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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF A MINORITY LANGUAGE

FOR TEACHING PURPOSES:

KABYL TAMAZIGHT AS A CASE STUDY

by

Rabirha

MOUHOUBI

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Glasgow**

Department of Education

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Volume 1

To my dear mother who has never agreed with my staying in Glasgow

and

to the memory of my dear nephew, Yacine, who died at the age of fourteen. I thank him for completing a questionnaire and for giving me his history book to read the few pages in it about the history of Imazighen.

ABSTRACT

This work deals with the comparative study of a minority language for teaching purposes with Kabyl Tamazight as a specific case study. Since teaching is a sociolinguistic behaviour, a sociolinguistic approach has been adopted to understand the present-day social setting of that vernacular in relation to the people making use of it within the multilingual Algerian society. A questionnaire was conducted in Algeria to explore the attitudes of the native speakers of Kabyl Tamazight towards their language and its teaching at primary school level. Several countries were visited to inform thinking about the education of bilingual children from minority groups and to observe classroom activities in bilingual primary schools. Accordingly, contacts were established with minority language teachers in the following locations:

Scotland (Lowlands, Highlands and Western isles) at different times. The latest visits were to the isles of Lewis (Stornoway), Harris and Skye from March 18th to 26th 1997.

The Republic of Ireland (Dublin, Ceathru Rua and Galway) in 1994 (May 28th-June 4th)

Wales (Aberystwyth) in 1996 (14-21 February)

Brittany (Rennes) in 1995 (16-23 May)

and Catalonia (Barcelona) in 1997 (8-15 March).

Personal interviews with minority language advisers, mainly Scottish Gaelic, have been made to discuss the nature of problems encountered in the teaching of that language.

It is concluded that, in the short term, research about the Tamazight language and its cultivation is needed so as to establish a standard form of the language which can then be used in Education.

ABSTRACT (continued)

In the long term, objectives could be best achieved if a top-to-bottom approach is adopted, i.e., Tamazight should firstly be taught at university level then at secondary school level and finally at primary school level.

The bilingual (Tamazight-Arabic) primary school education is a continuing process which started already. It is proposed that an approach to the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight should specifically consist of a communicative and mother-tongue teaching approach. More attention to reading and writing skills should be given since the majority of children in primary school (for those aged 6 to 13) in the Amazighophone regions (where the Tamazight language originated) already know the spoken form of their language. During the first two years of primary education (P₁ and P₂), the language learning process should be conducted only in the children's first language. According to the results of the questionnaires given to children's parents, Latin characters are favoured to transcribe Tamazight during the early stages of its being taught at school. Later on, Tifinagh signs could be used once these are fully discovered and developed. Prior to learning Arabic (which has to be taught starting from P₃, once the reading and writing skills in the mother tongue are mastered), the teaching of Islamic religion should be done orally in P₁ and P₂. Finally, an adequate curriculum reflecting aspects of the Amazigh culture has to be developed and used as a support to the teaching of Kabyl, one variety of the Tamazight language spoken in Higher and Lower Kabylia. These regions - divided by the deep gorge formed by the Summam wadi - are situated on east of Algiers, as shown on map 1.2, page 4.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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While the opinions in this study and responsibility for views given, are entirely my own, I owe an enormous debt to my supervisor, Professor Nigel Grant. He has helped me in every possible way in improving my understanding of minority languages and their present-day status.

I should like to thank Professor Thompson, I.B. for his helpful comments and criticism.

I would also like to thank all those teachers, students, pupils and others who accepted to complete the questionnaires conducted in Algeria.

Members of institutions and heads of schools visited in Scotland (Lowlands, Highlands and Western Isles) in Wales, Brittany, Ireland, Barcelona and in Algeria are not forgotten. I am also most grateful to them for allowing me to observe classroom activities which provided me with useful information and many of the ideas discussed here.

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TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Transcription symbols (based on the IPA chart revised to 1991)

[ɣ]	Greek Gamma
[ʔ]	glottal stop
[ç]	voiceless palato alveolar fricative
[x]	voiceless velar fricative
[h]	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
[q]	voiceless uvular plosive
[e]	half-close unrounded front vowel
[o]	half-open rounded back vowel
[a]	long vowel (dash)
[d]	emphatic (point)

Abbreviations

A= Arabic

AA= Algerian Arabic

AdCAS= Advisory Council for the Arts in Scotland

T= Tamazight K= Kabyl KT= Kabyl Tamazight

F= French

E= English

FLN= Front de Libération Nationale

RP= Received pronunciation

HCA= Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité
(Higher Commission of Amazigh Affairs)

CA= Classical Arabic

LA= Literary Arabic

L1= First language (or mother tongue)

MSA= Modern Standard Arabic

L2= Second language

H= High form of a language

L3= Third language

L= Low form of a language

FL= Foreign language

SG= Scottish Gaelic

BE= Bilingual Education

SED= Scottish Education Department

MCB= Mouvement Culturel Berbère

P1= Primary one

FF= Front des forces socialistes

P2= Primary two

PPA= Parti populaire Algérien.

Algerian popular maxim
(translated in the languages used in Algeria)

In Kabyl Tamazight (Tifinagh characters)

ⵉ ⵏ ⵉ ⵓ ⵔ ⵖ ⵛ ⵏ ⵉ ⵓ ⵏ
ⵔ ⵏ ⵔ ⵓ ⵏ ⵔ ⵓ ⵏ ⵓ ⵏ ⵓ

In Kabyl Tamazight (Latin characters)

"Itejra ur tgem siwa ma tezza degwakal-is"

In Standard Arabic

تَعَلُّو الشَّجَرَةَ بِعُمُقِ بُدُورِهَا

In French

*Un arbre ne s'élance que s'il plonge
ses racines profondes dans sa terre nourricière.*

A tree only shoots up if it plunges its roots deep within the
nourishing earth.

(my translation)

PART I - INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1-1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

Algeria, one of the countries where Imazighen live, is situated in North Africa between Morocco and Tunisia. Two thirds of the lands of this large country (2.382.000 km²) are covered by desert (Sahara) whereas the remaining part in the North attracts the majority of the population due to the mild mediterranean climate and the fertile lands.

Linguistically, the Algerian population consists of both Arabic and Tamazight speakers who generally practice the same Islamic religion. French is still used as a legacy of colonialism which lasted for 132 years and now taught at school as the first foreign language. Classical Arabic, the only official language, has been used as the language of Education since 1962. It is also the language used by the majority of people in religious studies and practice. As a result it enjoys a high status in the country as opposed to the other two native languages, Algerian Arabic and Tamazight.

Algerian Arabic, a language solely used in speech, represents the vernacular of the country since all Algerians can speak or at least understand it.

Tamazight, on the other hand, the language which we are more concerned within this study, constitutes the mother tongue of a category of Algerians commonly known as "Berbers". Nowadays, this appellation is rarely used by the native speakers themselves who prefer to name themselves **Imazighen**¹, meaning free men.

1- For clarification "Imazighen" or "Amazighs" is the plural form of "Amazigh". The latter is also used as adjective.

The Feminine is "Tamazight".

"Tamazight" is also the name used to refer to the language of Imazighen, the native speakers of that language who are known as well as Amazighophone people.

"Tamazgha" is the appellation given to their country.

Ethnically, the majority of Algerian Arabic speakers consider themselves to be the descendants of "pure" Arabs, but in fact most of them are arabized Imazighen who forgot their language as the result of the process of arabization and islamization which started at the beginning of the 11th century after the conquest by the Arabs in North Africa. See chapter 3-2.

Imazighen, on the other hand, believed to be the first inhabitants of North Africa, represent nowadays approximately 1/3 of the Algerian population which was estimated at 28 million inhabitants according to the 1996 census. These people are geographically separated from each other. Subsequently, their language, Tamazight, developed into different varieties:

Tachenwit is spoken in Tipaza (near the capital Algiers) by Ichawiyen people.

Taqbaylit (Kabyli) is used in Higher and Lower Kabylia by Iqbayliyen, the Kabyls.

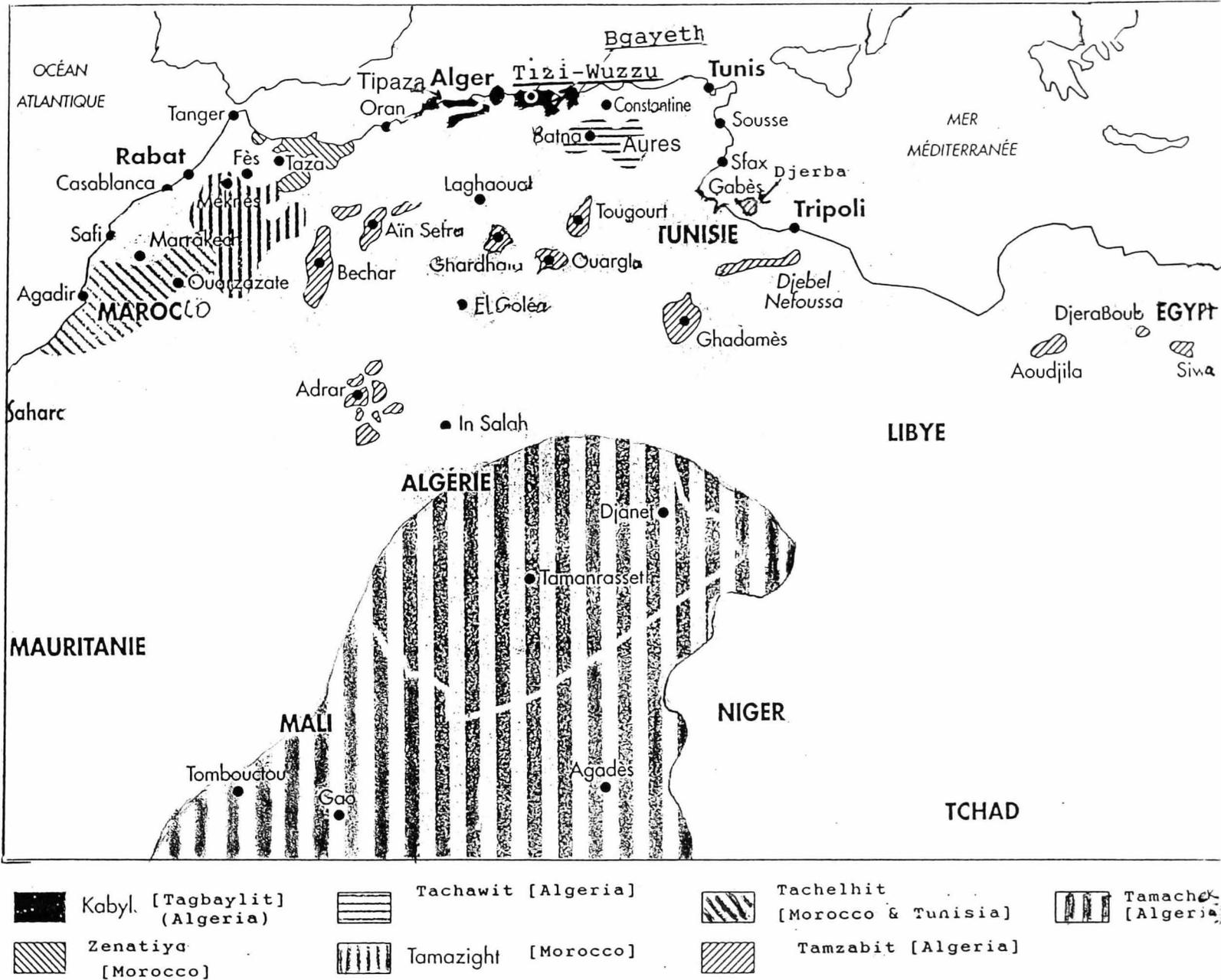
Tachawit is the language of Ichenwiyen in the Aures mountains.

Tamzabt is spoken natively by Imzabiyen in the oases of the M'Zab, and finally, the Tuareg living in the southern part of Algeria (Tassili N'Ajjer and Hoggar) speak the **Tamasheq** language. See map1, page 3.

Imazighen, the Kabyls of Higher and Lower Kabylia² in particular, fought for the recognition and the teaching of their language at school. The political events of October 5th 1988 resulted in a wide range of changes and brought about a considerable degree of freedom in the cultural life of Algeria. The young people of Algeria took part in violent street demonstrations in several cities, particularly in the capital of Algiers in which several ministry buildings, were burnt down. Following a period of general discontent, the youths wanted to express their anger and also to protest against economic and social problems such as unemployment, the high cost of living and lack of housing.

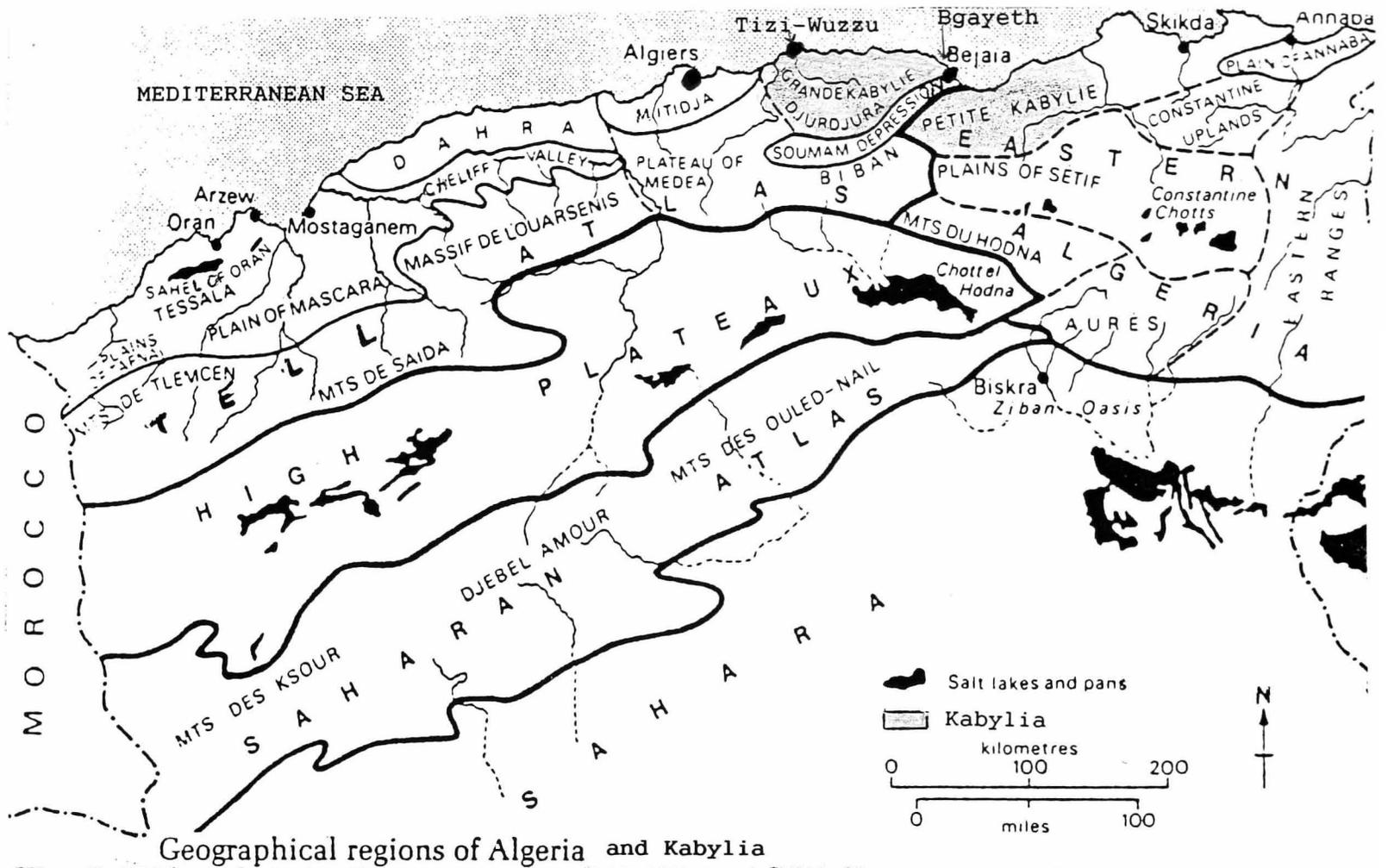
2- Higher and Lower Kabylia regions are described on pages 124 and 125.

Map 1.1: Tamazight speaking areas in North africa



Source: Jardin, I (1994). Berbers in Algeria
 Revue "Panorama Cinéma et Audio Visuel de Bretagne" 21-28 Août. Viz Eost. Bretagne. p 7.

Map 1.2: Geographical regions of Algeria and Kabylia



Source: Dupard, A (1996). Régions géographiques d'Algérie Maspéro. Paris. p 12.

Young people also demanded freedom of speech, a political multiparty system and cultural diversity. The demand for Amazigh identity was not a consequence of the democracy following the events of October 1988. In fact the struggle for official recognition of the Tamazight language started well before then, first in 1920 then again in 1949.

However, it is only since the events of April 1980 at Tizi-Wuzzu (capital of Higher Kabylia) that the battle for Amazigh identity has begun to have some success (see chapter 5).

Since 1991, the Tamazight language has been taught at the department of Tamazight in Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth universities. In the past, while a range of foreign languages were taught at universities (including Spanish, Italian, German, Hebrew etc), Tamazight, was not taught at all even though it is used at least by 20% of the Algerian population.

Recently, Imazighen are allowed to write about their culture (history, traditions, language) in Arabic, French or in Tamazight and the language is no longer a taboo subject in the country. However, Tamazight speakers still encounter problems of different kinds.

One can imagine the various difficulties that the elderly Imazighen people, who can express themselves only through the use of their mother tongue, face everyday. Never having been to school to learn Arabic, nor French and having always lived in a region where only one variety of Tamazight is used, they cannot communicate with other Algerians who are Arabic speakers. Moreover, as Algerian television does not operate a channel in Tamazight or broadcast any of its programs in that language, this category of Imazighen cannot keep up with what is going on in the country and consequently feel like foreigners in their own land. However, since June 1996, a ten minute news flash has started once a day (at 6 p.m) on the national channel. This initiative was very well received but it is not generally considered as sufficient.

In situations where they have to defend their opinions (discussions or debate) or even to defend themselves (e.g., in court), this category of Imazighen, being monolingual, need the help of intermediaries because only standard Arabic is officially recognized. Because the Imazighen people cannot defend themselves using their mother-tongue, their ideas might be severely distorted by translators and consequently, they run the risk of being misunderstood.

As for Imazighen children, they have to learn five languages if they want to succeed at school and later in their social life. They must learn Tamazight at home as their mother tongue, then colloquial Algerian Arabic to communicate with people in the neighbourhood and other children at school (especially if the child lives in a town where the majority of the population are Arabic speakers). And later on, they must learn standard Arabic (the only official language taught), then French as a second language and finally, at secondary school another foreign language is introduced, most often English because it is regarded as an international language and the language of science and technology.

Learning several languages, which are currently used in their country, cannot put Imazighen children at a disadvantage. Conversely, as Fergusson, C.A (1972; vii) put it:

The psychologist who is convinced of the disadvantages of bilingualism for the individual is taken aback by the demonstrated prevalence of bilingualism among the elites of many societies.¹

Yet one has to think about the time which is required for these children to learn all these languages efficiently only because their mother tongue, Tamazight, has a low status and can only be used in restricted domains, i.e., at home and circles of friends.

1- Fergusson, C.A. (1972; VII) Sociolinguistics, a brief introduction
Newbury House. Rowley. Massachusetts. USA.

Generally young Imazighen children are not aware of the problems associated with their language. As Kay, B.A (1986 : 15) put it:

When you are young, status is far from your mind.
It is just the way everyone spoke to everyone else. 2

But when these children start school, they suddenly discover that their language has no value compared to Standard Arabic which is the only language taught there. This language barrier at school might block their learning, discourage their efforts and reduce their chances of success in the educational system. As Bruce, G.A (1967 ; 51-55) put it:

Language is the most important exteriorization or manifestation of the self of the human personality. If the school rejects the mother tongue of an entire group of children, it can be expected to affect seriously and adversely those children's concept of their parents, their homes and of themselves. 3

The Amazigh problem is still an immediate and controversial issue. It was so during the time of the French occupation of Algeria, throughout the War of Independence and beyond right through to the present day.

Nowadays it can be observed that in all the Amazigh speaking countries (Morocco, Algeria, Nigeria, Mali, Mauritania etc.) and among North African immigrants in Europe (France, Germany, Canada) there has been a recent awakening of the Amazigh cultural identity in which language plays a central role.

2- Kay, A.B. (1986; 15) Scots: the mither tongue. Mainstream, Edinburgh.

3- Bruce, G.A.(1967; 51-55) Bilingualism and Education
prepared statement reprinted from the report of the special subcommittee on Bilingual Education of the committee on Labor and Public Welfare. U.S senate. Ninetieth congress.

Similarly the ambition of the present researcher is to reassess the value of an indigenous language which is also the mother tongue of a category of Algerians, bearing in mind that all the features which define the status of a language in any country are inevitably linked to the following factors: politics, society and the attitudes of the people towards that language.

The promotion and encouragement of the use of a language both in its spoken and written forms and its teaching at school can only contribute to the linguistic richness of a country. Generally, people are attracted to a garden filled with a variety of flowers rather than one displaying a single type of flower. They would stop for a while, enjoy the fragrance, wonder about their origins and the conditions in which they grow and thrive. This analogy is meant to demonstrate how people in general react when confronted with a range and diversity of languages spoken in any country.

Accordingly, Fishman, J.A (1989; 15) states:

It is claimed that it is ethnic and linguistic diversity that makes life worth living. It is creativity and beauty based upon ethnic and linguistic diversity that make man human. Absence of this diversity would lead to the dehumanization, mechanization, and impoverishment of man. 4

4- Fishman, J.A (1989; 15) Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective. Multilingual Matters. Clevedon. Philadelphia.

9- BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

Though the native language Kabyl (unlike Tamasheq which is a variety of the Tamazight language spoken by the Tuareg in Mali and Niger) has not yet been adopted as a vehicular language within the Algerian educational system, some research on its use as a language of Education and bearing on some variety or another has already been undertaken since the French colonial era.

Si Amar U Said, commonly known as Boulifa, was the first Tamazight teacher to elaborate the first Kabyl teaching method which was to be known decades later as "direct method". His first book, *Une première année de langue Kabyle, dialect Zouaoua*, published in 1897 was designed for the usage of candidates studying for the "Brevet" (standard grade) in Tamazight.

His second book, *Méthode de langue Kabyle, cours de 2ème année*, published in 1913 was both a linguistic and sociolinguistic study of the dialect of Zouaoua and included a glossary.

Afterwards, the teaching methods developed by the French for teaching reading and writing in Tamazight, were designed primarily to help the French learn whatever variety of Tamazight was used in the region they happened to be in, based on the aim of a better communication with the Amazighophone people, or, simply facilitating the tasks of investigators in different domains such as linguistics, ethnology and archaeology.

Obviously, these methods of teaching did not benefit the native speakers of Tamazight, the majority of whom knew neither how to write nor to read their language. However most of this pedagogical and scientific research proved later to be a source of inspiration to a large number of both Algerian and foreign researchers.

Most notable of this early developed method was the *Méthode d'Initiation à la langue Berbère (Kabyle)* published in 1960 and undertaken by Sister Louis Vincennes and Father Dallet, J.M.

However, from a contemporary prospective, this method seems out dated. Furthermore, its being initially developed on the basis of one single variety of Tamazight, namely that spoken in Waghzen-Tawirt (in Higher Kabylia), makes it less than reasonably representative of the entire Tamazight language and as such it falls short of meeting the modern pedagogic expectations.

It was only after more than a quarter of century that another study bearing on Tamazight teaching method appeared. In 1987, Chaker, S and Allain, M published the first Tamazight audio-visual teaching method, *Tizi-Wwuccen, la première méthode audio-visuelle de langue Berbère (Kabyle 1er niveau) Aselmed n'tmaziyt-Taqbaylit*. This modern method, which has been experimented with for long years in Algeria, aimed at teaching beginners the grammatical structures as well as the elementary vocabulary of Kabyl.

As Chaker, S (1987; 6) explains in the introduction of the book, this teaching method is specially designed for immigrant Imazighen children in France (and from other European countries) whose parents asked for an efficient teaching method of Tamazight for their children at school (in certain primary and secondary schools) as well as at cultural centres and associations in France.

This method can also meet the needs of children of Amazigh origin living outside Kabylia in Algeria (Algiers, Wahran, Annaba). Living in an Arabic speaking region, i.e., in a linguistic environment where the Kabyl Tamazight variety is rarely used, some parents who have had very few opportunities to practise their language, forgot it. Nowadays they keep requesting that Tamazight be taught to their children as a reminder of their roots.

A similar teaching method using a "middle Kabyl" (which would be selected from the different varieties of Kabyl as used in Kabylia and would not belong to any particular region) is urgently needed

to help Kabyl children to learn their language efficiently in Algeria.

Teachers of French and Arabic volunteered to teach Tamazight as native speakers of that language at school in Kabylia. They noticed that the majority of their pupils, who were initially very enthusiastic to learn their mother tongue at school by their teachers three hours per week, gave up Tamazight classes gradually. Similar drop-out rate has been observed as well among adults who paid to attend Tamazight classes after working hours at cultural centres opened in several regions in Algeria. In spite of the students' strong determination to learn their mother tongue at cultural centres in different regions in Algeria, most of them gave up Tamazight courses. The major reasons explaining the failure of the teaching of Tamazight in Algeria nowadays have been given by teachers of Tamazight attending a seminar "Pour un enseignement de qualité" ("for a better teaching of Tamazight") on December 1991 at the cultural centre of Tizi-Wuzzu (capital of Higher Kabylia). According to the participants of the seminar, the bad quality of the teaching of Tamazight is due to several reasons. The most important ones can be summarized as:

The general background of teachers

As said earlier, the majority of Tamazight teachers at cultural centres are simply volunteers. They are native speakers of Tamazight without training.

The lack of teaching and reading materials

Textbooks and reading books for students are not yet available in Algeria. Those bought by students themselves from France are very expensive and not suitable for their needs as native speakers of Tamazight.

The teaching methods

The participants of the seminar agreed that the teaching methods presently used in the country by the majority of teachers are not adequate for the teaching of Tamazight. At Tamazight classes, French and Arabic teachers generally adopt the same teaching method as the one used to teach Arabic or French. Sometimes, the same activities, (exercises, games and others), are repeated in French, Arabic and Tamazight classes. One can understand why children are no longer interested in learning their mother tongue at school. As the report of the 1951 UNESCO meeting of specialists about the use of vernacular languages in Education points out, generally teachers who received their education and training in a language other than their own mother tongue face real difficulties when it comes to teaching in their first language. One main difficulty arises from the fact that teachers are required to teach subjects, with some involving concepts and ideas which might be totally alien to their students, in a language that they themselves are not accustomed to think in. The second major difficulty is that there is no book to guide teachers in the instruction of the mother tongue nor is there a text to assist students to learn in that language. Consequently, teachers have to resort to the use of their own initiative and skill in teaching in their mother tongue; more so than the case when they have to teach through a second language in which they themselves have been trained. Thus, it is primordial to give Tamazight teachers theoretical training and practice teaching in the mother tongue.

During the seminar mentioned above, participants suggested strongly that new efficient teaching methods are urgently needed to improve the quality of the teaching of Tamazight in Algeria. It seemed obvious for them that the Kabyl variety for instance, a native language, cannot be taught in the same way as Arabic (the official language but not the first children's language. See section 3.3.1) or French (becoming nowadays the first foreign language). Teachers are also aware of the fact that if the

language is officially recognized and taught at school in the near future (that might be possible because of the social pressure of Imazighen which can be noticed especially in Kabylia), it would be the first time in the history of Algeria that a native language is taught at school. Since this would be a new experience for Tamazight teachers, Algerian researchers and pedagogues have to share their knowledge and experience in teaching so as to succeed adequately in the teaching of Tamazight. It is the task of the present researcher to undertake a step in this direction for the teaching of Kabyl variety.

As can be noticed from the literature available in Algeria and abroad, several studies have been carried out regarding the Tamazight language itself (grammar, linguistic, history books), and a few about the teaching methods of Tamazight (Boulifa,S., Vincennes,L., and Dallet,J.M., Chaker,S. and Allain,M.) but concerning the teaching approach to be adopted to improve the teaching of Tamazight presently in Algeria, the present researcher seems to be the first one to undertake such a task. Therefore, there is a total lack of literature in this field.

1-3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The primary aim of this research is not to propose a sociolinguistic study of Tamazight as it exists in Algeria nowadays and as experienced by Imazighen (the people who speak the language and live in different parts of the country), but rather to seek a methodology for teaching this particular language through a sociolinguistic approach.

As Fishman, A (reported by Fergusson, C.A (1972; vi) states:

Sociolinguistic research and teaching are primary rather than marginal or incidental to other work. 5

The sociolinguistic approach, as required in this study, will help the researcher to get a deeper understanding of Tamazight in the whole before being able to find out a suitable teaching approach of that language.

An attempt will be made here to explain the origin and the history of the language as it exists in Algeria nowadays and as experienced by Imazighen who live in different parts of the country.

One must wonder as to how Tamazight has come to be used by different people living in different regions and having different needs and different ways of life such as the Kabyls who live in the mountainous areas of Higher Kabylia and the Mozabite in the oasis of M'zab. Of course, only the history of these people and the problems they faced can help provide an explanation.

One has to point out that discovering the history of the Imazighen people and their language is a curiosity which has never been satisfied so far since these two subjects have never been taught at school, nor have they been explained at home as a child.

5 - Fergusson, C.A (1972; VI) Sociolinguistics, a brief introduction
Newbury House. Rowley, Massachussetts. USA.

The present researcher discovered at university, to her great satisfaction, that there is no difference between a particular language and another from a purely linguistic point of view. As Trudgill, P (1983 ; 20) states:

The scientific study of language has convinced most scholars that all languages and correspondingly all dialects are equally " good" as linguistic systems. 6

Thus the status given to a particular language is nothing but a reflection of the status accorded to the community making use of it. In other words, a language is regarded as important because the people who speak it are considered as equally important politically, economically and socially. The opposite is also true. Obviously, a language such as Tamazight which has been rarely taught at school in the past, borrows excessively from other languages such as Latin, Spanish, French and Arabic. That is why it is urgent for the Imazighen people to protect, develop and promote their language through education.

Sometimes, the different Imazighen groups are criticized by native scholars, for instance Oussedik, T (1990; 6), for their lack of cooperation with each other and their inability in the past to have organized themselves and defended their country and their language. Oussedik notes:

Les souverains Berbères ne se sont jamais concertés. Aucun sentiment d'amitié ou de bon voisinage ne les incitait à se rapprocher pour se porter mutuellement secours. 7

Imazighen sovereigns never acted in concert. They never shared any friendship nor any neighbourhood feelings to come close and help each other.

(my translation)

6- Trudgill, P (1983; 20) Sociolinguistics. An introduction to language and society. Penguin books. England.

7- Oussedik, T (1986; 5-6) La Berbérie (Volume I). ENAP. Alger. Algérie.

Whatever the qualities and the faults of the Imazighen people in the past and nowadays, their language which expresses their ideas, thoughts, desires, hopes, and ambitions lacks official status, unlike standard Arabic which is regarded as "superior" by virtue of being the only officially recognized language in all domains of social life.

What Imazighen need urgently is to teach their language to their children, at least, in the regions where they are living, e.g. in Higher and Lower Kabylia, Aures, M'Zab and other regions where Tamazight is spoken natively.

To achieve this, Tamazight researchers have to find out an efficient approach to teach the language. Once taught, Tamazight will develop gradually and systematically like any other taught language. The fact that the majority of Imazighen children already speak the language since it is their mother tongue, they should also be given opportunities to read and write in Tamazight.

To find an approach of teaching a language which has never before been taught at school, is not a simple matter. That is why it is essential for the present researcher to observe and analyse how other minority languages are taught in foreign countries such as Gaelic in Scotland. Even though these two languages are quite different in their social and political status, it is useful to take into consideration the experiences of the Gaelic teachers already trained in this field, to see what kind of problems they faced, how they attempted solutions to these problems and whether the solutions they tried might be modified for teaching Tamazight in Algeria. This to avoid making the mistakes the teachers of Gaelic had made. As the Hungarian proverb says:

A fool is a man who learns from his own mistakes,
while a wise man learns from the mistakes of others.

1.4 A DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A study of the Tamazight language as used throughout North Africa, (Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Nigeria, Mali, Mauritania), rather than simply in Algeria should certainly be more interesting. It is agreed among Tamazight scholars (Hammoud,1982) for instance, that though the largest concentration of Tamazight speakers is found in Morocco (about 42% of the population), it is in Algeria, and most particularly in Kabylia, that the problem of the Tamazight culture and linguistic identity is most acutely felt and Tamazight consciousness the most witnessed. Chaker, S (1984; 7) describes this phenomenon as follows:

Bien que sur le plan démographique ce soit le Maroc qui compte la population Berbérophone la plus importante, c'est indiscutablement en Algérie que le "problème Berbère" et la revendication pour la reconnaissance de la langue Berbère se sont manifestés avec le plus d'acuité. A cet égard le cas de l'Algérie et plus précisément de la Kabylie, est exemplaire.

Even though Tamazight speakers are more numerous in Morocco (about 42% of the population) than in Algeria (about 32%), it is in Algeria and more particularly in Kabylia that the Amazigh question and the struggle for the recognition of the language are more strongly felt and apparent. 8

(my translation)

During the Amazigh kingdoms of Massinissa and Jugurtha (about 215 B.C.), no frontier-lines existed between the countries of the Maghreb. The distinction between Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria was progressively made at around the end of the Middle Ages, especially after the arrival of Turks in North Africa. But nowadays Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and other countries are independent autonomous states with governments adopting different domestic policies. Consequently, each country tends to

8- Chaker, S (1984; 7) Textes en linguistique Berbère

C.N.R.S (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique).Paris. France.

follow a different route to deal with the problems of its minority group. The policies of these governments towards their minority groups are shaped by the wishes of the minority groups themselves, their leadership and the whole population in general.

1- As stated earlier, the Kabyls are on one hand the largest Tamazight speaking group living in Algeria, and on the other hand, they represent the category of Imazighen who expressed strong wishes to see their language officially recognized and taught. Since the Amazigh spring in 1980, several general strikes in Kabylia mobilized the whole population who demanded the recognition and teaching of the language. The more recent ones are those of June 17th 1994 and October 7th 1995. In 1994, a highly significant event was the boycott of school undertaken by about one million Kabyl children who did not go to classes for seven months. This movement has forced the Algerian government to recognize Tamazight as the language of all Algerians and to express its intention to ensure the teaching of Tamazight and the promotion of the language in social life (see section 6-1). However, one has to mention that the struggle for Amazigh identity is no longer limited to Kabyls. A rise of cultural identity consciousness has been noticed since 1989 among other Amazigh groups as well.

2- The results of the questionnaires used in Higher and Lower Kabylia to explore the attitudes of people to teaching their children the Kabyl language, are firmly positive.

3- Even though the different Imazighen groups have a lot of features in common (the grammar of their language, art, some customs), they live in different geographical areas (mountains, plains, oasis and desert) which influence their way of life. Since teaching must take into account the sociolinguistic background of the students, an adequate teaching approach would take into account the variety that exists in Tamazight. A serious study of this language, in all its richness and diversification, would demand much more time and more than a single thesis would allow.

4- Kabylia is the only Tamazight speaking region for which documents have been made available for research. This has resulted from the fact that the region has always been represented in literature since the French occupation in 1832.

5- Finally, the present researcher is a native speaker of Kabyl. Therefore, Kabyl speaking interlocutors are the group of Imazighen she can understand easily and communicate with.

1.4 B REASONS FOR THE CHOICE OF SCOTTISH GAELIC FOR COMPARISON WITH KABYL TAMAZIGHT

In principle, any of several languages including Breton as used in France, Welsh in Wales, Catalan in Catalunya, Kiswahili in Tanzania would constitute a good candidate for comparison with Tamazight in Education. However, there are a number of reasons why the present researcher has chosen to focus on Scottish Gaelic.

First, she has had the chance to study and live for a number of years in Scotland where it was possible for her to gather first hand information about Gaels, their language, the regions where the language is spoken and the places where it is taught. Like the majority of foreigners who have been taught Standard English at school without being given any idea about other varieties of English or languages spoken in the United Kingdom, the present researcher initially believed that a variety of English, spoken with an RP₁ (Received pronunciation) accent as used on radio and television, is the native language of all British. However, she discovered later that Britain is not a culturally homogeneous society and not linguistically uniform and Standard English, the variety of English taught in the country and abroad was in fact spoken by a small number of British people. According to Wells, J.C (1982; 117) the R.P¹ speakers are mainly concentrated in England, though not in any particular area. The majority of British speak their own regional variety of English which is either Irish English, English English or a quite different language from English like Welsh or Gaelic (Irish and Scottish). The latter, spoken by small groups of people in Britain, are generally assigned lower status than Standard English in the country.

1- RP: Received Pronunciation is the standard regionless upper-class and upper-middle class accent used mainly by speakers of Southern British English.

Like Scots, a native language, Welsh, Gaelic (Irish and Scottish) have been generally regarded as a hindrance to individual and social advancement. These languages and their speakers are generally associated with backwardness, political protest and religious dissent. The use of their mother tongue instead of English, the dominant language, makes them inferior culturally and economically dependent.

Similarly, Tamazight is devalued by comparison with Arabic which is the language of religion, literature, government and the city. Consequently, this language which has never been the linguistic vehicle of a major civilization could be perceived as an uncivilized and an undeveloped patois.

Secondly, the present researcher was interested in Gaelic, in particular, because of the many similarities this language shares with Tamazight in Algeria. For example:

1- Both languages are indigenous minority languages but differ in size. The Gaelic speaking population is estimated at only 65,978 (according to the 1991 census) representing 1.4% of the Scottish population of 5 millions, whereas Tamazight speakers, more numerous than Gaels, number approximately 8,320,000 (according to the 1995 census) which is 32% of the Algerian population of 26 million.

2- Like Imazighen, Gaels are generally scattered throughout Scotland as a result of economic underdevelopment of the areas in which they live. Many of them are forced to look for employment elsewhere, Glasgow for instance.

Imazighen, on the other hand, are found everywhere in Algeria, Algiers the capital, Wahran, Annaba and in the Sahara for the same reasons.

The children of Imazighen, and of Gaels, growing up in areas where their mother tongue is hardly, or never used, have little opportunity

to master the language, even if the latter is sometimes spoken at home as a first language or taught at school. One can understand how indigenous minority languages become impoverished and tend to disappear especially when they are not promoted by the state, by academic institutions and more importantly by the native speakers themselves.

3- Both the Imazighen and Gaels suffered from invasions and had physical contacts and closeness with other groups which lasted for considerable periods. In the case of the Imazighen, they suffered from the invasions of Romans, Vandals, Turks and others, as explained in chapter 3.2 about their history. As for Gaels, they were conquered by the English after their defeat at the battle of Culloden in 1706 and had experienced physical contacts of varying duration and closeness with Welsh, Pictish, English, Norse and French speakers. As Grant, N (1994 ; 53) states:

Scotland has been a multicultural nation since the 11th and 12th centuries. The multicultural composition of the population has changed, Norse and French have disappeared as native Scots languages leaving many places but Gaelic, Scots and English are still there. 9

4- Linguistically, as a result of the successive foreign contacts between different races in Scotland as in Algeria, Gaelic and Tamazight have incorporated a considerable amount of borrowed foreign words from the people who settled in their lands. As far as Gaelic is concerned and as stated by Thomson, D (1994; 4):

9- Grant, N (1994) Multicultural societies in the European community. The odd case of Scotland in the European journal of Intercultural studies. Vol 5. n° 1.

Latin left a legacy of ecclesiastical and scholarly vocabulary (*eaglais, ministear, sagart etc*). Welsh gave us a large number of place-names, a few items of vocabulary such as "*Monadh*" and a strongly pervasive influence on syntax, so that Gaelic syntax has many points of close similarity with Welsh.

Pictish's legacy is more shadowy; place names and a word or two certainly (*Pittodrie pit*), and probably some of the syntactic influence referred to alone.

English/Scots has had the longest and by now the most pervasive influence, especially on vocabulary but more recently on morphology and syntax and in this instance we have most evidence of reciprocal influence (by Gaelic on Scots).

Norse left, in particular, a series of words of nautical significancees and many place-names (*Birlinn, Sgoth, Laimrig, Stiùiv, Heaval, Uig, Langabhal*).

French influence is slighter, and often mediated by English or Scots (*seumarlan, tasdan, cuadrail, crabhat, aseid*). 10

Turning now to Tamazight, that language has borrowed words from many other languages with which it has been in contact such as Punic, Latin, Arabic and French. In recent times, the dominant influence has been Arabic, the language of religion for over a thousand years.

Using the list-diagnostic method, Chaker, S (1991; 226-228) analysed a sample of Kabyl words consisting of 200 elementary lexical units (110 nouns, 80 verbs and 10 numerals). He discovered that 38% of the sample had been borrowed from Arabic. He noticed that the Arabic influence is particularly important in certain areas:

10-Thomson, D.S (1994) The New English Gaelic dictionary. GAIRM. Glasgow.

-In religious and spiritual affairs

ddin religion

lgameC mosque

lwali saint

-In business and commerce

hseb to count

xdem to work

-Descriptions of intellectual activities

yer to read

xemmem to think 11

In his book *Manuel de linguistique Berbère*, Chaker, S (1991) states that the influence of Arabic on Tamazight is not straightforward and does not necessarily affect all the varieties of Tamazight to the same degree. But, as far as Kabyl is concerned, the Arabic influence is so strong in certain domains (mentioned above) that one can fully understand that Arabic has swamped the language. The borrowing of words from one language to another is a quite common phenomenon. All languages borrow from each other. For instance, French borrows from English, English from Latin, Latin from Greek. But the constant borrowing of one language (generally a minority language) from a dominant language simply highlights the "weakness" of the former as the speakers of the minority language tend to adopt new words rather than develop or invent new terms in their own language.

5- The maintenance of Tamazight and Gaelic has been for a long time threatened by, respectively, Arabic and English because users of the prevailing majority languages impose themselves in the whole environment in the school and the peer-groups even in the heartlands of the Imazighen regions (Kabylia, Aures, M'Zab, Hoggar etc.) and in the Western Isles.

11- Chaker, S (1991) Manuel de linguistique Berbère I. Bouchène. Alger.

6- At school, as with Imazighen children, Gaelic pupils as AdCAS (1989; 16) put it:

are learning more about the history, literature and culture of another nation than they do of their own. 12

7- But the most important phenomenon that Gaels and Imazighen share in common is their determination to fight and see their language survive and used in different domains including education. This will be developed in chapter 10.

12- AdCAS (1989) Scottish Education; a declaration of principles, GRO/S. Edinburgh.

1-5 METHODOLOGY

1.5A- SOCIOLINGUISTICALLY-ORIENTED RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE

Although language can generally be studied from a wide range of perspectives, such as from the point of view of history, philosophy, anthropology or psychology, the present researcher has adopted a sociolinguistic framework in her analysis of the Tamazight language and her attempt to work out a suitable approach of teaching Kabyl children their mother tongue.

Sociolinguistics is defined differently according to different researchers. Fishman, J.A (1972;4) characterises sociolinguistics as:

The study of the characteristics of language varieties, the characteristics of their functions and the characteristics of their speakers as these three constantly interact, change, and change one another within a speech community. 13

Trudgill, P (1992; 68) defines the sociolinguistic research as

the work which is intended to achieve a better understanding of the nature of human language by studying language in its social context and/or to achieve a better understanding of the nature of the relationship and interaction between language and society. 14

Whereas Spolsky, B (1972; 21) views sociolinguistics as simply:

The study of a language and how it is used in different social contexts such as homes, factories, schools and classrooms. 15

13- Fishman, J.A (1972; 4) Sociolinguistics, a brief introduction
Newbury House. Rowley. Massachusetts.

14-Trudgill, P. p 68.

15-Spolsky, B (1972; 21) The language education of minority children
Selected readings. Newbury House. Rowley. Massachusetts.

It remains an open question if this latter definition can be taken as appropriate in the context of all languages especially if we take into consideration the fact that not all languages are taught at school within the communities where they originate. This is in particular the case of minority languages with no official status and considered too "primitive" and "underdeveloped" to be selected as a chosen subject or medium of instruction. Among them figure such indigenous minority languages as Tagalog in the Philippines, Kikuyu in Kenya and Tamazight in Algeria.

The difference between accent, dialect and language from the linguistic point of view is addressed in some detail in chapter 7-1. However it is important to define briefly at this point what is meant by the notion of "language", and to outline the argument why educationalists need to have a clear and unambiguous grasp of some of the fundamental concepts in current research in sociolinguistics so as to be able to work out a suitable approach for teaching an untaught vernacular language.

a- What is "language"?

According to one view expressed in Whatmough, J (1967; 18):

It is customary to begin with definition but philosophically, a definition comes at the end of an investigation. If we begin by defining language, that is because language has been investigated from more than one point of view already. 16

In view of the fact that language has been approached from numerous perspectives, it is not surprising to find that this notion has received different definitions. However there need not be a single definition of language and the different definitions advanced are not exclusive. Conversely they bear on different aspects of language and generally complement one another. It follows from this that the definition of language depends on the investigator's point of view, interest, and his field of research. To educationalists approaching language from a sociolinguistic point of view, language is fundamentally a social phenomenon.

16- Whatmough, J (1967; 18) Language (A modern synthesis) Mentor. New York.

For those researchers, the sociological perspective is the only possible and justifiable approach towards language. The term "socio" is used to indicate the sociological perspective as opposed to others, for example, the psycholinguistic one.

The systematic study of language as a social phenomenon is hardly a novel area of research. As reported by Fergusson (1972), the importance of language in social interaction was underlined long ago by social psychologists. For instance, as early as the beginning of the 20th century, linguists such as Mead, G.H. and Meillet, A. tried to contextualize language in its social setting and to combine social analysis with the investigation of language change.

Linguistics has traditionally been used in anthropological research. But in spite of the connection between anthropology and linguistics (which recognised language as a social phenomenon), the methods of social sciences and those of linguistics evolved separately. It was only 35 years ago that linguists and social scientists (such as Hymes, Gumperz and Bright) started to use concepts and research techniques from sociology, social psychology and linguistics in the study of language change. In fact, as Fergusson pointed out, their primary research aim was in other fields but alongside their own particular research they drew from aspects of sociolinguistic concepts to aid them in their respective fields of study.

Conversely Fishman, J.A (1972) developed a coherent view of language and applied all the theories, techniques and approaches used in sociology, social psychology and linguistics for the study of language from a sociolinguistic perspective. He stressed the importance of applied linguistics as well and used the results of his findings to explain the failure of some educational systems in some countries (in the United States for instance) and to suggest methods of improving the performance of immigrant children at school.

At the present time, and as stated by Janicki, K (1982; 10-11)

Studies which pertain to contextualized data are being carried out under a number of headings (Trudgill 1978). Examples are discourse analysis, conversational analysis (Coulthard 1977), ethnography of speaking (e.g., Baumann and Sherger 1974), social psychology of language (Giles and St Clair 1979). 17

All these studies complement one another. What is new is the widespread interest in sociolinguistics and the realisation that it can shed interesting light both on the nature of language and the nature of society.

According to Hudson, R.A (1980) the social dimension of language is a view typical of Firth, J.R (1950) who founded the 'London school of Linguistics'. The scholars who supported his idea include Halliday, M (1973; 12) who argued that:

Speech has a social function both as a means of communication and also as a way of identifying social groups and to study speech without reference to the society which uses it is to exclude the possibility of finding social explanations for the structures that are used. 18

All linguists agree on asserting that language is not merely a system of communication consisting of a set of sounds and written symbols for speaking or writing. Another property of any given language is that it belongs to a specific community which utilises it as a means of communication and as a component of their culture.

With the exception of Esperanto and other 'artificial' languages which are not linked with any particular ethnic group language, all other languages are associated with linguistic communities which exist in specific geographical environments and which display a proper history which is closely related to the history of those particular languages.

17-Janicki, K (1982; 10-11) The Foreigner's language in a sociolinguistic perspective. Poznan. Poland

18-Halliday, M (1973; 12) Explorations in the functions of language. Edward Arnold. London.

Furthermore, language evolves within a specific political, social and economic environment and its status within each of these domains generally reflects social status within the country or the community within which it is used.

b-Why is language important in Education?

In his book *The Language Education of Minority Children*, Spolsky, B (1972) argues that the first years of every normal child's life in every known society are filled with the task of acquiring the skills and competence needed for social life. Of these, competence in language is one of the most crucial. Gradually, the child gains control of the language used within his environment and when he comes to school, he brings with him, as a result of a huge investment of time and effort in language, a high level of mastery of at least one variety of language. He is then often faced with the task of learning the language or languages chosen to be taught at school.

If the child is fortunate enough, the language adopted at school will correspond to the one his parents taught him at home. The teacher would then have the task of continuing the child's education that has already been started by his parents by improving his knowledge in different domains through the teaching of different subjects such as the history and the geography of the child's country.

If, on the other hand, the language taught at school happens to be different from the one the child had acquired at home - as is the case of ethnic minority children learning the official language of the countries where they live - for instance Asian, African, Caribbean pupils in British schools, the child would need to learn this other language which is of crucial importance to social mobility within the community, together with the different aspects of culture and society associated with the dominant language.

Many cultures have quite different concepts of teaching and participation and observation. But teaching, in general, for normal hearing speaking people is almost inconceivable without language

since teaching and learning typically comprise linguistic activities such as lecturing, explaining, telling, questioning, answering, listening and reading.

Schools and classrooms are pervasive language environments. Pupils are dealing with language for most of the day with the spoken language of the teacher or of the other pupils and with the written language of the books. Moreover, school is not just a place that teaches language. Most of its teaching takes place through language and most of its learning depends on a pupil's ability to understand what his teacher says and what is in his books. Thus learning in schools depends on interaction of the pupils with their teachers and without communication between teachers and pupils, there is very little chance of an effective education.

In recent years, some educationists are convinced that educational failure is linguistic failure, whereas, others, such as Hudson (1980; 193) describes this phenomenon as "a linguistic inequality" as far as the language of ethnic minority is concerned. In fact, these superficially simple statements hide a highly complex problem and debate over it has often generated more heat than light.

In some sense, it is clear that if a school considers a pupil's language to be inadequate, then he/she will probably fail in the formal educational system. But this is a tautology which follows automatically from the pervasive language environment on which schools depend. Finally, one can say that language is important in education because it is socially very important.

It is reasonable to believe that certain practical social problems connected with education could be handled more successfully if teachers and educational researchers had a clear understanding of the way in which language varies within a speech community and the attitudes which such language variation inevitably provokes. Sociolinguistics, as an interdisciplinary field, constitutes this part of the study of language which is integral to understanding the kind of relationships between language and society.

c- Why do educationalists require a clear understanding of some of the central concepts in recent works in sociolinguistics to find out and suggest a suitable teaching approach of an as yet untaught vernacular language?

From an examination of the different definitions of sociolinguistics proposed by various scholars (Fishman, Trudgill, Spolsky) which all in one way or another emphasize the embedding of language within its social and cultural milieu, it is clear why educationalists cannot afford to ignore the strong relationships of language and society in the general process of language planning in bilingual education.

As explained earlier, language is very much a social phenomenon and there are a number of ways in which society influences language and vice-versa. This view is developed by Trudgill, P (1983; 24) in his book *Sociolinguistics*. He examined some of the complex inter-relationships between language and society (described by the linguists Sapir, E and Whorf, B) as follows:

A speaker's native language sets up a series of categories which act as a kind of grid through which he perceives the world and which constrain the way in which he categorizes and conceptualizes different phenomena. 19

Thus a language can affect a society by influencing the world view of its speakers. The social environment can be reflected in language and vice-versa. It can often have an effect on the structure of the vocabulary. For example, a society's kinship system is generally reflected in its kinship vocabulary. For instance, one can assume that the important kinship relationships

19- Trudgill, P (1983), p 24.

in English, as in French speaking societies, are those that are signalled by single vocabulary terms:

Son (fils) - daughter (fille) - brother (frère) - sister (soeur) - mother (mère) - father (père) etc. Other relationships exist as well; eldest daughter (fille aînée) - paternal uncle (oncle paternel) but the distinction between "maternal" (maternel) and "paternal" (paternel) is not as important in English and French as in other languages, such as in Arabic. In that language, a special term is used to refer to paternal or maternal kinship as shown in the examples below:

English	French	Arabic	Transliteration
maternal aunt	tante maternelle	الخالة	[al xal]
paternal aunt	tante paternelle	العمة	[al Samma]

Most languages of European origin are very similar in this respect. As Trudgill, P (1983 : 24) explained:

because of their common genetic relationship and the long cultural contact between them, the world view of their speakers and their societies are perhaps for that reason not all dissimilar. 20

The societal values as well as the social structure obtaining within a society or community may affect the language used within it. Taboo words may be taken as a classic example in this regard. In particular values and beliefs within society have often changed certain words' connotations making them taboo words.

Since language and society are closely interrelated, as seen above, educationalists striving for a suitable teaching approach of an untaught language need to study language in its social setting and consider the problems associated with it in its social context. As

20- Trudgill, P (1983), p 24.

Hudson, R.A (1980 : 32) put it:

A study of language totally without reference to its social context inevitably leads to the omission of some of the more complex and interesting aspects of language and to the loss of opportunities for further theoretical progress. 21

Many education programmes proved ineffectual as a result of their studies to divorce language from the real-life situations in which it is embedded. An example is reported by Rubin, J (1984: 5) who states:

Some years ago, in the United States, a few linguists hit upon the idea that by writing readers in black English they would enhance the black students' performance in school. This idea met with strong opposition. The black parents and teachers objected on the ground that this would put black students in a disadvantageous position vis-à-vis the white student. Others noted that the difficulties did not lie in the language sphere but rather in the teacher's expectation of the student's incompetence. Changing the primer would not necessarily change the teacher's expectations (whether the teacher was black or white). Instead, it seemed important to focus on the teacher's attitudes. 22

To sum up one can say that a best suggestion to an answer to the question raised earlier in this section is given by Hudson (1980; 231) who states :

It is a truism that speech occurs in a social context; which is why the social perspective of sociolinguistics is indispensable to the study of language or speech. 23

21- Hudson, R.A.(1980; 32) Sociolinguistics. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

22- Rubin, J (1984; 5) Bilingual education and language planning in Language planning and language education. Allen, G & Unwin. London

23- Hudson, p 231.

1.5 B - ORGANISATION OF THE RESEARCH

Turning now to the organisation of the research, the present work is divided into four parts, each with a particular focus.

Part one is a broad introduction to the research together with a presentation and discussion of the status of some minority languages. Being aware that the problems associated with the status and the teaching of Tamazight in Algeria are not particular to that language, she has found it necessary and useful to examine the value of already functioning related model languages in bilingual education such as Breton in France, Welsh in Great Britain and Catalan in Spain.

Part two of the thesis focuses on the social setting of Kabyl Tamazight, the target language and Scottish Gaelic, the minority language she selected for comparison in education with Tamazight in Algeria. Obviously, more importance is given to the former since it is of prime interest in this research.

Part Three corresponds to a comparison of Tamazight with Gaelic in various domains, more importantly in Education. This includes the choice of the standard variety used in education, the choice of writing scripts, the preparation of teaching materials and teacher training.

In Part four, the present investigator suggests a teaching approach of Kabyl Tamazight taking full account of the sociolinguistic background of the language and the experience of the teaching of Gaelic in Scotland in bilingual schools.

In the first step, like any language planner, the present investigator has gathered the maximum of information about the situation, geographical, economical, social and political, i.e., the social setting in which Kabyl Tamazight is at present evolving.

For a more effective bilingual education in Algeria, like in any other country, the present researcher took into account the assumption which sociolinguistics studies have brought to light.

Rubin, J (1984) pointed out that to ignore sociolinguistic factors such as attitudes or needs of groups who will be affected can lead to the failure of language planning programmes.

According to Trudgill, P (1992; 68) Sociolinguistics which investigates the field of language and society includes:

anthropological linguistic, dialectology, discourse analysis, ethnography of speaking, geolinguistics, language contact studies, secular linguistics, the social psychology of language and the sociology of language. 24

In the course of this research some concepts of these components of sociolinguistics have been used in different chapters. For example the geographical aspects of Tamazight maintenance, Multilingualism in Algeria, as developed in section 3-3-1 and which describes the function of the languages spoken in the country, including the different varieties of Tamazight, has been analysed through the sociology of language. On the other hand, the social psychology of language has been used to study language attitudes. The latter are important factors which can play an essential role in language planning, as Kennedy, C (1980; 1) explains:

If planners at higher levels have ignored community attitudes towards language x, the teacher may find resistance to learning the language and low motivation. 25

Bilingualism as found in Algeria (Arabic-French, Tamazight-French and Arabic-Tamazight), the borrowing of words from one language to another and code switching have been examined in the light of language contact studies.

Concepts of dialectology have been found useful in the study the different varieties of Tamazight as spoken in some parts of Algeria. And the linguistics of Tamazight, describing the writing and the sound system of that language, have been studied in the light of linguistics.

24-Trudgill, P (1992). p 68.

25-Kennedy, C (1980; 1) Introduction to Language planning in *Language planning and language education* . Allen & Unwin. London, Boston, Sydney.

1-5.C FIELD-WORK

Attitudes of different kinds are profitably studied in the light of the tools and concepts of the discipline of social psychology, a discipline that highlights and emphasises the importance of the socio-cultural context influencing the production as well as the nature of such attitudes. Two theories are presently used for the analysis of attitudes, namely the mentalist and the behaviourist. The former is characterised by Williams, F(1974: 21) as:

an internal state of readiness aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response. 26

This theory faces problems of an experimental nature, for if an attitude is "an internal state of readiness" instead of an overt reaction, it would imply that we would have to rely on the individuals' account of the nature of their attitudes or draw conclusions about attitudes indirectly for behaviour patterns. As Fasold, R (1984; 147-148) put it:

on this theory, attitudes are to be found simply in the responses people make to social situations. It is only necessary to observe, tabulate and analyse overt behavior. 27

Language attitudes are limited to that set of attitudes expressed in one form or another towards a specific language. People are generally asked to express their opinion regarding a given language variety. However, language attitudes can be extended to the study of attitudes towards their speakers. A study of language attitudes can be further extended to the exploration of all kinds of behaviour bearing on language attitudes, most notably, desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups using a particular variety of

26- William, F (1974; 21) Some research notes on dialect, attitude and stereotype Newbury house. Rowley.

27- Fasold, R (1984 ;147-148) The sociolinguistics of Society. Basil Blackwell. Oxford. England.

language, self reports concerning language use, desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education and opinions bearing on language maintenance and language shift.

Methods for analysing language attitudes can be either direct or indirect. According to Fasold, R (1984: 149):

A totally direct method would require subjects to respond to a questionnaire or interview questions that simply ask their opinions about one or another language. A totally indirect method would be designed to keep the subject from knowing that her language attitudes were being investigated. 28

The direct method relies largely on observations, interviews and questionnaires.

a- Observations :

The observational method involves the recording of the actions of individuals by the investigator observing them. It proved both necessary and useful in this study when the researcher needed to visit schools to observe the classroom activities, the relationships between pupils and teachers and the reactions of pupils to the teaching approach teachers of Gaelic and other minority languages have adopted to teach children their mother tongue.

Classroom observations were conducted also in some schools, such as Woodside secondary school in Glasgow, where some community languages of Scotland (Urdu, Chinese, Bengali etc.) are taught to children, the majority of whom are native speakers of those languages. This was done with the aim of finding out about the kind of problems facing the teaching of some minority languages - indigenous and immigrant - and that are not encountered in the teaching of Gaelic.

b- Interviews

Information collected through observations is generally believed to be biased and is thus not totally reliable. Hence the necessity of complementing and checking them through interviews and questionnaires.

According to Bell, A (1970), interviews have some advantages that other forms of direct method (observations, questionnaires) do not generally possess, such as creating personal contacts between the researcher and the respondents. Moreover, they can focus the attention of the respondents on the desired dimensions of investigation. In spite of these advantages, interviews, unfortunately, cannot be used with all categories of Algerians in this work. The reason is that the majority of them, especially uneducated people, cannot understand nor believe, even when the aim of the research is clearly explained to them from the beginning, that a tape recorder is sometimes needed to conduct a field work. They are generally reluctant to speak openly in a clearly monitored situation, fearing that their speech would be heard and judged by unknown people in the country or abroad, and consequently tend to speak as they should do but not as they would like to, i.e., honestly. Moreover, as a result of the present political situation of Algeria (civil strife) and the concomitant problem of safety that educated people are currently facing, the majority of Algerians do not trust each other any longer and it is generally very difficult and risky for them to express their opinions freely about any subject. The Amazigh question, in particular, is perceived by some Algerians as constituting a threat for the national unity of the country - which is already fragile - and therefore better left out of discussion. Thus, research of this type was regarded as a political investigation and obstacles were created for the author at every stage of her field work. The direct contacts the investigator managed to establish in Algeria were with volunteer Tamazight teachers at cultural associations in Higher and Lower Kabylia and those teaching Tamazight as subject at an experimental level in some secondary schools. They are directly concerned with the author's suggested approach to improve the quality of their teaching. These numerous contacts were found necessary to allow the

researcher to detect, to take into account of the practical difficulties encountered by teachers and pupils, the quality of the teaching materials presently used, before being able to analyse the factors contributing to the bad quality of the teaching of Kabyl which- one has not to forget - started to be taken in charge by the Algerian government just recently, in 1996.

In Scotland, contacts with Gaelic teachers and personal interviews were held with Gaelic teachers and advisers in the Western Isles and in the Lowlands to discuss the teaching approach they are using, the problems they are facing in practice with the aim of understanding them and consequently avoiding them in the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight.

c- Questionnaires

Questionnaires were considered to be the best way of collecting information needed for a research of this kind. For the purposes of this study, questionnaires were distributed by relatives and friends. A stimulus consisting of a post-card showing a Kabyl girl reading the message ***Tamazight di Lakul*** (Tamazight at school), a slogan used by Imazighen during their peaceful demonstrations in the streets in different times) from a blackboard in a classroom was used when necessary to introduce the subject and to provoke responses to the questionnaires. This was then followed by the questions "Have you seen this post-card before. What do you think about it?"

Two kinds of questionnaires were used: open and closed ones. These were translated into Arabic, French and Tamazight (using Latin characters) to allow the respondents to answer in the language in which they feel at ease.

Open questionnaires specifically targeted teachers and were directly handed to them in person. They were encouraged to express their views openly and even to raise problems overlooked by the present researcher.

Closed questionnaires were distributed among students, pupils and their parents because these were quicker to complete and return compared to open questionnaires since the respondents had only to select one answer out of a number of suggested ones. The

responses and reactions emerging from these types of questionnaires have been found easier to identify by the present researcher.

Questions were classified from the easiest to the most difficult and from the least to the most sensitive and were selected in such a way as to remove ambiguity. The questionnaires were piloted to the same category of people with whom discussions have previously been held with a view to plan an effective questionnaire.

Fasold, R (1984; 152) argues that:

The ideal compromise is to conduct pilot research with open questions and use the results to construct a closed question questionnaire. 29

As Bouzidi, H (1989; 95) pointed out:

The achievement of this compromise is very important, especially where these tools are applied in a non-western setting. New concepts are to be formulated rather than the ones utilised in Western countries, given the differences in culture, standard of living and way of life in general. 30

An accompanying letter was included with the questionnaires distributed to parents. The aim of the letter was to explain the purpose of the research, to assure the respondents that a permission had been officially given to the researcher to conduct such field work at school. Confidentiality was also promised ensuring that the findings will be published but no names will be mentioned in the report unless they will agree with the principle. A specific date for returning the questionnaires was given and a system of numbering was devised to check the number of questionnaires filled in and returned.

29-Fasold, R (1984; 152) The Sociolinguistics of Society. Basil Blackwell. Oxford. England.

30-Bouzidi, H (1989; 95) Language attitudes and their implications for education. Morocco as a case study. Ph.D thesis. University of Glasgow.

To ensure a relatively representative distribution of informants and examine the potential effects of regional variation on language attitudes, the subjects were selected from four geographical locations in Algeria: Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth, respectively the capital of Higher and Lower Kabylia where Kabyl is predominantly spoken as a vernacular; Algiers, the administrative and economic capital of Algeria, then Wahran, the second largest city in the country in terms of population.

Algiers and Wahran attract different categories of people seeking work from different parts of the country. Algerian Arabic is the language used by the majority of people in these two cities, offering thereby an ideal field for the study of language contact.

The subjects are classified according to age (from 7 to 60), sex, mother tongue, social status and geographical provenance. The main groups represent students, pupils, parents, teachers and workers of all categories; both male and female.

The closed questionnaires were distributed by the author's relatives and friends, and by teachers to their pupils and students. The latter were asked to fill in the questionnaires during classroom sessions. These same pupils were asked to hand other closed questionnaires to their parents who were asked to return them within ten days.

The remaining closed questionnaires were administered to chosen groups of Algerian Tamazight-speaking students and teachers drawn from primary and secondary schools, various universities, banks, restaurants and administration offices in the four representative areas described above. The effectiveness of some of the questions in the present questionnaire (Appendix B3-B4-B5) was proven by Bouzidi, H (1989; 247-249) who used roughly similar questions in his investigation of the language attributes and their implication for education in Morocco. The linguistic situation in that country is somewhat similar to that of Algeria.

In this study, the aims of the questionnaires were to check the assumptions, predictions and hypotheses formulated by the researcher on the basis of her observations of language attitudes in Algeria, the status of the Tamazight (compared to other languages in use in the country) and its prospective teaching in bilingual primary schools. Thus the questionnaires used deal with

the sociolinguistics, linguistics, and pedagogical aspects of Tamazight. However, one has to recognize that although this method of collecting data was considered to be the best way for obtaining the most reliable answers, yet it has its limitations. Illiterate people, except those who filled in the forms with the help of a friend or relative, were automatically excluded. Unfortunately this was unavoidable since only questionnaires could be used to collect information from the general public. This was because of the situation prevailing in Algeria nowadays, as explained on page 39.

Some of the crucial questions and issues the present researcher examined are the following:

- 1- The status of the different languages employed within Algeria and, in particular, the status of Tamazight vis-à-vis other languages.
- 2- The domain of use of the different languages, with a main focus on that of Kabyl Tamazight.
- 3- The nature of script that should be utilised for writing Tamazight (Tifinagh , Arabic or Latin characters?)
- 4- The position of Kabyls as to whether they would wish their children to be taught their mother tongue.
- 5- The opinions of teachers as regards bilingual education; Arabic-Tamazight.

1-5.D RESEARCH PROBLEMS

Though a native speaker of Kabyl, and having been brought up in Algeria and worked as a language teacher of French for seven years in primary school, the author did not rely simply on the knowledge of her own Amazigh cultural identity and on her experience in teaching children Kabyl speakers in Bgayeth (in Lower Kabylia) to collect facts about the sociolinguistics of Tamazight. The reason is that data amassed through one's own experience can be biased, as Hudson, R. A (1980; 1) explains:

Of course personal experience is a rich source of information on language in relation to society. However, it will soon become clear that the "armchair" approach is dangerous if it is applied to personal experience alone for two reasons: First, we may be seriously wrong in the way in which we interpret our own experience, since most

of us are not consciously aware of the vast range of variations in speech which we hear and react to in our everyday lives, and secondly personal experience is a very limited base for which to generalise about language in society since it does not take account of all the other societies where things are arranged very differently. 31

For these reasons, to describe and define the social setting of Tamazight, the author relied on data extracted primarily from the works of the native and foreign scholars such as Chaker, S (1990), Ouerdane, A (1993), Taleb Ibrahim, K (1995) and others. The problems encountered by the present author in conducting her research are numerous and various and can be characterised thus : First of all, the Amazigh question in Algeria is presently a sensitive political problem, and the source of a much heated and passionate debate. Consequently, scientific research in this field is obviously very delicate in view of the fact that the problems associated with the Tamazight language - most notably the fact that it has yet to be recognised as a national language as well as the fact that Imazighen are still fighting to have their political and cultural rights officially recognised - are still to be sorted out.

Secondly, official data - if they are not totally non-existent (the number of Tamazight speakers for instance) - proved very difficult to collect as a result of bureaucratic difficulties the present researcher met at different stages of her research.

Thirdly, there is an absence of previous published work in her field of research to refer to. Teaching methods of Tamazight have been published but nothing about the teaching approach of that language as a mother tongue.

Fourthly, there have been the risks the author has run in conducting her field work as a woman researcher travelling from

31-Hudson, R.A (1980; 1) Sociolinguistics. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

one region to another in a country in turmoil to visit schools, to establish contacts with teachers and others, to distribute questionnaires and collect them afterwards. Another major problem the present investigator faced was to have access to the necessary documentation for her research. Most of the books about the Tamazight language and culture are either non-existent at the national and university libraries in Algeria or out-dated, generally written during the French occupation.

The new published books written by native scholars and generally published abroad are not available at the national libraries, and those that are on sale in bookshops are, being imported, very expensive. When ordered from the inter-loan service of the university library, necessary books took a long time to arrive, sometimes taking as much as six months to be available.

Conclusion

Given the lack of official data bearing on the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight in Algeria, the applications of questionnaires, the holding of interviews, personal inquiries, the conducting of experiments and classroom observations in Algeria, in Scotland and in other countries (Wales, Ireland, Brittany and Catalunya) were the obvious means of obtaining raw data. The present research made sure as well that experienced Tamazight teachers, given their experience in teaching and their awareness of the numerous problems inevitably inherent in such a task, as well as their pupils, are interviewed as a vital and direct source of information, in the general effort of making the teaching of Kabyl in primary school a viable possibility.

CHAPTER 2- MINORITY LANGUAGES IN THE WORLD

2.1- MINORITY LANGUAGE; DELIMITING THE CONCEPT AND RELATED PROBLEMS

Minorities in the world range from minorities of a single individual or small group to entire nations which are still a minority vis-à-vis the rest of mankind. The same truth is applicable to languages, whether they are spoken by a group as small as one or by millions. Regarding languages, however, the perspective is more narrow; a minority is defined fundamentally in relation to a geo-political unit which in the current world is generally the nation state.

A minority language is generally defined as the language of a settled community, or a group of settled communities within a state which is other than the dominant language such as Welsh in the United Kingdom, Breton in France, Tamazight in Algeria, Nguni in South Africa and a host of others in the world. Nevertheless, the term "minority language" is not entirely free of conceptual paradoxes and ambiguities, since it is often the case that a language which is a minority language of a nation as a whole is very much a majority language in a region or enclave of that region, as is the case, for instance, of Gaelic in Lewis, Welsh in Gwynedd, Catalan in Catalonia, and Sard in Sardinia.

There are also other languages which, though used regularly by a majority of the population of an entire nation, yet resemble minority languages in that they are not the only languages used by their speakers. For certain prestigious purposes, as is often the case of literary and official functions, they are replaced by some other languages as happens to the Faroese language in Faroe Islands which is in close contact with Danish, and Luxembürgish in Luxemburg a native language which is sometimes replaced by the two official languages, French and German.

It happens sometimes that the demographic majority language of one nation also serves as a minority language in some other nation. If we take the case of German, which is a dominant language in Germany, it may at first sight seem surprising that it can also be a minority language in four European countries, namely, East Belgium, Denmark, France and Italy. A similar situation can be found to the south of the Danish border where Danish is used as a minority language.

Sometimes minority languages are defined as "those at risk" in face of culturally dominant languages, and the constant threat of the latter to overwhelm them. Those minority languages are generally described as being "threatened, pressured, submerged, beleaguered, being encroached on, in recession, declining, and dying". But one can notice that this is not the case of all minority languages. It is true that while some of them decayed and died such as Manx and Cornish, others, such as the Celtic group which comprises Scottish Gaelic, Irish, Welsh and Breton, as Greene, D (1980; 2) stated:

have been in consistent decline even since statistical evidence has been available. 32

However, one ought not to forget the existence of other tongues which have confronted higher status within their own nations and, contrary to what one might expect, they have had reputedly successful revival movements. As examples of languages that fall within this category, one can quote Luxembürgish in Luxemburg, Faroese within the Danish Kingdom, Catalan in Spain, Frisian and Norwegian in their respective countries.

In some nations, a demographic minority language need not be a functional minority. As Haugen, E (1980; 100) explained:

The key concept is power and especially the means of access to power. 33

32- Greene, D (1980; 2) The Atlantic group: Neo-Celtic and Faroese in *Minority languages Today*. Haugen, E & McClure, J. D. Edinburgh University Press.

33- Haugen, E (1980; 100) Language fragmentation in Scandinavia: revolt of the *Minorities*. Haugen, E & McClure, J.D. Edinburgh University Press.

In South Africa, for instance, there was a policy of teaching either in English or in the native tongues (Zulu, Xhosa, Nguni and Sotho) as subjects in black schools only. This was depending on areas.

In 1976, Afrikaans, the dominant minority language spoken by the white Europeans who settled in that region in 1652 and who represents only 1/5 (about 4.8 million) of the entire South African population estimated at 23.5 million inhabitants in 1985 was imposed as a medium of instruction in black schools. The Guardian newspaper of January 16th 1998, page 11, reports (in an article written by Duval Smith Alex and entitled "Cradle of Soweto uprisings falls") that in June 1976 African students who were not willing to learn "the language of the oppressor" demonstrated peacefully in the streets in Soweto. Hundreds of young people died, killed by the army and police. An over-emphasis on mother tongue teaching as a medium of instruction has been perceived as a way of excluding South Africans from power even though they form the majority in the country.

Conversely, it happens that a majority language functions as a minority language in social frequency, that is, in the use of the language in the events of daily life. If we look at the Sámi language used in the heartland in Norway, as Alf Isak Keskitalo (1980; 159) states, 80% of the native people in the Kautokeino community use Sámi as first language and the others use Norwegian. Because of a widespread migratory tendency, a typical asymmetrical relation between majority and minority language can be noticed. The result is that the Sámi language, though the mother tongue of an overwhelming part of the population in the Kautokeino community, is largely under-represented in the total number of language events. However, Norwegian functions as the dominant language.

Sard is another case in point. Even though it is used as a first language by the majority of Sardinians at home, that language functions as a minority language and is being increasingly replaced by Italian. From a linguistic point of view, Sard is defined as an autonomous romance language but politically and sociologically, its status has been reduced to a subordinate Italian dialect.

The number of speakers is not the deciding factor in making the status of minority languages. Icelandic spoken by 200,000 speakers is not a minority language whereas Welsh spoken by 508,098 people according to the 1991 census and Breton by about 1 million native speakers, are.

Minority languages can belong to any language group, Celtic, Germanic, Romance, Slavonic, from the Indo-European family as well as from non Indo-European languages such as Basque.

Some minority languages may have a centuries-old-tradition of writing, like Irish. Conversely others may recently have been committed to script like Faroese using roman script.

Very often, minority languages are described as being "old". Scots, Gaelic, Welsh and Basque for instance are claimed to be "ancient" tongues. If this statement has any meaning, it reveals that a previous form of those languages was first written down at an earlier date than those with which they are compared. All linguists agree to assert that all languages, minority and majority ones, evolve and are constantly in a state of change and if it happens that a language shows an allegedly primitive state from one point of view, it may be quite modern from another. Icelandic, for instance, may be morphologically "ancient" but in terms of its phonetics, it is remarkably innovatory.

Finally, as Simpson, J.M.Y (1980; 237) states:

Whether or not a language is a minority one has nothing to do with the language, but everything to do with the situation it finds itself. 34

As the preceding discussion reveals, there are different kinds of minority languages. That is why a unique definition describing all of them is neither possible nor suitable. However, the best way to define and describe minority languages is to classify them according to the characteristics some of them share in common as follows:

- 1- Historically indigenous or immigrant minority languages.
- 2- The size and the type of society in which they are used (small, large, homogeneous, pluralist or dispersed).
- 3- And finally the policies and practices which define their social and political status within the nations to which they belong or where they are spoken (unitary, concessionary, pluralist and revivalist policies).

1a- Indigenous minority languages represent those of long established native communities or nations like the Irish, the Welsh, the Scottish Gaels, and the Lowland Scots in the United Kingdom. Stephen (1978) distinguished more than fifty linguistic minorities in fifteen states in Western Europe. Other ethnic groups are also the Inuit people in Greenland, Canada, and Alaska using the Greenlandic language. Indigenous minority languages in France are Breton, Alsatian, Flemish of Westhoek, Basque, Catalan, Corsican and Occitan. In Africa, Tamazight is spoken as an indigenous minority language in Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Egypt and in other North African countries. Hausa is used natively in Northern Nigeria, Luganda in Uganda, Kigikuyu in Kenya and many others.

34- Simpson, JMY (1980; 237) The challenge of Minority languages in *Minority languages Today*. Haugen, E & McClure, J.D. Edinburgh University Press.

1b- Immigrant minority languages differ from indigenous minority ones in that they do not originate in the country where the immigrant people chose to live. Speakers of immigrant minority languages come from various countries, generally poor ones, looking for a living as the legacy of former colonial or dependent relationships (Commonwealth). In the United Kingdom for instance, the immigrant people come from West Indies, Pakistan, China, Italy and speaking, respectively, Punjabi, Urdu, Cantonese, Hakka, and Italian. In France, Algerians, Moroccans, West Africans and Vietnamese form the major immigrant groups. Turkish is spoken in Germany by the Turks who represent the majority of the immigrant people in that country similarly to Indonesians in the Netherlands.

Ancient immigrant minority languages are those languages such as Romany spoken by the gypsies in European countries generally.

2- Classification of minority languages according to the size and the type of society in which they are used.

2a- Small minority societies

It is not possible to state the exact size of the minority language communities which exist throughout the world since the majority of the dominant nations ignore their minority languages and very often do not collect any statistics about them. However, it is possible to distinguish roughly between large and small minority language communities as a proportion of the total population of the country where they exist. In the United Kingdom, small minority groups are the Gaels in the Highlands and Western Isles, the Sámis in Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden and Finland) and in the former USSR. More important in size are the Celtic Bretons in France as well as the Basques, Catalans and Latin Occitans. In Spain they are represented by the Basques, Galicians, and Catalans. But in Africa and Asia those language minority groups are so numerous that it is not easy for anyone to state exactly how many coexist in those countries. Sometimes, their status and existence is entirely ignored and eventually recognised only when forced by armed struggle.

Cameroon offers an example of a sub-Saharan country where a great number of small minority language communities can be found. As reported by Todd, L (1984; 160), in 1978, there were some two hundred ethnic groups in a country of seven million inhabitants. The same situation can be seen in India where for a population of 600 million in 1984, 200 classified small minority languages are spread over the country, Punjabi, Oriya, Assamese, Bengali, Telugu and many others.

2-b Large minority societies

These minorities are sizeable enough to influence national policy making. The French community in Canada is a classic example. While it forms a large minority group at the Federal level, in one province, namely Quebec, the French community represents an important local majority. In India, Hindi speakers are the more numerous compared to the other small minority linguistic groups. Their number is estimated at a little more than 30% of the entire population, making Hindi therefore as the sole serious contender for the status of a national language, notwithstanding the fact that Hindi is not in itself linguistically homogenous and split into a number of varieties which are not necessarily mutually comprehensible.

Tamazight speakers in Algeria, as in Morocco, are the largest single minority group. It was already pointed out that, in general, the large minorities are often associated with strong geographical bases entailing further consequences for both local and national social and educational policy. But this is not the case of Tamazight in Algeria where at the time of writing, Imazighen are still struggling to gain the right to have their language taught at school.

2-c Homogeneous societies

The term generally denotes those societies lacking substantial linguistic minorities or major varieties of a language. They are generally small, such as Iceland, the Faeroes, San Marino, and Burundi. The few larger ones are exemplified by certain Arab states, such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan, which contain no Imazighen groups in their territories.

2-d Pluralist or fragmented minorities

In some countries, the linguistic population is so diverse that no single group is in a position to claim majority or dominant status. Typifying this case are most post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa countries which had their national frontiers drawn by European politicians who had little knowledge of and no concern for the people living there at the time. The inhabitants of, say, Northern Nigeria have more in common with their neighbours in Tchad than with their Nigerian countrymen in the South.

Current political leaders of Black African countries are reluctant to redefine these often arbitrary frontiers owing to fear that any redefinition of boundaries along lines could result in the collapse of most states. A series of disastrous wars of secession from Biafra to the Ogaden have given weight to this fear. It is likely that most African states (e.g., Cameroon, Tanzania, and Kenya) will remain linguistically diverse and therefore, due to both demographic and political factors, deprived of a common indigenous medium. One can notice, however, that this is not the case of India which, though it involves, similarly to Africa, several minorities (e.g., Bengali, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Punjabi and others), some minority languages in some provinces are taught in schools in the regions where they are spoken besides English and Hindi.

2-e Dispersed minorities

Dispersed communities consist of internal migrant people or foreigners who left their region or country looking for a living or for some other reason (political pressure, like Kurds in Turkey), colonization (Imazighen in Algeria) and settle down in a different part of their country or of a foreign country. They can either form a small dispersed minority language community, such as the Gaels in parts of Glasgow and the West Indians in parts of London, or a large dispersed minority language community, such as Imazighen in the whole North Africa. In some countries one can notice that the dispersed minority language community is large enough to form a majority itself such as the Chinese in Malaysia, the French in Canada and the Indians in Fiji.

As Grant, N (1991; 6) claims, regardless of their numbers and origin, dispersed minorities are particularly vulnerable when it comes to language maintenance. Though they may have points of concentration in certain towns, the dominant linguistic environment tends to be heavily that of the majority language, and their own language will suffer from the absence of some of the social support that languages, even with small minorities, enjoy when these small minorities have their own geographical bases.

3- Policies and practices

They are undoubtedly the most important factors determining the status of a minority language in a given country. Policies vary from total suppression of all other minority languages in favour of the majority language to insure equality of all languages used within a community. Yet it should be noted that declared policy and actual practice do not always coincide. Though policies may overlap or exhibit inconsistencies, four main kinds of policies can be distinguished:

- 1- Unitary policies
- 2- Concessionary policies
- 3- Pluralist policies (with or without a common medium)
- 4- and revivalist policies

1- Unitary policies

These are adopted in countries where minority languages are ignored or even suppressed in education as well as in social life. Not many countries adopt this policy openly but some have done. In Spain under Franco, only Castilian could be taught in schools whereas all other native languages were forbidden. Turkey which refused to recognise the Kurd community is another clear case.

Surprisingly, in some cases, parents from a minority group themselves encourage this policy believing it to be to their children's advantage to be taught the dominant language and even believing that the learning of the minority language would constitute an obstacle to the acquisition of the majority one.

2- Concessionary policies

These might be described as still essentially unitary but, with some exceptions, often limited in scope and reluctant towards the minority languages. Some countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and France, which pursued unitary policies openly in the past, have slightly modified their position nowadays. In France, for instance, Corsican, Breton and other minority languages are presently taught in schools as subjects in the regions where they originate. Even this concession is beset with problems since every teacher of Breton must train in something else first, like French or History for instance. Teachers teaching the class must volunteer afresh each year and so do the pupils who take it, hardly a most desirable basis for sound planning and continuity. A similar situation can be observed in Scotland. The Scottish Education Department backed the Bilingual Project in the Western Isles from 1975 to 1981, but the funding was both less than enough and provisional. The SED was less than willing to back up the extension of Gaelic-medium teaching to the secondary level, or to grant financial assistance to developments elsewhere.

3- Pluralist policies

These recognise minority languages as full languages and encourage their teaching in schools as medium of instruction, as well as in a wide range of domains, such as church, law and administration.

Practices vary a great deal from one country to another but the main differences rely on policies which still require a common medium of instruction.

3-a Pluralist policies with a required common medium

Minority languages are allowed to be taught both as subjects of study and as medium of instruction. However, the learning of a common national language is required. The latter can be either the language of the majority people in the country or of the largest single group such as Hindi in India.

The common medium can be imported as well and, often for practical reason, this is generally the language of the former colonial power. It is used when the linguistic composition of a country is so diverse that no plausible native medium obtains at all. English is used in most African ex-imperial territories such as Nigeria, and French in former French and Belgian colonies and Portuguese in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné-Bissau. While the imported common medium may have the merit of being tribally neutral, it nevertheless has the misfortune of being alien to the indigeneous population and being learnt primarily by a small urban elite, thus reinforcing and extending the gulf dividing the rulers from the ruled.

3b- Pluralist policies without a common medium required

These are much less attested and are frequently encountered in countries where a precarious political and demographic balance obtains, as in Belgium, or a loose federal system with almost total local control, as in Switzerland.

In Belgium, the main tension between speakers of French and Flemish has been solved by teaching the majority language as medium of instruction in one designated area and providing the other as a subject. Switzerland provides a rather different situation, for one language enjoys a general majority since German is spoken by about 75% of all Swiss, though the version they speak varies substantially from the High German variety taught in the schools. However, the looseness of the confederation is such that each Canton opts for its own language for education.

Pluralist policies have been used in pre-war Yugoslavia as well. As there was no national Yugoslav language, Serbo-Croat, in its Serbian form but using the latin alphabet, was employed in the two domains of the army and diplomacy. But each republic used its own language for education and other uses. Thus Serbian is used in Serbia itself, in Montenegro and in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatian in Croatia. An attempt to impose Serbian, a minority language, on the whole country proved a political fiasco that was met with strong and violent resistance from many of the other groups, most notably and, perhaps quite ironically, from the Croats whose language is similar to Serbian. Recent events, however, have triggered a new wave of ancient jingoism and national hatred currently tearing the country apart.

4- Revivalist policies

Such policies seek to restore an historic language with a view to reinforcing national identity and the value of the language concerned as well as the distinctive culture bound with it.

In the British Isles for instance, Irish was granted a special recognition by its speakers in Ireland though the native speakers of that language represent a small proportion of the population, 1/3 of the population which was estimated at 3000.000 in 1994. As Fennell, D (1980; 33) reported:

Both for the purpose of saving the Gaeltacht, and in order to revive Irish in English-speaking Ireland, a succession of governments from the 1920s to 1970s obtained the approval of parliament and people for a series of far reaching measures. The Constitution declared that Irish was the first national language. Irish was made an obligatory examination subject in all schools, and it was required for entry into the public service.

For every child of a Gaeltacht family who was certified by the school inspectors to be Irish-speaking, a grant first of £2, later of £10, was paid to the parents. 35

Though something in the region of 20% have acquired a reasonable degree of competence in Irish, its use, however, is still largely symbolic in public life.

35- Fennell, D (1980; 33) Can a shrinking linguistic Minority be saved? Lessons from the Irish experience in *Minority Languages Today*. Haugen, E & McClure, J.D. Edinburgh University Press.

In India, revivalist policies have been adopted towards the Sanskrit language. The minority language has been recognised by the constitution in 1948 though it is spoken by no more than a few thousand people, mostly men.

The revival of Finnish represents a rather different situation since it had never ceased to exist as the spoken language of the majority. Centuries of foreign rule made Swedish, and later Russian the official and elite language, and relegated Finnish to the status of a despised peasant tongue. During the 19th century, nationalist intellectuals fought to gain literary status for the language and political independence reinforced the aim. The strength of Finnish is due partly at least to the efforts of the educational system.

A classic example of the revival of a minority language is that of the Hebrew language which has been restored as a living and spoken language by the modern Zionist movement. By the time of the Maccabees, Hebrew had stopped being a spoken language and had been replaced by Aramaic and subsequently by the various languages of the Diaspora like Yiddish (a variation of German written in the Hebrew alphabet used by the Ashkenazim), and Ladino (or Judaeo-Spanish) used by the Sephardim. Hebrew continued to be studied as a sacred and scholarly language, but was not normally spoken until attempts were made to revive it. In the present state of Israel, other languages are used in addition to Hebrew, Yiddish, German, Russian as a result of the mixed composition of the settlers, but they have remained minorities. Besides its cultivation by the Zionists, Hebrew also benefited from the prestige of its historical, cultural and religious association and link; in the circumstances, it represented the sole viable means of communication among the totality of Israelis.

There are a few other cases that are closely similar to this category. More or less, they are cases of governments relying on the educational system together with the bureaucracy, in the attempt to revive or invent a more “authentic” version of the language, with this usually involving the development of a contemporary form of the spoken language through a process of standardisation, devising the required new vocabulary etc. For instance, in Norway, independence from Denmark promoted and encouraged the standardisation of the several rural dialects, referred to collectively as Landsmål (or country speech) and creating Nynorsk (New Norwegian) to be as distinctive as possible from the government language, Riksmål (or the literary language, Bokmål).

Conclusion

As can be deduced from the description above, the history of minority languages (indigenous or immigrant) as well as their sizes (small or large) and the type of societies in which they are used (homogeneous, pluralist or dispersed) are not important factors in defining the status of those languages on the whole. What matters more are the policies and practices adopted towards those minority languages in the countries where they are spoken. In general, unitary policies seem to be in decline, at least as openly declared policies. This may be due to the increasing scepticism growing around the notion of the “bilingual” deficit, but seems more probably to be the consequence of the political pressure exerted by the minority groups themselves. If there is any shift from one policy to another, this would be from unitary policies to concessionary policies rather than pluralist ones. Bilingualism and multiculturalism are still regarded as rather a nuisance in some countries such as France and Scotland, as pointed out by Grant, N during the seminar on bilingualism held at Glasgow university on February 29th 1992. This is because they are thought to be factors and elements potentially capable of splitting the country apart. That is why response to stated governmental policies is often minimal and reluctant.

THE CHALLENGE OF MINORITY LANGUAGES

As explained earlier, minority languages face different problems according to the type of society and policies adopted within the nation where they are used . Their maintenance and survival offer challenges of various kinds, mainly of a political nature. However, it is safe for a linguist to say that the successful minority languages, prior to being fully recognised and taught in schools, displayed, at least partially, more similar characteristics than the presently threatened ones. It is important to summarize here the common features that minorities on the whole have as well as the challenges they commonly present.

1- Their domains of use are generally limited, being confined to home, religious life or literature. They may be excluded from certain areas of activity such as law practice, administration and education. Their speakers may need to switch from the use of their language to the culturally dominant one depending on the situations they find themselves in and the subject they happen to be talking about. The main reason is either because the minority language is not developed enough to be used in all events of social life and may lack areas of vocabulary found in other dominant languages (English, French and others) or because only the use of the dominant languages are allowed in formal situations such as in politics, administration and education.

2- As a result, bilingualism is a characteristic linguistic aspect of minority language speakers. They need the knowledge of the dominant languages in order to survive since their own language lacks the political and social support to be fully recognized and used in all domains on a par with the dominant ones.

3- Minority languages may be at risk from the opponents who either discourage or disprove of their maintenance. Those people could be either political leaders or citizens and these may even include native speakers who support their children in giving study priority to the dominant and international languages presumed as economically more useful- who wish the minority languages to die out because they are generally seen as an obstacle to the unity of the country.

4- Minority languages tend to live in the shadow of the dominant ones which impose themselves in every area of social life. Even the vocabulary of the minority language may be influenced by that of the dominant ones. Borrowing of words from the dominant languages is a very common phenomenon even when native terms in the minority languages are available.

5- There may be reluctance on the part of native speakers to use their language with learners or even with those speaking a different dialect of the same minority language. The reasons for this could be either the language possibly lacking in adequate and appropriate vocabulary or its speakers non-recognition of a standard form or their being completely bilingual. Thus, it becomes increasingly thought of as the indicator of an increasingly small and somewhat "inferior" group in relation to the majority one.

6- Speakers of minority languages tend to migrate to the main towns in their country or abroad looking for a better life. As a result, their children, if they are not bilingual, will have an even lesser chance to learn their language outside their region and the parents may lose the possibility of passing their language to their descendants, especially if the minority language is not taught at school in the area they move to.

7- the cause of minority languages may be taken up by individuals who are not native speakers of these languages, and at times these individuals may be of unlikely logic and/or of extremist inclinations in the majority language media.

8- As is the case of some majority languages such as French, German, Icelandic and Hebrew, efforts to promote minority ones involve language planning and language purification.

9- Minority languages may have been historically dominant ones and they may have had at least written conventions that they no longer possess. Tamazight in North Africa used to be written in Tifinagh characters in the past. Nowadays, this writing system has to be fully developed to be used again by Imazighen.

10- There may be no recognised standard form in the minority language to be used as a norm in communication and in education. When it happens that the local authorities, under the pressure of the minority group, agree to the minority language being taught as a subject in schools, generally it is the variety of the largest or politically the strongest minority group which is chosen as the language of education.

11- Finally, in education, when minority languages begin to be partially recognised and taught at school, those languages with a low status have to face the major problem of what official attitude the government will adopt towards their being teaching taught; should it be taught as a subject or as a medium of instruction for all subjects?

Conclusion

These are the main characteristics that, at least to a certain degree, minority languages may present in common. However, one should not forget that important factors can change the unitary policies presently adopted by the government of some countries towards their minority languages. The desire and the collective strong will of native speakers to fight and promote the status of their language are decisive and most crucial in changing the status of minority languages. For as Simpson, J.M.Y (1980; 247) claims:

The study of minority languages has to do more with speakers than with systems or standards, and languages after all are spoken by individuals. 36

36- Simpson, JMY (1980; 247) The challenge of Minority languages in *Minority Languages Today*. Haugen, E & McClure, J.D. Edinburgh University Press.

2.2 - THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATUS OF SOME MINORITY LANGUAGES (BRETON A₁, WELSH A₂ , AND CATALAN A₃)

To illustrate more precisely the problems which minority languages may encounter, and also the efforts made by speakers of those languages to maintain and promote their language, three very different examples will be looked at in more detail: Breton, Welsh and Catalan. This will allow a better perspective and understanding of the present position and status of Tamazight, and possible solutions to the problems of survival and development which not only face Tamazight but other minority languages to various degrees.

2.2. A₁- BRETON IN FRANCE

The French writer and dramatist Jean Giraudoux, in his speech delivered on national radio on the 10th November 1939, told the French people,

France is not one single land of one single race. This great and proud country is a nation composed of minorities.

At present the truth of this statement still applies. There are still a number of clearly defined minority groups in France today; Bretons, Flemish speakers, Basques, Catalans and Corsicans.

As Sérant, P pointed out (1965; 26) in his book "La France des minorités", the position of the various French ethnic groups is clearly different from that of the immigrant groups, French Algerians for example, who confront many different kinds of problems.

The European community from Algeria are certainly an example of new ethnic group, referred to as "pieds noirs". The "pieds noirs" have their origins in those French from areas such as Alsace-Lorraine, Brittany, Provence and Corsica who went to Colonial Algeria and very quickly intermingled with others from Spain, Malta and Italy to form a new and distinct community with its own character and style, which led many French people to consider this group as other than French, "ces gens-là n'étaient pas français" (those people were not French). Sérant, P (1965) explains that they looked at the characteristics of the "pieds noirs" such as their accent, manners, customs, at their whole way of life which they

perceived as alien and not part of mainland France, and a mentality which was the result of living their daily lives with Algerians. All this was reason enough for many to see the "pieds noirs" as different from other French people.

In the past the struggle against native speakers of the many different languages was undertaken by the monarchy. The kings of France considered that speaking French or at least a knowledge of it was essential for the establishment of national unity. But these efforts to impose French on an unwilling population was often limited to administrative and official business. If French was officially seen as the national language, the use of other languages and dialects was tolerated with more or less freedom depending on the particular region of France.

This all changed with the advent of the French Revolution and the republican principle of a single, united nation which led not only to the suppression of the provinces to the advantage of the départements but the destruction of all that was unique about the various spoken languages in France at that time. On the 17th October 1793 a decision was taken on the language question to the exclusion and detriment of those speakers of the various native languages and dialects. It was declared that children must learn to speak, read and write exclusively in French throughout the French republic despite the existence of numerous native languages. The indifference of the government authorities to the plight of the minorities was also shared by the different political parties and groupings. The right were motivated by the principle of national unity, the left were guided by the spirit of republicanism. Jacobins of the right and of the left were united in their stance which entirely ignored the status of the minorities. It was not until the events surrounding the fall in 1940 to German occupation and the honest accounting of the period immediately after the Liberation that the various political parties began to acknowledge that regional issues and their concerns were not simply the invention of a few marginal and romantic folklorists. However, this change in attitude did not automatically lead to the recognition of the minority languages nor the right to have them taught in school. After the defeat in 1940 by the Germans, the collaborationist Vichy government permitted a degree of freedom in the teaching of regional languages. In 1951, 'la loi Deixonne' allowed the teaching of regional languages with the option of an exam at baccalauréat level. Campaigners for the various

languages however did not agree that these concessions went far enough and autonomous movements were set up in Flanders, the Basque country, Corsica, Alsace-Lorraine and in Brittany in order to defend their language and culture.

One of the main criticisms levelled at central government, by the Bretons in particular, concerned the systematic opposition to the teaching of the Breton language historically displayed by the authorities. As Favereau, F (1993; 32) reports, in 1813 the Prefect for Finistère and the Côtes du Nord wrote to the Minister of Public Instruction:

by all possible means it will be necessary to undermine and weaken the position of the Breton language and promote its dilution to the point where, throughout all the communes of the region, the language may no longer be heard. It is absolutely imperative that the Breton language be wiped out. 37

To achieve this, as Favereau, F (1993) points out, the Government Inspector instructed all newly qualified teachers that their principal duty was to assist in the task of destroying the Breton language. Each individual teacher, whose first language was Breton, was then left to their own devices and confronted with the dilemma of resolving how to forbid their young charges from speaking their very own language, which their own teacher shared in his or her dealings with them socially in their daily lives, with their families and the community at large.

One of the principal demands shared by all the minorities who consider themselves victims of cultural and political oppression concerns the particular injustices committed with respect to their own language. The first demonstrations organised by the Breton movement had no distinct political character. It was fundamentally a cultural question of defending the Breton language as well as Celtic traditions but without any reference to their status as French citizens first and foremost. Bretons are proud of the broader Celtic tradition to which they belong and are an important part of the diaspora located in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Cornwall. Migrants who fled Cornwall in the 5th and 6th centuries, following the German invasion, introduced the name "Britannia minor" from which present-day Brittany takes its name.

37- Favereau, F (1993: 32) Bretagne Contemporaine: Langue, Culture, Identité
Editions Embannadutiou Skol Vreizh Morlais. Montroules. Bretagne.

At the outset of the 3rd Republic, in 1945, the Breton group reassembled but its attempts to gain concessions in favour of teaching Breton in schools were in vain. Subsequently, the struggle for recognition of Breton cultural rights gathered momentum and intensity. Thanks to the intervention of Roparz Hemon, young Breton writers came together and set about writing and producing a new Breton literature. The bishops decided that one hour a week would be dedicated to the teaching of Breton in catholic primary schools. The Minister of National Education refused to shift his position regarding the teaching of Breton, but a number of Breton school teachers founded a group in order to defend the teaching of their language. Several Breton militants among whom Dr. La Cam and Yann Fouéré formed a movement to promote the teaching of Breton (**Ar Brezoneg er Skol**). This movement was to become more important than any of the previous associations or groupings.

In June 1937, the Education Commission (La commission de l'Enseignement) of the Chambre des Députés (House of Representatives) unanimously declared in favour of the principal demands submitted by **Ar Brezoneg er Skol**. The ground won by the cultural militants only served to impress those who were somewhat reserved, or even hostile in some cases, to what they were doing. In 1936, the General Election saw the formation of front Breton which supported candidates who were prepared to lobby in favour of certain principal demands. From thereon, the Breton movement was no longer forced to remain on the margins of political life; it had now become a force with which the authorities would have to seriously contend.

Certain activists maintained that it was necessary to go beyond basic linguistic and regionalist demands. In the aftermath of the 2nd World War, a new autonomist magazine *Breiz Atao* (Bretagne Toujours) appeared. It became a focus for autonomists who were claiming the right for Brittany to control its own destiny, the founding of a Breton parliament with executive powers, including control over the form and content of education with Breton as the first language being made compulsory. But as early as 1929, as Sérant, P (1965; 113) pointed out, such a programme provoked little less than a scandal among the vast majority of French people who simply invoked the dangers of separatism in order to deny the right to teach Breton in schools. Some militants, such as those of **Gwenn-ha-du** (name of the Breton flag) black and white in colour

representing the bishoprics and duchies of Brittany) judged that the political struggle was not enough to secure their demands and decided on the path of direct action organising attacks, the most spectacular of which was the blowing-up of the Rennes town hall which symbolised the union of Brittany and France dating back over four centuries. Since 1918, the action of a number of patriotic associations, some cultural, others political, whether regionalist, federalist or separatist bore witness to a continuing shared national identity anxious to determine its language and traditions.

Some gains made by the various cultural associations with regard to their language rights are important.

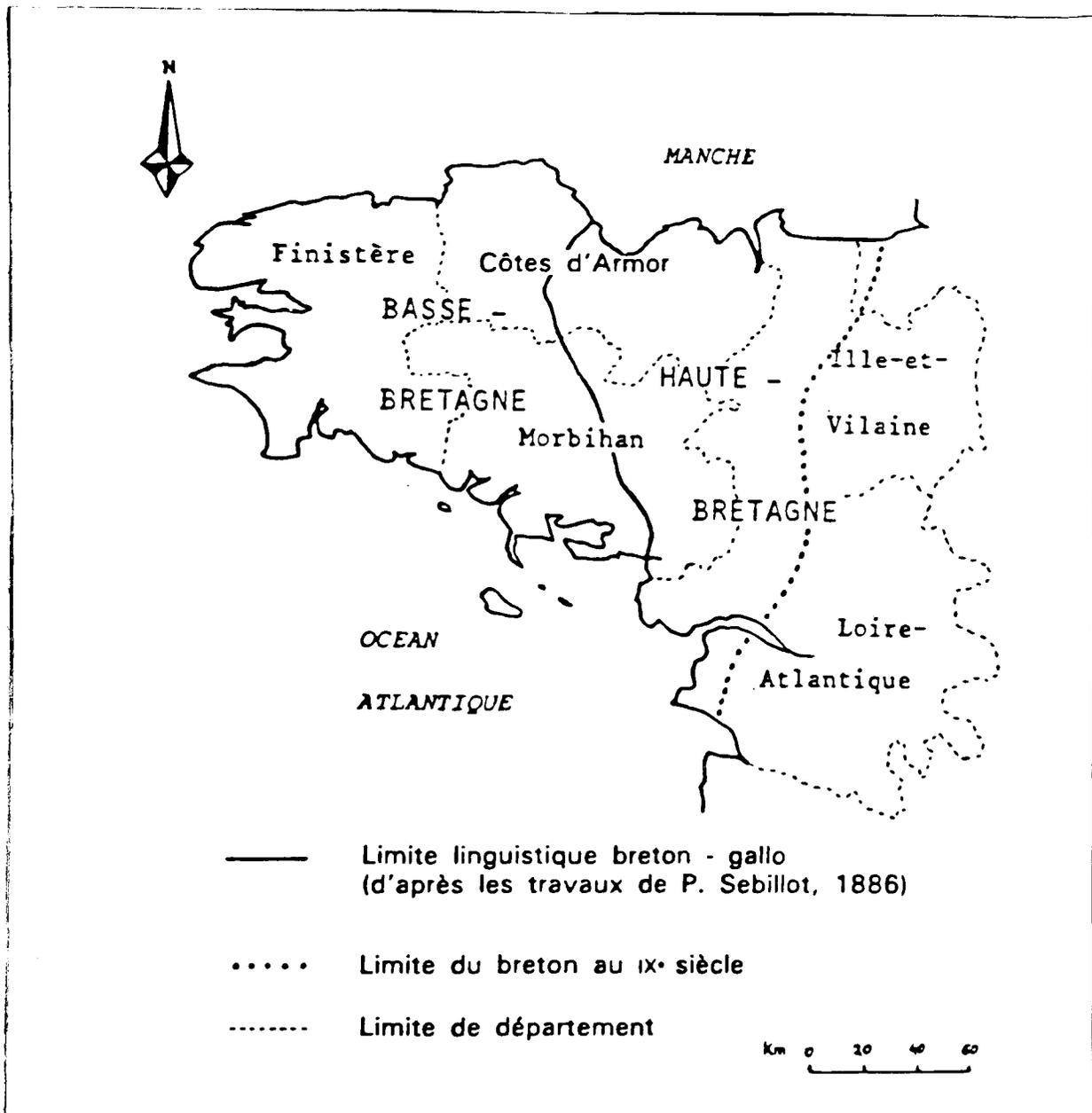
From the beginning of 1941, the Vichy government established the teaching of Breton history and geography in schools leading to a compulsory examination. It authorised also the teaching of the Breton language for one hour a week. Then, the government-nominated regional Prefect, Jean Quenette, founded the Comité Consultatif de Bretagne which attracted a large number of officials and representatives of the various cultural organisations. It was due to the efforts of this committee that the Breton language was admitted as an element of the primary school certificate of studies. There we have a summary of the Breton context, not forgetting the terrible repression of 1945 during which a number of sympathisers were arrested and interrogated. This period witnessed the greatest purges ever seen in Brittany.

Let us now look at the present day situation in Brittany.

Geographically, Brittany is divided into La Basse Bretagne (Low Brittany) and La Haute Bretagne (High Brittany). La Basse Bretagne stretches roughly from the west of St. Brieuc to east of Vannes, or more precisely, from just outside the town of Plouha to the mouth of the River Vilaine (see map 2, p 69)

According to the investigation reported by Favereau, F (1993; 27) and undertaken by Coquebert de Monbret, in 1806 Low Brittany was largely monolingual. This was before the introduction of bilingualism or more commonly diglossia, using both French and Breton which do not share the same official recognition.

Map 2: Lower and Higher Brittany



Source: Favereau, F (1993; 40) Bretagne Contemporaine; Langue, Culture, Identité. Skol Ureizh. Bretagne, France.

According to Favereau, F (1993) one can distinguish two linguistically distinct areas on the basis of historical and archeological evidence. On the one hand there is an area which is truly Breton and another area between St. Brieuc, on the Gouet-Dol, and to the south on the margins of the Vilaine which was more or less isolated in the Middle Ages and relatively quickly lost much of its Breton roots and influence from then on down through the centuries.

Favereau, F reports that, in 1993, Breton was spoken in the Finistère region by around a third in the coastal areas and about a half in the Morbihan district. He points out that, at the beginning of the century, many of the inhabitants only spoke Breton. But today the number with no knowledge of French amounts to no more than around 20,000. On the other hand, as stated by Favereau and according to the 1994 census, there are between 800,000 to a million Bretons, out of a total French population of 56 million who practise and speak Breton in their daily lives as well as French.

Pleven, R (1962; 36) believes that Brittany presently suffers from several natural handicaps:

1. Its isolated geographical situation in the far west of France.
2. The geology of the region with its mountains and river valleys hampers agricultural exploitation.
3. The agricultural economy of Brittany is predominately organised in small family units which make up 80% of the total spread across the region, many of which are inefficient and uneconomical and do not bring much money into the region.
4. The unpredictability of the weather, which is often very wet, limits the exploitation of tourism to no more than a few weeks in the summer every year.

All these factors have combined to produce significant emigration to towns elsewhere throughout France, Paris in particular, and to other countries such as the United States and Canada. This phenomenon has persisted since the beginning of the 19th century when the

predominately rural economy of Brittany began to lag behind the development taking place in the more industrialised areas of France.

The retreat of Breton as a language is therefore to be seen as due to both social as well as geographical factors. Again, according to Favereau, F (1993) in the Berrien district of Finistère, for example, the average number of adults leaving the area on an annual basis between 1954 and 1959 was 25, the majority of them young; from a population of 2,393 in 1911, it fell to 1,538 in 1954 and to 1,350 in 1959. As Pleven, R (1961) has suggested, it is not only small farmers who feel obliged to leave their land to make a living elsewhere but also skilled workers and craftsmen, shopkeepers and traders due to lack of business as well as professionals due to a lack of clients.

The decline of the Breton language has been marked by a grave deterioration from 1950 onwards. In the aftermath of the war, Breton was still spoken in the home but its use gradually diminished and disappeared in a number of areas of people's daily lives including the Church. The Mass, prayers and catechism were conducted increasingly in French. The Breton language is also strongly influenced by French culture in general and switching from one to the other is the rule rather than the exception.

The more profound causes of a language in retreat beyond the political upheavals and ideological struggles already outlined are evidently more complex. They are of course primarily economic as explained above, but another important factor was military conscription which was a result of the two World Wars this century. During the First World War, thousands of Bretons who spent up to five years of their lives in a French-speaking environment discovered different lifestyles and learned that more money could be earned in the city rather than back home in the countryside. Consequently the already significant shift in migrant population was to gain momentum after the end of the war.

As Broudic, F (1995) states, schools have also played an important role in the repression of the Breton language which lasted from 1793 to 1950. The process was one of assimilation through education and the key was to be the French language, to the obvious detriment of Breton. French was encouraged to be considered as the

medium for communicating new ideas and to be seen as the key for the integration of the rural masses into mainstream French society, particularly with regard to the young for whom the French language was to be seen as indispensable for social advancement.

The impact of the mass media is another important factor. Presently the amount of time given over to Breton on radio and television is negligible: 18 hours each week on radio, primarily Radio Bretagne-Ouest, and approximately 90 minutes on television. Supporters of the Breton language hope that the introduction of the bilingual news programme **Kelaouenn** will expose Breton language and culture to a greater number of homes in the region.

As Broudic points out, one may say that Breton is another minority language which is under threat. The continuation of the language and its transmission from generation to generation is no longer guaranteed in today's world; Breton is no longer considered as an important means of communication. In a study conducted by Péron, E (1993;16) at Plouzévet in Rennes, 50% of those interviewed considered Breton as their language, only 20% of those interviewed understood no Breton at all. Of the 70% who would like to see the survival of Breton as a language, only 35% believed this would happen.

Péron drew the following conclusions:

All of those interviewed expressed their identification with Brittany. The language was seen as an important element of their cultural heritage. Even a basic grasp of the language was seen to reflect an identification with the language and culture and an attachment to the collective, a wish to acknowledge the existence of shared traditional roots. As to the future of the language, opinions are ambivalent and even contradictory to an extent. The majority of those interviewed expressed a desire to see the survival of Breton but were not presently learning the language or making any effort to transmit the language to those around them. The erosion of the language presently affects all of the population. It is rare for any young person under 30 to speak Breton fluently and if some understand it occasionally, they rarely make any effort to speak it. Even within communities with strong Breton ties, more and more French is spoken. The linguistic code is strongly influenced by French language and culture.

Today, Bretons have recognised their problems and have to a great extent lost the inferiority complex towards their language and

traditions which was a result of marginalisation and under-development. If it is true that in cultural terms their demands have not been met by the French state, it is also true that they have not completely given up.

Links between Brittany and other Celtic regions have become much closer in recent years. The language is still seen as central to the survival of Breton culture. This is partly explained by the success of correspondence courses and night classes. Since the end of the 1960's which saw the continuation of the decline of the Breton language, there has appeared a layer of new Breton speakers. The events of May 1968 provoked serious consideration among a number of young people who, unlike their parents, were not burdened with notions of inferiority as regards their traditions and heritage. They began to study the language as a means of identification with their background, aware of the intrinsic value which bilingualism brings and of the opportunities it presents. The Breton cultural circles began to struggle for the right of Breton to be taught in schools on an equal footing alongside French. Individual initiatives can often lead to the beginnings of interesting developments. Therefore, in 1977 the first Breton nursery school opened called **Diwan** (meaning 'seed'). It was born as a result of the French state's refusal to cede recognition of Breton's legitimacy as the language of education alongside French failing to ensure the advancement of the Breton as an integral part of the public education system.

A special mention is given to those schools modelled on the first **Ikastolak**, Basque schools, which have subsequently influenced developments in the state sector and more recently in the catholic education sector where bilingual education has been established in some areas with substantial financial support from the regional and district authorities e.g., in Finistère and Morbihan.

The **Diwan** charter adopted in 1979 was followed by classes being established with four pupils or more. Children would follow classes in Breton at nursery stage and during the first year at primary. At the first year primary stage French would be introduced on an equal basis with Breton. This early bilingual apprenticeship is reinforced back in the home (courses in Breton are also offered to those parents who wish to facilitate the transformation between home and school). In these schools, classes such as History, Geography and Mathematics are conducted in Breton. Statistics from the University of Rennes, and reported by Favereau, F (1993; 47), show that in

1970-71, 3662 pupils (0.59% of the school population) were involved with the teaching of Breton as follows:

Nursery sector	public: 214 of 58,831 pupils private: none of 48,206 pupils
Primary sector	public: 93 of 130,568 pupils private: 152 of 113,287 pupils
Secondary public	public: 1,636 of 138,488 pupils private: 1567 of 115,011 pupils

Since 1971, however, numerous candidates have been opted for the Breton exam as part of the baccalauréat: 761 candidates in 1971 and 886 in 1972.

It was not until the publication of the Savary circular of the 21st June 1982 regarding the teaching of regional culture and language in the state sector that clear proposals were produced on a national basis:

- the establishment of pilot bilingual classes.
- the possibility of courses in regional languages being introduced at upper secondary level in the lycée.
- optional modules being offered in various regional languages in higher education at the Ecoles Normales.

Besides all these promises, professional training for teachers was proposed but despite the change in official attitudes clearly signalled by this document little has been achieved since, due to a lack of funds and investment. Moreover, the principle of opting-in which characterised the plans would do little to enhance the status of the particular language in relation to French.

In the primary sector, the ministerial circulars of the 17th June 1962 and 29th March 1976 proposed that one hour per week may be given over to the teaching of regional languages in the creative and aesthetic areas of the secondary curriculum. However, where time may be dedicated in this way it is often badly organised within the timetable to the extent that students are rarely encouraged to

pursue these areas. many students give up. Only 10 to 15% of pupils were even given the option.

In higher education, a degree in Breton was established at Rennes in 1981, followed by the introduction of a degree course in Celtic and Breton Literature and Civilisation at Brest in 1982. Only in 1985 was this followed by the introduction of a CAPES in Breton in conjunction with either English Literature, History and Geography or Mathematics.

In January 1993 following directions from government minister Jack Lang, the Rector of the Academy of Rennes set up a Consultative Committee on Breton Culture and Language composed of forty representatives from a variety of backgrounds. These were at last encouraging signs for the promotion of a language which had been sadly lacking for so long at local as well as national level, where obstacles had often been placed to prevent the establishment and development of universal system of education in Breton from nursery to higher level readily accessed by all.

According to Broudic, F (1995; 359) school has played an important role in maintaining the Breton language until the present day. He distinguishes three main periods in the evolution of the language. The first is related to the fact that education in Brittany was provided only in French. This period during which Breton was completely ignored - and even forbidden at school - lasted seventy years, from 1880 until 1950. Thus, a repressive educational policy was in operation affecting a great number of children who were monolingual in Breton when starting school.

The second period started in 1939, when the Second World War began. As Broudic, F (1995; 386) reported, there were fewer and fewer children speaking only Breton when starting school. The majority of parents thought that it would be more helpful to children if they were taught French, instead of Breton, at home. Anticipating the difficulties their children would face when learning French, the majority of parents decided not to pass the Breton language on to their children from an early age. Because of the negative attitude of parents towards Breton, great harm was done to the practice of the language. Most parents were not even aware of the damaging effect on the language which began with this parental choice. As a result, as Broudic, F (1995; 387) states, during the

years 1950-70 a great number of children in Brittany who were brought up speaking French were either monolingual in French or bilingual, i.e., they had been taught Breton at the same time.

According to Broudic, F (1995; 387) the third period started at the end of the 1980s. The percentage of those who knew Breton when they started their schooling was then insignificant. Broudic states that even the majority of children who went to Diwan schools were not able to speak Breton (when they started school) since most of their parents did not speak the language. Nevertheless, many parents now wanted Breton taught in schools.

Broudic underlines the nature of the change which occurred in the 1960s. The claim that Breton should be taught was based on the fact that Breton was the children's mother tongue. Nowadays, as Broudic adds, this is no longer the case and thus this claim is no longer a legitimate argument. Yet, what is expected from schools nowadays is that children will learn a language they cannot speak, a language which is sometimes the mother tongue of their parents or, more often, of their grand-parents.

At present, as Broudic, F (388; 393) states, Breton is taught not only as a subject but also is used as a medium of instruction. If in the past only Civic Instruction was taught through Breton, today a great number of subjects -History, Geography, Maths etc - are taught through that language. The native speakers of Breton claim greater political status for their language and for its use in all aspects of life alongside French. As Broudic adds it is only when the practice of Breton started to diminish that the language reached such high social status.

Conclusion

It is important to recognise the huge efforts undertaken until now by the numerous cultural organisations and Breton teachers and activists with the modest help of the French government to succeed in establishing and maintaining the Breton language as a part of the education system. But are we to hope that this will be enough to secure the survival of a language whose status within the region in other areas of public life and in the media is far from being fully recognised by the state. The experience of the Republic of Ireland has indicated that the teaching of a minority language in school is

not enough to stop the retreat of a language far from securing its survival. It is more likely the individual, the family and the community at a large who hold the key to the future of the survival of their language and making sure that their children and successive generations learn the language first in the home, then in their communities and subsequently in their schools.

A2- WELSH

The British Isles, like France, present a linguistic situation that is anything but homogenous; in addition to English and the immigrant minority languages, four indigenous languages are habitually used namely, Gaelic and Scots in Scotland, Irish in Northern and southern Ireland and Welsh in Wales. The present status of Welsh is of prime importance for us since this minority language appears, compared with Scottish and Irish Gaelic, to enjoy a higher status in the British isles. This is so despite the close geographical proximity of England and the permanent and considerable influence of English, the dominant language in the British Isles and a major international language.

Presently, and according to the 1991 census report for Wales, the number of welsh speakers in Wales is estimated at 508,098, i.e., 18.7 % over a resident population of 2,835,074. The erosion of Welsh by the dominant English language started a long time ago as Jones, B.L (1980;41) explains:

Anglicisation of Welsh territory had been a factor for over eight hundred years, ever since the Anglo-Norman settlement of the fertile Lowlands of Gwent and Morgannwg of peninsular Gower and South Pembrokeshire. 38

The nature of domination which English exercised over Wales was stronger than in all other parts of the British Isles and has been explained by Bell, R and Grant, N (1977; 23) in historical terms as follows:

38- Jones, B.L (1980; 41) Welsh: linguistic conservation and shifting bilingualism in *Minority languages today*. Haugen, E & McClure, J.D. Edinburgh University Press.

Welsh was never able to establish the centralised monarchy that saved Scotland (whose laws were never those of England and indeed were based on continental Roman-Dutch often quite unlike those of English) or to offer the military challenge (in terms of both armies and geography that saved Ireland) from falling under England's control completely. 39

As Bell and Grant (1977; 35) add :

Wales had nothing to equal the eighteenth century glories of Dublin and Edinburgh. Until the twentieth century, she contained no major city (in 1800 Cardiff's population was still 1,018), no university and very few grammar schools of national stature. Her minority state church and her legal system were part of England's and her native Welsh-speaking aristocracy, such as it had been, had virtually disappeared. 40

As a result, as Jones, B.L (1980: 47) reports:

Apart from very young children, monolinguals are a rare, if not an extinct species...It is the increased habitual context with English and the decrease in the total incidence of Welsh speech events within communities which has in the twentieth century reduced Welsh to a minority position. 41

39- Bell, R & Grant, N (1977; 23) Patterns of Education in the British Isles. Allen G & Unwin. London. Boston. Sydney.

40- Idem, p 35.

41-Jones, B.L (1980), p 47.

Nowadays Welsh is mainly spoken in the North West, the coastal area in particular, and in Western districts Gwynedd and Dyfed (see map 3, p.81). The greatest difference is between the industrial South and the rural North. South Wales - where most of the population now lives - is largely English-speaking whereas in the less populous North and West, Welsh is still commonly used.

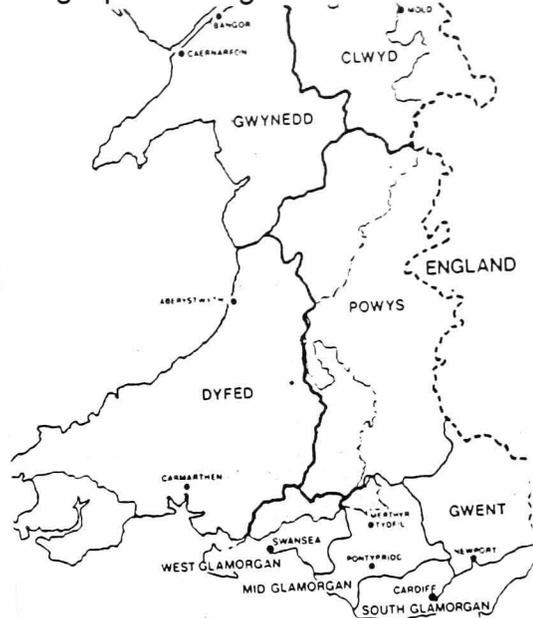
In the past, during the late 1800's, South-Wales which had previously been primarily Welsh speaking areas attracted a great number of English-speaking workers who poured into the mining valleys of Gwent and eastern Morgannwg with consequent anglicising influences. As a result, between 1911 and 1951, the total number of Welsh speakers decreased by over a quarter of a million. According to Jones, E (1992; 12), the number of Welsh speakers, estimated at 977,366 in 1911, went down to 714,688 in 1951. Since then, the number of Welsh speakers diminished continuously until 1971 when the rate of decline has been arrested considerably. Jones, G.R (1983) explains this phenomenon in terms of the influence of a very substantial growth in adult Welsh learners. In 1991, the rate of decline has been stabilised as a result of considerable increase among young children as stated by the figures of 1991 census.

WELSH STATUS PLANNING

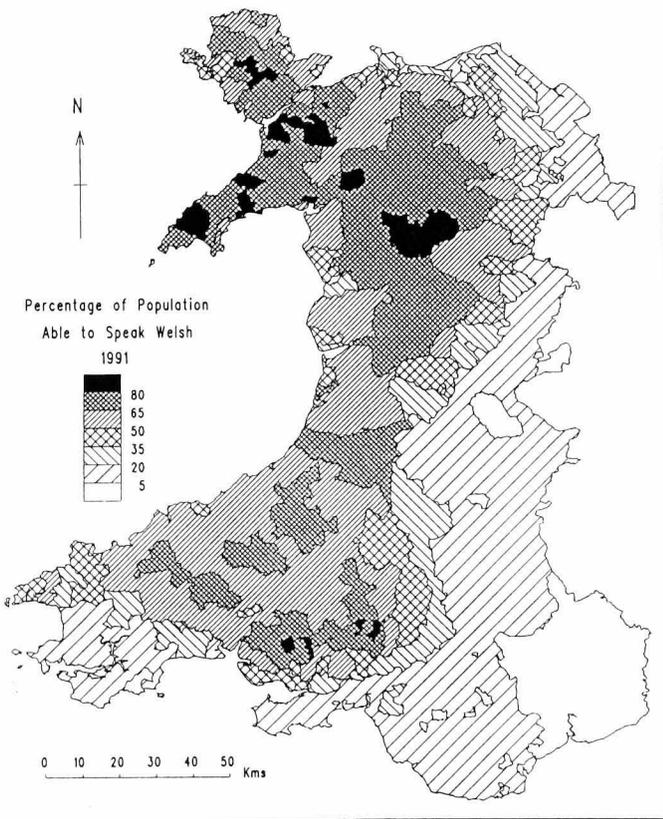
Nowadays, every visitor can notice that Wales is evidently a bilingual country. Both English and Welsh are used in social life, administration, and in education. Sign-posts and traffic notices in the streets are available in the two languages. The Welsh Courts Act of 1942 allowed Welsh native speakers to use their language in a court of law even though the evidence had to be translated into English. Since 1945, Welsh language and cultural identity has been reinforced through a number of institutions and agencies such as the Welsh Office, the Welsh Books Council, the Welsh Arts Council, the Welsh Development Agency and others.

Maps 3.1, 3.2, 3.3

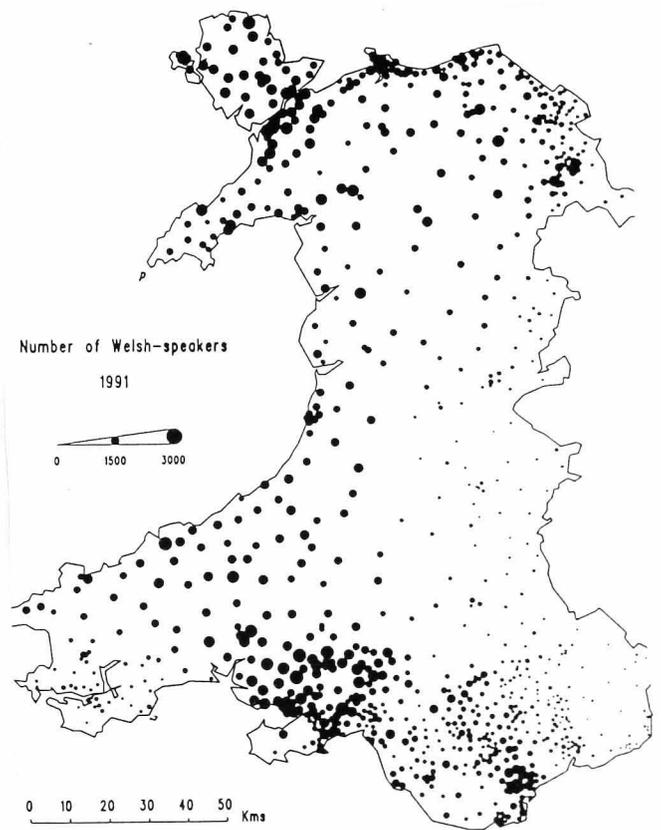
Map 3.1: Geographical regions of Wales



Source: Stephens, M (1976; 148) Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe Gomer Press. Dyfed. Wales.



Map 3.2: percentage of population able to speak Welsh in 1991



Map 3.3: Number of Welsh-speakers in 1991

Source: Aitchison, J and Carter, H (1994) A Geography of the Welsh Language 1961-1991. University of Wales Press. Cardiff. p 90 and 94.

The creation of the Welsh Language Society in 1962 contributed a sense of militancy to the cause of conserving and protecting the language and played a significant role in re-awakening consciousness of the real problems facing it. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica 1991, vol 29, p 128, the Labour government, honouring a pledge, appointed in 1964 a Secretary of State for Wales with departmental responsibility and since then both Labour and Conservative governments supported a wide transfer of functions and duties to the Welsh Office. As reported by Stephens, M (1978), the Hughes-Parry report of 1965 suggested that Welsh should be accepted in government and administration according to the principle of equal validity with English, but not equal status. That means that the use of Welsh is not admitted in all official domains. For instance, facilities such as gas and electricity bills are still written in English. Stephens points out that in 1967 when the Welsh Language Act was applied, a wider use of Welsh in the media and in education had been noticed. However, the Act was thought not to be totally satisfying since it was observed that "Welsh still has a very inferior status as compared with English". In 1993, a second Welsh language Act set up the Welsh Language Board but, as pointed out by Stephens, it did not declare Welsh as an official language of Wales as some Welsh nationalists expected. Hindley, R (1990) reports that in 1979, a referendum to give Wales the opportunity of an elected single chamber national assembly produced only a 11% "yes" vote whereas the 1997 referendum resulted in a just 51% positive vote. Nowadays, Welsh is well represented in the media. As Jenkins, P (1994; 33) states, Welsh television was established only after a long oral powerful struggle which stretched into the

1980's and it would be argued, as Bell, R and Grant, N (1977; 150) point out:

The use of Welsh on radio and television is more effective than Gaelic. It gets a more generous time allocation than Scottish Gaelic and some Irish commentators have made a point that it has the advantage of using a form of language widely understood and alive in a way that the 'Irish Newspeak' of RTE is not. 42

Presently, Wales has its own television channel broadcasting mainly in Welsh. A subsidiary of the better known Channel Four, Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C) began transmission on 1st November 1982. S4C presently transmits 30 hours a week in Welsh whereas Cymru radio programs in Wales broadcast 90 hours per week.

On the other hand, Welsh newspapers are numerous. O' Luain Cathal(1983) states that in 1983 there were about 65 Welsh language newspapers, each with an average circulation of about 1,000, with a combined readership of some 150,000.

In Education, the teaching of Welsh from primary to secondary school and university level receives the support of the state and is presently available even in English-speaking areas. As reported by Hindley, R (1990) in 1990 a new curriculum has been introduced in bilingual schools where children are taught Welsh in parallel with English up to age 14 (16 in 1999). Welsh is also taught as medium of instruction in rural western Wales primary schools. This despite the objection of some English speaking families whose children speak only English at home. Commenting on the status of the Welsh language in education, Jones, B.L (1990; 40) states that:

42- Bell, R & Grant, N (1977; 150) Patterns of Education in the British Isles
Allen. G & Unwin. London. Boston. Sydney

The language is taught in schools at the primary and secondary level, with more energy and commitment than at any previous period. In other schools in more intensely Welsh areas, a range of subjects, both science and arts, is taught through the medium of Welsh. Sociology, History, biblical studies, Drama etc. are taught through the medium of Welsh at University level. 43

As Aitchison, J and Carter, H (1994; 117) point out, the development of the use of the Welsh language in education has been extensive, so that it is used from pre-school nursery level to undergraduate degrees, and beyond at the University of Wales. The courses and opportunities offered to adults to learn are also of great importance. They are given both by public and private bodies and provision is extensive. Among the many organizations offering courses is Cyngor y Dysgwyr which is funded by the Welsh Office and the Development Board for Rural Wales. Aitchison, J and Carter, H (1994; 103) explain that the age structure of the Welsh-speaking population has long been recognized as being of crucial importance to the survival of the language. The highest percentages for the 3-15 age are seen to be associated with those counties that have experienced a growth in the number of young speakers following a significant expansion of Welsh-language education. As the results of the 1991 census reveal, between 1981 and 1991, the number of young speakers increased by a remarkable 22.8%. The 1991 census also indicates that in addition to widespread gains in absolute numbers, the relative proportions of the 3-15 age group of children able to speak Welsh also increased in all counties except in the county of

43- Jones, B.L (1990; 40) Welsh: Linguistic Conservatism and Shifting Bilingualism in *Minority Languages Today*. Haugen, E & McClure, J.D. Edinburgh University Press.

Gwynedd. However, this area where, according to Aitchison and Carter, about 78% of the 3-15 children are able to speak Welsh, still stands out as the main hearthland for the Welsh language.

WELSH CORPUS PLANNING

The board of Celtic studies of the University of Wales is the main body for orthographic regulation. A standard orthography was published in 1920 and revised in 1987. A Welsh dictionary together with a spellchecker in Welsh for computer use are nowadays available. Welsh vocabularies on a variety of subject have been developed and published by the Welsh Joint Education Council (W.J.E.C) in Cardiff.

The role of the British Broadcasting Corporation in promoting Welsh is equally important. News and sports are presented in that language. For example, rugby matches on television and on radio are commented to the public using the newly developed Welsh terminology which are used again by school children to discuss the sports programmes at school.

WELSH ACQUISITION PLANNING

The Welsh Joint Education Council comprising Welsh scholars and teachers produced a temporary model of spoken Welsh in order to conduct experiments to assess the suitability of audio-visual materials for children in primary schools. The findings have been summarized in a booklet ***Cymraeg Byw*** (Living Welsh) which is used by teachers to help them in their task.

As reported by Evans. E, (1978), a national conference organized by the Department of Education and Science held in Cardiff in April 1964 to discuss the teaching of Welsh as a second language recommended the establishment of a national language unit. The latter was opened in September 1968 at Nant Gwrtheyrn in purpose-built premises.

Besides creating resources such as tapes and film clips and a self-instructional course for primary school children, the language unit provided Welsh language learning courses and methodology to train primary school teachers.

At the same time, there was a great interest in the learning of Welsh by adults and to meet the need for this group of learners, the WJEC formed a special panel for teaching Welsh to adults which resulted in the preparation of an audio-visual course with various types of supplementary tapes to cater for both learners attending classes and for those studying at home.

The introduction of the national curriculum in schools has also affected adult learners. Many parents realise the importance of supporting their children who are receiving education through the medium of Welsh by learning the language themselves and the burgeoning of Welsh education at school has resulted in an increase in the population of parents wishing to learn the language. Maclean, R.G (1994; 227) states in this regard that:

The Welsh intensive language learning system is indebted to the Israeli ulpan system even to the naming of their wlpn courses. 44

In the section reviewing standards of work, the HM inspectors' report for the period 1987-1992 comments on the Wlpn courses as follows:

In the intensive foundation courses (wlpn) the students quickly become familiar with hearing Welsh used as the language of the class, for exchange of greeting and social interaction, for organising and directing work, and to a large extent, for explanation and discussion of points of grammar which arise. The oral progress of over three quarters of the members of intensive classes is satisfactory or better. 45

Another most interesting development has been the wide expansion of week-end and summer courses. According to Evans, E (1978) in the summer of 1993, there were 25 separate summer

44- McClean, R.G.(1994; 227) Ph.D thesis. A comparative study investigating education and language policy in Scotland (with respect to Gaelic) and Israel (with respect to Hebrew). Glasgow University.

45- Report by H,M Inspectors. Review of Teaching Welsh for adult during the period 1987-1992. Welsh office. 1993.

and residential courses for Welsh learners. It is also estimated that 80,000 regular viewers follow Welsh learning programmes on television. The language centre at Nant Gwrtheyrn is also a provider of courses and there are summer residential courses organised by various bodies. Another type of course is provided by **Cymdeitheas y Dysgwyr** (learner society), an organisation which provides social context for learners to practise their Welsh. The Polytechnic of Wales/University of Glamorgan and the national extension college provide correspondence courses. As Welsh is currently taught at school throughout Wales, the less Welsh-speaking areas have seen an upsurge of interest in the language. Welsh is now recognized as being essential for a large number of jobs particularly where employees have to deal with the public. Accordingly the Welsh Joint Education Council states:

It is interesting to note the number of shops which are now arranging for their staff to learn Welsh. The ability to offer service in Welsh is now seen to be of advantage to them. 46

THE STATUS OF WELSH IN RELATION TO SCOTTISH GAELIC AND IRISH

The issues which determine the survival of a language are complex and cannot be understood in isolation. The fate of the Welsh language is not simply determined by the efforts of the Welsh alone but is also influenced by wider social, political and economic factors which both directly and indirectly effect that complicated process of survival and indeed revival.

46- Welsh Joint Educational Council, 1989, p 6.

As said on page 80, economic upheaval and high levels of unemployment in particular, have forced many Welsh people to leave Wales in search of work elsewhere. At the same time, thousands of English people have settled in Wales. Nesta, P (1984; 72) reports that many retired people seek the charming residential comforts of seaside towns such as Colwyn Bay and Llandudno. In addition to those, one should add many of those weary of life in the bigger industrial towns of England who desire the peace and calm of rural Wales, some even settling to work as farmers. Even many unemployed from across England prefer the benefits of a rural community to the bleak alternative of urban desolation back home. Unfortunately, for the progress of the Welsh language, the children of these non Welsh-speaking incomers can soon outnumber the numbers of Welsh-speaking children.

These demographic shifts can raise questions about the balance, intensity and nature of Welsh language education in schools.

Presently, however, one can say that Welsh in general is more successful as a minority language than Scottish Gaelic and Irish. Even though, as pointed out earlier, on page 78, Wales has been the most completely and continuously dominated administratively by England.

Despite the problems and obstacles which are not unique to the survival of the Welsh language, recent developments in Welsh which have already been outlined do suggest that things can be turned around through various forms of intervention. Statistics prove the success of recent developments but it is important to remember that Welsh was in a relatively stronger position in the first place. Several arguments may be advanced which explain the higher status of Welsh.

Historically, Wales has a stronger identity as a totally Celtic country, and as recently as the beginning of the 20th century when a majority of the entire Welsh population spoke the language. Of these, as Bell, R & Grant, N (1977) report, it is estimated that 280,000 were monolingual. Scottish Gaelic has never achieved a comparable degree of language domination in Scotland unless one goes as far back as the eleventh century. This influence of Gaelic outside of the Highlands and the Islands was brief. The process of anglicisation meant that even from early medieval times a variant of English was spoken in the Lowlands. This is totally unlike the Welsh experience where recognition that the Welsh language is a positive and integral part of Welsh cultural identity, and much more tied to the idea of Welsh nationhood, is shared not only by the great majority of Welsh people themselves, but also perceived as true by those from without. Gaelic in Scotland has not been central to society in the same way and until perhaps recently has been perceived as marginal to Scottish life, if not entirely alien, by the majority of Scottish people.

Welsh traditionally is also more greatly embedded in the life of the nation, which is reflected in its long-established place in education, the churches, the media and perhaps more significantly among the urban professional middle classes which is something Scottish Gaelic could never claim. Again in contrast with Scotland, as suggested by Bell, and Grant, N (1977) Wales has during certain points in its history manifested a strongly nationalist ideology which has given impetus to the promotion of the native language. In Scotland, Gaelic has not been as central to independence movements as in Ireland and Wales. The late eighteenth century also saw the revival of the ancient Eisteddfods which was to become a potent cultural force in the promotion and development of the Welsh language. These were originally part of pagan ritual dating from the time of the druids (priests of religion followed in Britain, Ireland and France in pre-Christian times) but were revived as festivals of the Welsh language which incorporated competitions in music, poetry, drama and art.

As pointed out by Nesta, P (1984) although born of the Gothic and Romantic enthusiasms popular of the day, the Eisteddfod continues to be organised every year at local level involving schools and villages, but also at a national level where the festival alternates between a town in the north and south of the country each year, and also the international Eisteddfod held at Llangollen.

The annual national Eisteddfod begins on the first Saturday of each August and continues until the Sunday of the following week; nine days of innumerable competitions covering a wide variety of musical, artistic and literary disciplines, a veritable feast of the Welsh language which secures substantial TV coverage. The revival of the Eisteddfod was significant in that it rescued an oral bardic tradition, which still existed in the rural communities of Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and saved it from extinction. Its revival also coincided more significantly with a religious and educational revival movement in Wales which was part of new cultural consciousness which spread among the people of Wales in a much more important way than in Scotland. At the centre of this new consciousness was a recognition that self-cultivation within the community was valuable for both spiritual and moral reasons. Welsh religious nonconformity is reported by Gregor, D.B (1980; 318) as long as 768 A.D., when Wales was the last of the Celtic communities of Britain to abandon the Celtic church and conform to Rome. The disestablishment of the Welsh church in the 19th century has been described as "Welsh nationalism in religious dress". The net effect of nonconformism was to provide a religious language for common use and even today one can hear Welsh in the chapels of the more anglicised Welsh towns.

The religious aspect cannot be overlooked in an assessment of all those factors that have saved the Welsh language from deterioration down the years. Indeed the history of the language, culture and religion is central to understanding the sense of national identity which has persisted in Wales through the centuries which helps to explain its relatively stronger position in comparison with Scottish Gaelic and Irish.

To sum up, one can say as Grant, N & Docherty, J. F (1992; 161-162) state:

Welsh has a much more effective and long-established use in education, the media, the chapels, and among the urban professional middle classes. It is also perceived even among those who do not speak it as the language of Wales, and thus has an identification within the whole country that neither Gaelic nor Lowland Scots can easily claim. 47

Conclusion

Though the number of Welsh speakers is half that of Breton speakers, Welsh, a celtic language, enjoys a status that is as higher than that shown by Breton. This might be taken to imply that the number of native speakers is not always a critical factor in determining the status a minority language might have within a particular linguistic situation.

Conversely to Breton, however, Welsh enjoys:

- Status in law and administration
- A language academy in the Board of Celtic Studies in the University of Wales.
- Instruction through the target language from primary to university level.
- A variety of Welsh newspapers and published materials
- A radio and television programmes for learners.

However, like Breton, Welsh remains a minority language and faces problems with regard to the immersion of the students and pupils outside the classroom environment in the areas where English imposes itself.

47- Grant, N & Docherty, J.F (1992; 161-162) Language policy and Education: some Scottish-Catalan comparisons. Comparative Education. Volume 28, nº 2.

According to Jones, B.L (1980) the challenge that Welsh speakers in particular have to face in the future is to stabilising bilingualism. Here education is a crucial factor. One of several options consists in ensuring that areas where Welsh is spoken are protected and strengthened through policies designed to reduce to a minimum the domains where the presence of English is spreading. This may be implemented through employment policies, the control of, among others, factories' size and housing developments as well as the planned promotion of Welsh in such areas as public administration and the media.

A3- CATALAN

Like France and the United Kingdom, Spain is a multicultural society where several languages are spoken and presently taught at school. In addition to Castilian, the majority language presently used by about 2/3 of the Spanish population, there are other minority languages such as Galician, Basque and Catalan. More and more research interest is shown in the latter since, like Welsh, Catalan in Spain is regarded as a successful minority language. Moreover, the Spanish Catalan experience offers a classic case of the survival, and indeed flourishing, of a minority culture when unobstructed by interference from central government. These are also the reasons that motivated the choice of this language for study here.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Catalan is presently spoken in a large area of eastern Spain, including Valencia, and in the Balearic Islands (i.e., Mallorca, Menorca, Eivissa, Ibiza and Formentera) as well as in Andorra, Southern France (in the province of Rousillon) and in the city of Alghero (in Sardinia). See map 4, page 82 . In Catalonia itself (an autonomous region within the Spanish state), Catalan is spoken throughout the country by about 1/3 of the Spanish population (estimated at 7 millions according to the 1991 census). Carulla, M (1990; 7) observes that

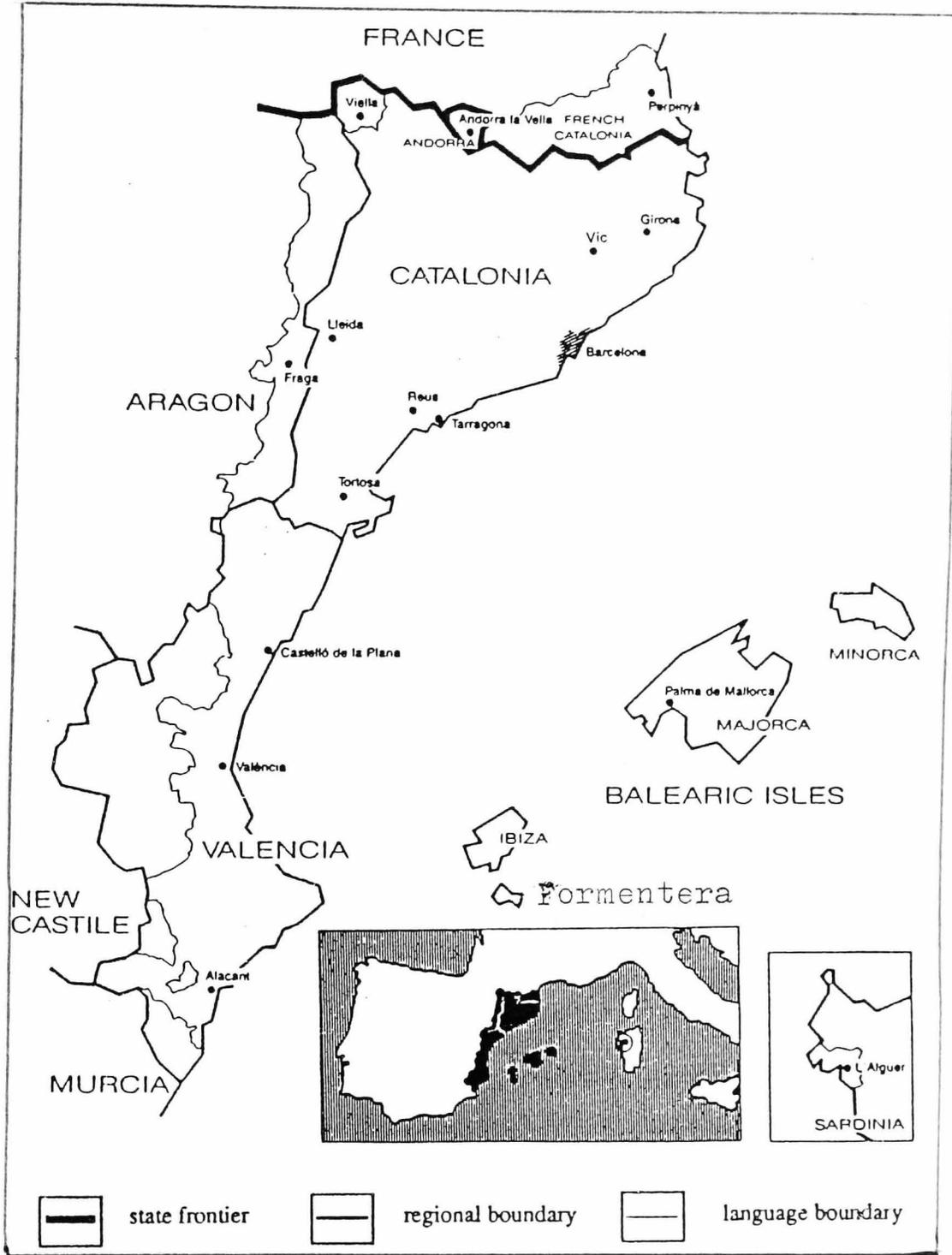
Catalan is used as first language by about 6 millions people and understood by about 9 millions. 48

This makes Catalan a more widely spoken language than numerous majority languages such as Danish.

Basque (an unrelated language) apart, all the languages of the Spanish peninsula, including Catalan, are of Latin derivation. They belong to the same family of Romance languages as Italian, French, Portuguese and others. Catalan is similar to Provençal, spoken in the south of France, and anyone who speaks French and Spanish can at least read Catalan without too much difficulty. Like any language, Catalan split into different varieties spoken in different regions.

48- Carulla, M (1990; 7) The Catalan language today. Generalitat de Catalunya. Department de Cultura. Barcelona.

Map 4 : Main Catalan dialects



Source: Balcells, A (1996; xviii) Catalan Nationalism. Past and Present MacMillan Press LTD. London.

Despite the fact that there is a tendency on the part of speakers to refer to different varieties (e.g., Valenciá, Mallorquí, Menorquí etc.), these remain minor variants of the same language.

The Catalans have been persecuted for most of their history. Though the Spanish state has occasionally allowed the Catalan language and culture the freedom of expression, when Jaume James (1213-1276) conquered the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca. Catalan remained the official language of the powerful Catalan-Aragonese kingdom until it was supplanted by the Bourbons. Afterwards, the Catalan experience has been for most of the time one of continuous struggle to preserve both the language and culture vis-à-vis the dominant Castilian culture, on the one hand, and repression from the Central Government in Madrid, on the other.

To evaluate the progresses and the recessions the Catalan language in Spain has so far witnessed at different times of its development, it is necessary to provide a brief historical background of that language (as introduced by Martin, J (1984; 94-100) during the colloquy about "Langues opprimées et Identité nationale" (oppressed languages and national identity) held at the University of Paris VIII on January 20th and 21st 1984.

Like other minority languages spoken in other parts of the world (e.g., Breton and Welsh), the major problem that Catalan had to face in the past is that of maintaining its use in everyday life and at school within the dominant Castilian culture. As noted by Martin, J (1984; 94), Catalan is the proper language of Catalonia, and has been spoken throughout the country for over 700 years. It developed in small counties over the centuries as a result of the natural evolution of Latin and at a time when Castilian was developing in Castile and French in the North of France. Later, Barcelona imposed its domination over other Catalan-speaking counties and joined with Aragon following the marriage of the Count of Ramon Berenger IV, with Doña Petronila who founded the powerful Catalan-Aragonese kingdom. It was at that time that the first documents written in an early form of Catalan and relating to religious and juridical matters appeared. In the XIIIth century, Martin (1984; 95) reports, Ramon Llull, a prosewriter from Mallorca, promoted Catalan as language of culture while scholars of the King Alphonse le Savant did likewise for Castilian. Catalan

was subsequently acknowledged as the language of Catalonia. Between the XIIIth and XVth centuries, Catalan gained fame as a language of literature, a development that was made possible owing to the fact that throughout the Aragonese kingdom, the Catalans and the Aragonese respected their reciprocal laws, customs and languages.

As a powerful Mediterranean region, Catalonia had consulates in the whole Mediterranean area and extended its territories and spread its language to the Balearic islands and Sardinia. After three centuries of cultural and economic glory, Catalan had to face three other centuries of decline. This began when Catalonia fell under the power of the Spanish kings after the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Ysabel of Castile. According to Martin, J (1984; 96-97), another important event which contributed to the decline of Catalan was the “discovery” of America by Christopher Columbus. This achievement was considered by Queen Ysabel an initiative proper to Castile and consequently it was Castilian that made its way to the New World. The place of Castilian in language research was further enhanced by Elio Antonio de Nebrija or Lebrixa (1444 -1522) who, in 1492, presented a Castilian grammar: *Gramática sobre la lengua Castellana* (Salamanca, c. 1495).

Following the economic and cultural decline of Catalonia in the Mediterranean area, the status of Catalan began to suffer vis-à-vis that of Castilian. The status of Catalan got worse when the last king of the Maison d'Autriche died without leaving an heir to the throne. During the war of succession to the throne of Spain, a descendant of the Bourbon was imposed, and immediately afterwards Catalonia suffered terrible political and cultural repression. In 1714, a council decree imposed Castilian and the laws of Castile on the people of Catalonia and on those living in Catalan-speaking territories, making thereby Castilian the only official language in Catalonia.

The Catalans did not consider their cultural identity all but lost as a result of this and continued to struggle to maintain the use of their language in everyday life and to fight against the ban on the use of Catalan within political and social institutions.

As pointed out by Martin, J (1984; 97), the renaissance of the Catalan culture started in 1833 when Carles Aribau wrote the *Oda a la Patria* (Ode to the Native Country). The romanticism of that time encouraged the liberal Catalan bourgeoisie to recover a latent feeling of nationalism in which the revival of their language played an important role. Once again, Catalan was promoted by its speakers through literature and a great number of books and reviews have been written by famous writers such as Verdaguer, Guimera and others. This Catalan cultural revival was afterwards interrupted by the civil war, the fall of the second Republic, and the terrible cultural and political repression embarked upon by General Franco Bahamonde who styled himself **Caudillo de España** and who proclaimed Spain a monarchy. As a result, Catalonia lost its autonomy in 1939. The established Catalan institutions were dissolved and the Catalan language lost its official status. During a period of repression that lasted for forty years, the use of Catalan, teaching it at school, and publishing of books and reviews in it was officially banned. During the same period, the Castilians, in contrast, continued promoting and developing their language and literature in normal conditions.

In 1975 when Franco died, king Juan Carlos I, in spite of his Falangist upbringing, entered discussions with the political parties to restore democracy and a new constitution was adopted. Political autonomy for the Catalan region and others (Galicia, the Basque country) was restored. The newly established democratic constitution took into account the fact that Spain was a multicultural and multilingual state where the different minority groups have the right to develop freely their language and in accordance with their own wishes. Article 3 of the 1978 Spanish Constitution stipulates in this respect that:

- 1- Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State.
All Spaniards have the right to use and the duty to learn it.
- 2- The other languages are official in their respective autonomous territories in relation to their status.

3- The richness of the different varieties of language belongs to the Spanish cultural patrimony which will be respected and protected. 49

Regarding the status of Catalonia, article 3 stipulates;

1- The language proper to Catalonia is Catalan.

2- Catalan is the official language in Catalonia in the same way as Castilian is official in the whole Spanish state.

3- The politics of Catalonia will guarantee the normal and official use of the two languages and will adopt the adequate measures to assure their knowledge by creating the conditions in which these two languages will gain equal status. 50

In the field of Education, the works of education experts and writers, together with the financial support provided by the Catalan bourgeoisie to fund private schools with the aim of developing Catalan teaching on an unofficial basis, played an important role in protecting the language from the repression of the central government at different times.

According to Grant, N & Docherty, F.J (1992;156) the first free secular school was opened in 1560 by the **Consell de Cent** (Council of a hundred).

Even though the Bourbons disallowed Catalan-medium education and closed this school in 1718, resistance persisted and the teaching of Catalan continued owing to the contribution of some Catalan writers and the publication of influential pedagogical books. For example, In 1749, Baldiri Rexach wrote the ***Instruccions per l'ensenyança de minyons*** to help Catalan teachers in their task. Two other schools opened later in 1780 by the Societat d'Amics del Pais de Mallorca.

The development of Catalan education became a little easier after 1857, when the Moyano Law made the maintaining of schools the responsibility of local municipalities. As noted by Fernandez Armesto, F (1991; 162), the 19th century witnessed a revival in

Catalan literature and the consolidation of the standardised status of Catalan. This process began when Joan-Pau Ballot published his *Gramàtica i apologia de la Llengua Catalana* in 1814. Fernandez Armesto adds that the contemporary manifestation of Catalan nationalism is generally attributed to the political and nationalist works by some Catalan writers of the 1830s and 1840s. In 1833 Carlos Aribau published his poem *La Patria*, and in 1840s, Mila de la Roca, Ribot Fontserè, and Ferrer Subirana published works that outlined the political aspirations of Catalan nationalism.

According to Read, J (1978;180-182) the Catalan nationalists founded 'the Regional League' organisation to press and consolidate their demands for autonomy and published the Catalan newspaper "La Veu de Catalunya" (the Voice of Catalonia). That this organisation was more than just a pressure group became obvious when it formed an alliance with other Catalan political groups during the Spanish elections of 1907. As noted by Read, the outcome of the pressure exerted by this organisation was the achievement of a limited degree of autonomy in 1914. The Mancomunitat, a local government structure, was set up and though it wielded little power, it nevertheless could raise local taxes and therefore support education within the Catalonia region. The Mancomunitat adopted a policy of support for Catalan-medium education in schools, promoted research into Catalan in higher education, and made available funds to the Institut d'Estudis Catalans created in 1907.

Catalan-medium education was once again officially banned under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in the 1920s. The use of Catalan in church, the Catalan flag and the national dance were suppressed and the Mancomunitat was abolished. Nevertheless, and as pointed out by Grant, N. & Docherty, F.J (1992; 156) in their *Language Policy and Education; some Scottish-Catalan comparisons* :

When Catalan-medium education was once more banned by Primo de Rivera in the 1920s, the activities of the earlier years of the century had still sown the seeds for the development of a Catalan

school which aimed to preserve Catalan culture, but which was also feeling towards strategies. 51

The fruits of these efforts began to materialise when the Spanish Republic granted genuine autonomy to Catalonia in the 1930s, with long-term positive implications in spite of a setback during the Spanish Civil War. The foundation of a regional government body known as the Generalitat, in conjunction with the granting of a substantial degree of political autonomy, including control over educational policy and administration to the region, constituted an important step in the promotion of Catalan nationhood in the 1930s.

Throughout the period of the Republic, education in Catalonia was under the control of a branch of the Generalitat known as the Consell de l'Escola Nova Unificada (Council of the New Unified School). The New Unified School was secular, free and co-educational, and also had a distinct multicultural and multilingual dimension.

At present, Catalan is official and is protected by special laws adopted in 1983 and 1986 by governments of the different regions. As stated by Carulla, M (1990; 7):

Citizens have the right to use Catalan on all occasions and discrimination is banned by law. Virtually all written and oral work in the departments of the Generalitat of Catalonia and in local authorities throughout Catalonia is undertaken in Catalan, and the same is the case in the Parliament of Catalonia and the Balearic parliament. 52

According to Grant, N. & Docherty, F.J (1992; 160), the sales of books published in Catalan reached in 1984 something in the region of 5,300,000 copies. Of even greater significance, however, is the broad and diverse nature of topics dealt with by these books. Several multi-volume general encyclopedias and large illustrated series have also appeared covering such areas as history, art, folklore, and gastronomy.

51- Grant, N & Docherty, F.J (1992; 156) Language Policy and Education, some Scottish-Catalan comparisons in Comparative Education. Vol 28. Nº 2

52- Carulla, M (1990), p. 7.

Catalan is represented in the media. The first daily newspaper to appear entirely in Catalan was the **Diari Catalá** founded in Barcelona in 1879 by Valenti Almirall. Twenty-five newspapers were to come out in Catalan by the end of the Civil War in 1939. The emergence of a democratic regime following Franco's death (in 1975) paved the way for the appearance of a series of newspapers, namely, **Avui** (1976), followed shortly after by **Punt Diari** (1979), **Diari de Barcelona** (1986), **Regió** (1978) and a host of others.

Similarly, broadcasting is well established. The TV3 channel and Canal 33 broadcast entirely in Catalan and non-stop over the week-end whereas the other state TV channels purchase a proportion of Catalan language programmes. Publicity is made in Catalan as well as Spanish. Both languages are used also in posters, often being pasted separately. As regards radio broadcasting, three stations, those of CCRTV and Radio 4 (RTVE) broadcast exclusively in Catalan.

All of them are of public ownership. Over 130 municipal stations as well as Cadena 13, a private radio, broadcast also mainly in Catalan.

Carulla (1990; 38) reports that official subsidies for full-length films, introduced in 1986 on the condition that films benefiting from subsidies be featured exclusively in Catalan, led both to a great increase in the making of films in Catalan (and in Catalonia) and to the practical disappearance of subsidies for double versions of dubbed films. The favouring of Catalan as the language of full-length films made in Catalonia that characterised this radical change in the 'linguistic normalisation management' has allowed Catalan to ultimately shed its role as an "exhibition language" and become the linguistic vehicle of a creative cinema. The percentage of full-length Catalan films made in Catalonia rose from 6% (2 films) in 1980 to 86% (19 films) in 1988.

Grant, N & Docherty, F.J summarise the status of Catalan thus:

Catalan is well developed as the language of officialdom, the professions and the urban middle classes as well as the peasantry and is strongly represented in publishing and the media. 53

Apparently, unlike some minority languages which are still struggling to maintain their status (e.g., Breton, Scots and Gaelic), the Catalan language does not seem to face major problems in the face of Spanish, the dominant and the state language in the country. Catalan is presently well represented in every sense, in that, apart from being the language of officialdom and the professions, it is also used by the urban middle classes and the peasantry and enjoys a solid position in the world of publishing and the media. However, as pointed out by Bastardas-Boada, (1994; 327) immigration poses a significant problem for maintaining of the exclusive use of Catalan in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. Being economically prosperous, those regions attract not only tourists throughout the year (because of the sunny weather and finest beaches) but, more importantly, a great number of Spanish immigrants from Galicia, Extremadura and Andalusia who settle down in Catalan-speaking regions in search of work they could not find in their poor regions.

As Gregor, D.B. (1980; 326) rightly points out,

When immigrants settle in an area of native-speakers, the long term threat to native blood is not so important as the immediate danger to the language. 54

The case of Welsh in the years between 1900 and 1920 constitutes a good example of a minority language whose status and existence have been undermined by the dominant language of immigrant non-native speakers. At that time, a flow of English-speaking workers, who settled in Glamorgan, brought English with them, constituting thereby a particular threat to the Welsh language.

53- Grant, N & Docherty, F.J (1992), p 4.

54- Gregor, D.B (1980; 326). Celtic- A Comparative study. The Oleander Press. Cambridge. England.

This is also the case in present-day Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, as noted by Bastardas Boada (1994; 327-328), with the exception of a minority of Catalan-speakers who are sociolinguistically conscious and willing to fight for the exclusive use of Catalan in their linguistic contact with foreign. Among Catalan speakers, the more common behaviour is generally to use Spanish when interacting with any person perceived as foreign and unable to speak Catalan. Bastardas Boada reminds us that this situation is typical in historical contexts where frequent contacts are made between autochthonous and allochthonous populations. A similar situation has also been attested in Canada. In spite of the great efforts made by the Canadian government to improve the status of French in Quebec, French-native speakers have continued to adjust their linguistic norms to those of English-speaking Canadians.

In Catalonia, this linguistic phenomenon led to the emergence of a bilingualism (more or less important depending on individuals) among Catalan speakers and to the maintainance at the same time of a kind of unilingualism among the majority of immigrants whose first language is Spanish. As a result, several successive generations have promoted bilingualism of Catalan speakers instead of developing bilingualism among Spanish speakers.

Though any change in linguistic behaviour is generally slow and difficult to regulate through official policy, one can say that education can play a crucial role in promoting bilingualism among Spanish-speaking immigrant children and encouraging them to speak Catalan. Obviously Catalan speakers can also contribute towards achieving this aim by trying not to linguistically accommodate Spanish-speaking immigrants.

In fact, bilingualism at school started a long time ago. As reported by Grant, N & Docherty, F (1992; 157), "the 1931 decree of Bilingualism gave children the right to education in their mother tongue whether Catalan or Spanish". While Catalan are required to study Spanish from the early age of eight, Spanish children were, however, under no obligation to learn Catalan.

The 1931 decree was largely consistent with the bilingual and cognitive theory of the period, whereby the bilingual school was perceived as one where two languages are employed, but with pupils being taught exclusively in the mother tongue in segregated classes.

As Grant, N & Docherty, F.J. add:

Whilst this was a rather limited form of multicultural and multilingual education by present-day standards, it did set several important precedents. First, it established the fundamental principle that the educational system had to recognise the cultural and linguistic needs of the minority cultural group within the state. Secondly, it showed that at a practical level the school could function effectively whilst catering for cultural and linguistic diversity. 55

Furthermore, the 1930s Catalan educational system offered an interesting role model for teachers confronted with the problems of performing their tasks in a context that was both multicultural and multilingual. Though children were instructed in their mother tongue, all children were obliged to have a knowledge of Catalan. To achieve this aim, the Generalitat ran free courses for teachers and Catalan could also be studied by correspondence by teachers living in distant rural areas.

Since the restoration of the Generalitat in 1976, Catalonia has continued to develop a bilingual and multi-cultural educational system. Total immersion to develop mass bilingualism has been used to benefit the immigrants and their children, the majority of whom live in the working-class suburbs of Barcelona. Grant, N & Docherty, F.J (1992; 159) note in this regard that:

The programme has lead an important influence on the number of people who are functional in Catalan. Between 1984 and 1986, there were 10% in the number of the general population who understand the language. 39.3% of the young people, aged 2 to 14, have mastered written Catalan. This rises to 47.8% in the 15 to 29 age group compared to 21.7% for those over 30. 56

55- Grant, N & Docherty, F.J (1992), P. 157.

56- Grant, N & Docherty, F.J (1992).p. 159.

In 1978, when the statute of Autonomy was passed, a Royal Decree introduced Catalan into Education at nursery school, EGB (primary education), BUP (secondary education) and at FP (professional training) levels. Catalan has today become not only an obligatory subject in primary and secondary education, but also the language of education from nursery school to the university.

Conclusion

As explained above, Catalan enjoys

- A high status in an autonomous province within Spain. The Linguistic Normalisation Law of 1983 restored the rights of Catalan which now has equal status with Castilian Spanish.
- The language is used in every aspect of normal life.
- It is the language of religion.
- It is well represented in the media (newspapers, radio, television), in the world of cinema and in publishing.
- It is taught at school from nursery to university level and immigrant settlers are given immersion courses to acquire the language and enable them to use Catalan in social life.
- Being the official language in a prosperous economic region, immigration does not cause any problems to the language and Catalan remains safe at home.
- As noted earlier, immigration might however constitute a threat to the use of Catalan. Nevertheless, the introduction of bilingualism in schools, together with a willingness on the part of Catalan speakers to protect their language, might halt any threat Catalan is currently facing as a result of the flow of Spanish immigrants and the tendency of these to use only Spanish, on the one hand, and the common tendency of some Catalan speakers to use Castilian when verbally interacting Spanish immigrants or others, on the other.

2.2. B- CONCLUSION

Main factors influencing the status of Breton, Welsh and Catalan)

The discussion of the sociolinguistics of the three minority languages, Breton, Welsh, and Catalan, which have been chosen for study in this research, has enabled us to understand the different statuses these minority languages enjoy in their respective countries. Some of these minority languages, such as Breton, enjoyed high prestige in the past, but lost it. The reasons for this regression are numerous, and sometimes so complex and interconnected. As rightly pointed out by Gregor (1980; 284), in the context of a discussion of the Celtic languages, the loss of a language cannot be explained in terms of a single factor, but is normally due to a whole set of interrelated considerations and actors. Gregor argues in this regard that:

No single cause can explain the loss of a language by a people for whom it was once the badge of their identity. There are many causes, political, economic, psychological, closely interconnected and possessing cumulatively such an irresistible force that we feel inclined to say it could not have been otherwise. 57

If Breton is still struggling to maintain its everyday use, Welsh, and more particularly, Catalan are witnessing a significant revival, each one, naturally, in its own way. It is important to highlight and contrast here the major factors which contributed to the survival and revival of Welsh and Catalan, on one hand, and those which prevented Breton to become a similarly successful minority language, on the other.

1- POLITICAL FACTORS

As noted on page 65, in the past, the French government did not proclaim its policy openly but the measures successive governments took towards minority languages at different times, in what it presumed to be the overall interests of an unified France, were such as to drive minority languages, including Breton, to a marginal position. As a result of these measures, and

17- Gregor, D.B (1980; 284) Celtic, a comparative study. Oleander Press. Cambridge.

up until now, that language has yet to enjoy an official political status. However, thanks to the numerous actions and efforts of the numerous cultural and political organisations, such as the Parti National Breton (1915), Le Mouvement pour l'Organisation de la Bretagne (1962), Ar Brezhoneg er Skol (Breton in school) and others, Breton is presently taught at school. Though The Savary circular of 1982 allowed the teaching of regional languages and cultures, French still remains the dominant language at school, in the media and in social life.

Like Breton, Welsh develops in a non-autonomous country. England annexed Wales in 1536. Though there is no Welsh political legal system yet, the Welsh language is reviving and the number of Welsh speakers is continually increasing. It is clear that Welsh has a higher prestige than that of Breton, since, as explained by Kellas (1973; 1):

Welsh is treated as a distinct area in British Central Government. The development of various administrative bodies exclusive to Wales led in 1964 to the establishment of the Welsh office with a Secretary of State for Wales in the British Cabinet. In the House of Commons, a Welsh committee has existed since 1960 to discuss Welsh affairs and legislation relating exclusively to Wales. 58

Catalan, on the other hand, and as noted on page 85, has been politically recognised by the Spanish Constitution and gained equality with Castilian as the official language of the region. The Mancomunitat, created in 1914, was able to raise local taxes and support education in Catalonia. When this local government was abolished under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, the development of the Catalan school and preservation of the language through education continued thanks to the private funding by the Catalan bourgeoisie.

The Catalans benefited from the reinstatement of democracy and the rise of Spain on the international scene in two respects.

58- Kellas, J.C (1973; 1) The Scottish Political system. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

common recognition that all nations are in fact minorities within the larger European Community made the notion of marginalising national minorities look even more senseless.

First, the return of democracy opened the way for an inevitable constitutional settlement between the central government in Madrid and the minorities. A consequence of this was the securing of autonomy by regional governments in the 1980s. Second, the common recognition that all nations are in fact minorities within the larger European Community made the notion of marginalising national minorities look even more senseless.

In the Spanish Republic, the integration of the Catalans into the majority state was accompanied with guarantees ensuring their development as a minority group. This gave the Catalans an advantage that the majority of minority groups, such as Bretons, lack in maintaining and reviving their language. The conclusion that can be drawn from the experience of Catalan in Spain is that the promotion of minority languages and cultures would be best served by securing full political independence to the regions where those languages are spoken natively.

II- ECONOMIC FACTORS

As described on page 71, Breton develops in a poor and geographically isolated region. As a result, unemployment has forced its young native speakers to move to more prosperous regions in France and to foreign countries where the possibilities of employment are greater and professional salaries higher. For instance, as Gregor, D.B (1980) reports, in 1763, when conditions deteriorated in Brittany, the majority of Breton immigrants settled in Canada. A similar situation occurred in Wales in the 20th century where, according to Gregor (1980; 330), unemployment forced nearly half a million Welshmen to seek work in England. The harm done to the language due to immigration is important and it has been normally the case that the more literate the incomers became in the language of the host country, the less they became in their mother tongue. Moreover, their native language might be all but lost after the second or third generation if it is not taught to their children. The more effective way to protect a minority language is to encourage the native speakers to stay in their local areas and use their language

since, as Gregor, D.G (1980; 332) explains,

Language is part of a milieu, and it is this milieu
that has to be protected in the first place. 59

That also explains why in Brittany as well as in Wales, the economic survival of the vernacular-speaking areas is so important for the maintenance of the native languages. Breton, for instance, has long been primarily the language of the countryside, and, as a result, when the number of Breton farms fell from 250,000 in 1955 to 180,000 in 1970, a deadly blow was struck at the language. To revive the language implies revitalising the agriculture or local industry that provided the economic basis of its presence or offering an alternative that is compatible with both the ethnic character and the local conditions. Such strictly economic measures are a vital element in the struggle for the preservation of a language.

Unlike Breton speakers, the Catalans face none of the problems generally associated with immigration since, as stated by Grant, N & Docherty, F.J. (1992) economically, Catalan is one of the most prosperous regions of Spain, with 15.9% of the total population of Spain but 16.6% of the active population, 19.3% of the Gross National Product, and over 23% of the tax collection.

As a result, Catalan not only retains its population - the economic power of the Catalan bourgeoisie has for centuries been an important factor in the defence of Catalan culture through encouraging more people to stay - but attracts incomers from other Spanish regions. This creates difficulties to the maintenance of a Catalan language policy, but, Grant, N & Docherty, F.J (1992) argue, Catalan domination in such domains as government, the professions and administration, together with the long established use of the language as well as the closeness of Catalan and Castilian, make these challenges anything but intractable in the future.

9- Gregor, D.G. (1980), p. 332.

II- EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

Minority communities rely on education as a means of cultural rediscovery. However, minority cultures cannot survive on the basis of education alone. In the case of Catalonia under the Republic, a separate and independent educational system was only part of the wider political and administrative autonomy under the auspices of the Generalitat. An indigenous educational system was obviously important in this respect, but political autonomy was equally important and so was the lifting of restrictions on the use of Catalan in the media.

The Catalan experience is informative in that it shows that when political efforts are made to diminish or eradicate a minority language, it is primarily upon the educators and methodologists that the task of resisting and fighting off hostile encroachment falls. Catalan scholars have so far been largely successful in rebutting antagonistic policies.

There is very little doubt that educational policy has contributed significantly to the promotion of the language, and consequently the Catalan culture within the Spanish State. But this is, however, far from the only source of strength of Catalan culture. Of fundamental importance is the fact that Catalan, unlike Breton, is a suitable language for use in all aspects of public life. The extent of the use of Catalan has natural concomitant gains for the survival of the Catalan language and culture.

Conclusion

In general, political, economical and educational factors, sometimes interconnected in the influence they exert and sometimes operating separately, are the main factors which can determine the success of a minority language and contribute to its survival. There are additional factors which are generally dependent on the ones just referred to above. These include the number of native speakers, geographical concentration, frequency of use of the vernaculars in every aspects of the public life including religion, the impact of immigration, migration, and the influence of the minority languages in newspapers, cinema, radio, television, the arts, publishing and the professions. It is important to note that, in some cases and depending on the area

where the vernacular language originates and develops, special actors relevant in the case of one minority language may not be valid in the case of another.

2-3 CULTURAL IDENTITY AND RELATED ISSUES

The identity, cultural or otherwise, of minority groups or communities is generally defined in terms of the set of characteristics they share in common, whether these collective characteristics have been chosen by these groups or communities themselves or not. These shared and distinguishing properties may be labelled 'markers of identity'. Rank, social class, occupation, religion, language and others are all determinants of identity. While determining the order of priority in matters of identity references is not a usual practice in normal conditions for majority populations, it is more often a prevalent preoccupation with minority groups which generally do not necessarily identify themselves with the nation-state ruling them and the dominant language overpowering their own.

Fishman, J.A (1989: 66) explains in this respect that:

Today in almost all the Western world (and in the ethnopolitically consolidated and econotechnically modernized world more generally), nothing seems more "natural" than the current linkage between a particular ethnocultural identity and its associated language. For Frenchmen, the language is French and for Spaniards, it is Spanish. What could be more natural? However, by their very nature, cultures are primarily conventional rather than truly natural arrangements. 60

Presently, nationality₁ and citizenship₂ constitute the major markers, especially for majority populations with their own nation states. For most of the French, German, Italian and others, the parallel 'nationality-language' is quite straightforward and unproblematic. Conversely, minorities within nation states like Breton, Basque, Catalan, Occitan, Welsh, Gaelic, Scots-speakers and others confront the problem of defining themselves in a nation-state, i.e., a political entity, which wields power over their country and people.

1- Nationality : state of belonging to a particular country, because you are born there or because you have been legally accepted as belonging to it.

2- Citizenship : the particular nationality that you have and the official status, rights, and duties that you have because of it.

60- Fishman, J.A (1989; 66) Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic perspective. Multilingual Matters. LTD. Clevedon. Philadelphia. England and U.S.A.

Their perceived nationality corresponds more to a people (with a long history) and to a country (a geographical region populated by and connected with that people) rather than to a state.

The fact that minority communities do not possess a state of their own does not negate the existence of their nationality and the use of their language. In the United Kingdom, for instance, Gaelic, Scots and Welsh are still used even though Scotland and Wales are not yet politically non-autonomous regions. Similarly, minority languages which do not possess their own distinct geographical areas can survive though they are permanently threatened despite the lack of a common relation during their development. These "diaspora" minority languages have, however, been maintained with different levels of effectiveness, depending on the political pressure in the countries where they are used. There are millions of Kurds who have no state of their own. Following their dispersion among the post-Ottoman states, they currently live in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and the Caucasus. Similarly, as stated by Breton, R (1983; 71), Romany is still used by the Gypsies throughout a number of countries. In India, Sindhi is still spoken by about 2 million refugees dispersed over several regions within the country.

Absence of statehood does not then negate the existence of a nationality, though in a world that is ordered more and more along nation-state lines, it unquestionably constitutes problems for the identity of stateless nations.

As pointed out by Grant, N (1995) in his article *Culture and the nature of identity*, singling out nationality as the major index of identity is a comparatively recent phenomenon. It is connected with the post-medieval ascendancy of the modern nation-state, a process that lasted for long and that saw its culmination in Europe in the late 19th and 20th centuries, and in Asia and Africa in the late 20th century.

In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles sought in general to implement the principle of "national self-determination" which transformed numerous nations into states, but which faced intractable problems in areas inhabited by mixed populations, imposing choices which had not till then been required on the populations of parts of Croatia and Bosnia, for instance.

It is, similarly, anything but unusual that African states are having to be subject to similar traumas in the latter half of the

20th century, and most crucially in an extremely short period. Their boundaries coincide by and large to those resulting from the European carve-up, and seldom if ever to the demographic realities of Africa, and yet they are forced by the random and cruel hand of circumstance to mould nationality from statehood, itself the beneficiary of arbitrary and blind divisions. In North Africa, for instance, the Tuareg tribes have been divided into four groups living presently in four different countries (Southern Algeria, Niger, Mali and South-West Libya). Though they have not at any time formed a single politically-united kingdom or state, they comprise several major groups which corresponded to politically autonomous units which were either seriously undermined or entirely destroyed after the independence of the countries mentioned above.

Thus, modernisation and the establishment of a system of nation-states have created a new situation for populations known nowadays as "ethnic minorities" or "indigenous peoples". Most of them have been forced to assume an identity as a citizen of one country or another, whether they like it or not.

Grant, N (1995) argues that though nationality may have been regarded by many as the principal determinant of identity, it has nevertheless rarely ousted or supplanted other such markers of identity as allegiance₁ and rank₂. In general, within a national framework, individuals still define themselves by reference to such sociocultural elements and considerations as family, clan, tribe, birthplace, class, political ideology or religion.

RELIGION

Religion might, in the larger context, operate as the major index of identity, principally in the case of a provocation emanating from the exterior. The Pope and Caliph's discharge of temporal power in Christendom or Islam were often met with internal challenges, but when the two clashed - as happened during the period of the Crusades in the Middle East or the Spanish is, being a Frenchman or a German, an Arab or a Turk.

 1- Allegiance : a person or group 's allegiance is their support for and loyalty to a particular group, person or belief.

2- Rank : is the position or grade that a person holds within an organization.

The same thing is true of internal divisions among Catholics and Protestants, Sunni or Shi'a, even when these divisions conflicted with the emerging national loyalties.

As noted by Grant, N (1995), some markers of cultural identity may be transformed or adapted into banners by some aggrieved group or other during times of agitation and disturbances, but what transpires on closer scrutiny is that these markers are often suitable labels, chosen - not always consciously, though - from a much larger and more subtle set of characteristics generally connected with the group or community as a whole. Consider the case of former Yugoslavia, for instance, where Serbs and Croats had been living in peace for years. As pointed out in Eriksen, T.H (1993), perhaps the principal cultural differences between the two, who actually speak the same language, reside in the practice of different variants of Christianity and the use of different scripts: the Serbs are Orthodox and employ both the Cyrillic alphabet and Latin scripts whereas the Croats are Catholic and use usually Latin scripts. Yet, it was continually pointed out and emphasised, after the eruption of war in June 1991, that the two groups are not virtually reconcilable or culturally compatible. The same thing can be said of Northern Ireland, where the conflicts were often portrayed as between Protestants and Catholics. There is no doubt that this is one of the aspects dividing the two main communities in that country, but it is only one aspect of a larger and more complex picture. It has been stressed that neither party has any intentions whatsoever of converting the other, and that discrimination or aggression was never meant as a means of persuasion. "Protestant" and "Catholic" are legitimate markers, but they were never irreconcilable; they are the most conspicuous elements separating the two populations, descendants of indigenous and settler groups, whose disagreements and clashes are essentially about power, land ownership and control, control of patronage, and, especially in recent times, affiliation with different sovereign states. Certain other points of conflict certainly exist, but the influence of religion is both pervasive and affects much of the activities in both communities. It stands, in brief, as the principal marker of two distinctive cultures.

What is Culture?

A classic definition of "culture" is given by Tylor, E (1971) quoted by Schneider, L (1973; 118). He states that:

Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. 61

In other words, the culture of a speech community represents all that members of this group know, do or have as social beings. In fact, it is difficult to define "culture" in precise and unambiguous terms because of the different meanings this concept has in different contexts. Anthropologists, sociologists and educationists have all different opinions about culture and each one tends to offer their own definition. As Malinowski, B (1968; 11) claims, the culture which expresses the whole human behaviour is equally important for the psychologist as for the historian, linguist, ethnographer and educationalist. He points out in this regard that each culture represents a system where all the elements are bound up and where each element plays a role in the whole functioning of the society.

In the anthropological sense, as Perotti, A (1994; 86) explains:

The meaning usually given in anthropology refers to a group or to a people. It corresponds to a complex and interdependent structure of knowledge, codes, representations, formal or informal rules, behavioural models, interests, aspirations, beliefs and myths. Culture refers to living and doing. This complex structure originates in the technical, economic and social transformations specific to a given society in space and in time. It is the outcome of the encounter of the three protagonists of life; man, nature and society. 62

From the sociological point of view, Bouzar, W (1982; 54) states that culture represents a whole set of things, values which all are inherited and transformed in any kind of society and by any group of this same society.

61- Schneider, L (1973; 118). The idea of culture in the social sciences: critical and supplementary observations. in Schneider, L & Bonjean, C (eds). The idea of culture in the Social Sciences. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

62- Perotti, A (1994; 86) The case of inter-cultural education. Council of Europe Press.

In other words, culture is a social tradition which is shared, learned and transmitted like a heritage. Behaviour, attitudes, wisdom, language are attributes which have been gradually acquired, accumulated in past centuries and handed down from one generation to the next

As can be noticed, the sociological definition of culture is not restrictive and describes culture as a non-static phenomenon since it evolves and changes from one generation to another. Moreover, seen in this sense, culture has no implication of value. Everything reveals culture, not just a few selected important details and it belongs to all members of the same community, The other typical use of the word "culture" however involves a high degree of selectivity. It refers, as explained by Bantock, G.H (1968; 1)

to a particular set of skills, ways of understanding, modes of feeling and to the productions, artistic and practical which enshrine them. 63

Used in this sense, a high cultured man is generally seen as a "rare bird", well read and knowledgeable. It corresponds to the French appellations "sage, savant, érudit" in Arabic "adeb" and in Tamazight "Amusnaw" such as Mouloud Mammeri (see chapter 3). Thus, culture may be conceived as a total way of life, or more narrowly with reference only to the totality of artefacts which constitute the arts, sciences and philosophy. Further restricted, culture denotes only the arts. This sense of culture as "art works" is often further restricted to refer to the literary arts. A still more restricted definition sees culture in terms of recreation and past times.

63- Bantock, G.H (1968;1). Culture, Industrialisation and Education. Routledge and Kegan. London.

These four descriptions of culture, as defined by Entwistle (1978; 111) are summarized in the table below:

Table 2.3.1: concepts of culture.

C1 Anthropological — 'whole way of life' — totality of activities and artefacts.	C1n Totality (C1) minus its dysfunctional elements.
C2 The product of intellectual and artistic activity.	C2n The <i>best</i> that has been thought and said.
C3 The arts (that is, C2 minus philosophy, science, history).	C3n The best art ('art', music, painting, sculpture, etc.).
C4 Recreation ('leisure' activities).	C4n 'Wholesome' recreation.

Source : Entwistle, H (1978; 111) Class, culture and Education. Methuen. Holborn. London.

Although the concept of culture in any of its descriptive senses is ultimately inadequate for the educationist, it is not completely irrelevant to his concerns. The total cultural environment (C1) does socialize the student into dispositions which are the raw materials of any educational enterprise.

Generally ethnic minority groups rely on language as the major marker of their cultural identity. As seen on section 2-2, Breton, Welsh, Catalan, and other ethnic identities are intimately connected with **language** though there are other conspicuous markers available for boundary maintenance in their culture. In his explanation of why the revival of the Breton language seems so important to many young Bretons, Eriksen, T.H (1993; 110) highlights the intimate nature of this connection between ethnic identity and language:

It would be simplistic to say, as an explanation, that their language forms an important part of their cultural identity. After all, language shift has been widespread in Brittany (and elsewhere) for centuries. The militancy concerning language can therefore be seen as an anti-French political strategy since the French state chose the French language as the foremost symbol of its nationalism. The most efficient and visible kind of resistance against that nationalism may be a rejection of that language. 64

Similarly, one can say that by using their language in public, minority groups signal that they do not acquiesce in the domination of the state governing them and seeking to assimilate them. Situations of this type are very common worldwide.

64- Eriksen, T.H (1993; 110). Ethnicity and Nationalism. Pluto Press. Boulder. Colorado.

Trudgill, P (1983) notes that within the multilingual context of Africa, in general, and Ghana in particular, where the number of languages spoken natively exceeds eighty, individuals most often identify themselves with one ethnic group or tribe or another based on which of this wide variety of languages is their mother tongue, irrespective of the fact that the majority of the population is bi- or tri-lingual. The different ethnic groups thus rely as much on language as on anything else to affirm and preserve their distinctive identity. This is not something that is unique to the case of multilingual Africa; the two main ethnic groups in Canada, to mention just one case, are distinguished mainly by language. They, no doubt, also practise distinct variants of Christianity and have different histories, cultures and traditions, but the major defining characteristic, nevertheless, remains whether they are native speakers of English or French. In the case of a country like Belgium, language plays the role of major marker, and does to the point of eclipsing citizenship; the majority of Belgians identify themselves as Flemings or Wallons and identify themselves as Belgians only when they wish to establish a distinction between themselves and the Dutch and French respectively.

Conclusion

Faced with the dominant culture of the nation-state, and especially when under social and political pressure, minority groups may single out a limited set of characteristics as principal identity markers and adapt them into a resistance banner. Those may include such markers as dress or religious distinctions and associated customs. Nevertheless, language remains the effective and most pervasive symbol of their identity. This is hardly surprising, given the depth of emotional attachment and the intimate relationship holding between language and thought. Furthermore, their language constitutes not only a component of their culture but also the linguistic medium through which other components such as art, literature, history, religion are expressed and can be revived. In other words, language can play a primordial role in the maintenance and revival of the cultural identity of ethnic groups if it is used and promoted by its native speakers and the nation-state.

CHAPTER 3 - TAMAZIGHT IN ALGERIA

3-1 GENERAL BACKGROUND OF ALGERIA AND GEOGRAPHICAL DELIMITATION OF TERRITORY WHERE THE DIFFERENT VARIETIES OF TAMAZIGHT ARE SPOKEN

The linguistic situation in a particular country is best understood if the geography and the history of that country are taken into consideration. Therefore, to describe Tamazight and help the reader to understand the maintenance and the shift of that language in certain parts of Algeria, it is necessary to provide a geographical as well as an historical background to that country.

The collective awareness of an ethnic group is rooted in objective factors. The feeling of belonging to a common cultural identity refers to a shared territory as well as to a common culture, history and language.

1-ALGERIA IN THE MAGHREB

Algeria forms part of the so-called the "Great Maghreb", an area that comprises Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania. The French refer to this area as "l' Afrique du Nord", but as the historian Abun-Nasr, J.M (1971) notes this designation is inappropriate since they use it only in reference to their former colonies, excluding thereby an integral part of the Maghreb, namely Libya.

The Arabs who conquered North African countries in about 710 A.D. knew the entire area to the West of Egypt as "Djezirat-El-Maghreb" meaning the "Western Island". For these land-oriented people, the Maghreb was an island because, geographically, it is surrounded by the Mediterranean sea and the Atlantic ocean on the North and West and the Sahara on the South. But not many people agree with this. The French historian Berthier, A (1951; 34) for instance points out that the isolation of the Maghreb is questionable since the Mediterranean sea and the Sahara had

always been easily crossed by different races who settled in North Africa, i.e., Vandals, Romans, Turks and others. He states:

L' isolement du Maghreb est toutefois très relatif. La Méditerranée et le Sahara ont toujours été assez aisément franchis. La Méditerranée offre de faibles distances à parcourir au détroit de Gibraltar, large seulement de quinze kilomètres entre le cap Bon et la Sicile.¹

The isolation of the Maghreb was however very relative. The Mediterranean sea and the Sahara had always been easily crossed. The Mediterranean offers short distances to travel to the Straits of Gibraltar, only fifteen kilometres wide between the Cape Bon and Sicily.

(my translation)

Thus, the term "Djezira" (meaning "island" in Arabic) is inappropriate since the Maghreb is easily accessible as explained above. Moreover, the Sahara which, according to the Arabs of the Middle East, isolated North Africa from the rest of the continent, cannot be compared to a sea because it is inhabited by people. Historical records have revealed that these are the Imazighen (e.g., Mozabites and Tuaregs) who were forced to seek refuge in the Sahara in order to protect themselves, their culture and their language against the different invaders. For the reasons explained above only the term "Maghreb" for North-West Africa seems to be appropriate.

While describing Algeria both geographically and historically, one cannot forget to refer to two other Maghrebine countries, Morocco and Tunisia. All three countries constitute the homelands of Imazighen nowadays. Given their geographical proximity, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia have a great number of features in common:

-They were under French control until they won independence in 1962, 1956 and 1956 respectively.

-Arabic is their common official language and Islam their common religion.

-In addition to Tamazight speakers, the population of these countries is composed of Arabic speakers and Jews. Unlike in Morocco, there are currently very few Jews in Algeria (about two hundred).

1-Berthier, A (1951; 32-34) L' Algérie et son passé. Picard. Paris.

According to the Algerian historian Boumediene, A (1991; 5), the Jews settled in Algeria a long time ago. She states:

La présence des Juifs en Algérie remonte à une période très lointaine. leur arrivée est, semble-t-il, liée à celle des Phéniciens qui se sont installés sur les côtes de la Méditerranée Méridionale aux environs du 2ème millénaire avant J.C. s'établissant à Carthage, Alger, et Oran. ²

The presence of Jews in Algeria goes back to a very distant period in the past. Their arrival, it seems, is related to that of the Phoenicians who inhabited the coasts of the Mediterranean around the second millennium B.C, settling in Carthage, Algiers and Wahran.

As soon as Algeria gained independence, the majority of Algerian Jews left the country together with the French. This can be partly explained by the fact that, in 1870, during French colonization, the "Crémieux" decree accorded French citizenship to all Jews living in Algeria. Some of them are believed to be the native Imazighen converted to Judaism at the time of the Roman presence or before. Others were trader Jews who came from Livourne (France) in the XIIIth century or from Spain, after the reconquest of that country by the Christians at the end of the Middle-Ages.

The population of Tamazight speakers increases from East to West throughout the Maghreb. In Tunisia, only one per cent of the population is believed to be Tamazight speaking. In Algeria, over thirty per cent, but in Morocco, the population is thought to be as high as forty two per cent, much of it spoken in the mountains and in the south. Most of the half million Jews living in Morocco and Tunisia are generally Arabic speakers.

The union of the Maghrebine countries in 1987 opens new chances for the Imazighen people to meet and exchange ideas about language and culture and to discuss their ethnopolitical problems and questions of common interest.

2- Boumedienne, A (1991; 5) Les Juifs en Afrique du Nord in journal "El- Watan" 8 Juin 1991 n° 371. Alger.

However, the Arabo-Islamic component is, unfortunately, the sole basis of this union. i.e., the Great Arab Maghreb barring the Amazigh element of the cultural identity of the Maghrebine states, particularly Morocco and Algeria which have the greatest number of Tamazight speakers.

2- ALGERIAN IMAZIGHEN REGIONS, POPULATION, CLIMATE, VEGETATION, ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

Algeria includes a very large part of the Sahara but the northern part is small, being about 200,000 Km². The country displays a great variety of landscapes - sea, mountains, plains, steppes, oases and deserts.

The mountain system shows three major divisions:

- 1- In the North is the Tell Atlas, sometimes called Maritime Atlas because of its proximity to the Mediterranean sea.
- 2- The second major physical division forms the high plateau which consists of discontinuous hills, plateaux and massifs separated from one another by depressions, valleys and plains.
- 3- The Sahara Atlas constitutes the third mountain division. It is a very poor and wild region where the Aures mountain rises proudly.

The Tell Atlas is the most productive part of Algeria. It comprises the Sahel of Algiers and Mitidja, the richest agricultural area in the country.

The climate is Mediterranean, the soils fertile and suited for orange growing, wine, tobacco, early vegetables, flowers. Nowadays, the whole Algiers plain is overpopulated. In addition to the capital and chief port, it includes a number of local markets and manufacturing towns such as Bufarik, Blida and El-Harrach. The towns contain a number of important industries, for example industries of brick, tanneries, consumer goods, industries and petro-chemical industries. This area contains a number of Imazighen. Most of them have left their village or mountain to work in Algiers or the outskirts of the capital.

To the west of Algiers (about 100 miles) rises the **Chenoua** mountain in Tipaza (see map1.1, p 3). Some inhabitants of that region speak **Tachenwit** language, a variety of Tamazight. This language is disappearing little by little because of the process of Arabisation at school and in the whole environment. However, some villages still use it as a means of communication for their daily intercourse. Nowadays, Tipaza region attracts a great number of tourists and archaeologists because of its historical sites (Roman ruins) whereas its various cultural and linguistic richness is simply ignored by the majority of people, natives and foreigners alike.

East of Algiers and the Mitidja, the mountain mass of **Kabylia** rises suddenly from sea level to steep granite heights. It has two sections: Higher Kabylia and Lower Kabylia divided by the deep gorge formed by the Sumam wadi, a permanent stream.

Higher Kabylia extends 64 km from East to West in a double chain of crests mostly over 1800 metres high. Snow lies in these parts for six months. This region had also become one of the most overpopulated regions of Algeria in view of its fertility. Higher Kabylia is one of the most striking regions in the whole of the Tell Atlas, with the mountain of Djurdjura rising to 2272 m. The difficulty of penetrating this area because of its numerous gorges and narrow ridges, made it an ideal refuge for the native population from the different waves of foreign invasion. Nowadays, it constitutes a stronghold of Tamazight culture where the **Kabyl Tamazight** variety (**Taqbaylit** in Tamazight) and customs survive in their purest forms.

Further to the east, Lower Kabylia comprises the city of **Bgayeth** and all the villages situated in the valley of the Summam wadi. **Bgayeth** is also an important fishing and oil refining port. Its population consists of both Arabic and Tamazight speakers. The archivist Berthier, A (1951; 32) explains this phenomenon by the fact that Bgayeth welcomed in the past the Fatimids, one schism of Islam.

La petite Kabylie doit à un évènement historique bien connu, l'épisode de la création de l'empire Fatimide, son aptitude à parler l' Arabe.

Lower Kabylia owes its aptitude to speak Arabic to a well known historical event, the period of the creation of the Fatimid empire. 3

Côte, M (1991; 1414-15) points out that Bgayeth, which used to be an Arabic speaking town, is becoming a totally Kabyl Tamazight speaking region because of the great number of Higher Kabyls who progressively settled in that region. As a result, Bgayeth has the leadership for the Amazigh culture in Algeria nowadays.

Actuellement en Algérie, Béjaia est le pôle de culture Berbère.

Béjaia, créée comme capitale Arabe, a longtemps tourné le dos à son arrière pays montagnard et Kabyle. Mais au cours des âges, la ville s'est progressivement peuplée de kabyles, et est aujourd'hui largement berbérophone. Si elle a eu peine à s'imposer comme capitale économique de la petite Kabylie, elle en est indéniablement la capitale culturelle. Elle rivalise avec Tizi-Ouzou pour le leadership de la culture Kabyle en Algérie. Tizi-Ouzou a pour elle sa situation au coeur du pays berbérophone mais Béjaia a pour elle une taille de population double. 4

In Algeria nowadays, Bgayeth is the centre of Amazigh culture. Created as Arab capital, Bgayeth has long turned its back to the backward mountainous areas and Kabylia. But in the course of centuries, the city was progressively populated by Kabyls, and is at present largely Berberophone.

Though it had difficulty imposing itself as the economic capital of Lower Kabylia, it is nonetheless undeniably the cultural capital. It competes with Tizi-Wezzu for the leadership of Kabyl culture in Algeria. Tizi-Wezzu has in its favour its place at the heart of the Berberophone country, but Bgayeth has for it a population twice as large.

(my translation)

Further south, Imazighen inhabit mountainous areas such as the mountains of the **Aures** (see map 1.1, p 3) which constitute the homeland of **Ichenwiyen** speaking the **Tachenwit** Tamazight variety. The massive and ravined mountains of the Aurès with peaks over 2100 m is apparently an impenetrable region where,

3- Berthier, A (1951), p. 32.

4- Côte, M (1991; 1414-15) Encyclopédie Berbère. Volume IX. Edisud. Aix-en-Provence. France.

like the Djurdjura mountain, Tamazight culture and language have been preserved.

In the Sahara, Imazighen live in the following oases: **the M'zab, Figuig and Tuat**. Seeking refuge from their enemies, the **Imzabiyen** (i.e., the inhabitants of the M'zab oases) settled in a very wild and stony region called in Arabic "Shebka" meaning "net". They built seven towns in a valley with Ghardaia, the capital. The others are; Beni-Isguen, Melika, Al-Atteuf, Bou-Nourra, Benian and Guerrara. Their high walled houses look like fortresses where people live in a very traditional way, preserving the language (**Tamzabit**), the habits and the strict religious beliefs of their ancestors. As the barren valley, where they settled down, could not feed them today as in the past, the Mozabites have to leave their towns to work in the northern cities (e.g., Algiers and Wahran) or abroad. They are known in the country as being good businessmen and merchants.

Some people think that the Sahara is not an easy place to live because of its climate (very hot during the day - about 40°C and cold at night about 6°C), its lack of water and vegetation. In fact, the existence of the desert is not due to specific geological conditions. Vegetation is lacking because the climate is so arid that plants cannot grow and survive, but the soil itself is capable of supporting plants. In addition, the rainfall is completely unpredictable. For very long periods, there may be no rains, then quite suddenly certain areas can be flooded with torrential rains. The water carries everything it encounters with a tremendous force because the earth is bare and unprotected by any natural covering of grass or plants.

As can be seen, there has never been a proper balance between evaporation and precipitation in the Sahara. That explains the phenomenon of desiccation in that region. On mountainous areas, rainfall disappears into the earth and waters the desert from below, making it a place where men, animal and vegetation can exist. In fact, the richness of the Sahara is not to be found on the surface but underground. In other words, the Sahara provides important quantities of oil and gas which constitute the principal resource of Algeria nowadays. Hassi Messaoud, 320km south of

Biskra, is an example of an oil field town which grew very quickly thanks to the rapid development of the oil and gas industry.

It is important to point out that the discovery of oil and gas in the Algerian Sahara has been of great economic importance. The revenues from the exports were the salvation of the state in the years immediately following independence and went on to provide a substantial part of the investment required for economic development.

In the extreme south of the Sahara, **the Tuaregs**, one Amazigh group speaking **Tamasheq**, live in volcanic mountains such as the **Ahaggar** (commonly known as the Hoggar), **the Tassili N'Ajjer**, **the Adrar of Iforas** and **Aïr**. The highest peak in the Ahaggar is Emi-Oussi, about 10,000 feet above sea-level. Surprisingly, these mountainous areas are less hostile to the population than the plains around because rain falls much more often and, in consequence, there is pasturage to feed their sheep, goats and camels.

The climate and the vegetation are important factors which contribute to people's decision to settle down in one area rather than in another (especially for the nomads) and their language to be maintained in one region instead of another according to their number.

Generally, the vegetation of Algeria becomes progressively poorer from North to South with diminishing rainfall. The central zone of the high plateau has a long dry season of about seven months and a lower rainfall which ranges between 200 mm and 300 mm. Forests here consists of the steppe vegetation composed of turfs, herbs and dwarf plants.

The gathering of alfa, called "esparto grass" in herbal science, constitutes an important activity for the nomads engaged in the seasonal migration with their family, flocks and camel herds. This plant is used in the manufacture of baskets, mats and mattresses. Because Alfa contributes to the defence against soil

erosion, the nomads are no longer allowed to gather more than a certain amount which is determined by the local authorities.

Salt steppe plants, including sea-lavenders grow in the clay basins around the chotts(dried out lakes) rich in minerals. These plants remain green throughout the dry season and provide food for flocks and herds.

The valleys and coastal plains are devoted to “fellaheen“ (peasant) farming. Wheat and olives are the predominant crops. In the mountain areas, arboriculture and agriculture are important. The raising of sheep and goats with seasonal migrations in search of pasture are commonly practised . The fellaheen cultivate as well olive trees, fig, and cereals. These meet the needs of their families throughout the year. The crops' surplus, if there is any, is generally sold on the village market place or exchanged for other consumers available in the region (fresh vegetables, poultry and honey).

In summer, when vegetation is rare in their region, nomads move towards the North looking for grass for their flocks. Generally summer transhumance is decreasing throughout the country because tribal ties tend to disappear. Nowadays, nomads seem to be more attracted by permanent settlements in town and cultivation of land. Some of them have found work near desert mining centres.

To sum up, one can say that the Imazighen in Algeria are mainly concentrated in mountainous areas (Higher Kabylia, Aures, and Hoggar). Some of them inhabit plains, oases as well such as the Mozabites. In fact, these two groups constitute the category of the Amazigh community who managed to preserve their linguistic and cultural identity relatively intact whereas the majority of Imazighen living in towns (Algiers, Wahran, and Annaba.) are generally **bilingual, i.e., Arabic and Tamazight speakers**. There also exists regions (not described in this chapter since they are no longer Amazighophone) where the Tamazight varieties have ceased to exist as a mother tongue. These regions, described by Gauthier, E.F and Doutte, E (1913; 154) in a study that they carried out during the French colonial period include, among

others, the region of **Constantine, Souk-Ahras, Khenchla, Guergour and Chlef**. In these regions, the child learnt Arabic from an early age. Consequently, after a very short period of time, only the old people and women, the conservative elements within all societies, spoke the Tamazight language, the extinction of which was a fait accompli at the end of a period not longer than the life span of a man.

One of the reasons of this phenomenon is clearly explained by Camps, G (1980; 70) who states that the geography of a country is partly responsible for what happens historically and linguistically to the people of that country. As far as Imazighen are concerned, the various dispersed Imazighen groups have no geographical focus in the form of a capital city which could unite them. Moreover, their fertile coastal lands (the Tell) had always attracted various peoples who settled in these areas. He notes:

Seule la géographie paraît responsable de ce qui est généralement imputé aux hommes. La Berbérie n'a pas de centre vivifiant capable de regrouper autour de lui les provinces périphériques: entre les pays tournés vers la Méditerranée Orientale et ceux qui bordent l'Océan, la zone de vie agricole (le Tell) n'est qu'une étroite frange littorale, voies de passage où les conquérants n'ont fait que passer. 5

Geography alone seems to be responsible for what is generally imputed to man. The Amazigh country lacked an invigorating centre capable of grouping the peripheral provinces together around it: the agricultural zone (the Tell), sandwiched between the country looking towards the Eastern Mediterranean and that running alongside the ocean, is nothing more than a narrow coastal fringe, major routes that conquering forces used for the sole purpose of passing through.

(my translation)

5- Camps, G (1980; 70). Les Berbères aux marges de l' Histoire. Espérides. Paris.

3-2 HISTORY OF IMAZIGHEN

1- REFLEXIONS

The Imazighen have always been a strong, fear-inspiring, brave and numerous people; a true people much like many others in this world, such as the Arabs, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. 6

Ibn Khaldun (1925; 199)

Conquerors had arrived, civilisations came and went...The Imazighen ...have always been here since time immemorial. We cannot understand the history of Algeria and the Maghreb if we ignore this primordial reality. 7

Berthier, A (1951; 19)

Though in certain respects, the Maghreb had become an Arab country, this does not stop it from being always an old Amazigh land. 8

Le Tourneau, R (1962; 16)

Numerous Imazighen had fled and taken refuge in the mountains; the Aures, the Djurdjura, and the Ouarsenis. By fleeing the Roman empire, they managed to preserve their language, their customs and their traditions. 9

Oussedik, T (1989; 11)

6- Ibn Khaldun (1925; 199) Histoire des Berbères translated from Arabic by Baron De Slane. Librairie Orientaliste. Vol 1. Paris.

7- Berthier, A (1951; 19) l' Algérie et son Passé. Picard. Paris.

8- Le Tourneau, R (1962; 16) Evolution politique de l'Afrique du Nord. Armand Colin. Paris.

9- Oussedik, T (1989; 11) La Berbérie. ENAL. Alger.

2- AN APPROACH TO THE HISTORY OF IMAZIGHEN

Civilisations come and go and only History can help shed light on the nature and organisation of these past civilisations. If History is regarded as an integral reconstitution, whatever we learn and understand about the past of people should be trustworthy and precise.

Unfortunately, it seems that historians cannot write down all the true statements because they have to be selective in what they choose to report. Selection is inevitable and with the recognition of this comes the possibility of new sorts of doubt about objectivity. Selection in history may be arbitrary and subjective, especially when we know that there are no principles of selection clearly defined by the nature of history itself and that there is nothing about history that determines what is important. According to this perspective, one questions whether historical statements can be meaningful and true at all. One can understand why historians do not agree with one another and why the history of a period is rewritten every generation or so.

Any reader researching the history of a people must know that it is impossible to find a fully "objective" and "impartial" version free of all cultural and ideological prejudice.

In the very choice of a period or theme and method of approaching it, an historian will show, sometimes unconsciously, a particular cast of mind which accords with his own cultural, religious and political belief, outlook and interest.

An important and common form of bias found in history is that induced by nationalism and the passions of patriotism.

If we take into consideration these ideas, one can argue that the history of Imazighen written by foreigners cannot be totally reliable, especially that which is associated with colonialists (for instance French in Algeria) who generally tend to look upon natives as uncivilized and of strange manners, customs and beliefs and who take it upon themselves to deliver them from their "barbarous" ways by imposing their much "superior" customs, beliefs and language.

Among the foreign historians who wrote the history of Imazighen, the French are the more numerous. Some of them, especially those engaged in the army, were interested in learning about the language, customs, social organisation of Imazighen for a special aim: the colonisation of Amazigh regions and the assimilation of the population. The French adopted two methods. The first one consisted of killing the "stubborn" people who refused to accept the colonial domination. The second method involved finding efficient means to attract the sympathy of another layer of the population, namely women, children and old people, so that these would not show any resistance to French objectives of assimilation.

In fact, the aim of many French historians writing about Imazighen was primarily to serve the political interests of their government during the period of French colonisation. Some of them, even if they were not involved in the French army, nor influenced by any political ideas, wanted to come close to Imazighen, not to help them rather to satisfy their curiosity. For example, the Tuaregs, the only veiled men in the world, are regarded as a strange phenomenon. That is why some historians were eager to know and to report to others how the Tuaregs manage to live in an hostile environment, how their desert habitation and their intimate association with animals affect their religion and how all those aspects of their life interrelated to form a coherent whole that, until recently, has been transmitted from generation to generation almost without change.

Despite the French and foreign cultural bias, Imazighen nowadays depend partly on the writing of foreign historians if they wish to know about their ancestors. The main reason is because Imazighen in the past have never written about themselves or if they did so, no written records have survived. After successive invasions, we know little save that they existed, but as concerns the invaders (Greeks, Romans, Turks, and French). We can find detailed information chiefly because generations of historians have busied themselves preserving relics and studying them exhaustively. Consequently, we know most about those social groups, institutions or people whose past was considered as "glorious"

and whose written records were kept, but we know very little - and if anything - about the invaded people, the minorities whose political and personal opinions went largely unrecorded.

The principal source for Arab and foreign historians nowadays is Ibn Khaldun, an historian of the Middle Ages (14th century) of Amazigh origin who wrote extensively about Imazighen; *Histoire des Berbères* in three volumes. Generally speaking, Arab historians of the Middle Ages are genealogists. They are more interested in seeking the prime ancestor of people and establishing their lineage than writing the history of these people. This is a patriarchal conception which is commonly found among the orientals and which the Phoenicians had introduced to the early Imazighen. For historians of the Middle Ages, such as Ibn Khaldun, people do not exist but only large patriarchal families. For them, the family is based on the recognition of a common ancestor. Obviously, this idea of lineage has no territorial basis, as groups pretending that they come from the same ancestor whom they take their name from, may live far away from each other. For example, the Sanhadja, sons of Branès, who live in different parts of Algeria or even near the Sudan - from which their name derives - have adopted quite different ways of life. This lineal traditions which are all part of the collective memory of the people suggest the complex, sometimes disagreeable process of dispersion.

As can be seen, it is difficult for any Amazigh wishing to explore the history of his/her ancestors to find a full and coherent account of the Amazigh people. However, it is possible to sift through information taken from different sources (e.g., contemporary Algerian Imazighen historians who are writing about their history), Maghrebine, Arab, French, English etc, and from books written by researchers from different fields History, anthropology, sociology and other sciences.

One can also trace in the history of the different invaders of North Africa, i.e., Greeks, Romans, men and women of Amazigh origin who were part of the "glorious" history of their conquerors and who had to adopt new and foreign names in accordance with their rulers' obligations. Septimus Severus, Roman emperor of Amazigh origin, is a case in point.

Among the French researchers who shared their lives with Imazighen (the Tuaregs) and consequently whose investigations can be relied upon are for example: Duveryrier, H. Brenans, A and De Foucauld, C. The French geologist Duveryrier, H was the first man to succeed in establishing such as a close relationship with the Tuaregs that they allowed him to live with them in their tents. He shared an interest in their customs and history. As a geologist, he drew maps for them and amassed much valuable geographical, botanical and zoological scientific information.

Lieutenant Brenans was the chief of the annexes of Djanet in 1933. Later he married a Targui woman and spent his life in the heights of the Tassili. He is the one who discovered the frescoes of the Tassili N'Ajjer which form a mass of documentation which allows us to have an idea of the ancient population of the Sahara. De Foucauld, C spent fifteen years in the Hoggar. He compiled the first Tamasheq dictionary. His memory is still alive and much revered in the Hoggar.

3- HISTORY OF IMAZIGHEN

A first important question that arises here is whether it is possible to understand something about the present-day Imazighen and their language independently of their history. Though the history of Imazighen is not the main concern of this study, it is nevertheless considerably important insofar as the history and status of a particular language are inextricably linked to the history of the community (ies) making use of it. This is, for instance, the case of the Arabic language at the heights of the Arabo-Islamic civilisation in the 14th century, and American English nowadays. On the other hand, the language of a community which has been subject to a succession of foreign invasions might eventually succumb to the pressures of the invaders, who might choose to impose their language which they consider as superior. This is the case of the Tamazight language vis-à-vis Punic, Latin, Turkish, Arabic and French, the languages of the different

invaders who settled in North Africa at different periods of history.

As far as the Imazighen are concerned, the history of their political leaders has always been inextricably linked to the history of the different people who invaded them, i.e., the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Romans etc. These people have sought to assimilate them culturally by imposing on them their religions, traditions, languages, and even by inviting them to adopt foreign names. This is clear from such names as the ones presented below :

Massinissa (Latin name), the Amazigh king of Numidia (present-day Algeria) during the Roman empire.

El-Kahina (Arabic name), the Amazigh queen of the Aures who, according to the French historian Camps, G (1980; 132) was also known by the Amazigh name "Dihya". Gaid, M (1990; 9) indicates that she was also known as "Damai" and "Thadmaith". Given this, the history of Imazighen could be best carried out by Imazighen themselves. Happily, more and more of the young scholars of Morocco, Algeria, and of other North African countries are taking an active part in exploring the Amazigh history and how this relates to contemporary Amazigh life.

Presently, little is known about the history of Imazighen in the Maghreb. Unfortunately, the history of Algeria is ignored by the majority of Algerians. No school manual, for instance, provides any exact or detailed information about the history of Algeria prior to 1954, the year of the Algerian revolution. The history of Algeria prior to 1954 has been and remains a taboo subject. Have future generations of Algerian children, including Imazighen children, not the right to their true identity - the right to know their true history and ancestral culture? As a popular saying goes, "without a knowledge of the past and its lessons, a nation cannot understand the present and build the future".

The aim of this section is to sketch a brief history of Algeria as it should be taught to children at school. Two periods will be clearly distinguished:

A- Imazighen before the Arab conquests (pre-Islamic history)

B- Imazighen after the Arab conquests of North Africa, starting from the VIIth century.

What will be presented below will be far from an exhaustive or complete history of Algeria. In fact, it is not possible to write such a complete history; a large number of crucial documents are and will remain inaccessible. Certain documents bearing on the past history of Algeria have been burnt by the OAS (Organisation de l'Armée Secrète) and others have been moved to France after the independence of the country.

A-IMAZIGHEN PRIOR TO THE ARAB CONQUESTS OF NORTH AFRICA

1- The Phoenicians

The Phoenicians, who occupied North Africa for about ten centuries, were the first of several invading groups to arrive at this area. According to Berthier,

A (1951), the Phoenicians actually remained on the coasts for about three centuries before they eventually decided to venture beyond their initial settlements and occupy the rest of the North African area. Picquet, V (1921) points out that the Phoenicians handed down their religion to Imazighen, and as a consequence, their principal divinity Baal superseded the Ammon, the God of Ethiopians. They founded Carthage, a city in the middle of the Mediterranean basin, which was later to become the capital for the Romans in Africa. Punic, the language of the Phoenicians, was spoken only by a small group of educated Imazighen, whereas the majority of the latter used their own language, Tamazight. Rich Phoenician landlords imposed high, and sometimes crippling taxes, on the native Imazighen, e.g., a deduction of a quarter of annual crops. Such harsh policies later caused a general protest among the natives, who, together with mercenary soldiers, revolted against their masters.

2- The Greeks

The Greeks superseded the Phoenicians in North Africa in the XIth century and founded the city of Cyrine. According to Oussedik, T (1989), the Numidians, ancestors of present-day Imazighen, lived scattered on their lands. The farmers, who constituted the more numerous group among the Imazighen then, organised themselves in clans practicing cattle raising and farming, whereas the nomads conducted a wandering life. It was only with the arrival of the Romans in North Africa that Imazighen began to unite in search of mutual support and common defence.

3- The Romans

The occupation of North Africa by the Romans was slow and progressive. While the Imazighen accounted for the majority of the population in towns, boroughs, and hamlets, the Romans, throughout their presence in North Africa, were very few in comparison. In religion, the Romans introduced numerous gods. This latter type of worship was subsequently replaced by Christianity, which spread in the whole of North Africa.

Oussedik, T (1989) notes that the Numidians were quick to discover the benefits of education, and that they later formed and produced brilliant individuals who excelled in all intellectual domains as well as in the army and administration. North Africa therefore gave birth to such famous politicians as Septimus Severus who governed Roman North Africa. According to Oussedik the appellation "Numidians" which was given to the natives of Algeria comes from the Greek word "Nomades" meaning "nomads". Algeria was known as "Numidia".

Massinissa was the first Amazigh king to be appointed by Rome in North Africa. He was made King of Numidia by the Senate in reward for the help he provided to Rome against the Phoenicians.

According to Spencer, W (1968), Massinissa's help to Rome against the Phoenicians was duly rewarded after his victory at Ziama.

The Romans conferred on Massinissa the title of king of Numidia for the first time in their history, and the turbulent tribes of central North Africa were united under one leadership. Massinissa had the wit and the talent to convert a tribal community into a kingdom which was developed into a complex of numerous

agricultural states. In his book *Les Berbères dans l'Histoire*, Gaïd, M (1991) claims that even though the Romans occupied North Africa for seven centuries, Roman civilisation was clearly felt only in the main towns. Villages in mountainous Amazigh regions were organised into small autonomous republics and were thus able to preserve their own culture, language, and tradition. Gaïd adds that, in view of the fact that the native Imazighen contributed considerably to the development of the Roman civilisation - for instance, they were the ones who, under Roman names, built such famous cities as Timgad, Touga (Toudja), Theveste (Tebessa or Djamila), etc - it is not justified to refer or characterise the civilisation that flourished in North Africa during the Roman occupation as Roman civilisation.

As noted earlier, the Romans were a small minority, whereas the majority of the population consisted of veteran soldiers (who were awarded land and citizenship after having served 25 years in the army) invalids of war (of Spanish, Slavic, and mostly Imazighen origin), and, finally, the native Imazighen. Some of the latter became middle class citizens, sent their children to schools, became civil servants, and identified themselves with the Romans.

During the Roman occupation, North Africa was divided into two main areas: the modern towns and the large agricultural areas. The best part of the Roman army was assigned the task of guarding military posts, especially those in the Aures region and the surrounding towns of Kabylia which were, like they are presently, Tamazight-speaking areas.

Berthier, A (1951) notes that the Roman occupation did not take place without any resistance from Imazighen. He argues that the mountains were a great problem for the Romans. The Roman legion had a hard time fighting the mountain-people on their proper terrain. What we nowadays call the land of Ichawiyen was the focal point of Amazigh resistance. In 253 B.C. a massive insurrection took place in the Babors massifs. The revolt soon spread to nearby areas and came to an end only in 262 B.C, ten years after it first started.

In his preface to Berthier's, A (1951) *L'Algérie et son passé*, Carcopino points out that Imazighen were happy during the Roman

occupation of North Africa as a result of the peace that the Romans had imposed on the world and that they had established in North Africa for more than two hundred uninterrupted years. However, the question that arises here is if Imazighen were indeed happy at that particular period, how could we possibly explain their subsequent revolution through religion and in particular through Donatism, a movement that in fact translated or reflected more of a social malaise than a sudden desire to change religion. This movement won over the entire population more easily than the economic crisis created disgruntled and discontented people. This instability and unrest among the Imazighen not only marked the stalling of Latin civilisation, but hastened its collapse. A terribly destructive factor as it were, Donatism played a crucial role in undermining Roman civilisation and Catholicism. It also put an end to the process of assimilation that the Romans conducted over several uninterrupted centuries.

4- The Vandals

Genseric, king of the Vandals, reached the coast of North Africa in 429 A.D. The Donatists made gains from the presence of the Vandals by launching revenge attacks against the Catholics.

In fact, the constitution of 30th May 428 sanctioned the return of all churches to Catholics and forbade any heretical form of worship on Roman territory.

The Vandals did not aim to wipe out all traces of civilisation but wished to exploit for their own purposes the benefits of that civilisation. North Africa during the time of the Vandals therefore remained very much a Latin Africa. Latin was retained as a language, and the establishment of towns continued along with the maintenance of Roman customs and system of law. Inscriptions of Vandal coinage were cast in Latin which was also used for administration purposes and commercial transactions.

The Imazighen, more or less Latinized, who made up the overwhelming majority of the population, continued to lead their lives as before, during the reign of five different Vandal monarchs. This lasted until the moment when the inland tribes, who were always opposed to Roman civilisation, became powerful

in areas of the country distant from the coast. Describing the Vandal occupation of the Maghreb, Picquet, V (1921 ; 36) notes:

The Vandals reigned in Carthage for one whole century, but one could not say that in the Roman province and in Numidia we witnessed Vandal dominance. If Genseric maintained the respect and dignity of the indigenous tribes, his warriors really only predominated in the coastal areas. 10

Later, the attraction of better prices to the North and the possibilities for further pillage and ransacking led them to desert their military posts (limes). Meanwhile monadic groups had appeared, nomadic tribes, expelled from Tripolitania under the control of Septimus Severus had penetrated the lowland plains. At the same time, the Maures who lived in the Aures and were part of a tribal alliance based on the redistribution of pirated wealth, became restless as the source of that wealth began to diminish. From the moment when the Maures in the Aures had shaken off Vandal domination, they had no more to fear from that quarter and took control of the lowland and mountain areas (the Vandals had never penetrated the mountain districts). The Vandal state became weaker and weaker under the threat of growing revolt and a rise in the number of insurrections.

The Romans who had been oppressed for so long held their heads high once again while the Christian Imazighen saw themselves confronted with new repressive measures. If at the beginning the Imazighen tribes displayed apparent submissiveness, open rebellion was soon to follow. The difficulties created by these tribal uprisings made such an impression during the Byzantine era

10- Picquet, V (1921; 36) Les civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord. Armand Colin. Paris

that archaeological evidence still bears witness to the upheaval. The Byzantine fortifications are among the most spectacular ruins to be seen across North Africa today. They impress as much in their numbers as in their towering walls.

One can identify different types of fortification: walled fortress towns, castles etc. The signs of disintegration began to appear and gradually worsened towards the end of the 6th century. At the beginning of the 7th century, independence began to find increasing favour among the ruling administration itself. The financial crisis brought with it other problems. The lack of money meant that ruling Imazighen chiefs were denied their regular pensions which undermined the political status quo that had guaranteed an alliance among the different indigenous peoples.

The Catholic religion once re-established meant exile for the old Donatists. Immediately, religious passions were inflamed and revolt spread in the whole of North Africa. By the 7th century the Imazighen had reclaimed their independence across the region. Ibn Khaldun (1925; 18) states:

The Berbers in the countryside, strong in numbers and in resources owed allegiance to kings, chiefs, princes and emirs. They lived sheltered from insult and safe from the tyranny and vengeance they had suffered under Roman rule. 11

This description adequately portrays the state of affairs at the beginning of the 7th century. The Aures had achieved independence, and the Maures in the west had never forfeited theirs. The Byzantines had withdrawn from everywhere and their garrisons had retreated to the main towns.

Picquet, V (1921) notes that the first wave of Arabs from Egypt towards the middle of the 7th century were coming to powerful Amazigh states with their own independent sovereigns and their own systems of law.

In Tripolitaine (present day Libya), the Louata, south of Bysacene, the Nefzaoua. In Numidia (present day Algeria) and in the Aures, the Djeraoua, the Ifrenes, the Magraoua and other tribes.

11- Ibn-khaldun (1925; 18) Histoire des Berbères translated from Arabic by Baron De Slane. Librairie Orientaliste. Vol 1. Payot. Paris.

B- IMAZIGHEN AFTER THE ISLAMIC CONQUESTS OF NORTH AFRICA

The first expeditions of the Arabs to North Africa were of both a political and a religious nature. No issue, political, social, or other can be fully understood in the history of Arab civilisation unless account is taken of its Islamic aspects. Islam, as is widely known, is more than a religion ; it has always been a way and a philosophy of life, a culture and a civilisation. In addition to the Qur'an, which codifies most of the principles and philosophy of the Islamic religion, there is the Hadith, a collection of some 7000 sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhamed which are regarded as valid rules of conduct.

The first years of Islamisation were extremely agitated for it is in the conflicts between the various successors of the Prophet that originate the major schisms, which have developed in North Africa. It is necessary to touch on the first years of Islam and define the different religious factions which emerged then. If we fail to do so, the history of the Arab empires and of the Islamic civilisation which survives to our day will remain completely incomprehensible.

The Arabs existed prior to the birth of Islam, but it is due to the Islamic religion that the Arabic civilisation has reached its apogee. Before Islam, the Arabs were mostly idol worshippers; some worshipped stars and others worshipped wooden or stone idols.

At the beginning of the VIIth century, when the Prophet Muhamed started his mission, his compatriots, the Meccans were antagonistic to his teachings. As a result, he took refuge in Medina, where he founded the new religion. When the Prophet died, his father-in-law, Abu Bakr, succeeded him and took the title of Khalifa (successor). It is to this area that the first expeditions of the Arabs date back, and to understand them, it is necessary to refer to the troubles which developed then. There was mass rebellion as soon as the Prophet died, but with the support of his followers, Abu Bakr formed an army and eventually defeated the rebels.

Abu Bakr at the same time sent his soldiers to North Africa, which was at the time under Roman domination and to Persia, i.e., to two states they considered as being long torn by discord and servitude. Abu Bakr, who died in 634, designated Omar as his successor. The latter, who took the title of Amir al-muminin (Prince of Believers), died in 644, bringing the era of Khalifs (Known as successors) to an end.

The Khalifat was from then on to be contested among numerous candidates and, as a result, extremely confused struggles began. The candidates for the Khalifat, designated by Omar himself, were to elect one of them. First to be elected was Othman bnu Affan, from the Umayyad family, who was proclaimed Khalifat, to the great disappointment of Ali, the prophet's son-in-law. Determined to reclaim the throne, Ali grouped his followers and prepared for war. When his bid for the Khalifat came to nothing, his followers refused to recognise the legitimacy of the Umayyads. This would be the origin of the great schism which would expand to the Maghreb during the Fatimid empire and to Persia. Ali's unsuccessful campaign for the Khalifat led to 12,000 of his partisan soldier breaking away. These rebels, who thought of themselves as "puritains", took the name of Wahabites (after Abd Allah ben Wahab) and were to be known as Kharedjites (dissidents).

The Kharidjites recognise only the first three khalifs, reject all hereditary Imanat, accepting only the elective Imanat. The Kharidjism became, in one way, an episode in the struggle of the classes and a xenophobic response much like Donatism was.

Two factions developed from the beginning within Wahabism, viz, Ibadites (followers of Abd Allah ben Safar) and Wahabism which was adopted by the Rostemid princes of Tiaret (South of Algeria). The latter was preserved by the Mozabites of Algeria, an Amazigh group, who practice an austere puritanism. This group, who proclaimed an egalitarian, democratic republican and universalist Islam, and who called for the unity of the Islamic Umma (state), have been portrayed as heretics. The inhabitants of the island of Djerba in Tunisia who have preserved all the characteristics of Imazighen, have also remained Wahabites. This is also the case of the inhabitants of the Nefoussa mountain in Morocco.

Islam fundamentally calls for belief in a unique God and the veneration of Muhamed, the last of the Prophets, whom God has charged with the mission of turning men away from the cults of ancient patriarchs and towards belief in the unity of God. The Islamic religion also calls for belief in the three sacred books: the Bible, the Gospel, and the Qur'an.

The Arab conquest of North Africa, which dates back to 647, proved long and difficult. The Arabs expeditions were strongly resisted on repeated occasions by the natives of North Africa, the Imazighen. It is important, however, not to forget that there were two great Arab invasions. The initial conquest in the VIIth century was undertaken by the army of the government of the Ummayyad Khalifs. During this first conquest, the army was content with creating garrisons and setting up administrations. The second invasion took place in the XIth century and was different from the initial one, in the sense of being a true migration of tribes. In his book; *L'Algérie et son passé*, Berthier, A (1951; 26) claims that the bedouin Arabs coming from Upper Egypt were in the order of a million, but could not possibly have all been able to cross the Saharan Desert, and that two hundred thousand Bedouins arriving to a country that is already inhabited by about ten million Imazighen is a more probable claim. He adds:

L' importance de l'apport du sang Arabe serait donc dans la proportion de 200.000 à 10.000.000, soit deux centièmes. 12

The importance of the Arab blood contribution would be then in the proportion of 200,000 over 10,000,000 that is to say 2/100. (my translation)

Lacoste, R (1969; 92) confirms this argument as follows:

Les groupes authentiquement "Arabes", qui venus d'Arabie se sont implantés en Afrique du Nord n'ont eu que des effectifs très restreints. Ceux que l'on dénomme "Arabes" au Maghreb ne sont en fait que des Berbères qui utilisent la langue Arabe, tout en conservant une grande partie de leurs caractères originaux.

12- Berthier, A (1951; 26). L'Algérie et son Passé . Picard. Paris.

The number of the authentic Arab groups who came from Arabia and settled down in North Africa were very small. Those who are called "Arabs" in the Maghreb are in fact Berbers using the Arabic language, while retaining a great part of their original characteristics. 13

(my translation)

6- The Turks (three centuries of regency)

The Turks, originating from Central Asia where they lived nomadically, had conquered the ancient lands of the Caliphs (Arabia, Syria, Iran, Egypt) at the beginning of the 16th century. They had destroyed the Byzantine empire seizing Constantinople in 1453 and their domination stretched into Europe as far as Hungary. They had converted to Islam and their sovereigns, the Sultans, gave themselves the title " Chief of the Believers".

In 1516, the Turks, thanks to their Barberousse brothers, Arouf and Kheir-Eddine, occupied Algiers then conquered the rest of the country which remained a Turkish regency until 1830. The population was a mixture of Arabs and Imazighen. The former lived mainly in the towns, while the latter lived in the rural and mountainous districts where they were able to maintain their own language and customs. While the soldiers were of Turkish origins, the Coulouglis kept control of the citadels and fortresses and ensured "peace" in the countryside.

According to Julien, A (1956), the diversity of language was almost as rich as the diversity of race. Turkish was the official language including that of the military and naval aristocracy. In addition to Arabic and Tamazight (spoken by the Arabs and Imazighen), the slaves, European merchants and newly arrived renegades used a lingua franca designed to practical communication and comprising words from Arabic, Spanish, Turkish, Italian, Portuguese and Provençal.

13- Lacoste, R (1969; 92) L'Afrique du Nord. Maspéro. Paris.

7- The French

The Algiers expedition which marked the beginning of the French conquest began as a simple operation directed against the Turkish Dey in July 1830. In fact, after the capture of Algiers and the departure of the Dey, the military campaign advanced into the coastal areas and then progressed inland. It became clear that it had become a war of conquest with the aim of establishing a colony of French settlers on land previously owned and cultivated by the Algerians themselves.

The settlers were mainly from Alsace-Lorraine whose land was now under German control and no longer wished to remain there, but with many also coming from around the Mediterranean including Italians and Spanish as well as French. The occupation immediately met armed resistance by the Algerian peoples.

For nearly twenty years, that resistance was spearheaded by the renowned figure of Emir Abdel-Kader. In 1832, at the age of 25, he was chosen to be the spiritual leader by his people in Mascara to lead the struggle against the French who were considered as infidels having invaded their country. It was the beginning of the Holy War.

After Abdel-Kader, the struggle was again taken up by El-Mokrani, hero of the Kabylia resistance who died fighting the French. The repression by the French was particularly severe and left a lasting impression in Kabylia; 450,000 hectares of their most fertile land was stolen by the French authorities and given to the settlers.

From this moment onward, the anti-colonial struggle was to be conducted along very different lines if the aim of liberation was to be achieved, which it was after more than a century (132 years) of struggle and one and a half million Algerians dead.

Colonial domination by the French meant that the Algerian people suffered worse social and political conditions than many in other countries. Algerians experienced a lower standard of living and had neither the same rights nor freedoms as the settlers. The French language was the only official language and the language taught at school. The very few Algerians who did go to school were taught solely in French, even at primary school. Every Algerian was considered as a French Muslim. Unlike Morocco and

Tunisia, Algeria was considered to be a part of metropolitan France.

As Spencer, W (1968; 7) put it:

The policy was “ la mission civilisatrice” which meant the application of “superior” French culture would improve Algerians by converting them into Frenchmen. 14

The overall aim of this mission to bring “civilisation” to Algeria was simply a plan to assimilate a people whose identity was rooted in a culture and civilisation which were fundamentally different to those of the occupying forces. Fortunately, after the independence of Algeria was secured, as Spencer, W (1968; 7) adds:

The French lawyers, teachers, technicians, engineers, managers and landowners who had once been granted the rare opportunity to build a truly biracial society, abandoned their land with little more than the pair of shoes worn by their ancestors. 15

Conclusion

Imazighen have throughout their history been subject to a succession of invasions by different people of different races including the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Turks and the French. This explains why their history, as presented in this chapter, is long and seems at times too difficult to understand.

These various invaders have left their mark on various domains, including the linguistic one, which is of particular importance to us here.

14-Spencer, W (1968; 7). The Land and People of Algeria. Lippinott Company. Philadelphia. USA.

15- Idem

The Tamazight language within its varieties (Taqbaylit, Tachenwit, Tachawit, Tamzabit and Tamacheq) has incorporated a substantial number of Latin, Turkish, Spanish, Arabic and French lexical terms.

Important to emphasise at this point is the fact that the Arabic civilisation has had by far the most important and lasting influence on Imazighen. For about thirteen centuries, Tamazight has been in contact with the Arabic language and this continuing linguistic contact is undoubtedly closer and more intense than any of the contacts Tamazight had in the previous periods with other languages, i.e. Punic and Latin.

According to Chaker, S (1991), Arabic is the sole non-indigenous language which was solidly implanted in the Maghreb. This might be attributed to the fact that it served as the linguistic vehicle for Islam, the new religion the Imazighen adopted, or simply to the fact that the Arabs have established strong ties with the Imazighen through marriages. These strong relations have never developed between Imazighen and the other invaders (Vandals, Romans and French) who showed nothing but scorn and contempt towards the natives. Gaid, M (1991) points out that during the Roman period, those Imazighen seeking Roman nationality would have to serve in the Roman army for about fifty years.

In the face of the languages of the different invaders of Algeria, Tamazight has beaten a continual retreat. The marginalisation of this language was started during the Punic period, reinforced during the Roman period, and eventually seen through by the Arab conquest and the islamisation of the Maghreb. With Islam, Arabic became not only the sacred language of religion, but the language of public, official life and of written culture, in contrast to the Tamazight language which was simply an oral rural code. After the arrival of the Arabs in the XIth century, Arabic started encroaching even on the rural domain of Tamazight. Chaker, S (1991; 33) pointed out that in less than five centuries, the progress of Arabic was such that Tamazight became a threatened language in Algeria and in the whole of the Maghreb. He claims that Tamazight had practically disappeared in the West of Algeria and in Tunisia by the time the Turks arrived at the beginning of the XVIth century.

The strong influence of Arabic on the different varieties of Tamazight is not limited to the lexical level but has extended, though less prominently, to the phonological and morpho-syntactic levels. According to Chaker, S (1984), the proportion of the Arabic lexicon in Kabyl is in the order of 38%.

Courtois, C (1964) states that the most certain index of a true conquest in the domain of civilisation is linguistic conversion. A people might be considered as being assimilated - to the extent that such a thing is possible - when it can be shown to have preferred the language of the dominant culture to their own language. The existence of the different present-day Tamazight varieties is a clear indication that the languages of the invaders have not completely triumphed. The linguistic conquest of the various invaders is therefore limited. Latin was no more capable than Arabic of eliminating Tamazight. Latin replaced Punic as a language of culture and was replaced in turn by Arabic. But throughout their history, the Imazighen have remained bilingual. Berthier, A (1951; 31) expressed this idea as follows:

A people that abandoned its language might seem like a people that has changed under foreign influences. A people that, in contrast, retains its language, notwithstanding invasions and passing civilisations, is a people that has not been eliminated and that has effectively protected itself against absorption attempts. 16

16- Berthier, A (1951), p 31.

3-3 LINGUISTIC SITUATION OF ALGERIA

3-3-1 MULTILINGUALISM

Algeria is a multiracial and multilingual society as the result of the numerous civilizations that settled on its lands in the past as seen in the chapter on history. Thus, among its population estimated at about 27 million according to the 1996 census, descendants of the native Imazighen, Turks, Arabs are found. Nowadays some people are Arabic speakers, others Tamazight speakers, others French speakers or multilingual.

The geography of the country has considerably influenced the linguistic diversity found in the country. Situated in the Mediterranean basin, Algeria faces several European countries including Spain, Portugal, Italy, and particularly France, which occupied the country for more than a century and left a language which is still used.

Algeria is also surrounded by Arab states: Morocco, Tunisia and Libya. Hence the importance of the Arabic language which links the twenty one countries of the Arab League of which Algeria is a member. In its broad sense, Algerian culture is expressed through several linguistic means: Arabic, Tamazight and French.

As in other Arab countries, several varieties of Arabic are used in Algeria ; Classical Arabic (CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and finally Algerian colloquial Arabic (AA) with varieties of the latter proper to each region.

(i) Classical or Literary Arabic (CA or LA)

The Maghreb was subject to the Arabic conquest on two main occasions, during the seventh century and eleventh century. The last one saw the arrival in the Maghreb of huge tribes speaking different varieties of Arabic. As it is often the case in such circumstances, one of these dialects, commonly known as Classical Arabic (CA) or Literary Arabic (LA), started to be used in literature, poetry and official documents but acquired maximum prestige once used as the language of the Qur'an.

The Algerian linguist Mazouni, A (1969; 21) states:

L'Arabe dit classique a d'abord été dialectal. Il a cessé de l'être peu à peu quand il a été pris en charge par les poètes, les orateurs, les grammariens, les lexicographes, les savants et lettrés de toutes disciplines. Tous ceux-là l'ont reçu comme disciples, puis enrichi et transmis comme maîtres de génération en génération. 17

The so-called Classical Arabic was basically a dialect initially. It gradually ceased to be a dialect when it was adopted by the scholars from various disciplines. Those scholars have acquired it as disciples, and then developed and transmitted it to subsequent generations in the capacity of masters.

(my translation)

Nowadays, CA remains the language of theology and the linguistic medium used in religious literature, poetry and official documents. The majority of Algerians do not understand it and only a small number of educated people can speak it. Moreover, it is important to point out that CA is not spoken as a mother tongue by any group of Arabic speakers in the Arab world. However, a special status is attributed to that variety of Arabic as a result of its association with the Qur'an. CA never changes and remains always the same. According to Mazouni (1969; 43) the use of the different regional dialects preserves classical Arabic from any linguistic evolution:

La langue classique s'est maintenue comme langue de haute culture pendant plus d'un millénaire, témoignant ainsi d'une résistance nulle autre pareille...En effet, les dialectes régionaux, seuls d'usage courant et populaire, préservaient le Classique, langue liturgique et littéraire, d'une contamination rapide par tous les éléments ambiants. 18

17- Mazouni, A (1969) Culture et Enseignement en Algérie et au Maghreb. Maspéro, Paris.

18- Mazouni, A, p 43.

CA was maintained as the language of high culture for more than a millennium, indicating the absence of any other evident resistance. In fact, the regional dialects, restricted to everyday and popular domains of use, had preserved CA, the language of liturgy and literature, from a rapid contamination by outside forces.

(my translation)

(ii) Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

This variety of Arabic language is known as standard Arabic because, as its label reveals, it is the standardised form of CA. It derives from CA but differs from it in that MSA exhibits a substantial amount of innovation on the lexical level to meet the demands of modern technology and science. In fact, this variety is partly influenced by French and sometimes English from which it borrows some words. For example:

الاتصالات الروتينية	(Arabic)
al ittisalat al rutiniya (h)	(phonetic transcription)
“routine contacts”	(English)
الضغط الهيدروليكي	(Arabic)
al daYt al hid ruliki	(phonetic transcription)
“hydraulic pressure”	(English)

Source : “Asharq al Awsat” newspaper
July 20th 1991, p.1.

MSA is the language commonly used on television, radio, in some newspapers, novels, literary magazines, modern plays and at school. Generally, politicians, in their attempt to sound serious and formal, use MSA in their speech. Like CA, MSA is not the mother tongue of any group of people

in Algeria. However its status is high because it is mainly used by educated people. Le Tourneau, R (1962; 46), a French historian of Arabic, states that the differences between CA and MSA are increasing gradually because MSA imitates very often European literary style whereas CA is immutable. He explains it as follows:

Cette langue (MSA) a conservé intacte la morphologie et la syntaxe de l'Arabe classique mais son vocabulaire, rempli de mots étrangers (Anglais, Français) ou de mots Arabes dont l'acceptation a changé et surtout ses tournures de phrases souvent calquées sur des tournures du style journalistique ou littéraire Européen, en font un moyen d'expression qui se différencie de plus en plus de l'Arabe classique. 19

MSA preserved the morphology and syntax of CA intact, but its vocabulary, which has admitted foreign words (from English and French) or Arabic words with modified semantics, and, most of all, its phrasal construction, often a calque of turns of European journalistic or literary style, have made it a mode of expression that is becoming increasingly different from Classical Arabic. 19

(my translation)

(iii) Algerian Arabic (AA)

AA is a very simplified form of CA and differs from it on many levels morpho-phonological, grammatical and lexical. In addition to many other grammatical features, AA is generally characterized by an elimination of all inflectional endings, including gender markers, plural markers and others.

19- Le Tourneau, R (1962). La langue Arabe. Maspéro. Paris. p 46.

For example:

ليلى بنت جميلة	(CA)
[layla bintun jāmīlatun]	(phonetic transcription)
[layla tofla abba]	(Bgayeth AA)
ليلى طفل شاب	
pretty girl Leila	
Leila is a pretty girl	(English)

We can notice from the above example that sometimes lexemes are different in CA and AA. Here, different words are used to refer to “girl” and “pretty”.

AA has borrowed a large amount of foreign words: Latin, Turkish, Spanish, and French. Unlike CA which is mainly written (though sometimes spoken in mosques and at court), AA is generally used orally. It is not attested in any written form and depends for its survival purely on everyday use among Algerian Arabic speakers.

During the French occupation of Algeria, AA was taught as a second language in secondary schools. In fact, the teaching of AA at school at that time met the needs of the French colonizer

s' children who could not understand it. The Algerians themselves did not learn it since it was their mother tongue. Arabic letters were used to write AA at school for the purpose of learning the language but nowadays Latin characters are preferred as in the illustration of animated cartoons. This is not, however, extended to more serious situations.

After the independence of the country, the teaching of AA was stopped because the language was regarded as an “impure” dialect compared to CA and MSA. In fact, AA which is understood and used by the majority of people in Algeria (educated and non-educated) provides a lingua franca for all Algerians, including the native Tamazight-speaking populations which are generally bilingual (Arabic and Tamazight speakers).

Mazouni, A (1962; 20) asserts that any Algerian who does not know AA or knows it slightly, such as some Kabyls living in mountains of Kabylia cannot communicate properly with the majority of Algerians.

L'Arabe dialectal est de toute évidence au premier rang de nos spécificités linguistiques. Quiconque ignore l'Arabe dialectal, ou le sait à peine, est privé de contact direct, immédiat, intime avec l'ensemble de notre peuple. 20

Algerian Arabic is obviously the most important component of our linguistic repertoire. Whoever ignores Colloquial Algerian Arabic, or knows it in a minimal manner, would be deprived from direct, immediate and intimate contact with the majority of our people.

(my translation)

Different varieties of Algerian Arabic can be identified depending on the regions where they are used: Algiers, Wahran, Tlemcen, Jijel, Biskra or others.

Bgayeth Arabic, for instance, contains Kabyl terms because of the influence of Kabyl on the variety of Arabic spoken in Bgayeth. For example :

[mazluba] meaning "plate" comes from the Kabyl term: [Itamazlub^θ]

In Wahran town, AA has incorporated a great number of Spanish names due to Spanish immigration in Algeria in 1931.

For example: "roda" [roda] meaning "wheel"

"Kamissa" [kamisa] meaning "shirt"

Generally, the speakers of the different varieties of AA can understand each other without difficulty because the differences between them are minimal. Yet, the divergences attested between CA and AA are of great importance and the numerous differences between them are considered as typical of **Diglossia**. This linguistic phenomenon is described by linguists (Breton, 1976) for instance as a sociolinguistic "divorce" between two varieties of the

same language, the High and the Low forms.

Accordingly, MSA is used in formal situations (generally conveying scientific knowledge) by a minority of educated people who acquire the language through formal means of learning, such as at school. On the other hand, AA, the majority language, is the sole language of uneducated Algerians who acquire and use it at home, in the shops and streets. i.e., in informal situations.

The Arabic speaking countries are given as a good example of a diglossic situation. Fergusson (1959) compares the two versions of Arabic (MSA and AA) to the two versions of modern Greek: Katharevousa regarded as the "pure" form and Demotiki, the popular language, or the two forms of Bengali or Javanese.

The following examples illustrate some of the linguistic contrasts between the High and the Low varieties of the Arabic language in Algeria.

MSA (High form)	AA (Low form)
<p>ضعي الصحن على الطاولة (MSA)</p> <p>[daʕi al ʂahna ʔalā al ʔawila]</p>	<p>حط الطيس فطبل (Bgayeth AA)</p> <p>[hett tɔbsi fəttabla]</p>
<p>"Put the plate on the table" (English)</p>	

As can be seen from the above discussion, the differences between CA, MSA and AA are important enough to create sometimes problems of misunderstanding between their users, especially those from different educational backgrounds. However, the different varieties of Arabic are used within functional domains that are in complementary distribution.

Even though CA is rarely spoken, it remains the language of Islam which is understood by all muslims in the world. It is also a precious means of communication between Arabs of different countries who cannot communicate efficiently by the use of their own regional dialects of Arabic.

MSA, on the other hand, is the language used in all Arabic literature (novels, plays) and consequently accessible to all scholars and educated people of the Arab world.

Finally, AA, the lingua franca within Algeria, unites the majority of Algerians since it is either the mother tongue of Algerian Arabic speakers or the second language for the different Imazighen groups.

2- TAMAZIGHT

Tamazight, commonly known as “Berber”, is the indigenous language of North Africa. Before the Phoenicians, the first invaders in North Africa, settled in the Maghreb, Tamazight was spoken throughout the whole area but after the successive invasions of the Romans, Vandals, Turks, Arabs and French, the number of Tamazight speakers diminished gradually because they mainly used the language of the dominant culture. The assimilation policy used by the conquerors compelled Imazighen to adopt several foreign languages instead of their own in official domains, i.e., in administration, at court and in education.

Discussing this phenomenon, Redjala, M (1973; 28) states:

Aussi loin que l'histoire nous permet de remonter dans le passé de l'Algérie, plus précisément de ce qui est aujourd'hui l'Algérie, nous trouvons ses habitants très tôt contraints de s'adapter à une ou deux langues étrangères et de s'adapter à une sorte de coexistence linguistique. Mais le conquérant imposait toujours son mode d'expression dans le domaine administratif, comme dans celui des sciences et des arts. 21

As far as history can allow us to go back in the past of Algeria and, more precisely, to what make contemporary Algeria, we find that the inhabitants were forced from very early times to adapt themselves to one or two foreign languages and to a kind of linguistic coexistence. But the invader had always imposed its language in the administrative domain as well as that of sciences and arts.

(my translation)

21- Redjala, M (1973) Remarques sur les problèmes linguistiques en Algérie dans L'Homme et la Société. p 28.

Unlike the Gaelic speakers, the number of Tamazight speakers in Algeria (even in the whole Maghreb) cannot be estimated precisely because no serious linguistic census has been carried out so far. According to Basset, A (1952), Imazighen in Algeria account for 1/3 of the population. According to Chaker, S (1989), the percentage of 25 to 30% given by the French during the occupation of the country is overestimated, whereas the percentage of 17.8 given by the Algerian census in 1966 is well below the real number. The following census of 1976 did not include Tamazight speakers at all. Finally, Chaker, S (1989; 9) attests that the number of Tamazight speakers in Algeria is, at least, 20% of the whole population:

En tout état de cause, on peut admettre que l'ensemble des berbérophones doit représenter un pourcentage minimum de 20% de la population Algérienne. Selon les premières estimations du recensement de 1977, l'Algérie comptait 18.250.000 habitants au 1er Janvier 1978, ce qui mène à un total de 3.650.000 berbérophones à cette date (1984). 22

Anyway, we might admit that Tamazight speakers represent a minimum percentage of 20% of the Algerian population. According to the first estimations of the 1977 census, Algeria has 18,250,000 inhabitants, which implies a total of 3,650,000 Amazighophones in 1984.

(my translation)

Nowadays, the different Imazighen groups are scattered throughout the country. Some of them are very small, such as the Tuaregs in the extreme south of the Sahara, but others are more numerous such as the Kabyls, the Shawiyas, the Mozabites which, according to Chaker, S (1989) represent 95% of the whole Tamazight speaking population. In Algeria, the Kabyls are numerically more important and concentrated in two large regions: Higher and Lower Kabylia.

As can be noticed, the Tamazight speaking populations are geographically isolated from each other and tend to evolve differently as a result of their dislocation which is noticed on many

22- Chaker, S (1989; 9) Imazighen Assa. L'Harmattan. Paris.

levels: geographical, social (lack of exchange between each other) and political (Arabization policy).

Like their speakers, the different varieties of Tamazight have evolved differently. Although the syntax remains the same in all these varieties, the lexis changes considerably from one region to another. It is only natural that the different Imazighen groups, living in quite different regions (mountains such as Higher Kabylia), seaside (for Bgayeth in Lower Kabylia), oases (M'Zab) and Sahara (Tassili N'Ajjer and Hoggar) should develop different vocabularies. For example, the Kabyls living in mountainous regions, Djurdjura for instance, possess in their language a great number of words referring to wild flowers whereas the Tuaregs in the Sahara know only few because in the desert area, vegetation is rare. Conversely, the vocabulary describing the different qualities of dates in the oases of M'zab is much more restricted in Kabyl language, since palm trees do not grow in Kabylia.

Tamazight in Algeria is the mother tongue of Imazighen in the same way as AA is to Algerian Arabic speakers. Outside their regions, Tamazight speakers switch from one language to another depending on situations and circumstances. One variety of Tamazight is used at home but in the street, shop and their offices, Imazighen speak AA, the lingua franca accessible and comprehensible to the overwhelming majority of people. French is sometimes used as well by educated people.

As can be seen, the different varieties of Tamazight preserve their orality and survival mainly by daily intercourse among native Imazighen living outside their region. From the linguistic point of view, Tamazight will be fully described in section 7.1.

3- FRENCH

Of the Arab countries, Algeria and Lebanon are those where the French language is most deeply rooted. Algeria has been in contact with the western world since the Roman epoch, but the most important factor which influenced the linguistic situation in Algeria

was the French occupation which lasted 132 years, from 1830 to 1962.

During the long period of French occupation, a policy of strong settlement and intensive cultural and linguistic assimilation was imposed.

In Morocco and Tunisia, the French policy was not as heavy-handed as in Algeria since the French protectorate in these two countries was superimposed on their sultanates, whereas in Algeria, the French settled as colonizers and wanted to systematically destroy the nation's personality. Accordingly, they denigrated the Arabic culture and language and imposed French as the only official language in the country and as the only language used in the administration, media and in education. The influence of French culture and language which resulted from the colonial conquest is strongly felt in Algeria. As Mazouni, A (1973) attested, the decolonisation of mind and consciousness is far slower than that of lands and political life. At present, thirty five years after independence, French is still used in the country. According to Mazouni, A, in 1969, 20% of the Algerian population could read and write French, and the remaining majority, i.e., 80% could understand the language and speak it.

The aim of the Algerian policy which started in 1962-63 was to Arabize everything which was not yet Arabized or was not efficiently Arabized. Obviously, as this policy could not displace the knowledge of the French language which Algerians acquired for 132 years, Arabic-French bilingualism was consequently adopted in the media, administration and in education.

After the independence of Algeria, there was a clear need to retain French, at least temporarily, as the medium in certain areas of education, especially in the teaching of scientific disciplines: Medicine, Chemistry, Physics and others. Algeria was confronted with the task of introducing language reforms fostering an Arabic identity through Arabization while also aiming for industrialisation and modernisation.

French is sometimes used as a "link language", i.e., as a medium between Algerian Arabic speakers and Tamazight speakers,

especially when the conversation involves a scientific topic and the need for French technical terms is inevitable. 132 years of French colonization had produced an Algerian French elite which likes to use French even at home. But their number is currently decreasing because of the importance of MSA in a large number of domains: entertainment, media and in education.

4- ENGLISH

English is not much used in Algeria in daily life and should not normally be included in the Algerian linguistic repertoire. However, it is necessary to explain its status in the country because it has been taught since 1995 in some primary schools, instead of French, according to the wishes of the children's parents.

Nowadays, more and more young people are willing to learn English. French is undoubtedly the first foreign language in Algeria, but English, as an international language of business, trade and technology is gradually replacing it. Scarfi, H (1991) in his article *towards a global language* he states that:

about 80% of the data stored on the world's computers is believed to be in English. 23

In secondary schools, English is taught six hours per week in contrast to three hours per week for French. It seems that parents understand that insufficient knowledge of English can be a handicap for their children in their studies later on or as businessmen especially if they wish to trade with the English-speaking countries. In 1989, some Algerian educational researchers suggested that English should be introduced in school as the first foreign language. They thought that English would be more useful for their children than French. These new proposals did not impress many Algerians and raised a number of questions particularly among parents:

23- Scarfi, H (1991). Towards a global language in The Times Educational Supplement. p 4.

"What will happen to our children if they cannot read and write French, the language which is still used in their daily life?"

"Without any Knowledge of English, how can we help our children with their homework ?"

It is obvious that some Algerians are deeply impregnated with French culture which they want to transmit to their children, even if the majority of them agree that English will eventually prove to be more useful for their children.

In a classification of multilingual situations based on sociolinguistic criteria, Stewart, W.A (1968) divides languages into types by the presence of absence of four attributes:

1) standardization, 2) autonomy, 3) historicity, and 4) vitality.

The attributes of the types of languages in current use in Algeria is summarized in the table below :

Table 3.3.1: Language attributes in Algeria

Attributes*				Variety-type	Symbol	
1	2	3	4			
+	+	+	+	Standard	MSA- F	
-	+	+	+	Vernacular	T	
-	-	+	+	Dialect	AA - T varieties	
+	+	+	-	Classical	CA	
*1=standardization,				2=autonomy,	3= historicity,	4= vitality

Source: Fishman, J.A.(1972) Sociolinguistics - a brief introduction.
Newsbury House. Massachusetts. USA, p 28.

As can be seen, each of the different languages spoken within the linguistic situation in Algeria is assigned a particular status, depending on the functional domains it is used in and the social background of the speakers who make use of it.

Conclusion:

The linguistic situation in Algeria is significantly complex and further research is needed to explore and understand it. However, as can be noticed from the outset, the two mother tongues, i.e., AA and Tamazight spoken natively in the country are generally assigned a low status. Tamazight started to be taught as a subject in some secondary schools. On the other hand CA and MSA, being the languages of religion and education respectively, are highly venerated and taught intensively, from the primary to higher school. Finally, French is still appreciated by a minority group of Algerians who considers the language as the medium of "modernity" and social advancement despite the existence and the use of English, the international language whose use in the areas of technology, business and trade is wider than that of French.

3-3-2 WHAT IS BILINGUALISM?

1- The Monolingual Myth

Linguistic pluralism is the norm rather than the exception among the nations of the world. Despite some government's claims, homogenous countries, such as Saudi Arabia, are rare. Generally, government policy on official language recognition does not reveal the real internal linguistic situation and the multicoloured tapestry of tongues woven by the minority indigenous and immigrant ethnic groups. That is why it is very common to find countries the governments of which behave as if these countries were homogenous.

As can be noticed, countries adopting a unitary policy do not recognise minority languages used within their territorial boundaries, even when these are spoken natively by a significant number of people. Canada for instance, in addition to English and French, has numerous Indian and Eskimo languages within its borders as well as a substantial population of immigrants who maintain their own languages to one degree or another.

Similarly, as Fasold, R (1984;1) points out in his book: *The sociolinguistics of Society* :

The United States are not so monolingual as is sometimes thought; there are three major Spanish speaking populations, Puerto Ricans, Cuban immigrants and Chicanos. There are also speakers of native American languages and Asian languages, due to earlier and recent immigration. 24

In India, one of the most heavily populated countries in the world, more than one thousand living languages are used everyday in

24- Fasold, R (1984;1) The sociolinguistics of Society, Blackwell. Oxford. England.

addition to English and Hindi. Among them, only eighteen indigenous languages are officially recognised. In Africa, the USA, France, Germany, Japan, there are large indigenous communities which daily use languages other than the official one. In Tanzania, about one hundred and thirty five linguistic units are identified as distinct languages by their speakers. Likewise in Cameroun where French and English are the two official languages in the country, about two hundred ethnic groups speak a different language. As can be seen, a large number of countries in the world are so linguistically diverse that it is common for immigrant and ethnic minority children to be able to speak more than one language when they start school. This is also the case of a great number of children born in Britain who grow up using more than one language (Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, Gujarati, Chinese, German, Polish, Italian, Greek, Spanish, Cantonese and others) as their mother tongue, in addition to English. But given the low status given to their language and the higher status accredited to the English language, these children struggle hard to maintain their original language. This phenomenon is further unacceptable in situations and countries where the mother tongue of the children happens to be a native language such as Gaelic in Scotland or Tamazight in Algeria. But this is not an exception to these countries since, as Skutnabb-Kangas, T (1981; 70) points out:

It may easily be seen that many languages have a very restricted official status or often none at all. The number of officially bilingual countries is growing fairly rapidly. But still there are many minorities who have no chance of using their mother tongue if they want to take any part in the life of the larger community on equal terms with the linguistic majority. 25

25- Skutnabb-Kangas, T (1981; 70) Bilingualism or Not; the Education of Minorities. Multilingual Matters. Clevedon. Avon.

2-What is Bilingualism?

Bilingualism is a complex phenomenon which requires a multidisciplinary analysis. There is no one single correct definition of bilingualism but there seems to be as many definitions as the number of scholars investigating it. In different social settings, every researcher uses the kind of definition which best suits his own field of enquiry and research aims. In his book *Biculturalisme, Bilingualisme et Education* Fitouri, C (1983; 115) explains the complexity of definition as follows:

Toute recherche sur le bilinguisme s'affronte à une difficulté qui est celle de la définition même du bilinguisme. Cette difficulté est à la source non seulement de la multiplicité des approches, mais aussi de la confusion qui frappe certaines d'entre elles et qui, à notre sens, est le plus souvent imputable au fait que le discours explicite porte sur le bilinguisme entendu en tant que phénomène linguistique, alors que la toile de fond qui lui donne tout son relief est tissée de composantes sociales, culturelles, politiques, économiques, psychologiques, religieuses etc. qui confèrent à chaque situation bilingue particulière sa tonalité propre et ses caractères spécifiques. 26

All research on bilingualism is confronted with the difficulty of how best to define it. This difficulty can be explained by the fact that different approaches have been used for that purpose and some of these still remain ambiguous. From our point of view, the main reason for that confusion emerges from the fact that the explicit definition of bilingualism refers to linguistic background only whereas different factors (social, cultural, political, economical, psychological, religious and others) contribute to its existence. That is why each bilingual situation is unique within its particular vitality and specific characteristics.

26- Fitouri, C (1983) *Biculturalisme, Bilingualisme et Education*. Delachaux et Niestlé. Neuchâtel. Paris. p 115.

Researchers studying bilingualism use different criteria that best serves their interests. Linguists and sociologists are more interested in bilingual individuals. The linguistic's research interest is more often directed towards the linguistic competence of the bilinguals, the way bilinguals master their two languages. Sociologists, on the other hand, study what one does with the two distinct languages and what they are used for. They define bilingualism in terms of the function the languages fulfill for the bilingual individual or in a bilingual community. Sociologists are also interested in the way in which the speaker and the people among whom he lives react to the two languages. Sometimes two aspects of bilingualism such as competence and function are combined. These aspects will be developed further in this work.

Mackey, W (1969) has classified the various points of view about bilingualism with reference to their being described by category, dichotomy and scale.

By category, bilingualism has been described as follows:

a- according to proficiency such as balanced bilingualism, perfect or complete bilingualism, partial bilingualism, incipient bilingualism.

b- It has also been described according to function, for example home bilingualism, school bilingualism, street bilingualism, folk bilingualism, and other types.

c- Bilingualism has also been described in terms of dichotomies such as stable versus unstable, individual versus national, balanced versus unbalanced, coordinate versus compound, folk versus elitist and so on.

Some well established sociolinguistic models relevant to this study need to be explained below:

Definition by competence

Chomsky, N (1965) saw competence as the speaker's knowledge of his/her own language and distinguished this from performance which is the use of the language in the society.

Definition by competence are many and varied, but three main types can be distinguished.

2-1 Balanced bilingualism

This is practiced by children who are born in a family where two languages are in everyday use. Children possessing nativelike ability in two different languages can be found in speakers of both French and English in Canada, Welsh and English in Wales, Urdu and Scots in Scotland, Catalan and Spanish in Barcelona. They have learnt the language through social interactions not from school.

2-2 Bilingualism with minimal qualifications

In diverse multilingual countries in America, Europe, Asia and Africa, it is a commonplace for people - adults and children - to become bilingual or multilingual, even without schooling. Social pressure motivates them to learn a second language in order to communicate with the people that matter to them in their environment and they thus become bilingual. For instance, it is quite possible to describe an individual in Scotland as being bilingual if he/she can master English very well whereas he/she can only understand or speak Gaelic without knowing how to read and write the language. Likewise in Algeria, speakers of Tamazight who have a full mastery of Arabic are numerous and can be regarded as bilingual even though the majority of them do not know yet how to read and write their language; since Tamazight started to be taught only recently at an experimental level.

2-3 Bilingualism as the practice of two languages whatever the competence in the two distinct languages.

A neutral definition of bilingualism is suggested by Weinreich, U (1979) which states that bilingualism is "the practice of alternatively using two languages" in different social contexts and in different domains as is required. For instance Gaelic in the

Western Isles and Kabyl in Kabylia are used by the minority group at home and with friends whereas the dominant languages are used in a larger extent in administration, education, in the media and in religion.

Conclusion

The definitions of bilingualism by competence used by different researchers can range from "knowledge of the elements of two languages" at one extreme to "mastery of two languages at mother tongue level" at the other extreme. One can add, as Hornby, P.A (1977; 54) claims :

Bilingualism is not an all-or-none property but is an individual characteristic that may exist to degrees varying from minimal competency to complete mastery of more than one language. 27

3- Bilingualism of children from linguistic minorities

Bilingualism has been discussed as a phenomenon in a society and as a characteristic of an individual. Skutnabb-Kangas, T (1981) divides the bilinguals of the world into several groups. Each group brings a distinct kind of pressure to bear on children to make them bilingual and the consequences they might face if their bilingualism is not properly achieved.

These groups are:

- 1- Elite bilinguals
- 2- Children from bilingual families
- 3- Children from linguistic majorities
- 4- Children from linguistic minorities.

In this study, interest is directed towards bilingualism of children from linguistic minorities.

27- Hornby, P. A (1977; 54) Bilingualism; Psychological, Social and Educational implications. London Academic Press. London.

Unlike linguistic majority children whose mother tongue corresponds to the dominant language, children from linguistic minorities - indigenous and immigrant - are forced to learn well the language of the larger community in addition to their own. Though they have not chosen themselves to become bilingual, bilingual children need to learn the official language to survive and to communicate with the majority people who generally ignore the minority language.

In addition to the external social pressure children from linguistic minorities are also subject to pressure from their own parents who push them to become bilingual as soon as possible. This is to ensure that the risk of failing in the attempt to become bilingual is greater for minority children than it is for the children of any of the other categories and the consequences of failure may be catastrophic.

One can conclude as Skutnabb-Kangas, T (1981; 80) points out :

The majority of the world's bilinguals belong to the category of those who are obliged by circumstances to become bilingual. That should be kept in mind as a starting point in every discussion of bilingualism. 28

The bilingual situation where minority children find themselves is known as folk bilingualism. It has been described in such terms in contrast to elitist bilingualism. If in the elitist situation, the learning of the second language depends on the will and people's choice, folk bilingualism develops in a situation when an ethnic linguistic minority, indigenous or immigrant, has been forced to learn the dominant language in practical contact with people who speak it and to become bilingual to survive economically and socially. Some examples are the folk bilingualism Gaelic-English,

28 - Skutnabb-Kangas, T (1981), p 5.

Breton-French, Basque-Spanish, and Tamazight-Arabic in Algeria. As Paulston, B (1977b; 35) points out:

if Elitist bilingualism has never been a problem,
Folk bilingualism is connected with many
educational difficulties. 29

During a seminar on bilingualism which took place on 29th February 1997 at the Department of Education of the University of Glasgow, Grant, N, explained that the main sociolinguistic factors that account for educational difficulties associated with Folk bilingualism are those arising from attitudes of both parents and pupils, the prestige assigned to the bilingual' s two languages, the functional usage of the two languages within a certain social context, the discrimination and negative stereotyping against minority language groups, discouraging attitudes shown by school authorities and society towards minority languages, the self image of minority language children in relation to his/her language and parents' literacy levels. As a result of wrongly organized teaching, many bilingual children belonging to minority groups failed to develop adequate literacy skills in their first language and many such children are known to have experienced academic and emotional difficulties at school. This is not so much due to the fact that they are bilingual but rather because of the bad treatment and negative attitudes they receive at school and being aggressive against their personal identities.

4-Biculturalism

Bilingualism in a given society supposes the existence of two different cultures belonging to two different communities. Generally biculturalism develops in an original situation where two cultures (including two languages) are in close contact.

29- Paulston, B (1977b; 35) Language planning and language education. George Allen & Unwin. London.

Thus biculturalism requires double culture. However, as Fitouri, C (1983) points out, this necessary condition is not sufficient by itself. As can be noticed, in some multilingual countries such as Switzerland, Belgium and Canada, the coexistence of the different languages and cultures enjoying equal status has rarely contributed to the emergence of a category of native people which realized the amalgam or the synthesis of cultures in contact. As a result, biculturalism in those countries is limited to bilingualism of institutions taking into account the fact that biculturalism comprises bilingualism. The apparent influences between the two distinct languages (borrowing of words from one language to another) and cultures are found particularly in geographical areas near the frontiers in the countries mentioned above. However, they rarely reach the stage where they can deeply modify the intimate nature of the two languages and cultures in contact.

As Fitouri, C (1983) adds, the relationship between language and culture is one of the most difficult relationships to define. It is commonly admitted that language is at the same time a component of culture and the privileged form of expression of that culture. However, one has to explain which of the two concepts language/culture has to be regarded as being primordial to another. In other words, one has to make clear whether the access of a given culture necessarily implies the possession of the corresponding language or if the acquisition of a particular language gives automatically access to the corresponding culture. In an attempt to answer that question, Weinreich, U (1970) claims that if linguistic communication is limited to the frontiers of linguistic communities, there would be as many different languages as there are different cultures that can be found in humanity. Obviously, this is not the case since it is perfectly possible to enjoy music, art, food and other aspects of any foreign culture without any knowledge of the corresponding language. However, not all scholars agree with this idea. Béziers.

M, and Van Overbeken (1968) for instance claim that mastering a second language means at the same time penetrating another universe, to become integrated into another community, to get used to another way to perceive the world and to express oneself. Thus for some educationalists, bilingualism implies necessarily biculturalism. However this point of view is arguable since, as can be noticed in some situations, the possession of a second language does not automatically give access to a second culture neither does it allow effective communication with the members of the community making use of that language.

Likewise, the teaching of a second modern language in school, even if it is sometimes accompanied with an initiation of the corresponding culture, rarely allows full access to that culture.

For children of immigrant and indigenous linguistic minority groups, the acquisition of the second language takes place in its social environment, in a milieu which forces them to become bilingual for the reasons explained earlier on page 152-153.

As Fitouri, C (1983) points out, if those children become bilingual early in their life, their mental development takes place at the same time as their linguistic ability in the two languages, mother tongue and dominant language, evolves. Thus for children living in a bilingual situation and in an environment where bilingualism is practised everyday, bilingualism means necessarily biculturalism since the second language is acquired within its natural social milieu, a milieu which is not charged only in the verbal sense but also emotive and cultural significance.

This point of view is shared by several specialists in bilingualism. Among them, Mackey, W.F (1976; 386) who explains the situation of perfect bilinguals as follows:

En devenant membre d'une communauté linguistique, le bilingue apprend à structurer sa pensée, son système de valeurs, ses expériences et ses attitudes pour se conformer au système culturel du groupe dans lequel il veut s'intégrer. Il utilise l'autre langue pour réorganiser la

conception de la réalité et pour refaçonner son visage de l'univers. 30

While becoming a member of a linguistic community, the bilingual individual learns how to structure his thoughts, his system of values, his experiences and his behaviour. This is to conform to the cultural system of the group into which he wants to integrate himself. He uses their language to reorganize the conception of the world and reshape the universe.

(my translation)

In the case of linguistic minority groups, it is quite possible for individuals to identify themselves with two languages and two cultures or parts of them. A number of investigations conducted in different parts of the world have shown that there are a great number of bilingual individuals who identify themselves with both their languages and cultures and who prefer alternatives which confirm their double identities.

As reported by Skutnabb Kangas, T (1981; 34) the writer Antti Jalava is a case in point. While referring to his Finnish and Swedish bilingualism, she states:

People sometimes wonder which of my two languages feels most natural and most genuine Finnish or Swedish? Finnish of course and Swedish. Both languages enrich and presuppose one another; to take away one would be to take away part of my life. 31

Conversely, attitudes of the bilingual individuals towards their two distinct languages might differ. There may be attitudinal variations between each language and a cultural duality may arise. People from linguistic minority groups for instance might identify themselves as belonging to one group instead of another.

30- Mackey, W.F (1976; 386) Bilinguisme et contact des langues. Klincksieck. Paris.

31-Skutnabb Kangas, T(1981), p. 34

For example, those few parents who for ideological reasons want to dissociate themselves from their own group or who are under particularly strong social pressure to assimilate. Not being fully aware of the importance of preserving their mother tongue, such parents give priority to the majority language at the expense of their own mother tongue. According to Taylor, D.M (1977), inequality in intergroup relations leads to threats to ethnic identity and this in turn, influences the motivation whether to become bilingual and bicultural or not. There is evidence that many minority groups, such as Gaels, Bretons, Irish, Welsh and Imazighen decline to speak their mother tongue so as to avoid the negative associations of a minority culture in a majority one and also in conformity to a prestigious and dominant language setting.

Conclusion

As explained above, bilingualism does not imply necessarily biculturalism. Although they may frequently develop together, they can also occur separately. However, in the case of linguistic minority children, the acquisition of two languages in a bilingual and natural situation does reflect interaction and knowledge of the relevant cultures.

5- The Bilingual benefit

One of the main problems with a unilingual perspective in a multilingual society is that bilingualism is perceived to be inherently problematic for individuals and for the society. Some educationalists and parents who are against the opening of bilingual schools agree that the main disadvantage of bilingualism comes from the biculturalism it creates, especially when the two cultures in question are contrasted. In those situations, one can think that bilingualism accompanied with biculturalism originates problems of identity but in fact it is the

confrontation of values carried by the two contrasted cultures which sometimes disconcert bilingual children while they are building up their identity references. This usually happens when parents and the environment did not give children the necessary coherent sign posting of identification to be integrated by children. Apart from that, bilingualism is a source of enrichment. In the past, bilingualism was also seen as a deviation from the norm. Theories explaining the failure of children from minority groups to succeed in the educational system of the dominant language had persisted over centuries. Those theories claimed that there is a limited place in the human brain to store information on language and any attempt to pack in more than one language would burden the linguistic performance of a child. Labels such as "linguistic handicap", "linguistic interference", "linguistic mismatch", "language confusion", "language load" and "burden of bilingualism" have been used to describe the problems children from minority groups meet when learning their second language. Although concepts such as these may prove to be helpful in understanding the obstacles to language learning in the short term, somehow they have come to be regarded as permanent features of bilingual development. Accordingly, Cummins, J (1981; 7) describes this situation as follows:

In the past many students from minority backgrounds have experienced difficulties in school and have performed worse than monolingual children on verbal IQ. These findings led researchers in the period between 1920 and 1960 to speculate that bilingualism caused language handicaps and cognitive confusion among children. 32

32- Cummins, J (1981; 7) Understanding Language acquisition and Bilingualism in *Another Window on the World*. HTV Wales. Cardiff.

From this point of view, bilingualism acquired a doubtful reputation among educators in the early part of this century and many schools redoubled their efforts to eradicate minority child's first language on the grounds that this language was the source of children's academic difficulties.

It was only recently that educational psychologists have started to regard bilingualism as an advantage and even as a privilege. They began to question the "transfer theory" which holds that the study of the mother tongue necessarily implies gaining the ability to learn another language with less effort. The numerous works conducted to test the ability of children in their bilingualism have shown that not only the study of two languages at an early age does not negatively affect children's mental faculties - this is asserted by children from mixed parents - but also that the monoglot children acquiring a second language very young are in advance as regards their capacity of abstraction. Cummins, J (1981; 7) develops this idea as follows:

More recent studies show that far from being a negative force in children's personal and academic development, bilingualism can positively affect both intellectual and linguistic progress. Bilingual children have been found to exhibit a greater sensitivity to linguistic meanings and to be more flexible in their thinking. 33

Experience in countries where two languages are taught and used in schools suggests that for children educated with two languages, progress is equal to or even better than education in one language only. For example, as reported by Cummins, the results of examinations in schools using both Welsh and English are consistently superior to the national average. In those studies conducted since the early 1960's an important characteristic of bilingual children is that they had developed an **additive** form of

33- Cummins, J (1981; 7) Understanding language acquisition and Bilingualism in the anonymous booklet *Another Window on the World*. HTV Wales. Cardiff.

bilingualism; that means they had added a second language to their repertory of skills without affecting the development of their first language. As Grant, N. reported during a seminar on bilingualism (February 29th 1992) held at Glasgow University, several studies of bilingualism such as those conducted by Peal and Lambert concerning French-English bilinguals in Montreal in 1962, Lidke and Nelson dealing with pre-school age bilinguals in Western Canada in 1968, Cummins and Gulustan in Western Canada in 1974, Balkan in Switzerland in 1970, and Lanco-Worrall with Afrikaans-English bilinguals in south Africa in 1972, all presented evidence to show that on measures such as verbal and non-verbal intelligence, formation of concept, cognitive flexibility, originality of verbal expression and operational thinking, bilingual learners outperformed monolingual learners.

Conversely, according to Lambert (1967) an **additive** bilingual situation is where the addition of a second language and culture are unlikely to replace or displace the first language and culture. For example the English speaking Canadians who learn a second language, French, will not lose their English but gain another language and parts of its attendant culture. The value **added** benefits may not only be linguistic and cultural, but social and economic as well. Consequently positive attitudes to bilingualism may develop. It is also true that the learning of a majority second language could undermine an individual's minority first language and culture. This will lead to a subtractive situation. For example, an immigrant may find pressure to use the dominant language and feel embarrassed to speak his mother tongue.

In cases in which the second language happens to be powerful and prestigious being exclusively used in the job market and education and the minority language regarded as inferior and of low status, stable bilingualism might be under threat. Instead of **addition** there will be **subtraction** and a subtractive bilingualism may arise among minority children who generally

attain a high level of both fluency and literacy in their two languages tend to come from majority language groups whose first language was strongly supported in their own community (e.g., English-speakers in French Canadian immersion programmes) or from minority groups whose first languages had been reinforced by bilingual programmes in the school.

However, for pupils speaking a minority language to reach a high degree of proficiency of both languages would appear to be largely dependent to the extent they are able to develop their ability in their first language. Failing to develop conceptual skills in their mother tongue, children from minority group will not have the proper foundation upon which to build their second-language skills.

Conclusion

Bilingualism has in the past been considered either as an advantage or a disadvantage in a given society in accordance with how that society regards the bilingual minority group. How a society regards a certain group depends on the socio-economic status of the linguistic community and its ethnic origin. National bureaucracies currently tend to consider both bilingualism and, indeed, multilingualism as rather a nuisance and give minimal and reluctant response to stated government policies. Evidence that bilingualism and positive performance in early childhood can be correlated, does not seem to alter this attitude.

3-3-3 BILINGUALISM IN ALGERIA

What does being bilingual in Algeria presently mean? Which kind of bilingualism can one refer to? Here are some of the numerous questions which come to the mind of any researcher studying the diversity of bilingualism as found in that country. According to the definition of bilingualism mentioned in section 3.3.2, Algerian society is a bilingual community since not only two distinct languages but three languages are used in permanent contact: Tamazight, Arabic and French. It is necessary to consider this fact in some detail. The Arabic/Tamazight bilingualism constitutes the most ancient form of bilingualism, since the Arab invasion in North Africa started from the 7th century, and the one which is of the most importance in this study. One has to point out that most studies about bilingualism in Algeria have generally been restricted to Arabic/French bilingualism, the type of bilingualism used at school and in other State institutions. As regards other forms of bilingualism, few researches have been undertaken. Generally they have been seen of no importance because they involve either two languages of low status, such as AA and Tamazight, or a modern developed language with a dominated one as can be found in French/Tamazight bilingualism.

As has been pointed out several times throughout this study, despite the fact that Tamazight is a national language and the first one being historically constituted, it has always been despised. As a result of this negative attitude, all the problems associated with the language and Tamazight speakers are regarded as proper to the Amazigh community and Imazighen are expected to solve their own problems using their own way.

To discuss bilingualism in Algeria, one has to take into account the social, economic, political, cultural, linguistic and historical peculiarities of that country.

Bilingualism in Algeria which originally developed under religious, political and economic foreign dominations emerges as a bilingualism of necessity. Arabic/French bilingualism which resulted from French colonialism cannot be compared to another

type of bilingualism and biculturalism because the two languages and cultures involved, i.e., Arabic and French were in conflict. This form of bilingualism developed within painful circumstances under French domination. French was first imposed at school and in administration. Then its use was extended to the media and other sectors of public life.

Arabic/French bilingualism has been integrated in the educational system until 1962. But presently, its use tends to be restricted because of the influence of English which started to be taught in primary school from 1995, competing with French. Arabic/French bilingualism, in both its spoken and written form, is attributed to a minority of educated Algerian people who acquire it through formal education. This type of bilingualism is difficult to acquire at school because Arabic and French are not linguistically related and do not belong to the same language family as in the case of French and Spanish for instance, both deriving from Latin.

Algerian children learning the two languages in primary school have to learn at the same time two different writing systems used in opposite direction (the right and the left) and two different systems based on opposite logic. Children have also to adapt to two opposite attitudes and behaviour when learning aspects of culture associated with the two distinct languages.

As can be noticed nowadays in Algeria, French/Arabic bilingualism is frequently used and all Algerians, educated or not, are exposed to colloquial Arabic/French bilingualism in their daily life. Another type of bilingualism currently used involves the two national languages, AA or Tamazight within their regional varieties with colloquial French. This type of bilingualism (AA or T/F) has been recognized by Algerian linguists, Taleb Ibrahimi, K (1995) for instance, as being a *sabir* variety.

French/Tamazight bilingualism develops rarely in Algeria but rather emerges in France among Imazighen immigrants having lost contact with the Arabic language. The latter being the only official language in Algeria, Tamazight speakers in their country are forced to become tri-lingual, i.e, Tamazight/Arabic/French speakers.

Arabic/Tamazight bilingualism

This type of bilingualism differs according to the variety of Arabic (AA or MSA) and Tamazight (colloquial or standard) of which it is composed. The colloquial AA/T bilingualism is used by the majority of non-educated Imazighen. In addition to the later type of bilingualism the few Imazighen educated in Tamazight practise as well formal Arabic (MSA)/Tamazight (elaborated form) bilingualism. The later is generally acquired through higher education in the institutes of Tamazight language and culture in Bgayeth and Tizi-Wuzzu where Tamazight is taught at a higher level.

From the outset, one might think that the Arabic/Tamazight bilingualism is easier to acquire at school than the Arabic/French type. It is true that the majority of Imazighen children remain always in contact with one variety of Arabic, either using CA through religion or AA to communicate with Algerian Arabic speakers. However, as explained previously, MSA, the variety of Arabic taught at school appears to be a different variety from the ones mentioned above and the learning of this variety at school is as difficult as the learning of a foreign language to the majority of Algerian children, more particularly to Imazighen children whose first language is Tamazight and not AA. Though Tamazight belongs to the same Hamito-Semitic language family like Arabic, the two languages are not mutually intelligible. Hence the difficulty of Imazighen children learning Arabic at school.

Conclusion

In Algeria, like in many other multilingual societies, one can find a form of bilingualism which encompasses different degrees. These degrees vary from the sabir language - with no respect of grammatical rules and excessive borrowing of words from other languages in contact - to a balanced bilingualism involving the use of elaborated code of two distinct languages acquired through education mainly.

Thus, when referring to bilingualism in Algeria, one has to think about different types of bilingualism involving different languages with different status and used in their different code, rather than one single general type of bilingualism.

3-4 THE ALGERIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

- Introduction

School may be conceived of as a social institution where adult generations transmit to younger generations their values and knowledge and prepare them to face their future and plan their lives. School has generally been assigned the task of ensuring a methodic or systematic integration of children into society by inculcating into them a certain knowledge, a set of traditions and manners, certain national ethical and aesthetic values, a sense of duty and responsibility in the hope of making of them good and useful citizens in an ever changing world. Because of this important role of the school in the lives of individuals and communities, education is universally acknowledged as the backbone of societies.

However all education has a purpose. Teaching is always directed towards a specific end. The conflict is between education that is being directed towards the interests of the individual and education in which the priority is the interest of the state.

As Rae, J (1989) explains the aims of education cannot after all be divided into two clear categories, the education for the sake of the individual and education for the sake of society or state. The objective of an educational system, irrespective of its design and substance, is that it will be of some benefit to both the individual and society. It is basically a matter of which is granted priority and where emphasis is placed.

As far as Algeria is concerned, the State Education policy was defined by the ordinance of 16 April 1976 which stated three national objectives:

1- Firstly, the system should apply to the nation as a whole, it should be based on democratic principles and scientific content. These objectives would be expressed by Arabic as the language of instruction.

2- Secondly, the objective was to improve standards throughout the nation.

3- Thirdly, the national component was intended to promote the conservation of national identity and history and to develop awareness of national culture.

The democratic element involved ensuring that education should be available to all on an equal basis.

Similarly, the 1981 National Charter states that the cultural revolution implies:

a) To assert Algerian national identity by consolidating it and to promote cultural development in all its forms.

b) to raise continually the level of the school education and of technical proficiency.

II - Historical Background

The Algerian school has inherited its traditions and laws from the French school. This is obviously not surprising if we understand that, after the independence of the country in 1962, the majority of Algerians were bilingual illiterates (Arabic-French) and only a small minority of them had access to education, as a result of which Algerians were not even in a position to conceive the idea of a national school. The educational system set up by the French Academy during the years of colonisation was the bearer of and reflected the political ideological orientations that shaped France's policy within its colonies of which Algeria was one. The curriculum was completely metropolitan and often widely inappropriate to Algerian children's needs. History and geography courses were the principal bearers of these ideological orientations. Thousands of Algerian pupils were taught at school that their ancestors were "les gaulois" (the Gauls).

The Algerian school, then, had to start from scratch and do so within certain determined socio-political conditions, one of which was that the available teachers were either educated in French schools and had, as a consequence of this, an European

modern vision of education and of what school is, or arabophones steeped in the Ulemist (Islamic) tradition.

During the first years after Algeria's independence, Algerian teachers educated in French schools and bearers of acceptable values were thought not to represent the genuine Arabo-Islamic identity of the Algerian nation, and as a consequence were either entirely discarded or had their teaching contribution restricted to so-called technical subjects. Progressively, the contribution of teachers coming from countries of the Middle East was dependent on those who had their own approach to education and to questions of identity. However faced with a pressing need to provide education for all children after independence and to meet the challenge this issue represents, this difference in or duality of approach had to be played down.

The quality of teaching was to a certain degree eclipsed by the necessity of guaranteeing for every child a place at school, which France, for 132 years, had not provided for the great majority of Algerians.

The main concern of public authorities after independence was the building of a maximum number of schools, colleges and universities so that Algerians within an independent Algeria can acquire the knowledge and the means to affirm their character and identity. Thus, a third of the state budget was consecrated to the educational system which saw the schooling of millions of children (the daily *Algérie-Actualités*, n° 1354, 20th of October 1991, p 6).

III- Different Stages of the Evolution of the Algerian Education

According to Youcef Sebti, an Algerian sociological researcher at the INA (Institut national d'Agronomie) who participated in a workshop on "Société, Culture et Développement", the Algerian educational system has gone through three stages, and the evolution of this system has been characterised by a superimposition of culture that we might characterise in terms of "civilisation".

- There is, on the one hand, an educational system which we might call Tamazight, that is, that type of family-transmitted

oral tradition which constitutes a form of informal education. See section 13-6.

- There is also an educational system of a religious nature which has been totally linked to the Arabo-Islamic religious movement since the Arabic Conquest of North Africa in the 7th century. These fee-based schools, generally known as Quranic schools (the so-called "Madersa" or "Djamaa") abounded during the French occupation of Algeria. As Algerian children were not taught Arabic and Islam at school during that period, parents used to send their children to these schools to learn Qur'an and, with it, the Arabic language. In the case of some Algerians, this Quranic school was sole type of school they attended in their childhood.

France, in its turn, established a formal French school with the aim of creating an Algerian elite, speaking both French and a second native language (Arabic or Tamazight), to function as a means of communication with one or the other of the two social groups.

It is fair to say that the French sought to undermine the Arabic and Tamazight constituents of the Algerian culture through splitting the two linguistic groups, on one hand, and by insisting on the use of French as a medium of instruction in all the schools that progressively appeared in different parts of Algeria, on the other.

IV Present Educational System: Fundamental School

A- Nature of Fundamental School

Within the current educational system of Fundamental school, the child receives an obligatory schooling of nine years, hence the origin of the designation "fundamental". Like all educational systems existing in other countries, the Algerian educational system comprises three cycles of study:

1- primary

2- secondary

3- higher (universities and higher colleges). See Appendix D indicating the structure of the Algerian educational system.

1. Primary Cycle comprises two parts, a Fundamental first part and Fundamental second part. In the Fundamental first part, the child studies for six years (from 1st year to 6th year). The Fundamental second part lasts for three years, from 7th year through to 9th. In the primary cycle, children start learning French or English - as a first foreign language at the fourth year and a second foreign language at the eighth year.

2. Secondary cycle is called Fundamental Part III and involves three years of studies (from 1st to 3rd year). Secondary school ends with the Baccalauréat exam which is a necessary requirement for entry to universities and institutes of higher education. This exam, which crowns twelve years of education (from Fundamental first year to third year of Secondary Cycle), is successfully passed by almost half of those enrolled in first year of Fundamental school. The Baccalauréat is a real test for the assessment not only of the standard of students, but also of the competence and integrity of pedagogic personnel, the standard of organisation of officers and the financial and material resources. Being a true mirror that reflects the realities of the educational system, it exposes the weaknesses and shortcomings of this system.

Thus, the standard of Algerian pupils, or rather, the pedagogic act is reflected by the rate of success which does not go over 25% as shown on the official table below:

Table 3.4.1: Pass Rate in Baccalauréat 1980-1996

Academic year	Percentage
1980-81	24.29
1981-82	25.84
1982-83	25.11
1983-84	11.03
1984-85	16.86
1985-86	17.51
1986-87	12.58
1987-88	7.82
1988-89	11.27
1989-90	12.05
1990-91	20.17
1991-92	22.08
1992-93	12.10
1993-94	10.26
1994-95	18.56
1995-96	22.33

Source: Ministry of Education
 Direction de la Planification, sous-direction des Statistiques
 Alger, 1996.

3. Higher Studies: Universities and higher Colleges

Depending on the marks obtained in the Baccalauréat exam in the main subjects as well as the section of one's choice (foreign languages or medicine for instance), the secondary school graduate will be oriented either towards the university or a college of higher education. Requirements for certain colleges of higher education, such as l' Ecole Nationale Polytechnique (ENP), include passing an entry exam as well as high marks in the principal scientific subjects in the Baccalauréat exam, maths, physics and chemistry. See the official table on page 483, Appendix D.

V - Failure of the Fundamental School

The fundamental school first began operating in 1980. Since then, and as can be observed from table 3.4.1, p 188, the pass rate in the Baccalauréat fluctuated between 10 and 25%. The great majority of children attending school (about 80%) are, consequently, expelled at the end of the ninth year of fundamental school. Bensaada, M (1993; 8) reports in an article *La rentrée des privés* that appeared in the Algérie-Actualités newspaper (n° 63, 26 September 1993, page 4) that, in 1993, 63% of unemployed Algerians were aged between 15 and 19. The majority were, obviously, those who failed in their studies and left school without any qualification. For these reasons, one can say that the fundamental system failed in its aim which was, according to the 1976 national Charter, to ensure education for all and on an equal basis. On the contrary, as the official table in Appendix D shows, the fundamental system becomes in fact gradually selective. While all children are welcomed in primary school, only very few of them manage to get the Baccalauréat certificate and a chance to enter the Algerian university or high schools (18% in 1995). This shows the limitations of the extent fundamental system and its apparent deficiencies.

Benamar, A (1992; 11) rightly points out that education for all, as stated in the Algerian constitutions of 1976 and 1981, is a myth and that the majority of parents are forced to pay for

private lessons for their children in an attempt to help them succeed in their studies. He states in this regard that:

l' école publique égalitaire pour tous comme le stipule la charte nationale de 1976 est un mythe. L' école que nous défendons pour ses valeurs démocratiques n'est pas la même pour tous. Au lieu de supprimer les inégalités des chances, elle les renforce.

L'école publique est par définition gratuite, mais en réalité la gratuité semble fictive. Cette école dite publique de par ses rôles et status, est sensé donner aux élèves les moyens nécessaires pour apprendre à apprendre. Or il se trouve que ces moyens ne sont généralement acquis qu'en dehors de l'enceinte scolaire, c'est à dire au cours des leçons particulières payées au prix fort. 34

A public school open to all, as stipulated in the 1976 National Charter, is a myth. The school we defend for its democratic values is not the same for all. Instead of eliminating inequality in opportunities, it reinforces it. Public school is in principle free, but, in reality, this is fictitious. This school, public by virtue of its role and status, is supposed to provide pupils with the necessary means and ability to learn. However, it is the case that this ability can be acquired only outside school, i.e., through costly private tuition.

(my translation)

Confronted with this dramatic and undesirable situation which, according to Bensaada, affects about 8 million children each year since the start of the fundamental school in 1980, parents expressed their anxiety and anger and organised sit-ins in front of the Ministry of Education to demand the opening of private schools in order to ensure the education of their children. However, private schools are not encouraged by the state since the majority of them insist on adopting their own syllabus and teaching methods, discarding the ones used in public schools. Moreover, private schools tend to exaggerate the gap between the education of the rich who can offer to pay for their children's studies and the education of the poor in public school.

34- Benamar, A (1992; 11) L'école privée, luxe ou nécessité in *L'Ecole et la Vie magazine* n° 7, Alger.

But this situation, as explained above, exists already in informal way, since parents who can afford to do so pay for private tuition for their children.

VI - Causes of failure

In an article *L'échec de l'école Fondamentale* he published in the weekly newspaper *Le Pays* (n° 29, November 1991), Rabah, C, a school inspector argues that the failure of the current fundamental school is due to the main following factors:

1. The organisation of the curriculum in the fundamental school; its negative moral, educational and intellectual effects.
2. The recruitment and formation of teachers.
3. The ideology underlying the Arabisation policy in the present Algerian Educational System.
4. and finally current teaching methods.

1- The organisation of the cursus in the fundamental school.

Before the fundamental system was adopted, the Algerian school was organised along traditional, i.e., universal patterns. Curricula were chosen to fit the age and abilities of children. This traditional system included more or less strict regulations aimed at making children work hard, rely on themselves, and believe in fair competition within this system. Marks were to reflect the seriousness and the effort pupils showed during their education.

The current fundamental system remains basically the same as the traditional one as far as programmes and the marking system are concerned. The only innovation in the present system is that progression of pupils from one class to another is regulated by an officially determined quota. Progression from first year of fundamental school to second and from second to third is automatic in the case of all pupils. The official quota sets the rate of progression from third to fourth year of fundamental

school at 94%, from sixth to seventh at 85% and from 9th year of fundamental school to first year of secondary school at 50%.

Obviously, the progression of pupils from one class to another is regulated by an officially set quota, which relies on neither scientific nor pragmatic criteria. All the values on which educational systems existing in the world are based are destroyed by this progression policy, which should be determined by the real educational achievements of students rather than by an officially pre-set quota. This policy has many consequences

- a) on the moral and educational level
- b) on the intellectual level
- c) and on the cultural level

a) Moral and educational consequences

The progression policy relying on pre-regulated quotas affects negatively schools as institutions, teachers and students alike. The precious rules of hard work, personal effort, and hard-won success, and other universal ethical values are obliterated.

b) Intellectual Consequences

The main motivation for hard work being discouraged by the present system, both students and teachers feel no need to make any effort to improve their work. In an environment of this sort there is absolutely no opportunity for children's abilities to develop and mature. The majority of teachers feel no need to update and improve their theoretical and practical knowledge, and one of the reasons teachers feel no such need is because the National Pedagogical Institute (IPN) provides them with guidelines, i.e., all the lessons to be taught for the whole year in each course. Failure of teachers is often blamed on the IPN which is usually accused of preparing a syllabus that does not meet the children's needs or match their standards.

c) Cultural consequences

It can be observed that the current Algerian school system ignores the different aspects of the native culture notwithstanding the fact that the 1976 and 1981 National Charters place strong emphasis on the necessity of an awareness of the children's culture at school (see p 185). As pointed out in chapter 7, Algeria is far from a society with a sense of cultural unity, contrary to the impression created at school through the teaching of Classical Arabic which, in fact, is not the first language of children from either community. As a consequence, children are alienated from their mother tongues (Algerian Arabic or Tamazight) and their native culture. History courses, literature and other subjects are all unrelated to the students' immediate concerns and interests. Thus, from an early age, children are alienated from themselves and from their environment as a result of the contradictions imposed on them by the educational system. Ironically, not even the teachers themselves sympathise or promote the culture they do their best to impose on their students.

2-Recruitment and training of teachers

With the departure of French teachers after the independence of the country as well as the desire to give a significant role to education in Arabic, the need for teachers of Arabic and French became more and more pressing at primary school first, and at middle and secondary schools later. This pressing need led to the adoption of a policy geared more towards forming the maximum number of teachers than quality teachers. Lack of housing and the need not to destabilise personnel determined appointments to teaching posts, in the sense that recruitment of new teachers was based not so much on the results obtained in entry exams, but rather, on such factors as areas of residence. Training personnel is composed basically of "coopérants" and at best of secondary school teachers. IPN (Institut Pédagogique National) is concerned with the conception, publishing and orientation of teaching pedagogies.

To educate is to offer children some specific scientific, literary, artistic and aesthetic knowledge that they might need or find useful in their everyday life. The role of educators is to transmit this particular knowledge to their pupils. Needless to say, this knowledge can be successfully acquired only if teachers have been properly prepared for this task and have received the adequate psycho-pedagogical training, otherwise communication between teachers and pupils is seriously hindered. In this regard, one cannot emphasise enough the damage that can follow from unqualified teachers running the risk of being misunderstood by their pupils as a result of the lack of communication and proper training.

3- Arabisation policy within the current Algerian system

As explained by Taleb Ibrahimi, K (1995; 241) in her book *Les Algériens et leur(s) langue(s)* Arabisation is an old nationalist demand that Algerians used to counter the assimilative policy of the French colonizers. At different times during their struggle to liberate Algeria, Algerians resisted by showing a very strong attachment to their cultural values, including the Arabic language.

After the independence of Algeria, the feeling of belonging to the Arab nation and Muslim community deepened. The political leaders of that time thought that the only way of recovering the Algerian identity that France attempted to destroy for more than a century was through Arabisation. They were convinced that the restoration of Arabisation in all domains would enable Algeria to achieve a total independence on the cultural level and become a totally sovereign nation in the full sense. Accordingly, writing in 1967, Sayadi, A (1967; 18) states:

والقطر الجزائري ينتمي إلى وطن واحد كبير هو
الوطن العربي والجزائريون ينتمون إلى مجموعة
بشرية هي الأمة العربية يربطهم مع شعوبها
أخرى تاريخ واحد ينتمون جميعا إلى حوض
حضاري واحد هو الحوض الحضاري العربي
ولا يمكن للجزائري أن تسترد وخصما العربي
وأن تقوم فيها الثقافة الوطنية وتسترد
الشمسية الجزائرية الأصيلة إلا إذا سادت
لغة البلاد في جميع المظاهر الحياتية الجزائرية
وهذا لا يمكن تحقيقه إلا إذا تعالمت جميع
المتقنين لغتهم القومية.

Algeria forms part of one single, large nation, which is the Arab World, and Algerians are affiliated to one human community, which is the Arab nation; they are bound to other groups within this community by a common history and a common cultural heritage, Arabic civilisation.

Algeria can only reclaim its Arabic identity, allow for the flourishing of a national culture, and regain its authentic Algerian character if it supports the Arabic language confirms supremacy in all domains of everyday life. This cannot, however, be accomplished without all educated individuals mastering their national language. 35

(my translation)

Thus, Arabisation is one of the questions that most preoccupied Algerian authorities after the independence of the country. In fact there are many reasons for this concern. Obviously, it is virtually impossible to imagine a modern nation that does not need at least a national language, not only as a means of communication but also as a manifestation of its integration and identity. However, language specialists in Algeria (pedagogues, researchers, educationalists) played only a minimal role in the task of re-establishment real linguistic identity and heritage of the country - an identity and an heritage that have, since independence, been exploited towards the legitimisation of certain policies. Arabisation was introduced, or rather, imposed as a political strategy, without taking any consideration of (i) the pedagogical constraints (what type of Arabisation is required? and for what ends?), of (ii) the imperatives of technological and scientific developments, which are at the basis of any progress, or of (iii) the necessity of a studied and ambitious openness in dealing with western societies. Thus, since independence, the government has favoured Arabisation policy, but without first defining the objectives and stages of implementation of this policy and without first studying the ambitions of the nation and whether the material means required to carry out this policy square with the available material resources of the country.

35- Sayadi, A (1967; 18) Le Bureau de Coordination de l'Arabisation. Thèse de Doctorat es-Lettres et Sciences Humaines. Université de Paris 3.

In principle, the law adopted by the former National Popular Assembly in December 26, 1990, enforcing the generalisation of Arabic would come into effect only starting from July 5, 1992. It would affect all of the politico-economic and socio-cultural aspects of life in Algeria. Article 4 of this law states that all public, administrative, and other types of institutions should operate alone. Implementation of Arabisation in medicine was put off until 1997.

On the socio-linguistic level, the Arabisation Bill incurred the displeasure of the majority of Algerian Tamazight speakers. The law simply ignores the fact that about 32% of the Algerian population have Tamazight as their mother tongue. According to Ehinam (1992), a linguist, the new law enforcing Arabisation was voted in by the National Assembly deputies who represent no one but themselves. He states:

La loi sur la généralisation de la langue Arabe a été élaborée et adoptée par une assemblée qui ne représentait qu'elle même. Elle n'était pas représentative de l'ensemble des courants d'opinion de la société. 36

The law enforcing the generalisation of Arabic has been elaborated and adopted by an Assembly which represents no one but itself. This Assembly is not representative of the whole range of opinions within the Algerian society.

The Arabisation process is then a simple act, which aims at discarding French, the language of former colonisers, and at eliminating Algerian national languages, i.e., Algerian Arabic and Tamazight, favouring only Classical Arabic. This Arabisation law which excludes the Tamazight language and culture, therefore overlooks the fact that the Algerian culture is both Amazigh and Arabo-Islamic in its make-up (see discussion about the Algerian culture in chapter 13.3).

 36- Ehinam, A (1992; 4) L' Arabisation en Algérie. in *El-Watan*. November 12. Alger.

It also ignores not only the socio-political changes that occurred since 1988, but the development of the Amazigh question which has moved beyond the stage of simple passive protest to a stage of scientific linguistic elaboration, most notably manifested in the opening of a department of Tamazight at the University of Tizi-Wuzzu offering a Masters degree in that language, the teaching of Tamazight in some cultural associations, the appearance of theatrical productions in that language, and the organisation of symposia bearing on Tamazight history and language.

From an economic point of view, the Arabisation law caused some concern among Algerian banks and firms which have been using French in dealing with their foreign counterparts for the last thirty years. This concern derives from the feeling that the inadequacy of the Arabic lexicon in the areas of technology and science would pose serious problems and would affect, in particular, the efficiency of commercial contracts. The problem, it was felt, does not reside in the question of terminology, but in the fact that the content risks being distorted on translation. Furthermore, it is practically impossible to translate all scientific material in view of the continuous and quick multiplication of the latter. Fortunately, the enforcement of this law was postponed until a later date in view of the economic problems it generates together with the critical Algerian economic situation at the present time.

On the educational level, Arabisation was generalised at the end of the seventies when the fundamental school was adopted. All subjects are taught through the medium of Arabic in primary and secondary school. At university and higher schools, the majority of scientific subjects are also taught in Arabic. French, previously spoken as the second language, is now taught as a foreign language at school.

Arabisation in fundamental school was started more than ten years ago and the results obtained so far are less than satisfactory in both quantity and quality. According to the daily "El-Watan" n° 546, July 12, 1995, p 3, only 18% managed to get their baccalauréat in 1995.

Djebbar, A, Minister of Education appointed in 1992 to tackle the problems facing the educational system, claims in an interview given to the daily "El-Watan, September, 17, 1995, p 3, that it is not the process of Arabisation which is at the root of the failure of the current Algerian Educational system, but the way it was implemented at the level of fundamental school. The failure, he claims is due in particular to the rapid speed with which Arabisation was implemented as well as the politico-ideological considerations rooted in it - considerations born more out of a chauvinistic nationalism than of a real will or determination to make of Arabic a flexible language of culture and science.

There is wide agreement among Algerian pedagogues that the policy of Arabisation has been translated into a pronounced preference for archaic, moralist and dogmatic subjects and a clear decrease in the number of scientific disciplines which are taught using the same pedagogical approach employed in the non-scientific disciplines. This goes some way towards explaining why, in their concern and fear for the future and education of their children, many Algerians believe that the Arabisation policy has killed both the critical and scientific mind as well as the individual will.

However, one should note that the scientific logic of a given intellectual discipline, however arbitrary, is not intrinsic to a given language. A language is and becomes what its speakers want it to be. If the speakers of a given language make an effort to enrich, develop, and modernise it so as to make of it an efficient linguistic means, it will become so. It should be stressed here that it is not the Arabic language which is in question; this language has proven its worth during the apogee of the Arabo-Islamic civilisation between the seventh and thirteenth centuries. It was the linguistic means in which ground-breaking developments in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and philosophy were carried out. But it should be admitted that Arabic is no longer the language it was in that period, viz a necessary means for access to scientific knowledge. Suffice it to say that the contribution of the Arab world to the world of science and technology nowadays is virtually insignificant. According to Lacheraf, M (1988; 32) in 1966, Yugoslavia with 30 million

inhabitants published 7000 titles every year, whereas the so-called Arab world with 120 million inhabitants, published no more than 2000 titles every year. To promote the Arabic language, as is the case of all other languages lagging behind, including Tamazight, it should be developed, modernised and enriched to be able to cope with the domains in which it is no longer adequate, i.e., scientific domains. This is evidently not the task of Algerians alone since Arabic is used as an official language in some 20 Arab states.

In 1962, after the independence of the country, Algerians were delighted to see the Arabic language back in the educational system of the country. This is obviously unsurprising given the fact that it is one of the crucial elements that goes into the formation of the Algerian identity. However, the language which was declared as the "national language" would never become anything but an official language. The two native languages in Algeria are Algerian Arabic and Tamazight. Standard Arabic, as taught at school, would become a national language only once the different dialects and varieties spoken throughout Algeria have disappeared. Starting from this principle, Arabisation, as imposed within the Algerian educational system, goes against the linguistic nature of Algeria. Upon starting school, children, with the tendency to use their mother tongues (Algerian Arabic or Tamazight), have standard Arabic imposed on them as the only correct language and the only language worth speaking. Thus, from an early age, the child is asked to believe that this new language is his mother tongue.

Moreover, Arabisation at school imposes a language which is not indigenous and which, consequently, does not reflect the proper Algerian culture. Classical Arabic originates with the Arab conquests of North Africa in the seventh century. Coming from different tribes (Bani Hillal, Bani Suleiman), the Arab conquerors themselves did not always use Classical Arabic, but often used their mother tongues which were varieties of Arabic considerably different from Classical Arabic. The latter, the "dialect" of Quraish, the tribe from which the Prophet Muhammad descends, eventually became the official language of the Muslim empire.

In comparison, it is instructive to see how other languages developed. Generally, it is the variety of language used by the social group wielding power in a given state which becomes the official language of that state. French, for example, derives from "Francian" the dialect originally spoken in the "Ile de France". In 1539, François 1er recognised the variety of language spoken in that region by a royal decree at Villers-Cotterets. This implied that French had to replace Latin in all domains, except at church where Latin was maintained for religious purposes.

The adoption of French did not, however, happen all of a sudden. It took four centuries to materialise. Similarly, and according to Klinkenberg, J.M (1994; 204), Spanish (known as well as Castilian) derives from a native dialect spoken in the Cantabric zone during the kingdom of Asturias. It was under the reign of Alphonse X, le Sage, that Castilian of Toledo - which used to be a place of high culture - became the official language of Spain. It is as if we decide that the Arabic dialect of Algiers or that of Wahran, after it has got rid of foreign words and got enriched, becomes the official language of the country. It can be noted that the educational system of those countries which selected the standard official language from among the varieties already spoken in the state, is more successful (Spain, Germany and France). One of the reasons for this success is most likely to be that the teaching medium is in a language that is part of the cultural environment within which children are brought up. According to Rabah, C, (1991; 5) in a study of the national educational system published in the newspaper *Le Pays* n° 29 November 15th 1991, page 4 , under the title *échec de l'école fondamentale*. The Arabisation policy developed its actions on two planes: linguistic and historical.

Arabisation has proceeded to the negation of the Amazigh identity and the exclusion of the Tamazight language. Since 1962, official speeches and propaganda have substituted the two concepts of "Algeria-nation" and "Algerianity" with those of "Umma" and "Arabo-Islamic Algeria", and the liberation war of Algeria from France has generally been recast as a religious war to create and revitalise a utopian world where all the differences between the Arab-Muslims would disappear.

The policy of Arabisation also rejects the French language. After more than thirty years of independence, French is still portrayed as the language of colonisation, and, therefore, the necessity of minimising its teaching in schools. Nevertheless, one should not forget that the generation of Algerians which fought for and achieved independence for Algeria was educated at the only school available then, the French school. If anything, this clearly shows that the nationalist spirit cannot be extinguished by the mere learning of a foreign language, even when this language is a language of a coloniser. A number of African countries (e.g., Uganda, Kenya) and India still maintain English as an official language in spite of the fact that it was imposed by British colonisers in the past. English has the advantage of being a link language - some kind of lingua franca - in those countries where several minority languages in use are in competition, creating tension among their speakers. On the other hand, the use of English, as a modern and developed language, allow the natives to benefit from modern technology vehicled by English while developing progressively their own. Many countries in Africa and in Asia (Nigeria, Tanzania, Mali, India, Indonesia and the Philippines) have so far declared no official preference and still use the colonial language for government while they search for a solution to the national language problem.

Conclusion

Arabisation is a most hotly debated issue in Algeria nowadays, and it is a question around which opinions differ. There are, on the one hand, those who think that Arabisation in fundamental school is the sole cause of failure of the current fundamental system, and, on the other hand, those who "idealise" Arabic and refuse to accept the obvious fact that it has stagnated for years and that it will take a colossal effort to modernise it and bring it up to the level of modern languages.

While it is reasonable to recognise the crucial role of the Arabic language in the definition of the composite identity component of culture and education, the role and status of Tamazight, a native

language and other modern languages such as French - which should be seen as a neutral linguistic system, rather than be reduced to a symbol and extension of neo-colonialism - should be recognised.

Tamazight, on the other hand, should be promoted and elaborated so as to be fit to take its place in the Algerian educational system as a component of Algerian culture and identity on a par with the Arabic language.

4- Current teaching methods

A teacher should not only be massively informed in the subject he teaches, but more importantly, he should be able to know how to transmit this information to his students in a clear and most effective way. Greffou, M (1991; 16) an Algerian pedagogue, argues that Classical Arabic which is officially declared as the national language of Algeria, is in fact taught as a foreign language in the first part of fundamental school (that is, from first to sixth year of primary school).

Greffou rejects as untenable the claim of those who conceptualised the method currently followed in the teaching of Arabic that this method constitutes a national method. What is problematic about this method, she claims, is that the intended language is the "spoken language" and not the written language. The 1980/1981 Teacher's Guide insists on the teaching of the spoken language through the correction of the pupil's speech:

Le programme consiste dans la correction et l'organisation des expressions que les enfants auront apportés de leur foyer. 37

The programme consists in the correction and organisation of the speech that children carry over from home.

37- Guide du Maître 1980-81. p 16. IPN (Institut P édagogique National). Alger.

Thus, the role of school for Algerian children at the level of fundamental school is limited to that of correcting the language acquired within the family milieu, i.e., the two languages currently spoken as mother tongues in Algeria, Algerian Arabic and Tamazight. Thus on the assumption that the Algerian child speaks a deficient language, those responsible for formulating pedagogical methods have put in place a most difficult pedagogy, the compensatory method. In this connection with this pedagogy, the newspaper "Le Matin" (n°10, September 11, 1991, p, 6) claims that:

Notre école primaire, dite fondamentale, offre un enseignement qui apparente au modèle de classe de perfectionnement en France et d'éducation aux U.S.A. 38

Our primary school, called basic, provides a mode of teaching that is similar to that of the perfecting class in France and the education class in America.
(my translation)

The U.S.A. makes use of this method to teach its soldiers the languages of those foreign countries where they would be stationed, whereas in France these teaching models are applied in the case of immigrant children, generally categorised as "linguistically handicapped". These children are therefore taught a simple and approximative spoken language for purposes of "linguistic survival". The procedure is based, in this case, on a unique strategy imitation/repetition by conditioned response.

Greffou shows how the three reforms of the Algerian educational system in 1965, 1971, and 1980 were inspired by these teaching methods, which are also referred to as "méthodes frères Jacques". The system is truly one of "remoulding" and "remodelling" in which the teaching of the different disciplines reduces to an interminable list of questions/answers, carried out in simple and short phrases and repeated, in the total absence of any immediate non-verbal feedback. Thus, this presumedly "modern" method is in

38- Journal *Le Matin* du 11 Septembre 1991, n° 10. p 6.

fact nothing more than a revival of the outdated models of the 1940's. For those who conceptualised the method, the Algerian children are "linguistically handicapped", with deficiencies in Classical Arabic. This handicap, according to them, is one of "height" for both the Arabophone children, who are used to dialectal Arabic, and the Amazighophone children whose mother tongue is entirely different from Standard Arabic.

Greffou also indicates that this "Pavlovian conditioning" is utilised with disturbing excess at process of conditioning for more than three years in order to acquire Arabic and for another two years in order to acquire French.

According to the view expressed in the 1970 Teacher's Guide, p 40, the child is a "medium" or a "means" to influence the milieu he lives in and help create the "national language", i.e., Classical Arabic.

Notre travail sera double. Nous corrigeons par le biais de cet enfant la langue de la famille. 39

Our work will have a double effect. By correcting the child's language, we will be equally correcting the family's language as well.

(my translation)

Thus, the aim was to change the ways of speaking of a whole nation and, consequently, unify this nation through the choice of what appears to be a "neutral technique". Those who conceptualised the teaching method of Arabic at the level of fundamental school (first part) also made the mistake of believing that by teaching a correct oral system they would simultaneously be teaching the written language, as if the written system could be reduced to an "improved" oral system. The difference between speaking and writing will be developed in section 12-4.

CONCLUSION

The politico-ideological objectives underlying the methodological choices implemented in the teaching of Arabic are clear in the current educational system. As pointed out by Greffou, the Algerian educational system, as is the case in all totalitarian regimes, favours uniformity; teaching guides/manuals are conceptualised by a state body, leaving absolutely no room for the independent and individual contribution of the teacher. The required strict adherence to the instructions and guidelines provided by these manuals leaves the teacher with no chance to choose the appropriate teaching method, that is, the method that best suits the needs of his pupils.

As discussed in the preceding paragraphs, the factors contributing to the failure of the Algerian Educational system are varied and numerous. Others which have not been developed in this chapter - because they are not directly related to the present study - cannot be forgotten and have to be taken into consideration as well. These factors include:

Overcrowded classes (44 to 45 pupils per class).

Lack or inexistence of adequate teaching material.

Overloaded syllabuses.

Facing the very low rate of success at the baccalauréat exam and the growing discontent of parents who want to ensure a solid education for their children, the Algerian government has already taken measures to overcome the limitations of the fundamental school and to improve the educational system in general. Among those measures, the most important are:

1- Since 1991 and to improve the standard of teaching in schools, teachers lacking in appropriate teaching expertise have been trained at the Instituts Technologiques de l'Education (ITE) .

2- The opening of special secondary schools for gifted pupils in 1991/92. In addition to helping gifted children

achieve their potential, these special schools help reduce overcrowding in secondary schools.

3- In April 1993, a national debate about the Algerian educational system took place with the aim of improving education as a whole. Questions about teaching methods, streamlining programmes, and the place of foreign languages in school have been raised during this debate.

In 1993/94, opening of private schools (agreed by the Minister of Education) which follow the same programmes as those adopted in public schools. Thus, those parents who can afford to pay for the education of their children are given the opportunity to do so. This will reduce the number of pupils in public schools.

More importantly, in 1995/96, under pressure from the native Imazighen, the Algerian Government, as reported by the daily newspaper "Opinion" July 18th 1995, p 5, has finally agreed to integrate Tamazight into the educational system. By a decree of May 27th 1995, a Committee, the Higher Committee of Amazigh (H.C.A), was created at governmental level. It is delegated with the responsibility of promoting the language in social life and of opening experimental classes where Tamazight has been taught since September 1995. This important event is of great concern to this research and will be fully discussed in chapter 6. If anything, the teaching of Tamazight at school will restore the dignity of Imazighen in general and equally to give this language status in the eyes of the community as a fit subject for study and scholastic use. On the other hand, teaching Tamazight-speaking children their language at school will undoubtedly help them regain confidence in their culture and in themselves. This will also give them the opportunity to become perfect bilinguals (Tamazight-Arabic) while learning how to read and write in their language at school.

CHAPTER 4

IMAZIGHEN. WHO ARE THEY?

4-1 THEIR ORIGIN AND DIFFERENT APPELLATIONS

A- Their origin

The Berbers, ancestors of the present-day Imazighen, are a people whose history is associated with several other peoples. Much has been written about the origins of Imazighen even in ancient times. Several theories have been advanced by many different historians both ancient and modern. Among them are Herodotus, Sallustre, Pliny, Procopus, Ibn Khaldun and more recently, several French writers and anthropologists. But, as Haddadou, M.A (1995; 29) explains, little is of any historical worth. As is often the case, myth and speculation, and even ideological considerations, take precedence over historical fact. The origin of Imazighen is a matter of controversy even today.

1- Myth and Legend

The ancient Imazighen are referred to under the names of **Lebu**, **Tenehu** and **Maschawash** on several of the most ancient monuments of Pharaonic Egypt. They are represented quite distinctively in terms of dress and jewellery in comparison with the Egyptians and Carthaginians of the same era. The very first legends relating to the origins of the Berbers are first recounted by Herodotus (5th century B.C.) who tells of the **Maxyes** (the Libyans), descendants of the Trojans who fled Troy after its destruction by the Greeks and settled in Africa. This theory, as Haddadou (1995; 29) points out, is repeated by Hecatee (4th century, B.C.) according to whom the Trojans founded a settlement, Cybas, close to Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerte) or Hippo Regius (Annaba).

According to Sallustus, the ancient inhabitants of North Africa, the **Getules** and the **Libyans**, were hunter-gatherers. To those native elements were added the Medes and Persians who, it is said, were deposited on the coast by Hercules, while on route to Africa. If certain theories are based on legends, others depend on etymological explanations. Haddadou, M.A (1995; 29) claims that, according to Sallustus, the Libyan name **Maures** has its origins in **Medes**. This theory, which postulates Persian origins is perhaps rooted in the similarity between the names for the **Pharrusii** and of the **Perorsi**, the ancient Imazighen who, according to Pliny, lived on the coast and also the Moroccan interior .

Evidently, all these theories have little historical validity despite having persisted through the centuries.

2- The Middle-Eastern connection

In the 6th century, Procopus, who had accompanied the Byzantine general, Belisarius, to Africa maintained the Berbers, named the **Maures**, were originally from Canaan. According to Procopus, the Promised land spoken of by Joshua led to the exodus of many from the area. As they were not able to settle in Egypt, they ventured further West and finally settled in Libya. The Middle Eastern connection coincides with developments surrounding the Muslim conquest. Other Arabic writers have drawn up lengthy genealogies tracing Berber origins back to semitic ancestry. According to Al-Bekri, they originated from Palestine, descendants of Ifrikios, son of Goliath. When the latter was killed by David, the Jews banished the Berbers from Palestine. They remained some time in Egypt before settling in North Africa. Ibn Khaldun, who wrote a voluminous history of the Berbers, traces them back to Canaan, son of Ham, son of Noah. Their ancestor was called **Mazigh**. Ibn Khaldun admits however that the **Sanhadja** and **Ketama** Berbers were of Yemeni origin. These legendary connections have been followed by several modern writers, particularly in

the Arabic world, for whom the semitic origin of the ancestors of Imazighen is not in doubt.

3- The European link

In Europe, writers have been occupied with the question of Berber ancestry even since the beginning of French colonization.

While certain writers adopted the prevailing theories of old, others engaged in new research which had scientific pretensions but very often was as speculative as any other. According to Haddadou, M.A (1995; 31) a captain of the French army, Rozet, came upon some ancient burial chambers (dolmens) near Algiers, in the Beni-Messous region. It was believed that these structures were of Gaulish origin but a theory was advanced that they were built by the indigenous people. Drawing on his own knowledge and background, Bertrand, A, in 1863, concluded that the ancestors of Imazighen were of Celtic origin. This accounted for, according to Bertrand, the substantial presence of fair haired and light eyed individuals in the Imazighen areas. During the same time, Olivier, M, president of the Academy of Bone (in present-day Annaba) undertook questionable linguistic research which linked the Berbers to the Greeks. Bertholon classified the Tamazight language alongside the Illyrian-Belastgian languages introduced to Africa from the North by the Greek invaders. As Haddadou, M.A (1995; 31) states, one can look at a branch of the Indo-European system of languages, the ancient Touranian languages and even, according to commander Rinn, to ancient languages which precede the Semitic and Sanskrit, a group of languages that he refers to as the "Tourano-Berber". Several writers refer to linguistic evidence to support their theories. Similarities of word, names of tribes and peoples as well as place names are referred to as incontrovertible proof of the link between European or Indo-European ancestors. This evidence, however, is purely speculative and proves little other than some phonetic similarity between different

languages. As Camps, G (1987; 13) points out in his book *Les Berbères-Mémoire et Identité*:

Few people other than the Berbers have had their origins and ancestors so closely examined with so much persistence and imagination. 40

4- Prehistoric and anthropological evidence

If one goes far back enough into prehistory, it is virtually impossible, according to scholars, to pinpoint the exact central African locations from which the first people would have spread north. Evidence of human activity in the region dates from as far back as the higher Paleolithic age. Whether they came from the East, as some have written, or elsewhere, the descendants of Cro-Magnon man are known as Mechta-El-Arbi after the name of the place, near Constantine where their remains were discovered in 1907. This descendant did not completely die out but was followed by another, the Capsian, named after Gafsa in Tunisia where activity had been discovered for the first time. Capsian man is a proto-Mediterranean type who shares the same ethnic and cultural characteristics of present-day Eastern populations. Due to these common characteristics, anthropologists view the Capsian as the true ancestor of the Maghrebians.

During Neolithic times, the main elements of Amazigh culture were already established: the Libyan language, art, and evidence of religious beliefs seen in monuments and funeral rites. Neolithic civilisation developed through contact with other Mediterranean peoples, the Phoenicians in particular, who brought technological innovation to the area.

40- Camps, G (1987; 13) Les Berbères-Mémoire et Identité. Les Hespérides. Paris.

Conclusion

Since ancient times, many different theories have been advanced to explain the origins of Imazighen but much of the evidence is of little real historical value as it is based on uncorroborated text and legend.

It is certainly true to assert that Imazighen are not one single homogenous race of people. Through history and prehistory, it is undoubtedly the case that a melting pot of civilisations has produced the present-day Imazighen. However, It would be premature, given the little that is known at the present stage (of anthropological research) to pretend that we have all the answers and are able to draw definite conclusions from all the available evidence. Further research and study are needed before one can draw any firmer conclusions. What is certain today is that regardless of where the ancestors actually come from and how they settled there, they have been around for thousands of years and therefore can be considered as the true and original inhabitants.

B- Their appellations

Generally, people select one particular marker for purposes of identification of their group. However, this same group of people may be identified by other groups by the usage of a different name or marker. For instance, most North-American Indian tribes were known to others by names different to what they chose to call themselves. For example, the Sioux never referred to themselves by that name but used the term "Dakota" which means "human beings". It seems that many communities had a tendency for naming themselves as "the speakers" and calling their language "words" or "speech". Among those are the Slav which is related to "Slovo" (word), Euskera (Basque). Both seem to mean "clear speech". The reverse is also true as can be seen by considering appellations

such as Nemets (Slav for German) which means “dumb”. The Greeks called everyone other than themselves barbaroi (barbarians), people who can only repeat nonsensical syllables like “bar-bar”. It would appear that this attitude has continued well into modern times. In the Arabic language, the term “Arab” means “those who speak clearly” as contrasted with “Ajam” or those who speak indistinctly; a term which later came to be applied chiefly to Persians.

As far as Imazighen are concerned, they were given different names in different times. Like the Greeks, the Romans designated by the label **barbarians (barbarus)** the people who do not belong to their civilisation. This designation was adopted later by the Arabs to refer to the natives of North Africa **Barabir**.

According to Oussedik, T (1989; 7-8), Algeria bore two names in the Antiquity. It was first called **Numidia** then the land of **Barbary**. When the Greeks discovered the country for the first time, they came into contact with the inhabitants who ignored sedentarisation and used to lead a pastoral life. That is why they named them **Numidians**. For the Egyptians who crossed North Africa, it was the natives' language which attracted their attention. They found the Tamazight vocabulary jerky and expressions "brute" and "abrupt". When referring to the ancient Imazighen, they said that they do not speak in a clear and intelligible way but just talk gibberish (**iberberu**). Afterwards, the previous Imazighen' s appellation **Lybians** has been replaced by **Berber**. In their turn, The French colonizers adopted the designation **Berber** devised by the Arabs for centuries until present-day. As can be noticed, the label **Berber** is pejorative like other group appellations; **Chawi** meaning in Arabic “shepherd” and **Tuaregs** “forgotten by God”. According to the Algerian historian Oussedik, T (1991), l'appellation **Imazighen** seems to be the primitive name which is given to the ancestors of Imazighen living in the

West of North Africa and described by Sallustus as **Mazigues ou Mazigucces**.

Before the Amazigh Spring in 1980, the great majority of Imazighen who were at that time unconscious of their historico-cultural unity used regional designations to refer to themselves: **Kabyls** (from Kabylia), **Chenwis** (from Tipaza), **Chawis** (from Aures) and **Mozabits** (from the M'Zab). Exception was made for the Tuaregs who, according to Chaker, S (1987; 563) **Amahegh/Imuhagh**. The appellation **Amazigh/Imazighen** among the different Tamazight speaking groups in Algeria has been generalized after the events of "Tafsut Imazighen" (Amazigh Spring) narrated in sub-chapter 5-1. According to the Algerian historian Oussedik, T (1991; 42), the ancestors of the present-day Imazighen were able to support hunger, thirst, and cold weather but no one could prevent them from freedom. That is why they named themselves **Imazighen** meaning "free men".

The Amazigh Academy (Agraw Imazighen), founded in 1976 in France by Bessaoud Mohand Arab, Taos Amrouche and Abdelkader Rahmani, popularized the term **Amazigh** which has been used since 1945 in the national Amazigh Hymn **Ekr a mm is Umazigh**, (get up, son of Amazigh) written by Ait Amrane Idir, presently president of the Higher Amazigh Committee in Algeria.

Conclusion

The ancestors of the present-day Imazighen were the North African people mentioned in History as being the first inhabitants.

For the Carthagians, they were **the Africans**. For the Greeks, they were **the Lybians**. For the Romans, they were **the Barbarians** from which, probably, the designation **Berber** used by the Arabs and the French came from. They presently call themselves **Imazighen**. It is respectful to describe and

name people with the designation they use presently for themselves rather than pejorative terms used by others in the past. Thus, one has to say: "Same" not Lappish, "Inuit", not Eskimo, "Romanes" not Gypsy and finally **Imazighen**, not **Berbers**.

However, as can be noticed, the term **Berber** is still used in Algeria and abroad. The main reason is that the international documentation about the history of Imazighen in North Africa refers to their ancestors only under the appellation **Berber**. As it is impossible to change what has been gained in historical facts, the designation **Berber** is accepted when referring to Imazighen in the past. Meanwhile, one has not to forget that the appellation **Amazigh/Imazighen** for the native speakers themselves has a magical effects since it is associated with the idea of the **Berbers** liberated and rehabilitated in their language and culture.

4-2 DESCRIPTION OF THE KABYL GROUP

As mentioned in chapter 3-1, the different Imazighen groups are geographically dispersed. Accordingly their way of life differs. The Tuaregs living in the extreme south of the Sahara are mainly nomads, whereas the Mozabites are semi-nomads and the people of Aures and the Kabyls are sedentary and arboriculturists living mainly off their crops and craftsmen. The sociolinguistic approach used in this study is limited to the Kabyl group for reasons explained in chapter 1-4. To introduce Kabyl people and culture to the reader, it is necessary to describe the way of life of this Amazigh group in connection with:

- 1- Their social organisation.
- 2- The economy and the phenomenon of immigration in Kabylia.
- 3- Their religion.

Other aspects of Kabyl culture will be described in chapter 13-5.

As said in chapter 3-1, geographically, Kabylia includes the mountainous region of Higher Kabylia and Lower Kabylia with Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth as their respective capitals.

The exact number of Kabyl speakers is unknown because of the lack of clear linguistic census in mixed areas especially in Bgayeth. However the Kabyl group is thought to represent by itself about one third of the Tamazight speakers in Algeria.

1- Kabyl social organisation

Kabyls are thought to be the descendants of the ancient Zouaoua tribe. The appellation "Kabyl" meaning "tribes" was given to them by the Arabs. A tribe is called in Arabic "ashira" (pl; "ashair") or "qabila" (pl; "qabail") depending on countries. In the Arab world, a tribe is mainly characterized by the feeling of solidarity shared by all members of the community and the strong social link which unites people from the same agnatic family ("ansab"). Generally, Kabyls believe they are descendants of a common ancestor (real or mythical). That is why, as can be noticed, all the names of Kabyl tribes start with the word "Ait"

(Ait Menguellat, Ait Ouazzou) meaning "Son of" like "Mac" in Scotland.

The traditional Kabyl society, which is composed of what might be described as a series of interlocking communities, may be represented by concentric circles of allegiances which have their own name, their own property and their own honor. The smallest social cell is the extended family **akham** (the large house). The families join together to form **Takharubt** and consider themselves to be "brothers" since they descended from a common ancestor. Each Takharubt has its **t'amen**, its spokesman, chosen by common consent who represents it at assemblies and who at the time of the **Timechret** receives the share of the meat that is intended for the members of his group.

The **Takharoubt** may join with others in varying numbers to form a larger group called in Higher Kabylia, **the Adrum**.

The village **Taddart**, with its **amin** (the executive agent of the decisions of the **Tajmaat**, the council chosen by the elders) is made up of several **iderman** (plural of Adrum). Several villages compose the **ash** (tribe) which formerly had its own assembly composed of a representative from each village.

Tajmaat (plural; **Tijemmuya**) is the meeting in which all the families are represented. Important decisions about the village or the people have to be taken according to democratic principles. **Tajmaat** functions like an association ruled on the basis of transparency, of free participation and of the majority. Its internal regulations are sometimes constrained but necessary to sustain the solidarity effort. Each member of the village community has to fulfill one's duty vis-à-vis the collectivity for the benefit of all. For example the building of a house or a mosque or the repairing of a damaged street due to bad weather. **Tiwizi** is a gift to labor to which a counter-gift will later correspond. Like other Amazigh groups, the real base of the traditional Kabyl society is not the family but the tribe. This is an ancient tradition which has been kept alive in Kabylia until the present day.

The family cell is a fundamental unit, an economic unit of production and consumption, a political unit within the confederation of families that makes up the clan and finally a religious unit, since each dwelling is the site of a common cult (rites of the threshold, of the hearth, of the guardian spirits of the family, etc).

The traditional Kabyl family is also a unit with common interests and occupations. The outdoor tasks, those of both the men and women (construction, sowing, harvests, pottery making) are the business of all members of the group. This involvement extends to anything that affects the head of the family, particularly anything that affects his honour, which they must defend at all costs.

Kabyl solidarity is expressed first of all within the agnatic family where domestic tasks are distributed to all members according to their age, physical strength and aptitude. For instance, as far as women are concerned, old ladies are asked to look after babies. Young girls to keep goats and sheep when their mothers are away to fetch water to prepare the meals or to water the family's garden. What characterizes the Kabyl society is the passion for equality and independence which seems too general and too deeply rooted to be of recent date. Kabyls have also a peasant-like love of the soil and of the desperately hard work required to make it fertile, a predominance of direct farming of the land by its owner, a social structure with strong egalitarian features based on the concept of the territorial patrimony. In all those customs is expressed the strong desire to keep the ties of the group tightly drawn. The Kabyl group does everything in its power to defend these customs and to continually proclaim those values on which it is based, particularly the virtues of solidarity and mutual aid which cannot be abandoned without threatening the ruin of the entire social organism and the destruction of that balance between man and his environment which is maintained only by coordinated effort.

2- Kabyl economy

The traditional Kabyl economy depends mainly on two agricultural products, olives and figs together with a few complementary crops (hard wheat and barley) and some small-scale stock raising. Olive trees live longer than fig trees, about a century or more. That is why the olive tree is commonly named **Assas** (keeper). Extracted from the olives, olive oil is the main agricultural product in the Kabyl mountainous areas. In the past, Kabyl people used to exchange it for wheat which does not grow in sufficient quantity because of the rarity of arable soil. Symbol of peace and stability, the olive tree feeds its people and protects them. The various Kabylian industries, such as oil and soap industries, depend on the production of olive-trees. Thus, the olive tree is so useful to Kabyls that the ancients thought it was a gift given by God as a kind of indemnification to the soil aridity where Kabyl live.

As Laoust-Chantréaux, G (1990; 105), the French ethnographer explains, the importance of the cultivation of the fig tree is attested to by the richness of the vocabulary used to refer to the different species of fig trees. About twenty-eight Kabyl terms are available in the Kabyl language to describe the stage of fruit development or its stage of dryness. This vocabulary is acquired very soon by children who use them with a remarkable precision. At a very early age, Kabyl children can recognize the different kind of fig trees according to the way the fruit is attached to the branch, its colour, its shape, its taste, and the shaping of the fig tree leaves. It is the role of women to pick up the figs and to dry them. These fruit are the basis of all the meals taken outside home the whole year round. The provisions of olives, oil, wheat, figs and other products are kept at home in the huge **Ikufan** (masonry) built and decorated by women themselves. This way of keeping food is found as well in the Aures region. Each agglomeration has several fortified houses in which the harvests are stored during the absences made necessary by the semi-nomadic existence. It is also the role of women to look after the

family kitchen-garden which produces the totality of vegetables consumed by the whole family throughout the year.

As can be noticed, Kabyl women play an essential role in Kabyl agricultural life. Certain tasks are totally performed by them such as gardening, harvesting, field cleaning, winnowing, corn grinding and others. To refer to a precise time in the year, women usually use the name of the crop which is produced at that time. For instance:

tasentit indicates the time when the first figs appear.

Taggara L-Lexrif is the time when figs are picked up from the tree.

asefruri corresponds to the time when beans are ripe.

Higher Kabylia is not a region of cattle rearing. However, a few goats and ewes are reared for the milk they provide to the whole family.

Game (partridges, hares) is abundant but not in great demand. To be fit to eat, game has to be slaughtered and not shot according to the Moslem faith.

3 - Kabyl Immigration

Like the other Imazighen regions, Kabylia is highly populated. As its poor mountainous agriculture cannot feed its people, Kabyls have to emigrate to the main towns (Algiers, Wahan) or abroad to look for a living. According to Chaker (1990) this phenomenon started in 1914 when the French destroyed the base of the traditional economy. At that time, among the 13,000 Algerians who emigrated 10,000 were of Kabyl origin. Nowadays, the exact number of Kabyl emigrants abroad is unknown but it is certain that they represent the majority of emigrants in France. Like other North African emigrants, Kabyls are very attached to their country, language and culture. It is the thought of their relatives that sustains Kabyl emigrants during their exile, that inspire them to work hard and save their money. Finally, it has been noted that when they are joined together in France, they form communities which are patterned on the family structure and

which recreate that system of solidarity and mutual support which animates Kabyl life. They generally reconstitute the traditional way of life and regroup by family, village and tribe forming then isolated cultural and linguistic communities. Of the few emigrants who manage to take their family abroad, it is the wives, who generally are monolingual, who pass the Kabyl language to their children at home.

From the economic point of view, it is certain that the exodus of men (rural depopulation) has deprived the Kabyl village of an active element. Men are needed for traditional cultivations and women have to replace them in harvesting and other hard work. This in addition to other tasks they have to fulfill every day such as looking after their children, fetching water from the spring, carrying clay and wood to make pottery. In fact, women have a double economic and social role in the traditional Kabyl society.

4- Religion

The majority of Kabyls are Moslem but a few of them have been converted to Christianity by Christian missionaries (soeurs et pères blancs) during the French occupation. Nowadays, in Higher and Lower Kabylia, 2513 mosques have been built by the Kabyls themselves thanks to the local population's financial aid and numerous **Tiwizi** (explained on page 196).

Being an agricultural region, the cult of natural elements (water, trees and others) is still maintained in some Higher Kabylia areas. This reveals the survival of paganism. As Haddadou, MA (1995) points out fourteen centuries of islamization did not efface some pagan beliefs such as animal sacrifice rites after the building of a house for instance, harvesting and ploughing rites, the adoration of **Lares** Gods, home protector genius (**I assasen en waxxam**) and others.

Rain, for instance, is personified under the name of Anzar which is seen as the beneficial element for increasing vegetation, crops and cattle. To ask the rain (Anzar) to fall down and provoke his fertilizing action, the most efficient way is to offer Anzar a

fiancée in the shape of a ragged doll. Her appearance will provoke Anzar' s sexual desire and create the favourable conditions for rainfall.

Conclusion

The resources of Higher Kabylia are poor, only 30% of the soil being arable, including tiny pieces of land on the slopes. Moreover, due to the lack of sufficient anti-erosion measures, only a small part of the cultivated area is suitable for the profitable crops of Algerian agriculture. More than half of the product goes for self-consumption. As a result, poverty has pushed Kabyls to emigrate to the main towns in Algeria and abroad. From the religious point of view, Kabyls are generally Moslem but their Islam is sometimes impregnated with aspects of paganism.

CHAPTER 5 SHORT HISTORY¹ OF THE STRUGGLE FOR IMAZIGHEN POLITICAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

Rights are things we get when we
are strong enough to claim them

Keller, H (1915)

An understanding of history is necessary to comprehend fully the struggle for the survival of the Tamazight language and culture. An important aim of the state throughout Algerian history has been to suppress the Amazigh identity and culture and replace them with something else. This has continued in recent times. French settlers taught that the ancestors of the present-day Algerians were in fact Gauls, and later the Algerian National Movement stressed the Arab-Islamic influence in an attempt to eclipse the Amazigh identity. However, one must not forget either that the Algerian National Movement was formed when the Arab world, especially in Egypt, had entered a period of decolonisation and liberation. Leaders of the Algerian nationalists probably sought to launch the movement in favourable circumstances at a time when opposition to the French was growing. Although Algeria had not much in common with the Middle East, Messali Hadj, leader of the National Movement, drawing on language and religious traditions, portrayed Egypt as an ally. Messali Hadj argued that the Arabic language and Islam reflected a common denominator between Algeria with its eastern neighbours in stark contrast to colonial France with its separate language and religion (French and Christianity). This was a powerful argument which motivated the activists and the population at large in their opposition to colonialism. Today it is however possible to claim that the National Movement would have achieved just as much if it had looked to the Amazigh culture and traditions which represent the roots of modern-day Algeria. The Amazigh culture also has the advantage of having been one of the very first known civilisations in North Africa with a strong anti-colonial identity.

1- personal analysis

Living conditions being what they were, many Algerians realized that their own well-being and those of their families were best served elsewhere and many took refuge in emigration. Very soon, Kabyls constituted a majority of the Algerians in France. Without education and qualification, young Kabyls found themselves working in the mines and factories and gradually became part of the workers' movement and trade unions. This development was important for many reasons: alongside their French comrades, Kabyls in France began to understand the need to establish themselves and seek their rights. But the racism and discrimination they experienced led them to understand that, if they were to be successful in their struggle to secure better conditions and improved quality of life, they had to confront and defeat colonialism. Psychologically, the process of decolonisation motivated Algerians to organise themselves and this period sees the birth of "L'Etoile Nord Africaine", (the North African Star) followed by the "Parti Populaire Algérien" (PPA, the Algerian Popular Party). Initially, the latter was mainly based in France. Gradually its influence spread to Algeria and throughout the regions setting up an effective and efficient organisational structure. The PPA had a majority of Algerians from Kabylia which gave rise to the initially timid demands for Amazigh political and cultural rights.

Unfortunately, a significant influential minority within the party had successfully taken the party in the direction of Pan-Arabism. Moreover, the majority of party militants would not allow this and in 1949, a group of young PPA cadres challenged the Pan-Arabic philosophy adopted by the leadership. The fact that they spoke Tamazight, they argued, was a living and an irrefutable proof of the ideological error of Pan-Arabism, and stressed the need for adopting a pan-Imazighen party policy. This political challenge in 1949 marked the first concerted attempt to raise Amazigh demands within the Algerian National Movement. From thereon, successive leaderships of the national movement sought to undermine and discredit the demands of Imazighen by dismissing them as a threat to

national unity. This was a setback which seriously weakened the Amazigh movement and led to the development of a Kabyl inferiority complex "le complexe Kabyle". To counterpose Amazigh demands with a threat to national unity was a successful strategy deployed by successive leaderships of the national movement. Not only did it reinforce the status quo but it also encouraged a further move in the direction of Arabic-Islamic ideology which was even evident among the leadership of the Front de Libération National (FLN). The leadership of the national movement were also encouraged by the silence of the Amazigh militants who were afraid of being dismissed as traitors and separatists if they ever were again to raise the question of Amazigh political and cultural rights.

Out of this, a consensus was established; there would be no more talk of Amazigh rights before liberation. The Amazigh claim was to be silenced for the moment, but not extinguished for ever. Following independence, the formation of a political party, the FFS (Front des Forces Socialistes) of which the prime movers were from Kabylia, saw the rekindling of the "Kabyl menace".

The populist and authoritarian administration which refused to acknowledge any opinion or policy contrary to its own, sought easy refuge in promoting the spectre of separation. But the traditional separatism reaction associated with the "Kabyl complex" did not work in 1963, since the FFS consisted equally of militants and a leadership who were Arabic-speaking. The penetration of the FFS in Kabylia was to be the regime's alibi which tried to excuse their policy of brutal repression including bombings and shootings resulting in about four hundred dead and hundreds of widows and orphans. Thus the authorities killed two birds with the one stone. On the one hand, they removed all political opposition and at the same time revived the notion of Kabyl autonomy as a threat to national unity which deflected from the real social and political questions of the day. On the other hand, the regime had successfully brought "peace" to the region at the cost of several hundred lives. The political aspirations of Kabylia,

seeking recognition as the heart of the country and source of its origins, were drowned in blood and tears.

The repression allowed the regime a breathing space of several years and time for the Amazigh people to tend their wounds. But yet again the struggle re-emerges with the establishment of the Académie Berbère in France and the introduction of the teaching of the Tamazight language at the University of Algiers by Mouloud Mammeri. With these developments, the Académie Berbère (founded by Bessaoud Mohand, ex-militant and founder member of the FFS) launched a massive undertaking which had a political, linguistic and historical aim. Thanks to the Académie Berbère, many Algerian people discovered the Tifinagh alphabet particularly through the magazine "Ittij". The Academy rediscovered as well several great figures in Algerian history such as Massinissa, Jugurtha and others.

The Agraw Imazighen academy for many years was the only organisation to sustain the struggle for recognition on behalf of the Tamazight culture. **Anerrez wala neknu** (better to die than to surrender) was the Academy's motto. There was also a shift from its pacifist origins towards military operations. Faced with the need to raise money it turned to small businesses which had been set up in France. Several of the members of the Academy were implicated in the bombings which took place during 1975. If it is true to say that the Agraw Imazighen Academy played an important role in the raising of political consciousness among Algerians, it is equally true to say that the military turn was a disaster. These actions were not the result of a mass movement, nor did those actions have the support of the Algerian people; they were the acts of a minority who had grossly miscalculated the mood of the movement at large. The brutal repression suffered by the Academy activists and its perceived adventurism led to its disappearance. It was a hard lesson for the Amazigh movement as a whole. The extent of the mobilisation achieved, and the support which existed, as a result of years of struggle and hard work, were lost. In 1976, President Boumedienne introduced a debate on the details of his National Charter

which he had drawn up. In the course of the debate, **Dr Said Sadi** declared himself a member of the “**Mouvement Culturel Berbère**” (**MCB**) which was the first time anyone had heard of the organisation. Imazighen activists took the opportunity, once again openly and publicly, to advance the claim for Imazighen rights and recognition. 1980 was an historically significant moment in the struggle for Imazighen rights. This defining moment in the struggle was based on the following crucial developments:

1- Until then, the struggle had been born by a minority; 1980 saw the masses come on board.

2- On an ideological level, The MCB joined the wider democratic movement of the time. Kabyl activists who possessed a wealth of experience on the ground were able to complement the aims and objectives of the democratic activists: "Les berbéristes" brought their own. Experience of the struggle on the ground, and the left-wing activists of the wider democratic movement (mainly independent of the main parties) who were able to offer a deeper political and intellectual perspective based on democracy and social justice which would help advance the Amazigh cause.

It is generally accepted that this combination of events created conditions which helped the success of the Amazigh Spring and rejuvenated the mass of people who rediscovered their pride as Algerian Imazighen citizens. After 1980, faced with a diminishing number of activists, the movement mobilised around a number of campaigns to promote democracy and human rights. It was understood that in order to challenge the authoritarian regime it was necessary to construct an alternative vision of a modern, democratic society which would appeal to the people and provide coherent ideological opposition to the regime. This constituted a shift from culture to politics in terms of the struggle.

The consequences of the **Tafsut Imazighen** (Amazigh Spring) went well beyond the source of its origins in Higher Kabylia, with repercussions on a national scale. In order to understand

the full extent of the effect of this initiative, it is necessary to briefly examine the events and circumstances which contributed to this renewal of the struggle for Imazighen rights.

According to *Tamurt* newspaper (May 1st 1992, n° 51, page 12) in an article titled *Le Printemps Berbère* on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the Printemps Berbère (1980-1992), it was Hend Said lecturer at the university and author of a book of mathematical puzzles in Amazigh, who had been one of the instigators of events at the time of the launch of the "Printemps Berbère". Having closely followed the work of **Mouloud Mammeri**, the Kabyl well-known writer on the subject of ancient Kabyl poetry, he had the idea that it might have been interesting for the students, the university at large and more generally, the citizens of Tizi-Wuzzu themselves, to hear from Mouloud Mammeri on that subject. Hend Sadi then enquired of the committee of Oued Aissi city that Mouloud Mammeri receive an invitation to speak about his latest book written in France: ***Poèmes Kabyles anciens*** (ancient Kabyl poems) **1976. Laphomic-Awal. Alger.** Hend Said subsequently contacted Mouloud Mammeri in Algiers and passed on the invitation to come and speak. Unfortunately, Mouloud Mammeri was prevented from delivering the lecture when he was stopped at a police road block a few kilometres from Tizi-Wuzzu at Boukhalfa.

The Wali (mayor) at the time justified this action claiming that the planned lecture and the very appearance of Mouloud Mammeri presented a grave threat to public order. The banning of the meeting unleashed a huge revolt which exploded as a result of widespread discontent felt by the students and citizens of Tizi-Wuzzu, deeply hurt at this affront to their pride and self-respect, and their general bitterness and frustration experienced by Tamazight speakers, an historically oppressed linguistic minority group. To fully appreciate the reaction of Tamazight speakers in the aftermath of the banning of the meeting, it is necessary to assess the general situation which prevailed at that time. There had been a general slowdown in the cultural activity of the Tamazight language

and culture at the end of the seventies. The courses in Tamazight language had been suspended since 1973 at Algiers University. Moreover a number of activists involved in theatre, and in particular with the plays of Kateb Yacine, has also ceased activity. In France, the "Académie Berbère" had almost succumbed following the marvellous work it had undertaken. It had experienced problems, as explained earlier, and its leaders had found themselves in prison. In Paris, the "Goupe d'Etudes Berbères" (Berber Study Group) who were located at the University of Paris VIII (ex-university of Vincennes) had also begun to show signs of weakening. After the banning of the lecture Mouloud Mammeri had been invited to give, the students and people of Kabylia, weary of seeing their language and culture continually regressed, had planned a major demonstration at Tizi-Wuzzu on the 11th May 1980. A wider mobilisation was deemed practically and symbolically necessary which went beyond the confines of Kabylia in an effort to avoid the cardinal mistake of allowing the movement to be marginalised and ghettoised at a local level. In the event, the demonstrations were made up of students from Tizi-Wuzzu teachers and supporters demanding the recognition of Tamazight as an official language. It was anything but an expression of local demands as some politicians had described it. The students had also received the solidarity of the people of Tizi-Wuzzu and other Tamazight speaking localities who also expressed their support daily. In an equally important move, a general strike was called by **Dr Said Sadi** for the 16th April 1980. There was widespread support for the strike in Kabylia. Factories, shops and schools closed down. All kinds of workers joined the movement and took an active part. Predictably, the FLN (Fédération de Libération Nationale), who were in power at the time, had never recognised these demands as valid and the ex-president of Algeria, Chadli Bendjedid, stated the following in a speech in the wake of events at the time of the "Printemps Berbère":

Nous avons frappé le colonialisme à la tête, il continue à remuer la queue. 40

We have in the past dealt colonialism a severe blow on the head, but evidently the dog continues to wag its tail.

(my translation)

For the political authorities during that period, the cultural demands of Imazighen were simply an expression of foreign interference, particularly from the French. This represented their analysis of events at that time. As Sadi Hend, lecturer at the university of Tizzi Wuzzu, commented in an article, *La guerre de cent ans*, inserted in the *Tamurt* newspaper, 1980, n° 98, p 4.

It has been two thousand years that Imazighen have waited for their demands to be addressed, and it has always been the excuse that the time and place had never been right. 41

From an historical point of view, the 20th April 1980 is a landmark in the long struggle for Tamazight language and cultural rights; integral elements of the national Algerian culture. The date remains a significant and influential turning point in the history of contemporary Algerian affairs.

Once events had died down, following the demonstrations and strikes during which Imazighen died, were wounded or imprisoned, the leaders of the movement for Amazigh rights, including **Dr Said Sadi**, met during the summer at Yakouren (Higher Kabylia) and presented a document to the political authorities which summarized their demands and listed their grievances. Among these was the demand for the official recognition of the Tamazight language along with Arabic, and that Tamazight be taught in schools. The protagonists of this movement had been instrumental in doing as much for the struggle against the oppression of Imazighen as they also had as defenders of human rights and democracy.

.....
40- President Chadli Bendjedid speech on television, April 1980.

41- Sadi, H (1980; 4) *La guerre de cent ans* in "Tamurt" newspaper n° 98.

After 1980, faced with a diminishing number of leading activists, the movement mobilised around a number of campaigns to promote democracy and human rights. It was understood that in order to challenge the authoritarian regime it was necessary to construct an alternative vision of a modern, democratic society which would appeal to the mass of people and provide coherent ideological opposition to the regime. This constituted a shift from culture to politics in terms of the struggle. In 1985 the first committee for human rights was established. Despite the level of repression and the threat of imprisonment the issue of human rights was forced on to the national agenda and the authorities were forced to confront the issues. The events of October 1988 and the hopes engendered obliged the Amazigh leadership and activists to contemplate seriously the way forward and the future of their country which had implications for their structures and forms of organisation. This led to the adoption of the constitution of February 1989 under the aegis of the MCB with the establishment of a politically autonomous movement with the clear aim of achieving democratic rights and recognition for Imazighen. This announcement led to reforms where the authorities allowed greater freedom of expression among different interest groups, albeit within the one party. The mere immediate outcome however was the birth of the **RCD** under **Dr. Said Sadi** as its leader. Having had modest success in shifting the authorities in the direction of liberalisation, it was felt necessary to form an organisation which would take responsibility for the advancement and realisation of Amazight cultural and political ambitions.

Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights had a high priority within the **FFS** and **RCD**; the two main parties linked to the **MCB**. Both parties sought recognition of Tamazight as an official language. If the right to be taught Tamazight in school was not yet on the statute books at that time, the campaign to achieve recognition of the language in schools and universities remained strong.

5-2 Struggle on the cultural field

a- Role of Kabyl singers

Prior to the “Amazigh Spring” (20th April 1980), the cultural identity of the Amazigh people, an integral part of Algerian culture, was denied in all its manifestations and remained officially taboo. In these unfavourable circumstances, Amazigh culture was forced to adopt a defensive and clandestine posture which nevertheless sought energetically to ensure a basis for survival. In this struggle, a debt is owed to those older artists who made heroic efforts in maintaining a linguistic continuity through their commitment to the oral tradition of Kabyl song and verse. These include for example, **Slimane Azem** (poet and singer who lived in exile all his life) **El Hasnaoui**, **Sheikh Arab Bouyezgaren**, **Sheikh Aouzellag**, **Cherif Khaddem**, **Arab Uzellag** and others. Among these singers, several well-known Kabyl women such as **Taous Amrouche**, **Hnifa** (who sang the ancestral musical style **Achewiq**), **Cherifa**, **El Djida**, **Nouara**, **Djamila** and others who are known to have memorised up to five or six hours of verse in their repertoire. These men and women have been central to the preservation of Amazigh culture through their art. The Kabyl oral tradition has played a key role in providing a political resistance which is implicit in the songs of **Idir**, **Ait Menguellet**, **Ferhat Imazighen Imoula**, and **Matoub Lounes**, whose songs had been banned on Algerian radio and television until 1989 when multipartism was introduced in the country. This tradition of song has allowed Kabyl people to express themselves during different times, when the written words and other forms of expression were not available, not permitted. Since 1962, this important tradition which told of the struggle has been the refuge of the opposition and all those who refused to submit to the prevailing and officially sanctioned cultural oppression. As the well-known singer **Aït Menguellet** said in an article entitled *la chanson, porteuse de toutes les révoltes* (Song, the messenger

of all struggles) and published in the weekly newspaper *Tamurt* (September 2nd 1992 n° 68, p 5):

Chanter, c'est libérer, perpétuer l'espoir,
entretenir l'optimisme et appeler à la lutte pour la
dignité. 42

To sing, is to be free, to spread hope, to instil
confidence and uphold the fight for the preservation
of dignity.

(my translation)

Likewise, the Kabyl singer Cheriet Hamid commonly known as **Idir** claimed on the Algerian radio channel 2 in September 1991:

L'Art devient nécessairement politique dès qu'une
identité est en danger. 43

Art becomes political as soon as cultural identity is
in danger.

(my translation)

One must not forget that the successful Kabyl singers have succeeded by their own efforts without any financial help from the state and without any support from the media; advertisements on television or newspapers for instance. This in contrast to the Algerian Raï song which finds support in Algeria and even abroad.

Through their songs, famous singers such as **Slimane Azem**, **Idir** and **Ait Menguellat** had already sensitized millions of fans to the Amazigh question before the happening of the events of the "Amazigh Spring" in 1980.

b- Role of Kabyl poets

Like songs, oral poetry played an important role in the survival of the Amazigh culture and language. Each historical epoch has left its marks in oral literature and all the problems and difficulties the Kabyl community endured in different times are revealed through poetry.

42- Aït Menguellat (1992; 5) La chanson porteuse de toutes les révoltes. in *Tamurt* newspaper. September 2nd 1992, n° 68, p 5.

43- Cheriet, H. Algerian radio, channel 2. September 1991.

Thus Kabyl poetry is a means of expression in which all the Kabyl traditions, customs, social structures and values are projected. Different kinds of poetry had been used by common people in different times. This allowed them to reveal in verses - a more attractive way than prose and a form that people like to memorize - their thoughts, faith, worries, aspirations, and struggle. Kabyl poetry is rich and diverse. One can distinguish religious poetry, militant poetry, maternal poetry, **Izli** or love poetry and finally poetry about the struggle of Amazigh rights.

Religious poetry; Adekker (from the Arabic word "dikr") remains one of the oldest forms of Amazigh oral literature. It calls for the respect of the sacred Islamic religion. As Nacib, Y (1993; 22) points out, the archaic sentence construction and the borrowing of words from the Kuranic Arabic language, shown in the long poems glorifying the Prophet for instance, has allowed two simultaneous linguistic phenomena. The maintenance of the morpho-syntactic structure of the Tamazight language commonly used on the one hand, and the Tamazight language enrichment with the spiritual vocabulary as a result of the borrowing of religious Arabic terms from the Qur' an. As follows is an example:

**Ad selliy fell ak a Nbi
D lwajeb ak id afekker
D nnur ik a Muhemmed
Yeyleb itij ma yneqqer.**

I will sing your glory o Prophet
It is a duty to recall your name
Your splendour o Muhamed
exceeds that of the sunrise.

(my translation)

Militant poetry belongs to all the members of the Kabyl tribe. Each individual praises the honour, the courage, the virtues of the tribe he/she belongs to. For instance;

**D at Bu Drar si Zik necher
Ulac ahebber
Wwet uzzal s zzedma
Berden t legwad kul iymer
Akk' alamma d Bu SEada
(Mohand Said n Ait El Hadj).**

The Aït Boudrar are famous since ancient time
 They fear nothing
 Sharp spears are their weapons
 The noble fighters are found everywhere
 From Aït Boudrar to Bou-Saada.
 (my translation)

Motherly poetry has been transmitted by traditional Kabyl women who were geniuses in creating love poetry for their children. It is the more spontaneous and exclusively feminine oral literature. To protect their babies against any disease, or an evil eye, mothers use verses such as :

Fsi a tit akken ifetti lmeḥ d gw aman.

Melt, o evil eye! as salt melts in water.

(my translation)

While dangling them asleep, mothers sing:

**Arsed arsed ay ides
 Tegged immi ad ittes
 Ur ittay ur t ibellu
 Hoca l'xir d gw ulines.**

(Anonymous poetry)

Descend, descend down, o sleep!
 Fastly make my son asleep!
 Wish no harm comes to him !
 Wish he has heart full of peace !
 (my translation)

Izli is a short poem which is sung in praises of the loved one. The **izlan** (plural of **Izli**) are very often anonymous. Strict Amazigh traditions oblige the authors (men and women) to use very interpretative metaphors to express their feelings and desires towards their lovers without offending Amazigh moral values. Names of birds are generally used to refer to the man or woman being loved: **taskurt**(partridge), **ihiqel**(young partridge), **tayzalt**(gazelle), **tanina**(phoenix), **l'baz**(falcon), **taous** (peacock) and others. Here is an example :

**Tayzalt i-gezdeyn ul-iw
 Mazal i faqeg
 Tessufey-iyi di leEql-iw
 Kul mi t-id-fekkry
 (Ait Menguellet)**

The gazelle who inhabits my heart
 I do not know how
 I lose my mind
 Every time I remember her.
 (my translation)

Poetry about the Amazigh culture and identity

This kind of poetry is created by author-composor singers such as **Matoub Lounes** and especially **Aït Menguelet** who represents one of the strongest defenders of the Amazigh culture as can be seen in some verses of his poem entitled:

Nekwni s warrac n Lezzayer

(We, sons of Algeria):

...Ggan-ay-d imezwura
Agen is ara d-iban yiles
Ras fellas la netEessa
Kul aseggwas yecca sges
Hugwad a t-in-naf yekfa
Yibwas m'aa nedlu yures.

... Our ancestors left us
A rich and well developed language
But the harder we try to protect it
It seems to get impoverished every year
Our fear is that we find it disappeared
On the very day we look for it.

(my translation)

Since ancient times, the poet in Kabylia has been regarded as a wise man with an illuminated, lucid, and even perspicacious mind. He mirrors and incarnates the group of people to which he belongs. As a guide, he would warn, advise and foresee events. The Kabyl poets who fructified Kabyl oral literature are numerous. For example, people can refer to **Yucef Oukaci**, **Shaikh Muhend Uihucine** and others. However, **Si Muhend U M' Hend** is the most famous poet. Nowadays, his poetry remains popular and symbolises in perfection the traditional Kabyl sensibility.

Si Muhend U M'Hend was born in Kabylia (Larbaa Nath-Irathen) in 1845. Kabyl poet at the time of French colonisation, he left about one thousand **Isefra** (poems) after his death in 1906. His **Isefra** refer to various themes: friendship, love, betrayal, parents, family, exile, and patriotism. In the Tamazight language, **Asefru** etymologically means "explanation, demystification and enlightenment". In reality, any wise man, who is gifted with the ability to explain clearly what is obscure and difficult to grasp from the first step, is supposed to be a poet in the Kabyl community. The poet should be capable of reading what is in the mind and heart of the people of his community, understanding their joys, sorrows, in suffering and transcribing these feelings in the shape of poems. Thus, **Si Muhend U M'Hend's** poetry corresponds perfectly to this definition. First of all, he was aware of the complete social change which Kabyl society had

of the Kabyl traditional social life as well as their means of subsistence.

On the other hand, women - symbolising the sacred honour of the family - were humiliated by French soldiers. These unbearable events which occurred in Algeria for a century, have deeply hurt the sensibility and the honour of the Kabyl community as well as those of the poets and writers. As regards **Si Muhend U M'Hend**, he expressed through his poems, his worries, the difficulties he had to face in his everyday life as well as in his private life in his country under French occupation. Through his struggle to survive, the only means Si Muhend U M'Hend discovered in himself was poetry which became the main purpose of his life.

The legend tells that one day **Si Muhend U M'Hend** went to a spring to make his ablutions at the time when he was religious. Suddenly, an angel appeared in front of him and asked him to choose between two alternatives, either to make verses or to recite them. As Si Muhend chose to recite poems, everytime he wanted to say something he could only do it through verses. Si Muhend U M'Hend's poems have been used so many times by common Kabyl speech. Some of his verses became proverbs and are used as such. Young and old, educated and illiterate people, men and women in Kabylia refer to Si Muhend U M'Hend's poetry while discussing: **Igga-d awal Si Muhend**. (Si Muhend left us a word) and they mention the verses afterwards. As can be noticed in all communities, whatever the topic of a discussion, the verses of a famous poet can find their place and usage.

In fact, Si Muhend U M'Hend did not only express through verses the feelings of the Kabyl community of the second half of the XIXth century but also feelings which are simply human and could belong to all ages and societies under similar conditions. That is why, the well-known Kabyl writer, Mouloud Mammeri, describes the poems of **Si Muhend U Muhend** in his book *Culture savante, culture vivante* (1968; 47) as follows:

Si Muhend a réalisé dans sa poésie, ce destin des grands poètes qui est d'être tout du même coup; nationaux et humains...Il a été national parce que son expérience, ses sentiments, sa poésie sont profondément ancrés dans la vie du peuple Algérien. Mais il a été en même temps poète universel parce

que de la peinture d'un destin particulier, il a fait l'image de l'humaine condition. 47

Through his work, Si Muhend has realized the destiny of the famous poets which are at the same time national and human. Si Muhend U M'Hend is national because his experience of life, his feelings and poems are deeply rooted in the life of the Kabyl community. But his work is at the same time universal because, from the painting of a peculiar destiny, he has drawn the image of the human condition.

(my translation)

Si Muhend U M'Hend who was illiterate rarely liked to repeat his newly made verses. Thankfully, his poems had been given a written form more quickly than any work of any other Algerian oral poet. As early as 1904, while Si Muhend was still alive Boulifa, S transcribed a great number of his poems published under the title *Recueil de poésies Kabyls*. Half a century later, in 1960, Mouloud Feraoun used this book - in which a great number of pages were missing - to write another book, *Poèmes de Si Muhend*. Afterwards, in 1969, Mouloud Mammeri who carried out research on the life of the poet and on the themes used in his poems, published his successful book already mentioned earlier *Inna-Yas Ccix Muhend* written in Kabyl Tamazight.

If **Si Muhend U M'Hend** marked the XIXth century in the field of Kabyl poetry, **Slimane Azem**, who sung his poems, marked the XXth century. The preferred themes used in his poems reveal the peculiarity of Kabyl life whether in immigration or in Kabylia itself, separation, friendship, misfortune, luck, fidelity, rationalism, life, death, the Kabylia region and other themes. The poetry of **Mohand U M'Hend** and that of **Slimane Azem** are so impregnated in Kabyl society that they cannot disappear from the memory of the Kabyl people.

47- Mammeri, M (1991) Culture savante et culture vécue (Etudes 1938-1989) Association culturelle et scientifique Tala. Alger.

This phenomenon has been proved by the survival of the poems of **Yussef Ukaci** (poet of the XIII th century) whose verses are still recited in the Djurdjura mountains in Higher Kabylia until the present time. Generally, once a poetic expression is adopted, it “crystallizes” and can last for centuries with the only risk to convey the message without maintaining the name of the author. It becomes then an anonymous verse.

However, there have existed a number of Kabyl poets whose works are not well known. Generally, they borrowed half of their repertoire from others. Among them, one can distinguish the **imeddahen** who generally performed in market places. Their poems were sung accompanied with **abendayer**, a Kabyl musical instrument. They were the journalists of their time and their main role was to transmit up- to-date information to the public in an attractive way. The **Idebbalem**, furthermore, performed during parties. They devised short poems to praise people including the owner of the house. Finally **the Iferrahen** used to wander from one village to another, from one souq (market) to another to sing poems and songs and bring comfort, happiness and pleasure to people. The Imeddahen, Idebbalem and Iferrahen played a not negligible role in the survival of the Kabyl culture at a time when Kabyl radio did not exist to transmit news and broadcast songs in the Kabyl language.

c-Role of Kabyl writers

The struggle for the maintenance of the Tamazight culture is a wide process which includes not only singers and oral poets but also writers. Although some of them were of French origin, they studied Kabyl society and left remarkable pieces of work. However, their view about Kabyl customs and traditions was not always shared by some native writers.

As **Nacib, Y** (1993; 11) points out in his book, ***Anthologie de la Poésie Kabyle, Editions Andalouses, Alger***, the oldest book about Kabyl poetry is probably that written by General **Hanoteau *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Djurdjura*** 1867. Jourdan. Paris. The poems the writers

collected from his research carried out in Kabylia differ: riddles, children songs, war poetry, maxims and other kinds. About twenty years afterwards, **Ben Sedira, B** published his book *Cours de langue Kabyle*, Alger. Jourdan. 1887. At about the same time, another important work was undertaken by **Ben Said, A**, commonly known as **Boulifa**. His research dealt with the Kabyl social structures in particular the status of Kabyl women. This in contradiction to the illogical thesis introduced by Hanoteau as regards the behaviour of men towards women in Kabyl society.

In the first half of the twentieth century, **Basset, H (1920)** published his book *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*. Carbonnel. Alger. This study is a wide analysis on the Kabyl society, ethic, geographic, thematic and generic.

The twentieth century is marked as well by the works of the successors of the first educated Algerians who started to study their own culture such as **Rahmani, S** with his *notes ethnographiques sur les Béni M'Hamed au Cap AoKas* in 1913. In 1930, **Mouloud Féraoun** published his first book *le fils du pauvre* (the poor man's son) which has been translated recently in Tamazight *Usan di tmurt* by M'henni Ferhat. As a world-wide known novelist, Feraoun, used to think in Kabyl and write in French, as the history of his country had forced him to do. But one can say to express one's attachment of one's culture, while using the language of colonizers, can be also an efficient means to face and resist colonialism.

A few years later, another autobiographical book written by **Fadma N-Ait Mansour**, appeared *Histoire de ma vie*, 1968, Maspéro. Paris. Her work is interesting because she safeguarded and transmitted a great number of poems, songs and maxims throughout the tales of the story of her life. The poetry and songs in her mother tongue brought her a great comfort when she was living in exile for a long time. She handed down her knowledge to her children who gave it a written form and who published books such as *Chants Berbères de Kabylie*, 1939. Monomotapa, Tunis, written by

her son Jean El-Mouhouv (1906-1962). He revealed the following feelings in the preface of his book:

En donnant ces chants Berbères au public, j'ai le sentiment de livrer un trésor privé, de me dessaisir d'un bien de famille. 48

By handing down these Berber songs to the public, I have the feeling to deliver a private treasure, to surrender a family belonging.

Moreover, Jean-Mouhouv Amrouche also wrote essays about the situation of colonized people as well as the culture and language of Kabyls.

Likewise her sister, **Marguerite Taos Amrouche**, published some poems her mother taught her in the book ***Grain Magique, Contes, poèmes et proverbes berbères de Kabylie***, 1969, Maspéro, Paris.

Being conscious of the cultural identity crisis they were living, Kabyl writers called for elements of reference to situate themselves and to emphasise their cultural identity within Algerian society. Reference to childhood occurs frequently in the writing of Kabyl writers. For instance Feraoun, in his first book mentioned earlier (*Le fils du pauvre*) chose Fouroulou, a young boy, as the main character. Likewise, the heroes of Mammeri's book ***La colline oubliée*** are all young. This thematic of youth reveals the cultural identity crisis Kabyl writers felt and their strong will to elucidate it. The return to childhood, to their roots, to their history meant a search for their cultural identity which has been confiscated, in particular their language. That is why, nowadays, literary works tend to be published entirely in Tamazight such as the novel written by Amar Mezdad ***Id d Wass***, 1990, Asalu/Azar, Alger.

48- Amrouche El-Mouhouv, J (1939; 1) Chants Berbères de Kabylie. Monomotapa. Tunis.

The work of **Mouloud Mammeri**

The first writers to attempt a written form and to give the language a certain permanence were the first Kabyl primary school teachers. For instance, one may refer to the writings of Boulifa and more recently to the works of **Mouloud Mammeri** (1917-1989). After the independence of Algeria, Mouloud Mammeri was elected the first president of the union of Algerian writers. As professor of Tamazight at the University of Algiers, he was the scholar who worked harder than anyone else for the survival of Tamazight culture. He left highly important works which contributed to the promotion and development of the Tamazight language. **Da L'Mouloud**, like young Kabyls used to name him as a mark of respect ("Da" meaning the eldest one), saved the ancestral Kabyl traditions from oblivion by transcribing the poems of Si Muhend U M'Hend in his books *Poèmes Kabyls anciens, les poèmes de Si Muhend U M'Hend* and *Inna-Yas Ccix Muhend*.

After dissecting what other writers left as regard the poems of Si Muhend, Da L'Mouloud knew how to bring out the personality of the poet in a scientific way. Thus after analysing in detail the events which happened during Si Muhend' s life and the words used by the poet to refer to them, Mouloud Mammeri extracted meanings and symbols conveyed by the Kabyl **Tamusni** (wisdom). Furthermore, he placed the events the poet mentioned in his poems in their historical context. This helped the writer to discover the abstract meaning of the poet's words, the more subtle and unexpected ones. For this reason, one can say that Mouloud Mammeri incarnates Amazigh consciousness and sensibility and he is the main contributor to their survival.

To promote Tamazight and help the culture to expand outside its own geographical area, one has to look at Amazigh society in a critical and objective way. This way of thinking encouraged Mammeri to carry out research in ethnology and in linguistic domains. He was confronted by classical ethnology which, as the result of the expansion of colonization, tended to regard the

culture of colonized people of Africa as an object of curiosity, of exotism, and as relics of the past civilisation. Accordingly, one of his plays entitled *Le banquet* relates the historical event of the death of the Aztec civilisation and culture. This by analogy to the Amazigh civilisation which, he thought, was at risk and could have disappeared like that of the Aztecs. Therefore, it was with a great determination that he consecrated his life to the study of the Tamazight language and culture in an attempt to save them. Accordingly, he launched the basis and the rules of the Modern Tamazight transcription and elaborated a grammar of Tamazight in Tamazight. His book *Tajerrumt N Tmazight* 1990. Bouchène Alger (Grammar of Tamazight), constitutes a basis not only for the teaching of Tamazight but also for the usage of the language and technique of research. As head of the CRAPE centre (Centre des Recherches Anthropologiques, Préhistoriques et Ethnographiques), he encouraged the setting up of research groups about Tamazight and elaborated with them a Tamazight glossary *Amawel* which has been found a very useful book for the development of the language. Nowadays, thanks to his productive work, among others, the writing of Tamazight in Latin characters is possible. For this reason, Da L'Mouloud is regarded as the main point of reference for the Amazigh struggle and his work carries in itself the Amazigh resistance and struggle. In addition to his research, Da L'Mouloud communicated his knowledge in several conferences held in Algeria and abroad. The most famous was the one prevented from giving in March 1980 to introduce his book *Poèmes Kabyls anciens* to the public. The banning of this conference, which events were related on page 227, served as a detonator and had expose openly the question of Amazigh identity. Da Mouloud' s book provoked a turning point in the public and massive expression at a stage that he himself, as a solitary combatant for Tamazight, maybe, did not expect. He was the *amusnaw* (wise man) who knew what was happening behind the mountains of Djurdjura like old people in his village. However, as a scholar, he travelled more often than the illiterate poet *Si Muhend U M'Hend*. After gathering enough knowledge, Mammeri finally came back to his village to assure his people that they formed part of a wide multicultural

humanity and that humanity was pleased to welcome them with their own culture. Mouloud Mammeri stands above party politics. All the political parties who support the promotion of Tamazight in Algeria recognize the value of his scientific work. The personality of Mouloud Mammeri is too important to be included in only one political party. However, he welcomed the creation of the RCD (Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie) in February 1989. This political party sustains the ideas which Mouloud Mammeri had always defended. That is to say the respect of cultural differences in a modern Algeria.

5-3 The role of cultural associations

Since plurality of parties was set up in Algeria in 1989, associations dealing with various domains have multiplied. Amazigh cultural associations, however, are the more numerous since they can be found in all villages and towns. Members of cultural associations are working hard in an attempt to bring their contribution to the promotion of the Amazigh culture which, one has to confess, was the last wheel of the cart. Thanks to the work of those associations, Tamazight culture started to rise from obscurity and bring hope of survival. Appealing names are given to those associations to attract people. For instance, the one set up in Bgayeth is called **Assirem** (hope), that in the village of Aït Khelil is known as **Afous** (the hand, symbol of unity and solidarity). Others were given the name of famous writers and poets such as **Mouloud Mammeri** and **Tahar Djaout**. The main role of these cultural associations can be summarized as follows:

- development of Amazigh culture.
- preservation of Amazigh cultural patrimony (taking a census of cultural and historical sites existing in the wilaya (district) and organizing voluntary works to restore and preserve them).
- raising historical facts from oblivion.
- helping children in their studies by offering them free tuition in Arabic, French and Tamazight.

- organizing colloquia, seminars and conferences on various Amazigh themes such as ethnology, poetry, history and education.
- organizing cultural festivals and inviting Amazigh singers, poets, and writers to animate them.
- organizing projections of films and exhibitions about traditional Amazigh art.
- commemorating anniversaries of Amazigh poets and writers.
- organizing the celebration of the Amazigh new year, Yennayer.

These numerous associations are gathered in the federation the **Agraw Adelsan Amazigh** (Amazigh National Federation) whose chairman is Mrs Ahmed Zayed. She presides over more than a hundred associations located in Kabylia, and others in the Aures and in the M'Zab. The Federation knew that the only way to revive the Tamazight language is, first of all, through literary and scientific production and it decided to encourage people working in that direction. Accordingly, members of the federation devote their energies to the following tasks:

- to encourage literary production in Tamazight
- to organize, every year, the Mouloud Mammeri Prize for any valuable work carried out in the literary and scientific domains as well as any work undertaken by members of the cultural associations.

The literary domain includes theatre, novels, collection of short stories and translation of any book from French or Arabic to Tamazight.

The scientific domain encompasses linguistic, lexicon, dictionaries and diverse reflexions. The work of associations involves reviews, newspapers and any other collective work.

Agraw Adelsan Amazigh forms and trains teachers in Tamazight during the summer holidays. It publishes regularly the review *Izen Amazigh*, the sole review written entirely in Tamazight in Algeria.

It reflects on subjects such as the teaching of Tamazight at school. The federation has always fought for the official recognition of Tamazight and in 1990, it was the first one to

Amazigh cultural associations abroad.

These are numerous and we can find them in France, Morocco, Germany, Holland, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, USA, Canada and in other countries. The role of the Amazigh cultural associations abroad is similar to those settled in Algeria. That is to say to introduce and transmit the Amazigh culture and language to Imazighen immigrants (adults and children) who are living in an environment and within a culture which are not their own. These cultural associations are more numerous in France than in any other country for historical reasons. They are found in Paris, Lyon, Marseille, Nantes and Roubaix. They welcome a great number of adherents and, since 1991, they have gathered in a federation known as "Fédération des Associations de Culture Amazigh de France" (FACAF). As in Algeria, the Amazigh cultural associations abroad organise conferences about the Tamazight culture (History, literature, civilisation and Amazigh art) and about the teaching of the language. For instance, as reported by the newspaper *La Tribune* n° 403. Sunday 18 February 1996, p 5, the Amazigh national congress is going to take place in the summer of 1997 in Paris.

They celebrate the Amazigh Spring and the Amazigh New Year: Yennayer. For that purpose, they organise parties animated by famous Kabyl poets and singers such as Ait Menguellet, Matoub Lounes and others who are invited from Algeria. They welcome and encourage as well young artists producing remarkable works in the domain of Tamazight culture and report their work to cultural associations in Algeria. For instance, in 1992, Djilali Chikh, living in Germany discovered his hidden artistic gift in Munich. All the themes used in his painting derive from the Amazigh heritage, including Amazigh civilisation.

5-4 Other forms of struggle

Of course, the poetic tradition and literature cannot sustain the culture on their own. Equally necessary has been the active intervention of Kabyl citizens who have involved themselves in Amazigh theatre, cinema, painting and demonstrated in

villages and towns including the capital Algiers at various times to claim the recognition of Tamazight as an official language alongside Arabic. The collective struggle has been undertaken as well by individuals, sportsmen, the footballers of the JSK (Jeunesse Sportive de Kabylie), children through the boycott of school and finally the media (Press).

a-Individuals

Without any financial help and moral support, a great number of Kabyl individuals have struggled for the maintenance of their culture. For instance, one can refer to the active contribution of Ait Ighil, a simple citizen who contributed to the establishment of a theatrical group promoting the Amazigh culture in 1994. He produced several plays among which are **Imuzar** (the Condemned Men) and **Ingura** (the Last Ones). He also devised the first coloured Amazigh calendar, stickers and crosswords in Tamazight. With the help of other Kabyl citizens, he set up a chorus for children in Tamazight named **Imsunen** (The Instructors). Finally, as writer, he translated from French to Tamazight, the book written by the historian Oussedik, T: *Ahmed Oumeri, le bandit d'honneur*.

b-Kabyl footballers

Even Kabyl sportsmen contributed to the struggle for Amazigh rights. The famous Kabyl football team "Jeunesse Sportive de Kabylie" attracts the gathering of thousands of Imazighen supporters to meet regularly in the Tizi Wuzzu stadium and proclaimed the following slogans "**Anwa wiggi?**" "**D'Imazighen !**" (Who are those people? They are Imazighen!). Moreover, as reported by the *Tamurt* newspaper, n°162, 9-25 April 1995, p 4, the footballers of the JSK team changed the colour of their uniform since the events of the Amazigh Spring on April 20th 1980. From green and red, it has become green and yellow. The yellow colour had not been chosen at random, but symbolizes hope, the aspirations of Imazighen to recover their Amazigh culture. However, the green matching the yellow colour, as explained by the supporter Ameziane Mohand in the article mentioned above, meant "to recover our cultural

identity peacefully without hurting other Algerians". Such colours had been adopted and used afterwards everywhere in Kabylia, on the façades of shops, stores, public buses, even on clothes along with the Amazigh sign in Tifinagh.

c- School children' s boycott

In September 1995, the "Mouvement Culturel Berbère" called on eight hundred primary school children and students to a boycott school in Kabylia. This was in order to claim official recognition of Tamazight and the teaching of the language at school. The parents, who agreed with this cause, were ready to sacrifice the future of their children in education if only the children of their children could live in dignity and in harmony within their own culture. Afterwards, pupils and students who had been prepared for the event boycotted school and demonstrated with their parents in the streets, shouting the following slogan: **Ulaç Lakul ma ulaç Tamazight!** (there will be no school without Tamazight!). Thus the school which excluded the children's language and culture and ignored the pupils' identity had to be boycotted.

On April 1995, eight months after the beginning of the boycott, one branch of the "Mouvement Culturel Berbère", the movement of the national coordination, close to the movement RCD, launched and set up by Said Sadi, called for the return of school. This followed an agreement signed with the Algerian government on April 22th 1995 to establish a higher committee which will be in charge of the rehabilitation of the Amazigh identity - the latter being recognised as one of the bases of the Algerian national identity - and of the introduction of the Tamazight language in the educational system as well as in the media.

Hence, the boycott of school led to the institutionalisation of Tamazight. One can say that Le "Mouvement Culturel Berbère" had unleashed an operation of 'rescue' following its call for the boycott of school.

d- The media

Similarly, the media played an important role in showing and explaining to the whole Algerian population the justifiable demands of Imazighen. Thanks to the democratic press, in particular the following newspapers, Le Pays, Liberté, Le Matin, L'Horizon, l'Authentique as well as Channel II of the Algerian national radio, citizens all over Algeria had followed the important events which were happening in Kabylia for the recognition of Tamazight, and some of them had supported the Amazigh struggle.

Conclusion

As explained above, the struggle for the Amazigh culture and language had been undertaken by many people, several institutions, organisations and political movements. Thousands of anonymous individuals (women and men) had produced and transmitted for centuries, the Amazigh culture orally. Poets and singers, in their turn, had glorified that culture while claiming its rights of existence. More recently, scholars (**Imusnawen**) such as Mouloud Mammeri, had given a written form to the language and had left remarkable pieces of work for its revival. Others reproduced the Amazigh culture through their plays, films, paintings and other forms of art. Equally important was the role played by the Kabyl population who demonstrated peacefully in the streets to ask for the recognition of their language. Likewise, the role of the Kabyl football team, the JSK, the media, the works of the numerous cultural associations established throughout the country, are not to be forgotten for their participation of the Amazigh struggle. Finally the boycott of the Algerian schools, carried out by children and students in Kabylia, has been found salutary since it led to the institution of Tamazight and the teaching of the language at school. To conclude, one can say that all the works and actions undertaken towards the maintenance of Tamazight have formed the bulwarks of the cultural resistance of the Amazigh struggle against oblivion and folklorisation.

CHAPTER 6

GAINS AND PROBLEMS OF IMAZIGHEN
AT THE PRESENT TIME

6-1 GAINS: Tura nezmar anebnu axxam

“ Now the foundations are firmly laid down,
we can build the house with confidence.”

meaning as regards the Amazigh culture:

“Now the conditions are favourable, we can help
our culture flourish.”

Political achievements

In May 1995, the Algerian government finally conceded to the demands of the Amazigh people. This was only after decades of struggle which culminated in the year-long school boycott led by the pupils and students of Kabylia. With the signing of the decree on May 22th 1995 by President Liamine Zeroual, Tamazight culture and traditions were officially recognised as an integral part of Algerian nationhood and identity. This historic event followed an agreement between the Algerian government and representatives of the Mouvement Culturel Berbère which ended the year-long school boycott. Those events marked a major political achievement in respect of the Tamazight language and its status within Algerian society. Therein lies the justification of over fifty years of struggle since National Movement activists in 1945 raised the banner in pursuit of the recognition of Amazigh identity and culture.

For the first time in Algerian history, the State had deferred to the common will of the people without having to resort to violence or disorder. Subsequently, on June 7th 1995, **the Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité** (High Commission for Amazigh Affairs) was established with responsibility for the promotion of language and cultural rights within Algeria. This is an official government body with the necessary powers and personnel to address and resolve a number of difficult, yet urgent, problems viz the integration of Tamazight into the educational system, the media and in the daily environment. In

L'Opinion newspaper n° 1050, April 23rd, 1996, Said Sadi, general secretary of the RCD, is quoted as saying "the birth of the High Commission for Amazigh Affairs represents the single most important political achievement among all independent countries within the Maghreb, as it signifies the end to the politics of exclusion, and a confirmation of our identity and traditions within a wider social context; both within and outside Algeria".

The practical work of the Commission is to be carried out in stages. As the magazine "Iles Umazigh" n°6, January 18th, 1996, pages 12-13 reports:

- Initially, the priority is to introduce Tamazight into the educational system, the media and communications network and as part of the daily life of the people.

- In the medium term, in 1997 and beyond, major projects will be launched in the areas of communications, education, culture and the environment. A major legislative programme will also have to be undertaken. In education, there are a number of priorities:

a- The state Education System

The drafting of inserts to complement the official History curriculum in order to correct any existing bias.

The setting-up of an Education Commission as part of the Institute of Technology and Education with responsibility for Tamazight teaching in schools and universities.

Greater Tamazight representation at various levels within the institute of Technology and Education.

b- Technical and continuing education

The introduction of Tamazight as the language of instruction within further education and training centres.

c- Higher education

- The creation of a language centre for the promotion and standardisation of Tamazight.

- The establishment of an archive and research body for the recording and storing of Tamazight literature and language - stories, legends, proverbs, poems, the study of place names and their origins. The participation of students in this research would be encouraged.
- The establishment of a committee with the responsibility for researching and publishing an encyclopaedia in Tamazight.
- The creation of a Department of Amazigh language and culture at Batna, capital of the Aures.

Language achievements

The Amazigh question is no longer a taboo subject. Its proper status has been acknowledged and issues are openly discussed on radio, television, and in the press. Tamazight is also now permissible in the courts. There has been a radical shift in perception as the notion of a multicultural Algeria becomes acceptable and greater attention is given to the history and origins of its several languages.

Cultural achievements

Today, the Berber cultural movement (MCB) is spreading from its traditional stronghold in Kabylia and embracing other parts of the country, such as the M'Zab and the Aures regions, as well as the main towns in Algeria where cultural associations are being established. Alongside the two major groupings within the MCB, the Commissions Nationales of the FFS and Coordination Nationale of the RCD, there have been further developments with the birth of the MCA (Mouvement Culturel Amazigh) in the Aures, Oum-El-Bouaghi, and M'chounech. Since the formation of the MCA in 1994, it has been involved in organising marches and demonstrations but also conferences and seminars on Amazigh culture. The latter has been the subject of several seminars. One particular example was the seminar on "Unity and Diversity of Tamazight" organised by the federation of cultural associations, Agraw Adelsan Amazigh on April 20-21st, 1991, in Ghardaia, the capital of the M'Zab. In

April 1996, a Maghrebin conference took place in Barcelona on the subject of the Amazigh question, open to all academics, politicians and activists. Furthermore, a national seminar on Amazigh language and culture is timetabled for 1997 at Bgayeth as well as an international conference the same year in Paris.

Tamazight is prospering day after day taking into account the numerous associations which are taking it in charge, the writers who are writing and publishing magazines and books in Tamazight. Some of the latter have already been translated into Tamazight from French and Arabic. An example is Fadhma Ait Mansour's autobiography *Histoire de ma vie* translated from the French by Abdenour Abdelsselam. Another cultural achievement has been the revival of the theatre, moribund since the seventies.

Similarly several short films have been produced in Tamazight as well as a documentary film on the life of Mouloud Mammeri. As regard the naming of newly-born babies, the use of Amazigh names: Yugurtha, Massinissa, Kahena and others can be noticed nowadays. Before the Amazigh Spring in 1980, those appellations were forbidden and a prohibited list, which had never been introduced to the public (although known by the public), had been set up to compel people to use either Arabic or Muslim names.

Achievements in communication and the media

The High Amazigh Commission (HCA) has plans for the following:

a-The Press

The creation of a State funded magazine dedicated to Tamazight affairs.

All State funded weekly newspapers to dedicate one page per issue to Tamazight.

At least one article would appear in each of the daily newspapers.

b-Television

On June 7th 1996, on the first anniversary of the HCA, the first televised news programme was broadcast at 18.00, peak viewing time. As Tamazight has not yet been standardised, the programme is broadcast daily in one particular version of Tamazight - Taqbaylit, Tachenwit, Tachawit, or Tamzabt. This arrangement caters for a number of Imazighen viewers who may not fully understand Standard Arabic and French.

c- Radio

There is an Amazigh station broadcasting from Batna, the capital of the Aures. There is another station "Tamgut" at Azazga. Radio "Soumam" at Bgayeth is planned for May 1997. According to the review *"Iles Umazigh"* n° 6, January 1996, p 13, the HCA has announced the targets for Tamazight radio broadcasting.

- National coverage by the second station (chaine II) in Tamazight.
- More powerful transmitters located in the Aurès for the purpose of Tamazight language broadcasting.
- 10% of local broadcasting time to be dedicated to the Tamazight language.
- A timetabled element on the first and third stations of radio Algeria for the purpose of familiarisation with Tamazight issues.

d-Cinema

The commission has announced plans to sub-title the most popular State-funded output in the Tamazight language.

Educational achievements

As the "Matin" newspaper n° 1298, April 23rd, 1996, p 3 reports, the State, through the agency of the HCA commission, has underlined its commitment to the teaching of Tamazight by announcing pilot courses in several schools across sixteen of

the forty-eight wilayates (districts) from September 1995 onwards. Although not yet available on a national scale, 37,700 pupils will have followed a Tamazight language course across 133 Cours Elémentaire Moyen (middle school) and 98 lycées (upper secondary school). These numbers will be increased in 1996/97.

6-2 Present-day problems of Imazighen

“Mazal Lxir ar zdat”

(New gains are yet to come)

1-Problems in the political field

During the French occupation of Algeria, the settlers attempted to destroy the Algerian culture using two ways. First of all, they divided the Algerian population into Arabs and Berbers to govern better, then they imposed the French language as the sole language worthy to be taught at schools which had been opened progressively in the whole territory. In the article *Journal des évènements de Kabylie* inserted in *Les temps Modernes*. Dimped/SA Evreux, Chaker, R (1980; 383) explains this phenomenon as follows:

Un des moyens de domination coloniale utilisé par la France au Maghreb a été celui de “la politique Berbère”. S’appuyant sur le fameux adage “diviser pour régner”, elle a été ponctuée en Algérie par le rôle des pères Blancs en Kabylie, ainsi que la politique scolaire désireuse de dégager rapidement une élite francisante parmi les Kabyles, de même que de nombreux ouvrages pseudo-scientifiques ont essayé de prouver l’apparemment “occidental” des Berbères. 49

One of the colonial domination means used by the French in the Maghreb was the “Berber policy”. This policy relied on the well-known adage “divide and rule”. It had been reinforced by the religious role played by the “pères Blancs”, Christian missionaries, as well as the role played by French schools to form rapidly a French speaking elite among Kabyls. Likewise, several pseudo-scientific works attempted to prove the western connection of the Berbers as regards their origin.

(my translation)

49-Chaker, R (1980; 383) Journal des évènements de Kabylie in *Les Temps Modernes*. Dimped/SA, Evreux. France.

After independence, Imazighen thought that once liberated from the French domination, they would have full access to their culture within its varieties. Unfortunately, this did not happen and not a single centime had been expended by the Algerian state for the sake of promoting Tamazight, but introducing it as folklore instead of a real culture to the public. For instance, as Chaker, R (1962) reports, in September 1962, just after the independence of Algeria, the well-known Amazigh scholar, Mouloud Mammeri, suggested to re-opening of the course in Tamazight at the university of Algiers (left by Picard, A). Mohammedi, S, the first minister of Education of that time, replied : "But, let us be serious, everybody knows that the Berber language has been invented by the "pères blancs!"

Nowadays, after half a century of struggle, the Imazighen have gained the right to promote their language and culture. However, if a Higher Committee of Tamazight has been set up and the teaching of the language introduced in several schools at an experimental level, Tamazight is not yet recognised in the constitution as an official and national language alongside Arabic. For this reason, the constitutionalisation of the Amazigh culture is still a matter of controversy among the different groups of the Berber Movement who did not agree to the ending of the boycott of schools. As reported in the *Matin* newspaper, n° 734, June 6th 1996, p 5 in an article entitled *La lutte n'est pas finie*. According to the members of the MCB-National Coordination, it is necessary to accept everything which has been gradually gained through hard and long struggle, being aware that the struggle itself is not finished. Whereas the members of the MCB-National Commissions are firmly convinced that it would have been better if the school boycott had been carried on until the full recognition of Tamazight in the constitution. The members of the MCB-National Commissions think that the establishment of the HCA and the teaching of the language at school are not sufficient to solve definitively the problem of the political recognition of

Tamazight in Algeria. On the other hand, a third group within the MCB, the National Assembly, with Ferhat M'henni, the famous Kabyl singer and leader, expressed its opinions about this matter in the *Opinion* newspaper n° 1045 , April 19-20th, 1996, p 5 in an article entitled *Tamazight souffle son 16ème printemps* , "Gains remain insignificant compared to what has been sacrificed; a year of school boycott by our children merits a more satisfactory outcome".

2-Problems in the linguistic field.

The main challenge that Tamazight speakers, researchers, teachers and members of the HCA have to face in the future is the reconstitution of their common Tamazight language which split into different varieties throughout time and history under the pressure of the numerous invaders who imposed their own languages and neglected Tamazight which became impoverished little by little and fragmented. Nowadays, it is a reverse process that has to be undertaken, from dialectisation to the recomposition of the common Tamazight language.

This important and time-consuming linguistic development would considerably facilitate intelligibility and communication among the different Amazigh groups speaking different dialects of Tamazight.

Another difficulty that has to be overcome in the future is the fact that the language is not understood and spoken by all Algerians. Some of them, even from Amazigh origin, have forgotten their language. Others cannot understand it at all. A mass literacy in Tamazight has to be undertaken to help the Algerian people who are willing to learn Tamazight in both its spoken and written form.

Equally important are the problems related to the standardisation, modernization, development and graphization of the very language to be used in education. These will be fully explained in chapter 12-1.

3-Problems in the cultural field

The problems encountered in Algeria presently are not only of a political and economic nature. Problems are also cultural. The majority of Algerians do not know their true history and consequently search for their ethnic origins and specificities. Amazighness, Arabness and Islam constitute the three fundamental components of the national identity and it is necessary to create harmony between these three constituents of Algerian culture.

To promote the most neglected one, i.e., Tamazight language and culture, it is essential to fructify the Amazigh domain by writing books about the language and the culture and give the opportunity to Algerians to read in Tamazight. Unfortunately, at the present time, the books sold in bookshops are expensive and the majority of Algerians cannot afford to buy and read them.

4-Problems in communication

A few days after the launching of the news flash on television on June 7th 1996, the leader and members of the High Amazigh Commission expressed their anger on the way this flash in Tamazight had been introduced to the public. Although the time of broadcast (6 p.m) was acceptable, the way the news was introduced to the public, provoked the disappointment of a great number of Imazighen. The problem was, and still is, that instead of encouraging the institutionalisation of a unified Tamazight language, Algerian television uses one variety of Tamazight each day with the danger of "atomizing" the varieties instead of the common language. This goes against the objective of the members of the HCA whose aim is to reconstitute the Tamazight language through the work of

homogenization and rapprochement of the different Tamazight dialects.

5-Problems in education

The Algerians, of Amazigh origin, who could not speak their language, are eager to learn it. How is it possible to immediately meet the need of these people and help them to at least read the few articles written in Tamazight and inserted in the weekly and daily newspapers such as *Liberté* and *Le Matin* ?

Furthermore, the major problem presently met by teachers of Tamazight focuses on the teaching approach to use to teach successfully that language as well as aspects of the Tamazight culture.

Interviewed on April 9th, 1996, in Algiers, Mr Graine, a member of the HCA who is in direct charge of the teaching of Tamazight at school, stated the technical teaching problem as follows:

First of all, there is uncertainty regarding the teaching approach to adopt when taking into account the background of the children, as well as the different environment in which the language has to be taught. For example in

- a Tamazight speaking area such as in Kabylia.
- a bilingual speaking area (Arabic and Tamazight) such as in Bouira.
- Arabic speaking areas, such as Algiers, Wahran and other towns.

Secondly, which aspects of the Amazigh culture could be taught at school in the different geographical areas described above, being aware that these play an important role in the survival of the language and culture in the particular community in question.

The contribution of the present researcher is limited to the teaching approach of Kabyl Tamazight in Kabylia for bilingual children. The Kabyl population has persistently expressed this need during several demonstrations in the streets using the slogan :“**Tamazight di Lakul !**” meaning “Tamazight at school!”

Conclusion

Numerous goals as regards the status of the Tamazight language and culture have been achieved but others, which could definitely solve the problems of the Amazigh cultural identity in Algeria, are yet to be realized, in particular the constitutionalisation of the language. This represents a very important factor for a better and easier promotion of Tamazight in the future and the expansion of the use of that language in all domains outside its own geographical areas where it is limited nowadays.

CHAPTER 7- WHAT IS THE TAMAZIGHT LANGUAGE?

"Only before God and the linguist
are all languages equal"
Mackey, W.F (1977) 50

7-1 WHAT IS THE TAMAZIGHT LANGUAGE?

As Nait-Zerrad, K (1995) rightly explains in his book *Tajerrumt n Tmaziyt Tamirant (Taqbaylit)*, a few thousand years ago, Tamazight was spoken in the whole of North Africa from the Atlantic to Egypt. Accordingly, in the *Atlas of the World's language* Mosley, C and Asher, R.E (1994 ; 270) claim that different dialects of Tamazight were spoken:

From Siwa Oasis in Western Egypt all the way west to the Atlantic coast of Morocco and southwards to the Zenaga in the south of Mauritania. Their heaviest concentration (the Berbers) is to be found in Morocco and in Algeria, where they concentrated in Kabylia in the north, the Awres in the south-east and the Tell country, with further groups along the border between Algeria and Morocco, in the Saharan oases of Algeria and Morocco and the great triangular zone between Ghadâmis, Timbuktoo and Zinder which is the home of the Touareg. 50

Tamazight is also spoken natively in Nigeria, Mali and the Canary Islands. The majority of people in these countries ignore the language. This is despite the fact that this language used to be written and has its own alphabet, the Tifinagh characters.

Nowaday, this vernacular language has split into different mutually intelligible varieties. Those varieties, very close to each other in the past, became gradually more and more fragmented, because they were used mainly orally. Throughout their history the Imazighen were forced to use the language of the conquerors in official domains, instead of their own.

50- Mackey, W.F (1977; 6) The importation of bilingual education models. Newbury House. Rowley.

51- Mosley, C & Asher, R.E (1994; 270) Atlas of the World's language. Routledge. London

As a result, the different varieties of Tamazight, none of which had received any official status, became more and more impoverished and evolved differently. Nowadays in Algeria, several varieties of the same Tamazight language, enumerated on page 2, have been recognised but others have still to be discovered by researchers in Tamazight linguistics. Allaoua, M (1993; 7) states in his book: *Languages in Algeria* that the Kabyl variety, **Taqbaylit**, is the best known and enjoys the greatest vitality. If several dialects of Tamazight in North Africa have been swamped by Arabic, the dominant language, this is not the case of Kabyl. The latter resisted strongly the influence of both Arabic and French.

Some Algerians believe that Tamazight, within its varieties, is not a language, but a dialect and consequently cannot be taught at school. To understand what is the Tamazight language from the linguistic point of view, it is necessary to explain here the notions of dialect, accent, and language.

1- Dialect

According to Downes (1984; 20-21), a variety is normally used to describe any particular way of speaking. As a neutral term, it can be employed when an investigation wishes to treat any particular in the case for any particular language or phenomenon as a simple entity. So, when an utterance is observed, it invariably forms part of a specific language or a particular dialect of that language and is pronounced with a particular accent. Language is indeed subtle and complex particularly because it involves an interrelation of different linguistic levels such as syntax, phonology, morphology, discourse, lexis, and each level has its own structure and organization. A language might have different dialects, and a dialect might differ from other dialect of the same language at the same time on all linguistics levels: phonology, grammar and lexis.

should be noted, however, that Algerian Arabic is not a monolithic homogeneous linguistic system, but admits of considerable variations, most notably at the lexical and the phonological level. According to the Algerian linguist, Morsly, D (1990; 84) the phonetic variations are generally found in the realizations of the following phonemes : /t/, /k/, /q/, /R/

[kawkaw] _____ /K/ : ___ [K] Algiers among others.
(peanuts)

[ʔawʔaw] _____ /K/ : ___ [ʔ] Tlemcen (most notably)
(peanuts)

[qedwa] _____ /R/ : ___ [q] Laghouat
(to-morrow)

[lgeʃ] _____ /q/ : ___ [g] Setif
(clothes)

[tsūm] _____ /t/ : ___ [ts] Bgayeth 52
(garlic)

Linguistic research had established that variations in pronunciation and vocabulary within one language do not hinder mutual intelligibility.

Trudgill, P (1975; 17-18) maintains that the term "dialect" refers strictly speaking to differences between kinds of language which are differences of vocabulary, grammar as well as pronunciation.

The term dialect means any variety which is grammatically different from any other, as well, perhaps, as having a different vocabulary or pronunciation. Differences in pronunciation alone are not sufficient to make for differences in dialect. Pronunciation differences make merely for a difference of accent.

52- Morsly, D (1990; 84) Attitudes et Représentations linguistiques. Revue de la Société internationale de la linguistique fonctionnelle. Volume 26. Presses Universitaires de France. Paris.

Downes, W (1984; 20-21) maintains this notion of "dialect":

A dialect varies from other dialects of the same language simultaneously on all three linguistic levels, phonologically, grammatically, and in terms of its vocabulary or lexically.

An accent, by contrast, consists of phonetic variation on its own. 53

As Martinet, A (1968; 572) states, the term "dialect" comes from Greek "dialektos" meaning "talk":

Le mot grec "dialektos" était un substantif abstrait qui signifiait "conversation". C'est l'association avec des noms de région ou de groupes ethniques qui y a introduit l'idée de variété régionale". 54

The Greek word "dialektos" was an abstract substantive which meant "talk". It is its association with the names of regions or ethnic groups which introduces the idea of local variety.

(my translation)

Examples of dialects in France are the Marseillais, the Niçois, le Picard, le Normand, le Gascon and others. In Germany, Bavarian, Thuringian. In Egypt, the Cairene Arabic, Alexandria dialect. A dialect can become a national and /or official language when a cultural or political hegemony affects its status. For instance, the Francian, the dialect of L'Île de France became a national language once the Count of Paris became King of France. Likewise in Italy, the literary influence of certain famous writers using the Tuscan dialect made that variety a national language. Classical Arabic language was spoken as dialect by the Quraish tribe to which the Prophet Muhamed belonged and which was used afterwards as the sole language of the Qur'an.

53- Downes, W (1984; 20-21). Language and Society. Fontana. Paperbacks. London

54- Martinet, A(1968; 572). Le langage. Encyclopédie de la Pleiade. Bruges. France.

There are however some linguistic variations which are not regional. People from different social backgrounds do speak different kinds of language. Lawyers do not speak like miners or cleaners. These two categories of social groups will use different words and their speech normally relates to the relative formality or informality of a particular situation.

To sum up, one can say that all languages are subject to regional, social and stylistic variations. They differ also according to the sex and age of the speakers.

What typically characterises dialects is that they change gradually from place to place, in the sense that we cannot talk of a clear linguistic break between them. In other words, we cannot establish a clear demarcation line between where one dialect stops and another starts. This notion of a linguistic continuum between different dialects of a language is confirmed by Paris, G cited by Martinet, A (1968; 573):

Aucune limite ne sépare les Français du Nord de ceux du Midi. D'un bout à l'autre du sol national, nos parlers populaires étendent une vaste tapisserie dont les couleurs se fondent sur tous les points en nuances insensiblement dégradées. 55

No limit can separate the French of the North from those of the South. Our popular languages evolve like a vast tapestry the colours of which change perceptively into gradual nuances from one place to another of the national territory.

(my translation)

II- ACCENT

It follows from Downes and Trudgill's definition that the term "accent" is used to refer only to the differences in pronunciation. An accent is evidently not something peculiar to any speaker but something characteristic of the pronunciation of all speakers of the particular variety.

55- Martinet, A (1968), p 573.

In the United Kingdom, for instance, the vast majority of English people speak standard English with different types of regional accent (Scottish, English and Irish). Generally, an accent betrays the region the speaker comes from: Scotland, England, Ireland etc. Furthermore, an accent can reveal the geographical provenance of the speaker as well as his/her social status.

III- LANGUAGE

The language of a given country is the dialect which is officially recognized by the local authorities. Generally, it is the variety of language taught at school, used on television, radio, newspapers at court. That language typically associated with a great deal of prestige is generally due to economic reasons (American English), cultural reasons (British English) or historical and religious reasons (Latin and Arabic) .

From a linguistic point of view, the official language of a given country is not superior to its varieties. Linguists (Trudgill, Bell and others) have found that all languages are equally structured complex systems and equally valid as means of communication. They assert that there is no way of evaluating any language more favourably than another since each one meets the needs of its speakers. Accordingly, Skutnabb-Kangas, T (1981; 3-4) states:

Linguists have not yet been able to find a speech community with a mother tongue which could be described as conceptually or logically primitive, inadequate or deficient. No languages are unsystematic or irrational. Nor can the structure of any language be said to represent an earlier or later stage in the evolution of human language. 56

Obviously, languages differ in their degree of development as regards standard written norms and elaboration of terminology. However, these technical differences can be easily dealt with if expertise and financial resources are available.

56- Skutnabb-Kangas, T (1981; 3-4) Bilingualism or not. The Education of Minorities. Multilingual Matters. Clevedon. England.

Thus, there is no difference between a “dialect”, an “accent” or a “language” on linguistic grounds. The difference lies only in opinions and attitudes that people have about these varieties of languages; in other words on that perception within the linguistic community. Whereas standard languages are generally considered to be “correct”, “pure” and “languages of culture”, the non-standard varieties are often held to be “harsh”, “wrong”, “corrupt” and sometimes “primitive”. As can be seen, the terms “dialects”, “accents” are very often biasedly used unless their meanings are clearly defined.

Linguists, in general, prefer to use the words “**variety**”, a neutral term to refer to any kind of language.

III- IS TAMAZIGHT A DIALECT, AN ACCENT OR A LANGUAGE?

Tamazight in Algeria is spoken natively by a dispersed minority group. French treated Tamazight language as “patois”. Accordingly Gautiers, E.F (1937; 152) states:

On constate que dans leur famille, le patois Berbère est en usage préservé par les femmes. C’est en Berbère que les enfants balbutient leurs premiers mots. 57

One can notice that the Berber patois is used and preserved by women in their family. It is in Berber that children mumble their first words.
(my translation)

The Imazighen wonder why their mother tongue, although spoken and can be written, has always been regarded as a dialect. From the linguistic point of view, one cannot talk about dialect without reference to the language from which it derives. Thus according to Trudgill and Downes’ definitions noted earlier, Tamazight cannot be a dialect since it does not derive from Arabic, nor from

57-Gautiers, E.F (1937; 152). Le Passé de l’Afrique du Nord. Payot. Paris.

any other language. Accordingly, Breton, R (1976; 17) states:

De très nombreux parlars de peuple dit "primitifs" sont des langues individualisées et non des dialectes d'autres langues. l'absence d'état, de capitale, d'écriture empêchait-elle le gaulois d'être plus qu'un ensemble de dialectes? Les Tsiganes n'ont-ils pas une langue bien qu'elle ne soit pas écrite et qu'ils n'aient ni territoire, ni état? 58

The numerous languages of the people described as "primitive" are fully fledged languages and not dialects of other languages. Did the lack of a state, of a capital, of a writing script prevent Gaulish being more than a bundle of dialects? have not the Gypsies a language though they possess no fixed territory, nor a written form of their language?

(my translation)

Conclusion

To sum up, one can assert that Tamazight is an independent language. Like Arabic, it branches off into several varieties spoken in different regions. These varieties differ from each other in considerable ways but the differences are restricted to aspects of pronunciation and vocabulary. On the grammatical point of view, however, the different varieties of Tamazight possess a remarkable consistency.

58- Breton, R.J.L (1976; 17). Que sais-je? Géographie des langues. Presses Universitaires de France.

7-2 WHAT ARE THE ORIGINS OF TAMAZIGHT?

The branch of comparative linguistics which aims at studying and examining the nature of relationship between languages in order to organise them into major family groups (such as Indo-European, Semitic), dates back to the early nineteenth century. Ever since, scholars have sought to determine the language family with which Tamazight could be grouped. Their analyses were primarily based on the similarities in regular lexical and grammatical elements that Tamazight has with other languages. According to Camps, G (1980; 54) these parallelisms are not confined to simple lexical analogues. He explains it as follows:

Ils affectent la structure même des langues comme le système verbal, la conjugaison et l'aspect trilitère des racines bien qu'en Berbère de nombreuses racines soient bilitères, mais cet aspect est dû à une usure phonétique particulièrement forte en Berbère et que reconnaissent les spécialistes. 59

They affect the structure of the languages themselves like the verbal system, the conjugation, the trilateral aspect of the roots, though in Berber language several roots are biliteral, but that aspect is due to a phonetic erosion which is particularly strong in Berber and recognized by specialists.

(my translation)

Researchers, both foreign and native, put forward several theories concerning the historical origins of Tamazight. As Chaker, S (1989; 812-813) reports in the Berber Encyclopedia, in 1830, Champollion related Tamazight to **ancient Egyptian**. Later, O Rüssler advanced another opinion which was to be later accepted by other historians such as Pritchard, J.M (1969; 45):

Berber is a **semitic language**. 60

Abun Nasr, J.M (1975; 7) contradicts this idea:

The Berber or Libyan is **Hamitic**. 61

59-Camps, G (1980; 54) Les Berbères aux marges de l'Histoire. Espérides. Paris.

60-Pritchard, J.M (1969: 45) reported by Chaker, S (1989; 814) in Encyclopédie Berbère VI. Edisud. La Calade. Aix en Provence. France.

61-Abun Nasr, J.M (1975; 7) A history of the Maghreb. Cambridge University Press.

Likewise Julien, C.A (1956; 50) goes even as far as to suggest that Libyan is at the origin of Tamazight dialects. He claims that:

Le libyque constitue l'un des groupes de la famille Hamitique et est à l'origine des parlers Berbers actuels. 62

The Libyan which belongs to one group of the Hamitic language family is the ancestor of the present day Berber varieties.

(my translation)

At the end of the nineteenth century, Schuchardt, H and Von der Gabelentz, G related Tamazight to the Basque language, an unrelated language. As Chaker, S (1989; 813) points out concerning this theory:

Du point de vue de la géographie et de l'histoire, cette dernière hypothèse n'est pas absurde. On sait qu'il y a d'importants courants d'échanges entre le Maghreb et la péninsule Ibérique depuis la préhistoire. 63

From the point of view of geography and history, this last hypothesis is not absurd. We know that important relations have been established between the Maghrebine countries and the Iberic peninsula since prehistoric times.

(my translation)

However, all the above hypotheses concerning the historical origins of Tamazight are viewed by linguists, such as Chaker, S (1989; 813) as fragmentary and largely unfounded.

Toutes ces tentatives de rapprochement étaient en réalité des hypothèses à peu près gratuites et sans grand fondement en raison de la connaissance encore très insuffisante que l'on avait de la langue Berbère. 64

All these attempts to relate Tamazight with a language family were in fact hypotheses based on no strong argument. This is because of the lack of sufficient knowledge about the Berber language itself at that time.

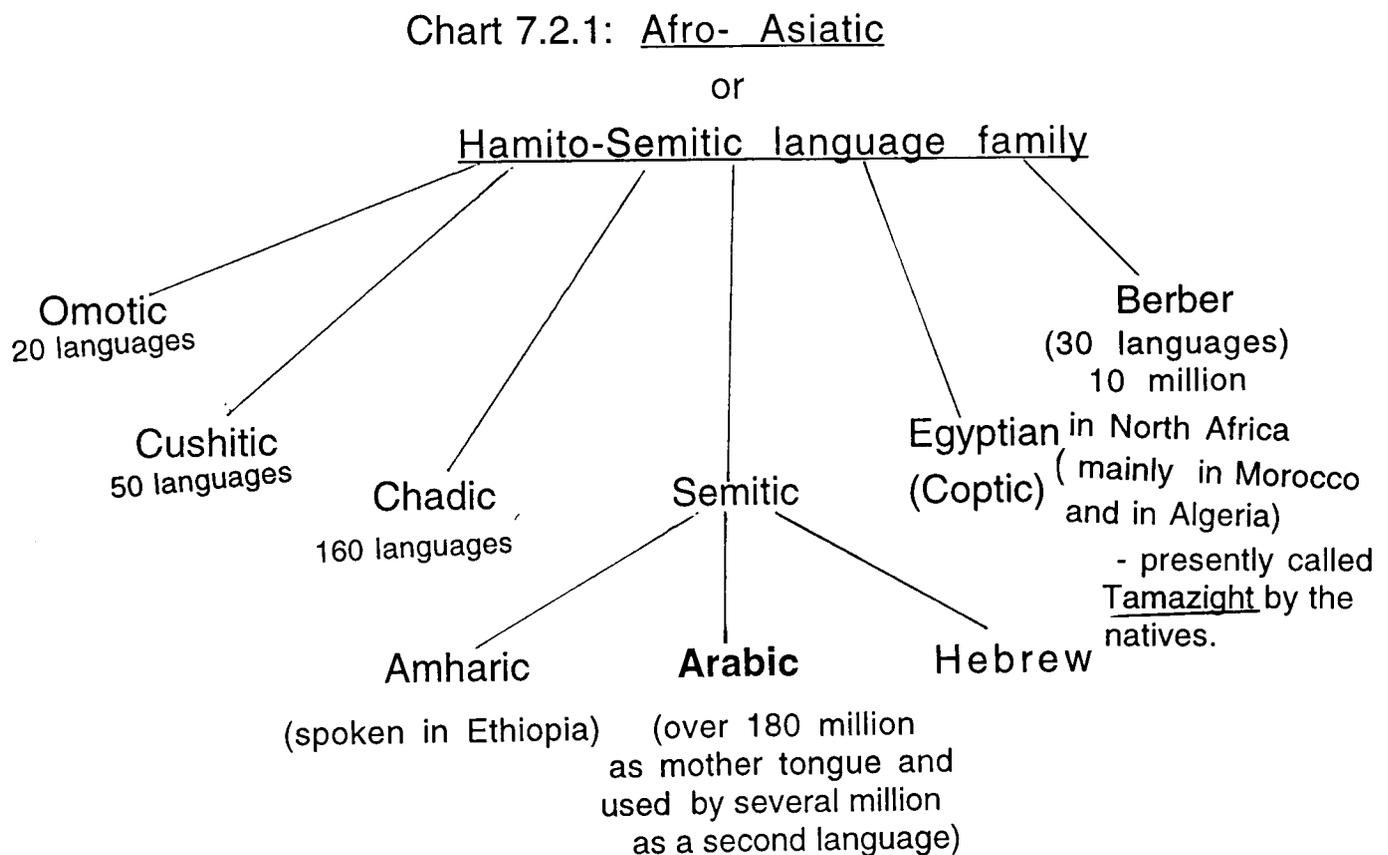
(my translation)

62- Julien, C.A (1956; 50)

63- Chaker, S (1989; 813). Apparemment de la langue Berbère in *Encyclopédie Berbère VI*. Edisud. Aix-en-Provence. France.

64- Idem

Nowadays, linguists and specialists in Tamazight studies agree that Tamazight forms part of the **Afro-Asiatic** language family, together with ancient Egyptian, Coptic (its modern form), Cushitic, and finally the Semitic languages. The family formerly known as **Hamito-Semitic** is the major family to be found in North Africa, the eastern horn of Africa and south-West Asia. It contains over 300 languages spoken by nearly 250 million people. According to the Cambridge Encyclopedia of language (1997; 318) there are five (in some classifications six) major divisions which are thought to have derived from a parent language that existed around the 7th millennium B.C. The Semitic languages have the largest number of speakers as shown on the chart below:



Source: Crystal, D (1997). The Cambridge Encyclopedia of language .
Cambridge University Press, p 318.

The Hamito-Semitic theory was defended by Cohen, M in 1920. In fact it was "in the air" since the middle of nineteenth century, but French linguists, following the policy line of their government during its occupation of Algeria (the well-known philosophy of "divide and rule") rejected it.

They did not want Tamazight to have any genetic link with Arabic. As Chaker, S (1989; 814) explains:

L'apparement avec le Sémitique a été admis plus tôt par les spécialistes non-Français (Allemands, Italiens...alors que les Français ne s'y rallient qu'après la décolonisation. 65

The relation with the Semitic language family was admitted earlier by non-French specialists (German, Italian) whereas the French specialists adopted this view only after the decolonisation of Algeria.

(my translation)

According to Cohen, the designation Hamito-Semitic does not mean the existence of a Hamitic branch as opposed to the Semitic and the place of each within the family is still not entirely understood.

In the Berber Encyclopedia VI, Chaker, S (1989; 817-818) made clear the confusions commonly made as regards the relation of Tamazight to the Hamito-Semitic language family. He states "Semitic" is not synonymous with "Arabic" since the latter is only a recent sub-branch of the Semitic language family which also includes Akkadian, Hebrew and others.

Tamazight does not belong to the same ramification of the Hamito-Semitic family than Arabic, however there exists an indirect relationship between the two languages. This relationship does not prevent Tamazight from being a linguistic reality, perfectly autonomous.

65- Chaker, S (1989), p 814.

CHAPTER 8 GAELIC IN SCOTLAND

(A brief historical background)

Everyone seems to have a different perspective on the various languages spoken in any given country regardless of the fact that he is a native speaker of that language or not. People's attitudes towards the language change according to the language status, its domain of use (home, public meetings etc.) and the relationship of the language to the speaker himself. Gaelic in Scotland can be perceived in a variety of ways. As Thomson, D (1980; 10) put it:

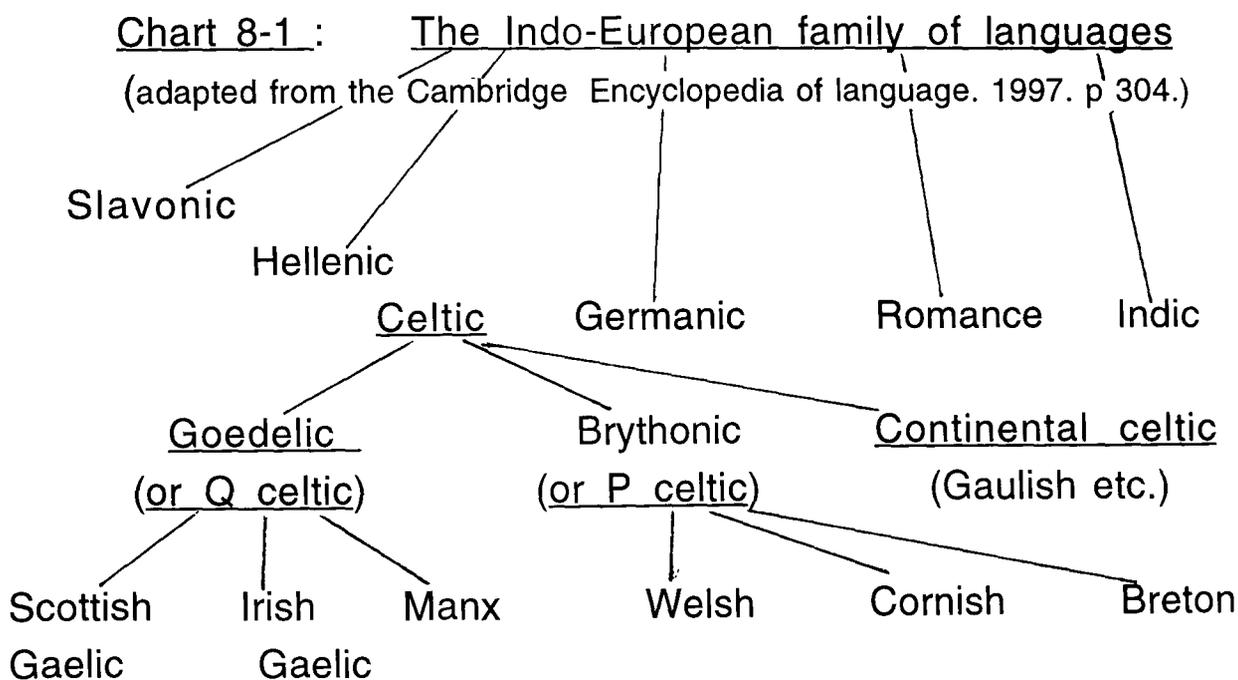
Some visitors and some natives have virtually never heard of the language, others confuse it with Scots, some think it is the universal and official language of Scotland, other think it should be buried if this has not already been attended to. 66

Moreover, like for the present researcher, it may take a long time to an outside observer to discover the actual existence of Gaelic in Scotland, especially in the Lowland cities such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee etc. This is because, like Tamazight in Algeria, the domain of use of Gaelic is generally limited to home, church and circles of friends. However, the Gaels, the native speakers of Gaelic, are campaigning for the use and maintenance of their language in every field, including road signs and cheque books. Being a mother tongue, Gaelic forms part of the living culture of the Gaels. In fact, Scotland is a multicultural and multilingual society where not only English, the dominant and majority language, is spoken, but other languages are used everyday. The latter constitute all those languages that are ignored in public and official activities in Scotland, i.e., the two indigenous languages, Gaelic and Lowland Scottish (sometimes known as Lowlands Scots or Lallans) and the mother tongues of the minority immigrant groups comprising Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, and Chinese.

As Stubbs, M.W (1985; XIV) puts it:

It is the predominance of the English language and the related assumption that monolingualism is the norm that makes them "other". In reality, the languages of the different linguistic minorities are now part of everyday life and valuable social and economic resources for the country as a whole. 67

Scottish Gaelic, with which we are more concerned in this study, is the only Celtic minority language in Scotland today. Its speakers, who are scattered throughout the country (Highlands, Lowlands and in the Western Isles), still use the language which was the principal lingua franca in Northern Britain in the 11th century A.D. Like Welsh (Cymraeg) and Irish (Gaelige), Scottish Gaelic (Gaidhlig) constitutes the oldest mother tongue of the United Kingdom and one of the oldest in Europe like Tamazight in North Africa. In fact, Gaelic derives from an early form of language of what is now Irish. As a result of its development throughout two geographical areas (Ireland and Scotland), the original form of Irish evolved into three different languages which are the present modern languages, Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic and Manx. These three languages belong to the Celtic group of languages representing one branch of the Indo-European family.



As can be seen from the chart above, and as stated by Thomson, A (1980), the Celtic group of languages falls into two sections. The Goidelic or Q Celtic group comprises Scottish Gaelic, Irish Gaelic and Manx. The other group is known as the Brythonic or P Celtic group including Welsh, Cornish and Breton. The difference between the Goidelic and Brythonic Celtic dialects lies in the pronunciation of the letter "P". Gregor, D.B (1980; 17) explains this difference as follows:

Common Celtic which had no letter "P" had by this time split into two main dialects. After learning to pronounce "P", the speakers had kept it or changed it into "Q". The P-Celts are known as Brythons (from the Welsh for the later Latin military name for Britons-Brittones).

The Q-Celts are called Goidels from the old Irish for "Gael" derived from the Welsh Gwyddel "raider". 68

Gaelic in Scotland was brought by settlers who came from Ireland. Accordingly, Mackinnon, K (1991: 8) claims:

The Gaelic speaking people came over the sea from Eastern Ulster and established their kingdom and their language throughout what we now know as Scotland and even beyond. 69

The precise time when the Gaelic language started to be used in Scotland is still unknown. As Thomson, D (1990; 1) maintains:

We do not know the precise time, or even century that Gaelic arrived in Scotland. It may have been as early as the 3rd century A.D. 70

But he states with confidence that there was already considerable Gaelic settlement in Western Scotland before the official founding of the kingdom of Dalriada in late 5th century A.D. at the time of the king Fergus Mac Erc.

68- Gregor, D.B (1980; 17) Celtic, A Comparative study. The Olander Press.

69- Mackinnon, K (1991; 8) Gaelic, A past & future prospect. Saltire. Edinburgh.

70- Thomson, D (1990), p 1.

According to Mackinnon, K (1991: 18-20), from about 200 A.D. onwards, an Irish tribe called Féni whose kingdom of Dalriada in Northern Ireland, started to expand into the Western Highlands and Islands when other settlers known as the "Scotti" (from "Scotia" meaning Ireland) came to overcome their fellow countrymen of Ulster and settled in Northern Britain. Mackinnon, K (1991) assumes that after the Féni and the Scotti tribes settled in Scotland, four ethnically different peoples occupied Northern Britain. He described them as follows:

The Scots themselves, Gaelic in speech and Irish in origin inhabiting the coasts and Islands from Kintyre northwards, the Picts, a native people whose speech may resembled that of the Bretons but whose origins are not completely clear, occupying the interior of eastern coasts north of the Firth of Forth, the Britons speaking a form of early Welsh occupying the central valley and southern Scotland, and the Angles of the English Kingdom of Northumbria extending Southwards from the Lothians. 71

The Gaelic Scots absorbed their neighbours, the Picts, possibly by a union of crowns through a common heir. Following the battle of Carham (1018) against the Angles, they had achieved their domination throughout the area known today as Scotland. Scotland continued to be ruled for centuries by its own monarchs over whom clan chiefs had varying degrees of influence until 1603. Then, 16 years after the death of his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, James VI of Scotland became James I of Great Britain. He had already been King of Scotland since his mother was forced to abdicate by her nobles in 1567 but only took full control of Scotland in his 18th year. On his accession to the British throne James I moved his court to London and despite many promises returned home only once during the rest of his reign which ended in 1625. He ruled Scotland from London, rarely calling the Scottish Parliament to meet in Edinburgh and used a nominated Privy Council to run the country.

Thus the role of Scotland as part of "North Britain" was begun. He brought an end to the turbulence in the Borders and to some degree began to tame the Highland chieftains. At the same time he tried to assimilate the Scottish Church into the Church of England - an unsuccessful move greatly resented by the Scots. Edinburgh lost much of its status and much of its trade went to London. Along with it went much of the political and cultural life of Scotland. However, Scotland still continued to have a separate parliament, church, legal system and language although Lowland Scots became more and more Anglicised.

During the rest of the 17th century, despite a civil war and a regicide-1642-1649 (Charles I), an attempted counter-revolution-James VII and II and a "Glorious revolution"-1688 (William and Mary), Britain or at any rate England continued to prosper and to expand her colonies through exploration, conquest and acquisition. However, Scotland was left somewhat behind. This was partly due to Scotland's poverty of resources but also to the policy of the English parliament of denying Scotland's traders access to English colonies. Scotland's economy and wealth had altered little in the 100 years since James united the Crowns and this was resented by many Scots.

This resentment was exacerbated by the treatment of Scotland as an appendage to England by the Crown and English parliament. The King became very unpopular in some parts of the Highlands after the massacre of Glencoe in 1692.

Access to markets was another point of dispute and so in 1693 the Scottish parliament decided to set up its own trading company and start its own colonies in the Americas. So, a great scheme was devised to establish a colony in the isthmus of Panama. The so-called Darien Scheme failed badly. It was a huge disaster, not only in financial terms, because many thousands of Scots had put money into it (it also cost 2,000 lives) but also because of the blow it dealt Scotland's prestige and self-confidence. Who was to blame? In truth the scheme was ill-conceived but the blame was also placed upon the

English Parliament because of their opposition to the project and anti-English feelings ran high throughout Scotland.

This led to tension between the two Parliaments and by the beginning of the 18th century relations were so poor that Scotland threatened to choose a different monarch when Queen Anne died and in retaliation England threatened to ban all Scottish exports to England. The matter was resolved by the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. Of course there was no proper democracy in either Parliament at this time and so only a few people took the momentous decision to unite. The Scottish parliament was put under a great deal of pressure to agree to the unification and many members were "bribed by English gold" and the prospect of preferment after the Union. Thus, Scotland's parliament voted itself out of existence - "the end of ane auld sang" - that is until 1997 when the Scottish people voted it back into existence.

The Union was extremely unpopular at first, particularly with the masses but it did eventually open up Scotland to English capital and English colonies to Scottish traders.

After this time Scotland was doubly ruled from London-both Crown and Parliament. The Union created opportunities for both countries. Scotland began to prosper, especially after the industrial Revolution although she was to lose much of her Highland population to the Central Lowlands and to the colonies. England also benefitted by solving her long-running problem of having a belligerent enemy on her northern border. However, the influence of the Gaels was severely reduced following the unsuccessful Jacobite rebellion of 1745. In 1746, the defeat of the Gaels at Culloden (by the English) destroyed the political base of the Gaidhealtachd (Gaeldom). This was followed by the destruction of the clan system, the severance of the link with Gaelic Ireland and the suppression of the bardic schools. Little by little, English replaced Gaelic as the language of the majority of people in Scotland.

Thomson, D (1980: 3) describes the linguistic situation which prevailed at that time as follows:

In the 11th and 12th centuries, Anglian influence was growing fast and was joined by Anglo-Norman influence. The new burghs became established as powerful centres of Anglicisation. The linguistic confrontation became one between Gaelic and English with English tied to commercial innovation and strength. Latin was still the language of the church and of scholarship and Gaelic would tend to be circumscribed in its use whether as an elitist literary language or as an everyday vernacular. 72

According to Mackinnon, K (1991; 26) the decline of Gaelic from its peak (as the major lingua franca of Scotland) occurred over several centuries. He states:

The shift of Gaelic from its central position was gradual and the account of this shift spread over several centuries. Probably to the people of the times, no appreciable change was occurring, yet inexorable changes there were and, as the centuries passed, these changes gathered momentum. 73

From about 1520, the common Lowland speech came to be called "Scots" and Gaelic identified as "Irish". Thus the Gaels and their language were marginalised and came to be regarded as in some way alien within their own nation. In 1709, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) in English was founded to spread the Gospel in the Highlands and Islands through education in English. As Maclean, R.G (1994; 300) reports, in 1720, the SSPCK declared its purpose was:

not to continue the Irish tongue, but to wear it out and learn the people the English tongue. 74

In the 19th century, the Highland Clearances destroyed the Gaelic population base.

72 -Thomson, D (1980), p 3.

73-Mackinnon, K (1991), p 26.

74- Maclean, R.G (1994; 300) A comparative study investigating education and language policy in Scotland (with respect to Gaelic) and Israel (with respect to Hebrew). Ph.D thesis. Glasgow University.

From 1790 onwards, sheep farming grew in importance and the lucrative profits to be made encouraged the landowners to clear the native Highlanders from their land, to leave the way open for Lowland graziers to inherit the new leases. The Highland Clearances were often brutal and violent. From 1792 and as late as the 1850's, whole areas were devastated, the land cleared of human beings and their cattle and given over entirely to sheep. Subsequent over-grazing of sheep was to destroy the land and many areas were reduced to bracken by the 20th century. Likewise, the Highland clearances at the beginning of the 19th century significantly affected the Western Isles. From Lewis to Barra, troops had the duty to quell the "rebellious islanders".

In terms of the Gaelic speech community, the Highland Clearances could be regarded as the removal of its heartland. Effectively this was to radically alter the linguistic geography of Scotland in reducing the Gaelic areas to the very fringes of northern and western coastal areas and to the Hebrides.

As a result of the Highland Clearances, the majority of the population of Scotland living in the north and west of the Highlands and in the Western Isles emigrated to the Lowlands to seek work and higher education for their children. Other emigrated abroad, to Canada and Australia in particular. In the 20th century, emigration of the Highlanders due mainly to economic factors maintained the decline in population which was the legacy of the Clearances and reduced the Gaelic speakers to a small percentage of the total population. Throughout that period of depression and emigration, the language and culture of the Highlanders and the Islanders were taken to lands beyond Hebridan shores. Nowadays, Scottish Gaelic is spoken by less than one hundred thousand people (65,978 according to the 1991 census) representing approximately 1.4% of the Scottish population. Compared with the 1981 figure of 79,307 (i.e., 1.6% of the population), a decrease in the number of Gaelic speakers can be noticed. This phenomenon has occurred in the past.

Several reasons have been suggested to explain this decline. As Gregor, D.B (1980; 284) put it:

No single cause can explain the loss of a language by a people for whom it was once the badge of their identity. There are many causes; political, economic, psychological etc, closely interconnected and possessing cumulatively such an irresistible force that we feel inclined to say it could not have been otherwise. 74

But, undoubtedly, the main factors that have worked against the maintenance of Gaelic in Scotland were the mass pressure in modern society in the last hundred years, the economic difficulties of the Gaelic speaking areas which forced the Gaels to leave the Gaeldom and settle down in regions where work is available for them, and most importantly, the state system of compulsory education in English. From the 11th-12th century, instead of showing signs of a natural development, Gaelic was surviving in the wider Scottish context with Scots¹ spoken alongside it.

74- Gregor, D.B (1980; 17). Celtic, A comparative study. The Oleander Press. Cambridge.

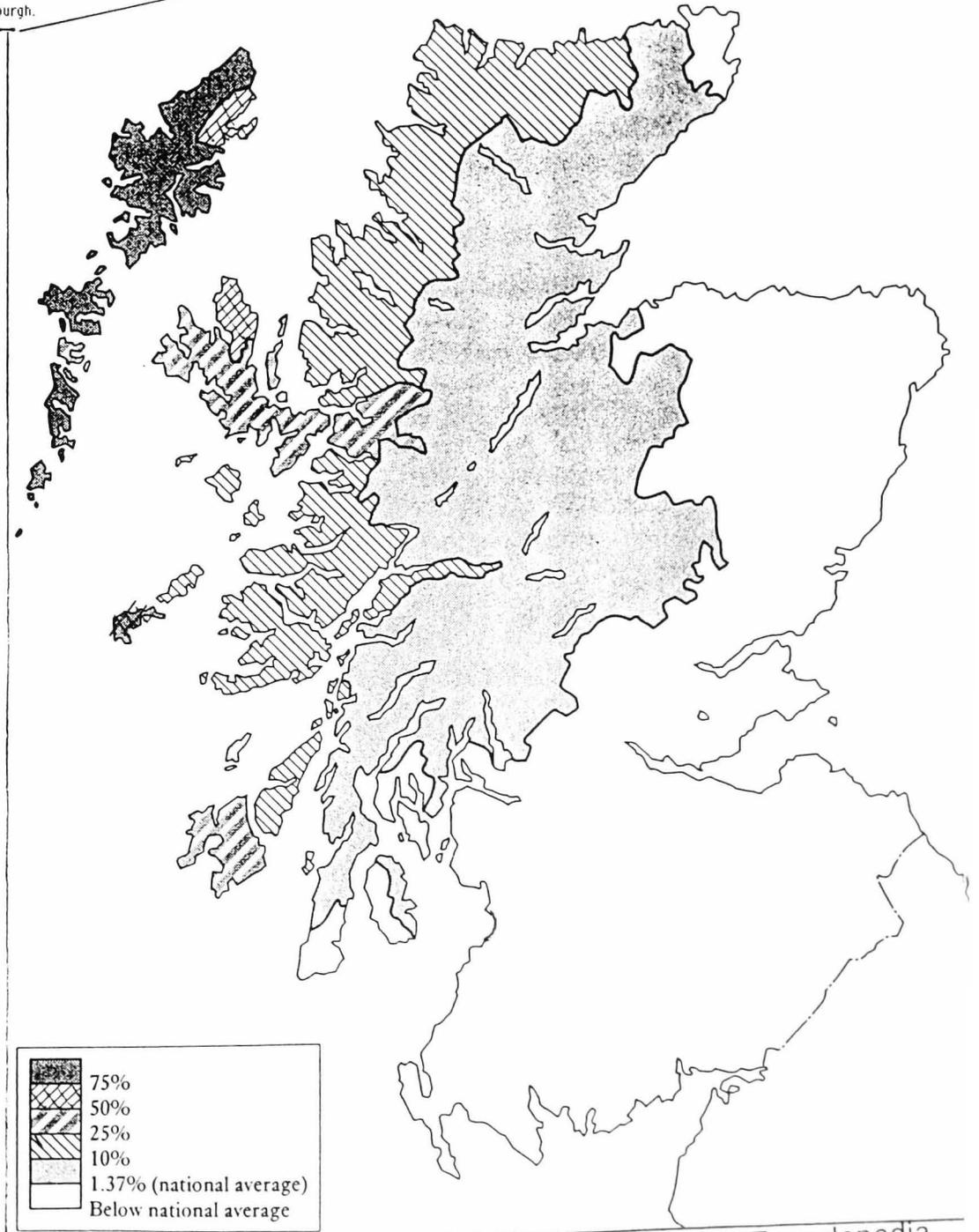
1- According to Mackinnon, K (1992; 8) Scots is of Anglo-Celtic rather than Anglo-Saxon in origin. It developed in the contact between Angles, other incomers and the Celtic peoples.

Map 8.1: Scotland



Source: Withers, C (1986: 50-51)
 Scottish language n° 5
 Association for Scottish Literary studies, Edinburgh.

map 8.2: Gaelic speakers
in Scotland
 (according to 1991 Census)



Source: Mackinnon, K (1998), forthcoming map in Encyclopedia of Scottish Gaelic Culture, Blackwell, Oxford

In recent years, an upsurge of interest in Gaelic has been noticed in Scotland and outside (see the percentages of Gaelic speakers in Scotland according to the 1991 Census, on page 282). There is a more confident approach to the language in the sense that despite the putting down of the language in the past and despite the decades of neglect, it has survived. Certainly numerous attempts have been made by the Gaels themselves and by other people in power, under the pressure of the Gaelic community sometimes, to reinforce, promote and develop the language on different levels, both within the Gaelic speaking districts and elsewhere in Scotland.

In the past, for instance, in the field of Education, the first aim of the education authority was to neglect the language. That attitude has gradually changed nowadays. A clause was inserted in the Education Act of 1918 rendering it obligatory on local education authorities to make adequate provision for the teaching of Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas. It states:

It shall be the duty of every education authority within twelve months after the appointed day to prepare and submit for the approval of the Department.

a scheme for the adequate provision throughout the education area of the authority of all forms of primary, intermediate and secondary education in day schools (including adequate provision for teaching Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas) without payment of fees, and if the authority think fit for the maintenance or support (in addition and without prejudice to such adequate provision as aforesaid) of a limited number of schools where fees are charged in some or all of the classes. 75

However, English (the dominant language) remains as powerful as it has always been. That is why Gaels and their children are obliged (for economic reasons) to learn it and to remain bilingual.

75- The 1918 Education Scotland Act, section 6, in The Education Scotland Act, 1918. John Strong (ed). Tweeddale court. Olivier & Boyd. Edinburgh.

In fact, this is not a new phenomenon in the history of the Scottish people since Scotland has always been a multicultural and multilingual country where two, sometimes several languages have been used by its inhabitants at different periods, for instance Welsh, Pictish, Anglo-Saxon (since the arrival of the Anglo-Saxon through Northumbria), Norse, Gaelic (under the Norwegian suzerainty in the Western Isles) and finally Gaelic, Scots and English nowadays.

The present situation of Gaelic will be discussed in chapter 9 and compared with Tamazight.

