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Language policy and planning of Amazigh languages in Morocco: a study of the language ideology of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM)

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and plays a critical role in preventing Moroccan Amazigh varieties from being classified as separate dialects according to Ameur's criteria. The consistency between Chafik's and IRCAM's dictionaries, where Arabic loanwords are removed in both cases, can thus be better understood. This exclusion addresses both *attrition* and *dialectalization*, ultimately contributing to the *revitalization* of Amazigh.

The exclusion of Arabic loanwords from the vocabulary of standard Moroccan Amazigh has two potential consequences. First, it should be noted that, as shown by Kossmann, except for the Amazigh variety of Ghadames (Libya), "all other languages are relatively high borrowers."[598] Thus, the foremost effect of IRCAM's exclusion of Arabic loans in the standardization process might not be to make Amazigh varieties in Morocco "more similar," but rather to create a vocabulary that is different from the language practices of all Amazigh speakers in the country. Second, considering that Tashelhiyt is a lower borrower of Arabic in Morocco compared to Tarifiyt and Central Moroccan Amazigh, a general exclusion of Arabic loans from standard Moroccan Amazigh makes the language relatively more familiar to Tashelhiyt speakers than to Tarifiyt speakers.

The significant gap between standard Moroccan Amazigh and the varieties used in practice, which runs contrary to Boukous's principle of avoiding "the imposition of an arbitrary standard norm,"[599] is not overlooked by IRCAM. This issue is addressed through another key concept in IRCAM's language planning—the "polynomic approach," which will be examined in the next chapter.

6. UNDERSTANDING THE POLYNOMIC APPROACH IN IRCAM'S LANGUAGE PLANNING

The idea of a polynomic approach plays a significant role in IRCAM's discourse about language planning. Originating from the Corsican experience, this approach is applied to address the complexities of planning Amazigh, which encompasses multiple varieties. As CAL member El Mehdi Iazzi explains, "L'approche polynomique appréhende la langue dans le respect de sa diversité. Toutes les variétés sont reconnues légitimes et aucune ne peut prétendre représenter à elle seule la langue" (The

[598] Kossmann, M. (2013b). p. 421.
[599] Boukous, A. (2009b). p. 423.

polynomic approach views the language with respect to its diversity. All varieties are recognized as legitimate, and none can claim to represent the language on its own).[600] The polynomic principle is implemented in planning Amazigh by "recognizing and integrating variations within the norm at all levels of the linguistic system (phonetic/phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic), both written and oral, and avoiding a rigid, uniform national linguistic standard.[601] As Meftaha Ameur concludes, a polynomic approach allows for "donner plein droit aux usages pluriels" (fully legitimizing plural usages).[602]

Through the literal interpretation of this polynomic approach, one might think that the aforementioned tendency of standard Moroccan Amazigh being particularly distant from Tarifiyt—both phonetically, through Tifinagh-IRCAM, and lexically, through the exclusion of Arabic loanwords—might not constitute a rigid norm. Instead, Tarifiyt would be granted "plein droit" according to the polynomic principle. However, in practice, these two aspects are explicitly highlighted as exceptions to IRCAM's polynomic approach and are not addressed in a laissez-faire manner. As Iazzi explains: "Les deux aspects qui nécessitent une intervention ou un ajustement sont la 'norme graphique' et le traitement des 'lacunes lexicales' et de la masse des 'emprunts non intégrés.'"[603] It is only beyond these two aspects that the polynomic approach applies, ensuring that "la totalité des structures, communes et variées, font partie de la norme nationale."[604]

This selective application of the polynomic principle necessitates an investigation into the true meaning and function of IRCAM's polynomic ideology. This chapter begins by examining the original meaning of the polynomic ideology in the Corsican context. It then explores how IRCAM has adopted a polynomic approach in the planning of Amazigh, analyzing its differences and how it aligns with and supports the planning of standard Moroccan Amazigh. The chapter will argue that IRCAM's polynomic ideology is fundamentally different from that in the Corsican context and functions only subordinate to the standard language ideology, rather than

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[600] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 30

[601] *Ibid.*

[602] Ameur, M. (2009). Aménagement linguistique de l'amazighe: Pour une approche polynomique. *Asinag, 3*, 75-88. p. 81.

[603] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 30.

[604] *Ibid.*

as a guiding principle shaping planning decisions. This argument will be assessed through an examination of how the polynomic approach is applied in the morphological domain.

6.1. The Corsican Language and the Concept of Polynomy

IRCAM attributes the origin of the polynomic approach in language planning to the experience of the Corsican language.[605] Corsican originated from Latin, which became established on the island during antiquity following the conquest of Corsica and Sardinia in the 3rd century BCE. Throughout the Middle Ages, Tuscan functioned as the prestige language of the Corsican islanders, eventually yielding to Italian in the 16th century for all vernacular uses.[606] After the French conquest in 1769, Corsica experienced a process of linguistic francization, during which French gradually replaced Italian and infiltrated vernacular usage. Today, French is the most widely used language on the island.[607] Under the strong one nation–one language ideology of French nationalism, Corsican, like other regional languages in France, holds no official status. It is usually considered endangered, with UNESCO identifying it in 2012 as being in a phase preceding extinction based on the criterion of intergenerational transmission.[608]

Linguistically, Corsican is divided into five dialectal areas: Corso-Gallurian, Taravian, Central-Southern, North-Eastern, and Corsican Cape.[609] However, it is commonly referred to in terms of two main varieties, Northern and Southern Corsican, with a continuum of overlapping features in the central region.[610] The difference between the Tuscan-like Northern Corsican and the Calabrian-like Southern Corsican is described by Jacques Fusina and Fernand Ettori as follows: "Un Corse du Sud parlant corse en Toscane sera identifié comme calabrais; un Corse du Nord parlant

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[605] Ameur, M. (2009). p. 80.; Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 30.
[606] Retali-Medori, S. (2024). Corsican dialect classifications. *Dialectologia*, (12), 99-145. p. 101.
[607] *Ibid.* p. 102.
[608] *Ibid.*
[609] *Ibid.*
[610] For example, as shown in Jaffe, A. (2019). Standardization(s) and regimentation: Polynomic orthodoxies and potentials. *Language & communication, 66*, 6-19.

corse en Sardaigne centrale sera identifié comme italien."[611]

The 1970s saw the first wave of Corsican language activism, which focused on navigating within the dominant French language ideological framework to gain legitimacy and resources, particularly for minority language education.[612] This movement immediately raised a question: Which Corsican should be taught? While this question is often addressed by adopting a standard language or a monoglot standard in the French tradition, Corsican activists opted instead to preserve and legitimize dialectal diversity. It was in this context that the sociolinguist Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi developed the concept of polynomy in the 1980s.[613]

The concept of polynomy is rooted in an ideology that views language as an abstraction shaped by the affirmation of socio-political identities. As Marcellesi explains, "l'existence est fondée sur l'affirmation massive de ceux qui la parlent de lui donner un nom particulier et de la déclarer autonome des autres langues reconnues."[614] A polynomic language is thus defined by Marcellesi as "une langue à l'unité abstraite, à laquelle les utilisateurs reconnaissent plusieurs modalités d'existence, toutes également tolérées sans qu'il y ait entre elles hiérarchisation ou spécialisation de fonction. Elle s'accompagne de l'intertolérance entre utilisateurs de variétés différentes sur les plans phonologiques et morphologiques, de même que la multiplicité lexicale est conçue ailleurs comme un élément de richesse" (a language with an abstract unity, to which users recognize multiple modalities of existence, all equally tolerated without hierarchical ranking or functional specialization among them. It is accompanied by mutual tolerance among users of different varieties at the phonological and morphological levels, just as lexical multiplicity is conceived elsewhere as an element of richness).[615]

It is worth noting that in the Corsican context, the concept of polynomy originated as a way to view and describe language, rather than as a method for standardizing it. Polynomy represents a counter-standard concept, in direct opposition

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[611] Ettori, F., & Fusina, J. (1981). *Langue corse: Incertitudes et paris*. Scola Corsa.
[612] Jaffe, A. (2019). p. 8.
[613] *Ibid.*
[614] Marcellesi, J. B. (1984). La définition des langues en domaine roman: Les enseignements à tirer de la situation corse. *Actes du congrès de linguistique et de philologie romanes*, *5*, 307-314. p. 314.
[615] Marcellesi, J. B. (1989). Corse et théorie sociolinguistique: Reflets croisés. *L'île miroir. Ajaccio: La Marge*, 165-174. p. 170.

to the standard language ideology. While the standard language ideology is characterized by the belief that languages, once identified and distinguished from others, should be internally uniform, distinct entities materialized as concrete standards,[616] a polynomic language ideology views named languages as abstract constructs. It posits that languages exist concretely only through practical usage. Building on this perspective, Marcellesi asserts, "S'agissant du corse, en étranglant la polynomie on étranglera la langue"[617] For Marcellesi, the polynomic ideology is a direct response to the enduring presence of "la vieille idéologie unifiante, unicisante, normative."[618]

To counter the standard language ideology, the polynomic ideology proposes an alternative principle for language standardization. Alexandra Jaffe describes this principle, stating, "standardization never takes place in a vacuum."[619] In other words, the Corsican language must be rooted in somewhere, tied to specific dialects and local contexts, rather than existing as a generic Corsican anywhere.[620] This aligns with the ideology of authenticity, which attributes the value of a language to its relationship with a particular community. Within this ideological framework, a speech variety must be deeply connected to a specific place in the consciousness of its speakers in order to be considered authentic. If such social and territorial roots are not discernible, a linguistic variety lacks value in this system.[621]

The ideology of authenticity stands in opposition to the conception of neutrality or anonymity in a standardized language. As the foundation of political authority in the public sphere of rational communicative exchange, the ideology of anonymity assumes that public discourse transcends individual and social particularities, presenting itself as neutral, universal, and objective.[622] By erasing the social and historical roots of dominant voices, this ideology perpetuates the notion that hegemonic languages and perspectives emerge from nowhere and belong to no one in

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[616] Horner, K., & Weber, J. J. (2018). p. 21.
[617] Bulot, T., Marcellesi, J. B., & Blanchet, P. (2003). *Sociolinguistique: Epistémologie, langues régionales, polynomie*. L'Harmattan. p. 291.
[618] *Ibid.* p. 24.
[619] Jaffe, A. (2019). p. 6.
[620] *Ibid.* p. 8.
[621] Woolard, K. A. (2016). *Singular and plural: Ideologies of linguistic authority in 21st century Catalonia*. Oxford University Press. p. 22.
[622] *Ibid.* p. 25.

particular—positioning them as if they could exist anywhere—thereby reinforcing their authority in the modern public sphere. Ideally, the citizen participating in public discourse speaks in what can be described as a "voice from nowhere."[623]

Complexities arise when the polynomic ideology is applied in practice, particularly in domains where standardization becomes a concern, such as language education. While the polynomic ideology is inherently a counter-standard concept, standardization is not always avoidable. In the Corsican context, although there is no official language academy or centralized standardization authority, language planning structures and official agents have emerged and expanded.[624] In these planning efforts, Corsican is often represented as having a duality of northern and southern dialects, as seen in materials like the poster and brochure from the Corsican Territorial Collectivity's language office.[625] This representation contrasts with the linguistic reality that Corsican comprises five dialectal areas, each of which comprises many local varieties.

Furthermore, as Jaffe recounts, the mayor of the village of Riventosa had to consult a local Corsican language expert for the spelling on panoramic maps, but the authenticity of some spellings was contested.[626] Such contests over authenticity, which the polynomic ideology seeks to avoid by legitimizing all real uses of the Corsican language, are also evident in educational settings. In schools, the imbalance in social dynamics between teachers and students often results in a perception that the language used by teachers holds greater authenticity compared to that of the students. Jaffe illustrates this in an example from another study: a child, though encouraged to retain his own spelling of a word, opted instead to write it using the teacher's pronunciation.[627] All these examples show that, Corsican may be ideologically defined as a polynomic language with no single authority, still authenticity and standardization can naturally emerge in practice. The contests over authenticity in the Corsican language cannot be viewed as outcomes of a polynomic standardization but rather as the result of a lack of standardization in practice. As Jaffe concludes: "To

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[623] *Ibid.*; Gal, S., & Woolard, K. A. (2014). pp. 1-12.
[624] Jaffe, A. (2019). p. 7.
[625] *Ibid.* pp. 9-10.
[626] *Ibid.* pp. 14-18.
[627] Jaffe, A. (2005). La polynomie dans une école bilingue corse: Bilan et défis. *Marges linguistiques*, *10*, 282-299. p. 296.

summarize, the stakes of this particular regime of standardization of Corsican have remained, over the last 30 years, more symbolic/ideological than practical/economic." [628] This lack of practical standardization allows for two interpretations of the polynomic principle in the Corsican context, each influenced by different perspectives on sociolinguistic change.

The first interpretation, embodied by certain institutions, models the polynomic individual who freely uses any variety of Corsican they choose. Jaffe critiques this interpretation for disregarding sociolinguistic changes, as it assumes a sociolinguistic field akin to the past—where a community of speakers and writers collectively engaged in linguistic exchanges that gradually established parity among different varieties. The second interpretation, partially acknowledging sociolinguistic change, is reflected in institutions like the Corsican Territorial Collectivity. These institutions acknowledge that Corsican users of their bi-dialectal publications do not necessarily belong to or form a sufficiently robust community of practice to sustain a plural linguistic system. As a result, the polynomic system is interpreted as requiring the obligatory presentation of both northern and southern dialects, rather than allowing free choice between them, effectively mandating strict and overt equivalence in language use.[629] As Jaffe concludes, the outcome is that "a polynomic standard makes knowledge of variation and proficiency in a specific variety a condition of full membership and authenticity."[630]

Understanding the complexity and critiques of polynomic ideology in its original Corsican context, it is worth noting that its application to Amazigh by IRCAM may prove complex. When Meftaha Ameur of CAL suggests that "the concept of polynomy, born from a reflection on the Corsican situation, can easily be applied to multilingual or multilectal situations in other countries," [631] this claim calls for a detailed comparison and examination.

6.2. Is IRCAM's Language Ideology Polynomic?

From the above studies, it can be concluded that the concept of polynomy, originating

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[628] Jaffe, A. (2019). p. 7.
[629] Jaffe, A. (2019). p. 18.
[630] *Ibid.*
[631] Ameur, M. (2009). p. 80.

in the Corsican context, is rooted in an ideology that views language as *l'unité abstraite*, existing only through its diverse and actual usage. It directly opposes the standard language ideology, legitimizing and granting authenticity not to a standardized form or a language academy that regulates it, but instead to dialect-specific speech, embracing its full range of usages. In practice, the polynomic ideology exhibits a delayed reaction to sociolinguistic change, not entirely different from that of the standard language ideology. It either assumes an unchanging sociolinguistic situation, identical to the context in which parity among varieties was historically established, or it acknowledges change and responds by insisting that the parity established in the past must consistently be displayed and performed.

Moving to the case of Moroccan Amazigh language planning and the ideology of IRCAM, which claims to be based on a polynomic approach akin to that of Corsican, a fundamental difference emerges. As discussed in the earlier chapter, IRCAM does not perceive Amazigh as an abstract construct, but rather as a concrete language suffering from dialectalization. It subscribes to a strong standard language ideology, in contrast to a counter-standard approach that fully embraces the authenticity of Amazigh's diverse linguistic practices. Instead, IRCAM interprets these diverse practices as symptoms of dialectalization, reflecting "the processes of heterogenization that have been at work for centuries in the field of Amazigh."[632]

As introduced earlier, a similar ideology that views Amazigh not as an abstract construct but as a concrete language had already begun taking shape in the thinking of Mohamed Chafik before the establishment of IRCAM. Chafik asserts that "the reality is that the Amazigh language (in its unity) is still alive."[633] He sees Amazigh dialects, or language tied to somewhere, as an abnormal situation, envisioning instead a generic Amazigh anywhere waiting to be recovered from its dialectal state. With Chafik's view shaping the later ideology of IRCAM, it can be argued that IRCAM's language ideology fundamentally contrasts with the Corsican-style polynomic concept from its very inception.

So, how does the polynomic concept fit into IRCAM's ideology? A simple answer might be that IRCAM fundamentally adheres to a standard language ideology rather than a polynomic one. However, because the standard ideology is significantly distant from actual language practices, IRCAM employs the polynomic concept as an

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[632] Boukous, A. (2011). p. 234.
[633] Chafik, M. (1989). p. 63.

approach rather than a principle, subordinately operating under the overarching ideology of a standard Moroccan Amazigh in its language planning efforts. This subordination is reflected in Meftaha Ameur's discussion of IRCAM's polynomic approach to lexical planning.

6.2.1. On a Polynomic Lexicon

In the 2009 article *Aménagement linguistique de l'amazighe: Pour une approche polynomique*, Ameur clarifies what in an Amazigh dictionary should be considered as polynomic and what might not. She argues that most existing Amazigh dictionaries cannot be considered to be polynomic since they are "often confined to a single dialect," citing examples such as: "C'est le cas du Vocabulaire français-berbère de E. Destaing (1938) qui concerne le tachelhite du Sous, du Dictionnaire rifain-espagnol (E. Ibañez, 1949), du dictionnaire de M. Taïfi (1991) qui étudie les parlers du Maroc central (neuf parlers comme le précise l'auteur dans son introduction). Le vocabulaire usuel du tachelhite de A. Bounfour et A. Boumalk s'inscrit dans une visée standardisante, mais reste circonscrit à «une koinè usuelle commune à l'aire dialectale du chleuh» (2001 : VIII), le Dictionnaire tarifit-français de M. Serhoual (2002)."[634]

In contrast to the Corsican polynomic approach, which grants full legitimacy and authenticity to language tied to somewhere, Ameur's perspective demonstrates that the more a dictionary is tied to specific dialects and local contexts, the less it aligns with a polynomic framework. She states: "Parfois même le travail lexicographique peut porter sur un seul parler comme c'est le cas du Dallet (1982) qui étudie un parler kabyle particulier: celui des Aït-Menguellat, ou encore la recherche de D. Azdoud (1997) sur le lexique des Aït-Hdiddou (Maroc central)."[635] Besides these works, the only dictionary viewed as polynomic in Ameur's article is the three-volume dictionary

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[634] Ameur, M. (2009). p. 84.; Destaing, E. (1938). *Etude sur la tachelhit du Sous: Vocabulaire français-berbère*, Paris, Leroux.; Ibañez, E. (1949). *Diccionario rifaño-español (etimologico)*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Africanos.; Taïfi, M. (1991).; Bounfour, A. & Boumalk, A. (2001). *Vocabulaire usuel de tachelhit (tachelhit - français)*, Rabat, Centre Tarik bnou Zayad.; Serhoual, M. (2002). *Dictionnaire tarifit-français* (Doctoral dissertation, Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi, Tétouan).

[635] Ameur, M. (2009). p. 84.; Dallet, J. M. (1982). *Dictionnaire kabyle-Français, parler des Aït Menguellat*. éditions SELAF.; Azdoud, D. (1997), *Lexique commun des Aït-Hadiddou ou du Haut Atlas (Maroc central)* (Doctoral dissertation, Université El Jadida).

by Mohamed Chafik, "qui s'inscrit dans une visée polynomique dans le sens où il considère la langue comme une et multiple ne donne pas aux différentes variétés leur propre individualité, elles se retrouvent toutes englobées sous l'étiquette amazighe."[636] As discussed earlier, the *al-mu'jam al-'arabī al-amazīghī* (The Arabic-Amazigh Dictionary) by Chafik includes lexicon from all three main varieties in Morocco without indicating their origins. Ameur describes this feature as "not giving the different varieties their own individuality." While this approach might be considered counter-polynomic in the Corsican context, Ameur interprets it as reflecting the "one and multiple" nature of Amazigh, thereby aligning with a polynomic vision.[637]

What can be observed is that in viewing Chafik's dictionary as polynomic, while other variety-specific works are not, Ameur's view seems to rest on an ideology that takes a standard Moroccan Amazigh as the default. Only under the overarching counter-polynomic yet standard language ideology, which views Amazigh as a concrete rather than abstract language, can Chafik's dictionary be interpreted as following a polynomic approach by incorporating more dialects rather than focusing on a single one.

With the understanding that polynomy operates as an approach subordinate to the standard ideology of Amazigh, it is worth noting that disagreements within IRCAM do exist regarding how polynomic this approach can be. For instance, Ameur criticizes Chafik's work, stating: "Nous regrettons, pour notre part, l'absence d'informations sur les parlers étudiés, le manque d'indication des sources documentaires,"[638] to which Chafik himself responds that "toutes ces indications sont consignées sur ses fiches qui ont servi à l'élaboration du dictionnaire."[639] For Ameur, a polynomic approach can tolerate varieties being identified, as long as they are safely placed "sous l'étiquette amazighe." Thus, she does not support Chafik's method, which involved documenting origins while intentionally refraining from displaying them.

However, as evidenced by the *Dictionnaire général de la langue amazighe* (2017) by IRCAM, Chafik's approach of anonymizing the varieties persists, presenting

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[636] Ameur, M. (2009). p. 84.
[637] *Ibid.*
[638] *Ibid.*
[639] *Ibid.*

different lexical options for the same meaning not as words from multiple varieties but as synonymous terms within a single unified language. This suggests that, in IRCAM's language planning, even as an approach subordinate to the standard language ideology, the concept of polynomy plays a significantly diminished role. For IRCAM, the label of the language can only be "Amazigh," reflecting "la vieille idéologie unifiante, unicisante, normative"[640]—the very ideology, as quoted earlier, that Marcellesi opposed by developing the polynomic ideology for Corsican.

6.2.2. On Plurinormalist Language Teaching

Besides the lexical aspect, Ameur discusses education and media as two additional domains demonstrating the application of the polynomic approach in Moroccan Amazigh. For media, she provides the example: "A la radio nationale, chacun des trois grands groupes dialectaux occupe une plage horaire mais la radio s'adresse à tous les amazighophones. Nous notons, par exemple, la participation des auteurs par téléphone à des émissions interactives réalisées dans une variété qui n'est pas la leur."[641] This example, where the three main varieties of Morocco are ideologically treated as equals and speakers are encouraged to engage with varieties other than their own to facilitate communication, aligns with the polynomic approach in education. The ultimate objective of this approach in education, as Ameur explains, is "On insistera sur la bonne maîtrise d'une variété avec l'obligation de l'ouverture sur les autres."[642]

This ultimate goal is envisioned to be realized progressively, as Ameur explains: "Après l'accompagnement de l'élève dans sa langue maternelle au niveau des premières classes, on pourra entamer une certaine ouverture sur les autres variétés afin de le sensibiliser à la pluralité de la langue en insistant sur le dénominateur commun qui sous-tend les différentes variétés, mais en présentant aussi les aspects de divergence… Au niveau du secondaire (collégial et qualifiant), on veillera à la progression dans cette visée de «l'un et du multiple» à dessein d'amener l'étudiant au niveau de l'université à la pleine possession de la multiplicité du système de la langue."[643] Discussions on IRCAM's textbooks in an earlier chapter demonstrate that

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[640] Bulot, T., Marcellesi, J. B., & Blanchet, P. (2003). p. 24.
[641] Ameur, M. (2009). p. 83.
[642] *Ibid.* p. 82.
[643] Ameur, M. (2009). pp. 81-82.

this educational approach has been effectively implemented. For example, it aligns with the earlier quotation from Bouchra El Barkani of CRDPP, who explains that IRCAM's textbooks aim to foster a scenario where students can "understand others who speak a dialect different from mine and speak a dialect different from mine."[644]

However, there are two important expressions in Ameur's discourse that require closer examination. First, she suggests that this educational approach aims at "le rapprochement des différentes variétés et de la convergence." [645] Second, and crucially, this approach cannot be considered to be polynomic. Instead, as Ameur herself defines it: "C'est ce que des sociolinguistes comme Ch. Marcellesi et J. Treignier appellent une didactique plurinormaliste."[646] On this issue, Christiane Marcellesi and Jacques Treignier specifically remind us that "La proximité de l'expression didactique plurinormaliste avec celle de langue polynomique n'indique pas qu'elles se recoupent. Pour nous plurinormaliste s'oppose à normaliste et anormaliste." [647] This necessitates a closer examination of the concept of plurinormalist language teaching and its relationship with polynomic language ideology.

It is worth noting that plurinormalist language teaching is a concept developed independently of polynomic language ideology. It was elaborated during the late 1970s and the 1980s by language education specialists from the sociolinguistic research unit at the University of Rouen, in collaboration with other experts in the field at the French *Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique*.[648] The concept was initially formulated concerning the teaching of French—a highly standardized language—aiming to transform this teaching and its broader educational framework by incorporating sociolinguistic variation. [649] Thus, it can be understood that plurinormalism opposes both *normaliste* and *anormaliste* approaches. It focuses on

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[644] El Barkani, B. (2010). p. 159.

[645] Ameur, M. (2009). p. 81.

[646] *Ibid.* p. 82.; Marcellesi, C., & Treignier, J. (1990). Eléments pour une didactique des langues polynomiques: L'expérience de l'enseignement plurinormaliste du français. *PULA (Publications Universitaires de Linguistique et d'Anthropologie), 3*, *4*, 268-281.

[647] Marcellesi, C., & Treignier, J. (1990). p. 275.

[648] Blanchet, P. (2020). "Corsican sociolinguistics": Key words and concepts of a cross-linguistic theory. *International journal of the sociology of language*, *2020*(261), 9-26. p. 20.

[649] *Ibid.*

language education in general, encompassing the teaching of any language, even highly standardized ones.[650]

In the Corsican context, plurinormalist language teaching is favored among three sociolinguistic orientations in teaching, as outlined by Christiane Marcellesi and Jacques Treignier:

> "La première normative consisterait à dire au candidat qu'il n'existe qu'une Norme du corse (celle du centre de décision politique, administratif) et que toute autre variété est à la fois inesthétique et fautive. La seconde anormative reviendrait à laisser le candidat parler comme il le souhaite sans prendre en compte que les variétés entretiennent entre elles des rapports de proximité ou de distance qui peuvent avoir des effets lors d'un concours. La troisième plurinormaliste s'appuie sur la reconnaissance de la pluralité des normes, sur la présence majoritaire au sein du jury de telle ou telle variété. Il convient alors d'alerter le candidat sur les effets de connivence ou de distance que ses choix de mises en mots peuvent créer."[651]

It can thus be understood that plurinormalism represents a form of eclecticism between *normaliste* and *anormaliste* approaches. It functions to address both the rigidity of a *normaliste* system, as seen in the case of French, and the lack of standardization in an *anormaliste* system, as exemplified by Corsican. When applied to a polynomic counter-standard language like Corsican, a plurinormalist approach to language teaching, which inherently incorporates norms, might be regarded as a compromise. This compromise acknowledges a critical reality, as pointed out by Philippe Blanchet: "School is indeed in many societies one of the institutions, if not the institution, in charge of the indoctrination that changes domination into hegemony through the obligation of selective norms made 'obvious' in all aspects of social life, especially linguistic norms."[652] Due to the fact that "Teaching varieties of any distinct language is at the same time impossible (there are too many varieties) and contradictory (it cuts the language into several supposedly homogeneous pieces)," a plurinormalist language teaching adopted in Corsican compromises to not insist on

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[650] *Ibid.*
[651] Marcellesi, C., & Treignier, J. (1990). p. 275.
[652] Blanchet, P. (2020). p. 19.

varieties, as done by polynomic ideology, but instead stepped back to insist on variation.[653]

With these understandings, returning to the case of Moroccan Amazigh, it can be observed that IRCAM's language teaching approach aligns well with a plurinormalist framework, as it incorporates the teaching of three main Amazigh varieties under the label of a homogeneous Amazigh, as demonstrated in IRCAM's schoolbooks. However, it is important to note that this plurinormalism is not contrary to the standard language ideology upheld by IRCAM and cannot be seen as an approach developed from a polynomic ideology. The critical difference between IRCAM's plurinormalism and the Corsican case lies in its foundation: it is not a compromise to the fact that teaching all varieties of a polynomic language is impossible, but rather a response to the reality that teaching one unified variety of a standard language, namely Moroccan Amazigh, is currently unfeasible, as such a singular variety does not yet exist in practice. In other words, unlike the Corsican approach, which insists on variation, IRCAM's plurinormalism does not reflect a similar insistence, as Amazigh variations are viewed as the result of an undesirable dialectalization process. On the contrary, as stated by Ameur, it aims at "le rapprochement des différentes variétés et de la convergence,"[654] aligning with the revitalization process of Amazigh as defined by Boukous.

6.2.3. Shaping Sociolinguistic Dynamics

Besides the above aspects of lexicon and language teaching, another notable difference between IRCAM's polynomic approach and the polynomic ideology of Corsican lies in its active role in shaping sociolinguistic change. As Jaffe criticizes, the two approaches adopted under the polynomic ideology in Corsican contexts either completely ignore sociolinguistic changes or only partially acknowledge them.[655] Jaffe provides an example of how the binary opposition between the northern and southern dialects of Corsican—particularly its polynomic spelling (such as the northern *simu* and the southern *semi* for "we are")—was quickly adopted as a semiotic

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[653] *Ibid.* p. 22.
[654] Ameur, M. (2009). p. 81.
[655] Jaffe, A. (2019). p. 18.

resource in the toolkit of football fan rivalry.[656] This exemplifies new sociolinguistic dynamics that a polynomic approach is not designed to address.

In contrast, IRCAM's ideology, serving the homogeneous Moroccan nationalism outlined in its founding documents, is not only responsive to emerging sub-identities but also actively intervenes to mold them within the ideological unity of the Moroccan Amazigh language. This is evident in the previously quoted words of Mohamed Chafik: "French lexicographers limited their fields of research to local or tribal dialects, exploring the characteristics of each dialect, and were eager to highlight the differences at the expense of the groups in order to establish proof that the tribes are culturally distinct, and that some of them are enemies to others as long as they differ in pronunciation, timbre, or tone."[657] By promoting "le rapprochement des différentes variétés et de la convergence," IRCAM does not merely accommodate sociolinguistic shifts but strategically directs them toward a predetermined linguistic—and consequently, identity—unity.

In conclusion, IRCAM's supposedly polynomic approach cannot be considered to be aligned with the Corsican polynomic ideology; rather, it stands in contrast to it. Its allowance for variations is subordinate to and works in conjunction with a strong standard language ideology that perceives the Amazigh language as a concrete entity rather than an abstract construct. In terms of the lexicon, IRCAM adopts a unified Amazigh as the default, insisting not on variation but on anonymizing variations. In language teaching, IRCAM's plurinormalist approach is not a compromise to the unavoidable standardization required in education but rather a response to the significant linguistic distance between Morocco's three main Amazigh varieties.

Compromising with this reality, IRCAM adopts a plurinormalist teaching method while remaining firmly committed to "le rapprochement des différentes variétés et de la convergence," aligning with its ideological framework for "revitalization." Notably, because of the aim of rapprochement and convergence, the three main Amazigh varieties face different degrees of intervention in standardization with Tarifiyt being the most affected. This approach of diminishing the particularity of varieties contributes to the understanding that, unlike the Corsican polynomic case, criticized for its delayed response to sociolinguistic changes, IRCAM's approach actively fosters potential sociolinguistic shifts, aligning with the homogeneous

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[656] *Ibid.* p. 16.
[657] Chafik, M. (1990). p. 7.

Moroccan national identity.

IRCAM's polynomic tolerance for variation operates strictly within the limited space left by essential standardizations—what El Mehdi Iazzi describes as "the two aspects that require intervention or adjustment," namely, "la 'norme graphique' et le traitement des 'lacunes lexicales' et de la masse des 'emprunts non intégrés.'"[658] As the essential standardizations were introduced earlier in this thesis, the remainder of this chapter will focus on how the polynomic approach operates within this left space, primarily concerning the morphological planning of Moroccan Amazigh by IRCAM.

6.3. The Polynomic Approach in IRCAM's Morphological Planning: Focusing on the Imperfective Forms

As stated by El Mehdi Iazzi, besides the orthographical and phonetic aspects of graphic norms and the lexical aspect for treating lexical gaps and non-integrated loanwords, in the morphological aspect, IRCAM's polynomic approach guarantees that the entirety of structures, both common and varied, are part of the national norm. However, a closer examination suggests otherwise. Iazzi explicitly states that IRCAM's polynomic approach is a method to reconcile the contradiction between language practice and language ideology——"the situation of Moroccan Amazigh (multiple dialects grouped into three major regional varieties)" and "the idea of a unique and unified Moroccan Amazigh."[659]

However, IRCAM's polynomic approach is not without its emphasis. As Iazzi goes on to explain: "Nous considérons que seule une approche polynomique, plurielle et polycentrique de la norme permet de mieux intégrer les variations régionales."[660] This emphasis on "better integrating regional variations," aligning with Ameur's "bringing the different varieties closer together and achieving convergence," suggests that even beyond the graphical and lexical planning, or the two essential standardizations, IRCAM's polynomic approach to morphological planning may still not fully guarantee "the entirety of varied structures."[661]

Iazzi's explanation of the polynomic approach also aligns with Boukous's

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[658] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 30.
[659] *Ibid.* p. 225.
[660] *Ibid.*
[661] *Ibid.* p. 30.

guiding principles on IRCAM's corpus planning of Moroccan Amazigh, which advocate for "a rational, progressive, and flexible approach," avoiding both "localist tendencies" and the imposition of a common Berber.[662] In Iazzi's discourse, "a polynomic, plural, and polycentric approach to the norm" serves to prevent the imposition of a single common Berber, while Boukous's objection to "localist tendencies" is echoed in the more crucial planning goal of "better integrating regional variations." This process of integrating regional variations is to be achieved progressively and flexibly.

The progressiveness and flexibility of IRCAM's corpus planning process toward the idea of a unique and unified Moroccan Amazigh by integrating variations is reflected in the following example. In *Initiation à la langue amazighe* (2004), which reflects some initial ideas by CAL in planning Moroccan Amazigh, the formation of imperfective aspect involves, among others, morphological change through prefixation with *tt-*, accompanied by vowel alternation. This alternation accommodates any of the three Amazigh vowels: *a*, *i*, or *u*. To exemplify this flexibility, the book specifically provides the example of the verb *drdr* ("to sprinkle"), whose imperfective form is given as *ttdrdir*, demonstrating the validity of using the vowel *i*.[663] However, in the *Dictionnaire général de la langue amazighe* (2017), the imperfective form of *drdr* is presented exclusively as *ttdrdar*, instead of *ttdrdir*, which had previously exemplified IRCAM's polynomic approach to addressing variation.[664]

The once-tolerated but eventually excluded *ttdrdir* serves as an example that, even beyond the two essential standardizations, in the morphological aspect, "the entirety of varied structures" can hardly be continually guaranteed within IRCAM's polynomic approach. To further illustrate this point, it is worth continuing to focus on IRCAM's planning of the imperfective aspect, which represents one of the most irregular morphological categories of the Amazigh language. The examination will address IRCAM's treatment of three aspects of Amazigh imperfective forms: preverbal particles, stem formation, and the negative imperfective form.

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[662] Boukous, A. (2009b). p. 423.

[663] Ameur. M., Bouhjar. A., Boukhris. F., Boukous. A., Boumalk. A., Elmedlaoui M., Iazzi. E. & Souifi. H. (2004). pp. 59-60.

[664] Ameur et al. (2017). p. 297.

6.3.1. Preverbal Particles

In Amazigh varieties, the imperfective aspect is primarily used in three contexts: to express that an event happens habitually or repeatedly; to express an event of longer duration; and to express an ongoing action (progressive).[665] In usage, the derived forms of words are usually prefixed with preverbal particles, which can include *da* or *la*, primarily found in Central Moroccan Amazigh, and *ar*, mainly found in Tashelhiyt. Tarifiyt is the exception, where particle-less imperfectives are common. The only context in Tarifiyt where a particle is almost obligatory is in the progressive use, where the present-time relevance particle *qa* is prefixed, corresponding to the immediate timeframe implied by progressive use.[666]

IRCAM's approach to planning preverbal particles of imperfectives is reflected in the following discussion by Iazzi: "En outre, les parlers disposent d'un ensemble de particules adverbiales préverbales, obtenues par grammaticalisation de mots autonomes, qui soutiennent l'aoriste et l'inaccompli, e. g. *ad yazzl* (il courra), ad *icc* / ad *itc* (il mangera), *ar ittazzal* / *da ittazzal* / *la ittazzal* / *aqqa ittazzal* (il court), etc. Certaines variations de particules sont régionales (e.g. *aqqa* au nord, *la* au centre, *ar* au sud), d'autres expriment dans le même parler des nuances qui restreignent leur distribution." [667] Additionally, Iazzi notes: "Certains adverbes préverbaux sont communs, e.g. *ad* exprimant le « non-réel / non-effectif », d'autres sont régionaux, e.g. *ar* / *la* / *da* / *aqqa* (rendant l'inaccompli, l'inachevé, le continu, l'itératif, etc.)."[668]

This demonstrates that IRCAM's planning strategy involves introducing the particle *aqqa* for the Northern dialect, meaning Tarifiyt, as a prefix for imperfectives. This approach reduces the distinctiveness of Tarifiyt's particle-less feature for imperfectives, aligning it more closely with the other two Moroccan varieties, where particles are obligatory. Here, the polynomic approach is constrained to the selection of a particle but does not go far enough to prioritize or emphasize Tarifiyt's unique particle-less usage.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that, although the *aqqa* plan was part of IRCAM's corpus planning from its inception, as demonstrated in *Initiation à la langue*

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[665] Mourigh, K., & Kossmann, M. (2019). pp. 113-114.
[666] *Ibid.* p. 114.
[667] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). pp. 525-526.
[668] *Ibid.* p. 508.

amazighe (2004), particle-less imperfectives were not explicitly ruled out. The same book states: "L'inaccompli s'emploie souvent accompagné des particules aspectuelles *ar* / *la* / *da* / *aqqa*,"[669] implying that the use of particles is common, but not mandatory. This implication persists in IRCAM's *Guide de l'enseignant et de l'enseignante de l'amazighe* (2023), where a particle-less imperfective appears in the example: *ixddm ziri gi tnjjaṛt* ("Ziri works in carpentry"), with the imperfective *ixddm* unaccompanied by a particle.[670] This might arguably demonstrate that "the entirety of varied structures" is still preserved in standard Moroccan Amazigh. However, the *Guide* does not mention particle-less forms, nor does it use language similar to that in *Initiation*, where particles are described as "souvent" rather than mandatory in the grammar explanation section. Instead, the particles *da, ar, la,* and *aqqa* are explicitly listed.[671]

This suggests that IRCAM shows a clear preference for certain varieties, with its planning increasingly enforcing the obligatory use of particles for imperfectives. This approach progressively narrows the scope of variation by minimizing the prominence of Tarifiyt's particle-less usage. Tarifiyt is thus designed to align with IRCAM's planning of the imperfectives of standard Moroccan Amazigh, which are preferred to always include a particle. Only secondary to this interventionist regulation—aimed at "le rapprochement des différentes variétés et de la convergence"—is a subordinate polynomic approach applied, offering the polynomic option of *aqqa* and allowing varieties to select their own particles. However, in practice, Tarifiyt speakers do not genuinely enjoy polynomy but are instead expected to adapt to a new usage, while speakers of the other two varieties are not similarly required to adjust.

6.3.2. The formation of the imperfective stem

The derivation of a verb's imperfective form is one of the most irregular aspects of Amazigh morphology. Some scholars suggest that the formation of imperfectives cannot be predicted at all. Paul Bisson states: "il faut … connaître (le thème inaccompli de chaque verbe), car il est impossible de (le) construire soi-même de

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[669] Ameur. M., Bouhjar. A., Boukhris. F., Boukous. A., Boumalk. A., Elmedlaoui M., Iazzi. E. & Souifi. H. (2004). pp. 60-61.
[670] Agnaou, F., Bouzandag, A., El Barkani, B., El Gholb, L., Ouqua, K., & Sghir, M. (2023). *Guide de l'enseignant et de l'enseignante de l'amazighe*. IRCAM. p. 301.
[671] *Ibid.* p. 39.

façon certaine."[672] Similarly, Victorien Loubignac observes: "il n'y a aucune règle permettant de manière certaine de construire (le thème inaccompli) d'un verbe donné, primitif ou dérivé. Il existe en effet pour (ce thème) différents modes de formation entre lesquels sont répartis assez arbitrairement les différents verbes."[673]

That said, the formation of imperfectives generally involves three key derivational devices, as Mourigh and Kossmann specify in the case of Tarifiyt: "Gemination of a stem consonant; Prefixation of *t(t)*-; and Insertion of a plain vowel (*i*, *u*, *a*) before the last consonant of the root."[674] These three devices also apply to the other varieties in Morocco. In the case of Tashelhiyt, they correspond to Abdellah Boumalk's description as: "l'adjonction du préfixe (*tt*-) au verbe primaire (thème d'aoriste); la tension d'une radicale (à l'initiale ou en deuxième position); une alternance vocalique."[675] Based on these three devices, certain regulations apply; notably, gemination and prefixation rarely co-occur, while the insertion of a plain vowel is commonly combined with the prefixation of *t(t)*-.[676] On this basis, several other rules applies and may vary between varieties, for example, in Tarifiyt verbs with three consonants (*CCC*) and no plain vowel (*i, u, a*) have mostly gemination of the second consonant of the stem (*CC:C*). In contrast, this is not the case in Central Moroccan Amazigh and Tashelhiyt, where the form *ttCCaC* is also widely attested.

IRCAM featured a way to regulate this irregularity, as reflected in Iazzi's work. After a general description of the formatives of the imperfective in Moroccan varieties, Iazzi states: "En somme, la composante morphologique qui régit la formation du thème inaccompli des verbes simples comporte deux types de règles: -règles primaires et obligatoires: gémination d'une radicale ou préfixation de *tt*-; -règles secondaires: affixation d'une mélodie vocalique /a/." [677] The interventionist aspect of this planning lies in its regulation of the formation of the imperfective stem to involve only the vowel *a*, rather than allowing for the full range of plain vowels (*i*, *u*, *a*), thereby

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[672] Bisson, P. (1940). *Leçons de berbère tamazight: Dialecte des Aït Ndhir (Aït Nâaman)*. F. Moncho. p. 32. Quoted in Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 632.
[673] Loubignac, V. (1924). *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Zaïan et Aït Sgougou* (Vol. 14). E. Leroux. p. 302. Quoted in Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 632.
[674] Mourigh, K., & Kossmann, M. (2019). p. 60.
[675] Boumalk, A. (2003). *Manuel de conjugaison du tachelhit (langue berbère du Maroc)*. l'Harmattan. pp. 18-19.
[676] Mourigh, K., & Kossmann, M. (2019). p. 60.
[677] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 641.

enhancing overall morphological simplicity and consistency.

This regulation on vowel insertion, which prioritizes the vowel *a*, contradicts grammatical rules observed in actual language practice. For example, as Mourigh and Kossmann introduce the relevant rule in Tarifiyt: "Verbs without an internal plain vowel (*i*, *u*, *a*) that have more than three stem consonants, or three consonants one of which is geminated, take the prefix *t*-. With some verbs a vowel is inserted between the last two consonants of the stem."[678] In this case, as well as in similar cases in other varieties, the vowel inserted between the last two consonants is variable. This variation is observed by Iazzi as: "La voyelle affixée avec la préfixation de *tt*- est aussi le plus souvent /a/ (dans les parlers du sud) ou parfois /i/ (dans les parlers du centre et du nord, avec une tendance plus prononcée au nord en faveur de /i/)."[679]

Though acknowledging this variation, as shown by the two-phase derivational rule of IRCAM, the usage of *a* is prioritized in an imposing manner, while the usage of *i* is not consistently tolerated. This results in the aforementioned case of *drdr* being presented exclusively as *ttdrdar*. Similarly, *srsr* ("to ring"), which is derived into the imperfective form as *tsersir* in Central Moroccan Amazigh,[680] is listed in IRCAM's dictionary solely as *ttsrsar*.[681] Thus, it might be safe to say that, in this morphological aspect regarding the vowel inserted in verbs' imperfective forms, the polynomic approach guaranteeing the entirety of varied structures is not observed.

Besides the secondary vowel rule, there is another issue regarding the primary rule: "gémination d'une radicale ou préfixation de *tt*-." While the rule is largely descriptive of practical usage, the remaining issue is how to choose between the two. A major contradiction arises in cases like Tarifiyt, where verbs with three consonants and no plain vowel (*CCC*) mostly undergo gemination of the second consonant of the stem (*CC:C*). However, in Central Moroccan Amazigh and Tashelhiyt, the derivational pattern *ttCCaC* is also attested. For example, *lmd* ("to learn") is derived into *ttlmad* in Tashelhiyt, whereas in Tarifiyt, *ttlmad* is impossible, and the attested form is *lmmd* (pronounced *řəmməḏ*).[682] To address this issue, IRCAM adopts a polynomic approach, as Iazzi states: "Pour assurer à la norme nationale son caractère

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[678] Mourigh, K., & Kossmann, M. (2019). p. 63.
[679] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 633.
[680] Taïfi, M. (2016). p. 652.
[681] *Ibid.* p. 631.; Ameur et al. (2017). p. 478.
[682] Boumalk, A. (2003). p. 20.; Mourigh, K., & Kossmann, M. (2019). p. 61.

polynomique, toutes ces variations méritent d'être prises en considération."[683] This means that the imperfective form of *CCC* verbs can either be *CC:C* or *ttCCaC*. This polynomic approach is reflected in IRCAM's dictionary, where the imperfective of *lmd* is listed as *lmmd/ttlmad*.[684]

However, although a polynomic approach is adopted in this aspect, its decision process and implications require further examination. It is worth noting that in IRCAM's earlier grammar, *La nouvelle grammaire de l'amazighe* (2008), the examples provided for the imperfective form of *CCC* verbs are exclusively *CC:C*, with the Tashelhiyt and some Central Moroccan Amazigh varieties' pattern of *ttCCaC* absent.[685] This suggests that, on this issue, IRCAM initially preferred the feature common to all three main varieties in Morocco. However, as reflected in IRCAM's dictionary and Iazzi's work, with the inclusion of the *ttCCaC* form, IRCAM later adopted a more polynomic approach to accommodate this specific feature of Tashelhiyt and Central Moroccan Amazigh.

Another issue worth noting is that, in Tashelhiyt, alongside *ttCCaC* and *CC:C*, there is a further way of forming the imperfective of *CCC* verbs. Depending on the sonority of the second consonant, this method involves geminating the first consonant instead of the second, resulting in the form *C:CC*. For example, *krz* ("to plough") becomes *kkrz* instead of *krrz*.[686] This feature of Tashelhiyt is not specifically addressed in IRCAM's planning. However, as reflected in its dictionary, the imperfective of *krz* is listed as "*krrz/kkrz*," indicating that this special Tashelhiyt usage (*C:CC*) is acknowledged and polynomically included.[687] In contrast, a special Tarifiyt long imperfective form, *ttCaC:aC*, rather than *ttCCaC*, is not recognized by a similar polynomic approach.[688]

Considering these examples of the polynomic inclusion of Tashelhiyt features and the non-polynomic treatment of Tarifiyt ones, it might not be mistaken to suggest that, under IRCAM's polynomic approach to planning the formation of the

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[683] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 642.

[684] Ameur et al. (2017). p. 387.

[685] Boukhris et al. (2008). pp. 93-94.

[686] Dell, F., & Elmedlaoui, M. (2002). Syllables in Tashlhiyt Berber and in Moroccan Arabic. Dordrecht: Kluwer. pp. 122–123.

[687] Ameur et al. (2017). p. 315.

[688] Mourigh, K., & Kossmann, M. (2019). p. 61.

imperfective stem, Tashelhiyt emerges as the variety *more polynomic* than Tarifiyt. This trend is also reflected in the planning of another aspect of the imperfectives: its negative form.

6.3.3. The Negative Imperfective

Among the three main varieties in Morocco, Tarifiyt is the only one that has a negative form for imperfectives distinct from the positive one. The derivation rule is very regular, as described by Mourigh and Kossmann: "any *a* in the positive Imperfective is changed to *i.* When there is no *a* present, the two forms are homonymous."[689] This issue is observed by Iazzi as follows: "Dans la plupart des parlers, la valeur positive et négative de ce thème ne connaît aucun changement morphologique. Seuls quelques parlers du nord-est modifient toute voyelle *a* dans le radical en *i* en passant de la valeur positive à la valeur négative de ce thème."[690]

Iazzi's formulation presents this particular feature of Tarifiyt in a hyper-dialectal way as "seuls quelques parlers du nord-est"(only a few dialects of the northeast), which trivializes the Tarifiyt differentiation between a negative imperfective from a positive one. This leads to the imposition of "the positive and negative value of this theme undergoes no morphological change" as the grammar of IRCAM's standard Amazigh, which means that the polynomic approach guaranteeing the entirety of varied structures is not applied in this case. This is reflected, for example, in IRCAM's *Guide de l'enseignant et de l'enseignante de l'amazighe* (2023), in the section introducing "des éléments de la conjugaison de la langue amazighe." The aspects listed include: "l'aoriste; l'aoriste de narration; l'accompli; l'accompli négatif; l'inaccompli; l'impératif; le participe," where the negative imperfective (l'inaccompli négatif) is omitted.[691]

Thus, even though the Tarifiyt rule on the negative imperfective is simple and regular, it is not included as a polynomic choice in favor of maintaining the uniformity of Moroccan Amazigh. This represents yet another case where Tarifiyt is positioned as the least polynomic among the three varieties under IRCAM's polynomic approach

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[689] Mourigh, K., & Kossmann, M. (2019). p. 63.
[690] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 650.
[691] Agnaou, F., Bouzandag, A., El Barkani, B., El Gholb, L., Ouqua, K., & Sghir, M. (2023). *Guide de l'enseignant et de l'enseignante de l'amazighe*. IRCAM. p. 292.

for planning the imperfective-related morphology of standard Moroccan Amazigh. With this understanding added, it can be concluded that, in terms of morphology—specifically regarding aspects of the imperfective—IRCAM's stated polynomic approach, which aims to ensure the entirety of varied structures, is not fully reflected in practice.

Based on the above discussions on IRCAM's morphological planning of imperfective forms, the application of a polynomic approach can be categorized into three situations:

1. Polynomic approach not applied: This includes the preference for the inserted vowel *a* in derivations and the omission of the negative imperfective form.

2. Polynomic approach applied nominally: Here, the approach is secondary to the uniformity of standard Amazigh, as seen with the obligatory prefixed particle aqqa, which is assigned to Tarifiyt to allow for a polynomic choice but is, in practice, not used as such.

3. Polynomic approach applied: This applies to the polynomic choice between *CC:C* and *ttCCaC* for deriving *CCC* verbs.

However, it is important to note that the inclusion of the *ttCCaC* form, and especially the *C:CC* form, as seen in IRCAM's dictionary, indicates a more polynomic attitude toward Tashelhiyt's usage. This stands in contrast to Tarifiyt, which does not receive the same recognition for its characteristic features, including the inserted vowel *i*, particle-less imperfectives, and its distinct negative imperfective form.

6.4. IRCAM's Polynomic Approach as Mediation Between Language Ideology and Language Practice

From the above discussions, the polynomic approach in IRCAM's language planning can be better understood: it is fundamentally different from the polynomic ideology in the original Corsican case, as it views Moroccan Amazigh as a concrete rather than an abstract language. This understanding sets the foundation for IRCAM's lexical planning, which features a polynomic inclusion of words from all dialects of

Moroccan Amazigh. In terms of language teaching, it is crucial to distinguish between the polynomic ideology and plurinormalism, as the two do not necessarily overlap. This is exemplified by IRCAM's approach, where plurinormalism is adapted to support the goals of the standard language ideology, rather than embodying a truly polynomic framework. Regarding morphological planning, IRCAM's polynomic approach set to ensure the entirety of varied structures is not fully applied.

IRCAM's polynomic approach can be seen as an attempt to mediate the significant discrepancy between language ideology and language practice. Ideologically, in the face of the potential politicization of the Amazigh issue, Moroccan authorities have embraced a politically inviolable language ideology that promotes a homogeneous Moroccan Amazigh, with IRCAM established and tasked with its standardization. This stance is notably distant from Morocco's diverse Amazigh linguistic landscape, which includes three main varieties.

In the process of gradually planning language practice to align with the ideology, the polynomic approach is adopted by IRCAM to address the diverse language usage within the framework of the standard ideology. In this process, the polynomic approach operates only within a limited space left by the realization of the standard Moroccan Amazigh, where standardization dominates and mediation with diverse language practices is not required. This is explicitly reflected in Iazzi's words: "The two aspects that require intervention or adjustment are the graphic norm and the treatment of lexical gaps and the mass of non-integrated loanwords."[692] It is only "outside of these two aspects" that the polynomic approach applies, ensuring that "the entirety of structures are part of the national norm."[693]

Accordingly, as reflected in IRCAM's planning on these two essential aspects for a homogeneous Moroccan Amazigh, it is found that IRCAM's neo-Tifinagh represents not any particular variety but standard Moroccan Amazigh. For instance, features from Tarifiyt, like the rhotacism *r*, are restored as the lateral *l,* and several labiovelar sounds, which are common in Tashelhiyt and most of Central Moroccan Amazigh, are not represented, with only the two also attested in Tarifiyt (k^w and g^w) being made official phonemes in IRCAM's plan.[694] Similarly, in lexical planning, IRCAM excludes the vast majority of Arabic loanwords in its standardization of

[692] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 30.
[693] *Ibid.* p. 31.
[694] Boukhris et al. (2008). p. 20.

Moroccan Amazigh, making its standard Amazigh, in terms of lexicon, significantly distant from all the spoken varieties in Morocco. In these two aspects, where language ideology dominates, the "polynomic approach" for mediating language practice is absent.

It is only in the remaining space for morphological planning, facing a situation described by Iazzi: "On ne peut pas créer une nouvelle morphologie ou une nouvelle syntaxe. Mais, les règles morphologiques ou syntaxiques disponibles peuvent être exploitées de manière originale,"[695] that the polynomic approach plays its mediating role in selecting practical usages. Even in this selection, it is important to note that IRCAM's primary consideration aligns with Moroccan Amazigh rather than privileging any specific variety. For instance, IRCAM presents *rad* alongside *ad* as a polynomic choice for the future particle.[696] While *rad* is specific to Tashelhiyt and closely adjacent Central Moroccan Amazigh varieties, this should not be interpreted as simply a Tashelhiyt-centric planning. Instead, IRCAM promotes *rad* as a polynomic choice primarily because it reflects a grammatical feature of Amazigh, representing the grammaticalization of the verb *iri* ("want"), analogous to the use of "will" in English.[697]

That said, as analyzed previously, a situation where Tashelhiyt is more polynomic and Tarifiyt less polynomic is reflected in the planning regarding the imperfectives. Tarifiyt features, including the inserted vowel *i*, particle-less imperfectives, and its distinct negative imperfective form, are all excluded, while a specific Tashelhiyt usage of the *C:CC* form for imperfective stems is polynomically included. However, rather than viewing it as a consistent Tashelhiyt-privileged planning approach disguised as a polynomic discourse, it is important to recognize that IRCAM's ultimate aim of establishing a homogeneous Moroccan Amazigh through bringing the different varieties closer together and achieving convergence or better integrating regional variations remains a dominant force, while the polynomic approach serves as a means to mediate this objective with diverse language practices.

To be specific, the inclusion of the Tashelhiyt *C:CC* form is better understood as one of many cases demonstrating IRCAM's openness to various practical usages as polynomic choices for mediating language practice within a strong standard language

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[695] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 270.
[696] Boukhris et al. (2008). p. 105.
[697] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 269.

ideology. This approach aligns with what is reflected throughout IRCAM's *La nouvelle grammaire de l'amazighe*, where even highly specific usages—such as the future particle *sad*, a feature of Figuig, and *ra* as an allomorphic variant of *ad*, specific to the Zemmour dialect of Central Moroccan Amazigh—are both included as examples.[698] While the less polynomic feature of IRCAM's planning regarding Tarifiyt might be better interpreted as resulting from the contradiction between IRCAM's dominant ideology of a standard Moroccan Amazigh—realized through the convergence of varieties—and the uncomfortable reality that Tarifiyt is the most divergent of the three main varieties in Morocco.

This contradiction is reflected in Salem Chaker's remarks on IRCAM's polynomic approach to planning a standard Moroccan Amazigh. Chaker states: "En fait, je pense que cette notion de polynomie, dans le cas berbère, ne peut guère être mise en œuvre qu'entre des variétés régionales relativement proches, par exemple, pour le Maroc, entre le tachelhit et l'essentiel du tamazight; mais il me paraît très difficile d'y intégrer le rifain."[699] IRCAM's morphological planning regarding imperfectives might be seen as an example of how integrating Tarifiyt is perceived as "very difficult," as noted by Chaker, or even as a situation in which the mediation of the polynomic approach between language ideology and practice failed.

That is to say, rather than being interpreted as an ideologically driven favoring of Tashelhiyt and bias against Tarifiyt, the situation of Tarifiyt being less polynomic in IRCAM's planning is more suitably interpreted as a result of the unavoidable politically driven language ideology for standardizing a homogeneous Moroccan Amazigh. For this point, it is worth reexamining how Iazzi interprets the planning decision not to include the specific usage of Tarifiyt for differentiating the form of negative imperfectives in standard Moroccan Amazigh—an unfortunate failure of the polynomic approach to mediate between language ideology and practice—as he suggests: "Seuls quelques parlers du nord-est modifient toute voyelle *a* dans le radical en *i* en passant de la valeur positive à la valeur négative de ce thème."[700]

By referring to "only a few dialects of the northeast," which is in fact inaccurate,

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[698] Boukhris et al. (2008). p. 105.

[699] Chaker, S. (2009). Aménagement linguistique de l'amazighe: motivations, méthodologie et retombées. Entretien réalisé par Meftaha Ameur. *Asinag, 3*, 161-165. p. 164.

[700] Iazzi, E. M. (2018). p. 650.

Iazzi seems to carefully avoid allowing this uncomfortable decision—made for the sake of the homogeneity of Moroccan Amazigh—to be misinterpreted as an ideological bias of IRCAM against Tarifiyt. The approach involves trivializing this specific usage of Tarifiyt in discourse, aiming to downplay the mediation failure of the polynomic approach when confronted with the dominant ideology of a homogeneous Moroccan Amazigh, which seeks to "better integrating regional variations."[701]

[701] *Ibid.* p. 225.