

## Language Policy Buds Generated off Language Management after a Hundred-thirty-Two Year French Landscape: Algeria, 2019-2020

This paper is a live ins and outs eye witness light shedding on the birth of a new government-authorised language policy imposed by the people (language management) in Algeria, 2019. It delves tacitly into the query which probes how come a given language policy raises in an overnight leaving behind a whole second language. What are the motives, the circumstances and the timing are offbeat questions that this paper tries to decipher, a sound sample explaining that an unexpected language management can be generated by the people in an unexpected timing can adapt the polity's choice to a given language policy more efficient over another. Indeed, the French language knows a substitution to the English language instead while coinciding the potential "hyrak" following February 22, 2019. Incarnation of fruitful features of the latter movement appeared unpredictably thanks to some new laws adopted in a daily one-by-one rhythm by all of the ministries of education, higher education, and trade. In fact, such language policy fields would sharpen a new path to a whole country language policy, trade quality, language prestige within the people, dialects, borrowings, etc. just the same way happened to the previous cases around the world.

**Keywords:** language policy; government; people weight; English; French.

### Introduction

Currently, the French language is the second wide spread language in the country of Algeria. It is believed it is the second largest spoken language after France – more even than Canada. More precisely, besides, it is nearly scriptualised in most both private and state administrations and institutions except some features like religious spheres or city halls.

In Algeria, French is ubiquitous, the language of research, dictation and writing in various faculties as is the case in medical science, for example. Pupils in the primary school, as well, are headed French courses regularly with full examinations just like parallel modules of maths, Arabic and religion. This is none of opacity why many families send their children to private French learning schools by the age of 5-12. Farther, the landscape, in most northern cities of the country, appears entirely French; all headings of groceries, fast-foods, chic and artless restaurants, youth dormitories, advertisement panels, etc. are printed in bold French – and in many cases both the style (*à-la-française*) and language coincide. Inside the state institutions, like pharmacies, laboratories, chemical industries, etc. all the hanged notes are written in French; too, the reports are released by heads and co-workers in French. On the television, ministers and higher-ups representing the politician and the elite layers get expressed in French live when it is about any display release. In many cases, moreover, when the latter cohort stoops on classical Arabic,

speeches are commonly underwent in French when talk gaps and slips of tongues befall. Except the preceding, it is admitted to note that the southern side of Algeria is less exposed to such evidences and facts among the people. Above all, however, erroneous utterances, pronunciations or enunciations – or even written faults by any full-grown person – of French language are made account as a shameful level of intellectuality and education in countless cases, for the latter language has been inevitably held as a symbol of prestige, education and self-status in the daily Algerian life. This cohort of egregious level of French is called the passive francophone speakers<sup>1</sup>.

Although the arabisation reforms enticed practices before the independence (by Zawaya<sup>2</sup>, Friday sermons, teaching Qur'an by father to son) and later by many successive governments mandates (declaring Arabic as the first national language by president Ben Bella and the second vast language policy applied by president Houari Boumediene), the French language endured so far to this very day to be considered as the symbol of prestige and modernism. But regardless, and in an abrupt social reaction by the Algerian people in February 22, 2019 following the presidential electoral groundings (2019- 2023) marches of thousands of citizens foamed on a Friday noon many streets of the country. It was for the first time in the history of Algeria when massive walks appealed overly without fear the rejection of the fifth mandate. On the one hand, the people refused many political issues that, as they claimed and wrote on panels, plagued the country since the independence. On the other hand, insofar as this work is concerned, the people requested the substitution of French to English in all its forms of quotidian life. Henceforward, This work is technically a standing bridge amid French, which is a fact intermeshed with the Algerian culture and history, and the new language policy starting from post-hyrak (post-march), which will still be a matter of people willingness, polity and time. Above all, only time may assert and frame such results; otherwise, the following lines below will explain step by step the background of French in Algeria and its fate vis-à-vis the future and English which is globalising the world.

## History

A vigorous sociologist or socio/linguist cannot deny that all lands of the world marked different peoples scriptualising truly poles apart languages and that the scale of footing and thumbing got altered from a place to another since the modern era to the nameless, perpetual past. Algeria, however, still can be retained as one of the rarest samples of lands that cradled and amassed more peoples of various languages. For history, this strategic Mediterranean space was exposed to many indigenous tribes and conquests like for instance Berbers, the Romans, the vandals and the Byzantine, the Arabs (Umayyad, Abbasid,

<sup>1</sup>They would know few words like the expression of love, anger, insulting and so on.

<sup>2</sup>Plural of zawya, meaning a humble temple mainly used to learn Quranic lectures (a term known in the Maghreb mainly).

1 Fatimid, etc.), the Ottomans, the Spanish, and lastly the French (1827-1962). It  
 2 is believed that the Berber people are meant to be the endogenous people of  
 3 Algeria – who named it Numidia. With the early Arabs’ missionaries whom  
 4 settled down from Saudi Arabia to North Africa Arabic sustained to be the  
 5 wide spread language as a large variety countering no reluctance thanks the  
 6 massive conversions. Besides, Berber, with all of its verities, remained as well  
 7 the wide spread language among Kabyle people, Mzabi people, Shaoui people,  
 8 etc. as a sign of identity clinging. Insofar as this paper is apprehensive as  
 9 regards to the language policy Algeria is getting a radical regeneration, the  
 10 following lines develop more about Arabic versus French.

11 The French language initiated first with the early invasions following “the  
 12 fan incident” in 1827 which declared the battle of Navarin. As the French  
 13 invaded more lands of the Algerian territory following 1830, the French  
 14 language became ubiquitous mostly on northern lands, for the French policy  
 15 played on erasing the Arabic identity in urgent. This can be well sensed in De  
 16 Montagnac’s<sup>3</sup> vocalised passage in 1843, “All populations who do not accept  
 17 our conditions must be erased.” (as cited in Leclerc, 2001) France, afterwards,  
 18 intensified its policy based on four or five main delicate domains: military  
 19 power and adaptation to all the Algerian territory, political power for  
 20 manipulation, brain wash and world general opinion vindication, judicial  
 21 power for moral, and the French language imposition. Well-nigh, France  
 22 “disintegrated all social, economic, and cultural traits of the Algerian identity  
 23 to be substituted to the colonial State referents by means of army strength,  
 24 political power, judicial power and mainly the French language imposition.”  
 25 (Leclerc, 2001) Following the escalation of the worse-going reality behind the  
 26 isolated borders, the Algerian citizens, furthermore, were deprived access of  
 27 pursuing studies neither in Arab, nor in French: a slow cadence rendering the  
 28 people illiterate through time unconsciously. Otherwise, the lesser  
 29 opportunities which were ceded place inside the French schools were meant for  
 30 both a language policy and evangelisation. In 1932, France announced a new  
 31 law regarding Arabic language, it was since then and on when Arabic got  
 32 considered as a foreign language of all the Algerian territories (as cited in  
 33 Hadjira Medane, 2015, p. 41). As was the case, Arabic noticed a sharp  
 34 degradation, as there were no academic spheres except some left zawaya (most  
 35 were destroyed) which delivered Quranic lectures and introductions, as Duc  
 36 d’Aumale noted, but were still meant and leased by the coloniser to serve other  
 37 occult purposes (as cited in Colonat 1987, p.83). Henceforward, as most  
 38 citizens seemed regular – excluding those who fled to Saudi Arabia, Egypt and  
 39 Tunisia for scholarship – it became undeniably a must to exchange  
 40 communication with the coloniser in French only. Civic spheres like cinema,  
 41 markets, railways, etc., which were constructed by the French administration,  
 42 appeared given posts only in French. Posters, panels, advertisements, journals,  
 43 libraries, etc. were all francized; that is, any local Algerian individual would be  
 44 obliged and urged to pursue learning in/about French even though he was

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<sup>3</sup>François Joseph Lucien de Montagnac De Montagnac’s (March 27, 1803 - September 23, 1845), a lieutenant-colonel.

1    analphabetic. Besides, many ladies headed working in flats of French endemic  
 2    people downtown; some of them even lived in their houses to do all kinds of  
 3    tough home works. Eventually, the “OAS”, French military forces, was against  
 4    the latter idea which incarnated in killing Algerian workers inside the French  
 5    flats in case of search warrants. In countryside, citizens suffered two  
 6    devastating policies: the “burnt earth” and hunger 1944-1945 (the receipt  
 7    year)<sup>4</sup>. Following this rhythm, besides the French language policy practiced in  
 8    the landscape, learning French whether in written or oral skills converted  
 9    inescapable before earning the piece of bread; talking French became  
 10   inevitably a total must to survive where the French people were about.  
 11   Furthermore, the elite layer was not sceptical to use French as a weapon to  
 12   make heard the Algerian case on the international level, as it was the only way-  
 13   out language to pursue justice, identification and dignity. Ironically, it turned  
 14   out to be a sort of a blowback against the French language policy. Three  
 15   pertinent soft revolutionists amongst whom were Katib Yacine, Mohamed Dib,  
 16   Mouloud Feraoun: those who wrote better than French native speakers as  
 17   believed.

18       Following 1962, the independence year – since 1827 – the first  
 19   constitution declared Arabic as the official language of Algeria: “The Arabic  
 20   language is the national and official language of the State.”<sup>5</sup> But however,  
 21   following all the language policies granted by the constitutions reforms it  
 22   appeared well obvious, through still even the landscape and despite all the  
 23   efforts made to render the Standard Arabic a national language of all domains  
 24   of the civic life, the French language remained privileged and protruding in the  
 25   Algerian society. GrandGuillaume (2002) noted that “the role of the French  
 26   language as regards to the daily socio-economic life made account the  
 27   impossibility to deny it as a language of promotion to many Algerians.” (as  
 28   cited in Bistolfi, Giordan, 2003 p. 147)

29       Eventually, as French was the language of science reaching its utmost  
 30   levels of readership seeking medical sciences, literature, philosophy and  
 31   sociology, and petroleum domains in the twentieth century, most translated  
 32   sciences into French paved the way to the Algerian students as it was already  
 33   their second language. As escalating knowledge is a privilege to a minority of  
 34   people who pursued their studies in years of poverty and radical reformulation  
 35   after the independence, the use of French outdoors in communion daily  
 36   communication became a prestige and education. In number language  
 37   factually, it is believed that 87% of the population was literate when France  
 38   invaded the Algerian lands; whereas, the D-day of independent in July 1962  
 39   was a start based on 10 to 13 percent of humbly educated people (some say  
 40   only 500 had reached the baccalaureate certificate).

41       In October 1963, the first Algerian president, Ahmed Ben Bella,  
 42   proclaimed that Islam is the religion of Algeria Sate but did not emphasise on  
 43   Literal Arabic, as was believed that the Arabic of that stage was intruded by

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<sup>4</sup>People were obliged to eat except what the French authorities delivered and organised in receipts.

<sup>5</sup>The Algerian constitution. Article 3. 1963.

1 many foreign words; besides, Classical Arabic was used except in prayers.  
 2 Practically, Ben Bella endorsed learning Arabic in all Algerian Primary  
 3 Schools in 1963 by a rhythm of 7 hours out of 30 hours per week. In 1964, the  
 4 latter number advanced to 10 hours per day. As there were nearly no  
 5 pedagogically skilled teachers of primary schools, the president, by announcing  
 6 recruitment, sought help from Syria and Egypt<sup>6</sup>.

7 After framing the military in June 19, 1965 by Colonel Houari Boumedien  
 8 against his peer Ben Bella for an ouster, this successive bared a penetrating  
 9 animosity regarding French language. Clues of this abhorrence performed  
 10 overly when he got nominated the first Arab president who spoke Classical  
 11 Arabic in United Nations in April 1974, despite of his well advanced French.  
 12 Unlike the erstwhile one, many historians passed on that the colonel-president  
 13 imposed Arabisation by force and it was the first step to a better Arabic  
 14 language policy. In June 19, 1965 Boumediene presented a discourse regarding  
 15 “the National Chart” in a conference mentioning central dots. He contended  
 16 that, though there are several concurrent languages on the national level  
 17 territory and numerous Arabic dialects that are undeniably imposed by many  
 18 French words being part the Algerian history cultural background, Literal  
 19 Arabic must be thoroughly sovereign. The level of Arabic, as Boubediene  
 20 supplemented additionally, is a question amongst fundamentals of the country  
 21 issues. Finally, he added that the local dialects which are different regarding  
 22 other dialects of different areas whether in the South or in the North – and  
 23 otherwise – risk Algerians sharp incompressibility with other Arab nations like  
 24 Damas, Iraq, Egypt, etc. if the case goes with the flow fifty years from that date  
 25 (date of the conference). Inclusively linguistically speaking, the Colonel-  
 26 president Houari Boumediene operated on levelling up the status of Classical  
 27 Arabic, erasing as much as possible local dialects and regionalism, and  
 28 unifying and coagulating nationalism. Practically, the mere time following the  
 29 “National Chart” many administrations, like education (Taleb Ibrahimi,  
 30 minister) and justice mainly, responded to his appeal to arabise all francized  
 31 texts, laws and panels. Regardless of all these efforts, and mainly after  
 32 Arabising the faculties of law and history, the students displayed no applauding  
 33 to the new status. This was proved by a questionnaire sought after by the  
 34 university of Berkeley in 1968; the results maintained that 80 percent of  
 35 students favoured the on-going of teaching in French in local universities.

36 In 1979, President Chadli Ben Djdid escalated the presidency and also  
 37 engaged in pursuing promoting Arabisation and “islamisation”. As religious  
 38 languages do never die, Chadli believed that Arabic would be a must and help  
 39 of learning and arabising as Islam urges practitioners to read the holy Quran in  
 40 Arabic in prayers. Furthermore, he ordered pupils to boycott all establishments  
 41 having the stance of French cultural means (*établissement de la mission*  
 42 *culturelle française*). In what concerns Tamazight, this third president  
 43 sidestepped applying any rule concerned with teaching as it could deviate to

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<sup>6</sup>Some say those recruited Egyptians were Religionists and not Arabic language teachers. Besides, Egypt applauded this covenant as it wished getting rid of the more and more endorsed movement of « Al Ikhwan Al Muslimin / The Muslim brothers »

1 the national division and regionalism, as he claimed. In 1981, Benjedid  
 2 approved a new decree, n°81-36/March, which granted arabisation to the  
 3 landscapes of state administrations like the police, civil protection, customs,  
 4 hospitals, universities, and so on; a step mostly sensitive on the linguistic level.  
 5 In 1986, the Algerian Parliament adopted a new law defining the creation of  
 6 “Arabic language Algerian Academy” (*L’Académie Algérienne de la Langue*  
 7 *Arabe*) under the new consensus law n°86-10/August, 1986 (article n°5), which  
 8 worked on promoting Classical Arabic and most importantly including it in all  
 9 varieties of science and disciplines. In 1991, President Chadli Benjdj  
 10 prescribed a new law with reference to language policy, which is believed a  
 11 radically unparalleled plan to integrate classical Arabic once for all in Algeria.  
 12 The law n°91-05/January, 1991 concerned a commitment of – if not  
 13 exaggerated – a hundred percent of Arabisation of all administrations,  
 14 establishments, and institutions and even contests of recruitments besides.  
 15 Nevertheless, the latter decree has never been applied as the successive  
 16 president Mohamed Boudiaf (1992) froze the law n°91-05 in 1992, for he  
 17 assumed that the circumstances do not allow such gigantic once-for-all  
 18 language policy. In fact, this step was predictable the mere time earlier as he  
 19 addressed the folks in Algerian Arabic – not classical one – that they would  
 20 understand with ease.

21 The successive Colonel-president Ali Kafi (1992-1994) referred to the  
 22 earlier law adapted by Chadli Ben Djdid (n° 91-05) in upgrading and  
 23 approving two new laws: one presidential and one legislative. The first one, n°  
 24 92-303/July 4, 1992 highlighted that the nationalising and the spread of Literal  
 25 Arabic in all classes of administrations of the state, the establishments, and the  
 26 institutions is a compulsion that cannot be revised. The second decree, on the  
 27 other hand, n°92-02/July 4, 1992, which seemed obviously contradicting the  
 28 first one, maintained to “suspend” the earlier law n°91-05/ July 16, 1991,  
 29 which concerned generalising classical Arabic fully hundred percent in all over  
 30 the country. During Colonel Alik Kafi, the language policy, just as was the  
 31 case of two contradicting laws, seemed not having salient maintenance by the  
 32 polity, for – perhaps – the political rhythm was a bit alternative and hazy. But  
 33 however, in a juncture unlike the previous years, the English language got  
 34 introduced to be taught in primary schools for the first time in 1993, a strong  
 35 concurrence to the French language. Despite of the new introduced foreign  
 36 language in neutrality (abolishing Tamazight and French), the French language  
 37 appeared maintaining no efforts in derailing English; indeed, the National  
 38 Centre for Analysis and Studies Planning Precised that only 55 950 had chosen  
 39 studying English out of 4.7 million pupils after a recommendation of their parents in  
 40 the scholar year four years later (1997-1998).

41 In 1994, the fifth Algerian president was Liamine Zeroual, a 61 percent  
 42 vote gainer who delivered Algerian Arabic and French in his discourses.  
 43 During his mandate, thousands of protests hailed Berbers in the country to  
 44 question the status of Tamazight in nationalism. At the moment of the reaction  
 45 summit the Algerian Government disclosed no response to the Berber appeal.  
 46 Unexpectedly, the government called out parents to choose what language  
 47 amongst French versus French they prefer their children to be thought in

1 primary schools under the title that English is the language of science and  
 2 technology. Practically speaking, the English language, again, was but a theory  
 3 far away to be kicked in the gear; some say it was due to the parents' choice  
 4 that circled French, whereas some say it was due to the lack of skilled/enough  
 5 teachers specialised in English (TOEFL). As no response got vocalised  
 6 officially by the Algerian authorities, August 18, 1994 was a D-day when all  
 7 Berber territories protested; a serious strike and recant to schools seats. It was  
 8 mainly known by "the strike of schoolbags" (*la grèves des cartables*). As the  
 9 case kept on an alternative status for more than nine months by appealing  
 10 Tamazight to be included in education, president Zeroual announced a  
 11 presidential decree, n° 95-147/March 17, 1995, mentioning the creation of the  
 12 Supreme Bureau for Tamazight (haut commissariat à l'amaghité). In what  
 13 concerns Classical Arabic, this fifth president decided to regenerate the law  
 14 n°91-05/January 16, 1991 – which amassed theoretically no chance of  
 15 applicability – to be reset in law n°96-30/December 21, 1996 by which he  
 16 nominated the use of Arabic in the non-arabised spheres so far like university  
 17 faculties mainly. However, by the course of two year later, and as the civic  
 18 rhythm was racking down in Algeria (the black decade), in June 5, 1998,  
 19 Matoub Lounes (a famous Kabylia singer) was assassinated causing the  
 20 Berber territories sharp riots. Eventually, the rage in Berber cities put term to  
 21 all Arabic posts, panels, advertisement papers, etc. except those written in  
 22 French and in Berber were kept.

23 As Zeroual resigned leaving behind the palace of Moradia in Algiers the  
 24 capital in April 27, 1999, his successive president was Abd Al Aziz Bouteflika.  
 25 The latter president spoke in Algerian Arabic in a populist manner that some  
 26 considered comprehensible to all ages; besides, he spoke French language with  
 27 highly advanced quality, particularly when having questionnaires with external  
 28 western channels. Bouteflika was in fact aware of the issue Berbers versus  
 29 Classical language, but never claimed that Algeria had linguistic issues. But in  
 30 order to culminate the tension, and following some constitution adjustments  
 31 regardless, the parliament declared in April 2002 Berber as a national language  
 32 too for the first time – but implicitly not official. Following the second mandate  
 33 (2004-2008), in 2005 Bouteflika responded to the Berber movement by  
 34 reluctance:

35  
 36 “No country in the world stands for two official languages, and this will  
 37 never be the case in Algeria wherein Arabic will remain the only official  
 38 language dedicated by the constitution. [...] But this does not veil of  
 39 learning about Tamazight and its variations and dialects.” (October 4,  
 40 2005. National Television)<sup>7</sup>  
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<sup>7</sup>The translation : Il n'y a aucun pays au monde possédant deux langues officielles et ce ne sera jamais le cas en Algérie où la seule langue officielle, consacrée par la Constitution, est l'arabe. [...] Ceci ne nous empêche pas d'apprendre la langue amazighe avec toutes ses variantes et dialectes.

1        Though there are truly countries that admit and adapt two official  
 2 languages (case of 18 countries in Africa), the Algerian government, did not  
 3 welcome the idea of cracking unilinguism as it is a great pillar of the national  
 4 unity.

5        Otherwise, in what concerns the deep-rooted matter of Arabic versus  
 6 French, the president declared enacting the law n°05-07/August 23, 2005,  
 7 which served supervising the private schools for teaching languages – mainly  
 8 French. The president called implicitly the private schools acting in Kabylia  
 9 territories to give priority to Arabic language and to respond to the national  
 10 programme of arabisation. He declared, “It is absolutely clear enough that any  
 11 private institution, which does not respond to the fact that Arabic is national  
 12 and official in its absolute priority, must be removed.”<sup>8</sup> (President Bouteflika,  
 13 2005). Practically speaking not very far from the latter declared, in March 2006  
 14 Bouteflika ordered concluding the term of 42 francophone establishments  
 15 acting inside the country. Ostensibly, Arabisation got endorsed by a language  
 16 policy well agreed intention in lines of “article 33” expounding the regulatory  
 17 law of January 2008: teaching is provided in Arabic at all educational levels;  
 18 whether in public establishments or in private teaching and educating. In what  
 19 concerns Tamazight, as “article 34” highlighted and introduced, the core did  
 20 not emphasis application as dedicated to Classical Arabic; a form of superficial  
 21 recommendation rather. Technically speaking, the law 2008 was a stimulating  
 22 version of to the executive decree mentioned earlier n° 76-35/ April 16, 1976.  
 23 Both laws supervised stretching arabising in law courts, city halls, universities,  
 24 etc. For example, though in 2008 nearly all law courts were Arabised, the law  
 25 n°08-09/February 25 (2008) served clarifying additionally the use of Arabic  
 26 inside law courts, in debates, and in sentencing verbally judgments in Arabic  
 27 merely. In February 7, 2016, however, the Algerian Parliament called for the  
 28 constitution reform; indeed, it got applauded by 499 parliamentarians – but still  
 29 denied by two deputies – and nominated for the first time in the Algerian  
 30 history Tamazight, just like Arabic, both a national and official language. The  
 31 former is well phrased in “Article 3”: Tamazight is equally [like Arabic] a  
 32 national and official language.” (The constitution).

33        All things considered, although the efforts of all presidents (government-  
 34 authorised language policy) dedicated to classical Arabic, the French language  
 35 pertained to many fundamental fields in the Algerian society and the civic  
 36 rhythm. A good proof for that are the years 1987, 1993, and 1997 where  
 37 parents were queried by the government to pick amid French and English to be  
 38 taught in primary schools as they cannot be both charged in one syllabus. In a  
 39 many expectable referendums, ninety percent of parents selected French over  
 40 English in all over Algeria. Today, 2019-2020, the status of spoken languages,  
 41 particularly in North-western cities, is still ceded privilege to French – and its  
 42 speakers – over many concurrent languages like Arabic, Tamazight and  
 43 English.

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<sup>8</sup>The translation : Il est tout à fait clair que toute institution privée, qui ne tient pas compte du fait que l'arabe est la langue nationale et officielle, et qui ne lui accorde pas une priorité absolue, est appelée à disparaître.

### From People to Government-authorised Language Policy (2019)

The reason why nowadays French is still part of the Algerian society as is fully francized landscapes engrained gradually on behalf of many years of “parsimonious” arabising reforms. Eventually, people who traced pedagogical academic scholarship in colleges after the independence earned advanced civic rhythm than those who did pursue their studies because of the harsh conditions and poverty. Yet however, teaching was nearly fully in French; therefor, French and educations became two faces of the same coin. Moreover, even with the successive second generation courting from the independence date, most graduate students seemed graving traits of successful people in life amongst which were general practitioners, teachers, chemists, etc. appeared in advanced step regarding regular people whether in life style, purchasing power and affording, health status, social acceptance, etc. GrandGuillaume<sup>9</sup> (2002) attested, “it ended up impossible to deny the role of French within the socio-economic life as a language of promotion to many Algerians” (p. 147). But still however, many faculties could not rail arabising reforms (as mentioned in presidential and legislative decries and laws earlier in “History”) like Medical sciences, chemistry, IAP (petroleum studies) and many other faculties. In addition, fields recruitments based on scientific attestations were much better likely expected than those fields of law, Arabic teaching, and religious studies. As was the case, through time the French language – and even the one code-switched or code-mixed with Arabic – ‘performed’ to be more or less a symbol of two important components in any society: prestige and education. The latter picturing might be a salient plausible reason why French is intricate with the Algerian society.

On February 22, 2019, many Algerians walked out to streets to express their refusal on the subject of the presidential election of 2019-2013 which would seemingly nominate the current president Bouteflika to a fifth mandate consecutively. In general, the march was an unorganised plan; it was impulsive, potential, and spontaneous. On the succeeding Friday (February 29), thousands of Algerians rushed countless streets of the country wishing and begging marchers not to destroy, to insult, to invade shops or to cause any immoral act that leads to quandary of rabbleroising amid the police and the people. As hundreds of media means around the world demonstrated, all what protesters have been seeking was depicted on skins, panels, shirts, flags, dyed hairs and so on with all the recognised peaceful forms of expression in streets. In an odd scene, marchers shared milk, dates, bottle of water with the police corps who stood unable to react as none of riots got committed. Precisely, the loud populist acoustics characterised two sedentary, wide-reaching expressions in the country: “*silmiya silmya*” and “*la li al ouhda al khamissa*”, meaning “peaceful, peaceful” and “no to the fifth mandate”. As the case escalated

<sup>9</sup>The translation: “Il fut impossible de dénier au français son rôle dans la vie socio-économique comme langue de promotion pour beaucoup d’Algériens.”

1 irreducibly with more and more protesters on each on-going Friday though  
 2 President Bouteflika resigned – as he was required an ouster as one amongst  
 3 tens of requests – the people demanded other political and civic requests like  
 4 the prosecution of many political personalities, military leaders and other well-  
 5 off businessmen.

6 Far of any political analysis, a worth sociolinguistic<sup>10</sup> highpoint prompts  
 7 that the troops demanded the government, in an odd watchfulness  
 8 unprecedented since the independence, to substitute French to English in all  
 9 schools, universities (chemistry, medical sciences, biology and other technic-  
 10 scientific scopes) in many forms of expressions. The hub of this request shared  
 11 out perchance not only with which option deals the science of language but  
 12 rather with a matter of discounting the French language as is the symbol of an  
 13 objectionable acculturation deep-rooted off colonialism from allegedly 1962 to  
 14 the past. As a result, and still in the core of language vis-à-vis the government  
 15 regardless some arrests the meant authorities generated following truly the  
 16 Hyrak, the government (as the ministry of the education and the ministry of  
 17 higher education) declared verbalising some changes live on the television and  
 18 on social media (Facebook mainly). As these responses were was palpable and  
 19 practical in some ways, the French government condemned both tacitly and  
 20 directly about such hasty decisions; indeed, it would be sharp tentacular  
 21 failures. France promoted ahead its language policy afterwards the  
 22 independence across mobilising “*L’institut Française*” in Oran and Algiers  
 23 mainly, trade-off and swap facilitations, hosting general practitioners and  
 24 specialties for special studies, scholarships for students and many other both  
 25 “occult” and protruding privileges inaccessible to neighbouring countries or  
 26 even others of coalition. As the Algerian government appeared through mass  
 27 media serious and cautious in response to the people, and mainly after the  
 28 government had required shops, groceries, and business spheres Arabic  
 29 headings instead of French, France again endorsed its language policy (on  
 30 September 3-4, 2019) fawning overly that the visa gate is regular to any  
 31 Algerian. For instance, the visa for regular Algerians was totally denied access  
 32 and suspended since all along six months earlier.

33 Among what came following the higher-ups decisions or even the people’s  
 34 decisions are the following:

- 36 • Tayeb Bouzid, minister of higher education and scientific research,  
 37 replied a student-general-practitioner, who asked about the possibility  
 38 of using English instead of French, that this matter goes back  
 39 particularly to the public of academicians after a survey they conclude  
 40 (as cited in Al Masdar Newspaper, August 20, 2019),

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<sup>10</sup>Language policy is not politics; instead, it deals with political matters and government-  
 authorised decisions powered either by the people or by the polity. For instance,  
 sociolinguistics is not the sociology of language. The first concentrates on language whilst the  
 second concentrate on sociology but still from the window of language.

- 1 • Minister of education, Abd Al Hakim Belabed, announced that contests  
2 for recruitments concerned with primary/middle/high schools will be  
3 freed of French language skills examination. (June 1, 2019),
- 4 • Tidjani Hassane Heddami, Minister of profession and social insurance,  
5 promised officially that workers of the state (insurances) will be trained  
6 English courses following the academic year 2019-2020,
- 7 • Algerian authorities desire a survey ahead querying about the matter of  
8 French versus English. Besides, Tayeb Bouzid affirmed that a covenant  
9 will be signed in the very brief with the U.S. Ambassador Jean  
10 Derocher delving into eight issues concerning data and social  
11 promotion (as cited in Al Ain Newspaper, 27 June 6, 2019).
- 12 • The new university for medical sciences in Oran City changed its  
13 identical panel written in Arabic subtitled in English lately in June  
14 2019.
- 15 • Many pages and profiles on Facebook called to recant using French;  
16 moreover, some of them commented in different publications that they  
17 do not read French commentaries anymore.
- 18 • Numerous shops in well known avenues labelled their groceries,  
19 restaurants, and shops in English.
- 20 • In USTO University in Oran City (Scientific studies), the student  
21 administrative file recap (Bachelor and MA degrees) was printed in  
22 Arabic at the right with English translation at the left. Besides, headings  
23 of the departments were translated into English instead of French,
- 24 • The subscribing of many families for their children in English and  
25 American schools like Metro languages, BLC, and the American  
26 Corner  
27

28 Between this and that, it is imperative upon all the proofs and facts that  
29 followed this “hyrak” (the peaceful march) that the generator of this  
30 government-authorised language policy is meant by the people. This is a great  
31 proof telling that language policies all over the world cannot be governmental  
32 decisions only, but man made, too. Such particulars reminds of the case of “*la*  
33 *revolution tranquille*” pursued by the Quebecois in 1960 when they demanded  
34 to use French in administrations instead of English.

35 In whys and wherefores language regarding the current Algerian case –  
36 since this paper is being written in the middle of the “hyrak” – only time may  
37 assert whether or not such policy decisions are applicable and factual on the  
38 real field. But however, such analyses (like the one at hand) explain at least  
39 why such future linguistic changes occur in a given shape instead of others.  
40 The opportunities of such second languages change set in a given country are  
41 outgrowths of such gargantuan people movement, or otherwise.  
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44

## Conclusion

Algeria is a country that suffered a serious French languages policy all long 1962 to the past (1830). A sound proof for that is its francized landscape reaching many domains in all over the administrations of the country. The foundation was the early days the French authorities operated on eradicating the Algerian culture off roots. But however, as Arabic was part of the Algerian culture (Islam urges prayers in Arabic), France maintained cracking the language successively that the looked-for goal hits in ease. All almost, Algerians found themselves with poor non-minded Arabic, as at a given period they were not withdrew any form of scholarship for decades; neither in Arabic nor in French. After the independence, French seem not torn of the system; henceforth, it became symbolised with self-esteem and prestige. The ego of holding on to “prestige” and “tough social acceptance” in the Algerian society is what handicapped getting rid of French after the independence. Moreover, despite of all the presidential and legislative reforms concerning arabisation, French sustained in a way or another being “an informal second language” – though many linguists asserted it degradation in terms of mastership and learning amongst youngsters mainly. In February 2019, the people protested against the fifth mandate raising in streets aloud three main demands: ouster to the fifth mandate, justice against authority symbols, and the replacing French by English. Eventually, the upcoming days following the Hyrak ended up with fruitful results like the elimination of the fifth mandate, prosecution of several politicians and leaders between – allegedly – 15 top 20 year of prison and sowing buds of a new language policy regarding French versus English. Linguistically speaking, language policies around the world, whether direct or indirect, receptive or impulsive, paly of the scale of time their results. The latter meant that any language policy can benefit of its language policy reforms between twenty to forty years – a whole generation. As is the case, Algeria, likewise all the past sample of countries or regions which sought language change like Quebec, Catalonia, Papua New Guinea, etc. is committed with time to clear-cut and say that French is discarded finally from the society and replaced by English. The years 2045, 2055 up to/and 2070 are sound proofs to assert such results

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