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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF A MINORITY LANGUAGE

FOR TEACHING PURPOSES:

KABYL TAMAZIGHT AS A CASE STUDY

by

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PART III - COMPARISON OF THE SITUATION OF TAMAZIGHT WITH GAELIC

CHAPTER 9- SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES OF THE SITUATION OF TAMAZIGHT WITH GAELIC

Tamazight and Gaelic are both minority languages in Algeria and Scotland, respectively, but function and evolve within entirely different political, social and economic contexts. Consequently, certain differences should be noted concerning their status, and their functional use, i.e., their use in the public domain, in the media, and most particularly in education. However, it is generally recognised that the minority language problems facing the newly emerging nations - such as Algeria - are not themselves novel by any means; parallels can be found from all periods of history and all parts of the world. Thus, at a given point of their evolution, minority languages face roughly similar problems. It is mostly the strategies adopted and steps taken to maintain them and improve their status that vary depending on the type of society within which they evolve, i.e., the political regime of the country (unitary or pluralist policies as explained on pages 54-56) which opposes or encourages their development and their role at school. Pressure exerted by minority groups on the political authorities in their countries should not be overlooked or underestimated, for it can contribute positively to the survival of minority languages.

In order to benefit from the experiment of teaching Gaelic at school in Scotland, it is necessary to identify and describe the points of similarity and difference that these two languages present in various areas. It is the present author's belief that a decision on the most adequate approach to the teaching of Tamazight in Algeria should have to take into consideration the points on which these two minority languages agree or differ as regards status, number of native speakers and the linguistic environment where the two languages have evolved.

Numerous reasons have been provided by sociologists, e.g., Gregor, D.B (1980; 284) to explain the phenomenon of decline and/or survival of minority languages at a particular point in their historical evolution. The most prominent of these causes are the following:

- The unity or disunity among members of the minority group.
- Immigration of the minority people and emigration of other people to the heartland.

- Abundance or shortage of the reading material in the language of the minority group.

In making a comparative study of Tamazight and Gaelic, one relies on two criteria which are considered to be the most relevant to our concerns to be used for this purpose. These are:

1. The status of the two minority languages.
2. Their use in the public domain and in the media.
3. Their use in education, which will be examined in chapter 10.

It is useful at first to identify the three principal domains in which Tamazight differs from Gaelic. This will allow the reader to have, from the start, a precise idea about the two languages.

Tamazight and Gaelic differ most prominently with regards to:

1. Their status as indigenous languages,
2. The number of the minority language speakers, and
3. The linguistic environment within which the two languages evolve.

1. Status as Indigenous Languages

It is important to point out first that Tamazight is an indigenous language. It originated and developed in Algeria and in other parts of the Maghreb; its speakers, Imazighen, are the first inhabitants of North Africa. Conversely, Gaelic, as was noted on page 275, was brought to Scotland by Irish settlers in the Vth century.

As Grant, N. explains during the seminar on "Bilingualism" held at Glasgow University on February 29th 1992, two important reasons have been put forward by scholars for considering Scottish Gaelic (SG) a native language. The first reason claims that SG, as it stands at present, is significantly different from the early form of Irish, and has developed its current form independently in Scotland and in ways that separate it from its parent linguistic system.

The second reason is if SG was to die out in Scotland, it would simply die since it is spoken nowhere else with the exception of Nova Scotia in Canada.

One might claim that the position of SG is similar to that of Algerian Arabic (AA). The latter originated from the language of the Arabs who conquered North Africa in the VIIth century, but has developed its present system in Algeria and independently from the

parent language. This particularity makes it an indigenous language similar to Gaelic in Scotland nowadays.

2. Number of speakers of each of the two minority Languages.

Differences can be found also with respect to the number of native speakers of each of the two languages.

The exact number of Tamazight speakers is still unknown. This is not, however, surprising in view of the official non-recognition of the language. Though the Algerian government never undertook any serious linguistic Census, Chaker , S (1991; 9) claims that the 1977 Census estimates the number of Tamazight speakers to be no less than 20% of the Algerian population, i.e., in the region of 3,650,000 Tamazight speakers at that time. He observes that:

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.¹

One can admit that the number of Tamazight speakers should represent at least 20% of the Algerian population. According to the first estimations of the 1977 census, Algeria had 18,250,000 inhabitants on January 1st 1978. The number of Tamazight speakers would then be around 3,650,000 at that time.

(my translation)

The number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland, on the other hand, is much lower. According to the 1991 Census, mentioned on page 255, the number of Gaelic speakers is estimated at less than one hundred thousand, around 65,978, representing about 1.4% of the Scottish population. The number of Tamazight speakers is, therefore, significantly higher than that of Gaelic in Scotland. However, the survival of a particular language is never entirely dependent on the number of its speakers, and the case of Gaelic confirms the truth of this statement. While the number of Gaelic speakers is practically insignificant in comparison with that of Tamazight speakers, the Gaels, through the continuing pressure they exerted on the political authorities and with the encouragement of Scottish scholars, aware

¹- Chaker, S (1991; 9) Manuel de Linguistique Berbère I. Bouchène. Alger.

of the endangered status of Gaelic in Scotland, have led a positive and fruitful campaign which led to the teaching of Gaelic at school to children (whose parents wish them to do so), not only in regions of a high concentration of Gaelic speakers (Western Isles and Highlands) but also in the Lowlands, i.e., in towns and cities (Glasgow, Edinburgh, etc.) settled by the Gaels in pursuit of jobs as explained on page 255.

In contrast, the Imazighen, though more numerous than the Gaels, have just recently (in 1995) convinced the Algerian government of the necessity of introducing Tamazight at school for children whose parents wish them to learn this language. The Amazigh struggle in various fields and their gains are reported and described on chapter 5.

3. The linguistic environment

The linguistic environment within which Tamazight and Gaelic are evolving constitutes the third point with regard to which these two minority languages clearly differ.

Though it has yet to be taught in bilingual primary schools in the future, like Gaelic in Scotland, Tamazight, is more often used than Gaelic in Scotland. Yet, like SG, the domains of Tamazight use are limited (home, neighbourhood, etc.). The reasons why Tamazight is more often used than Gaelic in Scotland can be summarised as follows:

On the one hand, Tamazight speakers, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, are more numerous than the Gaels (about 15 times as many according to the numbers quoted above).

On the other hand, there still exist many geographical regions (described in chapter 3) with a very strong concentration of Tamazight speakers, such as Higher and Lower Kabylia, Aures, Mزاب, and Tassili N'Ajjer. Varieties of Tamazight are used as vernaculars in their respective regions and are maintained through their daily use by the Tamazight speakers of the region concerned. It is true that an important number of Tamazight speakers, just like the Gaels, have and continue to migrate either to the main towns and cities of Algeria (Algiers, Wāhrān, Annaba, and even to the south of

the country) or abroad (France, Germany, Italy, etc.) in pursuit of job opportunities.

The phenomenon of emigration can be explained by the fact that the Tamazight-speaking areas are generally poor and economically underdeveloped, and though these regions attract a great number of holiday makers, the local population cannot survive on the tourism industry for the whole year since tourism is limited to a single season (summer in Kabylia and winter or spring in M'zab).

An important phenomenon, which can be noticed among the Imazighen in general, is that when they emigrate, whether to the main Algerian towns and cities or abroad, most of them leave their families behind. This is because of a number of reasons: problems of residence in the big towns, the difficulty of supporting a large family abroad, or simply fear of interrupting the education of children, who, in case of moving abroad, would have to study in a foreign language within a foreign culture. The general pattern is that these immigrants leave their families in Algeria and regularly send money back home, returning only during the annual summer vacation. The children of these immigrants grow up in their Amazighophone regions speaking their mother tongue, one of the varieties of Tamazight.

In his book *La société Berbère*, Renan, E (1813) states that Imazighen in the past triumphed over their enemies, who occupied their lands, mainly through the maintenance of their language. He states that it is very rare for a language, such as Tamazight, to preserve its first originality after three thousand years of foreign repression as explained in chapter 3-2. The Algerian historian, Gaïd, M (1990; 250) attributes the resilience and survival of Tamazight to the role of traditional Amazigh women who strongly contributed to the survival of their language. He explains it as follows:

C'est la femme Berbère qui a contribué à la survivance de sa langue. Restant au village pendant que l'homme émigre pour gagner la vie des siens, elle l'interpelle, au retour, dans sa langue de toujours. C'est elle qui élève l'enfant, qui lui parle, qui l'initie à modeler les mots, à distinguer les objets. Elle lui apprend à faire les premiers pas pour marcher, comme elle lui apprend à s'exprimer dans sa langue. Elle l'instruit donc en sa langue et, au contact de ses camarades, dans la rue, comme à l'école, il s'exprime en sa langue maternelle. C'est ainsi que la langue est demeurée et demeure

enracinée et ne sera jamais supplantée, tant que le milieu restera intégralement Berber. 2

It is the Amazigh woman who contributed to the survival of her language. While her husband emigrated for a living, she remained in the village and welcomed him on his way back, using the same language. It is she who brought up her child, spoke to him and taught him how to express himself through the use of his first language. As a result, the child grew up speaking his mother tongue with his school fellows, in the street, as well as at school.

In this way, Tamazight was maintained, and still kept alive, as long as the environment remained strictly Tamazight speaking.

(my translation)

Nowadays, in view of M.S.A use being restricted to the school and the written domains, this official language and the language of education, does not disturb the use of Tamazight or encroach on its functional domains in Tamazight-speaking regions. Conversely, the Gaelic-speaking areas, as indicated earlier on page 280 have been historically destroyed by the Highland Clearances. As a result of this phenomenon, the majority of Gaels were forced to leave their heartland seeking work in the Lowlands or abroad. In his book *Gaelic, a past and future prospect*, MacKinnon, K (1991: 67) argues that:

Large numbers of its speakers (the Gaels) were being removed from the interior of the Gaelic speaking area. Some moved and settled on the coast but much larger numbers emigrated to the cities in the south or emigrated overseas. 3

The linguistic environment within which minority languages evolve is one of the factors that contribute significantly to the decline or survival of these languages. This explains why educationalists invariably emphasise the importance of the linguistic environment in language planning in education. When the teaching of a minority language is planned, educationalists aim at different goals depending on the linguistic milieu within which that particular language functions.

2- Gaïd, M (1990; 250) Les Berbères dans l'Histoire . (Tomes II). Mimouni. Alger.

3-Mackinnon, K (1991), p 67.

Concerning Gaelic, for instance, the aims of the Scottish scholars and educationalists who defended and encouraged the teaching of the language at school can be summed up as follows: to ensure the survival of the language, to develop it, and also to create a Gaelic-speaking urban population in the regions where English has progressively replaced Gaelic, i.e., to re-create, through the teaching of Gaelic at school and job opportunities, geographical zones with a high concentration of Gaelic speakers.

As regards the teaching of Tamazight, a language with a more significant number of speakers, who are concentrated in numerous geographical regions, the task would be slightly different and probably less difficult than in the case of Gaelic for which, among other things, Gaelic-speaking areas, and the number of Gaelic speakers had to be developed. As has been the case of Gaelic, the teaching of the Tamazight language at school would preserve and protect the vernacular from the phenomenon of erosion undertaken by the process of Arabisation at school, in the media, and in the administration (courts, local councils), where MSA is the only language used to issue official documents and CA, the language used the solely in religion.

Having described the three main domains with regard to which Tamazight differs from Gaelic, we turn now to a detailed examination of the use of Kabyl Tamazight in various domains in the first step, then a comparison of Kabyl Tamazight with Scottish Gaelic will follow.

1- THE USE OF KABYL TAMAZIGHT

When studying the domains of use of a vernacular language in a given society, sociolinguistics such as Fishman (1972), Hudson (1980), Fasold (1984), Fergusson (1959) and others usually ask the following question: “**Who** speaks **what** variety of **what** language to **whom**, **where**, **when**, and concerning **what** ?”

In this study, while describing the Tamazight language and the Imazighen, the people making use of that language, the present investigator has partly answered that question. The kabyls, one Amazigh group (described in chapter 4-2) speak Kabyl, a variety of the common Tamazight language (defined in chapter 7-1) . To answer

to the remaining part of the question, i.e., "to whom, when, where and concerning what?", it is necessary to refer to the results of the questionnaires (appendices B2, B3 and B4) especially designed for that purpose.

Six hundred questionnaires were distributed to Kabyl speakers to both in Kabyl-speaking areas (Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth in particular), and in Arabic speaking regions: Algiers and Wahan, the two Algerian main towns welcoming a great number of Kabyls looking for jobs.

As shown on the appendix B2, table B2, more focus was given to the use of Kabyl in Kabyl-speaking areas where four hundred questionnaires were distributed. A Kabyl public from different social and educational backgrounds: parents, students, pupils, teachers and other workers, both female and male, participated in this exercise. See table B1, appendix B1.

The results of the questionnaires 2 and 3 are given in tables B3 and B4, in appendices B3 and B4 respectively, and give answers to the questions : "to whom, where and when do the Kabyls use their mother tongue ?" As can be seen from these tables, the use of Kabyl differs according to the linguistic geographical area where it is spoken, a Kabyl or Arabic-speaking one. It is possible to classify the use of Kabyl into the following categories:

1- In Kabylia (Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth, the two Kabyl-speaking towns chosen to conduct this research), the Kabyl language is used as a vernacular language. It enjoys a high status among the Kabyls who use it in a great number of domains, both official and unofficial. As can be seen from the table B2, B3 and B4 Kabyls speak their language at home, with their parents, relatives, friends, doctors, colleagues at work and in the street. Although Kabyl children study through the medium of MSA at school, they speak only Kabyl in the playground. In official institutions (bank, post office, at court) and in administration, the Kabyl vernacular is the main language spoken. However, official documents have to be written in either MSA or in both MSA and French (bilingualism). Being Muslims, the Kabyls pray in CA as required by the Islamic religion. But, as one can notice in mosques, explanations of the verses of the Holy Qur'an are often given through Kabyl, as it happens every Friday on channel 2, the special radio service.

One can see from table B3, that AA is rarely used, except by the Algerian Arabic speakers living in Kabylia. On the other hand, MSA, the official language, is used only in its written form at school and in administration. In general, the use of English and French (the two languages taught at school) is limited to the classroom.

2- The majority of the Kabyls living in Arabic speaking areas, as shown on tables B2 and B3, use AA (the lingua franca in Algeria) in a great number of domains. Kabyl, their mother tongue, is spoken only at home and with relatives and friends. Kabyl children use AA in the playground. Both MSA and AA are used in a complementary distribution in official institutions (bank, post-office, at court), the former in its written form and the latter orally. Like in Kabyl speaking areas, the Kabyls here also use only CA in prayers. The "Mufti" (religious leader) in the mosque can talk in AA, the mother tongue of Arabic speakers, to make himself more clear to Algerians who are illiterate or not educated in CA or MSA.

3- A linguistic phenomenon which can be noticed among the Kabyls in general, and which is not represented in the tables, is the code switching. In other words, it happens very often that the Kabyls switch from the use of one language to another in certain circumstances and situations. They generally switch from:

- MSA to AA or French in official domains (school, at court, and in administration) in Arabic speaking areas.
- Kabyl to French, or in some situations, to AA when dealing with business and commercial matters in Kabyl speaking areas.
- CA to Kabyl (for the Kabyls living in Kabyl speaking areas) or
- CA to AA (for the Kabyls living in Arabic speaking areas) in mosques.

Conclusion

To sum up, one can say that Kabyl is used as a **dominant language** within its own geographical areas. As shown in table B4 (appendix B4), 95% of the Kabyls in Kabyl-speaking areas try to speak their language whenever possible. In contrast, only 39% try to do the same in Arabic-speaking areas. Obviously, in the latter case, Kabyl

Tamazight becomes **a minority language** the use of which is limited to home and circles of friends. In social life, Kabyl is not needed in Arabic-speaking areas and is replaced by AA which enjoys a higher vitality and status (as a lingua franca in Algeria) than Kabyl in Arabic-speaking areas. As a result, the Kabyls living in Arabic-speaking areas have to use AA, instead of their own language, in a great number of domains, as shown in Tables B3 and B4. One can add that, regardless of the linguistic geographical areas in which the Kabyls live (Arabic or Tamazight speaking ones), they practise a lot of language code switching. This is mainly because their mother tongue is neither yet being developed enough to be used in scientific domains, in contrast to MSA and French, nor is it officially recognized, like MSA, for use in official domains. Furthermore, the majority of Kabyls are motivated, for religious reasons, to use CA in prayers in preference to their own language. The low status given to their language in Algerian society compel the Kabyls to become not only bilingual but multilingual by necessity.

2- COMPARISON OF TAMAZIGHT WITH SCOTTISH GAELIC

The similarities Tamazight share with Gaelic were briefly outlined in section 1.4.B. The differences which are apparent in their status, in the linguistic environment in which they are evolving, and in the number of native speakers were examined in chapter 9. In the table below, a comparison in the use of Tamazight and Gaelic in various domains was studied and summarized as follows:

<u>Domains of use</u>	<u>Kabyl Tamazight</u>	<u>Scottish Gaelic</u>
1- In Administration and institutions	Tamazight is not yet officially recognised as a national language alongside Arabic. All official documents are written in MSA. Sometimes French is also used with MSA.	Similarly, Gaelic is not an official language. No official document is available in Gaelic solely. However, some local authorities such as the Western Isles Islands Council adopted Gaelic strategies to support the language and ensure

		<p>that the Western Isles be a bilingual community in which both Gaelic and English are used in various domains of social life and in Education. This according to the choice of the people living in the area.</p> <p>The Highland Regional Council also has a policy to support and sustain Gaelic. The Gaelic language and Culture committee holds bilingual proceedings with interpreting facilities.</p>
2- In the Media	<p>Very few programmes (songs, dance, and films) in Tamazight are broadcast on Algerian television. However, news using different dialects of Tamazight, appear on the screen everyday in the afternoon.</p>	<p>The last ten years has seen seen large advances thanks to the financial help of the government who offered £ 9.5 million to Comataidh Telebhision na Gaidhlig in 1992. According to MacDonald, M (1993) 200 hours of Gaelic language programming were provided: <i>Machair, the Gaelic Soap Opera, Speaking our language, Haggis, Agus, and Reporting Scotland</i>. News are broadcast twice a day.</p>
On the radio	<p>A Kabyl channel (channel 2) is available on the national radio. Another one started to operate recently (in 1996) in Bgayeth. There are no official figures as regards the number of people watching the programmes in Tamazight on television and and listening channel 2 on the radio. However, according to the results of the questionnaire 4, identifying the degree of interest in Kabyl, 96.5% of the Kabyls who answered the questionnaire listen to the programme broadcast on the radio in Kabylia and more than a half, 69% in Algiers and Wahran.</p>	<p>Gaelic radio studios are more numerous. The main ones are found in Inverness and Stornoway with smaller studios in Portree, Balivanich and Oban.</p> <p>According to MacDonald, M (1993) in a BBC report of 1982, the aim is to provide 30 hours Gaelic language provision per week.</p>
Newspapers	<p>There is no newspaper entirely written in Tamazight yet, but articles written in that language</p>	<p>No newspaper written in Gaelic is available, neither in the Western Isles, nor</p>

are inserted now and then in the daily newspaper *Le Matin*, *El-Watan* and others.

in the Highlands and Lowlands. However, as for Tamazight, some articles written in Gaelic can be read in some magazines and newspapers such as *Scotsman* on Friday.

3-Road signs	Trilingual (Arabic-Tamazight-French) road-signs are available in Tizzi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth.	Bilingual road signs are found in the Western Isles and in the Highlands. Sometimes, only Gaelic is used in areas of large concentration of Gaelic speakers such as in Stornoway.
4-Religion	Tamazight is not used in prayers but explanations of the verses of the Qur'an can be given in Tamazight such as in Kabylia.	English and Gaelic are used equally at church.
5-Education	The teaching of Tamazight at school is at its initial stage . At present it is taught in some secondary schools as a subject and at an experimental level.	Gaelic is taught at all levels pre-school, primary school, secondary and at the university. It is taught both as a subject and as a medium of instruction throughout Scotland including the Western Isles. This since the adoption of a bilingual policy by the Western Isles Council in 1975.
	Tamazight is also taught at two universities in Algeria: Bgayeth and Tizi-Wuzzu.	

Conclusion:

Gaelic in Scotland is better represented in social life, in the media, in religion and in education compared to Tamazight in Algeria. Nevertheless, the latter enjoys a higher vitality. The strength of Tamazight comes from the number of the native speakers who are counted by millions and who, as seen from the Kabyl group in the results of questionnaire 4, try to speak their language whenever possible and keep it alive.

CHAPTER 10- TAMAZIGHT AND GAELIC IN EDUCATION

For a language to be taught efficiently at school, a suitable and stable writing script is needed. Equally important are the provision of an adequate curriculum, teaching materials, teaching approaches and teacher training. These will be examined in this chapter as regards the teaching of Gaelic and Tamazight.

10-1 THE WRITING SYSTEM OF GAELIC

Chì mi chuimhneachan sgrìobhte air an linn nach eil beò
Anns gach tobht ‘agus gàrradh gach càrn agus crò. 4

There is a memory written of an age passed away
In every ruin about me, every cote, every cairn...
(From Coille 'n Flàsaich
by Donald Mackillop of
Berneray)

At present, Gaelic orthography contains eighteen Latin letters: **a b c d e f g (h) i l m n o p r s t u** with evidence of the use of **v** for **mh** and **bh** in 13th century inscriptions. The letter **h** indicates aspiration and is only found after the letters **b c d f g m p s t**. According to Macleod, D.J (1994) how Scottish Gaelic orthography developed historically has yet to be researched. The orthography of Modern Scottish Gaelic is essentially an etymologically based system and is grounded on Classical Irish of the early modern period (12th-17th). Gillies, W (1993) states that, unlike Manx Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic has demonstrated resistance to anglicising forces.

According to Cooper, R (1989), the New Testament (1767) played a major stabilizing role on Gaelic orthography during the eighteenth century. Thomson, D.S (1983) reports that this edition of the New Testament adopted “a carefully considered system” and contained in its preface “rules for reading the Gaelic language”.

4- Comhairle nan Eilean (1994) Western Isles fact file. Haldane Curriculum Centre. Stornoway, p 6.1.

According to Thomson, D.S (1983) the 20th century has seen a “gradual tidying up of minor features of the spelling system”. Some of the reforms have been admitted through the Gaelic Magazine, *Gairm* , which was established in 1952. In an effort to standardize the written language, the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board adopted, as a package, some reforms set out by a special Committee on Gaelic orthography (Gaelic Orthographic Conventions to be used by candidates in and after 1988; Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board. Dalkeith, August 1981). All candidates are required to use the orthographic conventions adopted by the Examination Board. In general one can say that the Scottish Examination Board has greatly influenced Gaelic orthography.

Although the remit of the Gaelic Orthographic Committee was to produce a set of standard orthographic conventions (to be utilized by the Board’s Examiners, Setters and Markers) it was found necessary to keep a certain amount of orthographic flexibility to allow for development in Gaelic taking place at the present, from a linguistic as well as social and educational points of view.

Some proposed changes were hindered by various factors, for example:

- Violation of etymological principles or considerable changes would make books written in the traditional orthography too difficult to read.
- Diversity of usage and the state of Gaelic literacy at the present time make the prescription of a singular standard for all cases an unrealistic task. In fact, the Committee considered such a rule as to be self-defeating; “being more honoured in the breach than in the observance”.
- The committee was also of the opinion that were it to recommend a single form of orthographic conventions, it would in some cases entail passing judgements that had nothing to do with orthography. Such judgements might have opened the door for charges of prejudice in preferring one dialect form rather than another; which must be avoided at present or ‘a lack of understanding of the range of appropriate forms concomitant with different levels of usage’, which the Committee considered important to develop rather than curtail.

So, the Committee, having arrived at the principle of permitting plurality of forms, considered the question of “where?” and “to what extent?” that principle should be applied. It took the decision that this principle should operate reasonably widely. Yet, the Committee recognized the need for some degree of standardization ‘within the range of alternatives’, for some particular purposes. This is a compromise to avoid a too narrow prescription and yet presents a standard form for a particular purpose.

10-2 HOW IS TAMAZIGHT WRITTEN ?

“Win yebghan Tamazight
Ad yissin Tira-s.”

(Slogan)

Anyone wishing to promote
Tamazight, has to know its
writing.

(my translation)

The nature of the relationship between Tamazight and other languages has fascinated and continues to fascinate scholars of various orientations. Studies on Tamazight have raised a long-standing question: what is written Tamazight?

Written languages adapt writing systems other than for which they have first been developed. The adaption of Arabic script and the Latin Alphabet in Turkish exemplified this well, as does the adaptation of the Greek alphabet to the Cyrillic alphabet used in the Russian and Bulgarian languages.

Until the break-up of the Ottoman Empire after World War One, in 1928, Turkish was written using the Arabic and Persian script as a result of political conquest and the religious conversion to Islam which followed. As a non-Semitic language, the Arabic letters were not suitable to Turkish. However, as part of Kemal Atatürk's westernising reforms in the 1920s, there was a switch to a modified Roman alphabet for written Turkish.

As can be noticed, factors external to linguistic structure do play a major role in the adoption of particular scripts by different communities. Thus sometimes a script follows religion because generally religion is founded on holy books. The spread of Islam carried the Arabic script to other languages less suited to it, such as Turkish as mentioned earlier. Persian and Urdu are also written in Arabic letters. Another obvious case is the use of the Roman instead of the Cyrillic (or Russian) alphabet by speakers of different Eastern European languages. Russians, Bulgarians, Serbs use Cyrillic, whereas Poles, Czechs, Croats use Roman. Croats and Serbs speak the same language although they

use a different script to transcribe it. However, the importance of such correlations between script and external factors, such as religion, does not exclude the possibility that there may also be correspondence between internal, structural characteristics of spoken languages and types of script used to transcribe them.

On historical grounds, the Latin alphabet derived from the language the Phoenicians had inherited from their Semitic kinsmen, i.e., Hebrews and Egyptians. Wherever the Phoenicians travelled they might have carried their alphabet with them. In the East it developed into Aramaic, which further developed into the Indian, Persian, Arabic and Hebrew alphabets. In the West, it evolved into the Greek alphabet which inspired first the Etruscan, and then the Latin alphabet which is used for the languages of Western Europe, and later the Cyrillic alphabet used in Slavic nations. The alphabet was a modern alphabet in all respects but one; it contained consonants only but no vowels. The Greeks whose language was an Indo-European tongue, supplied the alphabet with vowels.

1- Tamazight and Tifinagh relationship

It is clear that Tamazight had a complete and firmly established written form, but it is not clear exactly how Tamazight has developed its own writing system.

Various linguists have observed and reported on what they consider to be written Tamazight. Camps, G (1987; 200) describes Tamazight as a language with its own unique system of writing.

La langue Berbère est, avec la langue Ethiopienne qui comme elle appartient au groupe Hamito-Sémitique, la seule langue Africaine à posséder une écriture autonome.⁵

Berber, like the Ethiopian language which belongs to the Hamito-Semitic language family, is the sole African language to possess its own writing system.

(my translation)

5- Camps, G (1987; 13) Les Berbères-Mémoire et Identité. Errance. Paris.

Similarly Boissier quoted in Picquet, V (1921; 27) remarked that:

cette langue (Tamazight) non seulement on la parle, mais on l'écrit. Elle possède même un avantage qui manque à des idiomes plus importants: tandis que les nations aryennes se sont contentées d'emprunter leurs lettres à l'alphabet Phénicien, les indigènes de l'Afrique ont créé, on ne sait comment, un système d'écriture qui leur appartient et ne se retrouve pas ailleurs. C'est ce qu'on appelle l'alphabet Libyque. 6

This language (Tamazight) not only it is spoken but also used in writing. It has even an advantage over the more successful dominant languages. Whereas the Aryan nations contented themselves in borrowing their writing system from the Phoenician alphabet, the indigenous people of North Africa - one can wonder how - devised a unique form of writing to transcribe their language, commonly known as the Libyan alphabet.

(my translation)

In this connection, the native linguist Chaker, S (1984; 29) observed that the Libyan*/Numidian alphabet is the ancestor of Tifinagh in use at the present time. He noted:

Dans la période terminale des grands royaumes Berbères (II^{ème} siècle avant J.C.) les populations locales disposaient d'un système d'écriture spécifique, l'alphabet Libyque, ancêtre de l'écriture Tifinagh Touarègue actuelle. Son utilisation s'étendait à la totalité du Maghreb.7

During the last period of the major Berber kingdoms (the IIth century B.C) the indigenous people made use of a specific writing script; the Libyan alphabet, ancestor of the present day Tifinagh script used by the Tuaregs. In the past it was adopted throughout the Maghreb.

6- Picquet, V (1921;27) Les civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord. Armand Colin. Paris.

7- Chaker, S (1984; 29) Textes en Linguistique Berbère. CNRS. Paris.

*Libyan: this term has different meanings according to different historians at different times.

For Herodotus, Libyans are the inhabitants of North Africa under condition that they are white and also distinct from Phoenicians and Greeks.

For Sallust, Libyans are as described by Herodotus but, furthermore restricted to those inhabiting the coast of North Africa. These people were the first Imazighen, the original inhabitants of North Africa.

"Libyan" is also the name given to their language and alphabet.

Owing to the fragmentary evidence, knowledge about Tamazight script is very limited. Inscriptions with Numidian characters go a great deal further back to antiquity. Numerous inscriptions have been found nearly all over Northern Africa. Most notably in the Eastern and Central parts of Algeria. These inscriptions are often in the form of votive or commemorative steles (see picture 10.2.1 below). However, there are texts written substantially in Numidian characters but their deciphering is an enormously difficult task.

Picture 10.2.1: Libyan commemorative stele found in Annaba



Source : Camps, G (1980) Berbères aux marges de l'Histoire Hespérides, Paris, p 53.

The fact that this evidence was seriously discussed highlights an important aspect of the Tamazight written language. The Libyan/Numidian alphabet reported on these various studies is of great significance in the study of Tamazight .

Chaker, S (1984) claims that the Libyan script is the parent script of Tifinagh. The writing system the Tuaregs use in their correspondence when they set out their itineraries on sands and rocks or inscribe messages on tombstones. This type of script, said Chaker, is found along the Mediterranean, Crete, Cyprus, the Aegean islands and the Iberian Peninsula.

Exact dating of the origin of these inscriptions is not possible for several alphabets have existed since antiquity. The most important ones have been (i) the oriental alphabet, and (ii) the Western alphabet. How these two alphabets have evolved is still unknown. However, Camps, G (1987) speculates that the oriental alphabet "Massyle" developed in close proximity to the original script, in contact with Punic script. Gradually, the value of Punic became increasingly important.

When and how this Libyan writing system was introduced is not altogether clear, but it is clear that it derives from the Phoenician script. Chaker, S (1989; 129) assumes that:

L' écriture Libyco-Berbère dans son principe, sinon dans ses formes, est très certainement d'origine phénicienne. Elle porte en Touareg un nom qui trahit immédiatement l'origine. " Tifinagh", nominal féminin pluriel est construit sur une racine qui désigne les Phénico-puniques (fnq/fngh) et devrait signifier "les puniques" 8

It is very probable that the Libyco-Berber writing system is from Phoenician origin. This, at least, from the shape of its characters. This script is called "Tifinagh" in the language of the Tuaregs, meaning according to the root of the word (fnq/fngh): Phoenico-Punic. It refers to the Punics.

(my translation)

8- Chaker, S (1989; 129). Encyclopédie Berbère VI. Edisud. La Calade. France.

As a result of the Punic influence, Tamazight has managed to borrow a considerable Punic vocabulary. Tamazight speakers distinguished a number of different varieties all of which are used for different functions. Some terms are still available for example :

“iles” = “language “
 “yer”/ “qqr” = “to call”

During the seminar about the teaching of Tamazight held in 1991 at Oudja university in Morocco, Chami, M (teacher of linguistics) states, that Tifinagh is one of the oldest writing scripts, dating from about 3000 years B.C. It is an alphabetic and phonetic writing script consisting mainly of consonants usually written right to left, like Arabic. See picture 10.2.2 below:

Picture 10.2.2 : Modern Tifinagh characters



Source: photograph taken in Algiers in 1990.
 Demonstrators asked for the recognition of Tamazight using the Tifinagh signs as marker of their cultural identity.

2- Tamazight and Arabic letters relationship

Tamazight has often been written in Arabic script in the past. Norris, (1982; 6) states in this respect that:

The Berber language and its dialects can be studied on many a page of an Arabic book or manuscript. This is particularly true of the Ibadi texts from the Jabal Nefusa where extensive passages in Berber are written in Arabic script. Among some of the Tuareg, there are lengthy texts, Qur'an commentaries and legal Sufi manuals in the Tamjeq (Tamacheq) language but written with Arabic letters. ⁹

From the Arab conquest until the end of the medieval times, a number of political groupings, namely Rosatemids, Berghawata, Almoravids, Almohads etc, came into existence among Imazighen groups, fought one another, and one group followed another. According to Chaker, S (1984; 33-34) all these dynasties adopted Arabic characters in official documents written in Tamazight :

Toutes ces dynasties sont fondées et portées par des berbérophones et l'on sait par les sources écrites que l'usage oral du Berbère y était prédominant, y compris dans les cours royales. Jusqu' au XII siècle au moins, ces royaumes Islamo-Berbères utilisent même le Berbère à l' écrit, noté en caractères Arabes. Les sources littéraires Arabes mentionnent des traités juridiques, scientifiques , théologiques, des traductions du Qur'an en langue Berbère aussi bien chez les Rostémides que chez les Almoravides et les Almohades.¹⁰

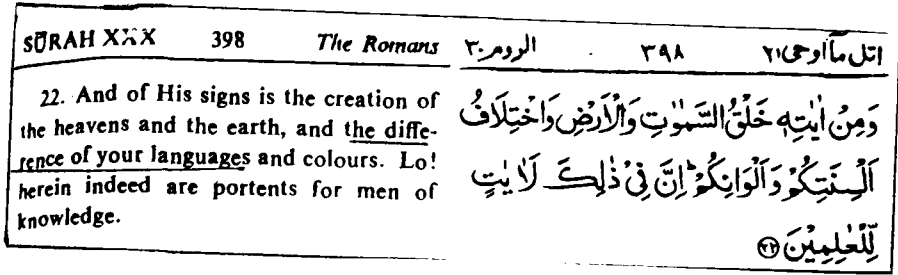
All these dynasties were founded and supported by the Berbers and we know through written records that the use of the Berber language was predominant even in the royal courts. Until the XIIth century, at least, these Islamo- Berber societies also used the written form of the language in Arabic letters. Arabic literary sources report that official documents such as law contracts, scientific, theologic papers, and translation of the Qur'an were written in Berber by the Rosatemids, Almoravids and the Almohads.

(my translation)

9- Norris, (1982; 6)

10-Chaker, S (1984), pp 33-34.

Photograph 10.2.3 : Arabic Script



Source : The Holy Qur'an
Surah XXX "The Romans", p 398.

The tradition of writing Tamazight in Arabic characters has been maintained well in Chleuh, a variety of Tamazight used in Morocco. But a highly conscious attitude towards written Tamazight is present in Algeria. The Kabyls, the most numerous Tamazight speech community in the country (representing about 2/3 of the Amazigh people) do not readily accept to write Tamazight with Arabic letters. This will be discussed later on page 312.

3- Tamazight and Greco-Latin script relationship

Among the numerous languages spoken in the world (between 5000 and 7000), it is estimated that only a dozen possess their own writing system. At present, the majority of the written languages use a borrowed writing script. Modern and dominant languages, such as Anglo-Saxon and Latin-based-languages, adopt the Latin alphabet. It is the same for some languages which do not belong to the Indo-European language family such as Basque and Vietnamese.

The Greco-Latin alphabet is the most widely used presently in Kabylia to transcribe Tamazight. See Tables 10.2.1 and 10.2.2 on page 308, and the poem of Aït Menguellet transcribed in the Greco-Latin alphabet, page 309.

Table 10.2.1 : The Greco-Latin alphabet used to transcribe Tamazight
(according to Mammeri and Boulifa)

	Tamazight	English
	a	aman water
	ε/Σ	Siwen to help
Epsilon	b	bib to carry
	b	abrid road
Arabic letter	bw	ibbwi has taken
	c	amcic cat
	č	ečč to eat
	d	amendil scarf
	d	adrar mountain
	d	idelli yesterday
	e	els to dress
	f	ifer leaf
	g	argaz man
	g	gma brother
	gw	agwem to draw
	ğ	eğğ to let
	h	lhenni henna
	h	ih then
	i	imi mouth
	j	ajernan newspaper
	k	ibki monkey
	k	akal soil
	kw	akwer to steal
	kw	akw all
	l	ili to be
	m	imi mouth
	n	ini to say
	q	areqaq thin
Gamma	γ/T	ayrum pain
	r	aruy hedgehog
	r	ruh to go
	s	asif river
	s	šubb to go down
	t	ntu to plant
	t	tamurt country
	t	ti eye
	t	taye shoulder
	u	ul heart
	w	awal utterance
	x	axxam house
	y	yemma my mother
	z	izimer sheep
	z	iziwec sparrow
	ž	Ležžayer Algiers

Table 10.2.2: The Greco-Latin alphabet correspondence with Arabic letters and International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)

Tamazight	Arabic	A.P.I.	Tamazight	Arabic	A.P.I.
consonants					
b	ب	b	s	س	s
c	ش	ʃ	ʒ	س	s
č		tʃ	ʒ	س	s
d	د / ذ	d	ʔ	ت	ʔ
ɖ	ظ / ض	ɖ	ʔ	ظ	ʔ
f	ف	f	ʔ		ʔs
g		g	w	ر	w
ğ		g ^w	x	خ	x
ǧ	ج	dʒ	ʔ		x ^w
h	ه	h	y	ي	j
ħ	ح	ħ	z	ز	z
j		ʒ	ʔ		ʔ
k	ك	k	c	ع	ʔ
ʁ		k ^w			
l	ل	l			
m	م	m	vowels		
n	ن	n	a		
ɣ	غ	ʁ	i		
ʔ		ʁ ^w	u		
q	ق	q			
q̣		q ^w			
r	ر	r			
ɾ	ر	ɾ			

Diacritics:

- A dot beneath a consonant denotes emphasis (l, n b)
- A dash beneath a consonant indicates aspiration (b, d, g)
- A dash above a vowel indicates a long vowel (ī, ū, ā, ē)
- Short vowels are indicated by the ˇ sign (i, u, a, e)

Source : Tamurt newspaper. 1991

Tizzi-Wuzzu. p 4.

Source : Naït-Zerrad, K (1995)

Tajerrumt n Tmazight

ENAG. Alger. p 21.

Poem of Aït Menguellet transcribed
in the Greco-Latin alphabet with diacritics.

Nekwni s warrac n Lezzayer	We, children of Algeria !
Tekker tmes tuyal tensa Tensa tmes mazal tayed	The fire lights up, then lights off The fire lights off but another one lights up
Kul yiwen i lweqt-is yecfa Kul wa t-times i d-yessawed	Everyone can remember his time And the kind of fire he encountered
Kul lqern yurğa lehna Waqil' abrid-is yenned	Every century (I) dreamt of peace which way was clear
Uh ! A tamurt-iw : Mel-iyi anida-t yism-iw	O! dear country Tell me where is my name (written)
Ğğan-ay-d imezwura Ayen is ara d-iban yiles	Our ancestors left us A rich language to use for a long time
Gas fellas la neğessa Kul aseggwas yečča sges	But (no matter) how often we try to keep it alive. Every year, a piece of it disappears.
Nugwad a t-in-naf yekfa Yibbwass m' aa nedlu ħures	We are afraid to find it dead The very day we look for it.

Source : Yacine, T (1990; 295) Aït Menguellet chante
Bouchène. Awal. Alger.

Among the first native scholars who attempted a phonetic transcription of Tamazight using full Latin alphabet is the well-known Mammeri, M (1986). He used one character to represent every sound and introduced gamma from the Greek alphabet. For example:

[aqla da] = " We are here"

Similarly, Boulifa (1989) has introduced two characters to indicate the acrophonic principle underlying the selection of certain diphthongs. For example:

/c/ + /k/: /k/ such as in the word "ackal" = "soil"

/k/ can be pronounced [\int] as in the Aures and M'Zab [aʃal]

or [K] as in Southern Algeria [akal]

or [c+k] as in Kabylia [ackal]

As can be seen, unlike Gaelic which is transcribed with the use of Latin characters only, three writing scripts, totally different from each other, can be used to write Tamazight. The major problem Algerian educationalists and linguists have to solve in the future is which writing script to adopt for its educational purposes. Calculating the efficiency of these various writing systems involves taking account of a number of factors. As Grant, N (1959) explains in his book *Scripts and literacy in Asia* one must consider the speed and efficiency of learning involving any given script in both reading and writing modes. Other associated concerns which must be taken into account are teaching methods, the number of qualified teachers, class sizes, course design and frequency of contact among others. Regarding the script itself, the number and complexity of the symbol must be measured; the former can be simply counted on comparison with any Romanised system. However, complexity of symbol is more problematic. The Chinese calculate the number of strokes in each character but it would not be a simple matter to apply. Berry, J (1968; 737) states in an article entitled *The making of Alphabet* inserted in the book *Readings in the Sociology of Language* that an Alphabet is successful in so far it is "scientifically and socially acceptable". He explains it as follows:

A- The linguistic situation

- 1-linguistic: does the alphabet represent the language system economically, consistently, unambiguously?
- 2-pedagogically: how does the alphabet achieve the strictly utilitarian aim of economy of time and labour in learning to read and write?
- 3-psychological: how does the alphabet respect the psychological and physiological processes involved in the reading and writing acts?
- 4-how far is the alphabet suited to the needs of modern techniques of graphic representation, machine writing etc.

B- The social situation

Among the extralinguistic and external factors of which account must be taken in deciding on an orthography are:

- 1- The social attitudes of the people towards their language.
- 2- The status of the language; is it a national language or a vernacular?
- 3- The relations of the language with others in the region or country.
To what writing community does the language belong? Agreement with other writing systems in use for neighbouring trade or official languages is desirable where possible on pedagogical and economic grounds.
- 4-The dialectal situation: is there a convenient linguistic centre (i.e., an area characterized by having the greatest number of language features in common with the greatest number of speakers in the total area)? 11

As regards the choice of Tamazight script to be used in education, the social attitudes of Kabyls were examined in this study by the use of questionnaire 4. The results are given on Table B5, appendix B5 and represented graphically by the chart 10.2.1, on page 313. As can be seen on the table B5, 582 out of 600 Kabyls (i.e., 97%) agreed on the principle that Tamazight should be written. This in contrast to a small number of Kabyls; 7/600 (1.6%) who disagree and answered “no”.

11- Berry, J (1968; 737). The making of Alphabet in *Reading in the Sociologie of Language*. Fishman, J.A. Mouton. The Hague. Paris.

The results of the answers to the question **how** and **why** do you think Tamazight should be written?" are given on the Table B5. The majority of the Kabyls, i.e., 60.4..% (representing 352/582 numerically), chose the Tifinagh alphabet to transcribe their language because it was used by their ancestors.

In the second instance, the Latin script was preferred to other forms of writing systems by 152 Kabyls representing 26.2%. The reason why this script was chosen differs among this group. 18.2% of the Kabyls who chose Latin script justified their preference by the fact that this alphabet is presently used by the most successful modern languages.

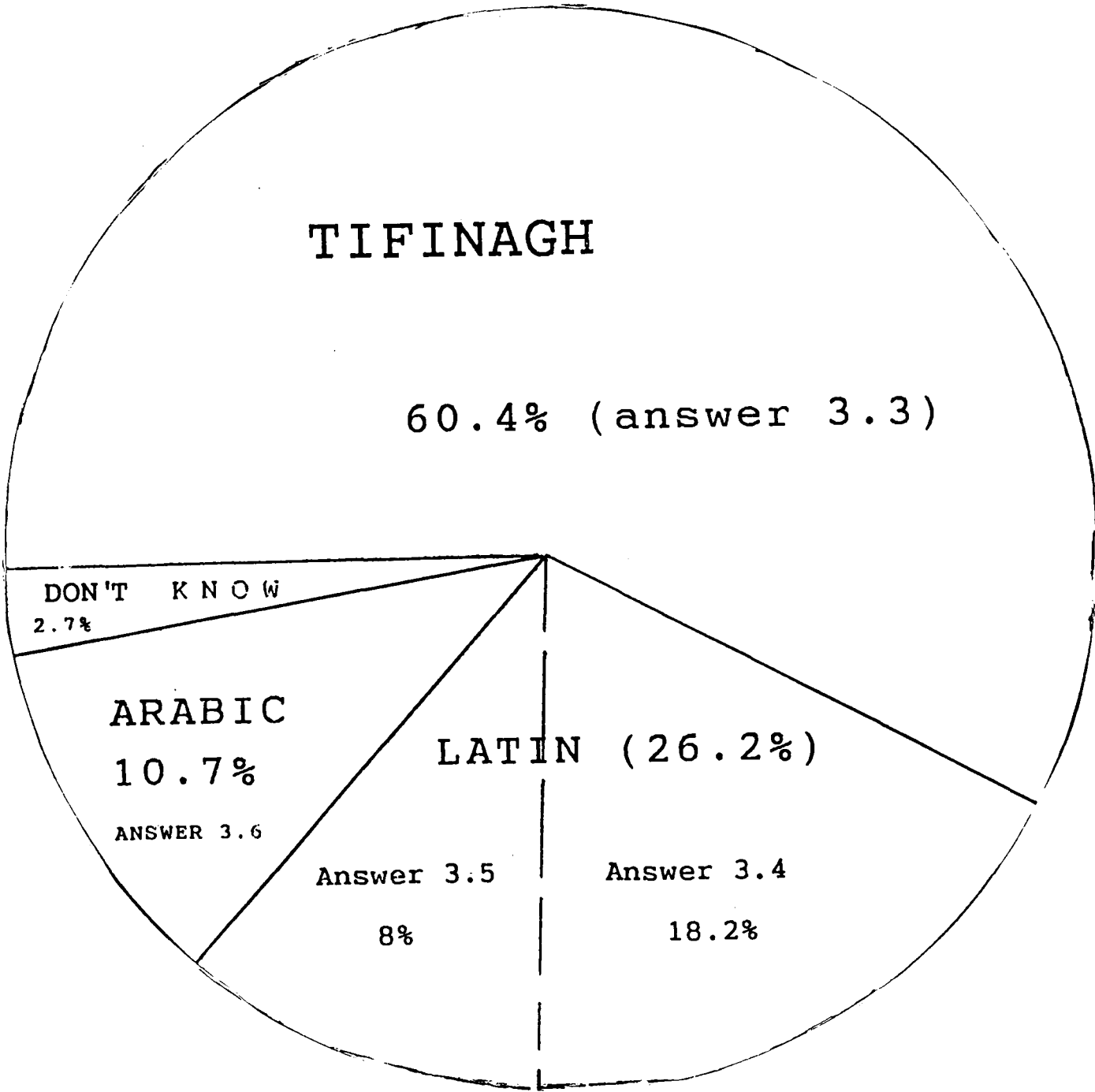
The others, i.e., 8% explained their choice by selecting the answer: "Tifinagh signs are difficult".

Finally only 10.7% representing numerically 62/582 chose Arabic letters to transcribe Tamazight. They preferred this script because it is already known and used in education.

From the results of questionnaire 4, one can conclude that the Kabyls, who represent the greatest number of Tamazight speakers in Algeria (about 2/3), do not want their language to be written in Arabic letters. This despite the fact that the learning of Tamazight with the use of Arabic characters would be easier to children since they are taught through the medium of Arabic from the first year of primary school.

The Tifinagh signs are preferred in the first instance because they are associated with the long history of the ancestors of Imazighen who used this script for more than two thousand years. For that reason Tifinagh signs are venerated with an almost religious awe. Likewise, at different times of their struggle (described in chapter 5), the Kabyls demanded the teaching of their language with its proper script with the aim of achieving to acquire the status of second national language. To this end, the Tifinagh signs are regarded as a condition of social recognition, as a significant part of the literary tradition and the cultural identity of the Amazigh culture.

Chart 10.2.1: the choice of the Kabyls as regards the writing script to be used in Education



Result of the questionnaire 4, table B5, appendix B5.

Answers to question 2 and 3 : " **How** and **Why** do you think
Tamazight should be written? "

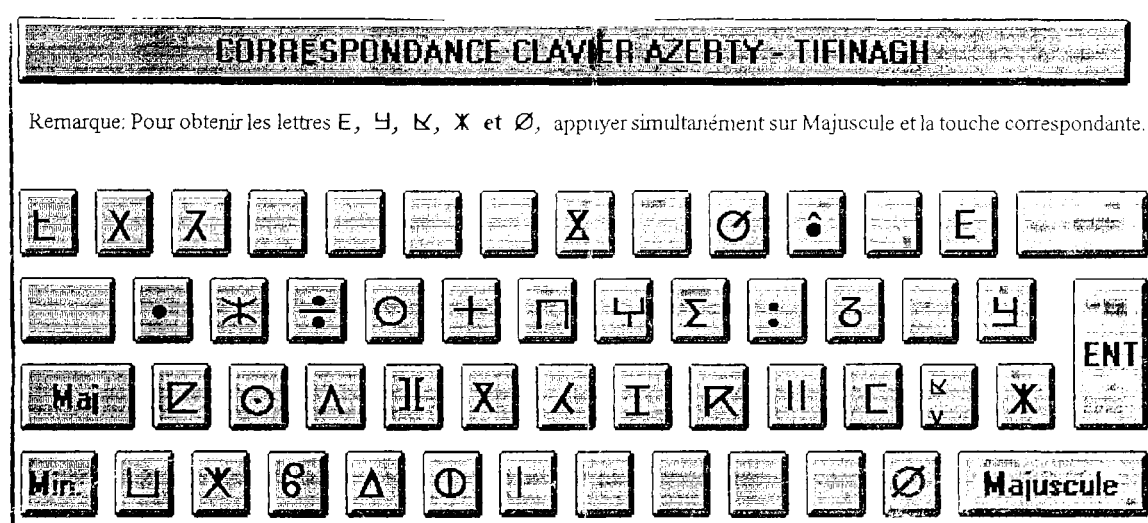
The Greco-Latin alphabet used at present to transcribe Tamazight does not seem to satisfy the majority of the Kabyls since less than half of the people who responded to questionnaire 4 (representing 26.2% of the total number) opted for the use of Latin characters. All the varieties of Tamazight possess a rich repertoire of various sounds. To transcribe them phonetically and scientifically, Mammeri, M (1980) used 25 letters plus 12 diacritically modified ones (i.e., simple Latin letters with supraliteral tilde, subliterate cedilla, postliteral circle or apostrophe) plus two Greek letters; Gamma and Epsilon and one Arabic letter (ξ). See table 10.2.1, page 308. Used to transcribe Tamazight adequately, these diacritics present however a disadvantage; they are difficult to reproduce by type writers and computers, and cannot be found in the morse code for telegrams.

The transcription of Tamazight is a much debated subject at present in Algeria. If for some people, the existing transcription is adequate and sufficient, for some others (the majority), as seen in the case of the Kabyls, a new transcription method is required. Bahbouh, L (1991), for instance, suggested that the Greek Gamma (γ) should be eliminated since it does not belong to the Latin alphabet. This modification, points out Bahbouh, has a typographical advantage because the keyboard can then be fully used. He suggests consciously recreating the writing of Tamazight but the majority of Algerian linguists do not fully support his method because limitations have been found on other scientific grounds.

As Ahmed Zaid, Y (1996; 7) grammarian and lecturer at the University of Tizi-Wuzzu, points out, if a change regarding the writing of Tamazight in Greco-Latin has to occur, this has to take into account the lexical, grammatical, phonetico-phonological and contextual peculiarities of the language. Reference to the former writing form of Tamazight (the Libyan) is also necessary, as well as the knowledge of universal theory in Linguistics. Thus, a change in the writing of Tamazight would be a long and difficult process which would require linguistic and sociolinguistic surveys, not only within the Kabyl community, but also within other Amazigh groups, native speakers of Tamazight.

Algerian linguists, sociolinguists, researchers, educationalists and teachers are presently convinced that the best way to transcribe Tamazight is to use its original script, i.e., the Tifinagh signs. Since 1993, the Académie Berbère (Berber Academy) in the North of France has made the first step in that direction; members of this Academy devised a modern form of Tifinagh signs for its use in computing and in education. The magazine “Afus Deg Wfus” (meaning “Hand by hand”) has made the following scheme of Tifinagh characters widely available in many countries the world over. These are shown in the photograph 10.2.4 below.

Picture 10.2.4 : scheme of modern Tifinagh characters



Source : “Afus Deg Wfus” magazine, Roubaix. France.
July 8th 1995, p 4.

Conclusion

As discussed above, three different scripts have been traditionally used to transcribe Tamazight: Tifinagh signs, Arabic letters and Latin characters. The choice of a script cannot be made on grounds that are solely linguistically or pedagogically desirable. Very often scientific and social interests conflict especially when the writing system adopted, in a social or educational context, may become identified with political, national or religious passions.

As regards Tamazight, the Kabyls, the most numerous among the Imazighen would not accept their language written with the use of

Arabic letters, as seen from the results of the questionnaire 4. The reasons were explained on page 312.

The Tifinagh signs which the majority of the Kabyls think the most suitable - as used by their ancestors and able to transcribe their language properly - cannot be adopted immediately. Further research on the graphemes, vowels in particular, is needed

For the moment, only the Greco-Latin characters seem to serve the purposes of the native linguists and writers to transcribe the language phonetically. Some newspapers, local magazines, literary and scientific books are using this script.

In the near future, a stable phonemic writing system which would take into account and transcribe the phonetic richness of all the varieties of Tamazight, is urgently needed and has to be devised for use in education.

10-3 THE TEACHING OF TAMAZIGHT AND GAELIC

10-3.1 THE TEACHING OF TAMAZIGHT

As mentioned several times throughout this thesis, Tamazight in Algeria started to be taught just recently at an experimental level.

After the end of the school boycott (described on page 247) in May 1995, the Algerian government agreed to set up a High Commission for Amazigh affairs (Haut Commissariat à l' Amazighité). The main role of this committee is to promote the Tamazight language in social life and to introduce gradually the teaching of Tamazight in the educational system, as reported on page 249.

Since September 1996, Tamazight is taught two hours a week as a subject in some secondary schools throughout Algeria at the ninth year of the fundamental (basic) school (9e A.F). See section 3.4 about the Algerian educational system. Since September 1997, the teaching of Tamazight as a subject has been extended to the sixth year of the fundamental school (6e A.F).

During the seminar held in Algiers (Ben Aknoun) in April 1996 about the evaluation of the teaching of Tamazight after one year of experience, Aït Amrane, president of the HCA explained to the teachers (volunteers who teach Tamazight in different regions throughout Algeria) that the introduction of Tamazight at school has to be carried out by progressive stages. This is to allow for the necessary preparation of teaching aids, books and teachers. He added that a suitable curriculum needs to be devised in the future for the teaching of Tamazight together with adequate teaching approach and methods. During the conference the present investigator attended, the president of the HCA pointed out that one has to learn the lesson from the Arabization process which was applied too quickly at school. This is to avoid the mistakes done with Arabization which led to the negative consequences explained in chapter 3-4, page 194. He also informed the audience that the teaching of Tamazight will be generalized at all levels of education (primary, secondary and university level) once the favourable conditions for its success are established.

university level) once the favourable conditions for its success are established.

At present, Tamazight teachers already encounter numerous problems to teach the language as a subject. These were summarised on pages 11 and 13. As regards the adequate teaching approach which is urgently needed for the teaching of Tamazight, the problems dealing with this matter are explained on pages 259 and 260.

The other problems Tamazight teachers reported during the conference refer to the standardisation of Tamazight. Teachers do not know exactly which variety to teach at school because of the absence of a standard form of the language. This problem becomes more serious in situations where teachers and students do not speak the same variety of Tamazight.

Similarly, there is not yet a stable writing script to be used in education. The Greco-Latin characters (described in chapter 10-2) are adopted temporarily but the diacritics this writing system includes make it difficult for students to reproduce by hand.

In addition to these pedagogical problems, some Tamazight teachers teaching in Arabic speaking areas reported that they also have to face the anger of some parents and the lack of motivation of some of their students who are not interested to learn Tamazight at school. No sociolinguistic survey was undertaken to investigate the language attitudes of the people as regards the teaching of Tamazight in Arabic speaking areas. This makes the teaching task of Tamazight teachers more difficult and sometimes useless.

Moreover, as teachers explained during the conference, some parents did not really welcome the fact that the 9eAF class (equivalent to standard grade level in Scotland) was chosen for the experience of the teaching of Tamazight. They thought students at this level have already to study hard to prepare themselves for the Baccalauréat examination. For that reason, the teaching of Tamazight as an additional subject for study, is rather seen as a nuisance, more particularly in Arabic speaking areas.

Trying to understand why the 9eAF class was chosen for the teaching of Tamazight at an experimental level, the present

and teacher training, he explained that the 3e AF class has been chosen for a specific reason. At the end of the secondary school, students are supposed to know well the Arabic letters and Latin script since they are taught through the medium of Arabic starting from the first year of primary school and French or English - using Latin characters - starting from the fifth year of primary school. Algerian educationalists thought that it will be an easy task for these students, to learn Tamazight through Greco-Latin characters. One can think If this judgement is true as regards Imazighen children who already speak their language. This is not evident for Arabic-speaking children who have to learn the Tamazight language and its adapted writing script at the same time.

As Mr Graïne, A pointed out, everybody knows that the present-day teaching of Tamazight, even as a subject, is not appropriate because a lot of means and aids are missing and have to be devised and prepared in the future. These include teaching materials, textbooks, reading books, curricula, teaching approach and teacher training. Nowadays, one can say that the teaching of Tamazight is rather a useful experience which allows the HCA to foresee the kind of problems it has to face and solve progressively, once Tamazight will be officially integrated in the Algerian educational system. At present, both Tamazight teachers and students are pioneers and contribute to the research about the teaching of Tamazight. Accordingly, teachers are asked to encourage correspondence in writing and exchange among students living in different Tamazight speaking areas. This with the aim of developing cultural relations and mutual intelligibility between children from different Amazigh groups speaking different dialects of Tamazight.

The practical work of the HCA commission regarding the teaching of Tamazight was outlined on pages 228 and 229. One has to point out that, if at present the teaching of Tamazight is limited to the teaching of the language as a subject, at long term, it is the teaching through Tamazight which is aimed with the use of Tifinagh, the original script of the language. In the meantime, as Aït Amrane explained during the conference mentioned above, the writing script to adopt for its use in education cannot be arbitrary

imposed, but has to emerge by itself through literary and scientific works.

Regarding teacher training, the numerous cultural associations set up throughout Algeria started to train teachers in Tamazight. Similarly, Agraw Adelsan Tamazight Federation has begun to prepare teacher trainers who will be called upon to train the language teachers necessary

to take up posts at cultural associations and later at school, when Tamazight is established as part of the school system. This longer-term project - a formidable challenge - involves a course of training over three terms (summer, winter). Every summer, a training session for teacher trainers at different levels, takes place at Azazga in Higher Kabylia. The Federation welcomed over a hundred student teachers from different parts of the Tamazight speaking areas (Higher and Lower Kabylia, M'zab, Aures, Tassili N'Ajjer and Hoggar).

The selection of candidates was based on three criteria:

- That the candidate was already a teacher.
- That she/he was a member of one of the federated associations.
- And finally, was a native speaker of Tamazight.

All probationer student teachers had to sign an undertaking which obliged them to complete their training. Various conferences, courses and assignments have all subjected the student teachers to intensive training in subjects as diverse as grammar, socio-anthropology, Amazigh literature, linguistics, the history of the Tamazight language and of North Africa in general.

The teachers are all university lecturers and researchers in the field of Tamazight studies, One could mention Chaker, S. Zayed, A. Rabhi, A and others.

The preparation of teacher trainers is validated by a diploma which, most importantly, carries the Federation's seal of approval, but it will also be necessary to secure its recognition by the relevant administrative authorities. In order to achieve this, each prospective teacher will have to present a dissertation in which he/she will outline the content of their training and demonstrate the knowledge they have acquired.

Researchers and teachers are also prepared at the Institutes of Tamazight and Culture in Tizzi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth respectively. But their number is small and is not seen as sufficient to cover the need of education in Tamazight. In the future, as stated by Aït Amrane, the Institute of Technology of Education (ITE) will welcome and train teachers in Tamazight, the way it is presently done for Arabic, French and other subjects.

Conclusion

As discussed above, everything (curricula, teaching aids and books, teaching approaches and teacher training) has to be prepared to allow for an adequate teaching of Tamazight in the future.

Scottish Gaelic, on the other hand, is more advanced in the domain of Education since it is taught in bilingual schools not only as a subject but also as a medium of instruction in some areas throughout Scotland where there was a demand for it. This will be examined in the following section.

10.3.2 SCOTTISH GAELIC IN EDUCATION

This chapter focuses more on bilingual education in the Western Isles than in the Highlands and Lowlands. This is because the situation of Gaelic in the Western Isles (where 75% of people speak Gaelic according to figures from 1991 Census shown on map 8.2, p 282) is roughly similar to that of Kabyl Tamazight in Kabylia. As the present investigator noticed during her visits in schools in the Western Isles, a great number of children in that region live in a **bilingual environment** and speak Gaelic as mother tongue. Likewise, the majority of Kabyl children in primary school in Kabylia are native speakers of Kabyl but the language of the community, however, is predominantly Kabyl. However, the different varieties of Arabic are used alongside Kabyl, and in a complementary distribution.

The teaching of Gaelic, as will be described here, has been examined through classroom observations made during the

numerous visits the present author paid to bilingual schools throughout Scotland. These schools are listed on Appendix E.

As for the teaching of Tamazight in Algeria, the Gaelic units were opened in Scotland, as a result of combined parental demand and political pressure. This despite the fact that some regions are more English than Gaelic speaking ones such as Inverness, the administrative centre of the Highland region.

Education in Scottish Gaelic is made available in pre-school, primary and secondary schools, at the university level and in the community as follows:

1- Early education

In the Western Isles, for instance, the aim at this stage is to co-operate with other early education Gaelic agencies in the developing of Gaelic-medium playgroups and other early education support structures. Since the Council does not operate any nursery schools, pre-school groups are run and staffed by volunteers.

The Education and Leisure Services Department provides assistance and advice to Gaelic playgrounds through a full-time early education staff tutor and part-time teachers.

Funding of the playgroups is achieved through grant and an annual per capita grant thereafter. Training materials, tapes, worksheets and all Gaelic books are made freely available.

The Council provides a home-visiting service to support pre-school children with special educational needs.

For example in the Highlands, in Central Primary, Inverness, the nursery classes are available within the Gaelic unit. These work three hours per day in the morning.

2- Primary education

In primary school, both Gaelic and English medium education are available throughout Scotland and parents can choose the kind of education they wish to offer to their children.

In Gaelic medium units (such as the Gaelic unit at Sir John Maxwell primary school in Glasgow or that of Laxdale school in Stornoway), the bilingual programme implemented in these schools enable children to be as literate and fluent in Gaelic as in English. The

school build on the language skills, either in Gaelic or in English acquired by children at home. For those pupils who are not native speakers of Gaelic, the Gaelic medium school help them to transfer their language skills into Gaelic. For others, native speakers of Gaelic, school enables them to continue to extend their command of Gaelic and their ability to use it appropriately to convey meanings. This includes having a knowledge about Gaelic, listening attentively, talking, reading with understanding, and writing fluently with accurate spelling and punctuation. To achieve this, Gaelic has to be the only language medium for the first two years of learning, i.e, in Primary one and Primary two (P1 and P2). By the end of this **immersion phase** pupils are expected to be able to communicate with the teacher and other pupils in social interaction and classroom routines on a range of topics. Afterwards, English is introduced gradually to children into the classroom. This is to develop a **bilingual education** but Gaelic continues to be the predominant medium. Pupils from the English background are encouraged to speak Gaelic in the classroom as soon as possible. In the beginning, the children would speak in their mother tongue (i.e., English) to a bilingual teacher who would reply in Gaelic only. Gradually, the children would come to use Gaelic themselves in basic oral communication. For those whose mother tongue is Gaelic the bilingual programmes implemented in Gaelic medium schools reinforce the existing skills they already acquired and which may diminish in a predominantly English-speaking environment. All schools in the Western Isles and in Skye are required to implement the Bilingual policy. According to the 1994 Western Isles fact-file there were some Gaelic medium units in 21 primary schools out of a total of 44 schools in the Islands. New units are established, on a yearly basis, to comply with parental requests and the Council's Area school policy.

The main areas of the curriculum in primary education are:

Language, Mathematics, Environment studies, Expressive arts and religious and moral Education. This mode of teaching aims at making the children fluent, numerate and literate in both Gaelic and English by the time they leave the primary school.

Itinerant specialist staff form an important element in delivering the curriculum in the areas of Art, Music, Physical education, Home economics and Technical education. Some areas also benefit from the services of itinerant instructors in Gaelic music, Gaelic drama and Dance. Part-time and itinerant teaching staff provide learning support. Provision for special educational needs is largely provided for in mainstream education with learning support.

Schools are generally being well-equipped with audio-visual and fax machines and photocopiers. Ninety per cent of primary classrooms are supplied with micro-computer systems. Learning support staff have access to specialist software and concept keyboards. Computers in all schools can access the Council's mainframe computer in Stornoway, the Brutel, (the Education and Leisure Services Department's local view-data system) via a modem service. Through the use of the electronic mailbox pupils, teachers and curriculum development staff have gained experience in the use of the latest information technology and related skills.

3- Secondary education

There are fifteen secondary comprehensive schools in the Western Isles with four of them catering for the full six year range. Pupils from ten rural two-year schools transfer to one of the six year schools or Lewis Castle College school. The latter offers integrated secondary and further education courses.

Although the curriculum follows national guidelines, yet it has distinctive features that are relevant to the locality. During the first two years of their secondary education, pupils study Gaelic in addition to English and French. In S3 and S4, pupils are required to study Gaelic, French or German. Some schools allow students to study two languages. Pupils have an option to follow either the Gaidhlig course or the Gaelic learners' course.

Gaelic-medium teaching is expanding to areas of the curriculum such as home Economics, social subjects, Mathematics, Technical Education and Art. This expansion is necessary in order to cater for pupils coming from Gaelic medium units in primary schools.

In a manner similar to that in Primary Education, the process of review and development of the S1 and S2 curriculum is in progress. In S3 and S4, pupils undertake Standard Grade courses supplemented by a modular SCOTVEC provision. In S5 and S6, pupils undertake Higher CSYS and SCOTVEC modules.

A faculty system provides curriculum development support. Fixed term secondments are also made to curriculum development posts to cater for specific curricular needs.

School boards, which exist to encourage optimum pupil welfare within the Education system by incorporating a wide range of skills and ideas, are made up of parents, staffs and co-opted members from the local community. School boards deal with school matters, provide a mechanism for the exchange of information among parents, schools and authority. Such school boards have enhanced the dialogue between parents and school authorities.

Strong links between schools and local businesses have been established to allow pupils to undertake certificated work experience programmes.

4- Further education

In the Western Isles, further education is provided by a community college, Lews Castle college, which is now an independent one. The college maintains strong links with universities and higher education colleges. Students can gain access to the appropriate year of degree programme, e.g., an HND student can gain access to the third year of a degree programme in the same area of study. The college gives support to local business and the community through tailor-made training consultancy work.

In Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen some lectures are given in Gaelic at the Department of Celtic.

5- Community education

The community education service makes provision for leisure and recreational activities with the aim of developing the concept of Education as life-long learning process. Informal education programmes are arranged both directly and in partnership with local and national voluntary organisations. The service also

provides assistance and advice to individuals and groups involved in the Arts. Local economic development, community centres and village halls, sports, games and outdoor education. Links with formal educational authority are established in various forms such as residential training courses, crofter-weaver courses and the delivery of help, advice and training for community workshops. The college is also involved with local enterprises, training groups and other external agencies in the formulation and devising of various training programmes.

6- Teaching aids

Funding for Gaelic projects is made at local authority level and is available through regulations established in 1986. Under these provisions a number of projects have been initiated including the commissioning of dictionaries, the compilation of work packs, the publishing of text books and multi-media software.

There is a wide range of children's books available at primary level and this is supplemented by many others where the English has been pasted over with Gaelic text, Original Gaelic publications include a children's Bible and an Environmental studies pack. Acair of Stornoway are the main publishers of Gaelic educational texts.

7- Teacher training

Primary teachers who, generally, are bilingual, are trained at three main Colleges of Education in Scotland :

- Jordanhill College of Education in Glasgow.
- St Andrews College in Bearsden
- and the Northern College in Aberdeen.

The following courses are available to those students who wish to pursue a career as a Gaelic teacher.

At Jordanhill College

1- A four year Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) which culminates in a major project in the final year in Gaelic and/or about Gaelic. The B.Ed is the general teacher training course which provides options for those who may teach in the Gaelic medium.

Modules also include orthography, methodology, terminology and grammar, language and literacy as well as providing an awareness of resources in school themselves. It also involves regular school placements.

2- Celtic studies

This is an option which is provided as part of the B.Ed and involves the history, origins and culture of all Gaelic-speaking areas.

3- There is a one year postgraduate primary course which involves school placement and modules providing an introduction to Gaelic and aspects of Gaelic culture.

4- A one year postgraduate secondary course with a Gaelic placement and an option to pursue another subject through the medium of Gaelic.

5- ATQ's (Additional Teaching Qualification) is available for practising teachers of any subject who wish to obtain a qualification in Gaelic. However, there is as yet no qualification for teaching in Gaelic medium.

6- The College also has an agreement with Comhairle nan Eilean where up to ten places are guaranteed on an annual basis for those wishing to train as Gaelic medium teachers in primary schools.

St Andrew's College in Bearsden is a teacher training college for Roman Catholics which provides Gaelic primary school training, mainly for Gaelic speaking Catholics from Uist and Barra.

The Northern College in Aberdeen

The college presently offers two options as an extension to its core B.Ed course. One focuses on linguistic and literary aspects which aims to improve fluency and knowledge of language, awareness of literature as well as extending knowledge of Gaelic culture.

The other option provides a parallel study of the five component parts of the mainstream B.Ed course (see Jordanhill College above). Students study material relevant to these areas and in particular where emphases may differ in Gaelic medium schools as compared to mainstream schools and subjects. The students' discussion and experience encourages their confidence in these fields of study.

The Northern College also provides ATQ courses in Gaelic.

8- Major problems encountered by Primary Gaelic teachers

During her informal discussions with the Gaelic teachers in the bilingual schools the present author visited in selected areas of Scotland, the following major problems have been noted :

- There is a lack of teaching aids and reading books in Gaelic. According to Maciver, D.J, Gaelic Adviser at Haldane Education centre in Stornoway, there are more reading books than 20 years ago. However the majority of Gaelic teachers claimed that children learning through the medium of English have more choice than those learning through the medium of Gaelic. It seems that every year only two books for children are published whereas in English there are hundreds. Moreover, some books written in Gaelic are a translation of the English books. As a result, the children who have already read the books in English are no longer interested in reading the same book, telling the same stories in Gaelic.
- There is a lack of qualified Gaelic medium teachers. For instance, In Central Primary Inverness visited in 1996, Music was taught in English because there were no Gaelic teachers available to teach that subject through the medium of Gaelic. This can be explained by the fact that there is not yet a specific course for training teachers to teach in the medium of Gaelic.
- Gaelic teachers have to teach children from (usually as many three) different levels and backgrounds in both Gaelic and English within the same classroom. This imposes an extra burden on teachers who have, consequently, to prepare a lot of material which is not always available. Moreover the more level groups a teacher has to teach, the more difficult it is to always devote more attention to the group of pupils who are not native speakers of Gaelic and who need more help and attention than others.

- All children of the school mix in the same playground. Some Gaelic teachers think that the advantages of this policy (e.g., children can play together and are therefore not segregated) are outweighed by its disadvantages. The major disadvantage comes from the fact that only English, the dominant language, is used in these mixed playgrounds. It is in view of such disadvantage that some Gaelic teachers wish their pupils to have their "own" playground so that they can speak Gaelic instead of English. The playground is perceived by these teachers as no more than a continuation of the classroom.

- Finally, even within the school environment, Gaelic teachers have to struggle constantly against the social pressures and prejudices shackling the Gaelic language and culture. Some children, learning through the medium of Gaelic, need to be helped to shake off any inferiority complex and encouraged to speak in Gaelic freely both in the playground as well as in the school dining room.

Conclusion

The teaching of Gaelic as a medium of instruction and as second language in primary school is presently made available in some selected areas of Scotland. As in the case of many other minority languages, the teaching of Gaelic seems to face some problems (lack of reading books, qualified teachers for some subjects and teacher training through the medium of Gaelic). But these are temporary problems which can be solved gradually in the future. However, as seen above, the role of the teaching of Gaelic to help maintain Gaelic through education might be seriously affected if children have few opportunities to use and practise the language they have been taught inside and outside school. These are important problems the teaching of Tamazight, a minority language like Gaelic, might face in the future. That is why it was necessary to highlight them here.

PART IV - THE TEACHING OF KABYL TAMAZIGHT: PEDAGOGIC PROPOSALS

11-1 RECOGNITION AND REVIVAL OF MINORITY LANGUAGES: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

As noted in section 2-2, pages 110-111, the effective status of a minority language is not simply a matter of numbers, but has more to do with the nature of the official policy generally adopted towards it, the geographical concentration of the group speaking it, the economic prosperity and degree of autonomy of the region where it is used, and such important factors as whether it is used as an integral part of the educational system or not. However, one thing can be observed in the majority of countries. If an indigenous minority language is recognised politically as a national language as a result of the pressure exerted by its native speakers, the teaching of that language at school will follow automatically. This is understandable in view of the important role schools play in militating against the demise of cultures. Since language, as explained on section 2-3, page 118, remains the strongest marker of cultural identity and a prime carrier of culture, communities or groups therefore rely on school, as an active agent, to secure the continuity of that culture.

Official recognition of a vernacular in a given country implies first of all that minority language speaking children will no longer be penalised in school for speaking their mother tongue as was the case in the past for Gaelic, Welsh, Breton speakers and others. Conversely, nowadays in Scotland, Wales, Brittany and other countries where minority languages are no longer seen as taboo subjects, children's mother tongues are welcomed and promoted. Pupils are encouraged to use their language freely and to learn it both in its spoken and written form either as an optional or compulsory subject at school.

It is a well-established truth that the political recognition of a vernacular as a national language is a prerequisite for its revival as well as its survival. Such recognition implies that the vernacular in question is perceived as an integral part of the educational and cultural policy in a country. The government authority argument, in this regard, plays an important role in imposing those measures required for the acceptance of a

minority language and in making them credible to public opinion. Tauli, V (1974; 61) states in this respect that:

Power is as important in linguistic matters as everywhere else in social life.¹

As a result of an official recognition, the status of the minority language will improve, the native speakers will recognise the need to speak their language and more and more people will be encouraged to learn and teach that language to their children.

Prior to being taught officially at school, some minority languages, such as Breton, Welsh and presently Tamazight in Algeria, were initially taught on an unofficial level by language teachers or simply native speakers - without any pedagogical background - who volunteered freely to carry out this task.

Despite the lack of premises, teaching materials, pedagogical books, adequate teaching methods, these volunteers tried to teach the language with the minimum of means at their disposal, in the hope that they ensure the maintenance of the language by passing it to children at school. It is true that the quality of the teaching was not always good (see the case of the teaching of Tamazight section 1-2) owing to the fact that financial aids were desperately lacking or limited. For those reasons, recognition of a minority language should equally imply the obligation of the nation-state to take in charge the promotion of the language in all aspects of social life, including in the field of education. Teachers, teaching materials and financial aids needed for that purpose should be provided by the state. To guarantee the effectiveness of the teaching of vernaculars at school, research on these languages would be necessary since the untaught vernaculars have generally been neglected for too long and their lexicons need to be enriched with modern concepts before being taught at school.

1- Tauli, V (1974; 61) The theory of language planning in Fishman. J. *Advancing in Language planning*.

In other words, as Fishman, J. A (1989; 420) put it:

For Minority ethnolinguistic communities, the admission of their language into the educational domain is often of both symbolic and concrete importance. Symbolically, it implies a functional recognition and promotion above and beyond the core domain of family, neighbourhood and church. ²

‘REVIVAL’: WHAT DOES THIS PHENOMENON MEAN FOR MINORITY LANGUAGES INCLUDING TAMAZIGHT?

If a minority language is recognised and allowed to develop in its own geographical area, as is the case of Catalan in Catalonia (see section 2.2), its use can be noticed in all aspects of social life, e.g., television, newspapers, cinema, radio, entertainments, literature, arts, in the streets, religious life, official domains (politics, court etc.), and, equally important, in Education.

In Wales, for instance, Welsh has equity with English in law, administration and in the courts. Signposts, traffic notices and street names are bilingual. All this has been the result of the official status won for Welsh in the sixties, and that in turn was accomplished by virtue of the campaign waged for the rights of Welsh on both the political and the linguistic fronts.

The fact that some minority languages without official recognition and use in the educational system manage to survive orally proves that the lack of instruction in school does not prevent some vernaculars from persisting and being transmitted generation by generation if used regularly by their native speakers, such as Tamazight in Algeria. However, the domain of use of those minority languages is generally limited to family and friend circles and, consequently, native speakers of those minority languages are forced to switch from their language to the dominant one in official situations (work, administration, school) as seen for Tamazight on page 293, and also when they need to write (for those minority languages which do not possess any writing system like Romani and most North American Indian languages).

²-Fishman, J.A (1989; 420) Language & Ethnicity in *Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective* . Multilingual Matters. Clevedon, Philadelphia, England and USA.

The role of school is to help minority language children to learn their language in a much more effective and scientific manner or to carry on and perfect the teaching process started by their parents for those who have been taught the language at home. One can concur with Gregor, D.B (1980; 314) in his reference to the teaching of the Celtic languages that:

It is not enough for children to learn a language at their mother's knees, they must be taught through it and about it, otherwise it will be submerged under the language of instruction and be quickly lost when the child leaves school. ³

The teaching of Gaelic, for instance, in bilingual schools in selected areas throughout Scotland (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen) helps children from Gaelic speaking homes not to lose touch with their native culture and language. Their parents, having abandoned the Highlands to be assimilated in the English-speaking Lowlands in search for job opportunities, find themselves unable to pass the language to their children. This is because the Gaelic-speaking environment is lacking. That is why the role of school is primordial for the maintenance of vernaculars. Accordingly, Fishman, J.A (1989; 470) notes:

Since disadvantaged cultures frequently lack numerous and intact institutions of socialization for the purposes of securing intergenerational cultural continuity, they are all the more likely to be eager to co-opt the school for this purpose. ⁴

However, it is important to recognise here that while school can contribute to the maintenance of a minority language, it cannot, however, guarantee its revival unless other stronger social and cultural institutions also pursue this goal. In this regard, Fishman, J. A (1989; 474) adds:

A much more encompassing effort is needed involving:
a) neighbourhood institutions (schools, local religious units, mass media and other institutions of secular culture such as clubs, libraries, choruses, camps);

3- Gregor, D.B (1980; 314) Celtic, a comparative study. The Oleander press. New York. USA.

4- Fishman, J.A (1989), p 470.

- b) minority-based regional economic planning and control;
- c) minority-based cultural (including educational planning and control). 5

Therefore, schools on their own cannot ensure the continuity of cultures for the simple reason that schools are generally no more than facilitating rather than the causal factors with regard to such continuity.

This phenomenon has been experienced in Southern Ireland where, and despite the recognition of Irish as the first and official language of the state since 1922, the teaching of Irish in bilingual schools since 1904, and the fact that it was also made compulsory for entry into government or civil service since 1925, English still remains dominant and the language of everyday life. Consequently, as Gregor, D.B (1980; 368) put it:

Today after fifty years of freedom to do what she liked with her language, Eire finds that all that has been achieved so far is that its decline has been arrested. 6

The difficulty for Irish to survive as an everyday language could be explained in terms of the fact that the rival tongue happens to be a language of very high prestige since it is world-wide used. In an area of intensive multicultural interaction, knowledge of English obviously confers a clear advantage.

So what does the phenomenon of 'revival' means for those minority languages overwhelmed by dominant languages enjoying a high prestige both inside and outside the country? For Ireland, for instance, and as pointed out by Gregor, D.B (1980; 383):

It once meant restoring Irish as the language of the whole country, to be a "normal means of conversation and communication among Irish people". 7

5- Fishman, J.A (1989), p 474.

6- Gregor, D.B (1980). p 368.

7- Idem, p 383.

To be able to accomplish this objective, it has, however, to replace English. In case of failure to do so, then, as correctly noted by Gregor, D.B (1980; 383):

The aim was preservation rather than restoration
or in other words the country was to be bilingual. 8

The complex notion of bilingualism was developed in section 3.3.2. However, in the common sense, as can be observed in bilingual regions and countries (Catalonia, Belgium and others), bilingualism implies that two languages are spoken with equal degree of recognition as an official language. Bilingualism imposes on every citizen the necessity to know the two languages in use in the country. In practice, this means the learning of one of them in addition to the knowledge of the mother tongue.

But this is where the problem starts, as the two linguistic communities may not show the same willingness or motivation to learn the other language. Bilingual education is thus not devoid of its philosophical complexities and ambivalences. Undoubtedly, the minority language speakers (Gaelic, Irish, Welsh, Breton, Basque, Sard, Friulan, Tamazight) will find more reason to wish to learn the dominant language (English, French, Italian or Arabic) which is used for official purposes and "opens the doors" to job opportunities and international interaction than the "disadvantaged" language which "closes it". As a result, one language would ultimately predominate over the other. An independent government would then have to face the difficult task of choosing either one of two options, namely compulsion, and the concomitant risk of this choice being viewed as discriminatory, and optionality, which, if implemented, would obviously spell the end for total bilingualism as a practical policy. Then, any insistence on the advantages accruing from or necessity of learning the "weaker" language turns into a source of conflict.

8- Gregor, D.B (1980), p 383

Separate schools for each language are certainly not the best solution because the greater prestige of the dominant language would result in parents sending their children to the schools of the dominant language, as happened in Switzerland with German (as opposed to the Romansch) schools. Both languages should be taught on equal terms in a single school as in some areas in Scotland, Wales, Ireland and Catalonia. Bilingual education is commonly regarded by those minority populations as a means of gaining access to better jobs, specialised expertise, or to more participation in the political mechanisms which set societal priorities and define how resources are exploited and distributed.

Conclusion

To sum up, the common understanding is that the maintenance of a minority language is generally achieved through the establishment of bilingualism and biculturalism both in social life as in education. While schools alone cannot revive the vernaculars, their influence is by no means negligible since this influence can contribute, in harmony with other factors, to maintain those minority languages alive and to raise generations of young speakers, especially and more efficiently if the link between school and the children's environment is not broken.

On the other hand, bilingual education for language and culture maintenance purposes contributes to the promotion of the vernaculars beyond the core domain of family, neighborhood and worship places.

11-2 NEEDS OF IMAZIGHEN TO TEACH THEIR LANGUAGE AT SCHOOL

In addition to the sociolinguistic setting of the target language, the language planner should be fully aware of, and take into consideration the needs of the speech community directly or indirectly affected by the proposed planning. As far as the Imazighen are concerned, the need for them to preserve their language through education can be summarized under five headings:

1- Historically, Imazighen are the indigenous inhabitants of North Africa. Writing during the French occupation of Algeria, the French historian Bernard, A (1945; 70-71) comments on the historical and racial origins of the peoples of current North Africa thus:

Il n'y a que des Berbères à divers degrés d'arabisation et d'islamisation. La prédominance de la religion musulmane, de la langue Arabe qui lui sert de véhicule avait fait croire que l'Afrique Septentrionale était exclusivement peuplée d'Arabes; mais un examen même superficiel, suffit pour se convaincre que beaucoup de populations indigènes ne parlent pas l'Arabe et le comprennent à peine. On a finalement reconnu que l'Afrique Septentrionale est véritablement une Berbérie. ⁹

There are no Arabs in North Africa, only Berbers exhibiting different degrees of Arabization and assimilation. The predominance of the Islamic religion conveyed through the Arabic language, gave us the illusion that North Africa was exclusively inhabited by Arabs. However, even a superficial examination would leave one convinced that the majority of the inhabitants do not speak Arabic and can hardly understand it. Finally it has been recognized that North Africa was in fact Berber.

Berthier, A (1951; 19) advocates a similar idea with regard to the identity of the inhabitants of North Africa:

L'Afrique du Nord serait devenu automatiquement Arabe si les invasions islamiques avaient déferlé dans un pays vide d'hommes. L'Orient aurait ainsi trouvé une magnifique colonie de peuplement. C'est le contraire qui est vrai. La Berbérie a opposé à la conquête musulmane la densité de ses habitants (environ 11 millions) et son attachement à de vieilles coutumes.

9- Bernard, A (1945; 70-71) Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord. Hachette. Paris.

If the Islamic invasions of the 7th and 14th centuries had spread over an empty country, North Africa would become automatically Arabic. The Orientals would then find a magnificent colony of settlement. But it was a different scenario that took place. The Berbers put up a vigorous resistance to the Arabic conquest thanks to their numbers (about 11 millions) and their attachment to their culture.

10

(my translation)

Since Tamazight is the first and native language used in Algeria, it plays an important part in history as well as in present day. Being, on the one hand, historically the oldest living language in North Africa, and a native language on the other hand, its teaching at school should normally be a priority.

Some Algerians believe that Tamazight cannot be taught because it has always been used in the past as no more than an oral language. One might wonder why the Imazighen, for long in possession of their own writing system, did not write in their language in the past. Haddadou, M.A (1994; 177) sheds some light on this important question:

Il est étonnant que les Berbères qui possèdent depuis très longtemps un alphabet n'aient pas beaucoup écrit dans leur langue. L'antiquité ne nous a légué que des inscriptions dont une partie seulement a été déchiffrée et le Moyen-Age des lexiques arabo-berbères et quelques textes poétiques profanes et religieux. Mais point de chronique ou de grand texte littéraire qui aurait permis de fixer la langue.

Les hérétiques Berghawata ont bien rédigé un Coran en Berbère inspiré du Coran Arabe. Mais ce texte n'a eu qu'une audience régionale, et il a fini par disparaître avec ses sectaires. De tout temps, négligeant leur langue, les Berbères ont préféré écrire dans les langues des peuples qui les ont dominés. Ce choix a non seulement favorisé l'assimilation culturelle mais il a surtout empêché l'émergence d'une langue nationale berbère, instrument d'unification linguistique et politique.¹¹

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

11- Haddadou, M.A (1994; 177) Guide de la culture et de la langue Berbères ENAL/ENAP. Alger.

It is surprising that the Berbers, who have had for so long a writing system of their own, did not write much in their language. Antiquity left us nothing more than inscriptions, which have been deciphered only in part and the Middle Ages bequeathed us Arabo-Berber lexicons and some secular and religious poetic texts, but no chronicles or monumental literary text which would have helped canonise the language. The Berghawata heretics had written a Qur'an in Berber inspired by the Arabic Qur'an. But this text had only a regional audience and ultimately disappeared together with its sectarians. The Berbers, neglecting their language at all times, preferred to write in the languages of the people who dominated them. This choice has not only encouraged the cultural assimilation but has particularly undermined the emergence of a national Berber language, the instrument of a linguistic and political unification.

(my translation)

Chaker, S (1980) took exception to Haddadou's argument, and claims that, in fact, the Imazighen did not choose to write in foreign languages but have been the victims of domination and marginalisation and have had therefore no choice but write in the language of the invaders instead of their own. He argues, in this respect, that:

Minoritaires par le nombre des locuteurs, confinés à un usage strictement oral, dialectalisés à l'extrême, les dialectes berbères - bien que vecteurs d'une tradition vivace et très ancienne - n'ont jamais été soumis à une codification ni à une uniformisation mais ont été surtout depuis toujours victimes d'une domination et d'une marginalisation certaines, accentuées d'ailleurs ces dernières années par la scolarisation. 12

Minority languages by virtue of the number of their speakers, confined solely to an oral usage, and fragmented into widely different varieties, the Berber dialects, even though carriers of a living and very ancient tradition, have never been subject to codification or uniformisation but have, for the most part, always been victim of domination and a definite marginalization, accentuated in recent years by the phenomenon of schooling in Arabic.

(my translation)

12- Chaker, S (1980; 42) Le problème Berbère et l'Arabisation in Bulletin de l'Industrie pétrolière n° 4078. Alger.

The oral literary tradition, perpetually rich and abundant, consists fundamentally of tales, poetry and proverbial sayings. In Morocco, the tradition of wandering poets - *Imdyazen* - still survives: these poets travel across the Amazigh regions reciting their compositions in a type of language comprehended by the majority of Tamazight speakers.

According to Fishman, J.A (1989: 477),

The fact that many vernaculars have no literacy tradition of their own militates against their use in school (beyond very initial stages or informal functions) and even among their own native speakers, not to mention the national authorities. 13

This is indeed the case of Tamazight, which is believed not to be potentially schoolworthy because of its historical survival mainly as an oral language. This argument, however, overlooks the fact that standard Arabic, too, was historically a dialect before it was adopted as a fully-fledged language. When the Arabs occupied the Maghreb in the 7th and 14th centuries, they did not bring with them one single Arabic language but several Arabic dialects. One of them, that of the Quraysh tribe to which the prophet Muhamed belonged, imposed itself as an official language in the Muslim empire because of its association with the Qur' an, sacred book of Islam.

2- Culturally, the Tamazight language represents the strongest link that can be found between the different Imazighen groups which are geographically isolated from each other and have evolved under different conditions. In the mountains, oases and desert, their ways of life, customs, social and political structures vary in numerous ways. However, as has been observed by Camps, G (1980; 16), the different varieties have much in common linguistically.

13- Fishman, J.A (1989; 477) Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective. Multilingual Matters. Clevedon. Philadelphia.

He states:

L'Unité de vocabulaire est incontestable: des îles Canaries à l'Oasis de Siouah en Egypte, de la Méditerranée au Niger, les principes fondamentaux de la langue, la grammaire, comme la simple phonétique ont résisté remarquablement à une très ancienne séparation et à la différenciation des genre différenciation des genres de vie. Or l'unité linguistique fondamentale correspond nécessairement à des systèmes de pensée très proches même si le comportement extérieur diffère. 14

The unity of the lexicon is most evident throughout the Tamazight diaspora, from the Canaries to Siouh oasis in Egypt and from the Mediterranean to Nigeria. The fundamental grammatical and phonetic principles inherent in the different varieties of Tamazight have been maintained over centuries of isolation and under very different lifestyles. The fundamental linguistic unity reflects comparable ways of thinking even if appearances and lifestyles suggest otherwise.

(my translation)

Algerian bilingual children therefore need to maintain their language if they are not to run the risk of cutting themselves off linguistically and from their cultural heritage and communities.

3- Psychologically, Algerian Imazighen (children or adults) who cannot express themselves in their mother tongue need to be taught their language. Some of them are even ashamed to reveal their cultural identity. Their parents who, undoubtedly can speak the language, had presumed it useless to teach their children Tamazight because the latter is only spoken and cannot be used at school, university or later in their professional life. Certainly, these people are simply unaware of the price their children will pay later as adults.

14- Camps, G (1980; 16) Berbères aux marges de l'Histoire. Hespérides. Paris

At present, these Imazighen Arabic speakers, referred to by ethnographers as "Arabised Berbers", are more willing to learn their language and to make up for the errors of their parents. (cf. results of questionnaire 5, appendix B6).

The use of the mother tongue in the nursery and primary school is firmly recommended by educators all around the world. The reason is that the mother tongue is associated with affective contexts in which children need to feel secure and confident. Moreover the child's first language is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression, imagination and understanding.

Accordingly, and as early as 1953, UNESCO published a report on the use of vernacular languages in Education which assumes it as fundamentally necessary that every child should, when possible, receive his early education in his mother tongue and that this should continue to be the medium of instruction for as long as possible. This report states in part that,

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue.

Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding.

Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs.

Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium.¹⁵

4- Linguistically, Tamazight, which has always been regarded as a "dialect", is in reality a fully-fledged language with its grammar, literature, poetry, etc. on a par with standard Arabic. Consequently, Imazighen children need to be taught aspects of their culture through their language, since, as Todd, L (1984; 167)

15- Camps, G (1980; 16) Berbères aux marges de l'Histoire. Hespérides. Paris.

notes:

Different cultures emphasise different aspects of knowledge structuring it in an individual way. Languages are thus ideally constituted for the transmission of their speakers' own wisdom, but this does not mean that such knowledge could be easily transmitted in any other language. 16

Sapir (1929; 209) made the same point:

The real world is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. 17

A similar argument also appears in Fishman, J.A (1989; 470):

The distinctive artifacts, conventions, concerns, values and beliefs of any culture are more fully, easily and naturally expressed by its associated language than by others. Even the most accomplished and elaborate languages are suddenly inelegant, imprecise, unnatural and finally ludicrous when put to the unfair task of expressing the nuances of a culture with which they have not been intimately identified. 18

For the time being, Imazighen children can speak their language but do not know how to read and write it, even though Tamazight has its own alphabet (Tifinagh) which, obviously, need to be developed because it has been neglected for such a long time (more than two thousand years) and Latin characters can be used as well.

Books of grammar, vocabulary and dictionaries are also available to support and facilitate the teaching of the vernacular at school. Since Tamazight is not taught yet at school, it cannot develop and, consequently tends to borrow excessively from Arabic and French. It has also borrowed substantially from other dominant languages such as Punic, Spanish, and Turkish in the past.

16- Todd, L (1984; 167) Language planning and language education. Allen & Unwin. London.

17- Sapir, E (1929), p 209.

18- Fishman, J.A (1989), p 470.

5- Educationally, the teaching of a mother tongue requires less effort from the children than any other foreign language. Consequently they learn more quickly through their native language than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium. As far as Tamazight in Algeria is concerned, if the language is not taught in the future, it might gradually disappear because both AA (the lingua franca) and MSA (the written and official language) and CA (the language of religion) tend to saturate Tamazight, which is the language of a minority that is scattered throughout the country and that mainly use it orally. Even though Tamazight has its own heartlands (see chapter 3, section 3-1), the language is in a vulnerable position because it lacks the necessary political support to achieve the status of a fully-fledged national language, much like Arabic. It follows, then, that its teaching at school is indispensable for its survival and development.

Conclusion

As explained above, the need for Imazighen to preserve their language through education can be explained from different points of view.

Historically, Tamazight history forms part of the history of all Algerians and therefore preserving the language through education means preserving a component of the common past of the totality of Algerians, both Arabic and Tamazight speakers.

Culturally, since culture is embedded in language, to preserve a language such as Tamazight means also to preserve the culture of a category of Algerians, namely the Tamazight speakers.

Linguistically, as a result of the successive foreign invasions Tamazight became poorer and poorer. It is commonly known that the invaders imposed and developed only their own language ignoring that of the invaded population. Nowadays, the vocabulary, the grammar, the writing script of Tamazight need to be developed and this can happen only through education which satisfies these needs.

Psychologically, children who speak Tamazight as a mother tongue need to be educated through their first language, since it

is through this linguistic medium that they first perceive the world around them and this should continue at school.

Educationally, it is obvious that learning through one's mother tongue is less demanding than learning through a second or foreign language.

4- AIMS OF TEACHING KABYL TAMAZIGHT AT SCHOOL

The desire to learn another language springs only very rarely from a disinterested wish to communicate with one's fellow human because as Trudgill, P (1992 : 43) explained :

Language is not only a linguistic, but also a political, cultural, social and historical term. 19

The aims of teaching Kabyl children their mother tongue, therefore, include all these language connotations.

1- Political aim

Language can be a political instrument, means and proof of power. Teaching the language of an oppressed and alienated minority group means reassessing the dignity of these people and the value of their culture, including language. In other words, it means recognising their rights as full citizens and granting them the political rights to preserve their language and to transmit it scientifically to their future generations. It is also to allow for cultural diversity and to accord the Tamazight language the appropriate status it deserves within a multi-ethnic society.

2- Cultural aim

The relationship between language and culture is very complex. Fishman J.A (1989; 4) characterises this relation thus:

A language not only indexes and symbolizes its associated culture but it is part and parcel of that culture. From law and religion to songs, tales, riddles and everyday greetings, every culture is not only language encumbered but language specific. 20

19- Trudgill, P (1992). p 43.

20-Fishman, J.A (1988), p 471.

Regarding the importance of language in representing culture, Fishman argues that,

The language represents the culture's existence, its vibrancy and its intergenerational continuity to all who use and listen to it. ²¹

As to the relationship between language maintenance and culture maintenance, he claims that,

maintenance of the language is not enough for maintenance of the culture, but maintenance of a culture is impossible without maintenance of its language. ²²

That is why minority communities at a disadvantage, who are often wanting in solid institutions of socialisation crucial for the general aim of achieving cultural continuity, are more prone to rely on the school in the pursuit of this objective. The school promotes a central-language related institution. Thus, from the parents' viewpoint, it is of critical importance that the school teach the language of the community thereby fulfilling the role of an essential and dynamic instrument in guaranteeing the continuity of the culture.

Fishman, J.A (1989; 474) emphasises the important point that school on its own cannot serve to maintain the disadvantaged language and culture unless other stronger social and cultural institutions also pursue the same goal. He states in this regard that:

If something is to be done to foster ethnolinguistic intergenerational continuity for disadvantaged minority populations, it is clear that it cannot be done in the schools alone nor through a stated amount of mother-tongue medium instruction alone. A much more encompassing effort is needed involving (a)neighbourhood institutions (schools, local religious units, mass media and other institutions of secular culture such as clubs, libraries, choirs, camps); (b)minority-based regional economic planning and control; (c)minority-based political representation and control; (d)minority-based cultural (including education) planning and control. ²³

21- Fishman, J.A (1989), p 471.

22- Idem.

23- Idem, p 474.

Nevertheless, modernizing and modern disadvantaged cultures still view themselves as dependent on the school to contribute as much as possible towards enabling their children to learn as much of their culture as possible.

Likewise, for the majority of Algerian Tamazight speakers - who share the same religion (Islam) with Algerian Arabic speakers and who can speak and understand Arabic, the only official language in Algeria - their language, Tamazight, represents the most effective symbol of their ethnic identity. Consequently, the teaching of their language will strengthen their hold on their indigenous culture and its values, without, however, cutting them off from the dominant Arabic culture.

3- Psychological aim

The mother tongue, the first language, and with it conceptual thought, is acquired in the immediate environment of the family and constitutes for any individual a basic source for building his or her personality. As pointed out by psychologists and linguists, the mother tongue is of critical importance since with the subsequent acquisition of phonological, grammatical and lexical system are learnt ways of communication and the understanding of the reality specific to each community and this during the early stages of the formation of individual thought.

As pointed out by Breton, R.J.L (1983), even if the mother tongue is supplanted by another language later in life, or remains less developed and mastered than the second language, or - as happens in some cases - is forgotten, it still exerts an important role on mental schemes. That is why psychologists are convinced that the mother tongue remains, irrespective of its evolution in childhood and adulthood, an inalienable characteristic of the individual, marking unconsciously his/her way of feeling, thinking, system value and the socio-cultural adherence to the community to which he or she belongs.

In other words, the mother tongue represents an important part of a pupil's cultural and ethnic-identity. If it is valued and encouraged in school, it is bound to enhance the child's self-image and confidence, and influence the child's status with his or her peers.

4- Economic and social aim

The teaching of Tamazight in Algeria can improve and facilitate communication and trade between Arabic and Tamazight speakers, especially as can be noticed in recent times, the majority of Tamazight speakers (Kabyls in particular) do not want to use Arabic any more in their own geographical areas, even if most of them are all in full command of Arabic. In fact, they are encouraging Algerian Arabic speakers to learn their language as they had to learn to speak Arabic themselves for social and economic reasons. This phenomenon can be noticed nowadays in Bgayeth town.

5- Scientific aim

The teaching of Tamazight - whose use is presently decreasing under the pressure from the dominant Arabic language - will encourage research on that language as a scientific subject and the exploitation of the results of this research for the purposes of maintaining the language. The Tifinagh characters, for instance, requires further research before its adoption as a common Tamazight writing system at school and elsewhere (in newspapers, books etc.).

Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn (1971; 687) characterise language thus:

Language is a product of many centuries of human thought, a vehicle of all the wisdom, poetry, and legend and history which is bequeathed to a people by their forebears. Rough hewn, chiselled and polished with loving care, it has been handed down as a beautiful work of art. The greatest art form in the world. The noblest monument of man's genius.²⁴

If language is "the greatest art form in the world", it has then to be preserved from disappearance like all other fine pieces of art.

24- Ellis & Mac à Ghobhainn (1971; 687) The problem of language survival
Club Leabhar. Inverness.

One might raise in this regard the same question Breton, R.J.L (1983; 126) raised regarding the protection of endangered ethno-linguistic minority languages:

A l' époque où tant d'efforts commencent à porter leurs fruits pour défendre les espèces en voie de disparition ou simplement menacées, va-t-on continuer à laisser s'éteindre des langues ou va-ton les préserver comme autant de biens précieux du patrimoine de l'humanité? 25

At the present time, when the efforts made to save disappearing species or simply threatened ones start becoming fruitfull, are we going to let languages die or are we going to preserve them like precious things belonging to humanity?

(my translation)

In other words, preserving a language through education means preserving a means of human communication which does not obviously belong only to the people making use of it but forms part of the patrimony of humanity and whose cultural and scientific values are inestimable.

Moreover, the teaching of Tamazight will certainly provide useful services to a great number of researchers in various fields; history, philology, ethnography, sociology, archeology and medicine. Accordingly, Zenia, S (1991; 5) states in the weekly newspaper "Tamurt" that the archaeologists of Tipaza - a region near Algiers boasting a great number of Roman ruins and where the Chenoui Tamazight variety is used - expressed strong wishes to learn this language with a view to fulfilling their task most efficiently. To communicate with the native speakers, especially old men and women, who are capable to providing them with useful informations bearing on to their research - the archaeologists need speak the variety of Tamazight, the only language that some people in Tipaza speak.

Similarly, some Algerian Arabic-speaking doctors are willing to learn the Tamazight varieties to deal with their patients (especially elderly Tamazight-speakers who have never been to school to learn Arabic and have always lived in a Tamazight-speaking area) without the help of translators.

25-Breton, R (1983), p 126.

6- Educational aim

Being a mother tongue and therefore a living language, the teaching of Tamazight at school will provide Tamazight-speaking children with real opportunities to develop and extend their oral skills in the classroom and to learn how to read and write in their native language. In addition to the oral competence they already master at home, children will develop the knowledge of their mother tongue, which, according to Baker, C (1993), comprises not only speaking but also writing, listening, reading with a possible fifth thinking 'inner speech' which embraces reasoning and deliberation.

Being taught Arabic at the same time as Tamazight, children will be offered the possibility of becoming perfect bilinguals, mastering both the official language and their own. Even though the two languages do not have the same communication potential over the whole gamut of social roles, both are recognised as being Algerian languages and should consequently be taught equally to Algerian children.

The notion of bilingualism and the varying degrees in which it might obtain was developed in chapter 3.3.2. However it is important to stress here the merits of bilingualism, especially on the educational level. One can assert that a child in mastery of two or three languages participates automatically in two or more cultures since culture is embodied in language. Thus, teaching children several languages is to encourage them to have access to a plurality of cultural sources offering them a richer and wider world perception. Accordingly, Dr Eve Celar (1981; 15) asserts:

Bilingual children are at an advantage because they are more conscious of language and more apt to pick up a third or fourth language later on. 26

Similarly, Lambert, a psychology professor, believes that,

Bilingual infants grow up more flexible, understanding, open-minded and tolerant about ethnicity. 27

26- Celar, E (1981) professeur of Linguistics at Stanford university. Quoted in New York Times. 16 January 1981, p 5.

27- Lambert (1981) psychologist at the Ontario institute for studies and education in Toronto. Quoted in New York Times. 16 January 1981, p 5.

On the other hand, one can say that bilingual infants learn more vocal sounds, grammatical structures and concepts in the two languages combined than a monolingual child does. According to Laponce, J.A (1925: 169):

The right to education in one's own language, the rights to speak, to understand and to be understood would be limited in scope if they were not underlain by the right to educate and to be educated in one's mother tongue. 28

These rights take two main forms, teaching of the minority language and teaching in that language. This implies that the mother tongue need not only be taught as a subject in its own right but used functionally, and evidently when appropriate, as a means of instruction and development of curricula. On the other hand, children who are Arabic speakers, will have the opportunity to learn how Tamazight, a national language but without official status yet, works and will be encouraged to take an interest and be informed about the "other language" spoken by their peers and neighbours in their country.

To conclude, it might be suggested that the aims of the teaching of Tamazight at school be divided into two general areas: linguistic and semi-linguistic aims. The latter would comprise instances where the teaching of the vernacular language serves not only linguistic but also political, social, cultural, psychological and educational needs of the minority-group, Tamazight speaker.

28- Laponce, J.A (1925; 169) Ethnicity and culture in Canada. Toronto press. Canada

Language planning is normally undertaken with the aim of improving education and/or maintaining educational standards. Hence, the definition of the domain by Fishman, J.A (1973: 23-24) as "the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level".

According to Fasold, R (1990; 269), the sociolinguistic-oriented approach to language has generally involved a tendency to emphasise the social application of its results:

Research in the sociolinguistics of language has always been accompanied by a strong emphasis on applications of the results to social problems. Sociolinguistics research has been applied to other professions including law, medicine, advertising and even interpersonal interaction. 29

However, the first set of problems sociolinguistics tried to help solve were those related to the field of education.

Hudson, R.A (1980; 289) maintains a similar idea, stating that:

It is important to recognise that much of the interest in sociolinguistics has come from people (such as educationalists) who have a practical concern for language, rather than a desire simply to understand better how this small area of the universe works. In particular, it became possible in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s to fund relatively large-scale research projects concerned with the speech of under-privileged groups, on the ground that the finding would make possible a more satisfactory educational policy. 30

Karam, F (1974; 7) agrees with Cooper, R (1989) to assert that:

Regardless of the type of language planning, in nearly all cases, the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and/or religious situation. 31

29- Fasold, R (1990; 269) The sociolinguistics of Language. Basil Blackwell. Oxford.

30- Hudson, R.A (1980; 289) Sociolinguistics. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

31- Karam. F (1974; 7) Toward a difinition of language planning in Joshua A Fishman .Ed *Advances in Language Planning*. The Hague: Mouton. Paris.

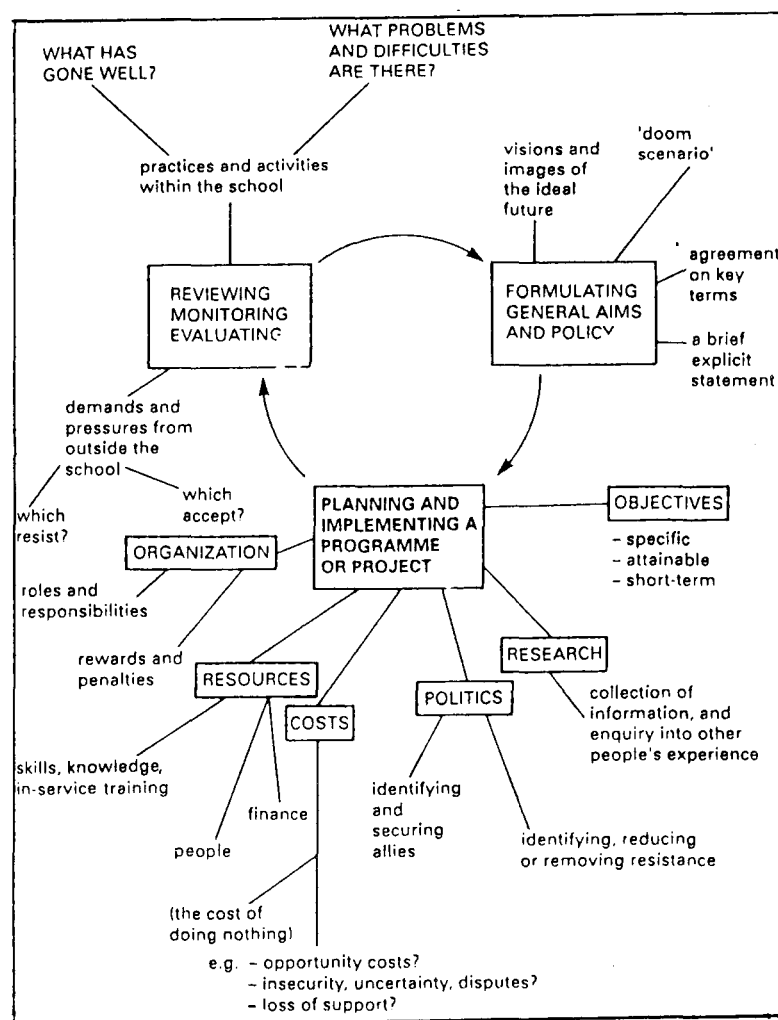
Cooper, R.L (1989) Language Planning & Social change. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

According to Kennedy, C (1984; 1), an ideal language planning would consist essentially of three major phases:

- First, establishing facts about the situation, isolating the problem and suggesting alternative strategies and solutions to accomplish the goals of the programme.
- Secondly, implementing the favoured solution.
- Thirdly, evaluating the programme to provide feedback for any necessary revision. 32

The language planning process, set out by Richardson, R (1985; 107), is schematically summarised in the following figure:

Figure 11-4.1 : the planning process in schools



The planning process in schools, a summary

Source : Richardson, R (1985; 107) reported by Gillian Klein in Education towards race equality. Cassell. London.

32- Kennedy, C (1984; 1) Introduction to language planning in *Language planning and Language education*. Allen & Unwin. London.

Rubin, J (1984) in his article *Bilingual Education and Language Planning* provides illustrations of how such a procedure might be applied to bilingual education. For example, the problem of whether to use a mother tongue or an imported model for the medium of instruction. Many of the African nations, Cameroon and Kenya for instance, prefer a neutral world language (English or French) as the official language rather than favouring one of the many native languages. This policy has generally been adopted in an attempt to avoid any ethnic or linguistic rivalry that could tear the country apart.

In an article entitled *Language Planning* Paulston, C.B (1984; 55) reminds us that the role played by the linguist in the process of language planning is limited since he cannot influence decision-making at a political level. This consideration led him to suggest that language planning problems should be divided into two parts, each associated with a particular language planning process:

Language cultivation dealing with the problems of language, and language policy concerned with social and cultural problems with language as an evident symptom. 33

Paulston, C.B points out that :

To play an effective role in language planning, the linguist can and should concern himself only with problems of cultivation and not with the problem of policy. 34

The terms “language policy” and “language cultivation” need to be explained here to help the reader to understand their meaning in the context of language planning.

a- Language policy (or status Planning)

Language determination refers to the policy decisions which have to be taken by the government (or the local authorities) concerning the selection of a particular language or a variety of language among others for particular purposes in the society or nation.

33- Paulston, C.B (1984; 55) Language planning in *Language planning and Language Education* . Kennedy, C. (ed.). George Allen & Unwin. London.

34- Idem

Changes are suggested in the way a language or a variety of language is to be used in society (thus altering its status).

Policy decisions are primarily made on political and economic grounds and reflect the values of those in political power. Linguistic issues per se are of minor concern although the matters discussed are always overtly those of language. There is considerable confusion about the salient issues debated in language planning, whether they are in fact matters of political, economic, religious, socio-cultural or linguistic concerns.

b- Language cultivation (or corpus planning)

In corpus planning, the changes affect the structure (or corpus) of a language or a variety of language. Language cultivation is roughly similar to language development which consists of the process of **graphisation**, **standardisation** and **modernisation** (or **intellectualisation**). When decisions concerning language policy have been reached and require implementation, the first task that the linguists and educationalists will be asked to fulfill is to enrich the target language with new modern scientific and technical terms, to prepare a normative grammar with notions of correctness and literary style, to standardise the language pronunciation and to develop textbooks (spelling and writing manuals) for both students and teachers in response to policy decisions.

According to Cooper, R. L(1989; 12) corpus planning comprises:

Activities such as coining new terms, reforming spelling and adopting a new script. It refers in short to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code. 35

35- Cooper, R.L (1989), p 12.

As can be noticed, language cultivation represents an important aspect of language planning since it contributes considerably to the promotion and the teaching of the language at school.

Consequently, the role of the linguist cannot be neglected even though his opinions are not always taken into account when policy decisions are made. Accordingly Whiteley, W.H (1984; 69) states:

In the history of the world, all the successful examples of language planning had had the participation of linguists, and some years later the Leverhulme Conference had recommended that linguists should participate in field where information was needed on which practical decisions concerning language could be taken. So much can be accepted, but when the decisions were made, the opinions of linguists were not invoked. 36

As Cooper states, the distinction between corpus planning and status planning is clearer in theory than in practice.

For example, the decision taken by the Algerian government to teach Tamazight at school in the future (status planning) requires extensive elaboration of the language vocabulary in order to provide terms for modern and scientific subjects (corpus planning). In other words, status planning decisions requires corpus planning decisions. Among the latter are included the choice of the writing script to use in education, the choice of the variety of the target language to be taught at school and the choice of the grammatical and spelling conventions the selected form of the target language has to adopt.

Much language planning is directed towards and focuses on language spread, that is, on maximising the number of users or domains of use of a particular language or language variety. Not all language spread planning, however, can be accommodated within status planning. Therefore, a third focus of language is needed, namely acquisition planning.

c) Acquisition planning

As Cooper (1989; 33) explains, the third focus for language planning describes an activity which is directed towards increasing the number of users:

36- Whiteley, W.H (1984; 69) Sociolinguistic surveys at the national level in *Language planning and language education*. Allen & Unwin. London.

When planning is directed towards increasing a language's uses, it falls within the rubric of status planning. But when it is directed towards increasing the number of users, speakers, writers, listeners or readers, then a separate category for the focus of language planning seems to be justified. 37

Cases of acquisition planning are numerous and can be encountered in different areas of the world. For instance, the Irish government has established state agencies with a view to improving the economic development of the Gaeltacht and discourage the emigration of native speakers. To promote the settlement of the Gaeilge speaking people in the Gaeltacht infrastructural improvement schemes, the Irish government made available infrastructural improvement schemes, grant aid for pupils as well as housing assistance.

Likewise, The British Council promotes the English language through the maintenance of libraries and the provision of expert advice on pedagogical matters. The Alliance Française and the Goethe Institute are engaged in similar efforts for the maintenance and spread of, respectively, French and German.

Conclusion

Language planning in the three area; status: corpus, and acquisition might be successful or not depending on a number of factors. These are the status and the situation of the target language, government subsidy, the efforts of researchers, linguists and educationalists to develop the language for use in various domains and the involvement and contribution of native speakers themselves in promoting their language. Generally popular attitudes towards planning proposals vary from complete support to total antipathy. Historical, political, economic, religious, educational, judicial and social factors are all involved. That is why it is sometimes difficult for linguists to explain why some language proposals are successful and others not.

37- Cooper, R (1989), p 33.

CHAPTER 12 “TAMAZIGHT DI LAKUL” (Tamazight at school)

12-1 TAMAZIGHT LANGUAGE PLANNING

According to Cooper, R.L (1989; 31), language planning applied to a particular language problem should address the following questions: **who** plans **what**, **for whom** and **how**?

Tamazight language planning will be examined in this chapter by answering to these questions.

1- **Who** plans?

As mentioned on page 249, as a result of popular pressure among the Imazighen over a period of time, the Algerian government agreed to set up a High Commission for Amazigh Affairs (H.C.A). One of the main roles of this committee is to introduce the teaching of Tamazight into the Algerian educational system as explained on page 250.

2- **What** does the Algerian State plan?

The teaching of Tamazight at school was to be included at secondary and primary level and also in further education and colleges.

3- **For whom** does the Algerian government plan the teaching of Tamazight?

As mentioned above, the teaching of Tamazight will be introduced gradually throughout the educational system. In this study, the present author's interest is limited to the teaching of Tamazight in **primary school** only. At this level, Tamazight will be taught to **both native and non-native speakers of Tamazight** throughout Algeria. This is similar to the way Gaelic is presently taught in Scotland, i.e., as a first language to the native speakers of Gaelic and also as a second language to pupils whose first language is English. Obviously the parents' choice has to be taken into consideration as well.

The main focus of this research will be the teaching of Tamazight as a **first language** to Kabyl children. The justification for this emphasis was outlined on page 16 and the urgent needs of

amazighen children to be taught in their mother tongue were examined in section 11.2, pages 337-345.

How does the Algerian government plan the teaching of Tamazight?

At present, Tamazight is not taught yet officially in schools. The teaching of Tamazight started in September 1995 at an experimental level in selected secondary schools throughout Algeria.

One of the major concern of the HCA presently is how to introduce the teaching of Tamazight at school in the near future, (probably within five years according to Graine. A, a member of the HCA responsible for the teaching of Tamazight and teacher training). Extensive research is however required before this is achieved.

12-1 TAMAZIGHT LANGUAGE PLANNING

It is possible to measure the status of a language in revival at any given time by examining the social, educational and linguistic aspects of the "language situation". The later is divided into three large units:

- 1- Social aspect
- 2- Educational aspect
- 3- and linguistic aspect.

The first two points are generally studied under the heading of Status planning whereas the third one under Corpus planning.

The social aspect of the present day Tamazight language situation in comparison with Gaelic has already been examined on pages 294-296. In this section focus will be given to educational and linguistic aspects of the language.

12.1.1 - Tamazight status planning

At present, Tamazight is a national language but without official recognition. As mentioned on page 294, although Tamazight speakers are numerous (more than 8 million), their language is not well represented in administration, the media, law, religion and in education. The status of Tamazight in social life, including education, will certainly improve if it is officially recognised as the second official language alongside Arabic in the future.

If it is to be used officially, Tamazight, which has been neglected for more than two thousand years, needs to be developed now and this is examined in this section under the heading of Tamazight Corpus planning,

12.1.2 - Tamazight Corpus planning

Extensive research is needed before Tamazight could be introduced officially into the Algerian educational system. The graphisation, standardisation and modernisation of the language (mentioned on page 355) are required for the adequate teaching of Tamazight from primary school onwards.

The process of Tamazight graphisation has already been examined in section 10.2. Focus will be given now to the standardisation and modernisation of that language.

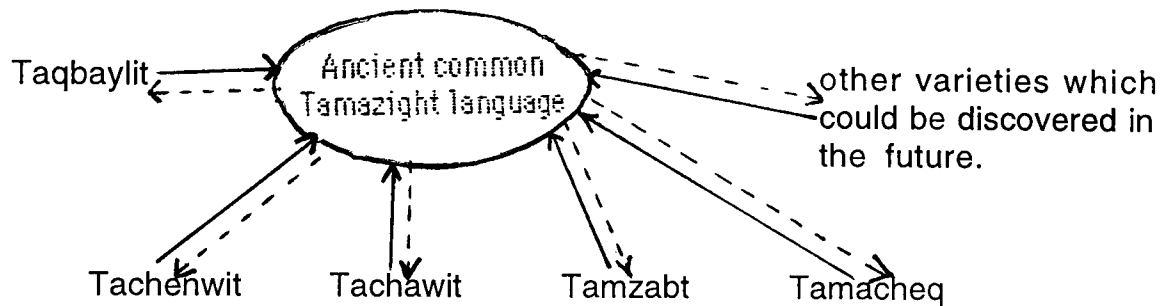
A- Standardisation

Since several varieties of the Tamazight language are spoken in Algeria, it would be necessary to choose one variety as a norm for official and educational purposes as has been done for the case of Gaelic in Scotland where, according to Grant, N (1997), the variety spoken in Skye was chosen for use in education. The selected Tamazight variety could be Kabyl because the Kabyls are, on one hand, the more numerous (representing about 1/3 of the Amazigh community) and on the other hand, that variety of Tamazight is the best represented in literature and scientific works for the time being.

Nevertheless, the Kabyl language could not be imposed as a standard form of Tamazight in education because it is arbitrary to teach only one variety of Tamazight to a speech community as diverse as the Amazigh one which, as mentioned on page 2, comprises five different groups speaking different dialects. The other Amazigh groups might not accept Kabyl as the standard form of Tamazight. That is why it may prove more reasonable to develop a new variety of Tamazight on the basis of all the richness of the vocabulary found accross the range of dialects of Tamazight.

According to Ferdjallah. D, and Graine. A, members of the HCA interviewed in Algiers in April 1996, it is the reconstitution of the former Tamazight language which is presently aimed for, as shown on the diagram below:

figure 12.1.1 : the process for the reconstitution of the common Tamazight language.



As explained on page 148, the ancient Tamazight language was split into different varieties as the result of the numerous invaders who settled in North Africa and the linguistic repression which followed on the language of the indigenous people, the Imazighen.

The dialectalisation of Tamazight could be explained as well by the fact that communication and cultural exchanges between the different Amazigh groups were rare in the past. This is because the geographical distances which separated them were important (see map 1.1, page 3) and did not enable them to establish contacts between each other. But nowadays thanks to the modern means of transport (planes) and modern mass media (radio, television, cassettes), the contacts between Tamazight speakers, which have been interrupted for several centuries, are now being re-established. As a result the intelligibility between the different Amazigh groups could now be rebuilt thanks to frequent mutual cultural exchanges (literary and scientific productions) and the collective awareness of a common cultural identity.

The HCA has set up a national centre for the standardisation of Tamazight. The role of researchers at that level is to collect the maximum of vocabulary (stock of words) from all the Amazigh regions before proceeding to the standardisation of the Tamazight vocabulary.

As for the Gaelic language which split into different varieties within Scotland (the Western Isles, Highlands and Lowlands), the Tamazight language evolved differently according to the needs of the native speakers who live in different geographical areas: mountains, plains, oasis and desert. As a result of this phenomenon, words which are used in the Hoggar in the Tamacheq variety may not be found in Kabylia. For instance words referring to flowers and birds are numerous in Kabyl whereas in the Tamacheq variety they are very few or simply inexistent and vice-versa. Researchers at the HCA will use this difference in vocabulary found in dialects as a source of richness which will help to develop the common Tamazight language.

Thus, as the members of the HCA assert, thanks to the facility and multiplicity of contacts between the different Amazigh groups, exchanges in scientific and literary works and research in Tamazight in the linguistic, sociolinguistic and other domains, a common lexical vocabulary will emerge gradually. Obviously, this common language building process will be time-consuming because contacts between the different Amazigh groups were interrupted several centuries ago.

The success of the new standard form of Tamazight will depend on its resonance and degree of acceptance within the target speech community. It has to be associated with educational progress and social status as well as promoting literature which relates to common cultural issues. It is also important that it be supported by an Academy responsible for its development across society along with an approved grammar, dictionary and the associated range of language handbooks and publications.

B- Modernisation

If there is to be an expansive role for Tamazight in the modern world the language must develop beyond the limited areas of communication where it has been confined in the past, within the family, among friends, socially as well as at work in the field. There is an urgent need to find ways of expressing new words and ideas and to enable consistent translation of new concepts in sciences and medicine as well as those expressions which characterise a modern consumer society.

Researchers and specialists in Tamazight will have to agree on the adoption of new terms. These lexical terms could be borrowed or coinages based on native language roots.

New terms or neologisms are generally created to meet the need of native speakers to express concepts in various domains: economics, politics, and new technology. There are different ways to create neologisms. Linguists either use the roots of words which are already available in their language such as in French:

a- Creating nouns from existing verbs:

e.g., *ordinateur* (noun) created from the verb *ordonner* .

b- creating verbs from existing nouns by adding a prefix

e.g., *alunir* (to land in the moon) *la lune* (noun)

amerrir (to land in the sea) *la mer* (noun)

-It is also possible to broaden the meaning of a word to create a neologism such as in French:

feuille de l'arbre (leaf of a tree)

feuille de papier (sheet of paper)

Generally, linguists are advised not to borrow words from modern foreign languages in the first instance but have to try to construct a new word from roots which are found in the same language or varieties of the same language.

For example the French may use the expression *fin-de-semaine* instead of *week-end*.

Borrowing words from other languages is a common phenomenon found in all languages both modern and ancient. But if this happens on a massive scale, there can always be the danger of swamping the language with alien material, failing to adapt to the phonetic and morphological structure of the minority language.

At the present time in Algeria, the radio, newspapers and television use the neologisms in Tamazight created by Mouloud Mammeri (Kabyl scholar who devised the written script of Tamazight, as mentioned on page 310). These neologisms are found in the Tamazight lexicon known as **Amawal**.

The use of neologisms in Kabylia is so frequent nowadays that this region can be seen as a laboratory for the creation of neologisms. New words are created almost every day and are transmitted to the general public through the mass media. Writers, journalists, reporters and educationalists constantly have the need to express modern concepts in Tamazight, and linguists have always to meet these needs by creating new neologisms in addition to those which are already available in the Amawal lexicon. For instance, in 1991, Saad, S from the University of Algiers devised a terminology in Tamazight to be used in the field of computing. Some modern concepts in new Technology, Medicine, Art, Maths. and History need not be expressed by the use of neologisms in Tamazight because many of these are universal and a common vocabulary has been adopted internationally to translate them. For instance the medical words used in a prescription are roughly the same in French, English, German and Russian. It is the same for technical words. For example the word *Robot* in English corresponds to :

<i>Robot</i>	in French
روبوت [<i>Rubūt</i>]	in Arabic
and <i>Arubut</i>	in Tamazight.

The process of the purification of the Tamazight language has already started. Linguists in Tamazight began to purify the language which, as mentioned on pages 23-24, has borrowed a great number of words from Latin, Turkish, Spanish, Arabic and French. Accordingly, the local newspaper "Tamurt" 2-6 November 1994, page 4, reports that the Amazigh linguist Abdelsselam. A, devised a Tamazight lexicon where more than 1500 expressions borrowed from Arabic, have been changed and translated to in a variety of Kabyl close to colloquial usage. For instance he suggests to use the expressions :

umeddakwel instead of the Arabic word *Ahbib* (meaning "friend")
Ma yebgha Rebbi instead of the Arabic expression *Ncallah* (meaning "with the help of God")

One has to point out that not all the newly created neologisms are accepted for the first time by the speech community for which they have been created.

Some of them are so far from the living language that they are used only in the writing of Tamazight. For instance, the Kabyls prefer to use the word *ajarnan* borrowed from the French *journal* rather than the neologism *aghmis*. It is the same for the Arabic word *ajdid* which is preferred to the word *amaynut* meaning "new".

12-1-3 Tamazight acquisition planning

According to Cooper, R.L (1989), the way to achieve the goals of language acquisition planning are to promote methods which create or/and improve the opportunity and the incentive to learn the language. With reference to Tamazight, these methods, though not very developed yet, can be listed as follows:

1- In the field of Education

In addition to the Masters degree in Tamazight which can be studied at the universities of Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth, there is also an opportunity for students to prepare for a first degree in Tamazight in these same universities from September 1997. At the end of their studies, students will be able to teach Tamazight in secondary schools.

The Agraw Adelsan Amazigh (Amazigh Cultural Federation) offers teachers the opportunity to be trained in the writing of Tamazight during three weeks in the summer time.

At the same time, as the daily newspaper *Liberté* 17-18 Mai 1996, p 24 reports, the MCB (Mouvement Culturel Berbère) with the help of the HCA, plan to extend the teaching of Tamazight to the Kabyl community in order to help people in Kabylia read a newspaper or fill a form in Tamazight in the future. Hundreds of teachers are presently being prepared for that purpose including many military conscripts whose national service duty will be in a civilian capacity as teachers of Tamazight to children and adults. Computer aided teaching of Tamazight has been available since 1995. Courses are provided at a private school in Tizi-Wuzzu (Annar Amellal) run by Mr Ould Mohamed Hamza. Initially children are taught the writing script of Tamazight with the help of phonic cards. Interviewed by the present author, children found the applied teaching approach very amusing and attractive

because the courses are introduced to them as a game and quite different from a more traditional tuition.

The school has also created a club and a library to allow the members of this club to access information about Tamazight language and culture.

Specific teaching programmes have also been developed for use in class.

This approach is roughly similar to the Gaelic Brutel system, operating off the Council's mainframe in Stornoway. As with Gaelic in the Western Isles, it will be necessary in the future that all schools where Tamazight is taught have a modem and access to these teaching programs devised at the school in Tizzi-Wuzzu. This will help Tamazight teachers in their teaching task since no books in Tamazight are available nowadays in the Algerian national libraries.

2- Literary production

Literary and scientific books written in Tamazight are mentioned on pages 238-243. One can also refer to the book of Maths written by the university teacher, Hend Said, in 1990.

3- Several cultural associations offer opportunities to Amazigh people and their children to learn their language freely. They encourage as well scientific and literary production by offering a prize to winners as explained on page 244. For instance, in 1991, Tagmount. A, was awarded the first prize by Agraw Adelsan Amazigh for devising a trilingual dictionary Tamazight-French-Arabic. He used the Latin script and the neologisms available in the Amawal lexicon. His work took ten years to finish.

12-2 BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION OF THE PUPILS

12-2-1 Background of the pupils

As noted on page 358, this study is limited to the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight in primary school for children aged 6 to 13. This is equivalent to the cycle 1 and 2 of the Algerian fundamental school, i.e., the first six years of primary school. (See structure of the Algerian Educational system, Appendix D.). The present author is concerned with the possible teaching approaches aimed at the majority of children whose first language is Kabyl and who

live either in Kabylia (Higher or Lower) or in the main towns which are Arabic speaking areas such as Algiers, Wahan, or mixed areas such as Bouira.

When Kabyl children begin school, they might have different backgrounds in Tamazight. Some of the children may either speak Tamazight as a mother tongue with some knowledge of Arabic, or speak Algerian Arabic as their first language with some knowledge of Tamazight or French or both. The bilingual school (Arabic-Tamazight) in Algeria would not be necessarily homogenous and the class would be a composite with pupils of different levels in Tamazight and in Arabic. Accordingly, as has been noticed in Gaelic medium units, Tamazight teachers would have to form different groups within the classroom and teach children Tamazight according to their background. This phenomenon would not be unique to Algeria since it has been observed in several bilingual schools. Not only in the Gaelic medium units in Scotland, but also in several schools in Wales, Ireland, Brittany and in Barcelona.

12-2-2 Motivation of the pupils

According to Fasold, R (1984; 262) there are certain definite limitations on language planning. One important consideration is the cost and the other is the degree of acceptance displayed by the speech community for whom the language planning is being undertaken.

The chances of success for any language planning are determined by the extent to which the plan itself meets with the needs and aspirations of the target community.

As regards the cost of Tamazight planning, several bodies are presently contributing to its success through financial support:

- The Algerian Government
- The MCB movement (Mouvement Culturel Berbère) described on pages 225-226.
- The numerous cultural associations set up throughout Algeria and run by volunteers. (See pages 243-244.)
- Individuals who offer premises and teaching aids.
- And finally those Imazighen who live abroad, particularly the French emigrants, who have given financial support to the Berber Academy ever since it was established in 1979.

As regards the acceptance of the Tamazight language planning by the Imazighen, the school boycott reported on page 247 proves the high motivation of Kabyl children to learn their mother tongue and the positive attitudes of their parents towards the teaching of Tamazight at school.

Many of these children demonstrated in the street of Kabylia with their parents, holding the banners where the following messages were written: *Tamazight di Lakul!* and *Deprived of my mother tongue, I feel like a foreigner in my country!*

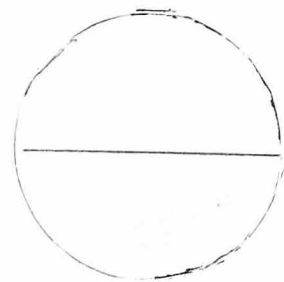
Likewise, the local magazine; "Iles Imazighen" n° 6 January 1996, pp 12-13, reports that children in Kabylia were very pleased to learn Tamazight at school and even asked for the introduction of Tamazight in the "Baccalauréat" and "Brevet" exams.

Questionnaire 5, appendix B6 was designed to check the motivation and commitment of Kabyl children to learn their mother tongue at school.

Six hundred questionnaires were distributed to Kabyl children in Kabylia and in Arabic-speaking areas. As can be seen from the results of this questionnaire represented graphically by chart 12-2-1 on page 369, more children in Kabylia (65.3%) than in Arabic-speaking areas (52.3 %) were willing to learn Kabyl Tamazight at school. The majority of the respondents in Kabylia (54.6 %) wish to learn Kabyl like Arabic, i.e., as a medium of instruction (L1), whereas 49.04% of Kabyl children in Algiers and Wahran wish to learn Kabyl like French, i.e., as a second language (L2). Though the latter are from Kabyl origin, they are aware of the importance of the knowledge and the learning of Arabic in Arabic-speaking areas and the high status Arabic enjoys in the country. That is why children chose to learn Kabyl as a second language. This is unlike Kabyl pupils in Kabylia who opted for learning their language as a medium of instruction.

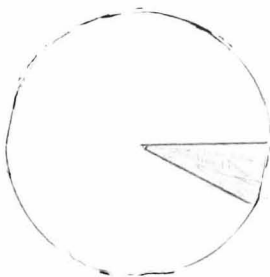
Pie chart 12.2.1: **results of Questionnaire 5, appendix B6**
Answers of the Kabyls pupils to the question:
"How do you want to learn Kabyl at school?"

In Kabylia
(Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth)



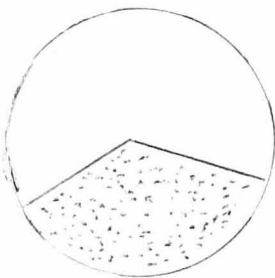
50%

In Arabic-speaking areas
(Algiers and Wahran)

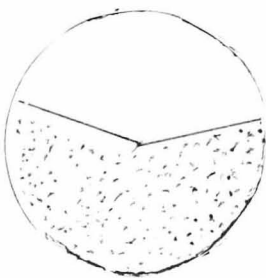


17.8%

Like Arabic (L1)



27.5%



65%

Like French

Conclusion:

in Kabylia, 50% of the Kabyls pupils wish to learn Kabyl like Arabic, i.e., as **a medium of instruction**, whereas in the Arabic-speaking areas, **65%** of the Kabyl children prefer to learn the language like French, i.e., as a second language and **as a subject**.

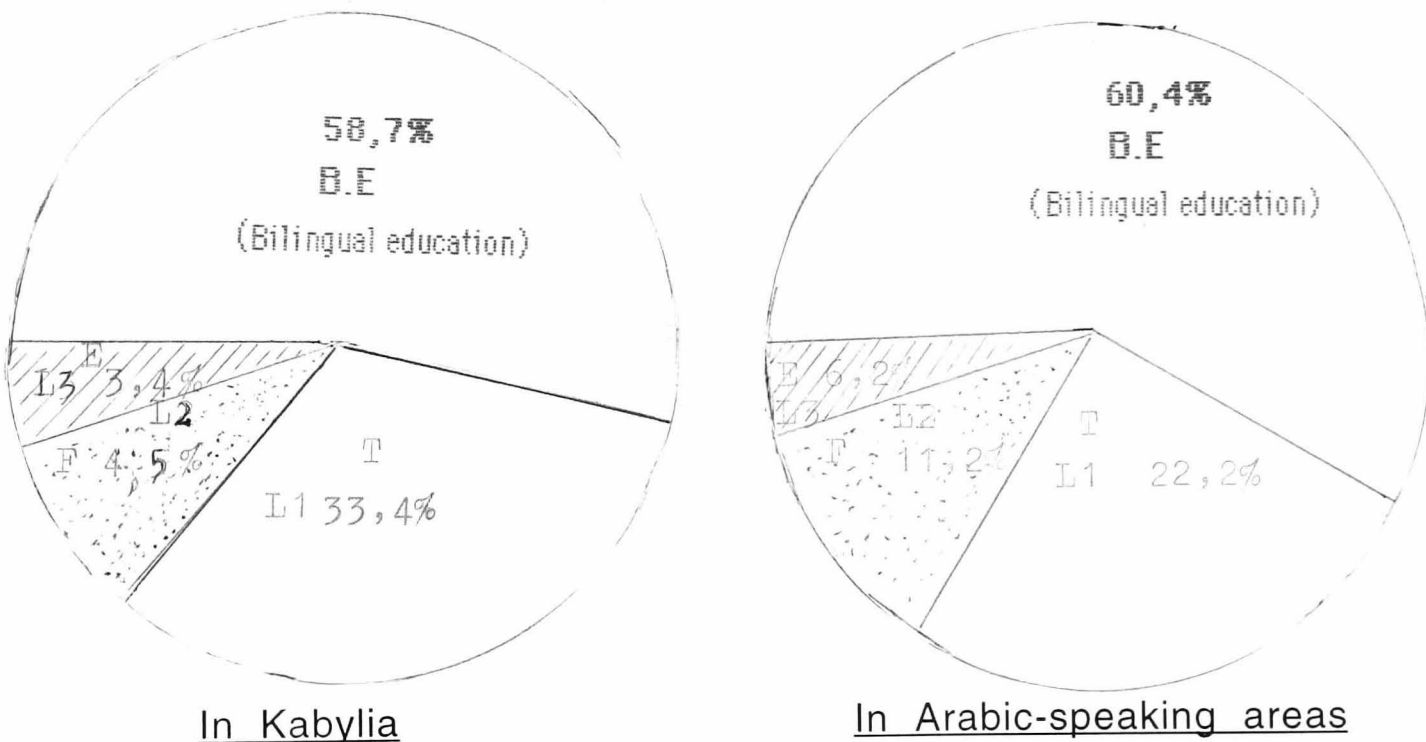
12-3 TEACHING KABYL AS A SUBJECT OR TEACHING OTHER SUBJECTS IN KABYL?

The answer to this question is given by the results of questionnaires 5 and 6 (Tables B6 and B7, Appendice B7 and B8) investigating the choice of children and parents as regards the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight at school.

As can be seen from chart 12.2.1 page 340, 50% of the pupils in Kabylia would like to be taught their mother tongue as a **medium of instruction** like Arabic, whereas in the Arabic-speaking area, 65% of children would prefer to be taught Kabyl as a **subject**.

On the other hand, both parents in Tamazight and Arabic-speaking areas would prefer to offer a **bilingual education** (Arabic-Tamazight) to their children as shown on the graph below:

Graph 12.3.1: The choice of the parents as regards the teaching of Kabyl at school
(Results of the questionnaire 6, appendix B7)



Teachers' attitudes towards the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight at school must also be considered. Four hundred teachers in Arabic and Tamazight speaking areas were invited to express their opinions as regards the teaching of Tamazight in response to two questions. Their suggestions are reported in the appendix B8, page 371.

Questionnaire 8: the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight at school

Open questionnaire investigating the teachers' attitude towards the teaching of Kabyl at school

400 respondents in Tamazight and Arabic-speaking areas.

Questions:

1- What language or languages would you like your children to be taught at school?

2- What would be your reaction if Tamazight was taught as a subject at school? Would you approve of the bilingual education: Arabic-Tamazight?

Answers to question 1

The majority of teachers, both in Arabic and Tamazight speaking areas, opted for multilingualism at school as it exists at present in Algeria and as described on section 3.3.1. Teachers claimed that all the languages presently taught at school are needed since they are used in complementary distribution.

MSA is the official language and children have to learn it at school for social mobility.

CA is the language needed for the practice of the Islamic religion.

A knowledge of **French** and **English** (both modern languages) are also needed for different reasons. French is the second language in Algeria though it is taught as a foreign language at school, like English. This is despite the fact that the programmes on television, radio, newspaper, national libraries, administration still use French.

English is the international language and all teachers thought it useful for children to learn it at school to be able to read books written in that language and thus have access to scientific international knowledge.

Finally, **Tamazight** represents the mother tongue for a category of Algerians whose children have the right to learn it at school like other languages.

Answers to question 2

In Tamazight-speaking areas (i.e., Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth) where Kabyl is the dominant language, the majority of teachers wish Kabyl could be taught not as a single subject nor in a small minority of subject areas, but rather as a medium of instruction alongside Arabic in bilingual schools where Tamazight would be the dominant language reflecting the linguistic environment in Kabylia. Thus Kabyl would be taught in the same way as Gaelic is presently taught in Gaelic units throughout Scotland. Being aware that Tamazight is not developed to a level where it may be taught to the same level as Arabic, some teachers suggested that Arabic-Tamazight bilingualism be introduced gradually at school. For instance, 30% of subjects would be taught in Tamazight, then later when new teaching materials, books etc are devised to allow for a better teaching of the target language, more and more subjects could be taught in Tamazight. Thus reaching the percentages of 45% then 60% of subjects taught in Tamazight.

The majority of teachers in Arabic-speaking areas, on the other hand, agree on the principle that Kabyl children have the right to be taught their language at school. However they are convinced that some parents would not agree with their children being taught Kabyl, even as a separate subject. This can be explained by the fact that all varieties of Tamazight enjoy a low status in Arabic-speaking areas.

In order to avoid the opposition of some parents in Arabic speaking areas, teachers suggested that parents should be consulted by the use of questionnaires to check their level of approval regarding the integration of Tamazight in the educational system. This is the same way it is done for the teaching of French and English where parents are asked to choose which language they would prefer their children to learn as a foreign language at school.

Conclusion

The degree of motivation among Kabyl pupils to learn their mother tongue is crucial and has to be present all the time, otherwise teachers will find a low level of interest and unwillingness to learn the target language. Subsequently, there would be little return in terms of overall investment including teachers' time and effort as well as the pupils'.

Equally important are the parents' choice as regards the kind of education they would like to offer to their children in the future.

The opinion of teachers - some of whom are also parents - could be helpful and also have to be taken into account because of their experience in teaching (for those the present investigator interviewed) and their understanding of children's needs, parents' concerns and educational problems in general.

According to the choice of Kabyl parents and teachers who answered the questionnaires, the best way to teach Tamazight at school in near future is to offer children a bilingual education Arabic-Tamazight with either Arabic or Tamazight dominant. This is depending on the linguistic areas where the children live, i.e., Arabic or Tamazight-speaking areas.

12-4 KABYL TAMAZIGHT-ARABIC BILINGUAL PRIMARY EDUCATION

12-4-1 BILINGUAL EDUCATION - GENERALITIES

Bilingual education is the natural order of things in many countries and is a success in America, Canada, the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland), Switzerland, Barcelona and in other countries. According to Crystal, D (1997; 368-369) minority languages have benefited from greater investment in bilingual education in recent years. He points out that in the USA alone, over \$1000 million has been spent in promoting the language of the indigenous and immigrant minority groups.

The numerous education bilingual programmes which have been applied in schools - some of them are mentioned on page 160 - have proved that the children who follow those programmes could develop a level of proficiency in their mother tongue in school without detriment to the acquisition of fluency in the majority language. Indeed, the benefit of bilingual education, as described on pages 158-161, has been highlighted by many educationalists around the world. Educational researchers (Fishman, Cummins, Mackey, Skutnabb-Kangas, Rubin, Cooper, Mazouni and others) agree that bilingual children who develop their proficiency in two languages at the same time experience intellectual and academic advantages over monolingual children.

As seen in the case of Gaelic-English bilingual education adopted in some areas in Scotland (described on pages 294-295), the aim of a bilingual education is to enable pupils to master two languages: their mother tongue and the majority language community by the time they leave primary school. The bilingual education children are offered gives them the ability to understand, speak, read and write two languages and experience two cultures. This is achieved at school with the aim of helping pupils to participate fully in the bilingual community to which they belong.

However, It is important to point out that the reasons for introducing bilingual education programmes vary from one country to another.

In some countries such as in Canada, Ireland, Switzerland, and Barcelona, the aim is **to maintain** the mother tongue of the pupils at school. By contrast in other countries, children are educated in their mother tongue temporarily only until they are able to continue in the majority language. This **transitional** type of bilingualism could be found in many African countries where there is inadequate or shortage of teaching material, reading books and little teacher preparation to allow for a suitable instruction in the pupils' mother tongue. The target language may also not have a vocabulary sufficient for the need of the curriculum.

In principle, bilingual education programmes subscribe to the **maintenance** view of the minority language. Pupils from minority language groups are generally encouraged to develop an **additive** form of bilingualism at school rather than a **subtractive** form as explained on page 160. In that case, maintaining the mother tongue of pupils at school means developing a desirable cultural diversity, improving sense of cultural identity within one's social group and better social skills which all contribute to a richer and more stable psychological profile among bilingual children. To achieve this, bilingual instruction has to be continuous and carried on throughout the individual child's schooling, i.e., in a continuing parallel bilingual teaching programme.

12-4-2 KABYL TAMAZIGHT-ARABIC BILINGUAL PRIMARY EDUCATION

How Tamazight could be taught in the future in bilingual primary schools?

The present author will attempt to answer this question with regard to her experience teaching French as a subject in primary school for seven years in Algiers (Ecole du Musée). The knowledge she acquired in visiting bilingual schools in several countries these last six years and more importantly the experience of observing the teaching of Gaelic throughout Scotland has helped

her to suggest the following approach to the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight in bilingual schools.

Algerian Children, whatever their linguistic background, would have to be instructed in the same school for reasons explained on page 307. This is in the same way Gaelic is presently taught in primary schools (mentioned on appendix E) the present investigator visited in the Western Isles, Highlands, and Lowlands. Obviously, parents would have to choose the kind of school they think would be best suitable for their children, i.e., bilingual schools with Tamazight or Arabic dominant depending on the linguistic background of their children and the linguistic areas where pupils live. One has to point out that it is a human right to let parents express their free choice in the matter of the language in which their children are to be educated and this is mentioned in the article 26.3 of the UNESCO universal declaration as follows:

Parents have the priority to choose the kind
of education to offer to their children. 38

Whatever status which will be given to Tamazight in the future - official recognition or not - the right of children to be offered an appropriate education is beyond political considerations. Only the benefits and the needs of the pupils should be of primary concern. Gaelic in Scotland is not an official language but at school, it is taught as the first language for children who speak that language as a mother tongue, and as a second language for those English children whose parents want them to learn Gaelic in addition to their first language. Similarly, Tamazight would have to be taught as mother tongue for children who speak the language at home and as a second language for children Arabic speakers.

Thus, when Algerian children begin school, they would have to be taught through the medium of **the mother tongue only** (Arabic or Tamazight) during **the first two years of primary school (P1 and P2)** in the same way Gaelic is presently taught in Gaelic medium schools.

38- UNESCO report on the use of vernacular languages in education.1953. Article 26.3.

This language policy would have to be adopted as well in Algeria because it is based on scientific educational values and the needs of children to be instructed in their mother tongue, whatever their linguistic background.

The latter were explained on section 11-2. Accordingly, educational specialists during the UNESCO meeting held in Paris in 1953 pointed out that:

pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible.

The shock which the young child undergoes in passing from his home to his school life is so great that everything possible should be done to soften it. 39

Moreover, as Cummins, J (1981) claims, for pupils who speak a minority language, attainment of a high level of proficiency in both languages appears to depend on the extent to which the first language is developed. When conceptual skills in the first language are not well developed, many children will lack the foundation upon which to build adequate second language skills.

To avoid the mistakes and the damage caused by the phenomenon of Arabization in Algeria where both Algerian Arabic and Tamazight speakers are alienated from their mother tongue, as explained on page 178, it is extremely important in the future, for Algerian teachers, to reinforce at school the first language pupils bring from home (Arabic or Tamazight). Once the four language learning skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking) are well acquired and established in one language, i.e. , the childrens' mother tongue which is the easiest one for children, then pupils can switch to the learning of a second language (Arabic or Tamazight) and later, at primary four, to a third language: French or English.

39- UNESCO report on the use of vernacular languages in education (1953; 11) in the national language question. Le Page (1964; 21). University London Press. London. New York.

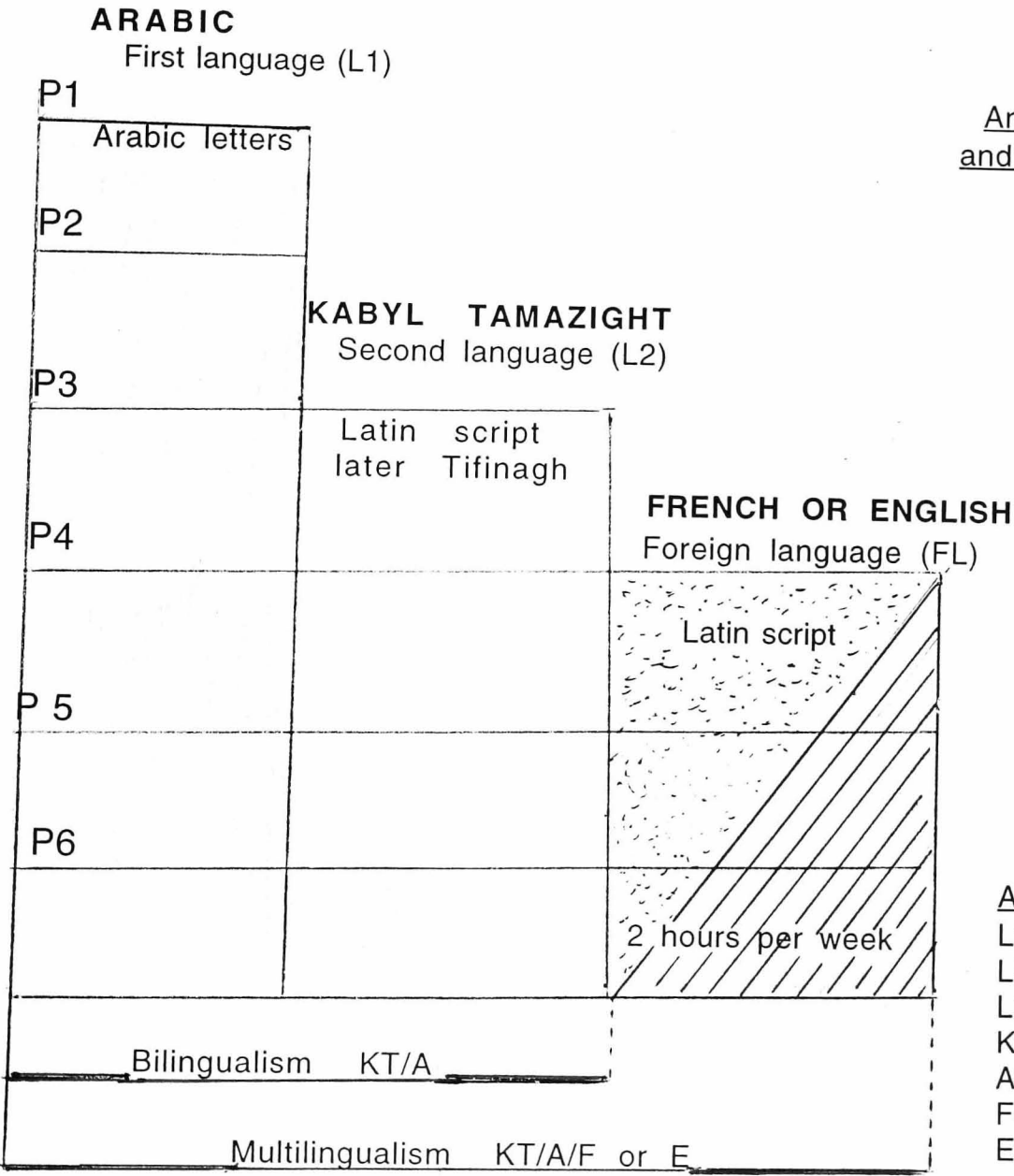
At present in Algeria, because of the predominantly assimilationist and monolingual attitudes which prevailed for a long time, it is understandable that few parents and teachers are aware of the importance of first language development as the firmer foundation for second and third language acquisition.

One can suggest that in the future, Algerian language policies would have to reflect the fact that both Tamazight and Arabic (AA) represent, for different categories of pupils, mother tongues, that the first language should be the sole medium of instruction in the early years of children at school, and that the second language should be introduced gradually as suggested by experienced teachers for reasons explained on page 371. In mixed linguistic areas, children, who do not speak the dominant language as the mother tongue, would be given special attention so as to meet their individual needs, encourage confidence and make the learning of the second language (Arabic or Tamazight) a pleasurable experience. Teachers would attach a high priority in helping the pupils from homes where Tamazight (or Arabic) is not spoken and would encourage them to transfer their language skills in their second language as early a stage as possible. This could be achieved through the immersion language programme described on pages 322-323 for the case of Gaelic. If mixed groups of children from different linguistic backgrounds in the same classroom would be unavoidable, instruction would be in the language which gives the least hardship to the bulk of pupils and special help should be offered to others.

The immersion programme in the target language would be more successful if it is implemented from kindergarten as experienced in Canada for the case of the teaching of French to English-speaking children. Teachers nowadays pay greater attention to the child's preschool linguistic experience, considering this as a foundation on which they can build their efforts in helping pupils to master their ability to read, write and speak in the target language as soon as possible.

The Kabyl Tamazight-Arabic bilingual education could be implemented as suggested and summarized on the charts 12.4.1 and 12.4.2, pages 379 and 380.

Chart 12.4.2: Kabyl Tamazight-Arabic bilingual primary education for children who speak **Arabic as a mother tongue** and who live in Kabylia Arabic, Tamazight and in mixed linguistic areas.



Arabic taught as the first and dominant language

- Abbreviations
- L1= First language
 - L2= second language
 - L3= Foreign language
 - KT= Kabyl Tamazight
 - A= Arabic (MSA)
 - F= French
 - E= English

1-Pupils

As can be seen from the charts 12.4.1 and 12.4.2, both Arabic and Tamazight speaking children would be instructed in their mother tongue during the first two years of primary school (P1 and P2).

- Kabyl Tamazight (KT) would be taught as the first and dominant language to Kabyl pupils from the start of P1, whereas Arabic (MSA) would be taught as first and dominant language to Arabic-speaking Algerian pupils starting from the first year of their schooling.

- The second language (KT or MSA depending on the mother tongue of the pupils) would be introduced gradually starting from P3. This is alongside the learning and mastering of the pupils' mother tongue.

- Finally, a foreign language (French or English according to the parents' wish) would be taught two hours a week to children. This is in the same way it is presently done in Algerian schools.

The bilingual education KT/MSA suggested here takes into account only the linguistic background of the pupils, i.e., the children's mother tongue. The linguistic areas are not very important since Kabyl pupils, like the Arabic-speaking children, might live in Arabic as in Kabyl Tamazight speaking regions. Moreover, as seen from the results of questionnaire 6, appendix B7, the majority of parents agreed on bilingual education in both Kabylia and Arabic speaking areas. The proposed KT/MSA bilingual education would have to be implemented progressively from P3 to P9 and the subjects which could be taught in Kabyl Tamazight and Arabic will be described in section 13-6 .

2- Teachers

Teachers would have to be not only native speakers of Kabyl Tamazight or Arabic, but also bilingual (KT/MSA) and even multilingual if they would have to teach French or English as well to the same pupils.

At the primary level, it is generally recommended that pupils should be taught by the same teacher who could teach most subjects. This is except on occasion specialisms, such as Art or Music, where peripatetic visiting teachers would be employed. It would, however, be preferred that a single teacher would

undertake all the language work for reasons of familiarity and continuity, as well as providing a positive bilingual or multilingual role model for the pupils.

Teachers would have to be trained to teach KT as a mother (for those who would have to teach the language as such) and as a second language for teachers who would teach KT to Arabic speaking children or Tamazight speaking children whose parents chose for them to learn KT as a second language. But the latter would be very few if one takes into account the results of questionnaire 6.

Teachers would also have to be capable of differentiating and deploying the different approaches required to teach children Kabyl as first (L1) and second (L2) languages. The different approaches which would have to be used for teaching Kabyl Tamazight will be explained in section 12.5.

Since teaching material would be lacking in the beginning, teachers would have to work together for the preparation of the necessary material. This is the same way it is presently done at the language resource centre (Haldane Education Centre) in Stornoway in the case of the teaching of Gaelic mainly in that part of Scotland. A similar language resource centre was visited in Barcelona where Catalan teachers shared their experience and initiative for the benefit of the pupils whose mother tongue was deployed as the medium of instruction. If required, teachers would also need to keep themselves up-to-date with the latest research into their language and society.

3-Writing script

Algerian pupils learning the three languages (KT, A, F or E) mentioned on the charts 12.4.1 and 12.4.2 would have to master two different written scripts in the near future when Tamazight would be taught in primary school.

In the longer term, pupils would also have to be taught the Tifinagh signs since, according to the results of the questionnaire 5, the majority of Kabyl parents wish their children to be taught KT with the use of Tifinagh. If one has to respect the parents' wishes, children would have to learn three different scripts during their six years of primary education, i.e. , from P1 to P6.

The advantages and limitations of this suggested KT/A bilingual primary education will be discussed in chapter 14. However, as can be noticed from the outset, the issue is not only one of bilingualism but multilingualism as it exists in Algeria and which is characterized by cultural pluralism and linguistic diversity.

12-5 TEACHING KABYL TAMAZIGHT AS MOTHER TONGUE

As pointed out on page 381 Kabyl Tamazight Teachers would have to be trained to be technically competent to teach Kabyl Tamazight as a mother tongue. First of all they should be able to differentiate between a mother tongue, a second and a foreign language and the different approaches which they would have to use to teach Kabyl Tamazight as L1 or L2. These will be examined successively in this chapter.

12-5-1 WHAT IS A MOTHER TONGUE?

There are various definitions of the term “mother tongue” in different disciplines such as sociology, linguistics and psychology but the best common definition is that it is the language which the mother speaks and transmits to her child at a very early age. However, this definition does not refer to a biological mother, but only to a person who first introduces and teaches the language to the child. According to Jakobson, R (1971), the mother tongue is the language which a child learns first. That is why it is named “first language” (L1). The 1951 report of the UNESCO Committee defines mother tongue (or native tongue) as

the language which a person acquires in early years
and which normally becomes his natural
instrument of thought and communication. 40

This definition comes to mind quite naturally since children first formulate and express their ideas both about themselves and about the world they live in, through their mother tongues. Here, the language is both a part of and an expression of the cultural environment in which a child is born. Thus the mother tongue forms an essential part of the process by which a child absorbs the cultural environment. It is possible then to conclude that the

40- UNESCO Committee report. 1951

mother tongue has a large bearing on the formulation of early childhood concepts and that a child will find it difficult to grasp a new concept if it is alien to the cultural environment in which the child was brought up. This difficulty arises because the child cannot readily find an expression in his mother tongue to help him understand alien concepts.

A mother tongue can be a **vernacular** meaning "common speech of **urbanely** people" and the first language of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language. Specialists of UNESCO do not consider the language of a minority in one country as vernacular if it is an official language in another country, for instance Urdu or Chinese in Britain. The Committee then states that a mother tongue

need not be the language a child first learns to speak, since special circumstances may cause him to abandon this language more or less completely at an early age. 41

(UNESCO, 1968; 689-690)

In certain bilingual environments (for instance in Catalonia and in the Western Isles) a child can learn two languages as first languages.

12-5-2 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FIRST, SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Second language (L2) is the language acquired by a person in addition to his mother tongue. First and second language learning is similar in that the languages are learnt in what are known as **natural** situations. By "natural" is meant the unconscious learning of the language in the environment in which the child grows up. For most individuals, the first language learned, the mother tongue is also the most used and, conversely "second languages" tend also to be secondary in terms of auxiliary use.

41- UNESCO report (1968; 689-690) on the use of vernacular languages in education in Le Page (1964; 21) the national language question. London University Press. London.

But there are cases of individuals in language contact situations in which the mother tongue loses its position as primary medium of communication, and is limited to home and circles. The second language is replaced, in other domains, by the dominant language of the host community. Such a situation is common to immigrant communities (Indo-Pakistani immigrants in Britain, Turkish workers in Germany, North Africans in France, and millions of immigrants in the USA), and indigenous groups whose L1 is a minority language. Such is the case of the Gaels, Irish, Welsh, and Imazighen people. The second language, such as English in Denmark, French in Algeria, is generally used as a medium of education, government and business.

The term Foreign or third language (L3) is popularly used to refer to the language that is not a native language in a country and has no status as a means of communication in that country. It is mainly acquired through **controlled** learning, i.e., at school with the help of a teacher and teaching materials. For example Algerian children acquiring English or Spanish at school. Thus the process of acquiring a third language is more **artificial** since it relies primarily on formal schooling.

To sum up one can say that the major difference between a foreign and a second language is based on how they are acquired. Second language acquisition is very similar to mother tongue acquisition in that it is learnt in normal speech when the conceptualising process is unfinished. On the other hand, Foreign language acquisition is based on translation, i.e., comparing the new language with the mother tongue in which the world of meaning has been established. Similarly, there are differences between these languages because of the limited learning vocabulary in the case of the acquired language. Many linguists distinguish between foreign and second language use, recognizing major differences in the learning aims, teaching methods and achievement levels involved.

12-5-3 HOW IS THE MOTHER TONGUE ACQUIRED ?

The long held view about acquisition of a language has revolved around the idea that this acquisition happens through a process of imitation and reinforcement. This view centres on the premises that children learn by copying the utterances they hear and that their responses are fortified by the corrections and reactions provided by adults. However, it has recently become clear that this learning principle does not explain all the facts by which a language develops. For instance, as Crystal, D (1997) explains, the grammatical ability developed by children cannot be explained by the mere fact children do a great deal of imitation. Imitation will no doubt help children in the learning of sounds and vocabulary, yet very little of their grammatical ability can be explained in this way. To illustrate this point one considers the way children handle irregular grammatical patterns such as irregular plurals or past tenses. When words such as “feet” or “fell”, children, at some stage, replace these with “foots” and “falled”. This is because children, at some stage, assume a regular grammatical usage and try to work out the forms by the process of analogy. It is evident that such forms could not have been learned by imitation for adults do not use these forms. Another point in the criticism of the imitation principle is that children seem unable to exactly imitate some grammatical constructions used by adults even when encouraged or deliberately invited to do so. The dialogue reported by the American psycholinguist, McNeil, D (1975) is a clear demonstration of this. In the reported dialogue, a child was unable to use a pattern despite the fact that his parents presented the correct adult model several times. Such example suggested that language is more a matter of maturation than of imitation. According to Crystal, D (1997) the limited nature of the imitation/reinforcement view point was further highlighted during the 1960s by adopting an alternative view point which arises from the generative account of language. This pivots around the argument that children are born with an innate capacity for language. Another point is that for linguistic structures to emerge, there must be an already established

cognitive foundation. To illustrate this, one draws attention to the fact that before children can use comparative structures (e.g., “bigger, smaller, longer, larger” etc) they must first develop the conceptual ability needed for relative judgments.

It is difficult to choose between these different approaches due to the lack of general facts about language acquisition. However, there is no doubt that imitation, innateness and cognition, play an important part in lighting the way towards language acquisition.

12-5-4 MOTHER TONGUE AND SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING APPROACHES

The terms ‘technique’, ‘method’, and ‘approach’ are very often used when referring to the teaching of a language (first, second or foreign). That is why it is worthwhile to explain briefly the difference between them.

In 1963, the American applied linguist Anthony, E (1963; 63-67) described these terms as follows:

An approach is a set of correlative assumptions dealing with the nature of language teaching and learning.

A method is an overall plan for the orderly presentation of language material, no part of which contradicts, and all of which is based upon the selected approach. 42

He also added:

An approach is axiomatic whereas a method is procedural. 43

42- Anthony, E (1963; 63-67) Technique, Method and Approach. Newbury House. Rowley. USA.

43-Idem

In 1989, the label 'technique' was defined by Hubbard. P, Thornton. H and Wheeler. R, as

a set of procedures or a collection of techniques used in a systematic way which it is hoped will result in efficient learning. 44

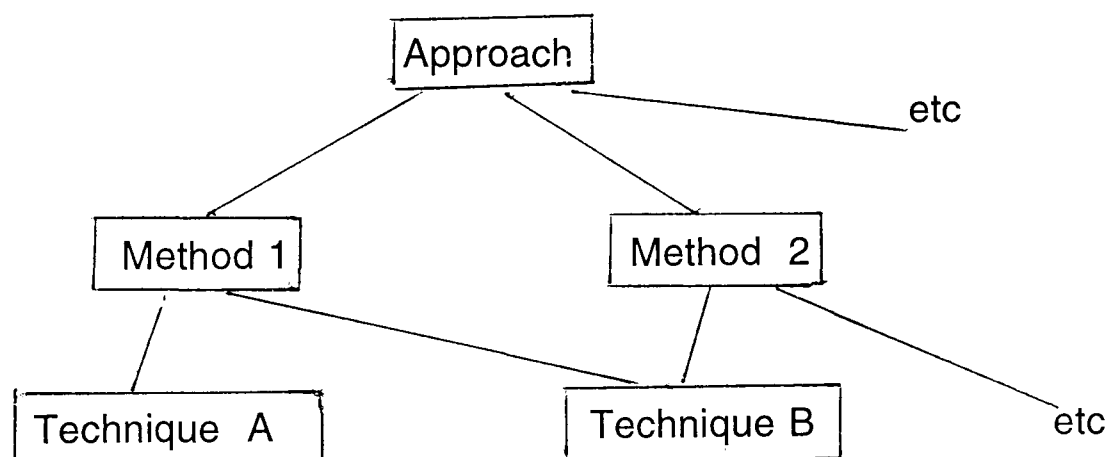
A method then comprises a number of techniques arranged in a systematic order. Richards, C and Rodgers, T.S (1986; 15) also describe 'method' as:

The level at which theory is put into practice and at which choices are made about the particular skills to be taught, the content to be taught and the order in which the content will be presented. 45

The term 'approach' on the other hand is much broader and means the theory in which teachers believe and apply in the teaching of the target language.

The hierarchical system between 'technique', 'method' and 'approach' outlined by Hubbard, H and others, is designed as follows:

Chart 12.5.4 : Technique, method and approach



Source : Hubbard. P, Jones. H, Thornton, B and Wheeler ,R (1989)
A training course for T.E. F.L. Oxford University press. Oxford, p 31

44-Hubbard.H, Jones.B, Thornton and R. Wheeler(1989; 31) A training course for T.E.F.L. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

45-Richards, J.C and Rodgers, T.S (1986) Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

As is evident from the chart 12.5.4, page 389, teachers are bound not only by the approach they adopt but also by a variety of possible techniques which may use similar methods. Conversely, the different methods used may also share similar techniques such as drilling.

The main methods of language teaching widely practised from the 19 th century until present day are as follows:

- 1- The grammar-translation method.
- 2- The direct method (also known as the oral or natural method).
- 3-The audio-lingual method.
- 4- And finally the communicative method.

1-The grammar–translation method

This was the method commonly used in the 19th century for the teaching of the classics: Latin and Greek. Students commonly learned the target language by reading, translating and analysing the written texts. Emphasis was placed on the following skills: reading comprehension, the mastery of grammatical rules and the memorizing of elaborated vocabulary lists. These lists, related to the texts being studied, were specifically chosen for their prestigious content. Little importance was given to listening and speaking skills.

Although the grammar-translation method dominated the early approach to modern language teaching for a considerable time, teachers and educationalists today recognize that the method fails to meet the needs of most students. Their chief aim in learning a language is for the purpose of communication .

The direct method

Commonly known as the oral or natural method, this method focuses on the learners' need to listen to and speak the target language. Realistic situations are created in the classroom to allow this process to take place. Students learn simple everyday language and formal grammatical rules and lists of vocabulary are avoided. The use of the mother tongue is not accepted and students are encouraged to think in the target language alone. In

practice the implementation of the direct method has been adapted by teachers to suit the needs of the students. Teachers occasionally will permit the use of the mother tongue to assert comprehension. Grammatical rules are also introduced, as required, to avoid the possibility of inaccurate use of the language being established.

The audio-lingual method

This method is commonly known as the oral method. It was widely used in the 1950s and 1960s and was based on the intensive language instruction given to American soldiers during World War II. Students taught by this method are trained to understand and speak the target language in a very short time. Grammatical rules are not taught and emphasis is placed on everyday spoken language and also on accurate pronunciation. In this method, learning a language is seen as a process of habit. Structural patterns in dialogues about everyday situations are imitated and drilled until the learner's responses become automatic. The target language is first heard, then practised orally before being used in written form. Although many students taught by the audio-lingual method can develop a high level of fluency in conversation, this teaching method, relying mainly on drills and habit formation, makes it less popular today.

The Communicative method and approach

Linguists have always attempted to improve the quality of language teaching. To respond to the immediate and various needs at any given time, new methods and approaches have been adopted, ameliorated and extended. Some of them (the Grammar-Translation method for instance) have been completely rejected and replaced by new ones, more efficient and appropriate to the needs of the learners and period of time.

The communicative language teaching approach is the most important in recent times and the most widely used to teach Gaelic in bilingual primary schools throughout Scotland. To understand what is new about this approach, it is useful to place

it in its historical context and relate it to its contemporary linguistic ideas, to define its main characteristics, and finally to discuss its advantages and disadvantages for teaching and learning.

Historically, the Communicative language teaching approach followed the functional-notional approach which was widely used in Great Britain. The latter appeared in the late 1960s approximately and coincided with the rejection of the audio-lingual method in the United States at about the same time. British linguists had realized that it was not necessary for teaching to be based on situational events and this meant, even though context was still important, a return to the traditional belief that language utterances carry meaning in themselves. Thus, traditional procedures are not totally rejected but are reinterpreted and extended.

British applied linguists discovered that it was necessary to view the language in terms of functions rather than structures. Scholars who adopted the Communicative language teaching approach drew some guidelines from the work of British functional linguists (e.g., Firth and Halliday), from American work in sociolinguistics and from work of American philosophers and sociolinguistics such as Gumperz and Labov. Moreover, with the interdependence of European countries, the need for learning foreign languages intensified. Thus, there was an urgent necessity to find a more effective teaching method.

A regional organization for cultural and educational cooperation, called the Council of Europe, was formed. One of its aims was to sponsor international conferences on language teaching, to publish books and to promote the formation of the International Association of Applied Linguistics.

In 1971, experts in Linguistics had studied the possibility of developing language courses on a unit-credit system that corresponded to all learners with the same needs across Europe.

Wilkins' work (1976), for instance, the analysis of language in terms of notions (concepts such as time, sequence, quantity, location) and functions (requests, denials, offers, etc.)

contributed to the development of the Communicative language teaching method.

Widdowson (1978) offered a view of the close relation existing between linguistic systems and their communicative values in spoken and written language. Since then, the movement which began as a British innovation became so widespread in use that it was regarded as a general approach rather than a particular method.

From its title 'the communicative approach', it is apparent that the emphasis is on communication. The communicative teaching approach is characterised as follows:

- Learning a language is learning to communicate. Even the use of the native tongue and translation are allowed if necessary and if possible (for example, it would prove difficult if there was no common or shared mother tongue among students).
- Dialogues which are not memorized are used according to the learners' needs and motivation.

Language is not used as an abstract thing but in a context.

- The method emphasizes the meaning of utterances and allows language variation.
- The learners' errors are permitted even if they are often corrected.

- Drilling may be useful in order to reinforce the communication.

Although the use of the spoken language is of primary importance, reading and writing skills could be emphasized from the beginning.

Sequencing in teaching is done in terms of the context function or meaning in order to maintain interest, rather than moving from the 'least' to the 'most' difficult language.

- Learners are expected to interact primarily with each other rather than with the teacher only.

To sum up, the Communicative approach is wide and flexible. The idea behind it is that learners should be encouraged to communicate freely and express their ideas when needed and in various situations.

Like other teaching approaches, the Communicative language teaching has its advantages and disadvantages.

Before discussing the positive and negative aspects of the method, it is necessary to define briefly the roles of both the teacher and the learner. As far as the teacher is concerned, he is seen as a facilitator and participant in the teaching situation, as an analyst of learners' needs and a counsellor.

The learners' role, on the other hand, is focused on communication rather than on the mastery of the language forms. He/she should participate actively in group-work and learn in an interdependent way.

Turning now to the advantages for teachers, the Communicative language teaching method reduces the activity of teaching but increases the work as he/she has to evaluate every teaching session and prepare the next one accordingly.

Grammar, as a difficult subject, is no longer taught as it used to be, i.e., by the use of rules which pupils had to learn by heart and apply in exercises. Nowadays, children are taught grammar intuitively by examples, drilling techniques and visual demonstrations.

The disadvantages of the use of the Communicative language teaching method for teachers are numerous:

- In situations where the mother tongue is permitted, a teacher who is not a native speaker (i.e., does not share the same mother tongue as his/her students) may not understand the various accents or dialects of the class.

Materials are primarily used to promote and encourage communication. So everyday, teachers have to prepare visual aids (pictures and task-based materials)

- While using the communicative method, teachers have to assume the roles of facilitators, counsellors and analysts at the same time. This makes the task of the teacher very difficult.

As can be noticed, the adoption of the Communicative approach needs intensive teacher training, materials development, testing and evaluation of the results.

One must point out that little importance is given to writing even if the approach allows it from the beginning.

For learners, the advantages are various :

- Communication in context is prompted even by the use of the students' native tongue (if necessary).
- Learners do not have to memorize grammatical rules of dialogue texts.
- Reading and writing can be started as soon as possible after speaking, depending on the needs and the level of the learners.
- Surely, the main advantage, is that students actually learn how to use the language.

While the Communicative language teaching has these advantages for learners, it also has some disadvantages which are the following:

- If making errors is allowed, there is no immediate way that learners can be corrected. Moreover the mistakes may be repeated by other students.
- The teacher' s role as a participant is not always well accepted or may not be taken seriously by learners, particularly in some countries or social situations where tradition demands that the teacher must be perceived as an authoritative figure. The teacher as participant implies a degree of familiarity and this may not always be acceptable in such situations.
- There are also problems induced by not having to learn rules. The latter if taught and learnt correctly, can help students to remember the right grammatical constructions to use in different situations.

The Communicative approach which could be adopted to teach Kabyl Tamazight to Algerian children in bilingual schools may appear the ideal method, but its application in practice poses certain difficulties.

As seen earlier, it needs a lot of teaching materials which are not always available. For teachers, this approach requires constant evaluation and assessment on a daily basis.

It may happen that one teaching approach is not always appropriate and therefore the limitations of one approach could be compensated by the advantages of the other. Generally,

experienced teachers prefer to use their 'own approach' or an eclectic approach that suits their students needs and backgrounds. This is what Kabyl Tamazight teachers are advised to do.

12-5-5 MOTHER TONGUE AND SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING APPROACHES

The quality of language teaching depends on several factors: the motivation of the pupils, the competence of teachers, and of equal importance the efficiency and adequacy of the approaches used. At present different approaches are practised in the teaching of the mother tongue as opposed to the teaching of a second language, although the latter is acquired in a similar way. This is explained on pages 385-386.

12.5.5.1 - Teaching Kabyl Tamazight as a mother tongue.

According to Chomsky, C (1969), by the age of five, all children have learned the basic structure of their mother tongue. This occurs in spite of considerable differences in intelligence, as measured by I.Q scores and in the richness of the learning environment. As they acquire their native language, children also develop simultaneously the ability to construct grammatically correct sentences, without having been taught the relevant rules (language competence). However, the language naturally acquired at home, mainly through maternal input, must ultimately be complemented by controlled learning. "Controlled learning" means the schooling instruction given by a teacher, using appropriate materials and following a programme of work. The main impetus for children to learn a language at home is initially to satisfy their own childish needs. At school, the role of the teacher is to build on childrens' knowledge and use of their mother tongue and help them develop adequate skills in their first language in order to meet their increasing needs. Language may be developed for a specific purpose or for a variety of different reasons. But for young people their immediate aim is communication with their peers. This is later extended to include those close to them (teachers, doctors etc), and ultimately those outside their

immediate circle; people from different social classes. Moreover, the aim of language education in school is not simply to teach children their mother tongue. It is also to use this language effectively as the most dynamic method of teaching other subjects, in particular important aspects of their own living culture. This is achieved by secondary socialisation. Socialisation is the process through which the culture of a society is transmitted to the new generation. A distinction must be made between primary socialisation which takes place in the family and secondary socialisation which takes place outside the home, at school and through contact with other groups in society.

Likewise, Kabyl children learning their mother tongue at school will further develop their knowledge in Kabyl by experiencing a linguistic world different from their familiar home environment. They will encounter, usually for the first time, a social situation where levels of speech, formal and informal, are carefully distinguished and standards of correctness emphasized and encouraged. They will learn a variety of unfamiliar subjects which share a use of language related in style and structure. They will acquire new kinds of linguistic skills that few of their parents would be capable or willing to teach them in the home: reading, writing and spelling. According to Hughey, Wormuth, Hartfiel and Jacobs (1983 ; 3), the writing skill is a much more difficult task than that of speech. They explain it as follows:

Writing differs significantly from speech. Psychological, linguistic and cognitive factors make writing a more complex and difficult discourse medium in both native and second language. 46

1. Psychological factors

Speech is embedded in a "situational context". A speaker is in the presence of an audience and, consequently, can receive immediate feedback in the form of verbal or non-verbal signals (hand gestures, nodding heads). Writing, in contrast, is a solitary act,

46- Hughey, J.B , Wormuth, F.D, Hartfiel, V.F and Jacobs, H.C (1983; 3) Teaching ESL composition, principles and techniques . Newbury House. Massachusetts. USA.

and, as a result, the writer has to envisage the reader, or simply to assume the role of the reader, which means allowing for the fact that the reader will bring his own perceptions and views to the reading task.

2. Linguistic factors

Speech allows for informal expressions, contractions, abbreviated forms, repetitions, etc, whereas written statements are constructed more "carefully" and "coherently" to ensure that the meaning is clear and can be understood by the reader.

3. Cognitive factors

While speech is acquired naturally. i.e., through the natural acquisition process, and at an early stage in the native language, and oral skills are effortlessly learned, writing is normally developed through formal channels of learning rather than naturally. The writer is required to know and make use of orthographic forms, lexis, syntax, and morphemes. Being a more complex act, writing would obviously demand a similarly more complex mental effort.

Byrne, D (1988; 3) summarises the differences between speech and writing in the table 12.5.5.1 given on page 399.

Reading

The reading skill is difficult to learn as well since, as Crystal, D (1997) states, several psychological factors are involved such as:

concept development

memory

attention

intelligence

and left-right orientation or right-left orientation for children whose mother tongue is written from right to left like in Arabic.

Table 12.5.5.1 : Differences between Speech and Writing

SPEECH	WRITING
1 Takes place in a <i>context</i> , which often makes references clear (e.g. ' <i>that thing over there</i> ')	1 Creates its own context and therefore has to be fully explicit
2 Speaker and listener(s) in contact. Interact and exchange roles	2 Reader not present and no interaction possible
3 Usually person addressed is specific	3 Reader not necessarily known to writer
4 Immediate feedback given and expected (a) verbal: questions, comments ... murmurs, grunts (b) non-verbal: facial expressions	4 No immediate feedback possible. Writer may try to anticipate reader's reactions and incorporate them into text
5 Speech is transitory. Intended to be understood immediately. If not, listener expected to interact	5 Writing is permanent. Can be reread as often as necessary and at own speed
6 Sentences often incomplete and sometimes ungrammatical. Hesitations and pauses common and usually some redundancy and repetition	6 Sentences expected to be carefully constructed, and linked and organised to form a text
7 Range of devices (stress, intonation, pitch, speed) to help convey meaning. Facial expressions, body movements and gestures also used for this purpose	7 Devices to help convey meaning are punctuation, capitals and underlining (for emphasis). Sentence boundaries clearly indicated

Source: Byrne, D (1988; 3) Teaching writing skills
Longman. London

In addition to the Reading and Writing skills Kabyl children will have to learn, the listening and speaking skills will need to be reinforced as well. Children will need to understand different kind of speech (formal and informal) and learn new technical and scientific words which can be heard in a speech, or can be read in a book.

To be able to read in Tamazight, Kabyl pupils will have to learn the spelling of their language, i.e., the Greco-Latin writing script in near future and later the Tifinagh signs (described in section 10.2).

Aspects of their living culture (which they are already aware of) will have to be taught consciously to Kabyl pupils at school. One has to point out that the Amazigh culture, including Kabyl culture, has never been taught to Algerian children at school. In contrast, the media have always introduced this minority culture to the public as being a folklore. In other words, the entire Amazigh culture - History, language, customs, traditions, art etc, as developed in section 14-4 was reduced to music and dance, i.e., to one aspect of that rich culture. The difference between culture and folklore will be explained in section 13.2, pages 409-410.

Aspects of the Kabyl culture will be used as support to teach Kabyl children their mother tongue. The geographical environment where Kabyl pupils live will be used as the main direct input. Children will be taken out to visit museums and monuments, testifying the presence and history of their ancestors. They will learn new vocabulary in direct contact with objects and they will remember better. Books will be used to reinforce that knowledge. In the past, many educational programmes proved ineffectual as a result of their attempts to divorce language from the real-life situations in which it is embedded.

Accordingly, the teaching material which facilitates the acquisition of a large vocabulary within the classroom will generally come from the world of "realia" which should be the living environment rather than textbooks, i.e., "read books". Thus pictures and other visual aids used during various activities will have to reflect real life.

Teaching Kabyl as a mother tongue means not only teaching the language itself but also teaching progressively all subjects in Kabyl when the conditions for its success are established.

12.5.5.2 - Teaching Kabyl Tamazight as a second language

At present, the majority of Gaelic teachers in Scotland use the Natural approach to teach English speaking children Gaelic as a second language. One can ask if Tamazight teachers could use the same approach to teach Kabyl. An examination of this approach, as undertaken below, will help to find out the positive and negative aspects of the approach and see if it would be suitable for the teaching of Kabyl. The pupils learning Kabyl as a second language would be either pupils of Kabyl origin who speak Arabic at home or Arabic-speaking children living in Kabylia or in other towns and whose parents chose for them to learn Kabyl as a second language. Pupils would be taught the language as a subject a few hours per week starting from P3. The time allocated for the teaching of Kabyl would have to be increased progressively, from half an hour for instance to two or three hours per week. In addition to the teaching of Kabyl, an understanding of the Kabyl culture would be necessary.

Like the Communicative approach (described on pages 391-395), the Natural approach is one of the most important in recent times. Its main goal is to give pupils the ability to communicate with native speakers of the target language.

The natural approach was outlined by Terrell, D.T (1977) a teacher of Spanish in California. He wanted to develop an approach to language teaching based on the naturalistic principles established by researchers in the field of second language acquisition. Initially, the approach was designed for beginners to help them become intermediate. Then, the application of the approach extended to advanced level classes and to several other languages, including non-Indo European ones. Later, Terrell, D.T, in collaboration with Krashen, S. an applied linguist at the University of Southern California, wrote a book *The Natural approach Language teaching* published in 1983. This book contains Krashen's view about second language acquisition and implementation and classroom procedures prepared by Terrell, D.T.

The Natural approach is not entirely new. It shares many features with other traditional approaches such as the communicative approach. It uses the language in real communicative situations without recourse to the native language and reference to grammatical analysis. The term “natural” used in its title, means that learners acquire the language in a natural way as children develop their first language; i.e., implicitly, gradually, and by stages.

Unlike the Natural method - briefly described under the heading of direct method on pages 390-391 - the Natural approach places less emphasis on monologues, direct repetition and accurate production of the target language. There is an emphasis on exposure and input rather than practice.

Students are not forced to speak from the beginning because production must be spontaneous and start when students are ready.

According to the theory of second language acquisition which the Natural approach uses as resource, language learning is different from acquisition. Acquiring a language is “picking it up” in natural communicative situations. Learning, by contrast, is knowing the rules and having conscious knowledge about the syntax of the target language. The Natural approach asserts that learning cannot lead to acquisition which takes place only when students understand messages in the target language. To achieve this aim, the teacher has to provide as much comprehensive input as possible during classroom activities. The principles of the Natural approach can be summarized as follows:

- 1- It is necessary for students to comprehend a large amount of input before being able to speak freely. To allow this natural process to take place, listening or reading comprehension precedes speaking or writing.
- 2- The ability to speak fluently and easily in a second language emerges by itself and by stages (from non-verbal communication, e.g., gestures, to sentences and more complex discourse).
- 3- The course syllabus consists of communicative goals. The focus of each classroom activity is organized around interesting topics for students and without any grammatical analysis.

4- To allow the acquisition of the target language to take place, an environment which is conducive must be created by the teacher, i.e. , low anxiety level, good rapport with the teacher etc. To sum up, the natural approach is simple. The idea behind it is that learners should be encouraged to communicate with the use of the target language when they are ready.

The advantages for students are numerous and can be summarized as follows:

1- Students are allowed to decide individually when they begin speaking the target language. The fact that they are not forced to speak before they are ready, reduces their anxiety considerably as emotion is believed to block the input necessary for acquisition. Moreover, when they do begin to speak, their production in the form of single words or short phrases as responses is accepted. Thus, any sort of attempt at speaking is encouraged and rewarded positively.

2- Activities in the classroom focus at all times on topics which are attractive and relevant to the children. They contribute to a relaxed atmosphere and encourage learners to communicate. It is noticed that if pupils are motivated from the beginning, they cannot keep silent for a long time and will speak as soon as they acquire a minimum of vocabulary in the target language to do so.

3- Grammar is not taught. So students who have no aptitude for this subject or who simply dislike it will concentrate almost completely on acquisition activities. They do not have to memorize grammatical rules which they acquire unconsciously and implicitly through exposure and practice of the target language.

4- When students start speaking, grammatical accuracy is not required at once. The approach allows it to increase slowly with increased opportunities for communicative interaction and acquisition. Exceptionally, for adult students, the natural approach allows some grammatical rules to be explained for correction. This category of learners differ from children in that they have a greater ability to consciously understand and apply grammatical rules. Accordingly the proportion of learning

exercises vary according to age and will be used in a judicious manner, since acquisition activities are more important.

5- Because students' errors are allowed to occur without being immediately corrected, learners can express themselves freely without being afraid of making mistakes. This allows the natural order to take its course for it is impossible for students to perform acquired items correctly in the early stage of second language acquisition.

6- The fact that there is no demand for early speech production means that pupils can concentrate on one skill at a time. First, they start improving their general listening comprehension. Speech and writing production emerge as the acquisition process progresses.

7- While comprehensible input is necessary for acquisition, it is not sufficient. According to the principles of the Natural approach, the teacher must create a classroom atmosphere that is secure, friendly and where there is a "low affective filter". Consequently students are more receptive to the input they receive and interact with confidence.

In general terms, the impact of the natural approach on the students is positive. However some negative aspects should be mentioned.

1- For example, communication is not encouraged from the beginning. Initially students are obliged to remain silent until they acquire a minimum of vocabulary and the ability to produce the target language. This will differ from pupil to pupil.

2- It may happen that the input is not sufficient to achieve the understanding of messages. In the beginning, the use of the mother tongue can help learners to grasp the meaning of new vocabulary very quickly rather than a long explanation in the target language accompanied by an exposure of input.

3- The Natural approach, in the beginning, focuses mainly on the listening skill. Some teachers might disagree with this principle and assert that students can be trusted and asked to practise the four skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) at the same time, as in real life.

As pupils acquire the vocabulary, they can learn at the same time how to pronounce and write the new words. Pronunciation is important and should be taught from the beginning because some languages (English for instance) are not phonetically spelled. It may happen that some letters remain silent or may be pronounced differently in different words.

For example, the word "lamb" is pronounced [læm] in an R.P accent.

"chocolate" is pronounced [tʃɒklət] in an R.P accent.

"choir" is pronounced [kwaɪə(r)] in an R.P accent.

The words mentioned above are not of English origin but they have been borrowed from different languages. According to Chambers etymological dictionary (1961)

"Lamb" is borrowed from German "Lamn",

"chocolate" is borrowed from Mexican "chocolatl"

and "choir" is borrowed from French "choeur"

Any English etymological dictionary shows that, like all languages, English is etymological and has borrowed words from several languages. The heterogeneous elements are assimilated so successfully that only the professional linguists are aware of the origin of the cosmopolitan English vocabulary.

On the other hand, the word "bear" and "bare" are spelt differently but pronounced in the same way : [beə] in R.P accent of English.

Of course, these difficulties in pronunciation can be mastered later but it would be better to introduce them gradually to students so that they do not have to face too many difficulties at the same time when they start writing.

4- Unless the teacher varies the classroom activities all the time, students may feel bored and unwilling to practise the same skill (listening) continuously at the beginning. Moreover, children's faculties are limited and it is inconvenient to "stuff" their minds with too much input.

5- The Natural approach does not encourage repetition practice in any form. Patterns may be helpful for encouraging input in the real world as they may help learners manage conversations. Dialogues using these useful patterns are included in the pedagogical programme but they do not constitute a central part.

6- Speech errors are not corrected. So, if making errors is allowed, there is no immediate way that learners can be corrected. Moreover, the mistakes may be repeated by the speakers themselves or by other pupils.

7- As said earlier, Krashen and Terrell think that grammatical structure does not require any explicit analysis or attention by the language learner or in language teaching materials.

The fact that students do not have to understand and learn rules can lead to some problems. Students may feel “lost” without any rules to follow as guidelines when they need it. Thus, rules can be helpful for students if they are taught and learnt properly with examples.

Turning to the disadvantages that the approach can bring for teachers, one can note the following points:

1- The Natural approach increases the activity of teaching. As class time is devoted primarily to providing input for acquisition in the target language, the teacher is responsible for collecting materials and designing their use. He must choose and organize a variety of classroom activities that suit his students' needs. To ensure the comprehensibility of the input, he has to use a multiplicity of gestures, physical commands to help pupils in interpreting the input in the beginning. Thus, the teacher's task is heavy and consists mainly of

- ensuring that the input is comprehensible.
- collecting individual errors in order to correct them indirectly.
- never forcing learners' production which must be spontaneous which means that he has to wait until the students decide to speak by themselves.
- Teachers have to attend continually to the evaluation of students' understanding and progress.

If messages are misunderstood, one can ask how teachers could be aware of it since pupils in the beginning have to remain silent.

- According to the theory of the Natural approach, learners' production must come naturally without being forced. Not all teachers will agree with this idea because some children, especially lazy ones, must be pushed to speak and shy learners

need to be encouraged to do so. Thus, teachers cannot rely all the time on the decision of students to start communicating.

In contrast to the disadvantages, the positive aspects for teachers are the following:

- 1- Grammar is no longer taught as it used to be.
- 2- Pupils are not corrected individually and that helps the teacher to concentrate on the meaning of the learner' s utterances.
- 3- The majority of the Gaelic teachers who were interviewed by the present researcher, and who experimented with some aspects of the Natural approach within their regular programmes, were generally satisfied. They reported great improvements in their students' abilities to use their new language for communication. Thus, the Natural approach is flexible and can be helpful to teachers who want to use part of it or only the aspects they are interested in.

Conclusion

The Natural approach is viewed as being simple and can be easily adapted to a variety of situations including bilingual programmes. However, to regularly provide students with the largest possible amount of input, it requires a lot of teaching materials: computers, audio and video recorders and others which could help to augment the teacher' s input. These are not always available in the classroom in some countries such as in Algeria.

As can be seen, there is no perfect approach and the limitations of one must be compensated by the advantages of the other. As for the case of the Communicative approach, Tamazight teachers would have to draw on various approaches to formulate their "own" according to their pupils' needs and the teaching aids they have in hand.

**CHAPTER 13- TEACHING ASPECTS OF KABYL CULTURE
 IN THE LANGUAGE**

13-1 THE CULTURE OF THE FOLK

Children bring with them to school interests, prejudices, enthusiasms, strengths and limitations formed, in part, through contact with the total culture. This is also the context within which educational institutions pursue their daily work. According to Bantock, G.H (1968) before formal education started, in the late 18th and 19th century, it was possible to distinguish two broad cultures. There was the culture of the upper classes based particularly on the ability to read and write through private tuition, and the culture of the ordinary people or folk, based largely on their tradition of oral communication. The Amazigh culture has to be included in this latter category. As explained by Bantock, G.H (1968; 3) the culture of the folk

sustained a way of life which enabled people to come to terms with the rigours of their environment and the harshness of their economic position with courage and even gaiety. 49

The best expressed their abilities in the community of the folk in the excellence of their craft work, song, dance, tale and creative assimilation of long standing rural tradition. Scientific and technical development in the modern world, as Bantock adds, has pushed common people to education. The need to have workmen who could read and calculate - if only to understand the instructions relating to the machines they are called on to operate - has forced common people to look for education, to get a better job and improve their standard of living. Of course, all this has its effects on the culture of the folk for much of folk culture arose out of work or the relationships that work fostered.

49- Bantock, G.H (1968). p 3.

There were songs that were sung to the loom or that celebrated direct muscular effort like the field or sea shanties. With the coming of industrialisation, the cultural activities of the folk suffered a diminution. However, vestiges of the old rural pattern of life could survive for a time under working-class urban conditions. The setting up of a system of education enabling the total population to enjoy the fruit of literacy led to a social stratification and it was then possible to distinguish between lower, middle and upper class according to people's educational background.

In this study, the major interest is directed towards indigenous minority culture which needs to be defined here.

13-2 THE RELEGATION OF MINORITY CULTURES TO A FOLKLORIC STATUS

It is often the case that in linguistically heterogeneous states with unitary linguistic and educational policies, the culture of a linguistic minority group is denied official recognition, culturally marginalised or devalued, and either totally or largely relegated to the status of a folkloric curiosity. This culture, its richness notwithstanding, is often stripped of all high cultural value and significance and reduced to what might be called a mere tourist attraction or exotic curiosity. This was, for instance, the case of Amazigh culture until the Amazigh Spring in 1980. The phenomenon of acculturation imposed and pursued by the state for so many decades has led to the alienation of certain Tamazight speakers from their language. Some of them refused to speak it in the streets and even teach it to their children. Similar negative implications of the policy of marginalisation of minority cultures have been noticed among other oppressed minority groups whose culture has been devaluated, including the Bretons in France and certain Gaelic and Irish speakers in the United Kingdom. The successive Algerian constitutions regarded Amazigh culture as no more than an historical remnant, a relic not worthy of preservation or revival. In the past, the homage paid to the

Amazigh origins was confined to such oral traditions as Kabyl and Chawi songs and dances.

This was so despite the fact that Algerians are ethnically one people. As a result of historical events (islamisation and arabisation in particular), a significant section of the Amazigh population forgot their language and identity or associated themselves with the dominant and official Arabo-Islamic culture. Consequently, they rejected Amazigh culture which, for centuries, was generally perceived as no more than an historical relic and sometimes even as a factor of national division. Prior to the Amazigh Spring, to claim that Kabyl, Chawi, Tamzabt and other Tamazight varieties are languages was tantamount to expressing anti-nationalist feelings or opinions. While the teaching of foreign languages benefited from important logistical and financial support, the teaching of Tamazight at school was anathema to the state and unthinkable for most. However, a revalorisation of the Tamazight language and culture can be currently noticed. Young generations of Tamazight speakers - even Arabic speakers - are eager and ready to acknowledge their cultural origins and promote their ancestral Amazigh patrimony. Also, in 1995 the Algerian government has finally redressed an historical injustice by recognizing Tamazight as a component of the Algerian culture (see chapter 6-1).

13-3 ON THE COMPONENTS OF ALGERIAN CULTURE

Algerian culture is historically a synthesis of a native Amazigh, a Western and an Oriental culture which converged on the Algerian soil at different points in the history of the Algerian nation. No one can question the notion that there exists no absolutely pure culture and that resistance to cultural change leads, sooner or later, to stagnation or regression of civilization. The Amazigh, Arabic and Islamic cultures account for the three fundamental components of the broad Algerian culture. The influence of the French culture, a legacy of more than a century of French existence in Algeria is significant but not as deep-rooted as that

of the three other main cultures. Though some Algerians express strong objections to the maintenance of the language of a former colonising power, the presence of the French language is still strong in Algeria, especially in the domains of media, education and administration.

Schematically, the Algerian culture can be represented by a set of interleaving rectangulars and circles as in the diagrams 13.3.1 and 13.3.2 below:

the different components of Algerian culture

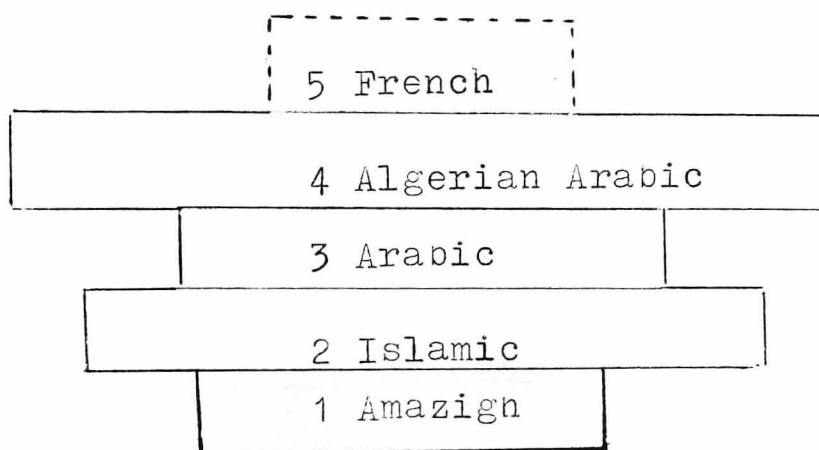


Diagram 13.3.1

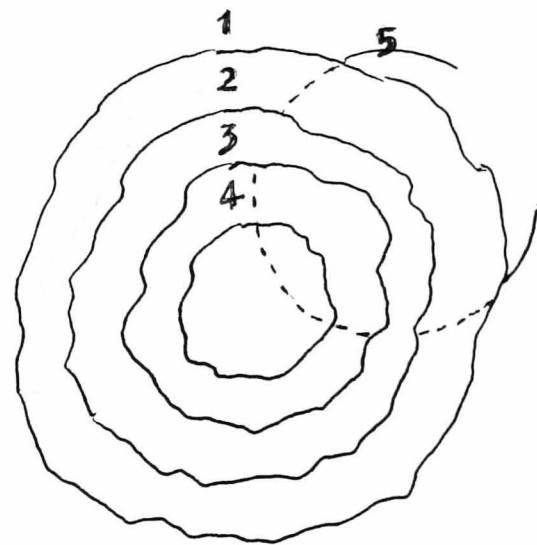


Diagram 13.3.2

The superposed rectangulars of different size represent the historical evolution of the different components (or sub-cultures) of Algerian culture. As is clear from the figure above, that culture is composite and to remain as such Algerians would have to guard against the possibility of one component overwhelming another.

1- Amazigh culture

Amazigh culture, represented by 1 on diagram 13.3.1, constitutes the very foundation of Algerian national culture. It is the more ancient of the various sub-cultures presently interacting within the Algerian context. It is the basic identity of all Algerians over which other foreign cultures developed historically one after the other.

2- Islamic and Arabic cultures

Islam and the Arabic language are generally thought of as two components of one single culture. The presence of Islam and the Arabic language in Algeria dates back to the Islamic conquest of North Africa in 710 AD. Though the Arabs embarked on a massive process of Arabisation, important sections of the native Algerian population have managed to maintain their original culture and the use of their native language. In the past, some groups (or tribes) had even changed the original form of Islam, transforming the latter into religious doctrines (e.g., Shiism, Kharedjism and Berghonatism) opposing the Arab conquerors. Since Algerian society had kept its cultural specificity, one might say that Algeria was Islamised without being totally Arabised. The native population adapted Islam, adjusting it to a proper mentality already shaped by a centuries-old history and to the social and economical realities resulting from contact with the modern industrial world in the 19th and 20th centuries. They understood the necessity of overpassing Arabity and Islamity without denying them.

3- Algerian Arabic culture

Algerian Arabic culture, indicated by 4 on the diagram 13.3.1, is the most important of the various sub-cultures interacting within Algerian society. It is the culture of all Algerians, both Arabic and Tamazight speakers. Used mainly orally, this popular culture is of great richness and differs from one region to another according to the needs of the different communities and the various contacts and interactions these communities have had in the past with other communities.

4- French culture

French culture (represented by dotted lines on the diagram 13.3.2), the legacy of a 130 years of French colonial rule, enjoys at present a special status, with the French language still in use in school, administration and in the media. Algeria was impregnated by the French culture for more than a century and

still maintains with that culture intimate historico-sociological relations. During the colonial era, a category of Algerians acquired French language and culture without foregoing their own Arabic or Tamazight culture. As a result, French culture in Algeria finds itself in a position of immigration, a no-man's land between two societies, the French society on one side and the Algerian society on the other. The French language, and by implication, French culture still plays a vital role within Algerian society, its status of cultural immigration notwithstanding. But the position of French culture has certainly changed during the last two decades as a result of the Arabization programme launched by the Algerian government. One of the consequences of this process of arabisation is the tendency of young generations of Algerians to speak Algerian Arabic, as spoken by "purifying" from French borrowing words. As shown on diagram 13.3.2, French culture overlaps Arabic, Algerian Arabic and Amazigh cultures, but not the Islamic one which remains sacred and thus impenetrable. As with people, when a language such as French here, is in a position of immigration, it has to face two possible destinies in the future. Either French culture will further penetrate and influence Algerian culture or it will disappear very slowly because it is not used by young generations who might prefer to learn and use English, the international language, rather than French.

Conclusion

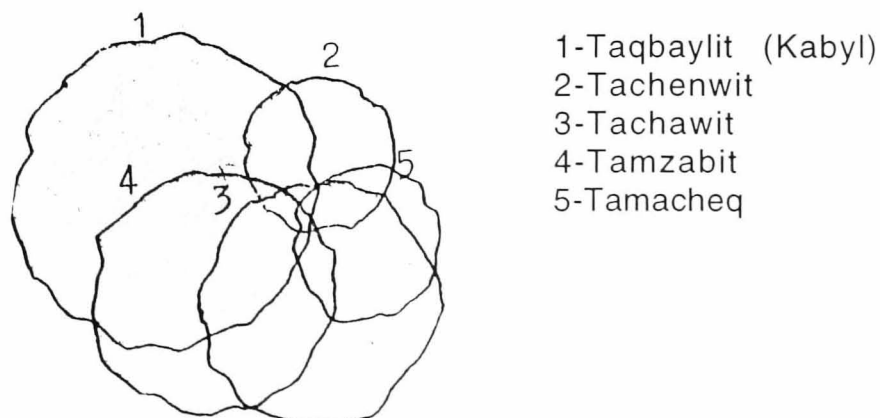
As described above, Algerian culture is composite and it consists in Amazighicity, Islamicity and Arabicity and partly French culture. The latter is actually in an unstable situation and its status in the future will depend on Algerian government policy and mainly on the will of young Algerians to keep the language alive. As regards the other components, the Algerian state and people who wish to help their culture flourish have to respect and promote all the components of Algerian culture and more

particularly Amazigh culture which has been neglected for thousands of years and needs nowadays to be re-evaluated.

13-4 WHAT IS THE AMAZIGH CULTURE?

As explained in the previous section 13.3.1, the indigenous Tamazight culture is in fact the foundation of Algerian culture and the base on which other cultures (Arabic, Islamic and French) developed. Rejected for such a long time, Amazigh culture, including the language, survived mainly through an oral tradition until scholars, such as Mouloud Mammeri, gave the language a written form to support other aspects of culture. **Taqbaylit** (Kabyl), **Tachenwit** (Chenoui), **Tachawit**, (Chaoui), **Tamzabit** (Mozabite) and **Tamacheq/Tamaheg** (Targui) constitute the components of Amazigh culture and probably others which may be discovered in the future. This is not only in Algeria but throughout the whole of North Africa: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Niger, Mauritania and in the Canary islands. As shown on the diagram 13.4.1, these components of the Algerian Amazigh culture, overlap. They have some features in common in the domain of history, art, social organisation, traditions and language (in the grammatical and lexical point of view in some aspects). However, differences between them can be noticed (the political and social organisation of the Kabyls in the north and the Tuareg in the south for instance) because they all developed and evolved in different geographical areas. As a result, the dress, food, dwellings, entertainment and other aspects of life of the different groups have been adapted to their different needs according to the environment where they have been living.

Diagram 13.4.1: the different components of the Amazigh culture



The past is made of a set of references about the personality and the origins of a people. Thanks to traditions, a society can regenerate by taking account the lessons of the past.

As far as the Amazigh past is concerned, the civilizations which developed successively in North Africa left numerous funerary monuments built under local architectural styles or borrowed from the Phoenician, Greek and Roman art. Historical studies and research conducted in this field revealed Amazigh cultural peculiarities in the domains of housing, dress, art and craft, food, customs, religion, and social and political organisation. Hence, relics of the Amazigh past from which one can extract valuable knowledge may be bits of bone, pots, weapons, jewellery, ornaments, tools, coins, paintings, engravings, remains of buildings and others. That is why historians nowadays collaborate with researchers such as archeologists, anthropologists, archivists, sociologists, geologists and linguists in order to construct a more accurate understanding of the ancestors of the present Amazigh people and culture.

1-Archaeological field: prehistoric sources

(i) Rock paintings and rock engravings

The Sahara desert contains a great number of prehistoric rock-paintings and rock-engravings (see illustrations A, B, C, pages 424-426). One can find hundreds upon hundreds of painted walls on which are depicted human and animal figures. Sometimes, the scenes are clear enough and also related to everyday life or the spiritual and religious existence of the different types of people who lived in the desert and in sites which are now occupied by the Tuaregs their descendants. To paint delightful scenes from their lives, they chose cavelike overhanging rocks, though it may well be that paintings in less protected spots have perished and only those protected by rock canopies have survived. The more beautiful frescoes are to be found in the Tassili N'Ajjer which lies to the north east of the Hoggar. It is a relatively inaccessible

plateau where a considerable number of secondary massifs rise, all heavily eroded. These drawings can be found in the valley and slopes of the massif of Figuig, Ksour mountains and in the Atlas mountains in the Fezzan (present-day Libya). They are numerous in the heart of the desert (Hoggar) and rare in the north of the Maghreb. However, some have been found in the Constantine region and others in the surroundings of Tebessa (plateau of Dyr, Saf-Saf, valley of the Wadi Halliail) probably in the places where a few ancestors of the Imazighen settled.

Rock paintings have been found in such great numbers that it is still difficult to categorize them. According to Lhote, H (1959) they belong to a school unknown so far and one that apparently was of local origin. They are largely assigned to the Neolithic period.

One can notice that in the world of hunting, the human form was not represented at all. One might say that man has not yet been discovered as an object worthy of representation, but later, in the second group of rock pictures produced by cattle-rearing nomads, men left their traces. According to some researchers, the hunters penetrated into the uplands of the Sahara in the middle of the Neolithic age. The French historian Gardi, R (1970) for instance, asserts that they presumably came from the Middle East and, by a variety of routes, made their way right across the whole North part of Africa. It may be assumed that they crossed the Sudan and then turned North to the mountain valleys of the Sahara, displacing or absorbing the hunter people living there. Similarly, Spencer, W (1969; 28) believes that:

Five thousand years ago, herds of horsemen entered the plateaux. They intermarried with the darker peoples already established there, and as ancestors of the modern Saharans, organized a satisfactory way of life. 50

50- Spencer, W (1969; 28). The Land and People of Algeria. Lippincott. Philadelphia. USA.

Historians agreed that these horsemen came from the North East via the Cyrenai and the Fezzan (present-day Libya). They had been pushed South by the different invaders (Vandals, Romans and others) who captured their fertile lands and forced them to seek refuge in the high mountainous regions of the Sahara. They advanced progressively over time towards the South-West (Tassili, Hoggar, Adrar des Ifoghas) and towards the West following the Atlas foothills. Their descendants, the Tuaregs, went on to assert their domination over both the descendants of the Ethiopians and Bovidians who constitute nowadays the black population of the oases. They are known as "Harratin" (meaning farmers in Arabic).

The Garamantes, the horsemen of Mediterranean origin dominated the Saharans and lived a nomadic life. Simultaneously, the invaded black people who could no longer feed their huge herds of oxen either moved South towards Niger, Senegal and Tchad or settled in the oases under the authority of the white nomads. The Garamantes left their pictures on the rocks of the Sahara and Atlas mountains. They liked to wear a head dress of ostrich feathers, and tight fitting tunics. They used a schematic style of art to represent themselves along with their horses or hunting lions or ostriches. The conquered black people were no longer represented but this is hardly surprising since only the dominant group has the right to figure in official art. Once the Garamantes abandoned their horse-driven carriage, they became exclusively horsemen and were known as "Gétules". They are believed to be the direct ancestors of the Tuareg of today.

Later, the lands of the Sahara became uninhabitable for both man and beast and re-emerged as a modest settlement area only when the camel was imported from South-West Asia, providing a means of transport capable of bridging the long distances between the habitable oases. The great caravan routes across vast distances came into being along with a camel-based nomadic life, supported principally by the exchange of a great variety of merchandise in the oases. The last camel period has also left its trace throughout the desert. The paintings are usually found along or near ancient

caravan routes, frequently accompanied by writing either in Arabic script or in Tifinagh.

Although the Sahara is described by Lhote, H (1959; 12) as “the greatest museum of prehistoric art in the whole world”, the largest desert in the world still retains many of its secrets. The information that different researchers have obtained from the drawings of the ancient Tuareg, one Amazigh group, constitute at best a fragmentary picture. In fact, very little is known about these people and the knowledge the scholars have managed to collect is generally based on their interpretations or on the result of the work of different researchers who deal more with the possibilities and little about certainties. As Lhote, H (1959; 11) asserts

It must not be concealed finally that a good deal of what is represented in the numerous rock-paintings cannot be interpreted at all. Even when the subject matter can be made out, the motives and ideas underlying the paintings remain hidden. 51

Thus if we cannot rely totally on the drawings found on rocks in the Sahara to learn about the pre-history of Imazighen who lived in that region, other forms of Amazigh art exist and can be analyzed: pottery, monuments, fortresses, collective warehouses and others. They may throw a different light on certain aspects of Amazigh culture and history.

(ii) Funerary monuments

The study of burial rites helped researchers to discover the link between the pre-history and the history of Imazighen. Accordingly, Berthier, A (1951; 45) states that the Imazighen and Garamantes populations have preserved till fairly recently the tradition of constructing analogous sepulchres.

51- Lhote, H (1959; 11) The Search for the Tassili Frescoes. Hutchinson. London.

Berthier notes:

Il est certain que les populations Berbères et Garamantiques ont conservé jusqu' à une époque voisine de la nôtre l' habitude de construire des sépultures analogues

It is certain that the Garamantic and Berber peoples maintained until an epoch close to ours the tradition of constructing analogous sepulchres. 52

(my translation)

While common people were buried beneath simple stone tumuli, the Ibico-Berbers, drivers of chariots and ancestors of the Tuareg Garamantes who became afterwards the horsemen Getules, had built grander funeral monuments, sometimes even 300 yards long in the Tassili N'Ajjer. These monuments were of different shapes sometimes crescent-shaped with narrow antennas stretching eastwards, sometimes circular with a passage leading out of the tumulus. They have also been found in the shapes of large "bazinas" with shelves displaying an array of various cult objects (see illustration D, page 427). The Garamantes and Getules went on building these monuments until the introduction of Islam forced them to change their burial customs. Then afterwards, a flat tomb with headstone was adopted by their descendants. According to Camps, G (1980) the stone tumuli which headstone was adopted by their descendants. The stone tumuli which are believed to be autochthonous had been found everywhere in North Africa. On the contrary, the Dolmens and Hypoges were located in certain areas of Algeria and Tunisia. Of Mediterranean origin, they are unknown in the Sahara. Nowadays, the Dolmens are called in the Aures "Chouchet" and the Hypoges "Hanout" meaning "shop" in Arabic.

52- Berthier, A (1951; 45) Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord. Hachette. Paris.

In this respect, Berthier, A (1951; 21) notes:

C' est une plus grande population encore qui se révèle à nous à l' époque protohistorique. Les témoins de cette civilisation sont les dolmens, les enceintes de pierres dites Cromlechs, les tumulus en pierre, les tours funéraires.

Quand les populations qui manifestaient ces usages funéraires surent écrire, elles employèrent un alphabet composé de signes très simples ressemblant aux caractères Tifinagh encore utilisés maintenant par les Tuaregs.

A greater population was still existing at the protohistoric period. Testifying to this civilisation are the dolmens, the surroundings stones walls known as Cromlechs, the tumuli and the funerary towers.

Once the people revealing such funerary usages got to know how to write, they employed an alphabet consisting of very simple signs analogous to the Tifinagh characters still used nowadays by the Tuaregs. 53

(my translation)

(iii) Prestigious monuments: fortresses

In the south of Morocco, the ancestors of Imazighen left castles of stones and earth nowadays known as "Tighemt" (see illustration E, page 428). These monuments built with elementary materials are real works of art. Their austere façades are generally enhanced with decorative geometrical motifs which are similar in many ways to motifs found on wooden furniture in Kabylia and on carpets, blankets and pots in the Aures and M'Zab today. These fortresses are very fragile and some of them are already in ruins. The stronger and most attractive of them have been renovated and transformed into hotels. In fact, in the past, these prodigious dwellings used to belong to an Amazigh rural elite. This explains why they are not very commonly found in North Africa.

53- Berthier, A (1951; 21). Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord. Hachette. Paris.

(iv) Collective warehouses

Along arid regions of the south of the Maghreb the same Amazigh custom of building collective warehouses can be noticed (see illustration F, page 429). These important buildings were given different names according to the places where they had been built: "Agadir" in the south of Morocco, "Guelaa" in the Aures and "Rhorfa" in the south of Tunisia. Each Amazigh family is allowed to keep its reserve of cereals (or dried fruit and vegetables) in one or two "niches" especially designed for this purpose. This reflects the principles of equality which are still fundamental to Amazigh society nowadays.

(v) Pottery

A great number of pots of many different forms relative to their different functions have been found within the burial monuments of the ancient Imazighen. These are still used nowadays in all Amazigh villages. Large dishes with raised edges, quite similar to the "tadjin" (pot) to cook bread have also been discovered (see illustration G, page 430). Holes on the hands of the dishes and pots allowed them to be hung on the walls of their dwellings in exactly the same way as it is done nowadays throughout Amazigh regions. This design feature bears valuable witness to the continuity of past Amazigh way of life. Researchers have also unearthed this type of pottery in cereal-growing areas and this corresponds to the domestic earthenware used today by settled populations whose staple diet is corn.

(vi) Wooden furniture and tapestry

Wooden furniture and tapestry are decorated with the same geometrical motifs as in the past. The famous Kabyl coffer (trunk) which generally was the only important piece of furniture where people used to keep their valuables: money, jewellery,

weapons etc. is decorated with quite different designs from the ones used in pottery. The motifs are often composed of small panels nailed on the front which give the coffer an architectural quality. The same themes are generally used in tapestry and door decoration. The most frequent motif elements are the "rosace" (an hexagonal motif which resemble the petals of a rose) and the four bowled cross (a cross with bowl-shaped extremities - see illustration 1, page 433). According to Camps, G (1980) this cross cannot suggest the conversion to Christianity of the ancient Imazighen during the Roman occupation, as similar ones have been found engraved on rocks in the high Atlas next to Bronze age weapons, a thousand years before the Christian area. Thus, the hexagram and bowled cross are two motif elements which prove the continuity and permanence of Amazigh art. The Kabyl coffer described above is ancient. Two of them found in Punic tombs (in Ksour-es-saf and Gighithis in Tunisia) are now displayed in the Tunisian Bardo museum. They are similar in shape, dimension and design to the ones used presently in Kabylia and even in their usage. whereas in the past, loved ones were buried in it, nowadays, precious things are kept in it. Thus as Camps, G (1980; 294) asserts:

Le style Kabyle a plus de 2000 ans d'existence.

The Kabyl style has a history stretching back
over 2000 years. 54

(my translation)

Funeral monuments, fortresses, collective warehouses, pottery, tapestry motives and wooden furniture described above, are all markers of a common Amazigh culture. Other features which can reveal the Amazigh past can be used as well. For example, the written stones in Tifinar scripts found in different regions in Algeria, weapons, human skeletons and the fragments of shells of snails with which the ancestors of Imazighen used to feed.

54- Camps, G (1980; 294) Berbères aux marges de l'Histoire. Hespérides. Paris.

Present-day Amazigh culture is as rich and diverse as it used to be in the past. It consists of the common culture shared by the five Imazighen communities described in sub-chapter 3.1, plus aspects of culture specific to each Amazigh group (Kabyl, Chenwi, Chawi, Tamzabt and Targui). The oral Amazigh tradition is transmitted to children through songs, poems, proverbs, tales, epics and others.

In this research, focus is given to the Kabyl culture which has been chosen as a case study. However, one has not to forget that Kabyl culture is only a component of the Amazigh culture which extends not only in some parts of Algeria but throughout North Africa.

ILLUSTRATION A

Rock paintings and engravings dating from the Neolithic age.
(Most of the colours have nowadays vanished)



Fig1 : Lion hunters at the beginning of the Neolithic age
(found in the Tassili N'Ajjer - Algeria)



fig 2: hunter (Tassili N'Ajjer - Algeria)

Source: Camps, G (1980; 58-61) Berbères aux marges de l'histoire.
Editions des Hespérides. Paris.

ILLUSTRATION B

Rock paintings and engravings of the Neolithic age



fig 3: Bividian epoch. The oxen carry frames for hut construction on their horns.
(painting found in Jabbaren shelter - Tassili N'Ajjer)

Source: Camps, G (1980; 72) Berbères aux marges de l'histoire.
Editions des Hespérides. Paris.

ILLUSTRATION C

Rock paintings and engravings in the period of horses and carts

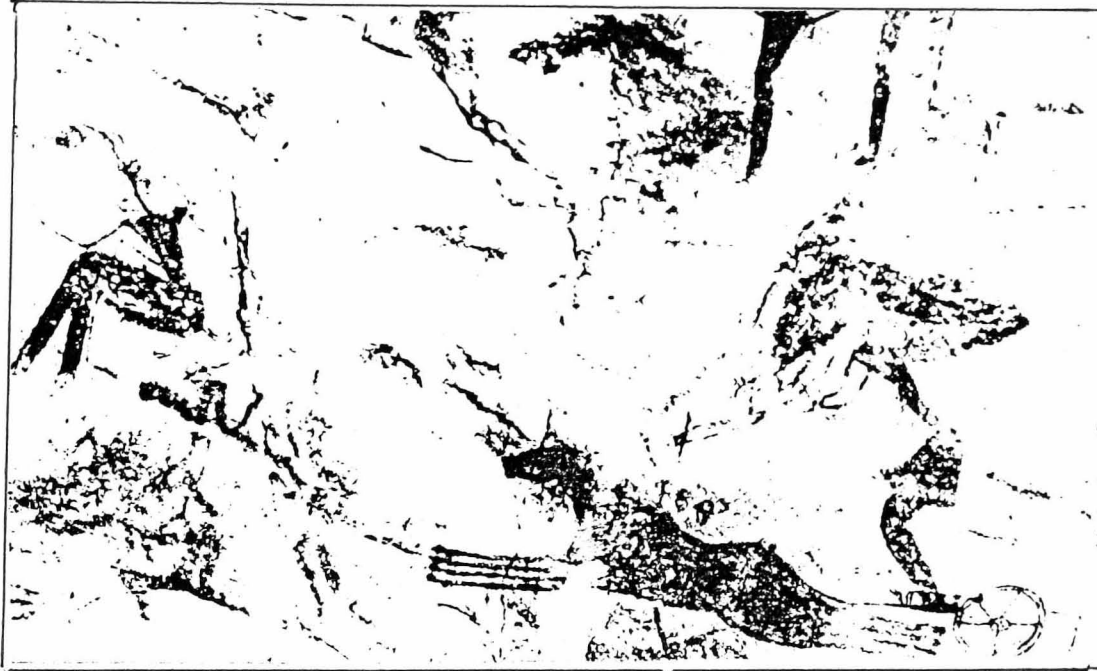


Fig 4 : paintings in the equestrian style found at Tamadjert (Tassili)

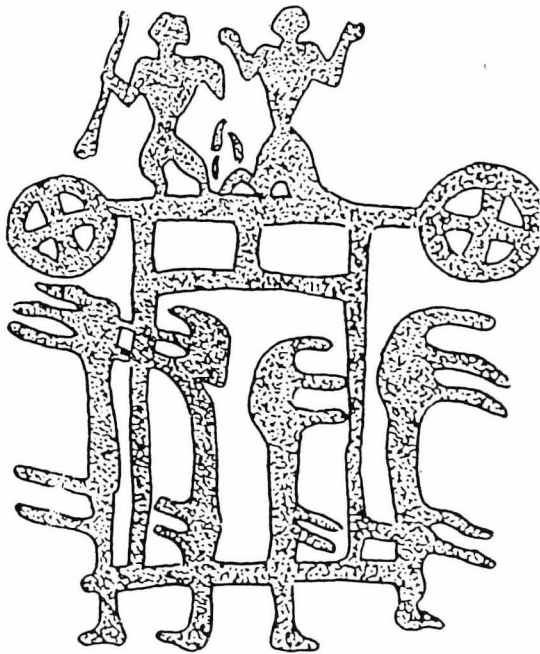


Fig 5: quadriga-drawing found in Fezzan (present Libya)



Fig 6: a hunter with his horse

Source: Camps, G (1980; 68) Berbères aux marges de l'histoire. Hespérides. Paris.

ILLUSTRATION D
Funerary monuments



Fig 7: V shaped funerary monument



Fig 8: Funerary monument made of stones
in the shape of antenna

Source: Camps, G (1980; 68) Berbères aux marges de l'histoire.
Hespérides. Paris.

ILLUSTRATION E
Fortresses



Fig 9 : “Tighemt” (Kasba in Arabic) built in M’dint
(South of Morocco)

Source : Camps, G (1980; 278) Berbères aux marges de l' Histoire.
Hespérides. Paris.

ILLUSTRATION F
Collective warehouses

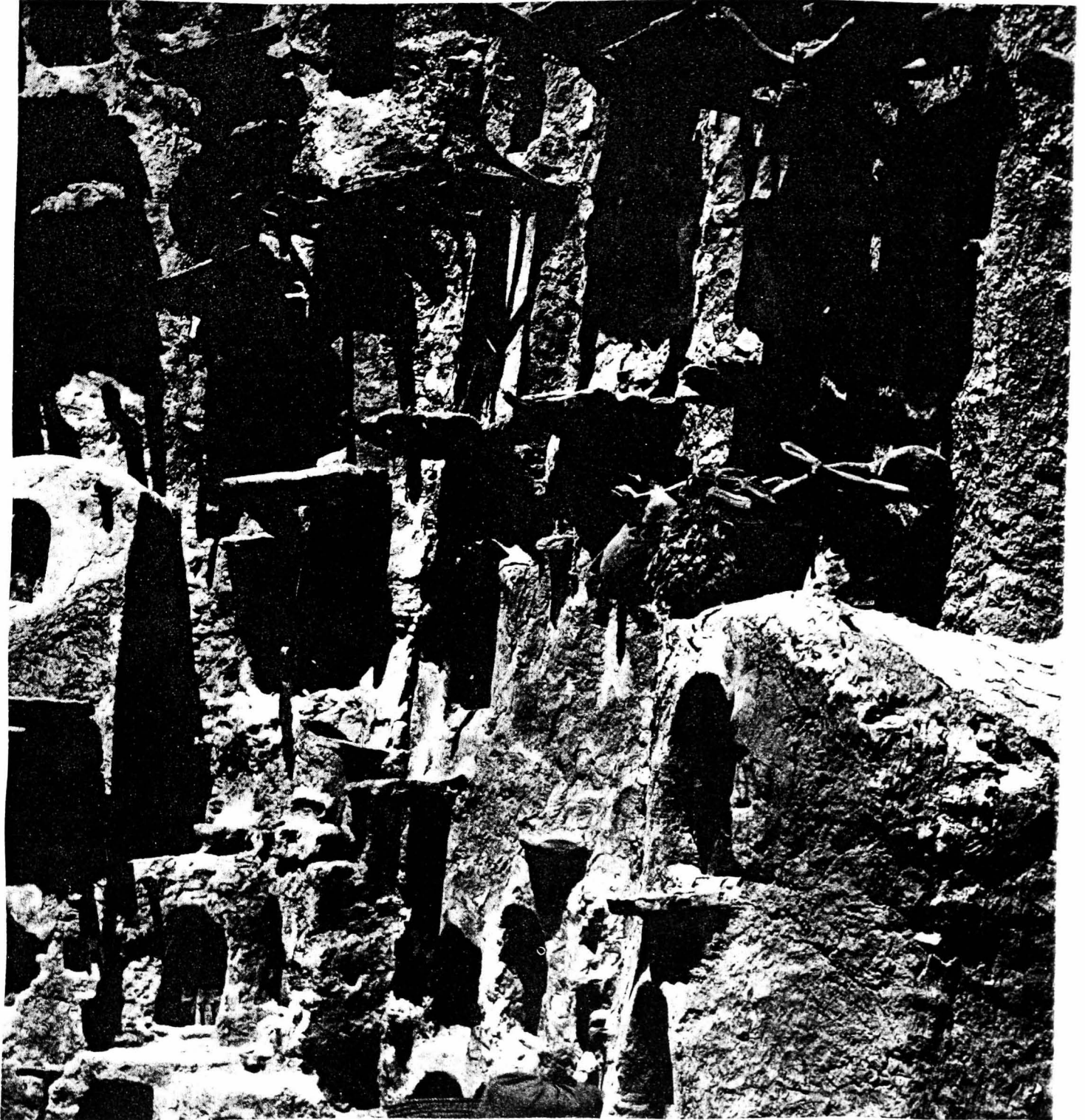


Fig 10: collective warehouses in Benian (Aures. Algeria)
Source: Camps, G (1980: 280) Berbères aux marges de l' Histoire.
Hespérides. Paris.

ILLUSTRATION G
Ancient pottery



Fig 11: vases from 2nd century B.C. found in the Tiddis (present-day Constantine) and on display at Bardo museum in Algiers.

The symbols (such as arrows, double-hooks etc.) are still used, under the same shapes, in Higher and Lower Kabylia. This indicates the continuity of tradition down through 2000 years.

Source : Moreau, J.B. (1976; 37). Les grands symboles Méditerranéens dans la poterie Algérienne. SNED. Alger.

ILLUSTRATION G
Present-day pottery

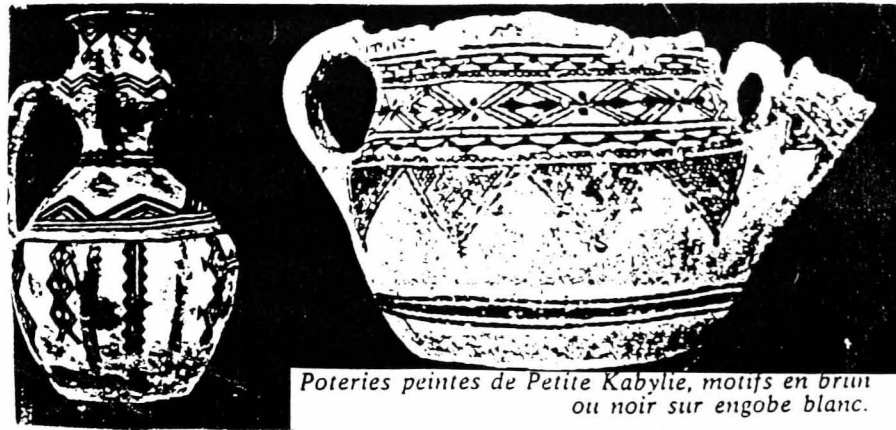


Fig 11: painted pottery of Lower Kabylia

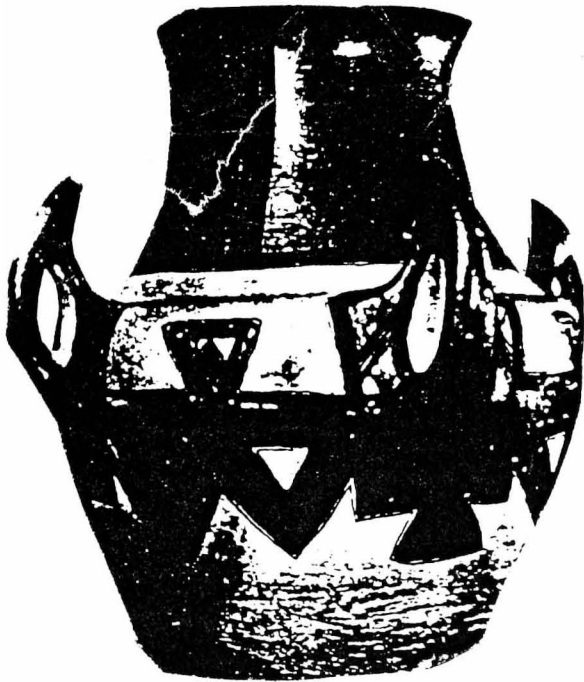


Fig 12: vase for storing dried food (Higher Kabylia)

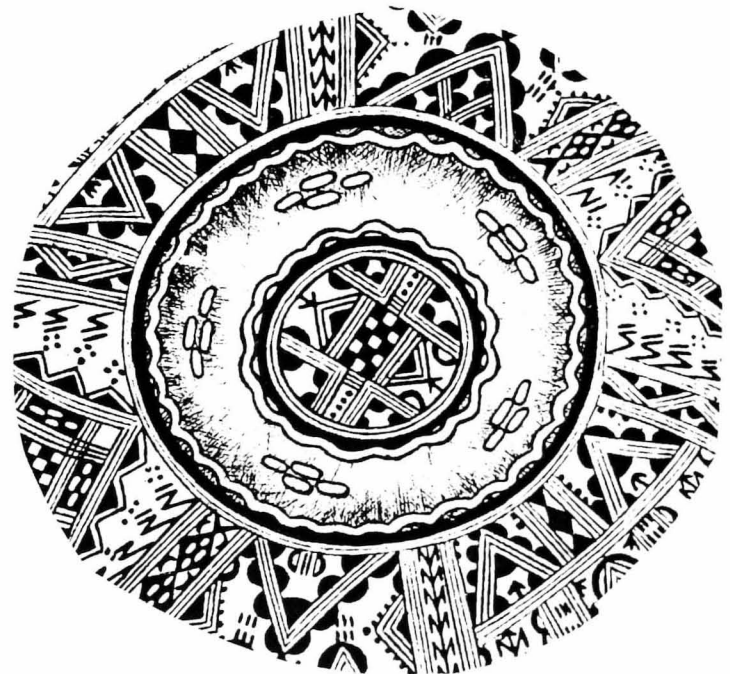


Fig 13: plate (Higher Kabylia)

Source: Camps, G (1980; 287-291) Berbères aux marges de l'Histoire. Hespérides. Paris.

ILLUSTRATION H
Tapestry

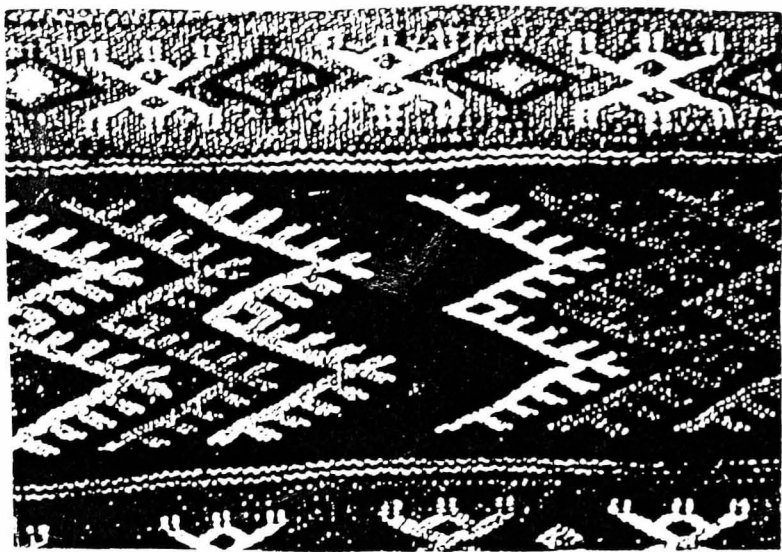
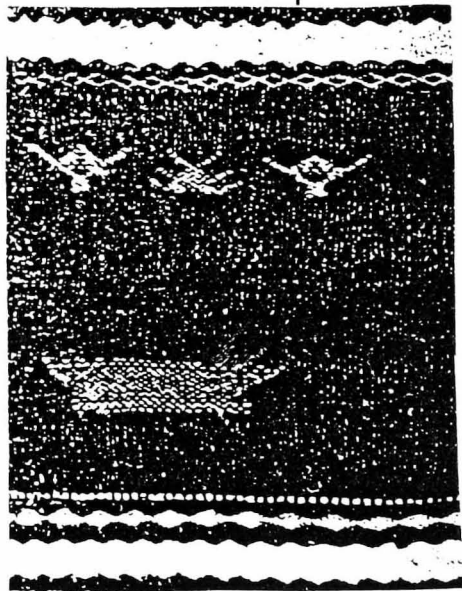


Fig 15: decoration motif of a carpet made in Aures (Algeria)



Motifs d'un tapis de Ghardaïa (Mzab).

Fig 16: motifs of a carpet made in Ghardaia (M' Zab-Algeria)

Source: Camps, G (1980; 292) Berbères aux marges de l' Histoire.
Hespérides. Paris.

ILLUSTRATION I

Decorative motives on wooden furniture

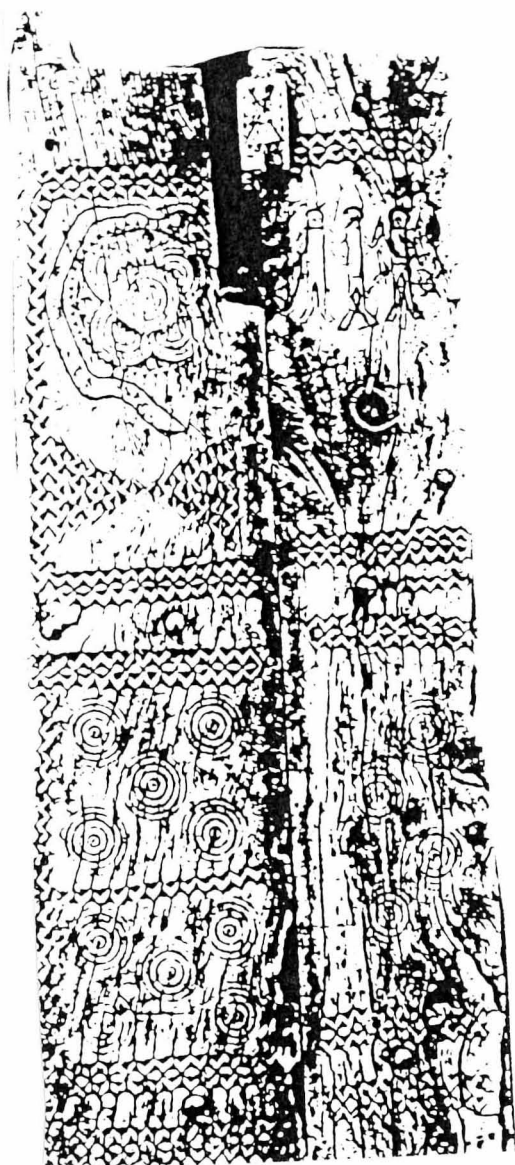


Fig 17: engraved wooden door
(Higher Kabylia)

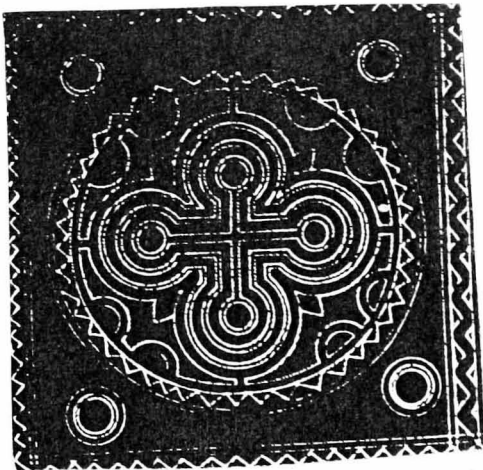


Fig18: cross motif sculptured on
a trunk found in Guergour
(Kabylia)

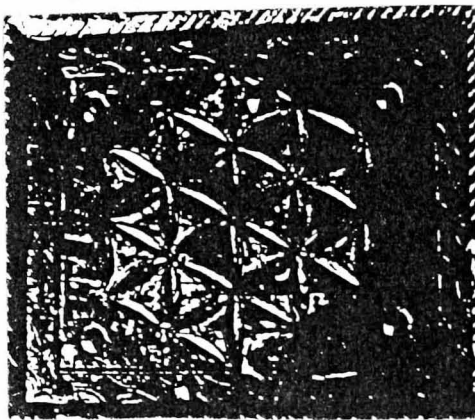


Fig 19: sculptured pannel
of a Kabyl trunk decorated
with the motif of hexagon.

Source: Camps, G (1980; 194-295) Berbères aux marges de l' histoire.
Hespérides. Paris.

13-5 WHAT IS KABYL CULTURE?

Kabyl culture is specific to Kabylia where several mutually intelligible dialects are spoken as a means of communication. Like the other Amazigh sub-cultures, Kabyl culture is rich and is never exactly the same from one region to another, from one tribe to another. However, these dialects have more in common with each other than differences. From a linguistic point of view, research undertaken in Lower Kabylia in the surroundings of Bgayeth town by Madoui, K (1995) revealed that the differences are frequently phonetic, morphological and lexical. Based on this research, Madoui concludes that the diversity of Kabyl in Lower Kabylia is superficial rather than structural. Needless to say that further research is needed in order to establish the unity of Kabyl in Lower Kabylia.

Some aspects of Kabyl culture have already been discussed in chapter 4-2. Other aspects of this same culture which can be taught to children at school need to be explained here.

1- The Traditional Oral Kabyl Culture

It is composed of tales (**amachahu**), poems (**isefra**), various songs (**acaweq**), religious songs, cradle-songs and others sung by traditional women during olive and fig harvesting, weaving, pottery working or simply while rolling couscous.

Oral culture tends to be regarded as something belonging to the past but one should not forget that the more advanced countries in the world, such as Japan, understood that traditionalism and modernism are not incompatible and that both complement each other. It is commonly thought that to know one's culture, one has to look at the past. The traditional Kabyl culture which is transmitted orally, is of great beauty to anyone who can appreciate it. In addition to its recreational value, the Kabyl oral culture in its various forms of poetry and songs, has for centuries conveyed universal principles of morality, general knowledge, natural sciences and traditions. It cements relationships among

the members of the community and cultivates the right atmosphere of peaceful co-existence necessary for its well being and progress. Works of scholars such as Boulifa, Feraoun and Mouloud Mammeri who gave a written form to Muhend U M'Hend's poetry saved the Kabyl culture from disappearance and prevented it from falling into oblivion.

As a marginal poet, Si Muhend U M'hend was not in the beginning an **Amusnaw** (a wise Kabyl man). Most of his poems were not recognized as being up to the standard of **Tamusni** (Kabyl knowledge and wisdom) but later it has been accepted as such, thanks to the explanations of his poems given by scholars mentioned above.

The term **Tamusni** derives from the Kabyl verb **issin** meaning "to know". Thus **Tamusni** is knowledge but, it means more than that in the Kabyl language because it includes a certain skill in doing things, the art of speaking and living according to specific Kabyl social values.

2- Modern Kabyl written culture

Several books dealing with the Kabyl language and culture for children and adults are presently available in Algeria. With regard to Kabyl tales for children, Nacib, Y (1991) in his book: **Contes du Djurdjura** suggests a great number. Lacoste-Dujardin, C (1991) in her book: **Le Conte Kabyle** (1991) provides the meaning of Kabyl tales and the explanation of the selected themes. **Recueil de poésie Kabyle** (1980) is another book about Kabyl poetry written by Yacine, Y and translated from French to Kabyl. The poems of Si Muhend U M'Hend have been translated by Mammeri (1989) in the book: **Inna-Yas Ccix Muhend** (Cheikh Mohand Said). Important detailed information about Kabyl geography, history, customs are provided through verse.

The history of the Imazighen is narrated in three volumes by Gaid, M (1990) in his book **Les Berbères dans l'histoire**. Sadi, S (1991) presently president of the political party RCD (Assembly for Democracy and Culture) wrote a novel entirely in Kabyl Tamazight: **Askuti**. From the linguistic point of view, Nait-

Zerrad, K (1995) published two volumes about the grammar of Kabyl *Tajerrumt N Tmazijt* (Tantala Taqbaylit).

The books listed above are only a sample of recent Kabyl literature. They can be used as teaching aids for bilingual education in Kabylia and even in other Tamazight-speaking regions.

In addition other facets of Kabyl culture are expressed through a very wide range of media which will now be indicated.

a- Kabyl music and musical instruments

Kabyl music is the best known of all Amazigh music. This is due to the Kabyl singers such as Taos Amrouche, Idir, Djamel Allem and others who succeeded in introducing Kabyl music in different towns in Algeria and abroad (see chapter 5-2).

Music plays an important role in people's life portraying the numerous manifestations of everyday life: birth, circumcision, marriage, religious feasts. In several Kabyl villages, as in other Amazigh-speaking regions, musicians and poets travel from one village to another to introduce and sing their compositions to the population. Among the most famous traditional Kabyl instruments are **abendir** (drum) and **taggefart** (flute). One can notice as well the introduction of Arabic instruments such as the "derbuka" and more recently modern instruments such as piano, violin, double-bass and others.

b- Kabyl dances

Unlike Kabyl music and songs, Kabyl dances have not been modernized and still remain the same for centuries. Nowadays, Kabyl women, men and children dance in the same way as their parents and grand-parents used to do.

c- Children Kabyl games

Games change from one generation to another and differ according to social classes and technical progress. Nowadays, very few Kabyl children have access to games in computers and the majority of them, for economic reasons, still make their own

toys by rudimentary means, pieces of wood or cloth, stones or leaves. With a lot of imagination and skill, little girls make their own dolls with two pieces of wood forming a cross with which they play for long hours, dressing and undressing them and speaking to them about topics which affect their childhood life. With cardboard boxes, they build houses similar to their own with gardens (**tibhirin**) where they grow vegetables in the same way their mothers used to do. One of the most popular game for girls, as everywhere in the world, is still the doll's dinner-party (**timniwelt**). Girls learn how to peel vegetables and how to cook. Usually, Kabyl children play games collectively but boys and girls rarely play together. These different interests arise naturally it seems and are not a result of a conscious imposition of gender roles. Generally, boys prefer to play more violent games than girls. Those who do not possess a plastic pistol use branches of reed or elder-tree (**awruri**) to make their own.

Kabyl boys make twirls with the use of figs. At the beginning of summer, they pick up big fruit from the fig-tree, empty them and stick a needle in the middle of the fig. The fruit starts turning on itself very quickly as soon as the child starts blowing over it.

Boys, like girls, but separately, play also the **timbibbit** game which consists of carrying a friend on one's back. This simple game is in fact the repetition of the way Kabyl women carry their baby on their back.

d- Kabyl Cookery

The cuisine of a particular area is, of course, influenced by its history, traditions and culture. Each community has its own way of cooking food. **Ikerbaben** is a Kabyl dish unique to Kabylia in a similar way to haggis in Scotland.

According to Haddadou, M.A (1995; 140), the traditional Algerian dish **seksu** (couscous) is an Amazigh invention. In Kabylia, it is made in a variety of ways and the taste of the dish changes according to the spices, the dried and fresh vegetables used to prepare the dish. Adding olive oil instead of butter to the rolled semolina might change the flavour of the couscous. The

earthenware or aluminium pot in which the dish is cooked is important as well. In certain areas in Kabylia, it is still women who make their own cooking pots in a traditional way. Using one's hand, a wooden or a steel spoon to eat is a cultural manner and even today both wooden and aluminium cutlery are used in Kabylia.

e- Kabyl weaving

This very ancient female activity is still taught by old traditional Kabyl women in some villages. Their specific tapestry form is known as **azdil**. The other way of weaving tapestry called **azban** is taught at professional centres where the secrets of weaving are transmitted from one generation to another. The most famous carpets are made in the village of Ait-Hichem where women are specialized in this craft. The traditional weaving instruments such as **tamadbazt** (the wooden club), **izdi** (spindle) and **azzouz** (maul) are still made and used by women. Research undertaken in Kabylia to discover the meaning of the symbols used in carpets weaving (tapestry) revealed that three categories of designs are used by women: animal figures, plant shapes, and other forms related to the experience of women in Kabylia and to some magical practices. The geometrical forms (lozenges, triangles, zigzags) carefully executed, convey Kabyl moral value. For instance, the lozenge decorated with a central point, and known as the partridge eye, represents the Kabyl woman in her beauty, whereas the lozenge with four parallel lines in the middle and two capital letters "D" on both sides, represents a candle, the symbol of man. The heads of animals, snake, scorpion, and toad are used as symbols for a social practice: sorcery. When the happiness of a married couple or of a family is in danger, traditional women used those symbols to defend it. As can be noticed, art has not always an aesthetic aim but can also transmit a social reality. That is why the designs found on Kabyl tapestry, carpets, pottery, body tattoos and wall paintings require careful attention from researchers to understand and interpret them properly.

f- Kabyl pottery

The most famous pottery is made by the women of the **Maatkas**, a village situated about twenty kilometres from Tizzi-Wuzzu, capital of Higher Kabylia.

Traditional Kabyl women use motifs on pottery to express their intimacy, dreams, and deep feelings. They reveal as well the social and cultural everyday life of the society where they are living and the traditions they keep and transmit down the centuries.

The motifs Kabyl women use on pottery allow them to preserve their memories and their everyday experiences independent of male influence. Since ancient times, as today, the symbol has always been an effective means of communication. Like the Kabyl weavers, painters and potters, women decorated the walls of their house using symbols related to stars, cycles of seasons, and to the rural civilisation. They have achieved those representations through the exploitation of natural material and the use of plant and vegetable dyes in particular. These traditional methods date from the neolithic time, i.e., ten thousand years ago.

g- Kabyl jewellery making

The art of making silver jewellery is a very ancient craft in Kabylia. According to Sadjji, A (1992; 17) in his article *Escale chez les artisans de Beni-Yenni* published in the daily newspaper "Le Matin" May 11th 1992, n° 201, in 1960, 130 jewellery shops have been numbered in three villages in **Benni-Yenni**, Ait Lahcen, Ait Larbaa et Ait-Mimoun. In addition to its aesthetic and symbolic value, Kabyl jewellery plays an important economic function. During the Turkish occupation of Algeria, the craftsmen of Beni-Yenni used to exchange jewellery with products they needed such as wool. Thus, the Kabyl gem is at the same time an art and a way of living. Like flowers in European society, each Kabyl jewel conveys its own symbolic value. For instance, the **Timervah** (the good-luck) gem is offered by a father to his daughter at her birthday. When a young girl wears the **abzim**

brooch, it means that she is engaged. Thus, in addition to their symbolic values, Kabyl jewellery have a social significance. The colours of the stones used for decoration are important as well. Generally, they evoke the beauty and the colours found in the natural world. The blue represents the sky, yellow is the sunshine and green the colour of the fresh budding leaves in Spring.

h- Kabyl dressmaking

Kabyl women, like those living in the mountains of the Aures, have always preserved their traditional dress.

Takendurth (women's Kabyl gown), is very practical and particularly suited to their activities described in chapter 4-2. As they are obliged to move constantly, the large shape of their dress does not inhibit their movements which remain free and at ease. Kabyl women costume consists mainly of a long gown with a belt. These cotton or satin gowns are embroidered with colourful braids on the shoulders, wrists and sleeves. A brooch, **Tamzibt** is used to close the dress at the top around the neck. To protect their gown the countrywomen wrap a **fouta** - a sort of red and gold striped cloth - round their waist to serve as an apron while they do the housework or work in the field. On their hair they wear the **amendil**, the traditional headscarf, into which they stick narcissi. Modern Kabyl costumes are based on traditional dress and many of contemporary designs are influenced by these traditional patterns. One can notice that the same ancestral geometrical motifs which are found on pottery, tapestry, jewellery, tattoos, wall painting and on wooden sculpture are also reproduced in the embroidery of the modern Kabyl dresses.

i- The celebration of the Amazigh New Year

Like other societies, the Amazigh calendar has its historical references: **Yennayer** (New Year). The term **Yennayer** means "the first month of the year". Unlike the Moslem calendar which is a lunar and mobile calendar, the Amazigh calendar is the solar and Julian calendar (devised under the reign of Julius Caesar). The Amazigh calendar follows the rhythm of seasons and is actually

thirteen days behind the universal or Gregorian calendar established by Pope Gregory XIII. The first day of the Amazigh calendar coincides with January 12th of the Gregorian calendar. When and for what reasons did the ancestors of the Imazighen establish the Amazigh calendar? Several versions are provided. The first version dates the origin of **Yennayer** to the year 864 B.C, when the Phoenicians settled in North Africa. The other hypothesis is based on the birth of the Amazigh King, whereas others explain the origin of **Yennayer** by the birth of an Egyptian Pharaoh. However, it is commonly admitted, according to a more plausible explanation which is presently maintained for the date of the celebration of **Yennayer**, that the ancestors of Imazighen began the calendar 950 years B.C, the date of the victory of the Amazigh king **Chashraq** against the Pharaohs when King Ramases III was defeated.

Until the end of the nineteen sixties, Kabylia which was mainly an agricultural area, used to celebrate **Yennayer** as a celebration in anticipation of a good harvest. During this time, Kabyl people give free rein to their beliefs and various practices. One year old boys receive their "Baptism" and have their hair cut for the first time. On the other hand, women repaint the walls of their houses using decorative motifs which symbolize abundance. **Yennayer** is a great ceremony within the family who venerate divine strength by slaughtering a fowl for the New Year supper **Imensi Useggas**. An **Asfru** summarizes the Kabyl belief: "**Win yezlan rrich, demnegh-as Laich**" (meaning subsistence is guaranteed to anyone who slaughters a fowl).

j- Domestic traditions

Kabyl culture is expressed as well through traditional domestic tasks of Kabyl women in villages often to the accompaniment of their singing. Each family possesses a circular millstone **tassirt** where grains of wheat are ground. Two women, sitting opposite to each other, turn alternately the pivot of the millstone. The ground grain is afterwards collected from a piece of cloth and put in the big **Ikufan**. The gathered quantity of the ground grain will serve

as provision for the whole year round and the family will be safe from any shortage until the next corn harvesting.

k- Kabyl social traditions

Because they are so numerous, only two of them: **Timechret** and **Tachemlit** will be explained here.

Timechret is the village sacrifice of domestic animals at a certain period of the year for a specific purpose such as to guard against the outbreak of disease such as measles. Each countryman, with his own means, contributes to buy calves or oxen. The day before the **Timechret**, all the women of the village go to the spring and fetch the water necessary for the slaughtering. The day of the **Timechret** after the morning prayer, men slaughter the animals and divide the meat equally. The needy are not forgotten.

Timechret remains a time of social harmony since quarrels and misunderstandings between people disappear and new social relationships form, based on respect, group solidarity and mutual aid.

Those are the cultural principles that **Timechret** transmits to the present Kabyl generations.

The new relations which are established during **Timechret** are confirmed at several levels with reference to the natural world society and God. The links with the Land are celebrated with the sacrifice of animals' blood which promises fertile soil. At a social level, village processions recall ancient rituals where village wisemen and scholars lead the people. These processions reaffirm links with their ancestors. Finally the spiritual dimension is manifest in communal prayer led by the "Cheikh" (spiritual leader). This latter ritual is the last in the series which signals the end of **Timechret** and takes place following the distribution of the meat.

Tachemlit is another ancient Kabyl tradition rooted in the past when the feeling of solidarity was the main condition of the group survival. It is an expression of village solidarity where the inhabitants join forces for a specific purpose for the common benefit of all. Nowadays, this facet of Kabyl culture is still maintained in several villages in Kabylia. Every Friday, a general holiday in Algeria, a **Tachemlit** is organized by the villagers to clean the environment, repair a bridge which has been taken away by the overflow of a river in winter, repair a road in the mountain, or to realize any other project which requires the help of all the countrymen. Even those people who work outside the village in the capital Algiers or elsewhere during the week-end are ready to sacrifice their day off. The physical work, as well as financial support, is shared according to people abilities. Old and handicapped men who cannot help physically are asked to look after the village while the majority of villagers are elsewhere taking part in the **Tachemlit**. The emigrants who left the village to earn a living abroad, help financially. This is to compensate for all the hard work done in their absence. Children are not forgotten. They contribute to **Tachemlit** in their own way by bringing meals to their fathers and brothers and by admiring the work carried out by all the villagers. As reported by the weekly newspaper *le Pays* n° 125, May 16-24 th 1994, the village of Tifilkout has built, with the help of the whole village population, a Health centre as well as a library for children. Thus, **Tachemlit** is a living tradition which is transmitted from father to son.

L- The Kabyl market

Kabyl **Suks** (markets) are places where people meet once a week. Many children accompany their parents. For the majority of Kabyls, the market place is also a good opportunity to meet friends and to communicate. Old men (**Imgharen**) go to the market not especially to buy something but mainly because they have been going since they were young. This is a tradition which is still maintained today.

m- Kabyl cinema

The film producer, Bouguermouh. A, marks the first year of the Amazigh **Sinima** (cinema) with his film **La Colline Oubliée** (The Forgotten Hill). This film, which appeared on January 1995, is the translation of the novel written by the famous Kabyl writer Mouloud Mammeri. The scene takes place in Ait Khia, an ancient Kabyl village, built more than six centuries ago. For the first time in the history of Algeria, a film entirely spoken in Kabyl Tamazight, was shot in the mountains of Higher Kabylia, with the help of the whole population.

Short films have the advantage of saving time, and despite their small budgets many quality films have been produced which have met with critical success. Among them, one can highlight:

Terre de Berbérie (The Amazigh Land) dealing with Amazigh culture in the Kabyl language.

Le vendeur de neige (The snow seller) produced by Achour Kessai.

Amachahu (Once upon a time) produced by Brahim Hadjadj.

La montagne de Baya (Baya mountain) produced by Azzedine.

Agherbal (the sieve) produced by Alileche cherif.

Mains d'une sorcière (hands of the sorceress) produced by Achour Kessai.

n- Kabyl Theatre

Umezgun (Kabyl theatre) is presently operating in Algeria as well as a national festival named **Slimane Azzem** in memory of the man who was one of the pioneers of Amazigh theatre. Among the most successful plays, one can distinguish **Si Lahlu** which was played seventy times. In fact this play is an adaptation by Muhand U Yahia of the French play "Le Médecin malgré lui" (Doctor against his will) directed by Mohamed Kemmar.

Kabyl theatre is also available for children such as the plays: **Amezruy n Numidya**, **Amer Nnefs** and **Muhend U Caban**.

The numerous cultural associations whose aim is to promote Kabyl culture encourage theatrical productions for children. On

the 23-24-25th May 1995, the Youth Centre in the village of Beni-Douala in Kabylia organized an amateur festival with the help of the cultural association **Amezgun Jerjer** (Djurdjura theatre). Among the plays which have been shown to the public are:

Llan Kra (there are some among us), **Imnuda** (Researchers) and **Akal** (the Land) played by the **Afrara** troupe of Tizzi-Wuzzu.

CONCLUSION

The aspects of Kabyl culture which have been outlined above represent only a few facets of that rich and diverse culture. Other aspects of the Kabyl culture could be added such as:

- The organisation of the ancient Kabyl house.
- The tattoos of the traditional women.
- The Kabyl wood-carving.
- The rite of the olive and fig harvesting and others.
- The marriage celebration and others.

Before the Amazigh Spring of 1980, the totalitarian policy of the Algerian government attempted to destroy Amazigh culture including Kabyl culture. Nowadays, Imazighen, including the Kabyls, are eager to preserve their culture and teach openly and explicitly some aspects of their culture at school. This will give the opportunity, at last, to Kabyl children to study a culture in which they can recognize themselves and in a language which is their own.

13-6 THIRD WORLD THEORY OF EDUCATION

Theorists of Education in the Third World situation, such as Illich Ivan (1973), Kohr Leopold (1980), Reimer Everett (1975) and Freire Paulo (1970), regard schooling as training for meaningless work and the imposition of elite first world values on third world realities.

In his book *Education without schools* (1973), Illich states that schools indoctrinate the child into the acceptance of the political system his teachers represent despite the claim that schooling is non-political.

Reimer, R agrees with this idea and points out that in school children learn not only the values of the school, but also accept these values so as to get along in the system. Thus there is no such thing as a neutral education process since this implies the right of some (generally political leaders) to prescribe what students should learn and what they should be taught. "The hidden curriculum" of schools, as Illich describes it, represents a course of instruction that stands beyond the control of the teacher. Through this "hidden curriculum" students learn that education is valuable when it is acquired in the school through a gradual process of consumption, and that the degree of success the individual will enjoy in society depends on the amount of learning he/she consumes and finally that learning about the world is more valuable than learning from the world in which children live. Illich states that the curriculum imposed at school in Third World countries does not meet the needs of the majority students since they cannot decide what and how they want to be taught according to their needs and cultural background.

In his book *les Damnés de la Terre* (1961), Fanon Frantz reports the crimes - moral and physical - committed by the French colonialists in Algeria. During the French occupation the majority of Algerian children did not go to school and those - a small minority - who were schooled were taught only the values and principles of the Western culture which, in fact, was not their own. The main task of French educators, as Fanon (a psychiatrist)

explains, was to devalue the culture and the past of the natives. At schools pupils were taught that their ancestors were "barbarians" and that their country used to be called "the Barbary land". French colonizers worked hard to teach young Algerians the "superior value" of French civilization.

During the French occupation, each Algerian generation was clear about the mission it had to accomplish in time to preserve the Algerian culture and language. The previous generations resisted the cultural alienation French colonialists attempted to impose during 132 years. Whereas the past generations of Algerians fought, as best they could, for the maintenance of the Arabic language and culture (one component of the Algerian cultural identity defined on pages 410-413), nowadays the main concern of a category of Algerians, namely Imazighen, is to fight for the maintenance and revival of one of the other components of the Algerian culture, i.e., the Amazigh language and culture. Accordingly an adequate curriculum reflecting all the different aspects and richness of the Algerian culture would have to be devised in future for the benefits of all Algerian children, including young Imazighen learning their language and culture at school alongside Arabic.

As Reimer, E (1975) states, some values are implicit in those aspects of the curriculum which are similar in public schools all over the world. These include priorities given to dominant languages, both natural and technical. Examples of the first ones are the priority given to the Arabic language and dialects over Tamazight in all countries of the Maghreb and not only in Algeria. Some reformers of the Third World attempted to get rid of the hidden curriculum of public schools. For instance the Brazilian educator, Freire Paulo, has made a great impact in the field of education as well as in the overall struggle for national development. His methodology and his educational philosophy are as important for people of the Third World as they are for the dispossessed in Latin America. He spoke of the "culture of silence" of the oppressed people as regards their language and culture. It is clear that the whole educational system is one of the major instruments for maintaining such a culture of silence.

Freire has made use of the insights of his students to develop a perspective on education which is authentically his own and which seeks to respond to the concrete realities of Latin America. He discovered that any adult can begin to read in about forty hours if the first words he deciphers are charged with political meanings. Students realized that each word continues to unlock reality for them as they write it down. The main reason is because a great part of their learning resource is taken directly from the culture of the community in which they live. Thus there is a tradition of radical education who has encouraged Third World countries (like Algeria) to develop their own educational institutions, programmes and relevant curricula that are affordable in terms of their own economic realities. Obviously, it would be absurd to claim that this tradition should be copied but there are similarities in the countries of the Third World which should not be overlooked.

As far as Algeria is concerned, after independence there was a need to change the school curriculum because it was entirely French. One must not forget that Algeria was regarded as an part of France and the curriculum in schools was mainly designed for the needs of French children and students. The Algerian government understood that it was essential to change the curriculum and to adapt it to the educational background of Algerian pupils educated in Algerian schools. In future it is advisable that a similar process be undertaken as regards the teaching of the Tamazight language and culture in bilingual schools. That is what the present investigator suggests in this study for the teaching of Kabyl language and culture. Some aspects of that curriculum, which could be used in the short term when Tamazight is taught in primary schools, are developed below.

13-7 WHAT ASPECTS OF KABYL CULTURE CAN BE TAUGHT AT SCHOOL AND HOW?

As seen in chapter 13-5 Kabyl culture is rich and diverse. As it would be impossible to cover all its varying facets in the

classroom situation, teachers would be required to select specific aspects they considered most relevant in assisting them to teach Kabyl-speaking pupils their language and culture. Other important considerations would be the age of the pupils, their intellectual ability and emotional maturity and their individual needs and interests. The time allocated to teach all the primary school subjects is another important factor that must be taken into account. In the bilingual programme, as suggested by the author on pages 379-380, pupils would be taught solely in their mother tongue (KT or Arabic) in P1 and P2. For Kabyl children the main emphasis of the first two years of primary education would be the teaching of their language which is itself a component of the Kabyl culture and supports other components. Accordingly, the teaching of aspects of Kabyl culture would include, first of all, the learning of the children's mother tongue within its four skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking. As mentioned on page 397, greater emphasis would be given to the reading and writing skills as children generally receive no instruction in these before beginning school. At the later stage of primary school, it would be necessary to introduce pupils to other Tamazight varieties and explain their connections, as done on page 361 but using simpler words. It is advisable to help children understand that their language is diverse and split into different dialects and accents. For instance the Kabyl variety spoken in Tizi-Wuzzu is slightly different from that spoken in Bgayeth or Sidi-Aich. The concept of diversity is crucial to the understanding of any language. Linguistic diversity is found in many communities who share a common language. Similarly there is no standard form of Gaelic or Scots. Several varieties of these languages are presently used in Scotland, varying one from another although sometimes sharing common features. To help Kabyl pupils understand and accept linguistic diversity teachers would have to provide precise examples. An excellent source would be the different varieties of Kabyl spoken by children in the classroom. Pupils may come from different Kabyl-speaking areas and the language they bring with them at school may display differences in pronunciation, intonation, syntax and idiom. The first task of teachers would be

to encourage pupils to be confident in expressing themselves in their mother tongue whatever their linguistic background or their region of origin. As they mature, pupils would develop the notion of language diversity within which they could appreciate the range of accents, dialects and languages they might hear in the classroom, in the playground or in the outside world. Valuing all pupils' language means the teacher not only accepts all the varieties of Kabyl but also introduces pupils to the traditional various Kabyl songs involving actions, repetitions, stories, legends, sayings and tales, i.e., to aspects of the oral and written Kabyl literature, as described on pages 232-238. Children would also be taught some easier traditional and contemporary poems of famous Kabyl writers and poets like Muhend U M'hend and Ait Menguellet. Since ancient times, Amazigh culture (including Kabyl culture) was for many centuries oppressed by numerous invading dominant cultures some of which attempted to obliterate it completely. However, Amazigh culture resisted all such attempts and survived mainly through the strength of its oral traditions. This cultural heritage should now be preserved in all its forms and taught to children at school.

Starting from P3, as soon as children can read correctly in Kabyl Tamazight, teachers are recommended to develop in pupils the test of reading. Otherwise, it would be useless to teach pupils to read if they do not read anything in their mother tongue, at school like at home. The best thing would be the opening of a small library within the school where pupils could borrow books of their choice. The majority of Gaelic classrooms the present investigator visited in the Lowlands, Highlands and in the Western isles were well organised, furnished and decorated for the needs of pupils. Computers, maps, books, calculators, money, etc. were displayed all the time and accessible to pupils. Moreover, children could always find something to read about various topics: geography, history, natural sciences and other subjects. Daily or weekly news referring to important events (Gaelic festival for instance) were summarized in few simple words and displayed on the wall for the intention of pupils who want to read them. Sometimes these news items are illustrated

with pictures to attract and facilitate children's understanding. The same thing could be done in KT classes in the future.

Kabyl pupils should not only be given opportunities to read in their mother tongue but also to express themselves through various disciplines such as music, dance, drawing, painting, hand crafts (with plasticine or clay), re-telling of stories using their own words, role playing and finally drama as pupils would gain confidence in the knowledge of the first language.

Kabyl Tamazight would be taught through different topics for beginners. The topics would first refer to themselves because at their age they feel that they are the most important ones (their name, age, physical aspects etc.). Then their family would be introduced followed by their school, the area where they live and finally the whole environment (village, town and country). Starting from P3, once the children have learned the reading and writing skills in KT, knowledge of their first language could be developed by teaching them specific Kabyl terminology dealing with the various themes regarding Kabyl culture and outlined in chapter 4-2 and 13-5.

Like all children, Kabyl speaking pupils are fascinated by legends, tales, rhymes etc. Story telling is an important part of their culture since from an early age parents and grand-parents have used them as a way of entertaining or informing children and of getting them to settle down to sleep. Story telling has also an important role to play in the classroom. It could be used for a variety of purposes: language development, social and also moral development. Stories can cultivate in children valuable human qualities such as friendship, generosity, tolerance, forgiveness and respect for parents and the elderly. Thus legends and folk tales could be used as an efficient didactic means of instruction. This approach would allow children to learn unconsciously and in an enjoyable way. The mythical, funny and attractive imaginary person "Djehe", so familiar to Algerian children at home, could also be used in the classroom to instruct and educate the pupils. Story telling has also a role to play in the teaching of history to young children in P1 and P2. These children are capable of enjoying the stories and of remembering some important

elements such as the names of some famous Amazigh men and women such as Massinissa, El-Kahina. Some children in the classroom might be given these names without knowing their origin. Educationalists agree that a sense of history can only be acquired progressively and it develops gradually along with the concept of the past. This generally occurs about the age of ten years by which time most children can distinguish between the recent and distant past. They are also capable of developing a picture of the past in their imagination.

It is important to examine how history, a discipline that explores the past for a better understanding of the present, is taught in the Algerian school. History is in the curriculum at an early stage of children's education, P5. However, in most programmes, the history of Algeria starts with the arrival of Arabs to North Africa in the VIIth century, or simply on November 1st 1954, the day the Algerian revolution against the French colonisation was started. It is obvious, then, the history of Algeria during the period of the Phoenic, Greek, Roman, Vandal, Byzantine colonisations, as related in chapter 3-2, if not simply ignored, is taught superficially. The reduction of Algerian history to a short historical period, grandiose as the Islamic period might be, in school programmes deprives Algerian children of a deeper understanding of their historical roots. The official approach to history and culture which are crucial factors in the formation of personality and nation, should be above all political calculations, and should view Algerian identity as a mosaic. Being a very sensitive domain, the teaching of history should now be changed. The HCA (Higher Commission of Amazigh Affairs) has already taken the first step in this direction by suggesting a new and more comprehensive history curriculum in Algerian schools and by teaching the history of the Imazighen on the basis on real facts and events.

Another significant problem lies in current methods of teaching history in Algerian schools. These rely solely on information from text books. Such limited approach ignores the fact that most Algerian towns reflect history in the form of ancient ruins, buildings, monuments and artifacts. Similarly there are many

museums open daily to the public which are an excellent source of information on the history of the Imazighen. With the assistance of the schools' capacity to organize and the parents' willingness to offer support, it should not be too difficult for teachers to organize excursions to sites or events of educational worth. This approach would allow pupils to gain first-hand knowledge of life in Algeria during past eras. They can see concrete evidence of history at first hand, explore and wonder at the achievements of their own ancestors and the many different peoples who settled in their country. Local museums should be used more fully as a valuable source of education for the local children. They contain a wide range of artifacts, e.g., tools, weapons, coins and objects of everyday use. These provide concrete evidence of Algeria's long history from prehistoric times onwards, as described in section 13-4. For example, the Bardo Museum in Algiers houses precious prehistoric and ethnographic collections including a display on the Amazigh past. One example is the skeleton of Tin-Hinnan, the Amazigh Queen of the Touaregs killed by the Arabs in 1426. Where there is no museum, real photographs could be used and displayed in the classroom. Children in general have little respect for the past but they are greatly concerned about the present. If teachers can show them that the present is not really comprehensible without some knowledge of the past, they would have raised history in their estimation, especially if that history refers to their ancestors whom they would feel proud of.

The three vital components of early learning at home are first hand experience, talk and play. This should continue at school, in P1 and P2, while children are learning their language with the support of aspects of their culture. Experience and talk were already explained in section 12.5.3, page 386, when dealing with mother-tongue acquisition. Now focus will be on play. Playing for children is a serious game. They do things and they understand. Generally children are competitive and enjoy playing in order to win. In the classroom, teachers are advised to organize games in this way to attract the interest of pupils and find high participation. When children are given opportunities to play, they

also co-operate with their peers and learn unconsciously, happily and quickly.

Similarly, the Kabyl language (new vocabulary and complex grammatical sentences) could be taught through songs and games such as simple cross-words, riddles, putting words (written on cards) in order and puppet theatre etc. Obviously, these would have to be adapted to the pupils' knowledge of the language. In order to facilitate children's understanding and learning, visual clues such as gestures, mimes and pictures, rather than long explanations, could be used.

In addition to the Kabyl language other subjects could be taught through games. For instance Music, Physical education, Maths and others.

At present, the curriculum adopted in the first six years of primary school, through the medium of Arabic (MSA), includes the teaching of the following subjects:

First year of primary school (P1) - children aged six.

Arabic
Maths
Religion
Physical education
Drawing
Hand crafts
Music

Second year of primary school (P2)

Idem

Third year of primary school (P3)

Idem than second year
plus Environmental studies

Fourth year of primary school (P4)

Idem than third year
plus French or English

Fifth year of primary school (P5)

Idem than fourth year
plus History and Geography

Sixth year

Idem than fifth year

The present curriculum, as outlined above, is well balanced. It could still be put in place for Arabic-speaking children in bilingual schools. KT would be taught to them from P3.

Kabyl speakers however would be taught gradually 30% of the subjects, then 45% and finally 60% through the medium of their mother tongue (bilingual education with KT predominant, as suggested on pages 379-380) with the exception of religion. In P1 and P2, religion would have to be taught orally (with explanation in KT) as the children concerned would have no knowledge of the Arabic script. This approach would continue until P3 when Kabyl speakers would start to learn Arabic.

Kabyl-speaking children would be taught their language and history in their mother tongue. Other subjects which could be taught in Kabyl Tamazight will be examined successively below.

Music and singing

Music is an expressive art form which develops children's sensitivity, sense of beauty and appreciation of their culture. Unfortunately, in present day Algeria, the majority of parents do not regard music as such but only as simple entertainment. As a result, very few pupils can play music and the great majority of them have never touched an instrument. In the future, during music classes, Kabyl instruments (traditional and modern) such as Abendir, Tageffart, as described on page 436, would be displayed in the classroom and pupils would be allowed to try them. Children who possess instruments would be asked to bring them at school and play in front of their peers. This would stimulate other pupils and encourage them to do the same.

During music classes, teachers would have to help pupils to acquire the notion of Kabyl rhythm without having to learn musical theory. To this aim, children would be asked to listen carefully to various Kabyl songs: folk, patriotic, military. Some of them could be taught if children are interested in learning them. In P1 and P2, the teaching of music would have to be combined with actions to be enjoyable and to help pupils to get the notion of rhythm.

Dance and games

Knowledge of traditional dance and games would aim at developing the child's mind and body at the same time. Accordingly, Kabyl rhythmic dances could be practised in school. Girls and boys would dance separately as it is commonly done in the Kabyl society. Girls would dance with scarves whereas boys would use sticks. On the occasion of the Amazigh New Year, Yennayer, or the day of Aïd or Mulud El Nabawi (the birthday of the Prophet Muhamed) pupils wearing their traditional dress would dance in front of their parents in school.

Some traditional games - described on pages 436-437 - if not already known by pupils could be taught to children. Teachers could also devise new games in which the difficult Kabyl words and expressions taught in the classroom would be used and repeated by pupils while playing.

Drawing and painting

These disciplines are very important since they contribute considerably to the development of children's imagination. While expressing themselves in drawing and painting, children would find great pleasure in creating new forms referring to their childish world and objects which are meaningful for them. As relaxing disciplines, drawing and painting are beneficial to the children. Starting from P3, these subjects could be guided. Children would be asked to draw some simple Tifinagh signs and Amazigh symbols like those which can be seen on pottery, tapestry, jewellery, tattoos, as mentioned on page 440. Nowadays, these symbols are also used to decorate the façade of shops, children's tee-shirts and badges in Kabylia.

Pottery

Like drawing and painting, pottery is important because pupils like creating forms and objects with the use of plasticine and clay. Parents would not feel they are being asked to spend extra money on plasticine because clay could be collected from the places where the pupils live and brought at school.

While making pottery, pupils would have direct contact with other raw materials added to clay such as sand, shells, coloured stones, pieces of broken bricks etc. and equally important with the rounded shapes and curves they would create and which are crucial for developing their sense of touch. As with drawing and painting, the practice of pottery could be guided at the later stage of primary school. Teachers would display photographs of ancient pottery and earthenware (shown on pages 430 and 431) and would suggest that pupils try to make similar ones. These once dried could be decorated and painted with traditional Amazigh symbols and designs.

Religion

There would be no problem to teach religion to pupils since both Arabic and Tamazight speaking pupils practise the same Sunni Islamic religion. This is unlike the teaching of Christianity in Gaelic units throughout Scotland where the present author noticed that only common features found in Protestantism and Catholicism are taught at school. Religion could be taught in different ways in P1 and P2, through story telling and religious songs. Though children do not know Arabic yet, they could be taught some verses of Qur'an in CA with explanations provided in their language. The main reason is that the majority of Kabyl religious words are borrowed from Arabic, as explained on page 23.

Starting from P3, as soon as children learn Arabic with its writing system, religion could be taught totally in Arabic, including teachers' explanations. However, some exception could be made in classes where teachers would prefer to explain religion through the use of the pupils' mother tongue. This would make sure that pupils understand the religious messages. Whether the home background is religious or not, parents would support the efforts being made by the school to teach tolerance and understanding of the beliefs and practices of others. Religion which forms part of the culture of the pupils carries as well moral values such as clemency, brotherhood, forgiveness etc, understanding the concept of God. Pupils would also be taught

that the beauties of Kabyl art, literature and music are part of the gift God has given men to enjoy.

Geography

During geography classes, pupils would be trained to draw a map of Kabylia with the highest mountains, more important towns and villages, rivers, harbours etc. They would be asked to localize on the map the place where they live. Afterwards, children would be introduced to the Amazigh regions as these are described in chapter 3. It is necessary to focus on the geographical area where the pupils live first. Pupils would be taught the names of the mountains, forests, rivers etc. which they could find in their region and visit in Environmental studies classes. The kind of vegetation, crops, minerals and other natural resources by which people in their region make their living would have also to be known.

As with the teaching of history developed on pages 452-453, geography would be taught inside and outside the classroom. There might be some pupils who have never gone away from their village or town. It would be then the role of school to make them discover other parts of Kabylia by organizing excursions for them and this would form part of their education.

Environmental studies

This subject would help pupils to learn more about their culture from outside the school. Children would be encouraged to observe things around them like the different kinds of trees, flowers, animals and birds which are found in Kabylia and would need to be protected. Pupils at school would be taught as well to respect the environment. For example they would be advised not to throw papers and bottles of glass in the forest after a picnic since these could set fire under the heat of the sun.

Conclusion

The easier, quicker, most natural and efficient way to teach Kabyl pupils aspects of their culture at school would be to use the environment where they live as the main source of information.

This would involve teachers instructing pupils both inside and outside school. With the help of parents, schools and local authorities, excursions and visits to places of pupils' interest would be organized very often. These would influence positively the quality of the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight. As a developing country, the Algerian state would not be able to provide primary schools with modern teaching aids such as computers, videos, tape recorders, films etc. presently used in Gaelic units throughout Scotland to facilitate teachers' task. That is why teaching methods and aids, using the environment as main input, would have to be developed in Algeria in future.

CHAPTER 14 - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The problems associated with the social and political status of the Tamazight language in Algeria and its teaching at school are not unique to that language. Other minority languages throughout the world: Gaelic in Scotland, Breton in France, Basque in Spain and a host of others face similar problems. As can be observed, minority languages everywhere are fighting intensively to survive in the face of massive political, economic and social forces. These tend to create linguistic uniformity despite the fact that there are countries where minority languages are spoken natively. Although these languages encounter problems everyday, some of them manage to find their solutions. The cases of the Welsh language in Great Britain and more importantly Catalan in Spain are good examples of minority languages which have succeeded in surviving. Through their struggle the native speakers of those languages have won official recognition of their language in their country and also ensured its development through education.

Likewise, the Imazighen in Algeria have fought continuously for the recognition and the teaching of their language at school. Through their struggle, reported in chapter 5, they expressed their desire to save Tamazight language and culture from disappearance. In 1995, as a result of the boycott of school undertaken by thousands of pupils and students in Kabylia, and under the social pressure of the Imazighen in general, the Algerian government agreed to set up a Higher Commission of Amazigh Affairs, **the Aseqqamu Unnign Timmazya** and its role was explained in section 6-1. The main concern and greatest preoccupation of the members of this committee is how to meet and satisfy the need of Imazighen who during the numerous demonstrations in the street, in different times of their struggle, claimed for "**Tamazight di Lakul**" meaning "Tamazight at school".

Obviously, a language which has been neglected for more than two thousand years, needs to be developed before being used successfully in Education. The process of cultivation of Tamazight (Standardization, Modernization and Codification),

described in section 12-1, is taking place at present. Since Tamazight has never been taught previously at primary school level, the teaching of the language as **mother tongue** in the future will be a unique experience in the history of Algeria. Consequently, its implementation at school in the future will constitute a real challenge to Algerian educationists, linguists and teachers to find out the adequate first language teaching approach of Tamazight, bearing the distinctive cultural features relevant to each Amazigh locality (mountainous Higher Kabylia, Bgayeth, Lower Kabylia and the surrounding villages, the Oasis of M'Zab, the mountainous Aures and finally the extreme south of the Sahara). An attempt has been made in that direction in this research exercise towards the Kabyl variety and an approach was suggested in chapters 12 and 13.

According to the results of the present author's questionnaires, the majority of Kabyls wish their language to be taught in bilingual primary school in the near future. Is this possible? To answer that question, one has to state and enumerate what is needed for any language vernacular to be taught effectively in primary school as follows:

- 1- The number, needs and the will of the native speakers to teach their language at school to their children.
- 2- Agreement of the Government to meet those needs by integrating the target language into the educational system. The state has also to take in charge financially the research about the target language itself and its teaching.
- 3- The cultivation (standardisation, modernisation, graphization) of the target language as developed in sections 11-3 and 12-1.
- 4- A Language academy, where experts have to issue decisions about the proper use of the target language and to define the norms in grammar, lexis, spelling of words to be used in education.

5- Development of the teaching resources and teaching aids and materials. Construction of dictionaries and reading material. Literacy can only be maintained if there is an adequate supply of books for children for entertainment as well as for study.

6- Design of an adequate curriculum based on the sociolinguistic study of the speech community making use of the target language, in other words on the pupils' cultural background.

7- Adequate teaching approaches, methods, and techniques for teaching the target language both as a mother tongue and as a second language. This is in accordance with parents' wishes and the linguistic areas where the pupils live.

8- Suitably trained teachers.

9- Parents have to see the future economic advantage for their children to study the target language at school and job opportunities should be created by the state.

10- Official status of the language (this should be stated in the beginning since it constitutes an important factor in improving the status of the vernacular in the society and encouraging people to study the language at school.). If for example, Tamazight is recognised as a second national language alongside Arabic in future, all Algerians would feel the internal pressure to learn the language at school and pass it to their children. This is for social-mobility reasons.

As regards the Tamazight language, some of the conditions listed above are already established:

1- Tamazight speakers are numerous and are counted by millions (about 12 million in Algeria). Their language, Tamazight, is the first one to be historically constituted in the whole of North Africa, as explained in section 3-2. Tamazight language and culture, as defined in section 13-4, form part of Algerian cultural identity. The need of the Imazighen to teach their children how to

read and write in their language is justified in section 11-2. They expressed this need through several peaceful demonstrations and the results of the present author' s questionnaire (Appendice B7), used to check their attitude towards the teaching of Tamazight, are positive.

2- In 1995, the Algerian state agreed to take in charge financially the research about Tamazight and its teaching at school. The language has been taught at an experimental level in some secondary schools since 1996 and now the pupils' marks in that language are now counted like other subjects.

3- The process of the cultivation of the language, taken in charge by the Higher Commission of Amazigh Affairs (HCA) has started already. New technical and scientific words are devised every day and used in the media (national newspapers, radio, television, magazines etc).

4- A language academy exists in France but one would have to be set up in Algeria in future, once the process of the cultivation of Tamazight is advanced. The role of this academy would be to safeguard norms for standard use in grammar, spelling, pronunciation and vocabulary because the Tamazight language comprises a great deal of local variations.

5- There is a lack of teaching material and reading books for learners. These would have to be devised and developed to allow for the teaching of Tamazight.

6- Since the teaching of Tamazight as a subject started just recently at an experimental level, no curriculum has been set up yet. The main reason is that the language which is still being developed, has not yet a completed vocabulary sufficient for the needs of the curriculum.

7- No adequate mother-tongue and second-language teaching approaches in Tamazight are yet available.

8- As reported in section 1-2, teachers, who are all native speakers of Tamazight, started to be trained by the Agraw Adelsan Amazigh federation during the Summer. In the future, teachers of Arabic and French and other subjects who would like to fulfill the required conditions to teach Tamazight will also be trained at the Institute of Education in Ben-Aknoun in Algiers.

9- Job opportunities in Tamazight have to be created by the state in future as in the case of Gaelic in some selected areas in Scotland. In addition to teaching jobs, researchers, writers, librarians, secretaries, accountants, lawyers, speakers, translators in education and the media in Tamazight or in Tamazight and Arabic would be required by the state.

10- The official status of Tamazight is a political issue and not directly relevant in this study. However, one can observe, as reported in section 6-2, that the Imazighen in general disagree on this matter. While some think that it is wise to gradually accept what it is given to them after many years of hard struggle, others are convinced that the official status of Tamazight is necessary for the teaching of the language because nowadays they wonder who is going to learn Tamazight at school apart from Imazighen children themselves who already know the oral form of their language in limited domains.

As can be seen from the points 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, conditions are not favourable and not yet established to allow for the teaching of Tamazight in bilingual school in the near future, though the target language has a literature, a grammar and its own writing system, Tifinagh. Research about the language and its cultivation has started already at the level of universities of Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth. Some books about Imazighen history as well as Amazigh tales and songs for children are sold in some bookshops. An Arabic-Tamazight-French dictionary was published in 1995. Teachers have started to be trained to teach Tamazight at school. The majority of children who would be taught the target language

as first language are generally native speakers, meaning that they would be able to understand and speak their language when they begin learning Tamazight at school. When taking into account all these positive factors, one can assert that the teaching of Tamazight is **a continuing process**. At the present time the teaching of Tamazight at an experimental level in secondary schools meets difficulties of all types but these are only temporary. It is the role of the Higher Commission of Amazigh Affairs, set up by the state, to solve them gradually.

The teaching of Tamazight in primary school would have to be introduced when the conditions stated above are established. Children, native speakers of Tamazight, would be taught their mother tongue, not as a subject like it is done at present temporarily in some secondary schools, but as a first language in bilingual schools as suggested on page 379. The communicative and natural approach, as developed in section 12-5-5, would be adopted to the pupils' needs before being used. Finally, in devising the curriculum, emphasis would be given to aspects of the Amazigh culture, as introduced to the reader in chapter 13, enhancing the children's self-confidence.

The Tamazight teaching approach suggested here deals only with the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight as described on pages 17-18. But it could help as a starting point for a deeper reflexion about the teaching of the common Tamazight language which would include the richness of all the Tamazight varieties.

While using Kabyl Tamazight as a case study, the present investigator does not intend to impose this variety of Tamazight as a standard form to be used in education but that, like Kabyl, each variety would have to be studied separately in the beginning. The main reason is because each dialect of Tamazight carries a different culture evolving in a different environment (mountains, oasis, seaside, harbour and desert), but with common features linking all varieties. It would be necessary to carry out a sociolinguistic study of all the dialects of Tamazight to discover their richness and see how they could complement each other in the rebuilding of the ancient common Tamazight language into a modern common standard Tamazight language. Moreover, it would

be more convenient and helpful to Imazighen children to be taught, first of all, the variety of Tamazight in P1 and P2 which they speak at home. They would first learn the regional dialect, then gradually learn the common standard Tamazight language as it is being developed or as it would emerge by itself. Teaching the dialect of Tamazight the child uses at home in the beginning is to make the transition from home to school as smooth as possible. Moreover, this process would be advantageous to children since it would allow them to carry on learning their mother tongue at school - in particular the reading and writing skills - in the variety of Tamazight they have been taught at home. Undoubtedly, the standard form of Tamazight which will be used in education will carry a lot of new words, elaborated expressions, scientific terms which will be unknown, not only by children themselves, but also by their parents. If the modern common Tamazight language (as described on page 361) would have to be taught at school, there would be also words used by one Amazigh group and which are unknown to others. For that reason it would be advisable to teach the standard form of Tamazight progressively and accept the dialects pupils would bring from home in P1 and P2. Similarly, teaching programmes and pupils' reading books would have to follow the same progression, i.e., from the use of the variety of Tamazight used at home to the use of the standard form of the common Tamazight language.

The teaching approach suggested by the present author may not be perfect. Some parents, teachers, educationists might think that teaching three different languages within three different writing scripts during the first six years of primary school is too much of a burden for Algerian children. However, one can assert that if the teaching in the mother tongue in P1 and P2, as explained on page 377, is correctly provided and consequently the concepts in the mother tongue are strongly acquired in L1, there would be normally no problem for children in learning a second and third language, even if these are totally different from each other and written with the use of different writing systems. It is commonly admitted that the best age for children to learn

languages is between 6 and 12, when the pupils' phonetic ability is still flexible and the influence of the sound system of their mother tongue is not strongly impregnated in them yet.

One problem could be if some parents noticed, after implementation, that the bilingual programme suggested in this study would be difficult and children were unable to learn and master the three writing scripts progressively, the learning of Tamazight with the use Tifinagh signs could be postponed to the first year of secondary school for instance. This would allow children to learn only two writing systems in primary school, as it is presently practised in Algeria nowadays where Arabic and French (or English) are taught. This has been observed in Woodside Secondary School in Glasgow where to facilitate students learning process of their second languages, Urdu and Chinese, children are taught temporarily these languages in the Latin script.

Another problem would be the number of children in the classroom. To use the communicative approach, in groups' pairs or with individuals, as suggested on pages 391-395, there should be opportunities for teachers to interact with children and for pupils to interact with each other. If classes are too big, this would be difficult to practise. Nowadays classes in primary schools in Algeria have more than thirty pupils in each classroom. But one can hope that in the future, when Tamazight will be taught in primary school, that number would decrease since it can be observed that nowadays young couples, unlike their parents, tend to have fewer children.

The bilingual teaching approach suggested in this study would have to be implemented in Algeria as soon as the teaching of Tamazight would be introduced in primary schools.

In order to test and measure the efficiency of the suggested teaching approach, and at the same time, to find out its limitations, the present author suggests that it would be necessary to carry out an experiment with around five hundred Kabyl-speaking children. After classroom observations, a seminar would be organised with the help of the Agraw Adelsan Amazigh

federation. The objectives of the seminar would be to gather around one hundred Tamazight teachers from different regions of Algeria to promote and animate discussion about the application of the present author's suggestion about the teaching approach of Kabyl Tamazight and to assess the success and validity of the results obtained in her research. If necessary, the proposed teaching approach of Tamazight would have to be re-examined according to teachers' recommendations and revised to meet the pupils' needs. After revision, the teaching approach of Tamazight within the bilingual programme would have to be simple, attractive, progressive and child centred.

On the other hand, if this approach is found successful once implemented, other researchers would have to find new methods and techniques for the teaching of Tamazight since this study is limited to the Tamazight teaching approach only.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A



Post-cards used by the present researcher to introduce the questionnaire to people and to provoke answers.

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRES

Number of respondents

Distribution of questionnaires to teachers, students (or pupils), parents, and workers in Higher and Lower Kabylia, Algiers (the capital) and Wahran (second main city in Algeria).

600 respondents: 200 Kabyls in Tizi-Wuzzu
 200 Kabyls in Bgayeth
 120 Kabyls in Algiers
 80 Kabyls in Wahran

Table B1

Location	occupation	Male	Female	Numbers
Tizi-Wuzzu	50- Teachers	21	29	200 respondents
	50- Students	25	25	
	50- Parents	25	25	
	50- Workers	25	25	
Bgayeth	50-Teachers	21	29	200 respondents
	50- Students	25	25	
	50- Parents	25	25	
	50- Workers	25	25	
Algiers	30- Teachers	12	18	120 respondents
	30-Students	15	15	
	30- Parents	15	15	
	30- Workers	15	15	
Wahran	20-Teachers	8	12	80 respondents
	20-Students	10	10	
	20-Parents	10	10	
	20-Workers	10	10	
			Total:	600 respondents

APPENDIX B2

Table B2

Questionnaire 1- Language use: functional domains.

(restricted to Kabyl speakers)

Question: Identify the appropriate language with an " x " in the right box.
(Questionnaire used to find out **to whom** and **where** do the Kabyls speak Kabyl).

Answers (in percentage) given by 600 respondents: 400 Kabyls in Kabylia and 200 Kabyls in Algiers and Wahran.

CA			MSA		AA		KABYL		FRENCH	
To whom?	KA	KT	KA	KT	KA	KT	KA	KT	KA	KT
Which language do you use										
-with your parents					21%	4%	67%	79%	12%	17%
-with your children					20%	12%	72%	83%	8%	5%
-with your relatives					11%	2%	81%	93%	8%	5%
-with your friends					43%	7%	47%	72%	10%	21%
-with your doctors					79%	19%	12%	71%	9%	10%
-At work					81%	11%	11%	65%	8%	24%
Where?	KA	KT	KA	KT	KA	KT	KA	KT	KA	KT
At shool with										
-Classmates					87%	18%	7%	73%	6%	9%
-Teachers			62%	40%			9%	23%	26%	36%
-In the playground					89%	34%	18%	94%	25%	18%
-In official institutions			12%	11%	61%	8%	1%	63%	26%	18%
(bank, post-office)										
-In the street					64%	18%	21%	61%	15%	21%
-In the mosque	100%	100%								

Key KT: The use of languages by the Kabyls living in Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth.

KA: The use of languages by the Kabyls living in Algiers and Wahran.

Table B3

Questionnaire 2- Language use: functional domains
(continued)

The model of this table is the research conducted by Lewis between 1968 and 1975 in Wales and the United States of America.

The following questionnaire was administered to the subjects who volunteered to take part in the experiment.

Question: Identify the appropriate language by ticking the appropriate box.
(Questionnaire used to find out **when** do Kabyls use their language)

Answers in percentage given by 600 respondents: 400 in Kabylia and 200 in Algiers and Wahran.

	CA	MSA	AA	Tamazight	French		English	
1-Officially recognised in the courts of law	91% Kt	72% KT						
2-Officially recognised in public administration	72% KT	87% Kt			79% KT	62% Kt		
3- Necessary for official appointments			79% Kt	82% T				
4-Taught in primary and secondary school	91% KT	73% Kt		78% T	60% Kt	59% KT	54% Kt	48% KT
5-Taught in universities	83%	96%		64%	63%	69%	57%	63%
6-Regularly used on radio and television	63% KT	76% Kt		56% T			Kt	KT
7-Regularly used in national press	61% KT	73% Kt			58% KT	65% Kt		
8-Used in scientific publications	58% KT	71% Kt			62% KT	69% Kt		
9-Regularly used in commerce and business			64% Kt	81% T	75% KT	67% Kt		
10-Regularly used for public worship.	100% KT	100% Kt						

Key : T = the use of Kabyl in Tamazight-speaking areas(Kabylia)
t = the use of Kabyl in Arabic-speaking areas
KT= the use of other languages by the Kabyls in Tamazight- speaking areas.
Kt = the use of other languages by the Kabyls in Arabic- speaking areas.

APPENDIX B4

Table B4

Questionnaire 3 - contact with the Kabyl language

(Questionnaire given to the general public of Kabyl speakers to identify the degree of interest in Kabyl)

600 respondents: 400 in Kabylia (Bgayeth and Tizi-Wuzzu)
200 in Arabic-speaking areas (Algiers and Wahran)

Question: complete the following sentences by ticking the appropriate colum.
Answers of respondents in percentage.

	whenever possible		Now and then		Only when I have to		Never	
	KA	KT	KA	KT	KA	KT	KA	KT
1-I try to speak Kabyl	39%	95%	47%	1.5%	11%	3.5%	3%	0%
2-I read Kabyl newspapers and books	37%	30%	30%	53%	0%	0%	33%	17%
3-I listen to the programme broadcast in Kabyl	69%	96.5%	21%	2.5%	6%	1%	4%	0%
4-I watch Kabyl theatrical plays	86%	88%	5%	11.5%	0%	0%	9%	0.5%

Key: the respondents are: KA = Kabyls in Arabic-speaking areas (Kabylia)
and: KT = Kabyls in Tamazight-speaking areas.

APPENDIX B5

TABLE B5**Questionnaire 4: The writing of Tamazight**

600 respondents in Arabic and Tamazight speaking areas (Tizi-Wuzzu, Bgayeth, Algiers and Wahan)

Question: answer to the following questions as regards the writing of Tamazight by selecting one of the answers given below.

<u>Questions</u>	<u>Answers by percentage</u>	
1- Do you think Tamazight should be written?	yes (97%)	582/600
	I don't know (1.4%)	11/600
	no (1.6%)	7/600
2- If yes, how ?	In Arabic letters (10.7%)	62/582
	In Tifinagh (60.4%)	352/582
	In Latin script (26.2%)	152/582
	I don't know (2.7%)	16/582
3- why ?		
3-1 There are similarities between Arabic and Tamazight.	(0%)	
3-2 Tamazight is not a dialect of Arabic	(0%)	
3-3 Tifinagh was used by our ancestors	(60.4%)	352/582
3-4 Latin script because most modern languages are using Latin alphabet	(18.2%)	106/582
3-5 Latin script because Tifinagh signs are difficult	(8%)	46/582
3-6 Arabic letters because we are used to these characters.	(10.7%)	62/582

APPENDIX B6

TABLE B6

Questionnaire 5: the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight at school

Questionnaire given to Kabyl pupils to check their motivation in learning their mother tongue at school.

600 respondents

300 respondents in Kabylia
(Tizi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth)

300 respondents in Arabic-
speaking areas (Algiers and Wahran)

Questions:

1- Do you speak Kabyl?

265/300	88.3%	yes	126/300	42.0%
11/300	3.7%	a little bit	86/300	28.7%
20/300	6.6%	I can understand it	30/300	10.0%
4/300	1.4%	no	58/300	19.3%

2- Do you want to learn it at school?

196/300	65.3%	yes	157/300	52.3%
83/300	27.7%	no	125/300	41.7%
21/300	7.0%	I don't know	18/300	6.0%

3- If "yes" Why?

Results (in percentage) of the respondents who answered "yes" to question 2.

19/196	9.7%	1- to speak Kabyl with my friends	9/157	5.70%
8/196	4.0%	2-to speak Kabyl with my grand parents	77/157	49.04%
62/196	31.7%	3-to read and write in Kabyl	42/157	26.76%
107/196	54.6%	4- because it is the language I speak at home	29/157	18.50%

4- If "yes" How?

Results in percentage of those who answered "yes" to question 2.

98/196	50.0%	1-Like Arabic	L1	28/157	17.8%
54/196	27.5%	2-Like French	L2	102/157	65%
23/196	11.7%	3-Like English	L3	16/157	10.2%
21/196	10.8%	4-some subjects in Arabic and others in Tamazight..	B.E:	11/157	7.0%

APPENDIX B7

TABLE B7

Questionnaire 6:the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight at school

Questionnaire given to parents to check their attitudes towards the teaching of Kabyl at school.

300 respondents in Kabylia

600 respondents

300 respondents in Arabic-speaking areas

Questions

1- Would you like your children to be taught Kabyl at school?

266/300	88.6%	yes	162/300	54.0%
34/300	11.4%	no	138/300	46.0%

2- If "yes" where?

28/266	10.5%	In a language centre	46/162	28.4%
6/266	2.2%	On television	12/162	7.4%
132/266	87.3%	At school	104/162	64.2%

3- How do you want your children to be taught Kabyl?

89/266	33.4%	As a medium of instruction	L1 36/162	22.2%
12/266	4.5%	As a subject like French	L2 24/162	11.2%
9/266	3.4%	As a subject like English	L3 18/162	6.2%
156/266	58.7%	A few subjects in Kabyl and others in Arabic (Bilingual Education).	B.E. 84/162	60.4%

APPENDIX B8

TABLE B8**Questionnaire7: the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight at school**

Open questionnaire investigating the teachers' attitude towards the teaching of Kabyl at school

400 respondents in Tamazight and Arabic-speaking areas.

Questions:

1- What language or languages would you like your children to be taught at school?

2- What would be your reaction if Tamazight was taught as a subject at school? Would you approve of the bilingual education; Arabic-Tamazight?

A summary analysis of Questionnaires 2,3,4,5,6 and 7 is given on Appendix B9, pages 478, 479 and 480.

APPENDIX B9

SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRES

600 questionnaires were distributed to the general public of Kabyl speakers, in both Arabic and Kabyl Tamazight-speaking areas. In Tlizzi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth 400 respondents answered the questionnaires handed to them. Among them were teachers, students, pupils, parents and workers, male and female (see table B1 page 470). In Algiers, the capital city which has a great number of Kabyl immigrants, 120 questionnaires were distributed and all were returned. In Wahran, the second main city in Algeria, only 80 Kabyl respondents were selected because this town is predominantly an Arabic-speaking city.

As mentioned on page 43, the issues the present investigator examined with the use of Questionnaires 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 are as explained below:

Questionnaires 1 and 2 (pages 471-472) investigated the domain of use of Kabyl Tamazight in comparison with other languages: Arabic (CA, MSA and AA), French and English. The results of these questionnaires given in Tables B2 and B3 helped the present researcher to find out "to whom", "where" and "when" Kabyls use their language?

Questionnaire 3 (page 473) distributed to the general public of Kabyl speakers identified the degree of interest of the respondents in Kabyl. The respondents were both in Arabic and Tamazight-speaking areas.

Questionnaire 4 (page 474) refers to the writing of Tamazight. The opinions of Kabyls in general as regards the choice of the writing characters to be used to transcribe Tamazight were examined.

Questionnaire 5 and 6 (pages 475-476) deal with the teaching of Kabyl Tamazight at school. They were given to both parents and pupils. The opinions of parents as regards the teaching of Tamazight were investigated as well as the motivation of pupils in learning

their mother tongue. The way children would like to be taught the Kabyl language was also taken into account.

The results of the questionnaires are given on tables B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, and appendix B8. They can be summarized as follows:

Table B2

79% of the Kabyls living in Kabylia (representing 316 of the 400 respondents) speak Kabyl with their parents in comparison with fewer people (67%) in Arabic-speaking areas. Kabyl is still used at home by 72% of the respondents in that area. As the results in Table B2 reveal, Kabyl in Arabic-speaking cities, is principally spoken at home, with parents, children and relatives. But outside home, i.e., with friends, doctors and colleagues at work, Kabyl is rarely used. The language is replaced by AA, the lingua Franca used in all Arabic-speaking cities. That is why, as Table B2 reports, 81% of Kabyls speak AA at work in Algiers and Wahran while only 11% use Kabyl in Arabic-speaking areas. This is in contradiction to the use of Kabyl in Tizzi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth where more than 60% speak it at home, with friends and at work. This is in spite of the fact that Arabic is the official language in Algeria.

As regards the use of Kabyl by children at school, 73% admitted that they use their mother tongue when communicating with their classmates whereas 87% of Kabyl children in Arabic speaking cities tend to use AA. In official institutions, such as banks and post-offices, 61% of Kabyls in Algiers and Wahran use AA, instead of Kabyl. In the streets, 64% of them make use of AA, instead of their mother tongue. At the mosque, however, 100% of Kabyls, in Kabylia as in Arabic-speaking areas, admitted to use only CA in their prayers, as it is required by the Islamic religion.

Table B3

The results of Questonnaire 2, page 472 investigating the domain of use of Kabyl compared to other languages, reveal that the language is mainly spoken in Kabylia, i.e., in its own geographical areas. In Tizzi-Wuzzu and Wahran 82% of Kabyl respondents thought that Kabyl is necessary for official appointments, whereas 81% admitted

that the language is useful for business and commerce since it is used as a vernacular language in Kabylia.

According to the results of Questionnaire 2, Kabyl people in Kabylia are generally satisfied with the teaching of Tamazight at school. 64% and 78% of the respondents in Kabylia are convinced that the language is taught, at universities and in schools respectively. In fact, this is not so. Although Tamazight in its different varieties is taught at the institutes of Amazigh language and culture opened in Tizzi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth (as reported on page 253-254), the teaching of Tamazight in secondary school is presently available only at an experimental level. On the other hand, the teaching of Kabyl in primary school is a continuing process which started in 1994, as explained on page 465. The responses of the majority of Kabyls in Kabylia who thought that their language is taught in school can be explained by the fact that Kabyls are very pleased by the growth of their language. Their belief that their language is being taught at present reveals their expectations and hopes that this will happen in the short term, rather than the actual reality. As regards the use of Tamazight in the media, Table 3, page 472 shows that 56% of Kabyls in Kabylia admitted that Kabyl is regularly used on radio and television. Radio compensates for the lack of television programmes since no television channel is yet dedicated to Tamazight in Algeria. However, one might add that the use of Kabyl is more prominent on radio than on television. In other domains such as scientific publications, national press and administration and in court, Kabyl is generally replaced by MSA and AA.

Table B4

Questionnaire 3, page 473, was distributed to the general public of Kabyl speakers to identify the degree of interest in Kabyl. 95% of Kabyls in Tizzi-Wuzzu and Bgayeth acknowledged that they speak Kabyl whenever possible, whereas, only 39% of Kabyls in Algiers and Wahan admitted making use of that language whenever possible. The relatively low percentage in Algiers and Wahan could be explained by the fact that Kabyl respondents living in these areas have very

few opportunities to use their native language. Such use would normally be limited to family and friends and then usually at home. Few Kabyls in Kabylia (30%) and in Arabic-speaking areas (37%) admitted to reading newspapers and books in Tamazight. It is true that these are not available in many places, e.g., they are not available for loan in national libraries. Up-to-date books sold in bookshops are too expensive to buy by the majority of Kabyl readers. In contrast, radio programmes broadcast in Kabyl and in other varieties of Tamazight are listened to by a majority of Kabyls in Kabylia (96,5%) and also in Algiers and Wahran (69%) whenever possible.

Results of Questionnaires 4, 5, 6 and 7 are summarized on Tables B5, B6, B7 and B8. Questionnaire 4, Appendix B5, refers to the writing of Tamazight. See comments on pages 311-316

Questionnaire 5, Appendix B6, deals with the teaching of Tamazight at school. For comments see chapter 12, pages 358-383.

Questionnaire 6, Appendix B7, looks at the attitudes of parents towards the teaching of Tamazight at school. There are discussed on page 370.

Questionnaire 7, Appendix B8, investigates the teachers' attitude towards bilingual education; Arabic-Tamazight. For analysis and comments, refer to pages 371-373.

الجزائر في 15 / 5 / 1992

مفتش الأكاديمية

الى

APPENDIX C

رقم 162 / 16 / 1992

السيد (ة) : مدير الجامعة

الطالبة ميهوبي ربيعة

الموضوع : رخصة دخول التي مؤممة

للمرجع :

بشرفني أن أخبركم أنني أضعكم رخصة الدخول
التي المؤممة المذكورة أدناه :

(1) - ثابوتية : عمومية : بالولاية : ...

(2) - المدرسية : الأسماء : بالولاية : ...

(3) - ملاحظة : على : يوم : ...

(4) - ...

(5) - ...

(6) - ...

لـ ... ميهوبي ربيعة ...

...

وذلك للسبب التالي : ...

...

ملاحظة : يرجى البحث تحت اشراف رئيسي المجلس

مفتش الأكاديمية

مدير التنظيم التربوي

قودري



لوثائق العرفية :

طابع : خطي ...

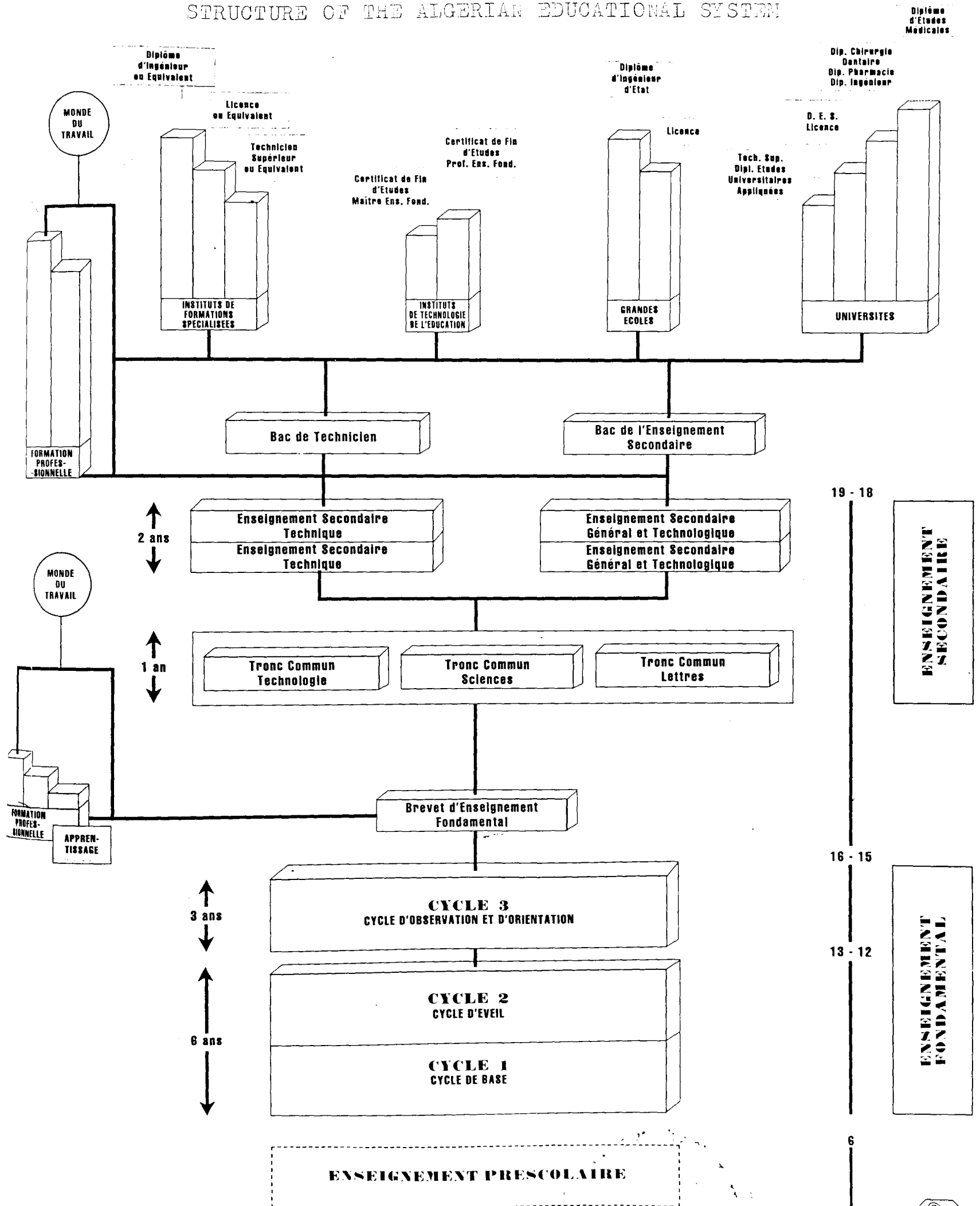
وحصة : ...

...

Autorisation given by the Algerian Ministry
of Education to visit schools and to distribute
a questionnaire.

STRUCTURATION DU SYSTEME EDUCATIF

APPENDIX D STRUCTURE OF THE ALGERIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM



APPENDIX E

VISITS TO SCHOOLS

- Yscol Penweddung. Wales. Dyfed. Aberystwyth. Primary school.
- Yscol Rhydypennau. Wales. Dyfed. Aberystwyth. Nursery school.
- Bun Scoilan. Southern Ireland. Ceathru Rua (Carraroe). Primary school.
- Meanscoil Ros Muc, an Gort Mor. Ireland. Ceathru Rua (Carraroe). Post primary school.
- Meadowburn primary school. Scotland. Glasgow. Bishopbriggs. Primary school. Gaelic unit.
- Sir John Maxwell. Gaelic unit. Glasgow west-End. Pollokshaws. Primary school.
- Saint Conval's Roman Catholic. Glasgow west-End. Pollokshaws. Primary school. Gaelic unit.
- Hillpark secondary school. Gaelic unit. Glasgow.
- Central school. Scotland. Inverness. Gaelic Unit. Primary school.
- Tollcross primary school. Scotland. Edinburgh.
- Uiginish ia schoolpark. Western isles. Isle of Lewis. Knock Point. Primary school.
- Knock primary school. Western Isles. Isles of Lewis. Gaelic unit.
- Laxdale primary school. Scotland, Western Isles. Isles of Lewis. Gaelic unit.
- Sabhal Mor Ostaig. Gaelic college of Skye. Western Isles.
- Woodside secondary school. Scotland. Glasgow.
- Centre d'Enseignement Moyen. Uge Ikhlelouiene (Oumil). Ililane. Tizi-Wuzzu. Algérie.
- Lycée Ben-Boulaid. Tizi-Wuzzu. Algérie.
- Lycée El-Mokrani. Ben-Aknoun. Alger.
- Lycée Amara Rachid. Ben-Aknoun. Alger.
- Lycée El-Idrissi. Place du 1er Mai. Alger
- Lycée Abderrahmane Cil Iloulli. Larbaa Nath-Irathen. Tizi Wuzzu. Kabylie. Algérie

VISITS TO CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

(where Tamazight is taught unofficially)

- Centre culturel Abane Ramdane. Alger.
- Association Tarouflit Dra-El-Mizan. Kabylie. Alger.
- Association Tala Athmane. Kabylie.
- Association Numidya. Wahran.
- Association Tamoughli. Illoulen. Kabylie.
- Association Taguemoun Aït Aïssa. kabylie.
- Association Ass Afus deg wfus. Ath si Youcef. Kabylie.

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEWS

- Mr Aït Amrane, president of the Aseqqamu Unnign Timmuzya. HCA (Higher Commission of Amazigh Affairs). Algiers.
- Mr Graïne, A, responsible of the teaching of Tamazight and teacher training at the Aseqqamu Unnign Timmuzya. Algiers.
- Mrs Ahmed Sayed, teacher at the university of Tizi Wuzzu and president of the Agraw Adelsan Amazigh federation. Algeria
- Miss Abrous, D. Institute of the Amazigh language and culture. University of Bgayeth. Algeria.
- Mr Rabhi, A, researcher in Tamazight. University de Bgayeth. Algeria.
- Mr Chammak, S, researcher in Tamazight. University of Tizi-Wuzzu. Algeria.
- Mr Amokrane, M. President of the MCB-CN (Mouvement Culturel Berbère-Coordination Nationale). Bgayeth. Algeria.

- Prof Chaker, S. Tamazight teacher and linguist. INALCO (Institut National des Langues et civilisations orientales). Paris.
- Dr Ouakrim, O. Tamazight teacher. University Ibnou Zohr Hay Dakla. Agadir. Morocco.

- Dr Maclean, G. R. Gaelic teacher at Stornoway secondary school. Isle of Lewis. Western Isles.
- Mr Maciver, D.J . Bilingual policy adviser. Comhairle Nan Eilean. Haldane Education Centre. Stornoway. Isle of Lewis. Western Isles.
- Mr Macleod, D.J. Gaelic adviser. Highland Region. Scotland.
- Miss Mackinnon. Gaelic adviser. Comhairle Nan Eilean. Haldane Education Centre. Stornoway. Isle of Lewis. Western Isles.
- Mrs MacDonald, M. Haldane Education Centre. Stornoway. Isle of Lewis. Western Isles.
- Mrs Dunn, C. Gaelic advisor. Stornoway. Isle of Lewis. Western Isles.

- Mr Arwel, G. Headmaster at Penweddig primary school. Aberystwyth. Dyfed. Wales.

- Dr O' Buachalla, S. Teacher of "Multicultural education" at the Trinity College. Dublin. Ireland.

- Prof Domènech, M.J. Teacher of "Multicultural education" at the University of Barcelona.
- Mrs Areny, M. Generalitat de Catalunya. Servei d'Ensenyament del Català. Barcelona.

- Mrs Sakar, R. Bengali teacher. Woodside Secondary School. Glasgow.
- Mr Rashid, Urdu teacher. Woodside Secondary School. Glasgow.

APPENDIX G

CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

International conference about "L' Unité et Diversité de Tamazight" held at Ghardaïa. (Algeria). 20-21 April 1991 and organized by Agraw Adelsan Amazigh national federation.

Seminar on "Bilingualism" hold at Glasgow University. Department of Education. February 29 th 1992. Glasgow. Scotland.

Conference on "Language maintenance and revival" held at Trinity College. 28 th May- 4th June 1995. Dublin. Ireland.

"Journées d'études" on "Bilan d'une année d'enseignement de Tamazight dans les classes pilotes" organized by the HCA. 1-2 April 1996. Cité universitaire de jeunes filles. Ben Aknoun. Alger.

"Journées d'études" on "Enseignement de la langue Amazigh; expérience associative et expérience institutionnelle" organized by the HCA and the MCB/CN. 6-7 June 1996. Maison de la culture Mouloud Mammeri. Tizi-Wuzzu. Kabylia.

Seminar on "language maintenance and development. The problems of lesser-spoken languages in the European union". 8-15 March 1997. University of Barcelona. Catalonia.

Ms Mouhovbi Rabea
Department of Education
University Gardens
University of Glasgow
G12 8QH
Glasgow
Scotland

APPENDIX H

8.02.96

Dear Sir,

With regard to your letter of January 29, here are the answers to your questions

- (i) The Irish Free State was founded in 1922 and it declared Irish to be the first national language of the State.
- (ii) Irish was not taught as a subject in primary schools until 1878 and then not during school hours until 1900, nor was it used as a medium of instruction, even in Irish-speaking areas until 1904. By the early 1940's, 55% of primary school students of the country were receiving some or all of their education through Irish, and similar numbers were to be found in second level schools.
- (iii) Irish was made compulsory for entry into the Civil Service in 1925.

If you have any other queries, please do not hesitate to contact us again.

Le dea-ghuif,


MÉABH NÍ CHATHÁIN

A P P E N D I X I

M. Allaoua RABHI
Centre Universitaire de Bgayeth
Département de Langue et Culture Amazigh
Targa-Uzemmur 06 000. Bgayeth. Algérie.

Tél : 213 5 21 13 33/34
Fax : 213 5 21 13 32

Bgayeth, le 05 Aout 1996
Mme Rabéa MOUHOUBI
Department of Education
University of Glasgow
Glasgow (Scotland)

Objet: réponse à vos correspondances
des 26 Juin et 07 Juillet 1996.

Chère Madame,

J'ai reçu deux correspondances de vous; l'une, vous l'avez adressée a Melle Abrous, par laquelle vous me demandez de vous faire parvenir la communication que j'ai présentée aux journées d'études d'Agraw Adelsan Amazigh (Tizi-Wuzzu, 06 et 07 Juin 1996). L'autre vous l'avez adressée à Mr Amokrane, par laquelle vous lui demandez de sélectionner les éventuels éléments pouvant faire l'objet d'une communication au séminaire national sur l'Amazighité.

Les deux lettres m'ont été confiées afin de vous donner une réponse.

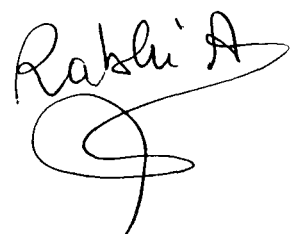
Pour ce qui est de ma communication aux journées des 6 et 7 Juin, il s'agit de mon expérience personnelle dans l'enseignement de la langue Amazigh dans les domaines associatif d'abord, puis universitaire.

Le séminaire national sur l'Amazighité qu'organisera le HCA est toujours maintenu. La date de sa tenue sera probablement différée. Vous avez donc le temps de préparer votre communication. Mais pour de plus amples renseignements, je vous prie de contacter directement le HCA, soit par téléphone (213 2 69 15 89) soit par fax (213 2 69 25 66) . D'emblée, en ce qui concerne le choix du chapitre (de votre thèse) pouvant faire l'objet d'une communication, je peux - si vous le permettez - vous proposer :

- Soit votre approche sur l'enseignement de la langue Amazigh;
 - en situation d'amazighophonie (Tamazight = Langue maternelle)
 - en situation d' arabophonie (Tamazight = Langue seconde)
 - en situation d'hétérogénéité du public.
- Soit votre approche sur les contenus culturels de l' enseignement de la langue Amazigh, sachant que ceux-ci sont d'une importance capitale pour la survie d'une langue et de la société qui la pratique.

Recevez, Madame, l'expression de mes salutations amicales.

Rabhi, A.



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