confirme qu'il ne reste plus en rayon qu'un seul ouvrage en français... publié en 1920! Dans les périodiques, le nouveau journal de chimie, publié en 1980 par un éditeur français (Gauthier-Villans) sous l'égide du CNRS, ne comporte pratiquement plus que des articles en anglais... Quant à la publication néerlandaise intitulée Travaux Chimiques des Pays - Bas (en français sur la couverture) elle ne contient évidemment que des articles en anglais".²⁴⁹

This is a clear indication of the retreat of French as a scientific language. Algeria which needs western science and technology handled in English cannot certainly benefit from the decline of French as a language of science and technology.

To further confirm the domination of English in sciences and technology, Cans added:

"Et qu'on ne croit pas que le phénomène soit circonscrit aux sciences dites <<exactes>>. Toutes les disciplines sont touchées, qu'il s'agisse de médecine, de recherche agronomique, de sociologie ou de linguistique.. On est, aujourd'hui, à 99% de publications en anglais pour la physique et les sciences de la terre, à 98% pour la chimie... Tout le monde le constate aujourd'hui: qu'il s'agisse de grandes réunions internationales ou de séminaires réservés à quelques spécialistes, la langue de travail et de communication est l'anglais. Même en terre francophone, même entre spécialistes

²⁴⁹Cans, Roger, Ibid.

familiers de la langue de Molière, on a de moins en moins recours au français".²⁵⁰

This shows that the decline of French as a scientific language is not just limited to what Cans referred to as 'sciences exactes' but also applies to other scientific areas including social sciences. Like Inciyan, Cans also observed that the scientific language used in international meetings is English.

While discussing linguistic issues related to the predominance of English, Moles argued along the same line that a good knowledge of English is essential to keep astride of the latest achievements in sciences, arts, business and technology. He even suggested that English should be considered as a compulsory second language for speaking and reading. He wrote:

"It is quite evident that there is, in the linguistic media, a kind of phenomenon which could be called critical media, i.e., that when a language has become so important that nobody can neglect it, there is a universal tendency for people to stick to it and, by publishing in this same dominant language, to make the others submissive. This is precisely the case. If I wish to belong to the scientific community in departments other than philosophy or cookery, I simply must make my ideas accessible to the English community. It is not sufficient, if I am convinced of the progressive values of the concepts I am carrying or originating, to leave the burden of documentation discovery to the English documentalists and to the translating system. I have to ensure by myself the proper matching of the ideas to the recipient, at least basically, and for this, I am supposed, as a member of the scientific community, to read and speak English, at least in such a way that I can grasp ideas, concepts and ways of thinking and am able to give an equivalent of my own ideas in this language.

²⁵⁰Cans, Roger, Ibid.

To sum up, I am fully convinced that for people who are obliged to live culturally and to actualize their achievements in sciences, politics, art, business and technology (i.e., 80% of the westernized conception of the modern world) a fair knowledge of the English language is axiomatic; it must be considered as a compulsory second language, at least for speaking and reading".²⁵¹

Another French writer, Bornes, observed that the lack of knowledge of the English language would prevent access to considerable amounts of scientific information and research written in this language. He noted:

"La méconnaissance de la langue anglaise supprime 70 à 75% du flux d'information scientifique utile aux chercheurs, par l'impossibilité d'accès".²⁵²

We have seen while discussing linguistic issues relating to Air Algérie that interviewees TA1, TA2, TA3 and TA4 stressed the predominance of English in air navigation and communication. In the same context, Braga who studied the concepts and problems of international languages suggested a similar point of view:

"The supremacy of English in sea and air navigation is indisputable. English holds the supremacy in trade and commerce".²⁵³

²⁵¹Moles, Abraham A, 1979, 'A French point of view on the predominance of English', International Journal of the Sociology of Language No. 22, p 54.

²⁵²Bornes, Christian, 1980, 'Transfer de l'information scientifique dans un milieu de recherche', La Documentation Française, Paris, p 131.

²⁵³Braga, Giorgio, 1979, 'International Languages: Concepts and Problems' International Journal of the Sociology of Language, No. 22, p 36.

Further evidence in support of the argument that French is being over-shadowed by English can be illustrated by the recent decision taken by the French 'Institut Pasteur' to announce to all its members that the 'Annales de l'Institut Pasteur' previously printed in French will appear in English under the new title 'Research in Virology, Immunology or Microbiology',²⁵⁴. It is interesting to note in this context that the group of interviewees employed in the Algerian medical sector (HDr1, HDr2, HDr3, HDr4) showed strong agreement on the predominance of English in the field of medical sciences. In this respect, a spokesman from the 'Institut Pasteur' explained the supremacy of English in the medical field as follows:

"Depuis une quinzaine d'années, nous recevions de plus en plus d'articles scientifiques originaux rédigés en anglais (...) Dans certaines disciplines comme la virologie ou l'immunologie, on était arrivé à près de 100%".²⁵⁵

Bram, who is in charge of the editorial services at the 'Institut Pasteur' commented on this issue:

"Cette decision fait suite à notre désir de devenir vraiment international".²⁵⁶

Cossette-East, once a translator employed by the Canadian Government, suggested that French is a dying language. She wrote:

"Le français est <<langue moribonde (..) >>. Elle sera avant la fin du siècle aussi désuète que le latin ou le grec classique. Tenter de la garder artificiellement en vie est un exercice futile".²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴Jacot, Martine, 1989, 'Goodbye Pasteur', Le Monde, mercredi 29, mars 1989, p 19.

²⁵⁵As cited in Nau, Jean-Yves 1989, 'Anglomania', Le Monde, 29 mars 1989, p 19.

²⁵⁶Idem, Le Monde, 29 mars, 1989, p 19.

²⁵⁷Idem, p 19.

The evidence discussed above shows that French authors themselves have come to admit the supremacy of the English language in sciences and technology. It was found that the predominance of English is not only indisputable in the field of scientific and technological documentation, but also as the main language in which all international meetings, conferences and seminars are conducted. It was also proved in the light of the above discussion that within the French scientific community itself, French scholars who wish to actualise their scientific contribution to a worldwide readership do not use French and prefer to publish their works in English²⁵⁸. In the scientific and technological domain, it has been established that international meetings taking place in France are conducted in English (cf. Cans 1981:14).

Describing the linguistic position of French in Québec, Chicoine who is in charge of 'La commission de protection de la langue française à Montréal' remarked:

"Mais si, au Québec, l'on ne peut parler de dommage linguistique au sens juridique, c'est probablement là où l'on peut le plus épiloguer sur le ravages de l'anglais dans une société majoritairement francophone"²⁵⁹.

In his discussion of the situation of French in Brussels, Doppagne, a Professor at the University of Brussels, observed:

"On ne peut se dissimuler que l'actuelle invasion de l'anglais dans le domaine français, à peu-près à tous les niveaux, crée des situations assez diverses..."²⁶⁰.

²⁵⁸De Broglie, Gabriel, 1986, Le Français pour qu'il vive, Paris, p 37.

²⁵⁹Chicoine, Lise, 1986, 'Le Dommage linguistique et la charte de la langue française', La Documentation française, Paris, p 29.

²⁶⁰Doppagne, Albert, 1986, 'Le consommateur face à l'anglomanie', La Documentation française, Paris, p 77.

In his opening speech at the second international meeting on 'L'Application des Législations Linguistiques dans les Pays Francophones' held in Brussels in 1985, Chevènement, French Minister of National Education at the time, declared:

"Nous devons aussi échapper au rapport de domination qui se crée entre la langue anglaise et notre langue....."²⁶¹.

It has become clear for authors like Chicoine from Canada, Doppagne from Belgium and Chevènement from France who were working for the protection of French as a world language that French is losing ground to English in all scientific domains. Even in a country like Algeria previously colonized by the French, and where the language of the colonizer served after Independence as the chief link language, the decline of French as a scientific language is inevitable because Algerians who are eager to acquire western science and technology must use English, the premier language of scientific scholarship.

The evidence discussed above corroborates the hypothesis that French, as a scientific and technological language, is losing ground in its own linguistic environment, being abandoned on the one hand by some French speaking scholars who prefer to use English, and being pressurised on the other hand by the growing predominance of English in sciences and technology.

Bearing this in mind, it would be rather difficult to envisage how a weakening language, French, which is losing favour among some of its own speakers within the scientific community, could play any future role as a dominant foreign language in a country such as Algeria, which has chosen to restore its Arabo-Islamic identity through the Arabic language and where more and more professionals and cadres are becoming aware of the inferiority of French and the instrumental utility of English.

²⁶¹Chevènement, Jean-Pierre, 1986, 'Message de M Jean-Pierre Chevènement Ministre de l'Education Nationale', La Documentation française, Paris, p 7.

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

We began in the first part of this work by considering the various languages spoken and used in Algeria. We have seen that in addition to Classical Arabic, which is the official national language, Algerians use two native languages: Berber and Algerian Spoken Arabic. The former is spoken in the mountainous regions of Algeria. The latter is spoken by the vast majority of Algerians.

We have pointed out that Algerians use two varieties of the same language which are in a diglossic relation with each other. Classical Arabic, which is the language of the Koran, and of literary and scientific tradition, is the high prestigious variety. Algerian Spoken Arabic is the low variety.

As was noted earlier, the French language entered the Algerian linguistic scene as the language of government and the medium of instruction during the French occupation (1830-1962). The French assimilation doctrine had two major objectives. Firstly to weaken and abolish the natives' language and culture by forbidding the teaching of Arabic and restricting the influence of Islam in the country. Secondly, to convince the native population that the French culture and language was superior to the indigeneous one. During the Algerian war of Independence, Islam and Arabic, the language of the Holy Koran, provided the Algerians with a strong background which enabled them to resist the colonizer's policy of assimilation.

In 1962, the French rulers left Algeria, but their language has remained behind.

LANGUAGE PLANNING IN INDEPENDENT ALGERIA

At Independence, the Algerian linguistic scene was very confusing. The vast majority of the population was illiterate and spoke either

Algerian Spoken Arabic or Berber. The élite which emerged soon after Independence was either educated in French or Classical Arabic. One of the most urgent problems to solve was to determine a national language and to plan its sociolinguistic implementation.

When discussing language planning, one has to distinguish between language determination, language development and language implementation (cf. Jernudd 1973:11-12). Language determination refers to the initial choice among alternate languages. Official language choice and commitment to bilingual education like the US Title VII Bilingual Education Act is typical example of language determination. Development refers to means and strategies to achieve aims (cf. Rubin 1971:218). The urgent preparation of texts for bilingual education in countries like Peru is a crucial step in the development of the Plan Nacional de Educación Bilingüe. The preparation of vocabulary lists, normative grammars and spelling manuals are other examples. Implementation is the actual attempt to bring about the desired goods (cf. Rubin 1971:219). The sale of dictionaries, textbooks, grammar books, the language used in the mass-media and the Cuban literacy campaign in 1961 are examples of implementations of previous determination and development.

In examining the linguistic situation in Algeria at Independence, we have indicated that two major linguistic groups emerged. Firstly, the arabophones who were in favour of an immediate Arabization and a return to Arabo-Islamic civilization. Secondly the francophone élite educated in French who believed that any hasty Arabization might slow down the process of national development. This conflict resulted in the proclamation of Classical Arabic as the only national language and French as the principal vehicle of technical and scientific development (see Classical Arabic/French, p 42). In the early years of Algerian Independence, this linguistic situation led to an unequal bilingualism in education whereby French was the dominant language of instruction of all scientific and technological subjects and Arabic was the language of literary subjects.

A LONG TERM PLANNED ARABIZATION

"If a nation is conscious of a special religious or cultural tradition of which it believes it is an inheritor and that tradition is linked with a classical language, then in a period of accelerated development the national will attempt to revive and extend the use of the classical language as a priority field of planning and development".²⁶²

We have seen that during the colonial period a considerable number of Algerians attended French schools. In spite of the high prestige of French, which was the only language to offer access to social promotion and of the low status of the Arabic language (Classical) considered as an inferior one in the eyes of the colonizer, there was no shift, i.e., the Algerian community did not give up Classical Arabic completely in favour of French. The decision taken by the newly independent nation to adopt Classical Arabic as its national language illustrates the case of a classical language which served during and after Independence as an emblem of cultural unity and identity (except where 'Kabyle' Berbers were concerned). The political promotion of Classical Arabic to the status of Algeria's national language was a necessary condition for fostering a spirit of national unity. In this respect, Arabization was perceived as a long-term medium to re-establish and re-assert Algerian linguistic and cultural independence.

Given the tragic circumstances which immediately followed Independence, the shortage of trained teachers in Arabic and the long historical presence of the French language in Algeria, Arabization had to be presented as a progressive language policy to be implemented step by step. It is interesting to reflect that the arabophone language planners anticipated that an implementation of

²⁶²Ferguson, Charles A., and Dil, Anwar S., 1979, 'Universals of Language Planning in National Development', Language and Society, Anthropological issues, The Hague, p 699.

Arabization at a slow pace would give the Algerian population (including the francophones) enough time to prepare themselves psychologically for Arabization and accept Classical Arabic as the National Language.

The first measures concerning Arabization were experienced in education which was given top priority after Independence. We have seen how Primary education was progressively arabised to make way for the new 'école fondamentale algérienne' in 1980. The new Algerian school which combines Primary and Middle education in a nine year course provides a unified training entirely given in Arabic. Beside 'fondamentale' school, it was also noted that as of the academic session 1989-1990 Secondary education will also be entirely arabised. In Higher education, as pointed out earlier, social sciences are entirely arabised, while throughout other departments of the University arabised branches have been created.

In other sectors, Arabization has either already been completed or is in progress. In the City Halls all birth, marriage and death certificates and any other documents related to civic administration are in Arabic. We have also noted that CA is the language of 75% of the programmes broadcast on Algerian television. In Courts, all the legal proceedings are conducted in Classical Arabic. All political speeches and official meetings held by political figures are given in Classical Arabic. In the other administrations which continue to operate in French, cadres and administrators are psychologically prepared for the introduction of Arabic as they are already regularly exposed to this language when either receiving official correspondence from other institutions already arabized, or watching the national news in Arabic, or listening to a political broadcast, or, at a relatively humble level, even trying to help their own arabised children with their homework.

Arabization has fulfilled three major sociolinguistic functions:

1. It has enabled Algerians to resurrect their historical past and their roots through a common national language which has not

only helped them interrelate with the rest of the Arabo-Islamic world to which they have belonged in the past prior to the French occupation, but has also provided a strong basis for the recovery of their Arabo-Islamic identity.

2. The adoption of Classical Arabic as the national language has prevented the French language from becoming a third native language in Algeria beside spoken Arabic and Berber. That is, with more and more descendants born from francophone parents where both mother and father use French fluently, this language would have in the long run become the mother tongue (L1) of a considerable number of speakers in Algeria. Arabization, at the level of 'fondamentale' school and various other social levels (e.g., the mass media and civic administration), has discouraged many francophone parents from bringing up their children in French, as this would have led to the linguistic alienation and isolation of their offspring from their peer groups.
3. Arabization has also caused French to recede and occupy only a position as a foreign language in 'fondamentale' and Secondary education.

We have also seen in the first chapter that French is not the only foreign language taught in Algeria. In fact, it has been shown that due to the increasing role of English, this language has become a compulsory subject in Primary²⁶³, Secondary and Higher education. It was also noted that a few institutions employ English as the main language of instruction. We have also seen that Algerian Television regularly screens English speaking films, American or British pop chart video clips, and screens every Friday a course in English, 'Follow Me'.

²⁶³Ministère de l'Education Nationale. Direction de l'Enseignement Fondamentale Circulaire No. 021/D.E.F./20/86 Alger, le 14 octobre 1986.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE USE, PREFERENCES AND SHIFT

In the second part of this thesis we have focused on the public's opinion of foreign languages. A survey conducted in Algeria and based on information obtained from 1370 informants has enabled us to examine the reactions of educated Algerians towards foreign languages and particularly toward French and English.

A series of conclusions have been reached:

1. Algerians use both French and English in the scientific field. French is no longer the only scientific language used by Algerians. We have seen in this connection that a shift towards English is taking place within the proportion of younger speakers : they reported that they use both French and English in the scientific field, whereas the tendency to maintain French as a scientific language prevails within the proportion of older speakers.
2. English is the first international language used by the overwhelming majority of educated Algerians. This shows that a shift towards English is in progress, in the sense that the educated Algerian community is beginning to use a new language (English) in domains previously reserved for the old prestige language (French). As Fasold pointed out:

"When a speech community begins to choose a new language in domains formerly reserved for the old one, it may be a sign that a shift is in progress"²⁶⁴.

3. The majority of educated Algerians can write both French and English. The fact that a larger proportion of educated Algerians can use both French and English as written languages (as opposed to a small proportion which uses only one language,

²⁶⁴Fasold, Ralph, 1984 'The Sociolinguistics of Society' Language in Society, 5, Trudgill Peter (ed), Oxford, p 213.

French) shows that Algerians are now using English alongside French in academic and scientific domains formerly dominated by French.

4. English is the first foreign language most educated Algerians prefer to master and learn if given the opportunity. English is also the language considered by the vast majority of educated Algerians as the foreign language that would be most used in the future. Similarly, English is the foreign language that most educated Algerians prefer to use in their academic and scientific reading. This shows that educated Algerians are choosing a new language (English) which is more effective for worldwide communication than French and other foreign languages. The clear preference for English proves that educated Algerians are favourably inclined towards the shift from French to English.
5. The majority of educated Algerians use three languages, Arabic, French and English. Once again we have established that the highest proportion of educated Algerians who continue to maintain the use of French pertain to the generation of older speakers. It is interesting to bear in mind that no speakers from the youngest age group (8-15) reported that they used only French. Here also, the tendency for shift can be attributed to age-related differences. A substantial proportion of younger speakers who are acquiring both French and English as foreign languages and whose language of instruction is Classical Arabic, prefer, as we have seen, English to French for instrumental reasons.

Summarizing, English has received the highest ratings in the opinion of the majority of educated Algerians, who have shown strong incentives for learning and mastering this language. The evidence discussed in this part of our study lends support to the view that French has declined in the opinion of the majority of Algerians.

The decline of French in public opinion is due to the following reasons:

1. Intensive Arabization in education.
2. The long presence of French in Algeria has created among Algerians a feeling of linguistic alienation during and after Independence, (see pp 23-71) whereby Algerians were politically independent, but were still, linguistically speaking, dependent on the French language, which served as the chief link to acquire western science and technology. The results of the survey discussed in Chapter Two revealed that Algerians have overcome this feeling of cultural alienation and linguistic dependency towards French and have developed a taste for another foreign language (English), which has emerged as the favourite language to be selected by them.
3. With the decline of French as a scientific language, Algerians are changing their attitudes towards this language, which is not only regarded as the language of the ex-oppressors but is also a language which can no longer help them acquire the western scientific and technological knowledge required for their country's economic development.

THE USE OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH IN VARIOUS DOMAINS

In the third chapter of this study we have concentrated our attention on the actual use of English and French in various domains. The conclusions we have drawn in this section were based on data collected from interviews conducted nationwide.

Throughout our discussion in this chapter we have seen that educated Algerians have shown favourable attitudes towards English. The willingness to use this language has been reflected in their personal motivation for the language and the government's foreign language policy which encourages the teaching of English at all levels of education (see section on English, p 86).

Findings presented in this chapter revealed that in science and technology, French has receded into the shadow of English. Pupils, students, lecturers, engineers, doctors in the health service, telecom operators and other professionals who took part in this study

have stressed the importance and growing role of English as a world language.

This study has enabled us to gain a more detailed insight into the Algerian linguistic scene. Apparently, French still remains in the non-arabized sectors the first foreign language used, but, as many interviewees certified, French is overshadowed by English in many scientific and technological fields.

In education, as we have seen, the status of French as a first foreign language is looking rather bleak. If French is, for the time being, the first foreign language introduced in 'fondamentale' education, it is mainly due to historical circumstances. But this does not mean this language will always occupy this position, especially with the knowledge that the second foreign language introduced in 'fondamentale' schools, that is English, is a language of wider communication (see interview with D1, p 271). In higher education, interviewees with various students and members employed in this sector have confirmed the superiority and supremacy of English in science and technology.

In other fields, such as air-navigation, tourism, health, computing, oil and gas industry, 'sidérurgie', telecommunications and electronics, we have established that the supremacy of English is due to externally driven factors. Algerian professionals who are willing to acquire western science and technology must use English, the world language by means of which they can gain access to the bodies of scientific and technological knowledge. The emergence of English in Algeria in the scientific and technological sectors is not the result of any planning activity. It is taking over in the already existing industrial and technological institutions. No one has planned English (except in education): it is gaining in importance by default. Algerians have no alternative: they have got to use English because it is the premier language of science and technology. This explains the eagerness to master or better their knowledge of English expressed by various interviewees. This leads us to the question of motivation towards the learning of English.

ALGERIANS' MOTIVATION TOWARDS THE LEARNING OF ENGLISH

At Independence, Algeria set in motion plans for rapid economic development which required modern science and technology. With the rapid expansion of Algeria's foreign trade, the development of tourism, modern industry and technology, the demand for English grew dramatically and the study of English became a necessity for all cadres. This explains the motivation behind the learning of this language. As Brown has explained:

"Motivation is the key to learning (and) a learner will be successful with the proper motivation".²⁶⁵

Gardner argued that motivation has a clear link with the language learning process. He wrote:

"Motivation in the present context refers to the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes towards learning the language".²⁶⁶

Hence, the motivation to learn a foreign language such as English is strongly linked to the effort or extent to which the learner works or strives to learn the language to achieve the goal behind learning the said language.

Reporting on learner language and language learning, Faerch et al remarked:

"A Learner's success in foreign language learning is often regarded as being crucially dependent on the learner's willingness to learn, or motivation".²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵Brown, H.D. 1980, Principles of Language Learning and Teaching, p 112.

²⁶⁶Gardner, R.C. 1985, 'Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivations', London, p 10.

²⁶⁷Faerch, Claus, et al., 1984, 'Learner Language and Language Learning', Multilingual Matters 14, Copenhagen, p 208.

Motivation may differ from one person to the other and depends upon the goal sought by the individual. A person may take an interest in a particular foreign language such as English to be able to communicate and express himself with members from other nations that use the same foreign language, to be able to travel, to satisfy a language requirement in order to get a job, i.e., the job in question requires a certain knowledge of a particular foreign language, or just because of its instrumental value.

Gardner distinguishes two types of motivations for the learning of foreign languages: Integrative and Instrumental²⁶⁸. Integrative motivation reflects a goal to learn a foreign language because of a favourable interest in the community that uses this language. The instrumentally motivated learner requires the language as a means to some utilitarian end. Pride identified another type of motivation which he described as need for self expression, i.e., expressing one's own culture linguistically through a language other than one's native language²⁶⁹.

Hence, within a given community, members may learn a foreign language because they want to express something of their own way of life, culture and experience. This type of motivation has been described as expressive motivation by Pride.

In the case of Algeria, no study of motivations towards English has been made and the data one might expect to see in published form is not available. Therefore it is not possible to provide certifiable evidence of certain facts; the author's wide experience as a teacher and the opinions expressed by the interviewees who took part in this study have had to be used instead.

²⁶⁸Gardner, Robert C., 1985, Social Psychology and Second Language Learning : The Role of Attitudes and Motivations, London, p 54-55.

²⁶⁹Pride, J.B. 1971, The Social Meaning of Language, Oxford, p 23.

Thus, in the context of Algeria, the motivations operating in the learners of English may vary from one person to the other, but they may be described under four categories as roughly classified below. It must be stressed, that in many cases, no strictly clear-cut division can be found between them, and one learner's motivation may be a mixture of two, three or even more.

a) Integrative

In Algeria, integrative motivation is illustrated by a very limited number of learners who may, in the future, work or study in English speaking countries. They include potential immigrants and others who would like to work overseas for some time to gain new experience for their career.

b) Instrumental

As was shown in Chapters Two and Three, this is the most common type of motivation that operates in most of the Algerian learners, including scientists, technical workers, students and cadres in general. They study English with the aim of using it in their contact with foreigners and reading scientific writings and reference material written in English.

c) Expressive

One of the important goals of Algerian foreign language policy is to enable Algerians to establish and maintain friendly relationships with people from all over the world. Therefore the need for self expression when travelling abroad or addressing foreigners visiting Algeria is one of the motivations operating in Algerian learners of English. The foreign language here serves as a means of expressing what they want to say about aspects of their own life, identity, society or culture.

d) External

All the three categories of motivations mentioned above may be described as inherent since the learners' needs for the foreign

language arise from within the learners themselves, in the sense that their motivation is related to their perception of the value and gains to be obtained from learning this language. Learners with an external motivation are those whose impelling needs for the foreign language do not originate within themselves but are rather supplied by a source external to them. For example, some Algerians may not have a positive attitude towards the study of English. They study it because it is a compulsory subject and their purpose in learning English is only to pass an examination. Hence their motivation is external, i.e., purely academic.

Thus the evidence discussed in Chapter Three clearly shows that Algerians have strong incentives and motivations towards the learning of English, which plays the role of a bridge by means of which educated Algerians make contact with people from all over the world and gain access to western science and technology. As many interviewees reported, French, once a prestige language, can no longer be considered as the first opening to modern science and technology. This leads us now to consider the decline of French as a scientific and technological language.

THE DECLINE OF FRENCH AS A LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In Chapter Four we have examined the status of French as a language of science and technology. We have seen that the use of French in science and technology is dropping sharply, even among French speaking scientists who prefer to publish their works in English in order to make their scientific contributions available to a worldwide readership. In this connection, a French author, De Broglie, who is also 'conseiller d'état', former vice-president of the 'Haut Comité de la Langue Française', and currently president of 'La Commission Nationale de la Communication et des Libertés', explained the crisis of French in the international arena as follows:

"..... L'anglais est en train de devenir langue scientifique française. S'il est un aspect de la crise du français inquiétant pour l'avenir, c'est bien celui-là!

(...) Les faits sont là: L'usage du français dans la recherche scientifique est en train de disparaître dans le monde et surtout en France (...) La langue de communication de la science est l'anglais"²⁷⁰.

It is difficult to envisage how French, which is receding as a language of science and advanced technology, can retain ground in a country like Algeria, which is pressing ahead with Arabization in its educational system. As a result, the role of French in Algeria is reduced to that of a foreign language which cannot fulfill the function of a leading link language and medium for acquiring western scientific and technological knowledge, which is almost always available in English.

On the face of the evidence gathered so far, we can conclude that Algeria is a country which has to face the problem of shifting from once serviceable link language (French) to a new one (invariably English) because the former one is now less effective for worldwide communication. The situation of English in Algeria is that of a language which is in the process of supplanting French. As Edwards remarked:

"The fortunes of a language are bound up with those of its users, and if languages decline or 'die' it is simply because the circumstances of their speakers have been altered. The most common scenario here is that involving language contact and conflict: one language supplants another"²⁷¹.

There may be a crisis of language planning in Algeria; French is still the first foreign language in Algeria but it is trailing behind English in science and technology; Classical Arabic cannot handle science and technology because, as Zughoul and Taminian pointed out:

²⁷⁰De Broglie, Gabriel, 1986, Le Français pour qu'il vive, Paris, p 36-37.

²⁷¹Edwards, John, 1985, Language, Society and Identity, London, p 49.

"Language academies, which were established to develop Arabic so that it could become the language of science and technology, have done very little toward this end. Thus, English in particular remains the medium of instruction in most of the universities of the Arab world, especially in the schools of science, engineering and medicine"²⁷².

The solution to Algeria's language problems lies in the linguistic experience of other Arab countries and how they have coped with science and technology. Given the way Algeria is facing the west for scientific and technological assistance and given the need for English expressed by educated Algerians in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, we have strong reasons to believe that the use and need for English will increase in coming years. With the decline of French as a language of science and technology, it is felt that there exist many problems to be solved in order to promote and spread the use of English in Algeria. To this end we would like to make some suggestions.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND SUGGESTIONS ABOUT THE POPULARISATION OF ENGLISH IN ALGERIA

It must be stressed that the data one might expect to see in published forms is not available. Therefore it has not proved possible to provide certifiable evidence of certain facts regarding the use of English. Here the evidence is based on the writer's wide experience as a teacher and discussions with colleagues in the field of education.

1. DEFINITION OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE POLICY

We have shown that English is widely used in Algeria in the scientific technological and educational fields. Given the importance of English as an international language, it is essential

²⁷²Zughoul, Muhammad Raji and Taminian, Lucine, 1984, 'The linguistic attitudes of Arab university students' International Journal of the Sociology of Language, No. 50, p 155-156.
(See also discussion on Arabization and the Arabic Language issues, pp 57-65.)

for Algeria to expand the study and use of English so as to help catch up with the advanced countries in the development of science and technology. For this reason a foreign language policy is essential in order to define the role and status of foreign languages.

As we have seen, 'La résolution No. 29 du Comité Central' stipulates the introduction of a first foreign language in the fourth 'fondamentale' academic year and a second foreign language in the eighth 'fondamentale' academic year (see interview with D1, p 271), but does not specify that French will always be the first foreign language introduced in the curriculum of the 'école fondamentale'. The decline of French on the international scene, the rapid expansion of Islam in Algeria and the growing hostility towards French²⁷³ create favourable circumstances for the revision of the status of French as the first foreign language and the introduction of English as the first foreign language to be learned in the 'école fondamentale'.²⁷⁴

As some colleagues suggested, a policy regarding English language teaching should be defined in terms of an implementation of English language curricula at all levels of education, a proper compilation of text books, accompanying audio-visual material needed for the teaching of the language and training for English language teachers.

2. TRAINING FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS

English, in Algeria, is learned primarily in a school situation. In spite of the number of pupils, students and cadres involved in learning English, it is not possible to speak of an English speaking community. Therefore English, in Algeria, has no societal functions

²⁷³Stora, Benjamin, 1990, 'Algérie: le spectre islamique', L'Express No. 2012, p 20.

²⁷⁴El Moudjahid, mardi 26 septembre 1989, p 4.

within the speech community itself, apart from the place it has in the speaker's own verbal repertoire; it is therefore a foreign language. Wilkins when making a distinction between a second language learner and foreign language learner pointed out:

"Whereas the second language learner needs the language for use within his own community, the foreign language learner needs it so that he can form contacts with a community other than his own".²⁷⁵

From discussions with colleagues in the field of education, it emerged that the role of a foreign language teacher must not be neglected since English language teachers are the only 'model' available for the pupils. The point here is that many English language teachers are not properly trained in terms of either proficiency or methodology.

Strevens, who has studied the question of teaching English as an international and foreign language, proposes three components of a teacher-training course: skills, information and theory, which can be applied to teacher training in the Algerian context. The skills component refers, apart from an adequate command of English, to practical instructional techniques, including those common to all branches of teaching and those specific to TEFL. In this respect, the trainee teacher must be trained to select from among a wide range of possible techniques and courses of action precisely those which are appropriate to the circumstances of the teaching and learning situation²⁷⁶. By information component, Strevens implies the body of knowledge about education, teaching language, English, psychology and pedagogy²⁷⁷. The theory component provides the trainee teacher with a strong theoretical background and basis necessary and essential for knowing what to teach and

²⁷⁵Wilkins, D.A. 1978, Linguistics in Language Teaching, London, p 154.

²⁷⁶Strevens, Peter, 1978, New Orientations in the Teaching of
²⁷⁷English, Oxford, p 22.

how to teach it, when to teach it and why to teach one topic rather than another²⁷⁸.

As was reported to us by colleagues in the field of education, many school teachers have poor proficiency in English, and this is, in turn, mainly due to the poor training they have received from unqualified teachers. What is needed in a country such as Algeria is further training of foreign language teachers in terms of methodology and training in the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. This course would be helpful and directly applicable to their teaching. The teachers responsible for this re-training should be competent and experienced and help from experienced foreign teachers would be desirable (especially those specialised in TEFL). The organisation of international seminars involving experienced and competent English language teachers from all over the world would prove very effective. This would give English language teachers in Algeria the opportunity to meet with other English language teachers, share their experience and discuss pedagogical or methodological problems, and at the same time improve their teaching methodology by comparing their own to those of other foreign teachers.

More and more teachers, especially those responsible for the training of future teachers, should be trained in English-speaking countries in order to enable them to acquire a good command of the language and a sound knowledge of all relevant subjects related to language teaching.

Another essential step is the promotion of academic exchange between Algerian English language teachers and foreign teachers. This would involve the invitation of foreign language scholars to attend symposia or conferences organised in Algeria to discuss academic matters, mutual visits and the exchange of materials and experiences in research work. This academic exchange could start operating

²⁷⁸Stevens, Peter, 1978, New Orientations in the Teaching of English, Oxford, p 22.

within the the Maghreb for instance as a start and could be extended to other Arab and non-Arab countries.

The invitation of native English-speaking teachers on academic exchanges could also solve the problem of lack of exposure to native spoken English on the part of students or trainees. By attending lectures given by native English teachers and through contacts with them, Algerian students and teachers can enrich not only their knowledge and pronunciation of English but also of foreign cultures and societies where English is used, as learning about culture and society is inseparable from language learning. In this particular instance, native English teachers can help Algerian English language teachers with curriculum design and the compilation of illustrations and audio-visual material needed for their teaching, or even help in the setting up of a periodical publication where Algerian and foreign lecturers would exchange points of view on the methodology of teaching, pedagogy, teaching aids and academic problems.

FURTHER SPREAD OF ENGLISH

As more and more Algerians learn and use English, the learning of this foreign language should be expanded from the purely school situation to that of the wider society, and its use should be extended from almost exclusively international communication to communication among the Algerian people themselves.

The use of English, along with the national language (Arabic), in the printing of articles of daily use, advertising, stamps, various kinds of cards and tickets, labels, tags or posters and trademarks on daily necessities, may play a very important role. This will not only be convenient for tourists visiting Algeria, but also provide frequent daily contact with English for the Algerian learners. This practice is, in fact, of great educational value since Algerian learners can pick up a great many words from this incidental source without much intensive effort being required.

As we have seen, English speaking films are regularly broadcast on Algerian Television and the daily newspaper 'Horizons' edits two pages in English. Such initiatives promoting the use of English in the mass media should be encouraged and extended to other domains. This includes further use of English in radio and television broadcasts (e.g. plays, films, documentaries, interviews, sporting events) and in journals and other publications where French is used.

These measures, if applied properly, can help a great deal to compensate for the lack of exposure to English on the part of Algerian students and mitigate their difficulties in the formal learning of the language. This will also further reduce the impact of French on the Algerian linguistic scene by completing the process of linguistic shift which started with Arabization and would be reinforced by the support of a stronger language, English, which has no historical connection with Algeria's past.

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Interview with pupils from Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Sétif, students and cadres from all over Algeria, between July 1987 and January 5, 1988.

Interview with the Director of a commercial branch at Air-Algérie (TA1), Constantine, November 2, 1987.

Interview with the Director of the ONAT agency (TA5), Sétif, November 3, 1987.

Interview with pupils from the Ecole Fondamentale Oum-Omra, Lyceé Aissat Idir and Redha-Houhou respectively in Algiers and Constantine, between November 3 and 14, 1987.

Interview with the Director of the Fondamentale Division at the Ministry of National Education and Fondamentale Teaching (D1), Algiers, November 5, 1987.

Interview at the Marketing Section of the Algerian Oil and Gas Industry, (IGA1), Algiers, November 21, 1987.

Interview at Air Algérie, Marseilles, November 23, 1987.

Interview at the Institut de Technologie Agricole, Mostaganem, November 28, 1987.

Interview at the Arzew Gas Production Unit (IGA3), Arzew, December 5, 1987.

Interview with the Director of the University Hospital of Mostaganem (HDr3), December 5, 1987.

Interview at Hassi-Messaoud oil field (IGA2), Hassi-Messaoud, December 9, 1987.

Interview at Air Algérie, Oran, between December 10 and 17, 1987.

Interview at the University Hospital of Oran (HDr2), December 12, 1987.

Interview at the University Houari Boumediène (D3), Algiers, December 13, 1987.

Interview at the University of Sétif (D4), December 14, 1987.

Interview at the University Hospital of Algiers (HDr1), December 16, 1987.

Interview at Sider (IGC) Annaba, December 19, 1987.

Interview at the Siderurgical complex of Annaba, December 19, 1987.

Interview with the Director of the CEIL, University of Annaba, December 20, 1987.

Interview with the Vice-Rector in charge of postgraduate studies at the University of Annaba (D2), December 26, 1987.

Interview with pupil (P2) and a group of other school children from Constantine, January 3, 1988.

Interview with Teacher (T2) University of Constantine, January 3, 1988.

Interview with Pupil (P1), Algiers, January 5, 1988.

Interview with Teacher (T1), University of Algiers, January 5, 1988.

Interview at the Algerian Board of Film and Documentary Classification, Algiers, January 8, 1988.

Interview with Travel Agent from TCA (TA6), Ghardia, August 14, 1988.

Interviews with employees from Algerian Telecom, Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Sétif between September 1 and 4, 1988.

Interviews at the ENSI, Algiers, Oran, between September 1 and 4, 1988.

Interviews conducted in several electronic production units, Tlemcen, Algiers, Sidi-Bel-Abbes and Tizi-Ouzou, between September 8 and 18, 1988.

Interview with the Head of the Marketing Section at the Air-Algérie Head Office (TA2), Algiers, September 26, 1988.

Interview with student (S1), Annaba, September 28, 1988.

Interview with Air-Algérie Travel Agent (TA3), Tamanrasset, September 29, 1988.

Interview with an Air-Algérie Commanding Officer Pilot, Oran, October 2, 1988.

Interview with student (S2), Sétif, October 20, 1988.

Interview with Dr. P. Breeze, University of Glasgow, Department of Statistics, November 25, 1988.

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