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Diglossia in Bechar Speech Community

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DEDICATION

TO MY DEAR PARENTS

HUSBAND

BROTHERS

SISTERS

AND

FRIENDS

I DEDICATE THIS RESEARCH PAPER

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Pr. Smail Benmoussat

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A special thank is given to the teachers,

their pupils, and the Stuff in all the

administrations I have visited

Abstract

This research work investigates the case of diglossia in one of the Algerian urban contexts located in the south west of the country. The area under investigation is Bechar which witnesses an alternate use between Standard Arabic and the dialect spoken by its inhabitants. The main objective behind the choice of this topic is to enrich Bechar with scientific studies and exemplify the case of diglossia there. The topic takes into consideration both formal and informal settings and analyzes them. The formal setting involves an analysis of diglossia in the various educational institutions such as: primary, middle, and secondary schools; in addition to some administrative spheres so as to make a comparison between diglossia in educational and administrative settings. The informal setting involves ordinary people who communicate with each other using a code which is a mixture between SA and their dialects. Indeed; teachers, pupils, and the Imams can introduce their dialects in their fields of work and study. On the other side, people working in administrations switch into SA when interacting with each other and the same code is used by ordinary people in everyday circumstances. Thus, the target population in this research work involves: teachers pupils, people working in administrations, a limited number of Imams, and a given number of ordinary people who all live in Bechar. In order to collect data from those samples, observation, interviews and questionnaires were used. Observation was held in the educational institutions, interview was done with some teachers and Imams, and the questionnaires were addressed to teachers, pupils, and employees. The data collected from the target population were analyzed and discussed within this research work which showed that diglossia in the educational settings varies among the teachers. Some of them use their dialects in classroom while others do not; and such use depends mainly on their mastery of Standard Arabic. The employees also mix between SA and their dialect at work but their conversations carry more dialectal terms. Similarly, in informal settings people use their dialect and borrow some terms from SA when needed.

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Phonemes Used in the Dialectal Arabic of Bechar

SA Arabic Letter	BD	SA Arabic Letter	BD
ا	ʔ	ض	
ب	b	ط	t̪
ت	t	ظ	ḍ
ث	θ	ع	ʕ
ج	ʒ	غ	ɣ
ح	ħ	ف	f
خ	x	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	ð	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	ʃ	و	w
ص	ş	ي	j
ق	g		

List of Acronyms

AA: Algerian Arabic

ASD: Agency of Social Development

BD: Becharian Dialect

CA: Classical Arabic

D1: The Dialect of the Majority

D2: The Dialect of Doui Mnii

D3: The Dialect of Ouled Djrir

D4: The Dialect of the Ksourians

D5: Berber or Shelha

D6: A pidgin created out of the contact between the Ksouria and the Jews

FLN: Front de Libération National

ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic

FSA: Formal Spoken Arabic

H: High variety

L: Low variety

LAD: Language Acquisition Device

L1: First Language/ Language One

L2: Second Language/ Language Two

LWC: Language of Wider Communication

MSA/SA: Modern Standard Arabic/ Standard Arabic also referred to as *"Fusha"*

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguistics focuses on the relationship between the linguistic question and the sociological one. The field is full of many linguistic aspects that occur in society; these are sociolinguistic phenomena that can result from the contact between languages or language varieties. Language contact is an important concept in sociolinguistics; it occurs in many situations where two or more groups of speakers who do not have a native language in common are in social contact or interaction with each other. Communication between those speakers can be difficult and may call for a pidgin or a lingua franca. In other cases, the contact between different languages gives birth to many sociolinguistic phenomena such as bilingualism, multilingualism, bidialectalism, borrowing, code-switching, code-mixing, register, diglossia, and so on. Languages were in contact with each other thousands of years ago, and there is no evidence that any language developed in total isolation from other languages. Language contact is related to many domains of life such as politics, economy, social matters, colonialism, and migration.

Diplomatic relations between various countries make people of those countries communicate with each other; similarly, trade contact also leads to an exchange of not only goods but also in the speech patterns of the speakers. People in society communicate with each other talking about various social issues; and wars, conquest, and colonization movements also transform languages into other communities. Moreover, seeking for better living conditions many people travel into other countries taking their languages with them. In fact, these are not the only and the last factors that bring languages in contact with each other; there are other criteria like education, slavery, tourism, and others that contribute in the case. Language contact create many positive aspects, but in more serious cases it may lead to language conflict in addition to its endangerment, its shift, its loss, and probably to the death of one of the languages in case one is dominant; whereas the other one is dominated.

Bidialectalism, bilingualism, and multilingualism are regarded as the most important consequences of language contact; which in turn lead to the appearance of other sociolinguistic phenomena. Those concepts are all based on the existence and the use of two or more languages, though they are distinguished from each other in terms of the real number of languages involved and their sort. Those aspects allow the individual to have a command of more than one language or variety and allow him to communicate with the speakers of those languages and varieties. Both bilingualism and bidialectalism involve only two language varieties to be used by the speakers in the community, but the former requires the use of two different languages of different communities and the second needs two varieties of the same language. Multilingualism is a typical process for its inclusion of more than two languages in the community. Bilingualism and multilingualism can share the same linguistic results such as borrowing, code-switching, and code mixing; but bidialectalism has linguistic consequences that are specific to it; these are the koiné and the most important one diglossia.

Bidialectalism limits both the number of the varieties involved into only two and this is indicated by the prefix 'bi' which means two; and the type of those varieties insisting on the fact that they must belong to the same language. Bidialectal speakers mix between two dialects of the same language leading to koiné, and in other cases, they mix between one dialect and the standard form of that dialect leading to diglossia. The latter has more interest and is more important than the former. It is not only the most important aspect of bidialectalism, but also the essential concept and topic of this research work. The concept diglossia was first introduced by Charles Ferguson in 1959 in order to describe linguistic situations found in certain speech communities. Ferguson (1959) noticed that the speakers in those communities use two varieties of the same language alternately in the same conversation. The two varieties have distinct status and positions in society in which one is determined for formal and official occasions and the other one is left for daily communication.

In order to differentiate between the two varieties, Ferguson (1959) calls the standard variety that is specified for formal uses as the High variety or 'H', and the variety used in informal uses as the Low variety or 'L'. He insists on the fact that both the High and the Low varieties must belong to the same language but play different roles in the community and have the distinct function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. These are the nine rubrics that Ferguson suggests in order to distinguish H from L. When he insisted on the fact that H and L must have the same origins of language, Ferguson did not pay attention to the possibility of the existence of more than one original language in the same speech community as is the case in Algeria where both Arabic and Berber are regarded as the original languages of the population. For Ferguson (1959), diglossia occurs only between the Standard form of Arabic, i.e. SA, and its dialects; while SA with Berber cannot reflect the case of diglossia.

As a response to Ferguson's theory, Fishman (1967) provided an article where he frees the restrictions that Ferguson puts on diglossia. Fishman (1967) agrees on the functional distributions that Ferguson suggested for the High variety and the Low one, he even approved to name them as H and L. But, Fishman does not agree with Ferguson when he conditioned that H and L must be parts of the same language. Fishman also takes into consideration the idea of the co-existence of more than one original language in one speech community. These varieties can be used alternately in society in which one of them is the standard variety and the others are non-standard ones; thus moving back and forth between two of these varieties which may not belong to the same origins can be also regarded as diglossia. Therefore, the alternate use of SA and Berber, for Fishman, is also explained as diglossia. In his theory of extended diglossia, Fishman sees that it is essential to distinguish between diglossia and bilingualism since the use of different languages can be one facet of bilingualism. He refers to the possibilities to have communities that include diglossia with and without bilingualism, and even other situations that involve none of these phenomena. The description has been provided and explained in

specific format within a typical table that will be presented in the content of the research work.

The language repertoire of Algeria is characterized by Standard Arabic, dialectal Arabic or Algerian Arabic, Berber and French. The two languages, Arabic and French, have been introduced by historical factors such as conquest and colonization. Berber is the first original language of not only Algeria but all the area of Northwest Africa; it is spoken by groups of Berbers or Amazigh. Berbers have been the indigenous people of Northwest Africa since about 3000 BC (Applegate Joseph 1985). The Berber language is spoken in many parts of the country including the north, the west, the east and even the south. The Islamization movement that reached Algeria during the Arab Conquest introduced the Arabic language into the country. Arabic occupied an important part of the country in which it has influenced both the Berbers and their language. Similarly, the French colonization of Algeria in 1830 brought the French language which was the most dominant language of the country until 1962.

Each of those languages owns a particular official and socio-cultural status; Standard Arabic has been the official language of Algeria since 1963; Berber was recognized as a national language by a constitutional amendment on May 8th, 2002; and French is regarded as a foreign language involved in education, media, and culture. The non-standard form of Arabic is kept for everyday interaction and it is made up of various regional dialects distributed around the country. The co-existence of these languages in Algeria led to huge political and linguistics disputes in which supporters of each language sought to raise their main language as the official and national language of the country. Sociolinguistically speaking, the contact between those languages created many sociolinguistic phenomena such as bilingualism, multilingualism, borrowing, code-switching, and code mixing. These aspects are related to the contact between Arabic and French or Berber with French which is not our interest. The main language that we are interested in is Arabic with its two forms Standard

Arabic and dialectal Arabic. The contact between these two languages can lead to bidialectalism and more specifically to diglossia.

The Arabic language is the most useful language of the community, all the Algerians master one of the Arabic dialects and also have a certain competency in SA. This enables them to move in their speech from SA to dialectal Arabic and vice versa in both formal and informal settings leading to the existence of diglossia. In fact, Algeria is not only regarded as a bilingual and a multilingual speech community but also as a diglossic one since people use SA and the dialect alternately in society. Diglossia and code-switching to French are two conflicting sociolinguistic aspects in Algeria where some people prefer to switch to French rather than to SA though there are situations where only SA is used. Within the Algerian speech community, H is SA whereas L is AA. SA is restricted to high and formal functions while L is specified for informal, low status and low functions. Because of the existence of many regional Arabic dialects in Algeria, users of those dialects consider diglossia as switching between SA and the dialect of each area.

Like all the other regions of the country, the alternate use between SA and the dialect is also noticed in Bechar which is situated in the southern part of Algeria. Therefore, this research work seeks to investigate the case of diglossia which is observed in Bechar speech community. It is basically qualitative and focuses on providing observation and description on the diglossic case of Bechar taking into consideration the formal and the informal settings. It also moves further to analyze the main phenomenon and presents some facts and evidence in the form of percentages within tables and figures followed by a brief explanation. Bechar also adopts Standard Arabic as the official language appropriate for use only in formal and official spheres, while its dialect owns a non official status and is left for daily interaction between members of the community. Although these two varieties of Arabic have distinct roles; they are used in the same conversation and on many occasions. The topic of diglossia is vast in the community under investigation, but in order to limit the field of

study, we have limited the case to some formal and informal settings which will reflect the data collected.

Bechar has a typical linguistic aspect for its inclusion of more than one dialect of Arabic. The community under investigation involves five common dialects which are all given low and non-official positions. Four of those dialects are Arabic and one of them is a variety of Berber which is counted among the most important Berber varieties of Algeria. Bechar is inhabited by many people having distinct origins, and each group of people uses a definite dialect specified and is identified by it. The two major groups of people who settled in Bechar are the Doui Mnii and the Ouled Djrir; there is still the Ksourians and the Berbers who live in rural areas of the town. These people are characterized by their own dialects which are: the dialect of Doui Mnii, the dialect of Ouled Djrir, the dialect of Ksourians and Berber. The latter has itself a number of Berber varieties spoken in the countryside. These four dialects have been used since the existence of their speakers in Bechar.

Although those people spoke their own dialects, because of their contact with each other and with many foreigners coming from other towns, one dialect has been created as a consequence of such contact. This dialect has been called the dialect of the majority which is spoken by most of the population who have various origins. It is regarded as the first and the most common dialect that characterizes the speech of the inhabitants of Bechar, and is the one most acquired by children in the community for its wide use. The various Berber groups in Bechar have also a command on the dialect of the majority though they regard it and acquire it as the second dialect after Berber unlike the Doui Mnii, Ouled Djrir, and the Ksourians who consider it as the first dialect of the community. These people did not, in fact, abandon their dialects which seem to be used by the old people living in areas of Abadla and Kenadsa. Thus, the five common dialects of Bechar are the dialect of the majority which is referred to by D1, the dialect of Doui Mnii or D2, the dialect of Ouled Djrir D3, the dialect of the Ksourians or D4 and Berber or D5.

The co-existence of five dialects in Bechar makes its diglossia very particular, in one case or another each of these groups may regard diglossia as moving from his dialect to SA. Therefore; in order to clarify the case we have restricted the phenomenon of diglossia to the alternate use of Standard Arabic and the dialect of the majority which is favored by all the population. Diglossia in Bechar occurs in both formal and informal settings which are central parts of this research work. Within the formal settings, we will describe the phenomenon in many educational spheres such as primary, middle, and secondary school in addition to the Mosque and some administrative settings. The latter involve the Agency of Social Development (ASD), TV Center of Bechar, the Private Company of Constructions (URBAT) and the Hydraulic Company. A special case has been noticed in the last two settings which in turn have led to limiting diglossic description into the first two institutions. The samples involved in these spheres are mainly teachers, pupils, and employees.

The research work also involves a description of diglossia in informal settings where people are heard switching between SA and the dialect of the majority in everyday circumstances. The switch is not restricted to educated people but also to uneducated ones; therefore, the samples described in this setting include literate people such as teachers, engineers, employees, pupils, and Imams; and also the illiterate people who did not have the chance to continue their education. Diglossia has been described in various speech communities around the world including Algeria; thus the main objective and the purpose of this study is on shed light on the diglossic case in one of the southern regions of Algeria. Moreover, language studies about Bechar are very few, and this fact pushed us to provide it with more academic and sociolinguistic studies, as we seek to list Bechar among the diglossic speech communities being studied and analyzed.

The problem area of this research work can be structured in the form of the following research questions:

- How is Standard Arabic used in educational settings and in administrations??
- How is SA used in the Mosque?
- To what extent is SA used alternately with the dialect in informal settings?

By using both primary and secondary methods of data collection we will try to give adequate answers to these questions in this research work. We will consult teachers and pupils in schools, ask employees in administrations, and interview some Imams about the way they use Standard Arabic in the settings where they are involved.

This research work seeks to test the following hypotheses:

- There are many Arabic dialects spoken in the speech community under investigation;
- In most of the cases only one dialect is used alternately with Standard Arabic;
- Diglossia in the classroom depends on many factors mainly on the teachers' mastery of Standard Arabic;
- In most of the administrative spheres the dialect is used more than Standard Arabic;
- Diglossia in informal settings is not restricted to educated people, but it is also practiced by uneducated people.

This research work is divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with the review of literature; it starts by a definition of the most important concepts of sociolinguistics and the ones related to the topic under investigation such as language, dialect, variety, language contact, and bidialectalism. This chapter focuses on diglossia; it develops a conceptual framework in which it talks about the definitions provided to it by Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1967) and the comparison between them. It also shows its

features, social origins, and outcomes. The chapter ends with a description of Arabic diglossia and its relation to education. The second chapter gives a general background of Bechar and the dialects which are spoken by its inhabitant focusing on one dialect as the selected code to be used alternately with Standard Arabic. The chapter also refers to the attitudes that the inhabitants have towards *Fusha* or SA. This chapter starts with a description of the language repertoire of Algeria and ends by its characterization as a diglossic speech community.

The third chapter presents the different methods which were used for collecting information mainly the primary sources, in addition to the description of the samples, their number, and how they were selected. It also explains the pedagogical implantation of Standard Arabic and its role in education; and refers to the definitional problems that the inhabitants of Bechar have in *Fusha*. The description of diglossia in Bechar speech community is the main interest of the fourth chapter; the latter is devoted to analyzing diglossia in formal settings. Diglossia in the classroom takes the most part of this chapter which analyses the case in details within the three main educational institutions, primary, middle, and secondary schools, referring to the degree of SA fluency through the teachers and the pupils' competency in Fusha. The chapter also involves a description of diglossia in administrative spheres. The last chapter analyses the data and gives the results and their discussion. These are topped by a description of diglossia in the Mosque and in the informal setting were all the ordinary people have been involved in the study. The chapter begins by clarifying the degree of mastery of SA in Bechar by both educated and uneducated people.

Chapter One

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1.1 Introduction

Language is the most fundamental basis of human communication; it may refer to the specific human capacity for acquiring and using complex systems of interaction. Linguistically speaking; language is a set of innate principles and parameters set according to a given language. The latter has been studied from different points of view; and because of its important social function many linguists became interested in its relationship with society, this led to the emergence of the field of sociolinguistics. Language is used to communicate meaning and to establish and maintain a social relationship. It can be both standard and vernacular; these two forms can be used in separate domains or together. The occurrence of many language varieties in one society gives birth to many sociolinguistic phenomena such as multilingualism, code-switching, borrowing, and diglossia. The latter is an important issue in the field of sociolinguistics in general and this research work in particular.

The term diglossia was introduced in order to describe sociolinguistic situations where two varieties of one language are used together. Diglossia has been the main interest of many researchers, as it was given many definitions. Therefore, this chapter reflects basically a conceptual framework of diglossia referring first to the most important sociolinguistic concepts such as language varieties, language contact, and bidialectalism. This chapter introduces definitions of diglossia mainly those of Ferguson and Fishman as it draws a comparison between them. Diglossia is based on several variables which will be all discussed here including its feature, origins, effects, its rise, and decline. In fact, diglossia does not exist alone in any society, but it is gathered with many different sociolinguistic phenomena mainly bilingualism which is explained by Fishman in the main chapter along with an analysis to Arabic diglossia and its existence in education.

1.2 Language Varieties

According to Trudgill (1992:77), any kind of language production determined by region, gender, social class, age or by our own inimitable individual characteristics can be called a "variety". Wardhaugh (2006:25) also claims that: *"all languages have internal variation, that is each language has a number of varieties and is in one sense the sum of those varieties"* (quoted in Wardhaugh 2010:23). Ferguson (1972:30) offers another definition to variety:

Anybody of human speech patterns which is sufficiently homogeneous to be analyzed by available techniques of synchronic description and which has a sufficiently large repertory of elements and their arrangements or process with broad enough semantic scope to function in all formal contexts of communication.

In this definition, Wardhaugh (2010:23) views that Ferguson describes 'variety' as a set of 'linguistic items' or 'human speech patterns' which can be related to some external factors like geographical area or social group. Consequently, identifying such a unique set of items or patterns for each group allows varieties like Standard English, Cockney, lower-class New York City speech, Oxford English, legalese, cocktail party talk to be distinguished from each other. Similarly, Hudson sees that any linguistic system regardless of prestige can be a variety; moreover, the relationships between the varieties are not limited and some varieties may cover each (1996:23-24).

1.2.1 Language

Most dictionaries define language in its general sense as a means of communication taking into consideration both the spoken and the written forms. This aspect of human behavior is presented in the famous definition given by the American anthropolinguist Edward Sapir (1921:8) who says: *"Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols".* But Barbara Lust (2006:10) sees this as an assumption rather than a definition to language;

and she clarifies, according to recent studies, that both oral (auditory) and sign (visual) are acquired in similar developmental periods with the same structural properties.

Language has been also defined by different linguists according to the general framework of the theory. In his definition to language, De Saussure (1857-1913) introduced two important terms called 'langue' and 'parole'. For him, 'language is a set of general patterns in the speech of a community', which is *langue*, and 'the speaking act of an individual in a particular situation', i.e *parole*. Similarly, the American linguist Noam Chomsky introduced his two concepts of 'competence" and 'performance' when defining language. Chomsky sees language as the innate capacity of native speakers to understand and produce an infinite number of correct grammatical sentences (*competence*), and their actual realization in concrete situations (*performance*). G. Trager (1949) also says: "a language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which members of a society interact in terms of their total culture". Similarly, R.A. Hall (1964) defines language as "the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory arbitrary symbols".

The theory of innate biological endowment in which people acquire a language rapidly and efficiently in their early life was adopted by Noam Chomsky since the 1960s (A. Carstairs-McCarthy 2001, p02). But Chomsky has assumed that language may not be a product of biological processes but of physical or chemical ones (1988:167, 1991:50). Thus, Chomskyan linguists analyzed the properties of individual languages relying on the innate linguistic endowment (or Universal Grammar), but the question of how and why such innate endowment has acquired those special characteristics was left without an answer (A. Carstairs-McCarthy 2001:02).

Barbara Lust (2006:13) referred to the distinction that Chomsky made between *I-Language* and *E-Language*; the former refers to the internal system which is responsible for creating the language in the mind while the latter is the external reflection of language. *"The E-language is a set of expressions"* and seems impossible to capture (Chomsky 1991, 9, 13; Chomsky and Lasnik 1996, 15-17). Language is one way of finding out more about how our brains work, investigating how children learn a language, and how people use it in their lives. L. Thomas and Sh. Werieng (1999:06) agree on the idea that language is a systematic way of turning smaller units into larger ones by joining them together in order to communicate. It is a system governed by rules in which the phonemes are linked together in order to build words following the 'rules' of each language[1].

Wardhaugh (2006:01) agree with most linguists that the knowledge that people have about the rules, sounds, words, and sentences of their languages is quite abstract. Therefore, they should recognize what does their language contain and what possibilities it offers to them. "Individuals have access to their language and constantly show that they do so by using it properly," said Wardhaugh (2006:02). De Saussure recognized that while speech is an *"individual act,"* language lies in *the "associative and co-coordinating faculty"* which *"plays the dominant role in the organization of language as a system"* (1959:13).

1.2.1.1 Standard Language

Many linguists regard a variety which is correct and more acceptable than other varieties existing in one speech community as a 'standard language'. Hudson (1996:32) says in this respect: "It is may be fair to say that the only kind of variety which would count as a 'proper language' (in the second sense of 'language') is a *standard language*". Similarly, Holmes (2001:76) claims that "the standard variety is generally written, and has undergone a degree of

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[1]. Linda Thomas, and Shan Werieng, 1999 *"Language, Society, and Power"*. Routledge. London and New York, p06.

regularization and codification". The standard language is usually used by educated people in formal settings like politics, law courts, educational and scientific documents, and so on. For Haugen (1996), it fits the criterion of 'selection', and consequently the selected variety which has the greater prestige that the dialects and non-standard varieties lack.

Hudson (1996:32) argues that 'dialects' are developed into 'standard languages' through the 'standardization' process. In the same sense, Haugen (1966) sets the parameters of such process; these can be divided into three processes: *"selection, codification, and elaboration of functions"*. '*Selection*' refers to the process of selecting one variety which could be a combination of various varieties. While selection demands social and political importance, '*codification*' requires the existence of an agency or an academy whose role is to provide dictionaries and grammar books to fix the selected variety. Thus, people are supposed to learn the correct forms and neglect incorrect ones when writing their native variety.

When the selected variety became used in formal circumstances like government, parliament, law courts, educational and scientific documents this means that it reaches the third step of '*the elaboration of functions*' which in turn asks for more lexical items especially technical ones. At last, people agree on that variety and accept it as the national language of the community and this is referred to by '*acceptance*'. Once this occurs, the standard language will be the powerful unifying force of the community, a sign of its independence from the other states. However, Hudson (1996:34) did not refer to pronunciation, writing, and the fact that the standard language should not be regarded as the only correct variety when describing the standardization process.

The vernacular has many definitions in the field of sociolinguistics; it was first defined by Labov (1972: 208) as: "the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech". Holmes (2001) regards it as the most colloquial variety in one's speech community. It is also regarded as 'everyday speech' by Sankoff (1974-1980:54), and a: 'real language in use' for

Milroy (1992: 66); while Poplack (1993:252) sees it as a: 'spontaneous speech reserved for intimate or casual situations' (cited in S. Tagliamonte 2006:08). It also refers to the variety of language which is not standardized or codified.

Similarly, Petyt (1980:25) defines this term as: *"the speech of a particular country or region,' or, more technically, 'a form of speech transmitted from parent to child as a primary medium of communication"*. That is the individuals acquire the vernacular initially at home and they generally use it in informal situations and for informal functions such as: speaking with members of the same family and close friends. Holmes (2001:74) says in this respect: *"it is the language of solidarity between people from the same ethnic group"*. She means that the vernacular is used in a monolingual speech community where people share similar traditions, customs, lifestyle, and religion.

Labov (1984:29) regards the access to the vernacular as critical seeing it as the first and most systematic form of speech acquired by the speakers, and as the variety of speech most free from correction or style-shifting. As Labov originally argued (1972:208), the vernacular provides the *'fundamental relations which determine the course of linguistic evolution'*. Once the vernacular is founded, the multi-dimensional nature of speech behavior can be revealed. For instance, Bell (1999:526) argues that it is the normative use which defines the performance styles.

1.2.1.2 Dialect

Chambers and Trudgill (1998:05), claim that the term dialect is applied: *"to forms of language, particularly those spoken in more isolated parts of the world, which have no written form"*. Wardhaugh (2010:41) divided dialects into two types; these are regional dialects and social ones. The former refers to any kind of variety spoken in a particular geographical area. This type is characterized by language variation at the level of phonology, vocabulary, and

even in syntax mainly when moving into a wide geographical area where such language is used.

Thus, since the regional dialects involve variation in speech within a given boundary; Wardhaugh (2010:43) refers to the so-called 'dialect geography' and 'dialect continuum' when analyzing regional dialects. He describes dialect geography as an attempt to map the distributions of different linguistic features so as to show their geographical provenance. On the other hand, linguists agree that people who are traveling from one area to another are indirectly supposed to acquire phonological distance. Such a situation is often referred to by dialect continuum. In this respect, Labov (2001:56) states:

> *If we travel from village to village, in a particular*
>
> *direction, we notice linguistic differences which distinguish*
>
> *one village from another. Sometimes these differences will be*
>
> *large, sometimes smaller but they will be cumulative. The further*
>
> *we get from our starting point the larger the difference will become.*

Eckert and Rickford (2001) use the term 'isophones' to refer to the areas which are separated according to phonetic borders, but if their separation is based on lexical and grammatical boundaries they become called 'isoglosses'. Hudson (1996:38) says in this respect: *"the dialect geographer may draw a line between the areas where one item was found and areas where others are found; showing a boundary for each area is called isogloss"*. Lexical variation is the most common element which distinguishes the geographical regions from each other. In order to clarify this case, Fasold (1948) used the following example in order to show that differences in vocabulary are important determiners in the study of regional dialects. *"A carbonated soft drink"* is called *'pop'* in the west of the United States, *'soda'* in the northeast, *'tonic'* in eastern New England, and *'cold drink'* or *'dope'* in the various southern parts. In the same sense Bloomfield (1993) points that:

The reason for this intense local differentiation is evidently to be sought in the principle of density. Every speaker is constantly adopting his speech habits to those of his interlocutors; he gives up forms he has been using, adopts new ones, and perhaps oftenest of all, changes the frequency of speech forms without entirely abandoning any ones or accepting any old ones that are really new to him.

Hudson (1996:41) declares that Bloomfield's quotation shows the extent of the spread of new words between the speakers and their desire to use those terms leading to speech variation at the level of lexis, and then to dialect differences. But the latter is not based only on geography for two important reasons as suggested by Hudson (1996:38). First, people take their dialects with them whenever they travel to another region, i.e. geographical mobility. Second, geography is only one of the social factors in addition to the social class, gender and age, which determine dialect boundaries. Therefore, dialectologists selected the term 'social dialect' or 'sociolect' to call any non-regional variety which is spoken by a certain social group, which in turn depends on the situation, such as market, street, home, etc like Cockney.

In his description to the social group or social class, Wardhaugh (2006:49) mentioned various factors which can participate in determining the social position, e.g: occupation, place of residence, education, 'new' versus 'old' money, income, racial or ethnic origin, cultural background, caste, religion, and so on. These factors reflect the way that people follow when they speak; additionally, many people may have certain notions of how other people speak. Hudson (1996:42) referred to this case claiming that speakers in England may not use the same language because of their different social class, while people having the same social class but living in a different area can use the same type of speech. Wardhaugh (2010:46) concluded that regional dialects are based on geography, while social dialects rely on social groups in addition to many factors including social class, religion, and ethnicity.

1.2. 2 Language vs. Dialect

Many people and language specialists call the linguistic variety which is not standard and has not a written form as a dialect. In contrast, language for them is the standard form which can be both written and used in official settings. The Algerian speech community, for instance, regards Standard Arabic as the most prestigious language, and the appropriate one for school, media, religion and other public fields; while the local and regional dialects are used for daily communication. Lay speakers say that language has more vocabulary and is more prestigious than dialect. But, a dialect also contains many borrowed words from different languages which increase its size, like the Algerian dialect which is full of French loan words used in daily communication.

As Haugen (1966:923) describes the terms as: *"represent a simple dichotomy in a situation that is almost infinitely complex"*. He also argues that the confusion originates since the Ancient Greeks whose language involves many different local varieties, such as Ionic, Doric, and Attic, and each variety has its own literary traditions and uses. Thus, it is the Greek situation which reflects all the later usages of the two terms with the resulting ambiguity (1966). He also differentiated between language and dialect at the level of norms arguing that the former can be used to refer to a single linguistic norm or to a group of norms which are linked to each other; while dialect refers to one of the norms only. Thus, dialect for him describes any local variety of English and any type of speech which is informal, lower in class, and rural. Haugen (1966:924-925) concludes that: *In general usage, it; therefore, remains quite undefined*

whether such dialects are part of the language or not. In fact, the

dialect is often thought of as starting outside the language... as a

social norm, then, a dialect is excluded from polite societies.

Finally, Wardhaugh (2006:40) concludes his description to dialect as being a subordinate variety of a language. Moreover; most languages have many dialects, like English, French, and Italian which are all spoken in various

dialects. Wardhaugh (2006) refers to a special case where *language* and *dialect* become synonymous; this occurs when language is spoken by few people or has only one variety. Another view is that it is inappropriate to use *dialect* in such a situation because of the lack of subordination. To sum up, Wardhaugh (2006) summarizes the case by giving the following equation: dialect A of language X must consider the existence of dialect B of language X, but there is no reference to the number of dialect varieties with the existence of language Y.

1.3 Language Contact

The contact of two languages in a certain period of time may create a language which is full of social, grammatical as well as lexical interaction because of the wide contrast between the lexical, and morpho-syntactic features of those languages. Trudgill (1992:45) defines language contact as a term used to describe situations where different groups of speakers who do not speak the same language are in social contact with each other. People in this situation may face a difficulty in communicating with each other, as their languages can influence each other. Consequently, various phenomena like borrowing, code-switching, language shift, lingua franca, multilingualism, and pidginization appear on the scene.

Language contact is found everywhere; it existed widely under social conditions and as a result of various facts such as wars and revolutions, conquests, colonization, trade, slavery, diplomatic relations, and migration, etc. Similarly, the contact which results from urbanization or trade as a contact motivation is also involved (Sorensen 1967, Sankoff 1980). Trudgill (2001:03) referred to aspects, like assimilation between languages which are in contact or their loss, which may, in turn, affect the phenomenon of language contact, whereas the other historical factors may have relative long-term stability and can be accepted by the bi- or multilingual population. As a result of conquests and for the sake of forming standard languages through educational

institutions, a language of wider communication (LWC) was imposed on the local populations who became linguistic minorities in a larger political unit[2].

Trudgill (2001:05) added the factor of immigration which pushed people to move into other areas and integrate themselves there rather than building their own. This fact is also regarded among the aspects that created rapid linguistic assimilation between the newsletters and the local people of those regions. For Haugen (1955), borrowing into the immigrant languages doesn't need a long time to be achieved; and Clausing (1986) added that more structural changes that occur in each language have been recorded and lasted for many generations. On the other side, Chambers and Schilling (2013:245) described the case when immigrant languages affect the language to which immigrants have shifted as being restricted. They argue that this can occur only when there is a numerically dominant immigrant group with a strong position which allows their speech patterns to influence those of the wider community.

Obviously, the most common result of language contact is that the languages will influence each other mainly through word borrowing. But in some new contact situations, people who are in contact refuse to learn each other's languages maybe because of their insufficient opportunity to do so. In this case, according to Sarah G. Thomason (2001:12), a pidgin or a Creole is needed for the sake of communication; thus the vocabulary of the new language will be based primarily on the language of one prominent group in the contact situation. In contrast of the grammar of pidgins and creoles, Thomason (2001) stated that it is not taken from the grammar of any unique language, but all the languages which are in contact situation share the features which are universally accepted and are relatively easy and quick to learn.

Another common outcome of language contact is that one language may disappear or be lost because of the influence of the dominant language. This takes place when all the speakers abandon their native language and shift into the other one, or probably all its speakers die when they are massacred by

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[2]Trudgill et al, 2001, "Handbook of Sociolinguistics; Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact". Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp 03-04.

hostile invaders or when they witness natural disasters or suffer from foreign diseases. One more linguistic consequence is the language death which occurs when the speakers of a threatened language resist total cultural and linguistic assimilation but under very strong linguistic pressure from a dominant group[3].

1.4 Bidialectalism

Since the 1960s bidialectalism has been regarded as an educational goal for vernacular English speakers in the United States. It is one of the most interesting sociolinguistic concepts whose importance appears well in diglossia where two dialects of the same language are used in the same context. Trudgill (1992:12) describes bidialectalism as the speakers' ability to use more than one dialect of one language; those dialects are usually the standard dialect of a language and the nonstandard one. Educational folks use the term "bidialectalism" to refer to the process of "switching from stigmatized language variation patterns (LVPs) to non-stigmatized LVPs." Similarly, a bidialectal speaker is the one who has both a socially stigmatized and a prestige variety of the same language. Bidialectalism, or biloquialism[4], can also refer to a process in education which seeks to allow lower class students able to speak both their native dialect and Standard English. It came in a period of time when many black people were piecing together their identity, saving it from powerful attempts to fragment and destroy. It is mostly meant for the blacks of the lower class rather than the lower class in general. It is rather a haphazard continuation of earlier attempts to eradicate dialects.

Obviously "bi" means two which in turn means having more than one dialect. All humans are receptive 'bidi'. The term productive bidi means that a speaker, in natural conversation, could produce the language variation patterns of two social/regional different groups at the same time. But Kirk Hazen (2005:03) argues that humans are not capable of being productive bidi for the

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[3] Sarah G. Thomason, 2001, "Language Contact". Edinburgh University Press Ltd, p12.

[4]Biloquialism has been recently coined by linguists as a suggested replacement for bidialectalism because of the stigmatization of the term 'dialect' among the lay public.

lack of evolutionary motivation for it. Thus, individuals are not required to be productively bidi if all of them are receptively bidi.

The term 'dialect', as used in sociolinguistics, refers to a collection of linguistic patterns of a sub-group of the speakers of a language. Each individual speaker has his own 'idiolect', and a group of idiolects can form a dialect. Kennedy Dora F. (1973) describes bidialectalism as a way of identifying the individual's right to continue speaking his home dialect (which may be non-standard) even after learning the standard dialect in school. Using or speaking more than one dialect is not a surprise for people, and that would be easier for some group rather than the other. Living in a region which borders two dialects or has only one dialect and moving to another region, facilitates the acquisition and the ability to speak two dialects. This may be difficult mainly for the old people because they have to learn the rules of the other dialect rather than their own; meanwhile, they have to decide when they want to use that dialect.

1.5 Definitions of Diglossia

Languages in many speech communities involve two or more varieties which can be used by their speakers under different conditions and circumstances (Ferguson 1959:160). Such sociolinguistic phenomenon is referred to by 'diglossia', a term introduced by the American linguist Charles Ferguson (1959) in order to analyze linguistic situations noticed in areas such as Greece, the Arabic speaking world, German-speaking Switzerland and the island of Haiti, and other places. Hudson (1996:49) wrote that the language varieties in these countries are used alternatively in the same conversation; but one variety is specified for formal and public spheres while the other one is left for daily communication. The two varieties are called by Ferguson (1959) as 'High' and 'Low' or 'standard' and 'vernacular'. According to him; H and L varieties should belong to the same language as Standard Arabic and Algerian dialect or any other Arabic dialect in the Arab world.

In any Arabic speaking diglossic community, the language used at home is L while the one used in lectures at schools or universities, etc is H. H is different at all levels from L, the latter is acquired by children during their early stages of development; while H is learned formally at schools. Thus, children learn to read and write the standard language at school rather than the local vernacular. Similarly, Ferguson (1959) noticed that the standard variety in Western Europe is specifically used in media, in formal public settings, and for wider communication with strangers. And this is applied in their educational system seeking to make their children familiar with their standard language which is probably not used at home.

1.5.1 Ferguson's Definition

In all diglossic speech communities, it is necessary for the speakers to know at least two varieties of their language since each one is associated with specific functions in society. Pohl (1965) calls this linguistic situation as 'vertical bilingualism' since the two varieties are used by the same speakers (Quoted in C. Hoffman (1991:166). Ferguson's (1959) article, entitled *"Diglossia"*, has become a classic study of the phenomenon of diglossia, in which he defines diglossia as (1959: 336):

> *A relatively stable language situation in which in*
> *addition to the primary dialect of the language (which may*
> *include, a standard or a regional standard), there is a very*
> *divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex)*
> *superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of*
> *literature, heir of an earlier period or another speech community,*
> *which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most*
> *written and formal purposes, but is not used by any sector of the*
> *community for ordinary conversation.*

Ferguson (1959) formulated his definition of diglossia on the basis of the nine rubrics of function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. Ferguson regards the functions that

the H and L varieties of the language serve as the most important factors in diglossia. The superposed variety in diglossia is called the high variety (H) while the regional dialect is referred to as Low (L).

The diglossic situation in Baghdad is one of the significant examples of diglossia that Ferguson referred to. The Christian Arabs there interact with each other using Christian Arabic dialect leaving the general Baghdad Arabic or "Muslim Arabic" when they are in contact with other speakers. Ferguson (1959) clarifies that diglossia is not a stage but it is one of the results when different language situations are in contact. The main diglossic situations which were exemplified in his article are: Arabic, Swiss German, Haitian (French and Creole), and Greek. In each situation, there are both a 'high' variety (H) and a 'low' variety (L) of a language (1959). Each variety in those diglossic situations has a definite function and role to play in society. In the Arabic situation, for instance, the two varieties are Classical Arabic or MSA as H and the various regional colloquial varieties as L. In Switzerland H is Standard German and L is Swiss German; H in Haiti is Standard French and L is Haitian Creole. In Greece, they use the Katharévousa for High functions and Demotic for Low ones. Ferguson (1959) noted that those varieties have coexisted together and for a long period of time.

Wardhaugh (2010:85) agrees with Ferguson on the fact that the main feature of diglossia is that the two varieties, H and L, have different social functions; that is each one is used in certain circumstances. For example, the H varieties may be used in formal settings such as: delivering sermons and formal lectures especially in a parliament or legislative body, giving political speeches, broadcasting the news on radio and television, and writing poetry, fine literature, and newspapers. In contrast, the L varieties may be used informal occasions like giving instructions to workers, servants, in conversation with familiars, etc. Wardhaugh (2010) refers to an example of diglossia when a teacher who may give a lecture using H variety but may explain some complex parts of it or even reply to the students' questions through L variety so as to ensure their understanding. For this fact, Ferguson (1959) suggests that in any diglossic

speech community H should neither be used in everyday interaction; nor acquired as the first language because everyone speaks L at home, (cited in Hudson 1996:50). This idea is supported by Wardhaugh (2010:89) who claimed that H should not be used in circumstances which are determined for L; nor L is used in H situations.

For this fact, Ferguson (1959) differentiated between diglossia and the standard-with-dialects situation arguing that no one in the diglossic speech community uses H in everyday conversation; whereas in standard-with-dialects situation the standard variety of a certain region or social group is often similar to the low variety which is used in ordinary conversation by members of another group. Diglossia is not limited to any geographical region or to the diglossic cases mentioned above; Ferguson (1996) listed more three examples of diglossia such as Tamil which is regarded as H and is used in formal settings and the colloquial as L used in ordinary conversation[5].

In his explanation, Ferguson (1959) adds that H has prestige which L lacks; and H is always superposed while L is learned naturally as the mother tongue. Moreover, there are striking grammatical and some phonological differences between the two varieties. The second example mentioned by Ferguson is noticed in many parts of Europe in which the vernacular was used in daily interaction while Latin for writing or certain kinds of formal speech. The third diglossic place is China where the *weu-li* corresponds to H and Mandarin colloquial is L. Ferguson (1959) clarified that the Chinese were moving away from diglossia toward a standard-with-dialects in which the standard L or a mixed variety developed into a true standard and started to be used in writing and for more purposes.

Arabic diglossia, for Ferguson (1959:340), is developed from several regional varieties of Arabic, in which each region uses its own Arabic dialect whose lexical items are derived from Standard Arabic. Dell Hymes (1965) viewed diglossia as a good sample for the co-existence of two language varieties

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[5] C. Ferguson, 1996, *"Sociolinguistic Perspectives. Papers on Language in Society, 1959-1994"*. Oxford University Press, p35.

in which each variety is determined to certain values and situations in the same speech community (cited in Meta 2004:448). Gumperz (1962, 1977) also noted that diglossia is not restricted to communities where there are vernacular and classical varieties, but it is also found in societies which use separate dialect registers or *functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind.'*

Fishman (1972), on the other hand, attempted to *"trace the maintenance of diglossia as well as its disruption at the national or the societal level."* He also attempted to relate diglossia to *"psychologically pertinent considerations such as compound and coordinate bilingualism."* Ferguson (1959) concluded his article by leaving the opportunity to further studies to analyze his concept. He originally applied the concept to describe linguistic situations where two varieties of a single language are used alternately, and to refer to situations when the standard variety is not the dialect used by people in everyday communication. The dialect of everyday speech can be replaced, according to Ferguson, by a second or foreign language like French or Berber in Algeria.

1.5.2 Fishman Extended Diglossia (1967)

Ferguson regarded his study of diglossia as "preliminary" (1996:26), and concluded his paper with an *"appeal for further study of this phenomenon and related ones"* (1996:38). His definition is limited to the alternate use of two varieties of a single language, but it should be noticed that there may exist more than one original language in the same speech community. For example, in the Algerian diglossic case, we notice the alternate use of Standard Arabic and the Algerian dialects which are both regarded as the original languages of the majority of the population. But, within the same community Berber is also regarded as an original language of the Berbers who are the indigenous people of the area. Thus, this state gave rise to other extended definitions of diglossia such as that of Fishman.

In 1967, Joshua Fishman produced an article where he expended the concept of diglossia. Fishman initially differentiated between diglossia and bilingualism stating that the latter should be analyzed by psychologists and psycholinguists; while the former is the main interest of sociologists and

sociolinguists. He states that bilingualism refers to the individual's ability to use more than one language variety, while diglossia for him is the distribution of more than one language variety to have different conversational tasks in a community. Within the same article, Fishman had modified Ferguson's original definition at the level of two points. First, he did not really focus on situations with only two language varieties; but he allowed *"several separate codes to be present although the separation is most often along the lines of a H(igh) language, on the one hand ... and an [sic] L(ow) language on the other hand"* (Fishman 1972:92)[6].

Second, while Ferguson requires that H and L should belong to the same language; Fishman freed that limitation by accepting more than two varieties which should not necessarily be related to one language. He states that (1972:92):

> *Diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which*
> *Officially recognize several "languages", and not only in societies*
> *that utilize vernacular and classical varieties, but also in societies*
> *which employ separate dialects, registers, or functionally differen--*
> *-tiated language varieties of whatever kind.*

On the basis of this definition, Fishman (1971:75) refers to Paraguay as an example of a diglossic community where H and L are respectively Spanish and Guarani, an Indian language unrelated to Spanish. He also extends the term involving communities where two or more varieties are used under distinct conditions[7]. But Hudson (1996) sees that this situation allows every society to regard itself as diglossic even English speaking England where various registers and dialects are used under different circumstances. For Fishman (1980:03) diglossia is:

> *An enduring societal arrangement, extending at least beyond*
> *a three generation period, such that two "languages" each have their*
> *secure, phenomenological legitimate and widely implemented functions.*

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[6] Citations of Fishman's article is taken from the revised version in Fishman (1972) rather than the original source of (1967).

[7] Hudson (1996: 50)

Fishman replies to Ferguson's examples of diglossia claiming that the two varieties of the same language are: *'sufficiently different from one another that, without schooling, the elevated variety cannot be understood by speakers of the vernacular'* (1980:04). Fishman's proposal extends the concept of 'diglossia' to include bilingual and multilingual societies which include different languages with quite different functions. For example, each language is used in a definite set of circumstances which is different from the other one and each one has a value and a role to play in the speech community.

Fishman (1980:04) has implicitly stated that *"without schooling the written/formal-spoken [variety] cannot be understood by speakers of the vernacular"*. Pauwels (1986:15) also applies the term diglossia for functional differentiation of codes within speech repertoires but he also distinguishes between interlingual diglossia, where the codes are not varieties of the same language, and intralingual diglossia, where the varieties belong to the same language. Fishman is one of the sociolinguists who did not emphasize on the relatedness between H and L in diglossia arguing that: *"it is social consensus rather than structural affinity that confers the status of distinct languages on two or more linguistic varieties"* (1967:33). Similarly, Berger (1990: 290) adds that:

> *individual languages which are clearly distinguishable from*
> *a structural point of view are not necessarily distinguishable for the*
> *speaker, "* and, conversely, that *"speakers may consider their idiom*
> *as a separate language although this is not tenable from a linguistic*
> *point of view.*

Mackey (1986:239) claimed that the extension of the notion of diglossia allowed any set of linguistic varieties, either related or not, to be involved; that extension has in turn given the chance to many linguistic situations throughout the world to be regarded as diglossic. A. Hudson (2002:13) later regarded Fishman attempt to extend the scope of diglossia as an important aspect in sociolinguistic thought toward the theoretical integration of

dialect variation, diglossia, and societal bilingualism as *"surface variants"* of the same underlying phenomenon.

1.5.3 Diglossa Revisited

Ferguson's definition of diglossia was later criticized and discussed by other scholars as well as by Ferguson himself (Ferguson 1996 [1991]); he has commented on the weaknesses of his original article in 'Diglossia Revisited', (1991) published in *The Southwest Journal of Linguistics*. Freeman (1996) claimed that Ferguson, through his article, aimed at attracting more attention about a phenomenon that was ambiguous. Reem Bassiouney (2009:11) stated that Ferguson described a general linguistic situation without regarding Arabic diglossia as language standardization. Moreover, in his description to Arabic diglossia Ferguson mentioned the difference between Arabic dialects and Standard Arabic but did not distinguish between CA and MSA in the Arab world[8].

Fasold (1995:50), similarly, noticed the absence of specific parameters which determine the distance between H and L in a diglossic community. These aspects were not taken into account by Ferguson in his article (1959); however, he considered only the switch between two related languages; one is H and the other is L. In spite of all the criticism on Ferguson's theory, the H and L varieties still exist and are still valid as Mejdell (1999:226) declared. Later, Ferguson (1996 [1991]: 59) states:

> *I recognized the existence of intermediate forms and*
>
> *Mentioned them briefly in the article, but I felt then and still*
>
> *feel that in the diglossia case the analyst finds two poles in terms*
>
> *of which the intermediate varieties can be described, there is no*
>
> *third pole.*

Ferguson admitted the existence of intermediate levels but insisted that they can only be described within the framework of H and L[9].

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[8] Reem Bassiouney (2009:11).
[9] R. Bassiouney (2009:13).

Hudson (1996) later noticed that Ferguson's definition of diglossia is limited and specifies several points like in that H and L should belong to the same language. Other writers have applied the term on communities which are not regarded as diglossic on the basis of Ferguson's definition. Ferguson (1996:36) conditioned that in order to have a real diglossic speech community there should be first: *"a sizable body of literature in a language closely related to the natural language of the community; second literacy is restricted to small elite in the community; and third a suitable period of time passes from the foundation of the first and the second points"*. Saville Troike (1982:57) sees diglossia as: *"a situation in which two or more languages (or varieties of the same language) in a speech community are allocated to different social functions and contexts."* Scotton (1986) suggests that in order to have a truly diglossic community; everyone must talk L as a mother tongue" and H is never used in daily communication. R. Bassiouney (2009) also marked the absence of the social factors when selecting the variety in a diglossic community for specific sets of circumstances, but Ferguson relied on the 'external situation' in determining language choice.

Gumperz (1962:464) sees diglossia as an indicator of the various functional uses of languages, dialects, or registers by large or small groups of speakers in similar or distinct communities. Gumperz (1971) agrees with Fishman (1971) in considering the society where two languages and more have the functions of H and L varieties as a diglossic speech community[10]. Rubin (1968) models such case in Paraguay where Spanish plays the role of H and Guarani as L. Hawkins (1983) concludes that diglossia is not restricted to monolingual speech communities, but also to bilingual as well as multilingual ones. Pauwels (1986: 15) regards Ferguson's vision to diglossia as moving from *'rigid diglossia'* where *"there is minimal functional overlapping between the codes,"* to *'fluid diglossia,'* in which *"several functions are less rigidly attached to a particular code"*.

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[10] Hawkins, Peter. 1983. « Diglossia Revisited » language Sciences, p, 3.

Ure (1982: 16) regards diglossia as a matter of separate sets of registers *"in which the marked set is not the mother tongue of any members of the community"*. Coulmas (1987: 117) also characterizes diglossia by the coexistence of the native spoken variety along with the written one. A. Hudson (2002:09) categorizes the nine rubrics discussed by Ferguson as either *'contextual, linguistic'* or *'temporal in nature'*. The contextual aspect includes function, prestige, acquisition, literary heritage, and standardization; whereas the linguistic factor involves grammar, lexicon, and phonology. Stability is the main variable of the temporal axis. When Ferguson restricted the definition of diglossia to the alternate use of *"two or more varieties of the same language"* (1959: 325); he later experienced a difficulty in characterizing the two varieties as belonging to the same or different languages (Ferguson 1991: 220).

1.5.4 Comparison between Ferguson and Fishman's Definitions of Diglossia

The two analyses of diglossia given by Ferguson and Fishman raised several crucial issues in the definition of such concept. As described before, Ferguson's view of diglossia is restricted to only two language varieties; he also aimed to distinguish diglossia from standard languages and regional dialects, and also from the distribution of distantly related or unrelated languages. On the other hand, Fishman did not comment on regional dialects, rather he gives in his definition the possibility for more than two language varieties to be reserved for specific functions in society. The greatest agreement between the two scholars lies on in the functional distribution in society. They both agree on the same basic concept of H variety which is used in formal circumstances, and L variety which is specific for informal and every day communication. This idea may raise an important issue that needs more discussion. This issue is about standard with dialects and whether it can be distinguished from diglossia.

Ferguson (1972:232) noticed that there are some regional dialects of some languages which are used frequently with the standard language by their speakers in a similar way to diglossic cases. The local dialect is used at home

while the standard language is left for public occasions. Ferguson focuses on the fact that in order to have a diglossic community no one in the community should use H for low functions. But, in standard with dialect situation; *"the standard is often similar to the variety of a certain region or social group which is used in ordinary conversation more or less naturally by members of the group and as a superposed variety by others"* (Ferguson 1972:245). This means that some group in a speech community use H in their daily conversation, while others do not; so in this case, it is standard with dialect situation rather than diglossia. Thus, Ferguson concluded that a diglossic community is the one which shares the same H and L varieties. But, there are many diglossic communities which share H varieties and have distinct L varieties. Thus, each regional dialect determines a different diglossic community, and in each of them, no one uses the standard for everyday speech. If there is a group of people who use H for all functions, Ferguson regards as a separate community rather than a diglossic one.

Ferguson (1972) later admitted some various developments in a diglossic community. He has already described diglossia in Switzerland in his original article (1959) as being stable but later declared that diglossia may disappear in some cases. For example, the Greek situation witnessed the adoption of the L variety and the gradual decline in the use of the H variety. Thus, the new "national" language may use some features of the former H variety. As a comment on this case, Ferguson (1959) classified the emergence of national languages based on L, and with a mixture of H, among the results of the evolution of education and literacy.

P. Eckert (1981:1054) describes diglossia as a linguistic division of labor since each language variety is used in a given domain. This labor division, for Fishman (1971:87), allows the speakers to recognize the two language varieties independently, and thus to keep the structure of each language. Therefore, diglossia would be considered as a sign of stability in society; and for this reason, Ferguson points that the stability of diglossia is based on the exclusive use of the H variety by the literate elite.

Eckert (1981:1054) adds that diglossia, in its general definition, is a democratic arrangement which allows L to co-exist with H in society. Fasold (1984) also discusses other cases of diglossia that involve one H variety and many L varieties. Kloss (1996) and Fishman (1967), on their side, concentrated on the issue of the structural relatedness between H and L, which is not a diglossic criterion but, according to Ferguson, a requirement for the existence of diglossia. Ferguson defines diglossia as a characteristic of speech communities where "*two or more varieties of the same language are used*" (1996:25). He also explicitly excluded some communities from being diglossic: "*No attempt is made in this paper to examine the analogous situation where two (related or unrelated) languages are used side by side throughout a speech community*" (1996: 25-26).

On the basis of Ferguson's work, Kloss (1966) introduces the terms *in-diglossia* and *out-diglossia* in order to classify multilingual communities. The former is identical to Ferguson's sense of diglossia in which it exists in speech communities where two related languages are spoken as H and L, for example, French and Creole in Haiti. Out-diglossia, however, refers to speech communities where two unrelated languages are used as H and L, like Spanish and Guaraní, an indigenous language in Paraguay. He defines out-diglossia as "*monolingual nations when viewed from the standpoint of "mothertongueness" but bilingual in terms of cultural setting and equipment*" (1966:138). The term 'out-diglossia', was later extended by Fishman in 1967, who proposed a model for speech communities that significantly extends Ferguson's approach by including both bilingual communities and structurally unrelated languages.

1.6 Diglossia vs. Bilingualism

The relationship between diglossia and bilingualism is well examined by Fishman who has already distinguished between other. Bilingualism is, then, the result of the use of more than one code by an individual or a society; whereas diglossia is the result of the valuation of such functional division. Diglossia and bilingualism are two phenomena in the field of sociolinguistics which can occur independently or together in a speech community. Since the social changes lead

to linguistic changes, Fishman (1972) argues that many communities move form diglossia towards bilingualism or bidialectalism. Fishman shows the interaction between diglossia and bilingualism through the following table:

Table 1.1: The relationship between bilingualism and diglossia Fishman (1972:75)

		Diglossia	
		+	_
Bilingualism	+	(1) Both diglossia and bilingualism	(2) Bilingualism without diglossia
	_	(3) Diglossia without bilingualism	(4) Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

Bilingualism without diglossia (2) is the description that Fishman (1972:105) gives to communities which include large numbers of bilingual individuals who use language for almost any purpose. Verdoodt (1972) illustrates the situation of Belgium where both French and German are used by most speakers and are not separated into H and L. Fishman (1972) claims that bilingualism without diglossia exists when diglossia leaks. The latter refers to situations where one variety is used in the functions which are specific to the other one, like using H in everyday speech (Martin J.B 2005). The final possible pattern is a situation where there is neither diglossia nor bilingualism which can be found only in monolingual communities; although there are some stylistic differences that may indicate the H–L distinctions of diglossia[11].

Fishman (1972:106) suggests that in order to characterize a community with neither diglossia nor bilingualism (4), the speech community should be very small and isolated with only one linguistic variety used by all members of the speech community and in all the circumstances. Among the four types of communities in Fishman's table, only two patterns, (1) and (3), are characterized by diglossia, ie. diglossia with and without bilingualism, which are the only stable cases. Both patterns involve diglossia; one is a society 'with bilingualism' and the other is 'without bilingualism'.

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[11] Martin, J. B, 2005, *Clinical Sociolinguistics*. Black well Publishing Ltd, p 60.

1.6.1 Diglossia with Bilingualism

Fishman's idea of extended diglossia aims at showing how can diglossia and bilingualism interact (1972). Therefore; some speech communities may involve some people speaking more than one language or variety with both a functional distribution and the superiority of one on the other. According to Fishman (1972), diglossia and bilingualism (1) exist in one society when almost all the population in the community know both H and L varieties which must be distributed in a diglossic manner. Examples of this case exist in Paraguay where Guarani acts as L and Spanish as H, and in the speech of German-Swiss citizens who alternate between Swiss German and Standard German in a diglossic manner. Martinet (1963) argues that a diglossic-bilingual community takes place when the bilingual individuals experience diglossia in their own communication. Individual's bilingualism is highly tied with that of the community, and diglossia has a real personal effect on bilingual individuals.

1.6.2 Diglossia without Bilingualism

Fishman (1967) argues that a society characterized by diglossia without bilingualism requires the foundation of two distinct groups within a single political, religious, and economic entity; one group is the ruling party which speaks only the H variety, and another larger and weaker group uses only the L variety. As an argument for this idea, Roger T. Bell (1976:134) says:

> *A necessary condition for the existence of diglossia without*
>
> *bilingualism appears to be the existence of a relatively rigid social*
>
> *the system in which group membership is achieved by birth and which*
>
> *cannot be easily lost.*

In this case, the elite prefers not to interact directly with the rest of the population only through interpreters, or by the use of a high-status foreign language. For example in the Third World countries the elite communicate through the language of the previous colonial, and either avoid contact with the population or speak with them using some pidginized variety of H. But those diglossic communities without bilingualism are not recognized as speech communities by Fishman

(1972) since the two groups are not in contact with each other (except through translators or using a pidgin language or a lingua franca).

Hudson (2002:02-03) argues that: *"diglossia and societal bilingualism are often regarded as surface variants of the same underlying phenomenon, but they are fundamentally different in their social origins"*. Ferguson (1959) mentioned two main reasons behind the distinction between the type of sociolinguistic situation and its counterpart in societal bilingualism. The first one lies in the potential relationship between the nature of the complementary functional distribution of linguistic varieties and either stability or direction of displacement of codes. The second deals with the relationship between the linguistic structure and language function. Kaye (2001:118) also emphasizes that Ferguson's original conception of diglossia sharply contrasted with bilingualism, since he states that diglossia is different from *"the analogous situation where two distinct (related or unrelated) languages are used side by side throughout a speech community, each with a clearly defined role"* (1959: 429).

1.7 Features of Diglossia

Ferguson (1959) gave his final definition of 'diglossia' on the basis of nine rubrics; these are function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. These are the most important characteristics of diglossia and its defining criteria as well.

A) Function

The functions that H and L play in society are the most important features of diglossia for Ferguson. As stated previously, Ferguson (1959) means by the functional distributions of H and L is that there are situations specific for H and others particular for L, with very little overlap. As an illustration, Ferguson (1959) gave the following list of situations where H and L are used:

	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	x	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		x
Personal letters	x	
Speech in Parliament, Political speech	x	

University lecture	x	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		x
News broadcast	x	
Radio "soap opera"		x
Newspaper editorial, news story, the caption on picture	x	
Caption on political cartoon		x
Poetry	x	
Folk literature		x

The use of H and L varieties in their specific situations is really hard to estimate as Ferguson (1959:236) says:

An outsider who learns to speak fluent, accurate L and then uses

it in a formal speech is an object of ridicule. A member of the speech

the community who uses H in a purely conversational situation or in an

informal activity like shopping is equally an object of ridicule.

Ferguson means here that the use of the wrong variety in the inappropriate occasion leads to a serious social mistake, for example using L to write an educational report, or speaking in H in the market. Ferguson suggests the Arab world as an example, where formal university lectures are given in H but their content is explained in L. The intervention of the L variety in secondary schools is not allowed in some Arab countries, nevertheless it is still used to clarify some parts of the lecture and usually more complicated issues which are difficult to understand by the pupils. Ferguson clarifies that some poetry is composed in L in some cases, and some poets even write in both H and L, but the poetry written in H remains the 'real' poetry (1959).

B) Prestige

In all the diglossic communities H is said to be the superior variety while L is the inferior one. H is also seen as prestigious, powerful, real and more elegant while L lacks prestige and is regarded as 'not to exist'. Ferguson (1972:237) reports that many educated Arabs and Haitians deny their use of L though its use is apparent in ordinary conversation. Ferguson calls this behavior as a 'self-deception' rather than a 'deliberate lie'. H is usually more beautiful,

more logical, and appropriate to express important thoughts. But, in some cases the superiority of H is tied to religion; for example in Arab Speaking World, H is Classical Arabic and it is the language of the Qur'an.

C) Literary Heritage

Ferguson claims that in any diglossic community literature written in H is highly admired by the population (1959:238). This literature is originated either from the past history of the community or in continuous production in another speech community where H is the standard variety. Thus, when the body of literature has its root from the ancient past contemporary writers and readers tend to regard it as a legitimate practice to use words, phrases, and expressions which were used only in a certain period of the literary history and are no more used nowadays (Ferguson 1959:238).

D) Acquisition

One more important criterion of diglossia lies in the various patterns of language acquisition associated with H and L. L is used when talking to children and between children as well; thus, L is learned by children in a 'normal' unselfconscious way (Ferguson 1959). Niloofar Haeri (2000) adds that H is heard by children from time to time on TV or Radio, but the actual learning of H is achieved by education or through the Quranic schools. Thus, the H variety is 'taught' in formal settings whereas the L variety is 'acquired' in informal situations. Ferguson (1959) cited two main effects for such acquisition pattern; first those who leave school in the early years may not have the chance to learn H; secondly, even those who got the opportunity to learn H, their competency in it may not reach that of L. The reason for this is that L is used more than H; people speak mostly L at home, whereas H is learned in a way that is similar to foreign language learning. Therefore, replacing L by H for all functions and circumstances can be hardly achieved because people cannot speak H to their children[12].

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[12] Charles A Ferguson, 1959, « *Diglossia* », Language and Social Structures, Word. Vol 15, pp239.

E) Standardization

In contrast to L, H is the standard form of the language; moreover, it is the one used to write grammars, dictionaries, pronunciation guides, and books of rules for correct usage. There is no fixed orthography in L in addition to the high variation in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary (Ferguson 1959:239). Ferguson adds that a standard L may arise in relatively small speech communities which have one important center of communication, such as Greece and Haiti, such variety tends to spread like any standard variety though it keeps the functions suitable for L. But communities which lack a single most important center of communication raise a number of regional L's. Ferguson (1959) took the example Cairo Arabic which acts as a standard L for Egypt where educated individuals must learn both H and Cairo L for conversational purposes.

F) Stability

Ferguson (1959) describes diglossia as an extremely stable phenomenon which lasts for centuries. In fact, it is required in order to preserve more than one language variety and their functions in one community. Nevertheless, the intermediate forms of the language which mix the features of H and L created tensions between H and L. Wardhaugh (2006:91) refers to the possibility of borrowing from H to L; in which the L variety often borrows learned terms from the H variety mainly when speakers use L in more formal ways. Ferguson (1959:239) says in this respect:

> *The communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia*
> *situation may be resolved by the use of relatively uncodified, unstable,*
> *intermediate forms of the language (Greek mikti, Arabic al-lugah al-*
> *wusta, Haitian creole de salon) and repeated borrowing of vocabulary*
> *items from H to L.*

Ferguson refers to a kind of spoken Arabic which is much used in certain semiformal or cross-dialectal situations; it is a variety which includes a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features

of classical syntax, but its morphology and syntax are basically colloquial (cited in Karin C. Ryding1991).

G) Grammar

Although Ferguson (1959) claims that H and L should belong to the same language, there is considerable variation in the grammatical structure between H and L. H has grammatical categories and an inflectional system of nouns and verbs that L lacks. For example, Classical Arabic has three cases in the noun marked by endings that the colloquial dialects miss. Also, there is a variation in the word order as well as in the use of introductory and connective particles in every one of the defining languages. It is certainly safe to say that: *"in diglossia, there are always extensive differences between the grammatical structures of H and L"* Ferguson (1959: 241). Greenberg (1954) argues that it is always risky to guess generalizations about grammatical complexity, but it may be important to formulate a statement applicable to the four defining languages even if it should turn out to be invalid for other instances of diglossia. Most linguists agree that the grammatical structure of L is 'simpler' than that of H.

H) Lexicon

Although H and L varieties share many lexical items there are still variations in form, use, and meaning. The technical terms and learned expressions in H vocabulary do not have their equivalents in L lexis. Similarly, L uses popular expressions and names of very homely objects which have no regular H synonyms. In this sense, Ferguson (1959:242) says:

> A *striking feature of diglossia is the existence of many*
>
> *paired items, one H one L, referring to fairly common concepts*
>
> *frequently used in both H and L, where the range of meaning of*
>
> *the two items is roughly the same, and the use of one or the other*
>
> *immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as H or L*

For example, in Algerian Arabic the H word for "fall" is /saqaṭa/ and [ṭa:ħ] is used in L. The word /saqaṭa/ never occurs in ordinary conversation and [ta:h] is not used in normal written Arabic. Diglossia is also characterized by the existence of 'paired items', one in H and one in L. Ferguson (1972:243) refers

to nearest American English parallels of *illumination ~ light, purchase ~ buy,* or *children ~ kids,* but in these cases both words may be written and may be used in ordinary conversation. In diglossic communities, only H form is written and only L form is used in daily communication.

L) Phonology

At the phonological level, Ferguson (1959) argues that H and L phonologies may be quite close as in Greek; moderately different as in Arabic or Haitian Creole, or strikingly divergent as in Swiss German. Ferguson (1959: 244) says in this respect:

> *The sound systems of H and L constitute a single phonological structure of which the L phonology is the basic system and the divergent features of H phonology are either a subsystem or a parasystem.*

Kazazis (1968) suggests that H phonology is closer to the common forms in the whole language, while L phonology is far from such underlying forms. Thus, he assumes that the speaker has a single inventory of distinctive oppositions for the whole H and L complex and that there is extensive interference in both directions in terms of the distribution of phonemes in specific lexical items. Ferguson adds that: *"If 'pure' H items have phonemes not found in 'pure' L items, L phonemes frequently substitute for these in oral use of H and regularly replace them in tatsamas"* (1959:244). For example, French has a high front rounded vowel phoneme */u/* and 'pure' Haitian Creole has no such phoneme.

1.8 Social Origins of Diglossia

The position of diglossia within an evolutionary taxonomy of speech repertoires is well examined in Gumperz's (1968) typology of linguistic communities. Gumperz (1968:466) states that everyone in the speech community can notice the differences between *"casual every-day speech and non-casual styles used in singing, recitation, myth-telling, and similar ritually defined situations"*. Gumperz (1968:467–468) explained that the variation between the variety learned at home and the one learned at school becomes salient in intermediate societies including ordinary population integrated to different levels into the dominant society and exhibiting a high degree of social

stratification and occupational specialization. These societies would develop special administrative codes which are characterized by extreme codification, and which require deep study of grammar.

For Gumperz (1968:469), those codes *"serve as the language of special administrative and priestly classes and function, at least in part, to maintain group exclusiveness"*. It has been argued that intermediate societies as described by Gumperz welcomed the existence of classical diglossia. Sjoberg (1964:893) claims that the educated people use a high-status language when they are in formal situations; but when they are in contact with less educated or uneducated persons, they move into an informal speech style. Obviously, the educated group employs at least two speech styles which are lexical, phonologically, and grammatically different from the speech of the ordinary people. Furthermore, the formal speech style *"tends to be perpetuated over centuries with relatively little change, a phenomenon that results from the high prestige accorded it and its close tie with the written language"* Sjoberg (1964:893).

Gumperz and Sjoberg did not really analyze the concept of diglossia; rather that they referred to the social descriptions of "intermediate" and "pre-industrialized civilized" societies and their corresponding verbal repertoires[13]. In his analysis, Neustupny (1974: 39-40) referred the importance of the functional variation as the feature of modern societies and classified nonfunctional variation among the characteristics of premodern societies. In modernization process, the nonfunctional opposition between classical and colloquial varieties in premodern diglossic speech communities is replaced by the functional variation with a more differentiated repertoire of scientific and technical varieties. Neustupny (1974:40) adds that:

with particular reference to diglossia most of the variation between a Classical and a Modern standard, in the case of a premodern diglossia is non-functional; and it is, not a matter of chance that the diglossia is most often removed at an early stage of modernization.

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[13] Hudson (2002:20).

Ferguson (1959: 326–327) states that:

Diglossia is not assumed to be a stage which occurs always and only at a certain point in some kind of evolution, [but] may develop from various origins and eventuate in different language situations.

Hudson (2002:21) clarifies that in case the critical distinction between diglossic situations and societal bilingualism remains in the presence or absence of a prestigious native group of H, then it will be necessary to find the social origins of diglossia in circumstances where cultural–linguistic traditions develop or acquire new registers but without having native speakers of these new varieties. Thus, Hudson (2002) suggested at least three sets of circumstances for this situation. First, the H variety has never been used as a vernacular by any native speakers; second, the H variety may have been used as a native vernacular at one time, but either through the process of intergenerational language shift or internal language change; third, the H variety is still used by some people who do not belong to the community that use H for non-vernacular functions.

Coulmas (1661:129) adds that diglossia may emerge because of: *"the acquisition of the H variety by an external speech community which is unaccompanied by any significant in-migration of native speakers of H"*. He suggested the example of the Chinese language which was adopted as the means of writing in the earliest documents in Japan since the early seventh century. Although this written variety was subsequently nativized, it does not employ the various functional distribution of Chinese to the written sphere and Japanese to the spoken as an instance of diglossia involving two unrelated languages.

Diglossic speech communities do not have the same individual cases of diglossia. For example, the opposition between Classical and vernacular Japanese until the beginning of the twentieth century varies from the Swiss-German diglossia today. As Ferguson himself noted (1991:219): *'the four cases I described are not identical; each one is quite different in some respects from the other three, though they have many features in common"*. The essential characteristic of diglossia lies in the coexistence of a high variety without

native speakers within the speech community, and a low vernacular used in everyday conversation. This idea frees the restriction made on diglossia which conditions that the two codes should belong to the same language. A. Hudson (2002:23-24) removed the criterion that necessitates attributing diglossia to literate speech communities even though the development of writing is particularly conducive to the emergence of diglossia.

Coulmas (1987:122) referred to the need for *"a sociolinguistic theory of writing and written language which accounts for the nexus between literacy, writing system, and diglossia"*. Although he ignores the importance and the role of writing in the existence of diglossia, he agrees with Ferguson that: *"writing introduces the possibility of a permanent rift between characteristically different varieties into every speech community"* (Coulmas 1987:122). Ferguson (1968:29-30) also admits the role of graphization in adding another variety to the language repertoire of a community, and thus communities are convinced that ordinary and everyday speech cannot be written. Nishi (1874) expresses: *"in our letters at present it is inappropriate to write as we speak as well as inappropriate to speak as we write because the grammars of speech and writing in our tongue are different"* (quoted in Coulmas 1991: 128).

1.9. Outcomes of Diglossia

It has been agreed by many scholars that the main function of diglossia is that it allows the existence of more than one code or a language variety in society; each of these codes plays a social function and each is specified to given circumstances. Diglossia also plays an important role in bringing two or more related or unrelated languages in contact with each other, i.e. it allows the vernacular to co-exist with the high language. It may also lead, as described before, to the creation of a mixed language of H and L varieties. Ferguson (1959) insists on the fact that diglossia is highly accepted by society and is not regarded as a 'problem' since literacy is spread, communication is increasing among different regional and social members of the community, and a developed standard language is demanded to be an attribute of autonomy.

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When these aspects are found in the community, the leaders start to support the unification of the language (Ferguson 1959:340). These individuals tend to support either the adoption of H or of one L forms as the standard, less often the adoption of a modified H or L (Ferguson 1959).

One of the outcomes of diglossia which are cited by Ferguson (1972:248) is that it may remain stable for a very long period although certain political or social pressures may lead to its disappearance. Ferguson mentions two main pressures mainly the increasing of literacy among the population which in turn leads to the increasing use of H; and the wide communication throughout the country which makes people use H when they are in contact with foreigners. The increasing use of H among members of the community confuses the linguistic distinction between H and L. Ferguson (1959) also referred to the development of nationalism and a demand for a national language as its symbol; this leads to a linguistic dispute between the proponents of H and those of L about which variety is the appropriate national language.

According to Ferguson (1959:247), the supporters of H insist on its adoption since it links the community with its glorious past or with the world community; and because it is a naturally unifying element, unlike the L dialects. Additionally, most of the members of the community agree on the superiority of H as more beautiful, more expressive, and more logical. In the same sense, L is closer to the feelings of people who can easily express their ideas through it, for this reason, the proponents of L demand its adoption. According to Ferguson (1959), L facilitates the educational problem and removes ambiguity and misunderstanding since it is the first variety acquired and mastered by people since their early childhood. The proponents of both sides or even of the mixed language argue that a standard language can simply be legislated in a community[14]. Thus, it fair to say that the L variety will be the basis for the standard national language but with a considerable mixture of the H variety.

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[14] Ferguson (1959: 341)

Another possible outcome of diglossia is that H may become the eventual standard language of the community, but Ferguson (1959) sees that this can take place only if H is already the standard language of another community; and if the diglossic community is combined with that other community. Ferguson (1959:341-342) finally concludes that: *"if there is a single communication center in the whole speech community, or if there are several centers all in one dialect area, the L variety of the center(s) will be the basis of the new standard, either relatively pure L or considerably mixed with H"*. At last Ferguson closed his article by a description of the diglossic situations in the four defining languages. Ferguson (1959:342) states: *"A tentative prognosis for the four defining languages over the next two centuries (i.e. to about AD 2150) may be hazarded"*, in which:

a) Swiss German: Relative stability.

b) Arabic: Slow development toward several standard languages, each based on an L variety with a heavy admixture of H vocabulary.

c) Haitian Creole: Slow development toward unified standard based on L of Port au- Prince.

d) Greek: Full development to a unified standard based on L of Athens plus a heavy admixture of H vocabulary.

1.10 Rise and Decline of Diglossia

The main feature that Ferguson gave to diglossia is its stability which can only be preserved when the H variety is restricted to the educated elite; he states: *"diglossia typically persists at least several centuries, and evidence in some cases seems to show that it can last well over a thousand years"* (1959: 332). Coulmas (1987:117) also agrees with Ferguson that stability is an important feature of diglossia, particularly where he says that: *"linguistic differences are not aggravated by political or religious differences"* (1987:118). Pauwels (1986:16) on his side has questioned whether: *"the stability factor is so crucial to diglossia since societal changes such as modernization, urbanization, the breakdown of rigid class barriers, etc, have made diglossic situations as described by Ferguson (1959) rather rare'.*

Finally, Mackey has declared that: *"contrairement aux mode`les de Ferguson et de Gumperz, les situations diglossiques ne sont pas stables; elles ont chacune leur dynamique"* (1989:16). (*"In contrast to the models of Ferguson and Gumperz, diglossic situations are not stable; each has its own dynamics"*).

Diglossia has been discussed by many sociolinguists whose ideas sometimes contradicted each other for different reasons: the different characterizations of the concept; treating different facts as similar cases; giving various interpretations and definitions to stability; and making different judgments to diglossic speech communities[15]. In the end, Eckert (1980:1056) sees that: *"diglossia does not arise, but it is imposed from an administrative, ritual or standard language. And because of its political and economic status, this language becomes necessary for access to power and mobility within the community"*.

Hudson (2002:29) compares between cases of long-term diglossia and situations of short-term bilingualism and he concludes that there is no case for the relative stability of diglossia. He also mentioned that societal bilingualism will almost last for longer periods of time than diglossia; even the most stable cases of diglossia face a change in the functional distribution of H and L. Hudson (2002) remarks that in societal bilingualism the higher prestigious language eventually tends to impose its use at home or informal settings making the low prestigious language the first language in the community. In diglossic contexts, on the other hand, the L variety tries to replace the H variety through a process of structural convergence; this gives birth to a new standard language which is more linked to certain educated varieties of the vernacular[16].

Diglossia may also disappear, as stated earlier when the L variety is used in the formal domains which are restricted to the H variety. Britto (1991) argues that if the use of H declined, then the L variety would be the main language of religion and secular texts, whether written or oral. Britto (1991:69-70) mentioned the case of Tamil as an example of the spread of L which

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[15] Hudson (2002: 29)
[16] Hudson (2002: 30)

became the main variety of the realistic portrayal of natural conversation between the characters in novels, plays, and films where were earlier submitted in Tamil H. As a result, Tamil L became the appropriate variety for all monologic discourse such as sermons, political speeches, and lectures[17].

The development of literacy, broader communication among different regional and social members in the community, and seeking a standard national language in the speech community are all social trends mentioned by Ferguson (1959:338) which may also lead to the decline of diglossia. The latter may also decrease because of the processes of urbanization, mercantilism, and industrialization, which all give birth to a literate labor force. Sjoberg (1964) added the disestablishment of small ruling groups, the breakdown of rigid class barriers, and the democratization of education and literacy which contribute to the decline of diglossia. Finally, nationalism, political control, and unity often create a demand for a standard national language. Such trends, thus, create a difficulty: *"to separate educated from non-educated speech"* says Sjoberg (1964: 894).

Hudson (2002) classified modernization among the causes of the decline of diglossia. Additionally, Sjoberg (1964: 897) cited the main types of linguistic reform in modernizing societies which are the rising the status of the vernacular, and the supplying it with a writing system. Neustupny (1974: 40) has already argued that diglossia *''is most often removed at an early stage of modernization'.* Gumperz (1968:469) on his side, claimed that the urbanization of intermediate societies leads to a structural convergence between the sub-codes in their speech repertoires, thus the distinction between H and L reduces until extinction. The establishment of such new social order also leads to the decline of diglossia. In this case: *"the repertoires become more homogeneous, old administrative codes tend to be substituted more vernacular varieties, local populations are involved in dominant groups, and increasing proportions of the population are drawn into national life"* says Gumperz (1968 [1962]: 469).

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[17] Hudson (2002 :31)

Kahane (1979:190) says in this respect that the H variety in diglossia *"is seriously weakened by a new class structure which gives increased power to groups previously at the margins of or below the range of elite society"*. Sotiropoulos (1982:19) also mentioned that the disestablishment of ruling party has been regarded as a necessary condition for the elimination of diglossia: *"unless the ruling class is replaced by another, there is no loosening of the diglossic control"*. Additionally, the decline of the H variety often causes the breakdown of classical society itself; as Pulgram (1950:461-462) states: *"a breakdown of this society involves the breakdown of its classical language, and the new socio-historical structure creates a new literary language out of the spoken language then current"*.

Ferguson (1959:331) has already noted that the change in the use of H requires a radical change in the diglossic pattern of the acquisition of L; but in other cases, it is more appropriate to focus on the emergence of a third variety rather than the substitution of H by L *"which represents a merger of the original two norms"* says Wexler (1971: 345-346). Kahane (1979:194) claims that if H is completely replaced or combined with L in order to get a new standard whose vocabulary will be made up of a large-scale transfer of terminology characteristic of upper-class civilization, abstractions, and professional technologies.

The process was similarly formulated by other studies of diglossia in which Sotiropoulos (1982:19) says:

> *The phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures of the new language prevail. However, one element of the H form that survives in the new standard, is the lexicon, especially words for abstract notions and professional and scientific terminologie'.*

Walters (1996:169) adds that in each of the Arabic speaking countries:

> *A spoken variety of growing prestige that takes the dialect as the matrix or basis and borrows lexicon, set expressions, and discourse markers from CA/MSA [Classical Arabic/Modern Stan--dard Arabic] exists, and its use continues to expand even to the extent that it serves as a spoken standard of some sort".*

Ferguson (1972:235) concluded that changing the functions of H and L varieties between each other is a sign of the initial breakdown of the diglossic relationship.

1.11 High and Low Relatedness

Ferguson (1959) conditions a linguistic relatedness between H and L varieties as a requirement for diglossia. Different researchers face some disagreement on this aspect, and each one gives different characterizations on the divergence of H and L.

A) H and L are structurally related but distinct:

1. Ferguson (1959) sees H and L as two highly divergent varieties of the same language arguing that lexicon, grammar, and phonology reflect the structural relationship between H and L.

2. Britto (1985) states that H and L are *"optimally"* related varieties of the same language.

B) H and L are distinct and need not be structurally related:

1. Fasold (1984) sees H and L as two different dialects or languages.

2. Fishman (1967, 1972) regards H and L as two more or less distinct languages, dialects or styles required for the purpose of communication.

C) H and L are structurally related along a continuum

1. DaSilva (1974) also states that the mixtures between H and L confused the distinction between them.

D) H and L are structurally related but distinct in grammar only

1. Gair (1992) argues that the distinction between H and L lies mainly in grammar, but the lexical code-mixing superficially obscures such distinction.

These four characterizations illustrate the difficulties distinguishing between the various types of language situations. Ferguson (1.a) has already stated diglossia is distinct from standard-with-dialects and societal bilingualism; while Fishman (2.b) made similarities among all three situation types. De Silva (1.c) focuses on the existence of intermediate language

varieties between H and L; while Gair (1.d) describes Ferguson's characterization as an attempt to keep the distinctness of a diglossic type[18].

Hudson (1991:10) raises a question about the extension of diglossia to two unrelated languages wondering about the functional distribution between H and L as being stable or competitive. Later he stated that the functional distribution between them may be stable only when the two varieties are structurally related languages within the same speech community as in the case of Swiss German and High German in Switzerland, or it may be competitive when both varieties compete for the same domain as in the case of Frisian[19] and Dutch in the northern Netherlands. Stable or unstable functional distribution also exist in speech communities where two unrelated languages coexist, e.g. the relatively stable functional compartmentalization of Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay, or the *"serious rivalry between immigrant-host and colonial-indigenous contacts worldwide"* says Hudson (1991:10). However, Hudson described the functional distribution between two unrelated languages used in the same speech community as unstable:

> *Whereas codes which are structurally related to each other are*
>
> *likely to be in stable complementation as to be in competition for as*
>
> *control of the same situational contexts, codes which are not structurally*
>
> *related are overwhelmingly more likely [...] to be in conflict when used*
>
> *by a single speech community for within-group communication. (1991:10)*

Hudson (1991) claimed that such process may lead to the displacement of H on L. Other researchers also viewed that such dichotomy leads also to changes in the functional uses of H and L in which the contexts which were specified to H now witness the use of L. Verdoodt (1972) gave the example of German, functioning as L, and French as H, which were used for almost any purpose and neither language was given a specific role. Ferguson discussed the question of structural relatedness in an article published in 1991, where he

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[18] Palillo (1994:15-16)

[19] The Frisian Language, a member of the West Germanic language group, enjoys official status in the province of Friesland and is used alongside Dutch in schools and the local parliament.

admits that in his original formulation he failed to *"make clear how far apart (or how close together) the high and low varieties have to be in a language situation to be characterized as diglossia"* (1991: 223). However, similar to Hudson, he adds:

> *My feeling was that if you have two varieties in this H-L relationship that are fairly closely related to one another, one kind of outcome will result(e.g. certain kinds of lexical borrowings will take place, certain forms of phonological and syntactic conver--gence will be likely, and so forth). However, if the H and L varieties are unrelated languages, then the outcomes will ultimately be quite different; different kinds of borrowing will take place and different types of intermediate forms will result, and the overall history of the language situation will be different.* (1991: 223)

He describes here the situation in which unrelated languages coexist within the same speech community as non-diglossic because they would have different results.

1.12 Diglossic Continuum

Maamouri (1998) links the importance of diglossia to the degree of the overlap, or lack of it, of the mutual intelligibility which exists between the two opposed language varieties. The linguistic distance between H and L is important as it pictures some or no mutual intelligibility, therefore one may notice the existence of a significant linguistic discontinuity[20]. Maamouri (1998) also described Arabic diglossia as being in the middle of a *diglossic continuum* since all the varieties of Arabic which are spoken by people in the Arab countries are included in this continuum and are mutually intelligible. But within this diglossic case, the H variety keeps its self far from all the other varieties.

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[20]Mohamed Maamouri, 1998, *Language Education and Human Development Arabic Diglossia and its Impact on the Quality of Education in the Arab Region.* The International Literacy Institute University of Pennsylvania. USA, p30.

1.13 Diglossia and Literacy

Ferguson (1959) claims that the long-term control of the literate elite on the direct access to the literary heritage of a speech community can also lead to diglossia. In particular, diglossia takes place when:

(1) there is a sizable body of literature in a language

closely related to or even identical with) the natural(language

of the community, and this literature embodies some of thefunda-

-mental values of the community, (2) literacy in the community is

limited to a small elite, and (3) a suitable period of time, on the

order of several centuries passes from the establishment of (1)

and (2) (Ferguson 1959: 38).

Coulmas (1987) gives six aspects which explain the difference between the written and spoken norms which in turn leads to diglossia. The first one lies in the function of the degree of association between the literary tradition and other great cultural achievements of a religious or artistic nature; second the period of time of the development of the literary tradition; third the extent to which the written language is cultivated by small social groups and is prevented from any changes in the spoken language; fourth the degree of literacy in the speech community, fifth the agreement on the written language by the illiterate population as the only appropriate manifestation of their language; and sixth the appropriate writing system and orthography of the language (1987: 121-122, 1989:13).

Other researchers have also participated in examining the connection between the degree of popular literacy and the gap between the written and the spoken codes. Parker (1983:334-335) supposes that *"the varying and uncertain distance between spoken language and written language in any time and place may be inversely associated with the level and extent of literacy"*. Walters (1996: 161-162) also argues that:

The existence of diglossia hinges on a tradition of restricted

Literacy involving the written variety of a language that becomes

increasingly distant (and therefore distinct) from the native variety

of language spoken in a speech community that is overwhelmingly

illiterate.

Walters thinks that this process is the only one that leads to diglossia, but Ferguson (1959:327) claims that *"diglossia may develop from various origins"*.

Hudson (2002) argues that the relationship between diglossia and literacy is not randomly happening because the social division of literacy allows the existence of two or more divergent language varieties. Thus, the emergence of literary varieties reinforces the restriction of a class structure based on literacy. There are many examples of diglossic cases which show the tied relationship between literacy, literary tradition, restricted literacy, and diglossia. For example, attributing the H variety to the pre-Islamic poetry, the sacred texts of Islam, and the works of medieval Arabic philologists all keep Arabic diglossia stable (Rabin 1955: 20; Walters 1996: 161).

Ferguson (1959:337) has already suggested that the development of writing alone may not lead to diglossia, he said:

All clearly documented instances [of diglossia] known to me

are in literate communities, but it seems at least possible that a some-

what similar situation could exist in a non-literate community where a

body of oral literature could play the same role as the body of written

literature in the examples cited

Distinguishing between written and spoken language in literate traditions is similar differentiating between the high and the low varieties in diglossia. Similarly, literary works in oral traditions differ in both linguistic form and social function from daily speech, in the same sense the written and other noncasual types of discourse also vary from a colloquial speech in literate cultures (Akinnaso 1982:08; Chafe 1982:49-50; Feldman 1991: 47-48). Thus, Akinnaso (1982:08) claims that *"in non-literate (traditional) societies, ritual*

communication is different from the everyday talk in much the same way that written language differs from ordinary conversational language in literate societies".

Chafe (1982:49-50), has also demonstrated that the elements which distinguish the spoken language from the written one are the same elements which differentiate colloquial from ritual speech. He adds that diglossia can be also the result of functional purposes, opportunities for acquisition, and the linguistic divergence from the vernacular. Hudson (2002) states that diglossia also needs a body of literature; while Bright (1982: 272) states: "*that body of discourses or texts which, within any society, is considered worthy of dissemination, transmission, and preservation in essentially constant form''.* Although such body of literature is submitted in the written language, it can be also presented orally and be regularly in the same medium.

1.14 Broad Diglossia

As explained previously Ferguson (1959/1972) defined diglossia on the basis of the functional distribution of two language varieties which should be divergent. On the other hand, Fishman (1967/1972) has expanded the notion allowing more than two related or unrelated languages to co-exist in the same speech community. In order to exclude the instances of standard-with-dialects situation Ferguson conditions that H should not be used in ordinary conversation by anyone in the speech community. Therefore, diglossia was broadly expanded by many other sociolinguists who demanded first a highly valued element of a community's linguistic repertoire which is learned through formal education and reserved for formal circumstances, and second less valued segments which do not require conscious efforts to be learned and are specified for informal situations. This process was described as *"Broad Diglossia".*

Table 1.2: Subtypes of Broad Diglossia

Linguistic Relatedness	Subtype of Broad Diglossia
Separate languages	Superposed bilingualism
Divergent dialects	Classic diglossia
Stylistic differences	Style shifting

Cases of broad diglossia allow the inspection of the degree of H and L relatedness, and forms broad diglossia does not require only two repertoire segments in one speech community. This issue pushes Hudson (2002) to suspect the appearance of the so-called *"classic diglossia"* which explains the possible range of relatedness found in broad diglossia. Fasold (1984) clarifies the case stating that the *less* close relationship between H and L varieties leads to *superposed* bilingualism, but the *more* close relationship between them causes *style shifting.* The latter refers to a continuous mixture of different linguistic alternatives from very colloquial to very formal; therefore separating styles into two sections becomes impossible to do. The notion of diglossia is expanded to include not only separate languages but also style shifting; and Hudson (2002) describes Ferguson's original definition as needing an intermediate level of linguistic relatedness between clearly separate languages and style shifting. The relationships between these terms, i.e. "classic diglossia", superposed bilingualism and style shifting are illustrated in the table below in which the distinction between them is relative[21].

1.15 Arabic Diglossia

When exemplifying the case of diglossia in the Arab World, Ferguson referred to the existence of two language varieties of Arabic, i.e. MSA and dialectal Arabic, and he explained how people treat these two varieties in their societies. Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973) and Meiseles (1980) had also noted that usually, people mix between H and L in the speech, but they do not have a total

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[21] Hudson (2002:11).

change creating a code which is neither fully H nor fully L[22]. All the Arab countries share the Modern form of Standard Arabic or the so-called *Al Fusha*, but each of those countries has its own colloquial Arabic, or dialect, such as Algerian Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Saudi Arabic, etc. The majority of the Arabs use MSA alternately with their regional dialects. Similarly, all the Arabs agree that H is represented by MSA, while L refers to the Arabic dialects and thus the switch from MSA to Arab dialects creates a diglossic situation. The Low variety differs from one Arab country to another forming a wide number of Arabic dialects.

In his description to diglossia, Ferguson (1959) took the example of Arabic as one of the few languages that reflects such sociolinguistic case and he regarded it as the most classic example of the coexistence of two varieties of the same language. Palmer (2007:113) agrees with Ferguson that Standard Arabic is the high variety which is the sign of uniformity around the Arab countries, while the different spoken Arabic dialects which vary around the geographical communities in the Arab world are the low varieties which are seldom codified and are used for everyday conversation. Kaye (1994:60) argues that: *"even Classical Arabic literature and grammar professors go home and speak their colloquial dialects with their children, families, and friends"* (Kaye 1994: 60).

In Arabic diglossia, Ferguson (1991:228) refers to MSA as being divergent, highly codified, and superposed variety; while colloquial Arabic plays a low function in society. MSA also owns a high prestige thanks to its rich literary tradition, in which there is a: *"sizable body of written literature which is held in high esteem by the speech community"* says Ferguson (1996:29-30). According, Van Mol (2003: 43) MSA's orthography is well formulated and *"has a long tradition of grammatical study and a fixed norm for pronunciation, grammar, and lexicon"*. Parkinson (1991 with Van Mol (2003) turned the well organized forms of MSA into the 9th century when CA

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[22] Reem, Bassiouney, 2009, "Arabic Sociolinguistics", Edinburgh University Press Ltd, p14.

was codified as the language of the Qur'an, and became one of the major areas of where Muslim scholars studied and produced grammars, dictionaries, pronunciation manuals, and stylistic conventions that excluded variation and protect MSA from modern influence.

While Ferguson's (1964 [1959]: 435) description calls H as *"grammatically more complex"*, Kaye (2002:124) regards MSA as a marked system and colloquial Arabic as unmarked. That is, MSA is characterized by more categories of grammar: nominative, genitive, and accusative cases, duality in the pronoun, verb, adjective, and so on; while none of the Arabic dialects involves in its system these grammatical features. When comparing between MSA and any of the existing Arabic dialects many phonological, syntactical, and lexical differences appear. The situation has been described in the following points:

1) *MSA* is a highly inflectional language with case endings for the number, gender and tense; while the colloquial lost all inflections and case endings.

2) MSA follows a VSO (Verb-Subject-Object) word order while the dialects follow a SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) structure based on strict word order.

3) All MSA grammatical functions are marked by an inflectional system of vocalic representation consisting of short vowels. On the other hand, most of the functional vocalic representation has been lost in most of the colloquial Arabic forms.

4) MSA includes morphological distinctions of number (singular, dual, and plural) and gender (masculine and feminine); whereas the dual forms have totally disappeared from all dialects.

5) MSA's adjectives agree with nouns in number and gender.

6) The phonological structure of MSA is composed of 28 consonants, three short and three long vowels; while most dialects have a more complex vocalic structure which has two new vowels (/e o/).

7) MSA has a rich lexicon based on an almost unlimited use of derivation. The dialects also have a rich lexicon and benefit from a freer attitude towards borrowing from foreign languages.

Most scholars agree that Arabic diglossia is explained in terms of two different varieties rather than different registers which vary at the level of formality, i.e. formal and informal. After Ferguson's description, many scholars such as Blanc 1960; Badawi; 1973; El-Hassan 1977, Mitchell 1978, and Meisels 1980 attempted to define these complex levels of Arabic beyond the simplified High and Low dichotomy. Al Batal (1992:285) in his study says: *"it does not aim to define these different levels [but rather] recognize the existence of these levels and the complexities they pose for the linguistic situation in Arabic"*. In the Arab world, H is given different terms mostly *fuSHa* (the only term for it in Arabic), or Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Standard Arabic (SA), formal or written Arabic (Maamouri 1998). Palmer (2008:83) noted that these terms are distinguished from the Classical Arabic of the Quran and that of literature. But the L variety is often called by Arabs as *'amiya'* or spoken Arabic, vernacular or colloquial or dialect(s).

Maamouri (1998) claimed that Arabic diglossia leads to many challenges and raises many educational questions. Many teachers did not know which variety they have to teach, either MSA or the dialect; and how they make their learner recognize Arabic as a diglossic language. These issues become apparent when teaching Arabic mainly with the existence of two varieties though many intermediate forms of the language are between the two. All children acquire their local dialect of Arabic, but only those who go to school can learn *fusha* or MSA. Wagner (1993:172-3) remarks that Standard Arabic (*fusha*) differs considerably from dialectal Moroccan Arabic, but adds that *"...in spite of such differences, Moroccan Arabic speakers can be thought of as learning literacy in their mother tongue in the same sense that nonstandard dialectal English speaker"*. On the other hand, Palmer (2007) argues that most students learn only the formal variety of Arabic or MSA. This situation *"creates a fake of a model of oral proficiency by presenting the*

students with an artificial variety that is not used by the native speakers since no one uses [formal Arabic] for daily-life situations" says Al-Batal (1995:122).

Similarly, Al-Batal and Belnap (2006:397) suggest that: *"the Arabic classrooms can and should be a place in which multiple registers co-exist, as they do in real life".* As a comment for the requirement of Arabic programs so as to make the learners communicate successfully, Younes (1995:233) argues that: *"if the goal of an Arabic-as-a-foreign language program is to prepare students to function successfully in Arabic, then they should be introduced to both a Spoken Arabic dialect and [formal Arabic] from the beginning of an Arabic course."* Later; it has been suggested to free the restriction of school programs to only MSA if they seek to train future professionals to communicate effectively with the Arabic-speaking world. Maamouri (1998) insists on the fact that *Fusha* is nobody's mother tongue and is almost no one uses it at home in the Arab world. In all the Arab countries, *Fusha* is learned at school and used in official and formal functions. The vernacular variety of Arabic which is acquired at home and used in daily communication is the one regarded as the mother tongue[23].

Maamouri (1998:42) regards the use of dialectal Arabic in educational fields and mixing it with MSA leads to serious pedagogical problems; moreover, many Arab learners may feel of linguistic insecurity in formal school communication which is, in turn, the result the low understanding of *Modern fusha* and of poor identification with its norms. It is also the consequence of the failure of the Arab educationalist to provide their learners by:

> *The feeling of symbolic meaningfulness and relevance to*
> *the child's needs; the means to identify and bond with the other*
> *members of the school community and of the community at large;*
> *and last but not least, the provision of an easy, joyful, and relevant*
> *instruction process* (Maamouri 1998:40).

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[23]Maamouri (1998:32)

Mixing *fusha* with the colloquial in the Arab region and the lack of clear linguistic barriers increased the feelings of linguistic insecurity among the young learners who were confused by what constitutes *fusha* in the Arabic forms and what does not[24].

Maamouri (1998) claimed that the issue of when and in what specific situations can the Arab children use *Modern fusha* was the main interest of researchers and education specialists inside and outside of school. Obviously, the Arab children rarely use *fusha* in daily conversation such as with their parents or friends. According to Maamouri (1998:41) when children are playing they may use oral *fusha* but with additional features of 'artificiality' and lack of 'spontaneity'. Sometimes, Arab children hear *fusha* on radio and on TV broadcasting. More recently, many TV programs are watched every day by Arab children everywhere in the region. Unfortunately, these programs reflect quick translations of commercial international programs with a poor and unequal quality of *fusha* and without regarding any educational and cultural goal[25].

The diglossic situation in the Arab countries varies from country to another according to the linguistic gap which exists between H and L varieties or between *fusha* and the dialectal Arabic of each Arab region when they are used alternately. Kaye (1972) describes this situation as being dynamic and changing because of the dynamic nature of the Arabic dialects. Most educated and educated Arabs see the use of *fusha* spontaneously without turning to read a prepared text as difficult and unnatural. Similarly, even Imams in the Mosque read the religious sermons or use a mixture of Classical Arabic and *Modern fusha*[26]. However, it can be observed that the oral intervention of dialectal Arabic increases in these situations for purposes of better communication and removing ambiguity and misunderstanding from people.

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[24] Francesco Grande, Jan Jaap de Ruiter, and Massimiliano Spotti, « *Mother Tongue and Intercultural Valorization: Europe and its Migrant Youth*", 2012, p 140.
[25] Maamouri (1998:42)
[26] Ibid (1998:53).

Maamouri (1998) mentioned the example of the news which is daily presented in Tunisian Arabic on the national radio programs. This transposition of the news in *fusha* is addressed to all Tunisian listeners both educated and illiterate. Presenting the news in *fusha* in a colloquial oral format exists in communities where documents or books are read to very young children or illiterate adults. Finally, Maamouri (1998:68) describes Arabic diglossia as: *"a definite aggravating factor in the low results of schooling and non-formal instruction, though it would greatly enhance the quality of education"*.

1.16 Diglossia and Education

The diglossic situation in the North African countries causes serious problems at the educational level. The first problem exists mainly in the primary level which requires learning the standard form of Arabic, i.e. SA, by children who have probably never used it before schooling. Fathi Talmoudi (1984:32) describes the training given in CA as being: *"neither systematic nor directed towards terms and concepts from various activities"*; thus the pupils in the North African countries will neither increase their vocabulary nor will they strengthen and improve the formation of CA concepts. As a result, these pupils will face many psychological, social, and socio-emotional obstacles. Maamouri (1998) explains that when each language sets the parameters and the patterns of its use to a certain degree, pupils will live in psychological conflicts and they will be obliged to select between their mother tongue, dialectal Arabic, and the standard language, CA/SA. Choosing the first form of the language, i.e. the mother tongue, handicaps the pupils from learning the standard form of their language, but choosing the second one, i.e. standard language, opens the way to many controversial responses due to the strange behavior they are exposed to through Classical Arabic[27].

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[27] Maamouri (1998:61).

1.17 Conclusion

The first chapter carries the literature review of this research work. It initially presents the notion of language varieties which are important and needed in the present research work because it seeks to present the alternate use of two dialects which belong to the same language. The concept of bidialectalism seems to be the reason for the existence of diglossia; therefore, it is necessary to give brief definitions about such concepts in order to characterize the area which is under investigation. These terms are topped by an explanation of one of the most interesting sociolinguistic concepts, it is language contact. Diglossia is an important phenomenon in the field of sociolinguistics in general, and this research work in particular. We have seen various notions and definitions of such concept throughout this chapter. Ferguson was the first who introduced the term; he restricted the term to only two varieties which should be attributed to the same language. Later, Fishman expanded the notion giving the possibility for the existence of more than two related or unrelated languages in the same social context; he has also analyzed the term in parallel with bilingualism.

In addition to those two scholars, many other linguists and sociolinguists introduced their ideas about the concepts; their points are all explained above throughout the chapter. It can only be said that the only agreement upon the aspect of diglossia lies at the level of function. Everyone agrees that H speech is reserved for formal and public occasions; while L is used in informal and everyday circumstances. As for the relatedness question, it can be argued that the relationship between language form and the situation defined on a formality and informality continuum can exist whether the language forms are separate languages, major sub-systems of the same language, or subtle shiftings of a stylistic sort. The only function remains unchallenged, as it is regarded as the heart and soul of diglossia.

Chapter Two

General Background of Bechar

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2.2 The Language Repertoire of Algeria

2.3 Historical Background of Bechar

2.4 Classification of Arabic Dialects

2.5 Arabic Dialects of Algeria

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2.7 The Relationship between these Dialects and Standard Arabic

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2.9 Literacy and Illiteracy in Bechar

2.10 Attitudes towards *Fusha* in Bechar Speech Community

2.11 Algeria; a Diglossic Speech Community

2.12 Conclusion

2.1 Introduction

The historical background of Algeria has a direct effect on its linguistic situation. The co-existence of Berber which is spoken in many parts of Algeria, the Arabic language which was brought by the Arab conquest, and the French language that intervened because of the French colonization, characterize the language repertoire of Algeria. The latter reflects one of the perfect models of diglossia for the alternate use of SA and AA in many linguistic situations. There are many Arabic dialects spoken in various regional areas including northern, southern, eastern, and western areas. Therefore, each regional area regards diglossia as moving from SA and its own dialect. The southern regions of the country are also characterized by diglossia such as the area of Bechar. This community is the case study of this research work where the alternate use between its dialect and SA is noticed in many situations, but it has been noticed that there are a number of dialects which are spoken by various ethnic groups. Nevertheless, one dialect is dominant on all the existing dialects in the area; that dialect reflects the speech patterns of Bechar and it is the one used alternately with SA.

Thus, this chapter gives a description of the general background of the area which is under investigation. It speaks briefly about the inhabitants of Bechar and their origins. These inhabitants form distributed ethnic groups who speak different dialects, but these people have been in contact hundreds of years ago leading to the creation of a unique dialect spoken by the majority. Their ancient dialects are still used by few people mainly the olds and their description will be presented in the main chapter. We will also refer to the relationships between these dialects and their relationship with SA as well, but this explanation is topped by a presentation of the language repertoire of Algeria and the classification of the Arabic dialects used in Algeria as determined by Ali Bouamrane in 1986. The chapter ends with a brief description of the diglossic case of Algeria in general.

2.2. The Language Repertoire of Algeria

Like all the other Northwest African countries, Algeria was conquered and inhabited by people from various identities and cultures, and this has had certainly a great impact on its linguistic situation. The recorded history which goes back to the 15th century B.C states that the Berbers are the first settlers of Northwest Africa including Algeria. Algeria, in particular, was conquered in the late of the 7th century and early 8th century (642AD) by the Arabs whose introduction of Islam has deeply changed the character of the area. The language brought by Islam, i.e. Arabic, is regarded as the largest language in the Semitic family. It is, together with the different varieties, spoken in 22 Arab countries extending from Morocco and Mauritania in the west of Africa to Iraq in the eastern edge of the Arabian Peninsula. With the coming of Islam, it appeared in the form of Classical Arabic and then it has developed into Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

The Arabic language usually comes in two forms: Standard Arabic i.e. CA/MSA, and dialectal Arabic. CA is the language of the Quran; it is regarded as the formal version that was used in the Arabian Peninsula, and the language of royal and princely courts throughout the Islamic history. Similarly, Modern Standard Arabic is the modern counterpart of Classical Arabic. It is now the official language of all the Arab countries and the one used in educational spheres. The main distinction between CA and MSA exists in vocabulary. CA reflects the needs of older styles while MSA reflects the needs of contemporary expression[28]. The latter also includes terms of modern phenomena and loan words taken from many Arabic dialects and other languages mainly English so as to fit the modern life and the technological and scientific requirements for its users. Nevertheless, any word, meaning, structure or any other linguistic element which is found in CA is still accepted in MSA both in the spoken and the written forms.

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[28]Benali Mohamed (1993:28).

In order to avoid any confusion, it has been decided to use the term Standard Arabic (SA) in this research work to group the two above concepts and to refer to the variety of Arabic. SA is, therefore, the language used in formal, official and educational circumstances in all the Arab countries. Each Arab country or region has its own dialect of spoken Arabic. These dialects are divided into two major groups: Western Arabic which involves the dialects spoken in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya; and the Eastern variety which is again subdivided into Egyptian, Levantine, and Gulf Arabic. These Arabic dialects differ considerably from each other and from MSA too. Those differences can be noticed at all levels such as pronunciation, vocabulary, semantics, phonology, morphology, and syntax. SA is agreed by both the government and people of those countries as a sign of unification and historical levels.

Benrabah (2005) claimed that the linguistic policy in Algeria after the independence insisted on recovering the national language and gradually reducing the value and the use of French. Thus, laws and programs of Arabization have been spread; and all the Algerian constitutions announced that Arabic, i.e. SA is the official language of the country. In addition to SA, there are various forms of Arabic which exist in different parts in Algeria; these are regional varieties which carry different accents. Benali (1993) distinguished three major dialects varieties in Algeria: the eastern variety, the western one and the central one; but their analysis is not the scope of this research work. The common feature of AA is its inclusion of many borrowed words from French with the general syntax of the mother tongue, some of these words are: (01) [kuːzina] "kitchen", (02) [ṭabla] "table", (03) [ʃɒmbra] "room", etc. This linguistic phenomenon is the result of the French colonization of Algeria for 132 years.

Linguistically speaking, AA shares many of the language features of SA but differs considerably from it. In addition to vocabulary differences between the two, AA drops the case endings of the written language in words like: (04) [baabʊn] which becomes (05) [bab] "door", (06) [tʊFaħatʊn] becomes (07) [təFaħa] "apple". It also ignores the initial article of the standard form {al} in many words such as: (08) [ləbħar] instead of [al baħr] "sea", (09) [lbarəħ] rather than [al bariħa] "yesterday", and (10) [ləktab] instead of [al kitab] "book", etc. Variation does not exist only between SA and AA, but between the Algerian dialects too. One example appears in the use of many lexical items which varies from one region to another, such as "car" is called (11) [ʈʂnʊbil] in Algiers, (12) [lʊʈʊ] in Bechar, (13) [ʈaːksi] in Constantine, and (14) [lwatira] in Msirda (F Mouili 2011).

Phonological variations also appear particularly in the use of some phonemes which differ from one area to another like the variable /q/ which has different variants in the Algerian speech community such as: [q], [k], [g], and [ʔ] in words like: (15) [qəlb] in Algiers, (16) [kəlb] in Ghazaouat, (17) [galb] in Bechar, and (18) [ʔalb] in some parts of Tlemcen. It is widely argued that Standard Arabic is the medium of all the formal settings like writing, education, government, and media. Similarly, AA cannot only be spoken and used in informal circumstances but also written. This can appear in folk poetry, plays, private letters, spoken media like radio, and even sporadically in written media. An example of this case may be noticed in some articles of newspapers where many dialectal terms are used. The contact and the co-existence of SA and AA and the gap that is found between these two varieties led to the emergence of a sociolinguistic phenomenon which requires the alternate use of those varieties which belong to the same language, and this is called diglossia.

The French colonization of Algeria in 1830 was not only a political, social, economic, and linguistic control upon the country but also a strong desire to eliminate its culture. The French imposed a harsh program of acculturation which positioned French as the dominant language on its colonies ignoring the

local languages such as Arabic and Berber. Hence, French became the official language of the country while Arabic was the language of academics both in traditional and religious schools. The French policy sought to make Algeria an extension of Metropolitan France on the southern side of the Mediterranean Sea. For Benrabah (2005) this goal could only be reached through dividing the Arabs and the Berbers and eradicating the Arabo-Muslim values and civilization from Algeria. The French policy has also attempted to control the Koranic schools and limit the teaching of Classical Arabic because CA and Islam were the crucial factors that would lead to the national awareness that the colonial authorities were determined to fight energetically.

During the period of 1830 and 1962, education was directed towards the French language while the study of CA declined gradually. After the independence, the Algerian leaders, especially the Nationalists, supported a return to the study of CA as a way to revive Algeria's cultural roots. Thus, educational reforms were highly programmed by the Algerian government. As a reaction to the French cultural and linguistic domination, policymakers have strongly defended school as a means to liberate the Algerians from the French assimilation. Their aim was to reverse the impact over one hundred and thirty-two years of French domination by reviving Islamic cultural values and establishing Arabic as the national language of Algeria (Benrabah 2005). Paradoxically, the generalized use of the French language started to develop. To clarify this paradox, it should be noticed that most teachers and administrators were exclusively educated in French (Benrabah 2005).

Today, more than half a century after the independence many issues have changed but we cannot pretend for one hundred percent that Algeria has fully recovered from the hard effects of the French colonization. According to Benrabah (2005) although the government adopted a policy of linguistic Arabization of education, the strong position of the French language in Algeria was not deeply affected by this policy. Its value as an important international language has continued to be recognized, it is now officially the first official

language. Besides, it is part of the standard school curriculum in all the Algerian schools, as it is largely understood by most of the Algerians. Even after the political debate in Algeria in the late 1990s regarding the substitution of French by English in the educational system, the government decided to retain French (Benali 1993). It is, according to President Ben Bella (1962-1965), a necessary tool for the acquisition of modern techniques.

French continues to play the role of a dominant language in business and professional circles. Ironically, it is now receiving some kind of revival mainly with the invention of satellite television in which many Algerians have access to many French channels. Additionally, the French language is returning in certain aspects of formal education and researchers which are still carried in French, as well as a great part of economic and industrial sectors and press which still use French exclusively. Today the linguistic situation in Algeria witnesses the use of multiple codes; CA is still not mastered by all the Algerians, dialectal Arabic cannot be used in writing and the contact with French created a profound linguistic alienation.

Berbers are the indigenous people of Northwest Africa since about 3000 BC.They are also called "Amazigh" which means "a free man" or "a nobleman"; similarly the term "Tamazight" is used to refer to northern Berber languages and it etymologically means "the language of the free" or "the language of the noblemen". Today, most of the Berbers speak Arabic and French due to the Arab conquest and the French colonization of the Maghreb. Algeria, in particular, includes 20% Berber speakers[29] distributed on the north in Kabylia, and in the Aures; and on the south where there are different groups of Touareg and Mzab, in addition to some regions next to the Moroccan borders in Bechar.

The Berber languages are among the oldest languages in human culture[30]. They represent a group of closely related languages and dialects which belong to the Hamito-Semitic linguistic family or the Afro-Asiatic language

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[29]Kossman and Stroomer (1982:461).
[30] Chaker (1991:25).

family; they are made up of 300 Berber dialects[31]. In the north of Algeria, Kabylia represents one of the most important areas where Berber is still used, and where the linguistic and cultural awareness is highly developed among the population. The next important region is the Aures where "Chaouia" or "Tachaouit" is used. Several Berber varieties are spoken in other areas such as the south Oranian region which is called the Mountains of the Ksour. Close to the Algerian Moroccan boundaries, there are some Berber groups in Ain Sefra, Figuig, and Bechar. In the Algerian Sahara, we find the Mzab, Tougourt, Gourara, Touat, and Tidikelt. Further south is the land of the Touareg, a desert area which extends into Mali and Niger (Mouili 2011).

Tamazight's status in Algeria is national. In order to reach their goals, the Berbers resorted to political protests, massive demonstrations, and general strikes (Mostari 2005). On July 5th, 1991 a controversial law was passed announcing that Standard Arabic is the only language which must be used in all the official documents as well as the other formal settings. Consequently, the Berber's anger soon turned against the state and its Arabization policy, and they asserted that the new law is a heavy-handed attempt by the government to reaffirm its Arabic identity. On the other hand, the supporters of the Arabization process argued that the recognition of Berber as an official language would probably weaken the status of Arabic and leave French as the only language shared by all the Algerians. In some Kabylian regions, Classical Arabic is regarded as the third language after Berber and French; it is even less important than French due to the fact that many Kabylians have been educated by French missionaries or have worked in France (Mouili 2011).

In order to back the Kabylian political parties, the government formed in 1995 a body attached to the presidency called "Le Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité" (the High Office of Amazighity). Benrabah (2005) described it as a defending force for the linguistic rights of the Berbers to revive their linguistic heritage through cultural meetings, manifestations, and concerts. The Berbers

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[31] Merrils (2004:152).

still demand the recognition of their language as a national and official language in Algeria, and as the first language in the Berberphone areas; they also ask for the linguistic and cultural autonomy, to preserve their customs, and to cherish their heritage. Tamazight has been recently taught in some primary and secondary schools, besides the mass media play an important role in broadcasting a daily edition in one of the three main Berber varieties.

This matter has been already classified among the main objectives of the Arabization process aiming at erasing the language, the identity, and the culture of the Amazigh. This issue is contested by many Berber groups in Morocco and Algeria, especially in Kabylia. It is now addressed by both countries to involve teaching Tamazight in some schools and universities, while the other countries did not take these measures (Benrabah 2005). Thus, Tamazight does not have the same chances to survive in all those countries; the main reason for this fact returns to the varying number of Berbers in those regions. While the Tamazight speaking population is relatively high in Morocco and Algeria, it is much smaller in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. In these areas Tamazight has survived orally; not until very recently did the Amazigh activists start to supply it with a written status[32].

The process of "Arabization" [33] was a sign of independent Algeria from its inception. It was supported in the Tripoli program devised by the Front de Liberation National (FLN) in 1962, and later it became a necessary element of the newly independent Algeria in the constitution of 1963. It was officially supported by Ahmed Ben Bella, the head of the new state until 1965, and Houari Boumediene who ruled Algeria until his death in 1978. The new leaders of independent Algeria sought to 'Arabize' Algeria and to make the Arabic language as the only national language because they considered Algeria as no longer an Arabic speaking country, but as an Arab country. Berger (2002)

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[32] F Mouili (2011:21).
[33]**Arabization** is the gradual transformation of an area into one that speaks Arabic and is part of the Arab culture. It can also mean the replacement or displacement of a native population with Arabs, although this rarely happened in ancient times.

claimed that the French colonial policies had already denied Arabic in any official or educational sphere. But even after the independence, French was kept as the language of the Algerian administration, judicial and educational systems, though only an extremely restricted number of the indigenous population were educated.

The process of Arabization was based on cultural decolonization and social equity since those educated in French had access to positions which were not given to the majority of the population who remained illiterate[34]. Since independence, the issue of language created a dispute between the Arabophones and the Francophones, and therefore an opposition between Arabic and French in Algeria. According to the Arabophones, French is the language of the enemy, the language of colonialism, the expression of Western culture, and the negation of the Algerian national identity. On the contrary, Arabic is the language of the Algerian nation, the recuperation of the Algerian identity, the expression of the Algerian soul, the language of Koran, and the evidence of the Arab Muslim community to which Algeria belongs[35]. The Francophones are identified and sometimes self-identified as 'democrats'.

Between these two different entities, the Berberphones claim that power in Algeria is headed by the Arabs who imposed their political and cultural domination on the Berber minority. On this basis, Arabic for them is the language of colonialism that was imposed on North Africa in the 7th century; they also describe it as an archaic language which is incapable of adapting the needs of the modern world, the vehicle of Islam and Pan-Arab ideology. Berber and Algerian dialect are regarded as authentic since they are ancestral and people's base of daily communication. Finally, French is the language of modernity, science, and technology, the expression of rationality and the opening to the Western democratic model (Benrabah 2005). Berger (2002) described the Francophones as not simply Francophones since they all

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[34]Berger. A (2002:02).
[35]Ibid (2002:22).

speak dialectal Arabic or Berber and sometimes both. Similarly, the Berberphones often speak French and usually dialectal Arabic, although some of them mainly the less educated people continue to speak only Berber.

The Arabophones who are educated in Standard Arabic still know some French and speak dialectal Arabic which remained until now the language of everyday conversation. The Algerian language repertoire now involves Arabic, in its two forms SA and AA, French, and Berber. Each of these language varieties owns a particular socio-cultural position. Such position is evidently the result of a historical development through which those languages gained different statuses of a great importance at the sociolinguistic and political levels. The official language of Algeria is Standard Arabic, or MSA, specified in its constitution since 1963. Berber has been recognized as a national language by constitutional amendment on May 8th, 2002. These two languages are regarded as the native ones of the majority of the Algerian population. French is now regarded as a foreign language which can be used in media, culture, and education.

Despite the influences of other languages, mainly Arabic, French and to a lesser extent Spanish, Berber is still used because many Berber speaking areas are mountainous and have had a natural protection against invasions[36]. In contrast to what Arabization seems to suggest, the majority of the Algerian population speaks Arabic but they cannot write it. This spoken Arabic or dialectal Arabic had no legitimacy and could not be a national language in Algeria.

2.3 Historical Background of Bechar

Geographically speaking, Bechar is situated in the south-west of Algeria. It has a surface of 162, 200 Km and a population of 258,677 inhabitants. It is bordered by Naama and El Bayed from the north, Morocco from the west, and from the east there is Adrar which extends to the south with

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[36]Benali Mohamed (1993:26).

Tindouf. Bechar witnessed many historical events in the past; the most important one took place in December 1852 when Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah, whose origin is from Ouled Sid Cheikh, encouraged people of the area to revolt against the French. Then, in January 1855, Captain Colomb, the commander chief of El Bayed, declared a battle against the tribes of Doui Mnii and Ouled Djerir[37]; and by March 1855 he attacked them. In April 1900, a military expedition led by Colonel Bechar reached Taghit where the French founded a military base (Demoulin 1931).

The town was officially awarded the name "Bechar" on January, 12th, 1904 by the general governor of Algeria in a memory of General Colonel Bechar, and by the 19th of January, 1904 Bechar was recognized as an official community[38]. Bechar has been regarded as the capital of the Saura[39]. It is also regarded as the gate of the Algerian Sahara for its strategic position as a bridge between the northern and the southern regions. Today, Bechar involves people coming from various areas and different origins such as the Doui Mnii, Ouled Djrir, Ksouria, 3mour, in addition to the Berbers who are the first settlers of all northwest Africa. Doui Mnii were nomads who came originally from Arab tribes and formed a large confederation in the town. They came to Bechar through Morocco with the help of El Chorfa Hassania aiming to settle in the boundaries exactly in "Oued Guir"[40].

Doui Mnii are divided into five groups and each one includes other subgroups, these are Ouled Youcef, Ouled Djeloul, Ouled Belgiz, Ouled Bou Anen, and El Edarsa. The second group of Ouled Djrir is said to originate from Banu Hilal, and this is why many people believe that both Doui Mnii and Ouled Djrir formed one group in the past. Many stories and legends have been attributed to the origins of Ouled Djrir and Doui Mnii, but the general fact

[37]Doui Mnii and Ouled Djrir are the two most important groups in Béchar; as they are regarded as the original settlers of the region.
[38] Demoulin. F. (1931:340).
[39] Saura includes five regions which are: Bechar, Ben Abbas, Timimoun, Adrar, and Tindouf.
[40]Oued Guir is a famous river in Bechar; it takes its source from the mountain of "Timjnatine" in Morocco at about 2000m

states that both of them have different origins. "Ksouria" or the Ksourians live in the Ksar of Kenadsa[41]; they have different origins such as "Hmyan", Ouled Sidi Mhammed, Ouled Dekhissa and even Jewish families as well as Moroccan ones.

Kenadsa is famous for the Zaouia Ziania which was founded by Sidi Mohammed Ben Bouziane who came to the area where he became the spiritual leader of the entire region. He brought many Imams to teach the Ksouria the Arabic language, Islam, and history that is why the Ksouria formed one cultivated and civilized speech community. Bechar is also inhabited by the 3mour whose origins are from Ain El Safra and many of them came and settled in the town. The area which is under investigation involves people coming from different origins; each group arrived with its language, culture, and tradition. But, it has been agreed that the original inhabitants of Bechar are Ksouria whose language is also involved in the dialect of the majority. The Berber are groups of people who live in the rural areas in the town and are differentiated from each other by the variety of Berber they speak.

Bechar includes many communities which are situated in the rural areas such as Abadla, Beni Abbes, Kenadsa, Beni Ounif, Lahmar, Taghit, Kerzaz, Igli, El Ouata, Oulad Khodeir, Tabelbala, and the central community of Bechar. These areas involve various groups of people using distinct dialects and varieties of Berber. The latter is talked in Ben Ounif, Lahmar, Taghit, Igli, Tabelbala, in addition to Wakda, Berbi, and Moughel which belong to the central community of Bechar because of their proximity to it. Abadla is the main home region of Doui Mnii who settled there since their coming to Bechar. In spite of their distinct origins but all the people living in those rural areas belong to the same community of Bechar. The latter is surrounded, as the map presents, from the north by Lahmar and Beni Ounif which extends until the east, Kenadsa and Abadla from the west, and Taghit from the south.

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[41] Kenadsa is a small region situated at 20 km in the south-west of Béchar. It is famous of its Zaouia Ziania.

Many people settled in the village; they have affected each other leading to a situation of language contact. This contact of language usually involves face-to-face interactions among the speakers of those dialects, at least some of whom speak more than one language in a particular geographical area. However, linguistic studies of language contact have been concerned with contact between languages, and comparatively few researchers have actively been working on contact between dialects. There is a number of approaches which are interested in language contact between languages or dialects. Ultimately, it may prove to be the case that the same social and linguistic principles underlie all types of language contact and constrain the outcomes whether between dialects or languages.

In the case of a local linguistic group that has been conquered or surrounded by a larger group, slow language change may exist in many generations of bilinguals, providing vast opportunity for substratum influence to become established in the language towards which the community is shifting. Historically, many conquered or colonized people or those who have found themselves newly incorporated into a nation-state have felt the linguistic effects of these social changes only very slowly, calling for language contacts that have lasted over generations (Sankoff 2001:04). These situations of stable bilingualism are perhaps the most important ones that lead to "integration", i.e. the acceptance of structures due to interference as part of the receiving language (Gumperz & Wilson 1971; Trudgill 1976; Sridhar 1978; Moral 1997).

2.4 Classification of Arabic Dialects

The study of social dialectology is a branch of linguistic study; it investigates many difficult issues particularly when investigators venture into cities. According to Wardhaugh (2006:50), characterizing cities linguistically is more difficult than distinguishing the rural areas because variation in language and patterns of change are more obvious in cities, e.g, in family structures, employment, and opportunities for social advancement or collapse. He also

adds the aspect of migration in and out of cities as an important linguistic factor. Labov (1970:52) says:

> *dialect differences depend upon low-level rules which*
>
> *appear as minor adjustments and extensions of contextual*
>
> *conditions, etc. It appears that such conditions inevitably*
>
> *interact, and, although the speaker may indeed appear to be*
>
> *speaking the vernacular, close examination of his speech*
>
> *shows that his grammar has been heavily influenced by the*
>
> *standard. He may succeed in convincing his listeners that*
>
> *he is speaking the vernacular, but this impression seems to*
>
> *depend upon a number of unsystematic and heavily marked*
>
> *signals.*

Before analyzing the dialects used in the region of Bechar, it necessary first to give a general overview about the dialects of the Arab world in general and the ones of Algeria in particular. As described earlier, Arabic dialects are spoken in many parts throughout Africa and Asia. Bouamrane (1986:11) distinguished two major dialects; these are '*oriental dialects*' which are spoken in the eastern parts and the '*maghrebian dialects*' used in the western parts of the Arab world. Variation between these two groups of dialects touches all the levels such as phonetics, morphology, syntactic, and above all lexis[42]. Lexical variation, according to Philip Marçais (1985), is the consequence of the linguistic influence of other languages and races especially the Berbers since they are regarded as the indigenous people of North West Africa. He says in this respect (1985: 580) that it is due to:

> *The influences of the Berbers, the languages of the black*
>
> *races...; the Roman languages, Latin ..., Spanish, and Italian;*
>
> *Turkish mainly in Algeria and Tunisia; finally the French whose*
>
> *influence is still lasting nowadays."*

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[42]Bouamrane (1986:11).

Bouamrane (1986:12) has also divided the Arabic dialects into *urban* and *Bedouin* ones; he described the distinction between those two types of dialects as follows:

a. Urban dialects have a weak pronunciation of [qaf], where the articulation is glottal [ʔ] (or as he described as "hamza"), uvular [qaf], velar [kaf], for example: "he said" is respectively articulated as: (19) [ʔal] (20) [qal] (21) [kal]. On the other hand, Bedouin dialects have [g] or [gaf] and they say (22) [gal].

b. Many Bedouin dialects keep the interdental fricatives: [θ] as in (23) [θlaθa] "three", [ð] as in (24) [ðhab] "gold", and emphatic [ɖ] as in (25) [ɖɒfr] "nail"; whereas they appear as dental in urban dialects in which they are articulated as [t], [d] and [d] in [tlata], [dhab] and [dɒfr].

c. In urban dialects, [h] is often regarded as a weak phoneme mainly in the pronouns which are suffixed by [-ha] and [-hʊm] after nouns ending by a consonant as in (26) [ntaħħʊm] "theirs"; whereas it seems clear in Bedouin dialects [ntaʕhʊm].

d. At the level of morphology, Bedouin dialects differentiate between the feminine and the masculine in their pronouns and verbs, but in urban ones, the masculine can also be used for the feminine.

e. Urban dialects are characterized by the use of the pre-verbs [ka] and [ta] with verbs used in the present tense. This phenomenon is well noticed in the dialect used in Bechar and some regions in Morocco like in (27) [kanguːl] whereas in other Moroccan dialects they say [tanguːl] "I say".

f. In the description of the plural form, urban dialects follow the form of /c(v)cacec/ as in (28) [mfateħ] "keys"; while Bedouin dialects follow the form of /c(v)cacic/ in which the term is articulated as [mfatiħ].

g. Urban dialects may also insert diminutive short vowels in the final syllables as in (29) [wlid] "small boy", or may substitute one segment for another as in (30) [tfejl] "baby".

h. At the syntactic level, linking words in urban dialects are used separately through words like: (31) [djal] or (32) [ntaʕ]; while those links are tied with the nouns in Bedouin dialects as in: (33) [lɒʈɒtah] "his car", (34) [da:rah] "his house"; terms like these are used in urban dialects as: [lɒʈɒ diali] "my car", [da:r ntaʕi] "my house".

2.5 Arabic Dialects of Algeria

According to Bouamrane (1986:14), the North African countries in general and Algeria, in particular, were Arabized during two periods. The first period took place during the VI and the VII centuries when varieties were spoken in old regions and the countrysides; those varieties were referred to as Prehilalian dialects. The second period of Arabization started with the coming of the Banu Hilal in the mid-XI century and lasted after 150 years. Dialects in this period were called Hilalian dialects.

2.5.1 Prehilalian Dialects

Bouamrane (1986:14) divided Prehilalian dialects into dialects spoken in the villages or in the countrysides, and dialects used in the towns. The first type can be found in the regions of Oran mainly in the mountains of Trara and Msirda, Constantine, Bejaya and Mila. Phonetically speaking, these dialects are characterized by: their articulation of [qaf] or [q] as velar [kaf] like in: (35) [kalb] for [qalb] "heart", and [kaf] /k/ as [kʃ], [tʃ] like in: (36) [tʃelb] or [ʃelb] "dog", [dʒ] instead of [ʒ] when it is doubled. At the phonological level, one can notice the use of: the suffix [-ajen] to refer to the dual form as in: (37) [ʃahrajn] "two months", (38) [jawmajn] "two days"; the frequent use of the form (39) [jana] instead of [ana] "I", "me".

2.5.2 Bedouin Dialects

According to Bouamrane (1986); Algerian Bedouin dialects are talked by a very large population in many regions to the point that their geographical boundaries are confused and tied to each other. These dialects are divided into five essential groups which are: 1) Bedouin dialects spoken in the east of Constantine; 2) Bedouin dialects used in the center and the west of Oran; 3)

Bedouin dialects used in central Algeria and along the Sahara; 4) Bedouin dialects are spoken in Tell and Sahel of Algiers and Oran; and 5) Bedouin dialects are spoken in the high plains of Constantine[43]. These dialects have distinct linguistic characteristics such as differences in:

Table 2.1: Comparative Table on the Algerian Bedouin Dialects.

(P. Marçais 1960:388)

Linguistic points	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5
1	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	dʒ	dʒ
2	q	ɣ	g	ɣ	ɣ
3	ah	ah	ʊ	ʊ	ʊ
4	darbatak	darebtek	darabtek	darbatek	darbatek
5	jedarbʊ	jaddarbʊ	jadarbʊ	jaddarbʊ	jedardʊ
6	ragabti	raggabti	regabti	raggebti	Ragebti
7	tensi	tensi	tensaj	tensaj	Tensaj

1. The articulation of [ʒ].
2. The pronunciation of [q] or [ɣ].
3. The pronunciation of [-ah] or [ʊ] as in (40) [ʕaraftah] or [ʕaraftʊ] 'I know him".
4. The structure of the verb conjugated with the feminine pronoun "she" in the past tense as in (41) [darbettek] "she hit you".
5. Or the structure of the verbs which are conjugated with the plural pronoun "they" as in (42) [jəddˤarbuː] "they hit".
6. The structure of the nouns

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[43] Bouamrane (1986: 16-17).

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7. The structure of the verbs.

2.5.3 Urban Dialects

Bouamrane (1986:15) divided this type into two dialects; these are Jewish dialects which their analysis is not central to this research work and Muslim dialects. The latter are used by old generations as they can be noticed in the cities of Tlemcen, Nedroma, Cherchell, Dellys, Algiers, Tenes, Medea, Blida, Constantine, Miliana, and Skikda. Each urban dialect is characterized by specific features such as: [ʒ] is pronounced [dʒ] in Tlemcen, Tenes, Cherchell, Miliana, Medea, Blida, Algiers, Dellys, Mila, Constantine, and is preserved as [ʒ] in other towns. The verb "they know" is articulated as (43) [jaʕarfʊ] in Tlemcen, Nedroma, Tenes, Miliana, Cherchell, Media, Blida, Algiers, and Dellys; but in the regions of Bejaya and Skikda, people say: [jʕarfʊ]. The term "red" is articulated as (44) [hamrin] in Jijel, [homar] in Nedroma, [ħmʊra] in Dellys, and [ħmor] in Mila, Constantine, and Skikda.

2.6 Dialects Spoken in Bechar

Like all the Arab regions in general and the Algerian ones in particular; Bechar adopts Standard Arabic as its national official language and uses a local version of it in its daily communication. The most known dialects used in Bechar are five, four of them are Arabic and the fifth one is a variety of Berber called "Shelha". Each of these dialects is spoken by a given group of people. The first and the most common dialect is called the dialect of the majority which seems to be spoken by people who have various origins, and those who came from other regions out of Bechar and lived there. On the other hand, the four other ones are specified to three definite ethnic groups.

The second dialect is spoken by the group of Doui Mnii, the third dialect is said to be used by the group of Ouled Djrir, the fourth one is used by the Ksouria, and the fifth is Shelha which is spoken by various Berber groups living in the Ksours. Although the second and the third dialects have originated from distinct groups, many people from Doui Mnii and Ouled Djerir use most often the first dialect, and thus they are regarded among the majority of the population which uses dialect one. Therefore, as mentioned before, we will concentrate in

this research work on the dialect spoken by the majority of the population since it is the most useful one in Bechar including Dwi Mnii, Ouled Dejrir, and even Shleuh mainly when they are in contact with the non-Berber people.

2.6.1 Dialect of the Majority (D1)

As described earlier, the first dialect is used by most of the population who have different origins. It is somehow typical for its incursion of a large number of slang words, such as (45) [xwi] or (46) [kʃi] which refer to "go", (47) [ʃəfʃi] means "coward", etc. These words are usually used by teenagers, particularly boys, in the streets, markets, clubs, and elsewhere. Thus, speech variation in this dialect is well noticed at the level of age and gender. Old people do not use the same speech patterns like young people; on the other hand, women do not speak like men. Men use harsh and rigid words while women use soft and polite terms. Bechar also involves people coming from different areas mainly from the north; these people bring their dialects with them creating another form of speech variation. Examples: (48) [ʃawala] is used by someone coming from Oran, while in Bechar people say: (49) [waʃ] "what". A man coming from Adrar calls a "baby" as (50) [tərka], while in Bechar people say: (51) [baz][44].

Owing to the geographical boundary between Bechar and Morocco, the dialect of the majority shares many lexical items with Moroccan Arabic such as (52) [makanəʒəmʃ ndirha waħdi] "I cannot do it alone".

(53) [makajəlʕabʃ milħ] "he does not play very well".

(54) [makatəʕrəf walu: nta] "you don't know anything".

(55) [makanəbɣihʃ gaʕ ana] "I don't like him at all".

(56) [ki kadir texrʊʒ men hadik ʒiha] "how can you get out of that place"

(57)[win kajesken hadak sejed] "where does that person live?"

(58) [jak labas] for 'what is wrong?', and maledictions like (59) [awili], (60) [anaːri].

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[44] Fatiha, Mouili (2011: 51)

In addition to lexical similarity, both regions share some phonological segments. For example, in Bechar as well as in some parts of Morocco, people use [g] instead of [q] as in: (61) [ŋguːl] "I say", and add the pre-verb [ka] at the beginning of the verbs to refer to the present tense like in: (62) [kanəqra] "I study", (63) [kanəkrah] "I hate", (64) [kanəħtarəm] "I respect", (65) [kanəʃri] "I buy", (66) [kanebɣi] "I like", (67) [katguːl] "you say", etc. Nevertheless, they have some differences in grammatical rules; the Moroccans say (68) [tsəntaħti] to a boy who behaves in a mad way, but in Bechar people say: [tsəntaħt], (69) [hderti] in Morocco and [hdert] in Bechar, etc. Moreover, in some parts of Morocco the pre-verb [ta] replaces [ka] in words like: (70) [tanqbəl] "I accept", (71) [tanɒxrɒʒ] "I go out", whereas the use of [ka] is static in Bechar.

In terms of lexis, and like most of the Arabic dialects, the dialect of the majority derives the feminine words from the masculine ones by adding the vowel [a] at the end[45], as:

Masculine	Feminine
(72) [tˤbiːb]	(73) [tˤbiːba] "doctor"
(74) [ustaːd]	(75) [ustaːda] "teacher"
(76) [mʊʃ]	(77) [mʊʃa] "cat"
(78) [mʊʕalliːm]	(79) [mʊʕalliːma] "teacher"
(80) [baz]	(81) [bazza] "kid"
(82) [ʃiːbaːniː]	(83) [ʃiːbaːnija] "old person"

And in other cases the masculine term is added the suffix [-t] by the end, like:

Masculine	Feminine
(84) [ʒaːri] "neighbor man"	(85) [ʒaːrti] "neighbor woman"
(86) [xaːli] "uncle"	(87) [xaːlti] "ante"
(88) [sˤaːħbi] "boy friend"	(89) [sˤaːħəbti] "girl friend"
(90) [ʒədi] "grandfather"	(91) [ʒədːaːti] "grandmother"
(92) [ʕami] "uncle"	(93) [ʕamti] "ante"
(94) [xuːja] "brother"	(95) [xti] "sister"

[45] Mouili (2011 : 53)

In other cases, the masculine and the feminine nouns have different roots, examples:

	Masculine		**Feminine**
(96)	[wəld] "boy"	(97)	[bənt] "girl"
(98)	[ra:ӡəl] "man"	(99)	[mra] "woman"
(100)	[xru:f] "male sheep"	(101)	[naʕӡa] "female sheep"
(102)	[ӡməl] "male camel"	(103)	[na:ga] "female camel"

There are some words which can only be masculine while others are only feminine, examples:

	Masculine		**Feminine**
(104)	[xudmi] "knife"	(105)	[muɣrəf] "spoon"
(106)	[kʊrsi] "chair"	(107)	[ta:qamra] "window"
(108)	[ba:b] "door"	(109)	[naxla] "palm tree"
(110)	[səlu:m] "ladder"	(111)	[ʕba:ja] "dress"
(112)	[ħanu:t] "shop"	(113)	[dənja] "life"

Grammatically speaking, verb conjugation requires adding the prefix [t-] to the masculine in order to differentiate it from its feminine in the present in which [t] will be in initial position as:

	Masculine		**Feminine**
(114)	[jəlʕab]	(115)	[təlʕab] "plays"
(116)	[jəӡri:]	(117)	[təӡri:] "runs"
(118)	[jədħak]	(119)	[tədħak] "laughs"
(120)	[jəktəb]	(121)	[təktəb] "writes"
(122)	[jfu:t]	(123)	[tfu:t] "passes"

or the past where [t] will be a in final position, as in:

	Masculine		**Feminine**
(124)	[lʕab]	(125)	[lʕabət] "play"
(126)	[ӡra]	(127)	[ӡra:t] "ru"
(128)	[dħak]	(129)	[daħkət] "laugh"
(130)	[ktəb]	(131)	[kətbət] "write"
(132)	[fa:t]	(133)	[fa:tət] «pass »

In fact, the phonological system of this dialect seems more simplified than that of the other dialects of Bechar. Dialect of the majority doesn't include some Arabic phonemes which exist in the second dialect like /ð/ and /θ/, for example:

D2   **D1**

(134) [ðajeq]   (135) [dəjəq] "narrow"

(136) [θlaθa]   (137) [tlata]   "Tuesday"

This dialect also substitutes [z] by [ʒ] in words like in: (138) [mʒawaʒ] instead of [mzawaj] "married", (139) [ʒuːʒ] instead of [zuːʒ] "two", and (140) [ʒaʒ] replacing [zaʒ] "glass". The dialect of the majority has also many similarities with the other Algerian dialects as well as some differences. The large number of vocabulary is almost the same in the entire Algerian context except for a few items and rules. These items may refer to a specific tradition, customs, or beliefs, and sometimes reflect their particular social or regional structure[46].

Because of the French occupation of the country for many years, many French terms leak to the Algerian dialects creating what is called code-switching. The dialect of the majority is one of those dialects which also witnessed such linguistic effect. Borrowing is an important element of code-switching since the terms used in the switching process are borrowings or loan words taken from another language. It is simply a process used by bilingual speakers to provide one language, especially their own, with words taken from another language or languages. These loanwords become integrated with the receiver language, and they are used frequently like the other local terms[47]. Code-switching, therefore, occurs "when a bilingual speaker introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech" (Haugen 1956:40).

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[46]Mouili (2011 :52)
[47]Trudgill (1992:14).

Code-switching in Bechar is well noticed both in formal circumstances as well as the informal ones. Most of the population in Bechar uses terms like: 'portable', 'stylo', 'cartable', 'climatiseur', etc. They say: (141) [ʕtini lpɒrʈaːbl] "give me the mobile phone", (142) [ʃrit stilɒ zreg] "I bought a blue pen", (143) [had lkartable rah tqiːl] "this school bag is heavy", and (144) [ʃaʕal lklimatizəːr] "switch on the air conductor". The choice of the borrowed words in the formal occasions depends on the field of study or work. That is, doctors in the hospital code switch using terms related to medicine, they can say for instance: (145) [hada le malad rah fi ka uɣʒen lazem yroh la sal d operation] "this patient has an urgent case, we must take him to the room of operation". Similarly, a professor at university would say: (146) [rezulta ntaʕ le etudjan had lʕam rahi mliħa] "the students' result of this year is quite good", while sociologists say (147) [la situasjn sosjal ntaʕ nnaːs fi had la viːl raha sa va pa] "the social situation of people in this town is not good". On the other hand, the uneducated people in the street can also use French words in many situations like in the market, street, home, shop, etc. they can say for instance: (148) [rani rajeħ l marʃe] "I am going to the market", (149) [rak retar ljum] "you are late", (150) [ljum nɒɣmalmn nedxɒl a witəːɣ] "I normally enter today at eight, etc.

People in Bechar switch in a variety of ways, they may switch either at the beginning of the sentence like in: (151)[la klas rah fiha bezaf le zetudjɒ] "the class room is full of students", or they can code switch in the middle or the end of the sentence as in the following examples: (152) [saʔat san fer atensjʊ nduːx] "sometimes I carelessly fell dizzy", and (153) [wselna l la final] "we get into the final". At the level of gender, it is quite clear that women code switch more than men because they feel that French words are more prestigious for conveying the message. People of Bechar have also different reasons of code-switching, i.e each one code switches according to his

purposes and needs. One of the most important reasons is the lack of facility in BD when talking about a given subject.

People may also suffer from the absence of the appropriate words or expressions that are needed at the time of speaking, i.e. the lack of the appropriate terminology in one language. Or they code switch when they find that some items are better expressed in either language, more appropriate in one language than in another. , therefore, helps in emphasizing on a particular point, and it may be considered as a means of communication by which people can communicate a message or intent. Speakers sometimes code switch unconsciously; they are often unaware that they are shifting from one language to another; while others may code-switch just to show off, that's to tell the others that they are educated people and that they are capable of using two different languages. The final reason is the dominance of the French language because of the long colonial history that the Algerian society lived in the past.

2.6.2 Dialect of Doui Mnii (D2)

The dialect of Doui Manii is particularly used in the area of Abadla and by some people of the same origin living in the town. This dialect is mostly spoken by old people as a sign of their solidarity; while the youngsters use it less frequently because of their chance to know other languages thanks to education. Examples of their speech are:

(154) [ħajəd ʕani] "get away from me".

(155) [ja wil maatək] "pay attention".

(156)[balħag] "really".

(157)[ħawəl] "wait".

(158)[jexli ximtək] "malediction will be on you".

(159)[ʕtini ʃitʃu:f dik lxanʃa] "give me that case".

(160)[sir lhih] "go there".

(161)[ɣa tʕala tʃu:f] "just come and see".

(162)[sir 3ani ħsan lak] "you'd better let me alone"

Dialect two is typically characterized by its use of proverbs each of which is specified to a given context; moreover, the language used in these proverbs is closest to Standard Arabic. Making a discussion with someone from Doui Mnii is very interesting and enjoyable because you will have the chance to hear many proverbs in each corresponding situation. Examples:

(163) [limaħawəl ʕla awal ɣrara ma jħawəl ʕla ʕgabha] "if you do not take care of something from the beginning, you will not take care of it by the end".

(164)[mʃaw ʕajnija ħarak ja ħwaʒbi] "I have lost my eyes, so what about my eyebrows";

(165) [ɣaː li ʒa mən dahra wəld ʕamək a Zohra] "Anyone will be your cousin";

(166)[li ma ða:g elħam tʕeʒbu: errija] "Who has never tasted meat likes liver";

(167) [lkerʃ ɣrara ou rbaṭha ʕqal], it means that eating without control is the cause of all health problems.

This dialect is the only one which is characterized by the use of affix [ɣa] instead of [ɣir] which means "just" or "only"; like in: (168)[ɣa ʃwi] " just a few", (169) [rah ʒab ɣa lbatata] "he brought just some potatoes", (170) [ɣa fu:t] "just pass", (171) [a ɣa rwaħ] "just come", (172) [hadi ɣa syi:ra] "it is just small", (173)[ɣa had l marra] "just this time", (174) [ʒi:t ɣa waħdi] "I came just alone", (175) [kan ɣa barra] "he was just out", (176) [kʊnt ɣa ragəd] "I was just sleeping", (177) [a ɣa gu:lha] "just say it", etc. According to the examples taken from the speech of Doui Mnii, one can easily notice that their dialect is typically Bedouin, in which the fricatives [θ] and [ð] are kept, a feature which makes it very close to Standard Arabic. Examples: (178) [θawm] "garlic", (179) [θnajn] "Monday", (180) [θqi:l] "heavy", (181) [ðhab] "gold", (182) [ðlam] "darkness", (183) [ðefdaʕ] "frog", (184) [jeðbaħ]. This dialect also substitutes long vowels by diphthongs like [aj] in words like: "hand" is pronounced in other dialects as (185) [li:d] "hand", but in D2 it is [lajd], as it describes "nice" as (186) [zajn] instead of [zi:n]. At the lexical level, dialect two has many terms which are specific to it and which sound strange for the

hearers, like: (187) [nahu:] "who?", (188) [ki:f] "how?", (189) [waywak] "when?" (190) [hnahawayn] "here", (191) [lhajh] "there".

2.6.3 Dialect of Ouled Djerir (D3)

The dialect used by Ouled Djrir is almost identical to the dialect of Doui Mnii since, for some historians, both groups formed only one in the past and because of many reasons, mainly wars, they were separated. Nevertheless, they still have a slight difference in pronunciation and in the meaning of some words, such as:

(192) [kʊl] in D2 and (192)[gaʕ] in D3 "all".

(193) [baz] in D2 and (194)[ʈfʊl] in D3 "baby".

(195) [hdəf] in D2 and (196) [xlət] in D3 "come".

Unlike the previous one, people who speak this dialect live in the center of Bechar and usually form small groups in distributed places.

2.6.4 Dialect of the Ksourians (D4)

One should notice that the Ksourians are not the people who live in the Ksours of Bechar where D5 or Shelha is used, but the ksourians are groups of people living in the Ksar of Kenadsa and the Ksar of the center of Bechar or "Takda". When searching for the origins of Ksouria many historians claim that they came from Morocco and exactly from "Hmiane" and settled in Bechar hundreds of years ago. Their first comers were mainly "Tolba" and "Mrabtin" who brought with them 'Abid' or slaves so that they can help them in their works and farms. Their dialect is very typical for its association with a unique accent that easily determines its speakers and it is referred to in this research work as D4. It is also very close to the Moroccan dialect with which they share many lexical terms which are brought by the first comers to Kenadsa and are still used by the Ksouria; examples of those terms are: (197)[xizzʊ] 'carrot', (198) [ɣtar] 'slate', (199) [maṭiʃa] 'tomato', (200) [waxa] for 'yes' or 'ok'. There are also

many expressions used in this dialect which seem similar to others used in Morocco such as:

(201)[a ziduːhum xebza ʔɒxra] "give them some bread";

(202)[ʔaːʃ haːd lʕiːʃ bəlɪ ʕlɪja məbluːl] "this Couscous is wet";

(203)[dəxlətlɪ ʕɪʃa fɪ ʕɪnɪ] "there is a crumb in my eye";

(204)[makajħaʃmʊ makajxaːfʊ l maːjda mkəħla mrəgda] "what a shame; the table is dirty";

(205) [makajʕarfuːʃɪ swaːb] "they are not generous";

(206)[kuːs əl buːs ɣɪ biːda] "I am sure she has a whiteskin";

(207)[ʔɪwa hada lbxas xlaːs] "this is madness".

In contrast of the dialect of Doui Mnii, this dialect replaces the fricative [θ] and [ð] by the alveolar [t] and [d] in terms like (208) [tqiːl] instead of [θqiːl], and (209)[dhab] rather than [ðhab]. D4 lacks names for many new objects and like all the other dialects such names were borrowed mainly from the French language because of the direct contact between the Ksouria and the French during the colonization of Algeria. Examples of the borrowed words are:

D4	**French**
(210) [ʂɒniːt]	sonnette
(211) [ʂafɪjaːs]	surveillance
(212) [lbaːrtmuːn]	porte monnaie
(213) [lkantiːna]	la cantine
(214)[mɪnuːrɪ]	mineur

Words like these are still used in this dialect with deviated pronunciation for the original French terms. This dialect also has its proverbs which concern religion and education, such as: (215) [tibaʃirʊ laː tinafireː] from the original Arabic proverb [baʃirʊ laa tʊnafirʊ], it is said to a person who never gives hope to people;

(216) [jakʊlha lmʂali wela tarek ʂla] "it is for the one who prays and who doesn't";

(217)[zri:ba tedi laxra] it is said "as a consolation";

(218) [ʕbid si:dna dkerna gedamhu: ɣi eʂla u: ʂjam] used for paying attention when speaking.

(219) [dkərna l ma w lħli:b w sɪdna Mohamed ləħbi:b] it is said to refer to someone who is always complaining about illness and pain".

The dialect of the Ksourians is also famous for its inclusion of many diminutive words like: (220) [stʈjəl] rather than [sʈal] "can", (221) [mʈɪwɪ] instead of [məʈwɪ] "knife". It also replaces /e:/ by /u:/ as it appears in: (222) [ʒəbna lħe:t nməlħe:h w nakle:h] "we brought fish, we will prepare it and eat it"; speakers of the other dialect say: [ʒəbna lħu:t nməlħu:h w naklu:h]

2.6.5 Shelha/ Berber (D5)

Shelha, or Berber, is a very old variety used by different groups who live in small villages in Bechar. It is considered among the Northwest African Berber languages though its use has decreased after the coming of Islam and the Arabic language. It is spoken in the regions of: Beni Ounif, Igli, Wakda, Berbi, Lahmar, Boukayes, Moughel, and Tabelbala. It also extends to Figuig, a small region in the Moroccan border, and to other places in the kingdom due to country boundaries. The Berber varieties used in those regions have many similarities with each other mainly at the levels of lexis and phonology; except the one used in Tabelbala which consists of a unique vocabulary and a different phonological system. They also share many characteristics with Tamazight, Chaouia, and Touareg. The existence of these Berber varieties in Bechar creates a complex linguistic situation, mainly when their speakers meet together and use those Berber varieties in the same situation. These people can understand each other and can also switch between the different Berber varieties. Shelha in those

areas is spoken by elders more than the youngsters who acquire other languages of their generation[48].

Of the lexical terms which are used in all those varieties of Berber are: (223) [argaz] "man", (224) [təmətʊt] "women", (225) [aman] "water", etc. In spite of the large similarities between these varieties, but they can be distinguished from each other because of their different accents. They have also many lexical differences such as (226) [tanu:t] "garden", is used in Igli and: (227) [ihran] is used in Berbi. The latter uses: (228) [taknift] "bread", while: (229) [ţardʊnt] is used in Igli. This area says: (230) [iniwən] "dates", but (231) [tjini] is used in Barbi. Shelha has also many similarities with SA and can be mixed with the dialect, such as (232) [xsəx adisu:x rabʕa nţraf] "I want to take four parts", and (233)[sfi:x ldjen nlʊtʊ taʒdidət] "I have bought a new car". Similarities and differences are recognized only by the speakers of those Berber varieties. Berber or Shelha is typical for only the Berber groups who live in distributed areas, but when these people communicate with other people who have other origins, they use the dialect of the majority.

2.7 The Relationship between these Dialects and MSA

According to Beloufa (1989), it seems difficult to determine the degree of the lexical relationship between SA and any dialectal Arabic because of the difficulty to select the shared lexical items and to identify their meanings. In the speech community of Bechar, we can notice that the dialect used by Doui Manii is the closest one to SA, mainly in words like:

(234)[taʕala] in SA and [tʕala] in D2 "come".

(235) [iðhab] in SA, and [ðhab] in D2 "go".

(236)[jataħadaθ] in SA, and [jetħadaθ] in D2 "he speaks".

This means that D2 consists of a considerable number of terms found in SA more than the other dialects, but with a slight change in pronunciation. As far as

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[48] Fatiha Mouili (2011 :53)

phonology is concerned, all the four dialects use the phoneme [g] rather than [q] in most words, such as: (237)[griːb] "near",(238) [gʕɒd] "sit", [lgiːt] "find", (239) [gamra] "moon", etc. They also substitute [q] by [k] in words like: (240) [ktel] "killed", or keep it in words like: (241) [qra] "read", (242) [qʊrʔan] "Quran", (243) [qeːs] "throw", (244) [qarʕa] "bottle", (245) [qism] "class". The phenomenon of epenthesis is very common in these dialects; it appears in the insertion of the phoneme [ka-] at the beginning of the verbs like in examples: (246) [ka nʂali] "I pray", (247) [ka jəkdəb] "he lies", (248) [ka jəʕrəf] "he knows", (249) [ka təbki] "she cries", etc. In addition to epenthesis, the phenomena of: assimilation and deletion also take parts in these dialects, such as:

(250) [ʂʂbaħ] instead of [alʂabaħ] "morning" in SA, (assimilation of [al]).

(251) [kʊljʊm] rather than [kʊla jawm] "every day", (deletion of [a]).

2.8 Cognate between the Dialects

a) SA and Dialect One: SA and the dialect of the majority share many lexical similarities, but with a slight difference at the level of morphology through adding or ommitting some segments. Examples:

SA	D1
(253) [rafiːq]	(254) [rfiːg] "companion"
(255) [aħmar]	(256) [ħmar] "red"
(257) [jʊsra]	(258)[lesra] "left"
(259) [baʕiːd]	(260)[bʕiːd] "far"

Nevertheless, there are many lexical differences between D1 and SA such as:

SA	D1
(261) [wasix]	(262) [mʒaʕfən] "dirty"
(263) [maʒnuːn]	(264) [ħbiːl] "crazy"
(265) [saqata]	(266) [ʈaːħ] "fall"
(267)[daqqa]	(268) [tabtab] "nock"

b) SA and Dialect Two: the dialect of Doui Mnii has the highest degree of cognation with SA; there are many similarities between the two in words found in both varieties like:

(269)[taʕala] in SA and [tʕala] in D2 "come";

(270)[iðhab] in SA, and [ðhab] in D2 "go";

(271)[jatahaddaθ] in SA, and [jethadaθ] in D2 "speaks".

Although SA and D2 share many lexical similarities, but they have some morphological differences like the vowel dropping of [a] in open unstressed syllable in: (186) [kθi:r], and sometimes the difference lies on lexis, such as:

SA	D2	
(272) [samiʕa]	(273) [tʂənət]	"hear"
(274) [ɖaraba]	(275) [zda]	"beat"
(276) [ʃariba]	(277)[skah]	"drink"
(278) [hajawan]	(279) [zajla]	"animal"

c) SA and Dialect Three: like the previous dialects there are lexical similarities between the SA and D3, such as:

SA	D3	
(280) [jamu:t]	(281) [jmu:t]	"die"
(282) [jaxaf]	(283) [jxaf]	"fear"
(284) [warda]	(285) [warda]	"flower"
(286) [ɖaʕif]	(287) [ɖʕe:f]	"weak"

As well as differences, like:

SA	D3	
(288) [jati:r]	(289) [jfər]	"fly"
(290) [atta]	(291) [xlət]	"come"
(292)[wasix]	(293) [mӡaxlət]	"dirty"
(294) [ki:s]	(295) [xanʃa]	"case"

d) SA and Dialect Four: Similarities between SA and D4 appear in words

like:

	MSA	D4
	(296) [fi]	(297)[fi] "in"
	(298) [jəlʕab]	(299)[jəlʕab] "play"
	(300) [ʕa:ʃ]	(301)[ʕa:ʃ] "lived"
	(302)[warda]	(303)[warda] "flower"
	(304)[ri:ʃa]	(305)[ri:ʃa] "feather"

Sometimes SA and D4 have a slight difference at the level of phonology or morphology; examples:

	MSA	D4
	(306) [xa:fa]	(307) [xaf] "fear"
	(308) [aʕta]	(309) [ʕta] "give"
	(310) [haʃi:ʃ]	(311)[hʃi:ʃ] "grass"
	(312) [hʊna]	(313)[hna] "here"
	(314) [qalb]	(315) [gelb] "heart"

On the other hand, there are some words which do not exist in SA, those terms are said to originate from Moroccan dialects for many reasons explained earlier. Examples:

	MSA	D4
	(316) [saqata]	(317)[təslət] "fall"
	(318)[ṣaħn]	(319)[ɣta:r] "slate"
	(320) [sikki:n]	(321)[lemtiwi] "knife"
	(322) [na:fiða]	(323) [sarjem] "window"

e) MSA and Dialect Five: lexical similarities between SA and D5 are not many due to the different origins of both languages. Nevertheless, they still have some lexical similarities like:

SA	D5
(324) [hʊkʊma]	(325) [hʊkmət] "government"
(326) [maṣlaha]	(327)[ṣalhət] "interest"
(328) [ramad]	(329) [rmad] "ashes"
(330) [zʊqaq]	(331) [sqaq] "road"

The differences between SA and D5 are many such as:

SA	D5
(332) [aswad]	(333) [abərkan] "black"
(334) [baʕḍ]	(335) [afuːh] "some"
(336) [naʒm]	(337) [itri] "star"
(338) [dahr]	(339)[tadwat] "back"

f) Dialect One and Dialect Two: D1 and D2 share some lexical terms such as:

D1	D2
(340) [dhar]	(341) [ðhar]
(342) [kbiːr]	(343) [kbiːr] "big"
(344) [ddəm]	(345) [ddəm] "blood"
(346) [hfər]	(347) [hfər] "dig"

Some of their differences are:

D1	D2
(348) [jsɒt]	(349) [jhab] "blow"
(350) [krəf]	(351) [ʕgəd] "tie"
(352) [dabəz]	(353) [tʕarək] "fight"
(354) [jkɒr]	(355) [jʒɒr] "pull"

g) Dialect One and Dialect Three: D1 is generally the amalgamation of the other dialects because of the different origins of people who live in Bechar. And for this reason, it is spoken by the great majority including: Doui Mnii, Ouled

Djrir, and the new comers. The following examples show some lexical similarities between D1 and D3:

	D1		**D3**	
(356)	[ʕd̪əm]	(357)	[ʕd̪əm]	"bone"

(358) [gəʃra] (359) [gəʃra] "bark"

(360) [nar] (361) [nar] "fire"

(362) [tqi:l] (363)[tqi:l] "heavy"

These two dialects also differ in some words like:

D1   **D3**

(364) [raӡəl] (365) [təra:s] "man"

(366) [hməl] (367) [twədər] "lost"

(368) [zəri:ʕa] (369)[bədra] "seed"

(370)[gtaʕ] (371)[qass] "cut"

h) Dialect One and Dialect Four: Examples of similarities between D1 and D4 are as follows:

D1   D4

(372)[geʃra] (373) [geʃra] "bark"

(374) [jṣɒt] (375) [jṣɒt] "it blows"

(376) [naʃef] (377) [naʃef] "dry"

(378) [smeʕ] (379) [sməʕ] "listen"

They have also many differences like:

D1   D4

(380) [gelta] (381) [bhira] "lake"

(382) [tweka] (383) [tmed] "lie"

(384)[gʕɒd] (385) [gles] "sit"

(386) [fi:wek] (387) [weqtaʃ] "when"

(388) [zəri:ʕa] (389) [bədra] "seed"

i) Dialect One and Dialect Five: D5 is spoken by a minority of people in Bechar; therefore, it has only few similarities but large differences not only with D1, but with the other dialects. Some of the similarities between D1 and D5 are:

D1	D5
(390) [ṭiːr]	(391)[ṭiːr] "bird"
(392) [ʕaʃ]	(393) [ʕaʃ] "lived"
(394) [ɣjam]	(395) [ɣjam] "cloud
(396) [jəħsəb]	(397) [jətħsəb] "count"

The differences are many such as:

D1	D5
(398) [mra]	(399) [taməʈʊʈ] "women"
(400) [nhar]	(401) [ass] "day"
(402) [ħmar]	(403) [aɣjuːl] "donkey"
(404) [ʃwija]	(405) [afuːħ] "few"

j) Dialect Two and Dialect Three: these two dialects have the highest degree of cognation among the other dialects; their similarities are many such as:

D2	D3
(406) [ragba]	(407) [ragba] "neck"
(408) [ʒdid]	(409) [ʒdid] "new"
(410) [wad]	(411) [wad] "river"
(412) [zləg]	(413) [zləg] "swept"

But their differences are few like in the following examples:

(414) [kʊl] in D2 and (415) [gaʕ] in D3 "all".

(416) [baz] in D2 and (417) [ʈfʊl] in D3 "baby".

(418) [hdəf] in D2 and (419) [xləʈ] in D3 "come".

k) Dialect Two and Dialect Four: similarities in vocabulary between D2 and D4 appear in terms like:

D2	D4	
(420) [ba:red]	(421) [ba:red]	"cold"
(422) [kbi:r]	(423) [kbi:r]	"big"
(424) [khal]	(425) [khal]	"lack"
(426) [dəm]	(427) [dəm]	"blood"

They have also many differences, such as:

D2	D4	
(428) [kʊl]	(429) [ka:məl]	"all"
(430) [zajla]	(431) [da:ba]	"animal"
(432) [baz]	(433)[dərri:]	"baby"
(434) [hdəf]	(435) [ʒa]	"came"

l) Dialect Two and Dialect Five: we can also find similarities as well as differences between these two dialects, examples:

D2	D5	
(436) [laxatər]	(437) [axatər]	"because"
(438) [ħʃiʃ]	(439) [ħʃiʃ]	"grass"
(440) [tnəfəs]	(441) [itnəfəs]	"he breathes"
(442) [ʂəjəd]	(443)[ʂəjəd]	"hunt"

Some of the differences are, examples:

D2	D5	
(444) [kəlb]	(445) [ejdi]	"dog"
(446) [tmar]	(447) [iniwən]	"date"
(448) [ħmər]	(449) [azʊgaɣ]	"red"
(450) [lwðən]	(451) [tamzu:ɣt]	"ear"

m) Dialect Three and Dialect Four: these two dialects share many lexical terms like:

D3	D4	
(452) [dhar]	(453) [dhar]	"back"
(454) [jaʕd]	(455) [jaʕd]	"bite"
(456) [ħfar]	(457) [hfar]	"dig"
(458) [bʕi:d]	(459) [bʕi:d]	"far"

Examples of differences between the two dialects are:

	D3	**D4**
	(460) [hda]	(461) [ʕand] "at"
	(462) [maːt]	(463) [twəfa] "die"
	(464) [dhaːn]	(465) [ziːt] "oil"
	(466) [naːr]	(467) [lʕaːfja] "fire"

n) Dialect Three and Dialect Five: in the ancient past, speakers of D3 and D5 had contact with each other out off agricultural interest. As a result, this contact manifested itself in language, some of their lexical similarities are:

	D3	**D5**
	(468) [θalʒ]	(469) [talʒ] "snow"
	(470) [warga]	(471) [warqət] "leaf"
	(472) [dlək]	(473) [dlək] "rub"
	(474) [gəlta]	(475) [gəltət] "lake"

Nevertheless, there are some differences between the two, like:

	D3	**D5**
	(476) [ila]	(477) [matta] "if"
	(478) [ʕrəf]	(479) [isən] "know"
	(480) [xɒbz]	(481) [ʈardɒnt]
	(482) [dhak]	(483) [ɖəss] "laughed"

o) Dialect Four and Dialect Five: like the other dialects lexical similarities between D4 and D5 are few, as in:

	D4	**D5**
	(484) [ʈiːr]	(485) [ʈiːr] "bird"
	(486) [jətnəfes]	(487) [itnəfes] "he breathes"
	(488) [lɣjaːm]	(489) [ɣjaːm] "cloud"
	(490) [ʂajad]	(491) [ʂajed] "hunt

Differences between these two dialects are many, such as:

D4	D5
(492) [kərʃ]	(493) [tadiːst] "belly"
(494) [ʕadm]	(495) [iɣəs] "bone"
(496) [gṭaʕ]	(497) [nkad] "cut"
(498) [lard]	(499) [tamuːrt] "earth

According to these comparisons between the five dialects and Standard Arabic, we can observe that the four Arabic dialects share many lexical items, even with slight phonological or morphological variation, except the fifth one which carries only some similarities with them. It should be noted that the examples of the fifth dialect include words from the various Berber varieties of Bechar.

2.9 Literacy and Illiteracy in Bechar

Maamouri (1998) described education as the cornerstone of economic and social development and that primary education is its foundation. Bamgbose (1991:71) asserts that *"...literacy liberates untapped human potential and leads to increased productivity and better living conditions."* (Cited in Maamouri 1998:08). Anderson and Bowman (1965) agree that 40% among the population in a given country must be literate though this rate is not sufficient for economic growth; but a 70% to 80% literacy rate, at least, can achieve rapid economic development. Similarly, most specialists widely believe that economic development is based on highly educated and literate societies. Within the same context, illiteracy has been viewed as a social factor which can lead to many social and economic problems; it is regarded as a serious educational problem that can only be fought through education.

Many Arab educational specialists agree on the fact that the low levels of educational achievement and the low literacy in most Arab countries are the results of the complexities of Standard Arabic used in formal schooling and in non-formal education which in turn leads to serious negative educational and social consequences[49]. All the Arab countries can neither escape from the

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[49] Maamouri (1998:06).

educational problems caused by their dominant language nor ignore their feelings of linguistic insecurity which is felt by many people in the Arabic speaking communities during their social communication and personal expression (Maamouri 1998).

There is a strong assumption that reading reflects a crucial role in educational planning since it increases the substantial gains in educational achievements. Maamouri (1998:09) defines Literacy attainment as: *"the acquisition of a sustainable level of reading ability through the completion of a given number of years of primary schooling"*; it has, therefore, become an important factor of economic growth in the development of countries. Literacy varies among countries and regions as it depends on social and cultural factors and contexts which may increase or decrease it. According to Maamouri (1998:17), the number of illiterates in the Arab region reached some 50 million in 1970, which accounted for 73.5% of the total Arab population aged 15 years and over. This number increased to 61 million in 1990 and reached 65 million in 1995 and grew to 68 million in the year of 2000.

Literacy in Bechar is regarded as one of the most important issues since it is the basis of social, educational, and economic evolution. If we start by age, it has been noticed that the number of literate people in Bechar is high mainly among the youngsters who had and still have, the chance to continue their education. According to statistics given by the direction of the education of Bechar, the average age of young literate people ranges between 6 to 45 years old (this rate involve students at the university as well); this number reflects those who are still learning and also those who have already continued their education. If we talk about literacy and illiteracy, many people think that literate people are those who have a university level, while illiterate people represent those who could not get into such level. But, as mentioned previously, literacy emphasizes mainly on the ability to read and write.

Such restriction, i.e. reading and writing skills, does not regard the differences of educational levels. That is if we do not take into consideration the different levels of education among people, the graduate elite will be counted as having the same level as those who are not because many people who can read and write may be graduates or non-graduates. Therefore, in order to clarify the case, lets divide literate people into high literate people and intermediate literates. The first elite refers to those who have a certain university level, i.e. educated people or those who continued their education, the second group includes those who have a certain educational level but not a university degree though they still have the ability to read and write; finally those who are described as illiterate are simply those who are not graduated and can neither read nor write.

When we speak about educational variation at the level of age, we should mention that the average of age given by the educational direction of Bechar, which is limited between the ages of 6 years and 45 years, includes persons who did not finish their education yet mainly those whose age is around 6 to 22 years old. Those people still have the chance to be among the high literate people, while others may be classified among the intermediate literates because of the phenomenon of school drop-out. In fact, literacy is not restricted to young people, although this group holds the lion's share of education there is still a respectable number of old people who are classified among the literate group either high or intermediate. The level of the elders' education is said to be more valuable than that of the youngsters. Although the latter still have the chance to be educated, the former had the chance to be educated by foreign teachers who are required to have a higher and more important level of education.

Many inhabitants believe that old educated or literate people are more experienced and have more important knowledge than the young educated or literate ones. People whose age is more than 45 years old still include members whose of education is high or at least can read and write though their percentage of education or literacy cannot be higher than that of the young

generation. Educational variation at the level of gender also exists in the speech community of Bechar, though the difference between males and females at the level of education is not very high. On the basis of our observation and responses of the questionnaires, it appeared that the educational level of most young females is better than that of young males mainly in middle, secondary, and university levels. Within all the classes in all the educational levels such as primary, middle, secondary schools, and university it appeared to the researcher that girls represent a larger number of students; their number was in some classes the double of the number of males. This fact returns to two main reasons; the first one is that the number of females in Bechar is more than that of males; second girls are famous for their desire and ambition in learning. Similarly, boys have also a strong desire to learn but some of them prefer to interrupt their learning process seeking jobs and other needs.

We have already stated that old people involve a given number of high or intermediate literates, not surprisingly such number, in fact, involves males more than females. Old women had, unfortunately, a hard-luck in their education and most of them preferred to stay at home instead of going to school. Thus, one can conclude the following equation: the literate people often include young people more than the old ones though the latter involve a respective number of more experienced and highly educated people who in turn involve old men more than women. But, females, in general, represent a high number of educated and literate people more than males.

Illiteracy, in Bechar, touches both males and females, young and old people, and each group carries specific reasons for such phenomenon. If we start by gender we can notice that both men and women suffer from low literacy because of many reasons such as school drop-out which is the result of many aspects like poverty, the lack of educational institutions mainly in the rural areas, etc. Illiteracy among women can be the result of the lack of educational awareness; many women, either young or old, prefer to stay at home or to leave school in the early stages and get married. Men, on the other hand, have probably the same reasons for being illiterates; many of them

choose to look for a job instead of spending time in learning or being educated. At the level of age, we have noticed that illiteracy in Béchar affects old people more than the youngsters; the former had not enough lack to be educated because of colonization, economic and social problems.

The young generation, as described earlier, has a high chance for education mainly with the presence of the current technology and development, but many of them leave school deciding otherwise. Poverty is also one of the most important reasons for illiteracy; many people lack the financial sources, while others lack educational spheres from where they can acquire knowledge. This phenomenon takes place mainly in the rural regions which hold a very high number of illiterate people, old and young, boys and girls, because of the absence of educational conditions. Illiteracy exists everywhere in the world. Bechar witnesses a noticeable percentage of illiterate people; a percentage that includes old people more than the young. Among the old people, one can easily notice a respective number of women who suffer from illiteracy more than men. In fact, although the new generation reflects a high percentage of literate people they still include a number of youngsters who are also illiterate for the reasons explained above, and many of them are girls.

Illiteracy has been classified among the most serious problems for its impact on the social, economic, educational, and political fields (Fingeret 1991). Maamouri (1998) sees that fighting it demands hard political effort for reducing poverty, ignorance, illnesses, and inequality of opportunity. *"...Because of the unstable political climate in the Arab region..., illiteracy has often emerged as a political priority in socially oriented regimes"* he adds (1998:19). It has been agreed that policymakers should know the reasons of literacy problem in order to reduce it. Moving from *'illiteracy eradication'* to adopting the reading culture in Arab schools and in the out-of-school environment may destroy the barriers between formal and non-formal education and help in the development of the nation (Maamuri 1998). One can notice a respective percentage of illiterate parents in Bechar which may be a significant obstacle to creating an early literate environment for a young child.

2.10 Attitudes towards *Fusha* in Bechar Speech Community

Like all the Arab regions in general and the Algerians in particular, people in Bechar value the Arabic language or '*Fusha*' and highly respect it for the fact that it is initially the language of the Quran. Another reason is that '*Fusha*' is used in educational, political, cultural, and other official and formal domains; moreover it is regarded as the main language which characterizes them as Arabs and Muslims. In fact, there is a strong feeling among all Arabs that their language is characterized by a natural superiority, Maamouri (1998) explains. He adds that such '*prestige valuation*' of *fusha* is reflected it its beauty, logic, and a high degree of expressiveness. Moreover, although the Arabs use their dialects more than *Fusha* mainly in their daily communication, they still regard their dialects as underprivileged and as corrupt forms of the language.

Fusha truly reflects what Gallagher (1968:129) calls *"an intellectual attic filled with ancestral treasures."* The use of colloquial Arabic becomes suspicious and may show an unacceptable lack of linguistic loyalty towards *fusha* for their deviation from the linguistic norms. This has, in turn, raised problems of dialectal variation by Arabs. Many people in Bechar think that *fusha* or Standard Arabic is their mother tongue rather than their local dialect. Linguistically speaking, local vernacular or dialectal Arabic is acquired by children in their early stages of development, while *fusha* is learned in schools and other educational spheres. Thus, those who have access to school will have the chance to acquire socioeconomic gains as well as social mobility for the fact that *fusha* is tied to socioeconomic development (Maamouri 1998).

Fusha for Maamouri (1998:32): *"becomes a gatekeeping mechanism to limit upward mobility to those who have acquired it when that mobility is not already based on a foreign' Language of Wider Communication (LWC)".* It is obvious from this description that *fusha* cannot easily be considered as the mother tongue of any Arab region. Similarly, Parkinson (1991:39) believes that: *"[fusha] may not have native speakers, but it certainly has native users, people who read it fluently and listen to it with ease and understanding every*

day, and who occasionally use it in speaking and writing as well"; he also admits that its role is restricted to formalities and is not suitable for everyday conversation. Thus, as described before, *fusha* can only be learned through formal education and used exclusively at official or formal functions. The native dialect or vernacular variety of Arabic is typically acquired as a 'mother tongue' and continues to be used almost exclusively in informal settings.

There has been a controversy upon the issue of whether *fusha* could or could not replace the 'mother tongue' or dialectal Arabic in schools. Dan Wagner takes the case of Moroccan Arabic as an example stating that although *fusha* varies considerably from dialectal Moroccan Arabic,: *"...Moroccan Arabic speakers can be thought of as learning literacy in their mother tongue in the same sense that nonstandard dialectal English speakers [...] are learning mother tongue literacy when they learn to read English"* (1993:172-3). Wagner explains his view of equating *fusha* with colloquial Arabic by the confusion which is noticed in the current behavior of Arabs who regard Arabic as their 'mother tongue' or 'native' language and do not refer to Moroccan, Algerian, Jordanian or any other dialectal Arabic. The strong cultural attitudes of Arabs in treating *fusha* as their 'mother tongue' reflects the important weight of tradition though this attitude will have a negative effect on *fusha*[50]. If *fusha* is equated with the Arabic dialect in education, children will not probably acquire the 'pure' real linguistic system and rules of it.

Attitudes towards *fusha* may vary in the speech community of Bechar; it is basically the formal and official language of the Algerian speech community in general and the language that reflects their Arabic and Muslim identity. Although many of them use other languages such as Berber, French, English, etc mainly the educated elite, they still recognize it as their source of Arab loyalty and power. They all respect it and give a high superposed position, 'it is the language of Quran' they all declare, as it is the first language which must be taught in schools before French and other languages, even before Berber which is regarded as the indigenous language of some of them.

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[50] Maamouri (1998:33)

Nevertheless, cultural perceptions towards *fusha* vary to a certain degree. After interviewing teachers of Arabic modules, mainly in the primary schools, those teachers expressed their favour to use *fusha* everywhere even at home with their families aiming at making their children be familiar with SA. The interviewed teachers believe that children should be prepared to *fusha* at home before going to school, an act that facilitates the process of learning it at school. Many people in Bechar send their kids to 'El Masdjed' or 'El Madrassa' at the age of 4 or 5 years in order to acquire the pure form through their memorization of the Quran. These people seem to have strong attitudes and feelings towards *fusha* for the fact that it is the language of Islam.

Many interviewees claimed that *fusha* should not be used in informal circumstances for the role it plays as the language of Quran arguing that the informal spheres involve: street, market, clubs, and others where *fusha* should not be used. In many of these settings people may jock, laugh at others, and use other low-status expressions and *fusha* is not available for such kinds of conversations. This vision may be supported for the fact that many people use *fusha* to jock and make other people laugh, an example of such case was observed when someone said to his friends: (558) [lbareħ ʒra mɒraja mahbu:l wa naʒawtɒ bi ɒʕɒɒba] "yesterday, a crazy man run after me but fortunately I was saved". Another example was heard when someone fell down and in order to make the others laugh he said: (559) [lju:m ʈɒħt wa kɒntɒ ʕala waʃak an afqida samʕi].

Attitudes towards *fusha* do not vary at the levels of gender, age, ethnicity, and social class; but they vary among the individuals in which each one has his one feeling towards it. In fact, not all the people who live in Bechar, including the old people and youngsters, are fluent speakers of *fusha*. *Fusha,* in its general structure, carries several complex rules and many lexical terms; this is why it seems difficult to learn particularly at the first stages of school. Many old or young people do not understand the meaning of many terms in *fusha* mainly those introduced in Classical Arabic or in the Quran

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especially when they are in the Mosque; these people state that they feel embarrassed when they meet such case. Some of them blame themselves for such ambiguity in *fusha* arguing that they do not spend enough time for reading various Arabic books; while others attribute the responsibility on the educational system claiming that the educationalists do not provide them with a rich vocabulary of Arabic.

The complexity of *fusha* is one of the main factors that create the variation of attitudes towards it. Among the sample population, those who found difficulties in learning SA took its complexity as a justification. There have been contradicted views concerning the attitudes of SA among the sample population; some of the teachers of Arabic modules, for example, showed a strong feeling towards it to the point that they want to use it in each situation, formal and informal; other teachers and even ordinary people say that the language of the Quran should be preserved in formal functions in order to protect it from low status uses. Some people are more fluent in the French language, and they regard those who use Arabic, either in the form of *fusha* or dialect, as having low social and educational status. People like these classify those who are able to speak French as highly educated while those who use Arabic are regarded as 'traditional' though educated. The sample population which was questioned and interviewed showed the feeling of loyalty towards *fusha*; they still defend it and regard it before French in formal official spheres. People being questioned and interviewed, educated and ordinary people, showed their ability to read, write, or at least listen and understand it. Many of them view those who are able to read, write, and speak *fusha* fluently are lucky persons who are capable to recognize the meanings of many terms introduced in the Quran mainly.

Generally speaking, many Arabs from North Africa and the Middle East, and even non-Arabs show different and sometimes contrasting attitudes towards the values of *Fusha* and its colloquial in diglossic situations. Both language varieties have received positive and negative judgments. Ferguson (1959-1968) and others agree that *Fusha* holds prestige, beauty, musicality, and richness. Philip Hitti (1969: 5) notes that:

> *Modern audiences in Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo can be stirred*
> *to the highest degree by the recital of poems, only vaguely comprehended,*
> *and by the delivery of orations in the classical tongue, though it be*
> *only partially understood. The rhythm, the rhyme, the music produce on*
> *them the effect of what they call 'lawful magic'.*

But the Tunisian linguist Garmadi (1974) claims that although CA is extremely rich, beautiful, and prestigious, it is only used and well understood in his country by a minority. The Moroccan Lahjomri (1974: 60-61) regards CA as the language of the past, and he describes it as: *"an outdated, antiquated language, as foreign to everyday life as French."* But Kateb Yacine (1967) opposes him describing CA as the living formidable language; in which there is a dead Arabic and a living one which is popular Arabic. The Algerian sociologist Mazouni (1969: 21), on his side, remarks that in Algeria: *"dialectal Arabic is a constant object for mockery, opprobrium, and misunderstanding ...declared just good enough for conversations between shepherds and agricultural laborers."*

Finally, the Tunisian linguist Garmadi (1974) generalizes the attitude against the Arabic dialects stating that they are used by 100% of the population; although they are spoken by the majority of the population, they are regarded as minority languages. These ideas seem to be based on emotions and are subjectively formulated; they may be also specified to certain Arab communities and need insurance. They are for Bentahila (1983: 28): *"based on more or less convincing evidence."*

2.11 Algeria; a Diglossic Speech Community

The linguistic situation of Algeria is particular; the Algerians use in their speech words from Algerian Arabic and others from French, like in (500) [roht l ekol lju:m] "did you go to school today?" They also move in their speech from SA to AA creating a diglossic situation. Example: (501) [l azma l iqtisadja **maxəlat ħta blad**] "the economic crisis did not leave any country". The Algerian diglossic situation is particular since the low variety is not very close to the high variety. These two varieties are kept quite apart in their functions. H is represented by MSA which is very prestigious and used in official, educational and formal circumstances, while L is the Algerian dialect which is a local version of Arabic that has no official status and it is used at home for low functions and in distributive settings.

As explained in the first chapter, the functional distribution of H and L in society means that there are situations where only H is appropriate and others where only L is used. In the case of Algeria, SA is used in formal settings such as education, media, formal speeches, on the radio, writing poetry, etc. On the other hand, AA is used in informal functions such as a conversation between members of the family, relatives, in the street, the market, etc. Therefore, we do not use SA in circumstances where AA is appropriate, for instance talking to someone in the market, nor do we use AA when SA is called for, like writing a report to a manager. SA is the superior, powerful, beautiful, more elegant and more logical language than AA which is inferior, less prestigious and used in daily life. Freeman (1996) claimed that people in diglossic speech communities regard the High variety as the *'real'* language and treat the Low variety as being *'incorrect'* one. Thus, in Arabic diglossia Standard Arabic, i.e H, is the *'pure'* language while the dialects, or L, are the *'corrupt forms'*.

On the basis of the nine rubrics that Ferguson cited in order to characterize diglossia, it seems that the two varieties are not only different at the level of social features, but also in terms of structural features. Many linguists, such as Romaine (1994), agree that H has grammatical categories do not exist in

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L. For instance, SA contains the case ending and the dual form which are absent in AA as in (502) [akaltʊ tʊfaaħatan] in SA is [kliːt təfaaħa] in AA "I ate an apple", (503) [ilʕabaa] becomes [laʕbʊ] "you play", (504) [ʊktʊbaa] is [kətbʊ] "you write". As far as lexis is concerned, both SA and AA share the most important part of vocabularies but with some differences in the form. H has many technical terms which do not have their regular equivalent in L. Example: (505) [qarn] "century", (506) [ʕam] "year", (507) [daqiqa] "minute", (508) [kitab] "book", (509) [saʕa] "hour", etc. On the other side, L contains some popular expressions and many borrowed words which do not exist in H. Example: (510) [jdirɒnʒe] "annoys", (511) [jsɒne] "rings", (512) [jʈape] "prints", etc.

Another significant feature of the natural superiority of H concerns the fact that a considerable body of literature is found in H and almost missing in L. Literature associated with CA or SA has a higher prestige than the folk literature which is written in AA. At the level of language acquisition, AA is acquired by children in a normal unselfconscious way, whereas SA is learned after AA in formal settings such as in classrooms or by religious or cultural associations. This means that H and L have different patterns of language acquisition. Not surprisingly, SA is the standard form while AA often shows a tendency to borrow words from SA particularly when the speakers try to use AA in more formal ways. The result is a certain admixture of SA vocabulary into AA.

Because of their linguistic influence by the French language, Algerians switch between AA and French more than they switch between SA and AA. Example: many people say: (513) [win tfwət le vakɒns] rather than [win tfwət lʕʊʈla] "where do you spend the holidays?", or words like; (514) [ekɒl] rather than (515) [madrasa] "school". In this way the speaker is switching in bilingualism but not in diglossia. People living in a diglossic speech community do not usually regard diglossia as a problem. Ferguson (1959) considers it as an extremely stable phenomenon used to keep more than one type of language in

society. If the various colloquial Arabic dialects do not exist, then the language used in formal situations would be the same one used in the street or in the market. Many ordinary people in Algeria do not recognize that they are living in a diglossic community, but they know that they often use some SA terms in daily life when they have a lack of vocabulary in the dialect. Diglossia in the north of Algeria varies from that of the south. Because of their competency in the French language, people living in the north switch to French; while those who are living in the south switch to SA.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter has insisted to provide the reader with an idea about the general background of Bechar. The area's language repertoire involves five main dialects which are ordered according to their wide use and also in return to their users. Four of these dialects are Arabic dialects and one of them is a variety of Berber called Shelha in the area in addition to a dialect which acted as a lingua franca between the Ksourians and the Jews in ancient times, it is D6. The latter is not of great interest as it has disappeared after the departure of the Jews from Bechar. The first dialect is the dialect spoken by the majority of the population (D1) followed by the dialect talked by Doui Mnii (D2), the dialect used by Ouled Djrir, the dialect spoken by Ksouria (D4), and Shelha (D5). The large contact between the speakers the four dialects, i.e. D2, D3, D4, and D5, led to the emergence of the first dialect which is understood by all the members of the community.

One should remember that those dialects were not mixed with each other but each one contributed with many items to provide mutual intelligibility between the users of the various dialects. The dialects that have mostly contributed in such process are D2, D3, and D4, while D5 or Shelha gave very few items because of ambiguous terms and unique lexical system. Thus, one can easily understand that D1 is the most useful and the most understood dialect of the community as it is the one created upon the contact between the other dialects thanks to the interaction of their speakers. Those dialects have many similarities and differences with each other and with Standard Arabic as well, and some of them have similarities with the dialect talked in the Moroccan borders. Their correlation and explanation have been the main interest of this chapter.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Data Collection

3.1 Introduction

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3.10 Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

Data collection is based on two main sources; primary and secondary ones. The latter refers to sources in the form of documents, such as books, articles, newspapers, encyclopedias, etc; while the primary sources involve mainly: observation, interviews, and questionnaires. Data in this research work has been collected through both primary and secondary sources. Secondary data are mainly included in the first chapter of literature review in addition to other information placed in the second chapter. The primary data, on the other hand, has been analyzed and presented within the fourth and the fifth chapters, while the third chapter is devoted to present the methods used for collecting such data mainly the primary sources.

Therefore, the current chapter involves the main methods used for gathering information focusing on observation; interviews, and questionnaires. All these elements are explained in detail in the following sections; including place, types and the conditions under which the methods were undertaken. An explanation of the samples, their size, and selection is also mentioned along with the research tools and instruments used for recording the data. Additionally, all the problems that were faced and the limitations of the study are involved. This chapter focuses on the methods of data collection; nevertheless; it adds an explanation of the pedagogical implantation of Standard Arabic and the important role it plays in education. It also refers to the definitional problems that the inhabitants of Bechar have in *Fusha*

3.2 Methodology

The methodology adopted in this research work is based on collecting information from both primary sources and secondary sources. The latter is based on collecting information from various documents such as books, journals, articles, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and others; and the data taken are placed around the various chapters mainly in the one of literature review which is based on the theoretical background of the topic being investigated. The techniques of paraphrasing, summarizing, and quoting have been all used when borrowing a given text from any source. In addition to secondary sources, data were collected from primary sources which will be explained in the following section.

The research work is basically qualitative seeking to give a description of the diglossic case of Bechar speech community. It first analyses such phenomenon in formal settings which are the main case study, then it moves to give a brief description of diglossia in informal spheres where various people of distinct social, ethnic, and educational background are in contact with each other. The research work also involves some statistics, tables, and charts which are the main characteristics of any quantitative study; those charts have been used only in need of drawing evidence of a given percentage being investigated or discovered. Qualitative researchers, according to Merriam (2009:13): *"are interested in understanding human behavior and the reasons that govern such behavior, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world"*. And this is mainly followed in our research work which seeks to understand how and why educated people use Standard Arabic (or Fusha) and their dialects in their jobs, how do they see Fusha. Similarly, it seeks to know to what extent ordinary people in general use Fusha in daily interaction; how and why.

This research work has the advantage of being both applied and obtrusive. Applied research, for Bickman and Rog (2009:02), *"strives to improve our understanding of a problem, with the intent of contributing to the solution of that problem"*. Its primary focus is to collect and generate data to

further our understanding of real-world problems, but it can, and often does, generate new knowledge and contribute to theory. The purpose of applied research is to solve an immediate practical problem, and this is what we insisted on during our investigating. Fusha, which is a modern form of Classical Arabic, is the language of Quran and people should regard and appreciate its value and give it a practical and valuable use. According to our observation, *Fusha* is used by many people to joke or judge the one who uses it as being underdeveloped or lacking an important skill that enables him to communicate with speakers of other languages; that skill has been referred to by Wardhaugh (2006:96) as Bilingualism or multilingualism. Therefore, we sought to make our research applied through making people regard their use of Fusha in both formal and informal settings and substituting their switching into French by switching into SA so as to increase its use in society.

This research work also succeeded to a given extent in being obtrusive. As a reference, an obtrusive research exists when the researcher introduces conditions that influence participants or when he manipulates the environment. Thus, a large number of pupils constructed an academic group that seeks to defend the role, use, and the value of *Fusha* in educational spheres and society as well. The pupils are regarded among the participants being questioned and belong to one of the secondary schools which were under our observation, "*Saidani Ahmed*". They intend to use Fusha per se inside and outside the classroom with their teachers, staff of administration, and between each other as well. They also insist on their teachers to speak only *Fusha* when they are explaining the lesson and refuse any dialectal intervention for any reason. This helps them to acquire their first language and practice it permanently. Other ordinary people have also started to pay attention to their use of Fusha in everyday speech; they start at, a given level, to use many SA terms when expressing their ideas instead of French terms. Nevertheless, the dialect remains to a high extent the main medium of daily interaction.

3.3 Data Collection

This section insists on data which are collected through primary sources. The main methods of this kind have been used in this phase are observation, interviews, and questionnaires. These can be involved in the two types of data; observational data and elicited data. The former includes observation and it refers to any kind of data observed by the eyes and heard by the ears of the investigators. On the other hand, elicited data refers to any kind of data got in response to questions asked by the investigator; and it includes both interviews and questionnaires. Methodologically speaking, the choice of each method depends on the purpose of the study, the resources available, the skills of the researcher[51], and the kind of data sought to be collected as well. Therefore, those three methods have been used in the most suitable situation and the kind of data we need as we will explain in details in the flowing sections. For example, observation has been used for the sake of observing the behavior of the teachers in class and to notice their use of their dialect. But sometimes the methods most appropriate to achieve the objective of the study could not be used because of some obstacles like the lack of sources, samples, time, participants' behavior, etc. Unfortunately, such aspects have an effect on the quality of the gathered data; and these will be dealt with among the problems and limitations of our study.

Observation took place in formal settings and more specifically in educational institutions, the latter also witnessed a use of questionnaires and interviews. The other formal settings such as the various administrative spheres involved both questionnaires and interviews. Samples have been systematically chosen; that is we have chosen the samples according to each method and regarding the kind of data we need. The various types of questions have been used but following one way of addressing them as we will explain. Similarly, the three main kinds of interviews have been used for such phase. Samples who have been under our observation are not the same who have answered our questionnaires nor are the interviewees. Sample selection is divided into three

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[51] Ranjit Kumar, « Research Methodology », 2014, p172.

types; random/probability sampling design; non-random/ non-probability sampling design, and the systematic sampling design. And each of these designs involves subtypes that have been adopted.

The systematic sampling design or the mixed design is needless in this research work because the kind of data we need could not be gathered following such design. It is called the mixed design because it carries the characteristics of both random and non-random sampling designs. In order to use the systematic sampling design, one should have a sampling frame or plan for his study population. In this design, the sampling plan must be divided into a number of segments called *intervals*; after the researcher selects one element from the first interval, then he selects other elements from other intervals but his selection must be dependent upon the position selected in the first interval. That is: if he chooses the fifth element in the first interval; then the fifth element of each interval should be selected. He must notice that the elements from the first interval are randomly selected; but the choice of the other elements from subsequent intervals is dependent upon the choice from the first[52]. More detailed information about the first two designs will be mentioned under the theme of sampling or sample selection along with a precise description of their use.

3.3.1 Observation

Observation is one of the main important primary methods of data collection; it helps the investigator to see and hear the information or the interaction himself as he can use an instrument to record his observations. Observation has been done under 'natural' conditions, that is we have observed the participants without interfering in their normal activities nor introducing some criteria so as to get a given reaction. Moreover, we have adopted both types of observation; participant observation and non-participant observation. The former refers to when the researcher participates in the activities of the group being observed in the same manner of the members, but the latter exists

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[52] Ranjit Kumar (2014:245-246)

when the researcher is not involved in the conversations between the groups remaining a passive observer listening and watching the interactions between the participants.

Non-participant observation has been used in both formal and informal settings. Among the formal settings, this type has been exclusively used within the various educational spheres; such as primary, middle, and secondary schools. This technique is most suitable to observe the interactions of the teachers in their class and more precisely to check if they introduce their dialect within the class or not. It helps us also to see and hear the reasons that push the teachers to apply diglossia and to check the pupils' reaction towards such behavior. Observation followed a logical sequential process; that is we have started first by the primary school, then middle, and at last the secondary school. Five weeks of non-participant observation was undertaken in the primary school; the latter involves five sequential grades and with each grade, we have spent one week attending all the lectures with various teachers. Within the same primary school, the five grades are divided into fifteen classes; that is each grade is given three classes of primary education distributed to three teachers. In order to ensure the validity of the collected data, we have visited the whole fifteen classes who were taught by various teachers except for the teachers of the French language who are not our interest.

The same kind of observation was undertaken within two middle schools spending eight weeks with all the grades who are totally four. Similarly, we have spent one week with each grade attending distinct lectures and lessons such as Arabic literature, social education, Islamic science, mathematics, etc. All teachers and pupils were involved in our observation except for teachers of foreign languages such as French and English. The last observation in formal settings was held in the secondary schools for three weeks only. Again one week was specified for each secondary which involved various fields of study such as literary, scientific, and foreign languages. Classes of foreign languages were not of great interest to us, nevertheless, we

have spent some two or three hours with teachers of literature, history, and geography.

In both middle and secondary schools, we were in need to move from a grade to another spending one hour with each teacher making the observation, comparison, and drawing conclusions. It should be noticed that we were sometimes obliged to keep the subject of our study confidential so that the teachers behave in their normal manner and talk spontaneously as they have used to do with their pupils. In order to limit our investigation, university students and teachers were not involved in our observation because university includes many scientific fields taught in the French language. Similarly, the various employees working in the administrative spheres have not been observed, they were rather questioned through distributed questionnaires and interviews. Observation, in its two types, was, in fact, difficult to do within administration since the workers move from one place to another being in contact with not only their colleagues but also with strangers. Moreover, the switch into the French language is done more than the switch from SA to their dialect.

Observation in the mosque was also a non-participant one; it was based on listening to different sermons and lessons of many Imams. It was approximately held on each Friday where the sermon is attended by most of the population. On the other hand, in informal settings both participant and non-participant observations have been used. In some cases, we were in need to remain passive and hear the conversations between people in many ordinary places and take examples of diglossia. And in other cases we have participated in the conversations with our participants talking about various issues in society, checking when, where, why, how, and with whom they introduce SA terms in their daily interaction. But in the informal setting, we sometimes informed the participant about the subject matter mainly with the educated people who demanded a brief explanation on the topic who seemed interesting for them. On the other hand, some conversations with many uneducated people

were held and recorded without their attention of being our samples so as to keep their behavior natural.

3.3.2 Interviews

An interview is a common method of data collection which focuses on a face to face conversation or person to person interaction, though the telephone can be used in some cases. Interviews can be a series of questions that a researcher addresses personally to respondents i.e. he participates himself through addressing questions and recording answers; as they can be submitted individually or within the group. Such method has been also used during the process of data collection. For the fact that interviews are more time consuming than questionnaires, it has been decided to adopt it with a limited number of participants mainly with the experts. Interviews were most appropriate with the teachers, directors, and some stuff and journalists because they allow us to gain more detailed information and to ask deeper questions. Both individual and group interviews have been used to collect data. The latter helps us to speak about many complex and contradicted issues as it allows us to save time rather than the former where we were in need to spend a given time with each interviewee though each one provides us with their perceptions and opinions.

Interviews have been also used during the phase of observation within primary, middle, and secondary schools. At the end of some sessions, we specified a given time from 30 to 45 minutes, according to the teachers' break, and ask them about many interactions being observed during the lecture. For successful implementation of the interview method, we intended not to demand much time from our interviewees who provided us with additional information about their personal characteristics and environment which is often of great value in interpreting results. Interviews reduce the possibility of incomplete answers or unanswered questions since ambiguous questions have been clarified immediately; moreover, the respondents' own words are recorded through a recorder. Interviews have been addressed through prepared questions, i.e. interview schedule or interview guide which are regarded as research tools or talking directly to the interviewee leading him to say all what

he knows about the main issue. These can be summarized under the three types of interviews.

The three types of structured, unstructured, and semi-structured interviews have been used at this phase only in formal occasions. In structured interviews, we have asked clearly predetermined set of questions as specified in the interview schedule. The latter is a list of closed or open-ended questions prepared for use, thus the data here have been to a given extent predictable. Teachers have in fact taken the biggest share of interviews, individual or group, more than the administrators. The interview schedule involved various questions about the level of education, teaching experience, the level of their pupils, etc. The questions given to the teachers are not very different from those given to administrators and copies of the interview schedule and guide are provided in appendices. And both tools include many questions similar to those being used within questionnaires. In order to check the reasons for the diglossic case that occurs in the mosque a limited number of Imams have been questioned though they did not give us much of their time.

In contrast to the previous type, the unstructured interview may not follow a system of pre-determined questions and standardized techniques of recording information. In a non-structured interview, we have been allowed to ask, in case of need, additional questions or omit certain questions if the situation so requires. We had even the advantage to change the sequence of questions with a relatively greater freedom while recording the responses to include some aspects and exclude others. Following this type; we sometimes left some of our interviewees to talk freely without asking questions, thus the data here have been unpredictable. Semi-structured interviews mix between the techniques of both structured and unstructured interviews; that is we have once asked pre-planned questions then added changed and sometimes omitted some needless questions. We also let some expert interviewees say whatever they know. Generally speaking, the interviewees were happy to talk with us, as we have assured them that what they tell us will be kept confidential and used in an academic research work only.

Thus, the three main groups of samples being interviewed were mainly teachers of all grades and levels, some administrators, Imams, and some directors of the educational settings. Some ordinary people who were also under observation have been interviewed because they are qualified as illiterate individuals lacking the two skills of reading and writing. Therefore, asking face to face questions to these people was the appropriate solution so as to involve them in our investigation as well as to benefit from the knowledge and reasons they have in mind. All these interviewees have been carefully selected so as to avoid any biased judgment. Before starting our interviews we created a friendly atmosphere of trust and confidence so that respondents feel at ease while talking and discussing with us. We have asked the questions properly and intelligently as we recorded the responses accurately and completely. At the same time, we removed any doubt by giving answers to all the legitimate questions asked by the interviewees about the research problem. The large sample size of both pupils and the majority of ordinary people have not been interviewed fearing for time-consuming, therefore they were given questionnaires to fill with their answers.

3.3.3 Questionnaires

Our questionnaires involved a list of questions which were selected carefully and appropriately. They have been presented to the largest number of participants so as to save effort and collect data in a short time. Similarly, the respondents read the questions, interpreted what is expected and then gave their answers themselves. One should notice the difference between schedule interviews and questionnaires is that the former requires the participation of the interviewer who asks the questions and records the answers himself, whereas in questionnaires respondents record or write the answers themselves; and both techniques have been involved in data collection. Since there is no possibility to explain the meaning of the questions to respondents, since questionnaires do not require the participation of the investigator, we have tried to make our questionnaires as clearer and easier as possible to understand. We have also

excluded any personal question in the questionnaires such the names and any specific details about the respondents.

Questions involved both closed questions and open-ended ones. Closed questions are yes/no questions and multiple-choice questions which were less time consuming to complete by the respondents and easier to analyze by us. They have also higher responses though they missed insurance and restricted the responses of the respondents who might not be able to give additional information. Open-ended questions are all kinds of 'wh' questions. In contrast to the former, these questions allowed the participants to answer freely and express their opinions using their own words. They were beneficial and more useful for collecting a wealth of information; though they took much time to complete and were hard and difficult to analyze, i.e. data analysis was more complex. Both open-ended and closed questions have been used in the same questionnaires, and we have put the appropriate type of question according to the kind of information we needed. When we were in need of limited and factual information we have selected the closed questions, but when we sought for more information about opinions and attitudes we have adapted the open-ended ones.

At the level of methodology, the way of asking the questions determines the number of responses; therefore our questions have been effectively formulated through using simple and clear sentences which can be understood by all respondents who have different levels of education. We have also avoided asking the double-barreled questions, i.e. a question within a question, because the respondents may not know which one they should answer. Ambiguous and too long questions have been also excluded along with the leading questions whose structure leads the respondent to answer in a certain direction. And at the top of these, we have tried to make our questionnaires as short as possible as the model with the appendices shows. Questionnaires, in general, were a quick process to collect much information from many people at the same and short time. They were more objective and

seemed familiar to respondents and more appropriate for some sensitive issues in which the respondents felt comfortable than making interviews.

Respondents were not obliged to give their answers immediately, and they were required to fill out the form themselves and so demand a given level of literacy. Thus, questionnaires have been distributed to those who can read and write mainly the Arabic language which was the main language of the questionnaires since it is the major language which can be understood by the target group. Questionnaires have been addressed through the technique of *'Collective Administration'* which is one of the best ways of addressing questionnaires and the most appropriate one in our investigation. Using this way, the researcher seeks to obtain audiences such as students in the classroom; people attending a conference, participants gathered in a given place, etc and give them his questionnaires. This technique ensures gathering a high number of respondents at the same time and place as very few people may refuse to answer your questions[53]. Therefore, following such a technique we have distributed our questionnaires around teachers teaching in the same primary, middle and secondary schools along with their pupils. Various administrations have been contacted on the same day and were given a respective number of questionnaires with the attendance of most of them.

In order to collect data about diglossia in both formal and informal situations at the same time, various questions about both issues have been included within the same questionnaires for educated people who are also counted among the ordinary people who apply diglossia in everyday interaction. Questionnaires that looked for *Fusha* use in everyday interaction have been also devoted to a respective number of ordinary people; though both questionnaires carry many similar questions. The 'mailed questions' and the 'online questions' are also regarded among the good ways of addressing questionnaires but they were not used during our data collection. In the mailed

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[53] Ranjit Kumar (2014:179)

questions the investigator sends the questionnaire by mail to his respondents whose mail addresses are not easy to get but one must try to do it if he chooses to collect data using this method. Thus, the investigator does not need to go himself to his respondents but he may have a low response rate.

Instead of spending time in collecting the email addresses of the respondent; the investigator can post his questionnaires in a website so that everyone can have access to it and those who are interested in the topic can participate and answer his questions. This explains briefly what is meant by the online questionnaire which appeared within the development of communication and technology. According to R. Kumar (2014:197-180), both of the mailed questions and the online ones have low responses as they are more time-consuming to collect from the respondents. Therefore, we have distributed our questionnaires following the method of collective administration. The latter has been also used for regaining the answers though some respondents failed to return our questionnaires as we will explain the problems and limitations that we have faced during our investigation. A special case is for the teachers who felt comfortable to answer questionnaires instead of making interviews; it was easier for some of them, for instance, to admit their dialect intervention in class rather than saying it directly through face to face conversation.

3.4 Sampling

Sampling is the process of choosing or selecting a few people from a larger group of the population to become the basis for estimating the prevalence of information. Similarly, the term *sample* refers to a subgroup of the population who is the focus of the research inquiry and is selected in a way that represents the study population. The process of sampling is done in order to save time as well as financial and human sources. *The sample size* is also an important term in the sampling process which refers to the number of individuals from whom we obtain information[54]. The purpose of sampling in

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[54] Ranjit Kumar (2014:229-230)

this qualitative research is to gain in-depth knowledge about the diglossic situation in the speech community of Bechar. In fact, we have not been guided by a pre-determined sample size, but during the data collection phase, we have contacted many samples seeking to reach a point of data saturation. Sample size, in qualitative papers, does not really play a crucial role since the purpose here is to get into data saturation which determines the sample size. Therefore, we have attempted to select 'information rich respondents' who could provide us with the information needed.

3.4.1 Samples

The samples involved in this research work are people living within the same speech community, sharing many traditions and customs using the same official language. As described before, the samples build various groups having distinct origins, various educational levels, and social backgrounds, and having different regional dialects. Nevertheless, most of them master the dialect of the majority which is the case study. Their sample size has been counted until we arrived at data saturation in observation, questionnaires, and interviews. In order to limit the field of study, we have involved two primary schools, three middle schools, and three secondary schools. In one primary school, the researcher has used questionnaires which were distributed to teachers of all levels from the first to the fifth grade. Their size was around 25 though their pupils have not been given questionnaires to answer for the fact they are still beginners and may not have the data we need.

Within the second primary school, we have spent five weeks of non-participant observation moving from one class to another and passing from one grade to the following. The size of teachers being visited in the main school is 15[55]. In contrast to the pupils of the former school, pupils in this setting were under our observation, and each class visited encompasses around 32 pupils and their total number is around 480 pupils. The teachers involved in the data

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[55] Teachers of the French language are not counted.

collection have various educational qualifications; such as a BA in Islamic sciences, Arabic literature, sociology, etc; and among them, eight teachers have been selected for making interviews. Three teachers have been interviewed individually while the rest have been involved in group interviews where many contradicted opinions appeared.

The observation was made in two of the three middle schools; we have devoted four weeks for each middle school. The first school has an average size of pupils around 38 in each class and the number increases up to 42 pupils in some classes. The number of teachers in this middle school was 32 teachers, but not all of them were interviewed nor observed. The second middle school is larger than the former in terms of pupils and teachers' number, it encompasses 41 teachers while each class includes up to 46 pupils. Both schools have been visited during our data collection by devoting one week of observation for each grade moving from one level to the other and attending with all the teachers except those who teach foreign languages. Similarly, at the end of observation, some teachers have been interviewed so as to ask about certain issues noticed during the lecture.

Both teachers and pupils of the third middle school were given questionnaires to answer; the number of teachers being questioned was 35 teachers and the number of questionnaires addressed to pupils in this institution was 285 questionnaires. It should be noticed that pupils of foreign languages have not been involved though they study modules taught in SA, thus only pupils of literary and scientific fields were given the chance to be our samples. In order to avoid collecting the same data or kinds of interactions, samples who were observed in all the institutions were not the same samples who answered our questionnaires; that is questionnaires were addressed in the institutions where observation was not held, but interviews have been accompanied with both methods. The samples were given a limited time to fill their answers and give us back our questionnaires so as to make comparisons and draw conclusions.

Following the same measures, three secondary schools were under our investigation; observation has been adopted in two of them and questionnaires were addressed to samples in the third school. Secondary schools, in general, have three grades but with different fields; therefore six weeks of observation were spent with the first two schools. We have passed through all the literary and scientific grades attending the lectures with the teachers of Arabic literature, history, and geography, Islamic sciences, natural sciences, physics, mathematics, etc. Similarly, one week was given to each grade checking the behaviors and interactions of teachers and pupils and their reactions to each other. Each level involves two or three classes; therefore, it was necessary to move from one class to another so as to check the different attitudes and perceptions of pupils towards their teachers. The number of pupils in each class in the first school ranges between 28 and 38 pupils being taught by 23 teachers; while the other one involves 28 teachers with an average class size of 30 to 41 pupils.

The number of questionnaires distributed to teachers in the third secondary school was 30 questionnaires and 260 questionnaires were given to their pupils, and questions listed in both questionnaires were not the same. The main focus of the teachers' questionnaires is to ask if they introduce their dialect when they are explaining the lesson as well as the reasons that push them to such a switch. Pupils were also asked if some of their teachers use their dialect in class; they were also asked about their perceptions about such use and if they agree or disagree with it. Students and professors at the University of Bechar have been initially suggested to be our samples and thus be involved in our investigation and data analysis. But in order to limit the field of study and for the fact that the University witnesses code-switching into the French language; we have decided not to include it in our research.

TV Center in Bechar, Agency for Social Development (ASD) and the Agency of Hydraulics in Bechar are intended to represent the administrative staff. In fact, the observation was not possible to hold in all these settings

while questionnaires were more appropriate. 120 questionnaires have been addressed to all the employees in the TV Center, 58 questionnaires were distributed in ADS and only 45 questionnaires were addressed to the staff of the Hydraulic company. The questionnaires given to the 223 participants were the same including questions about their level of competency in *Fusha*, they were also asked to express their attitudes towards it and how, why, when, and where do they use it. According to their answers in the questionnaires, we have discovered that the samples working in the Hydraulic company are highly affected by the French language since they were taught through it. Therefore, only very few data have been regarded and taken into considerations from their answers.

In fact, questionnaires were not very helpful when investigating the diglossic case in the mosque; thus only observation and interviews have been used with the Imams in which only 8 of them accepted to do an interview with us and provide us with the data we need. In contrast, questionnaires were more suitable for ordinary people for their high size; the number of questionnaires addressed was 250. Ordinary people were randomly selected from society; they involved samples having different educational levels, origins, and social background, etc. The less educated people were either helped by others or have a limited ability to read and write though sometimes we were in need to explain to them the reasons of the questionnaire and the meaning of some questions. In contrast to all the above samples, these people were easy to contact for the sake of returning our questionnaires. The former samples, including teachers, pupils, administrators, and Imams have been easily contacted for making observation, interviews, and questionnaires. The collective administration has been also used with the ordinary people to distribute the questionnaires as well as to return them though it took much time to do.

3.4.2 Sample Selection

There are various sampling strategies through which any researcher can select the samples he needs; these can be categorized into: random/ probability sampling design, non-random/non-probability sampling design, and the systematic design which has been explained before. In order to achieve random or probability sampling, each element in the study population should have equal and independent chance of selection. The concept of 'equality' means that the choice of samples is not influenced by other considerations like education, ethnicity, social class, etc, i.e. samples are randomly selected. Similarly, 'independence' means that the choice of one element is not dependent upon the choice of another one in the sampling; that is the selection or rejection of one sample doesn't affect the inclusion or exclusion of others[56].

The sample will not be considered as an independent sample if the selection of one is dependent upon the selection of others. In practice, there are always some people who may refuse to participate in the study, but one only needs to worry if the number is significantly large. Those who refuse to be part of the samples may have strong feelings about issues one wishes to explore, but the findings will not reflect their opinions. The sample can only be random or probability sampling if both equality and independence are met. In contrast, non-random/non-probability sampling design is used when either the number of elements in a population is unknown or the elements cannot be individually identified. In such situations, the selection of samples is dependent upon other considerations like education, ethnic background, social class, etc.

Both of random/ probability sampling design and non-random/non-probability sampling design have been used during the selection of our samples. The former design has been used when selecting the ordinary people who can answer our questionnaires to check the diglossic case in informal settings. The two main criteria of this design, equality, and independence, have

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[56]Ranjit Kumar (2014:234-239)

been taken into consideration when samples were selected. In regard to equality, the ordinary people have been selected regardless of their social, educational, ethnic backgrounds. These samples involve many educated people as well as uneducated ones. Moreover, the dialect of the majority which is alternately used with *Fusha* in both formal and informal occasions is spoken by most of the population who belong to distinct origins and social classes. Samples have been also independently chosen; very few people refused to participate with us but in fact, their behavior did not influence the other samples including their friends and colleagues. Some ordinary people in some informal places refused to answer our questionnaires; nevertheless, most of their interlocutors did participate.

Non-random/ non-probability sampling design seems the most appropriate design to select people found in formal settings so as to investigate the application of diglossia in formal spheres. The kind of data required demanded educated people having a definite level of education and a given level of experience. This design has been used when searching for samples teaching and learning in schools, people working in administrations, and the Imams in the mosque. When we sought for data related to diglossic use in educational settings, it was necessary to go to primary, middle and secondary schools; similarly checking the alternate use of *Fusha* and the dialect in administration demanded a visit to some administrative spheres where the selected samples have a good educational level. Non-random/ non-probability sampling design involves many common types that only some were appropriate for the selection of samples.

The main types, as suggested by R. Kumar (2014) are the quota sampling, accidental sampling, judgment or purposive sampling, expert sampling, and the snowball sampling. But only the last two types have been used in selecting participants for their appropriateness to our needs. Expert sampling requires that the samples must be already known as « Experts » in the field you are interested in; whereas the snowball sampling is the process of

selecting samples using a network through starting with few samples or individuals from which the required data are primarily collected from them; after those samples will be asked to identify other people to participate and become part of the samples; the latter are also required to determine extra samples whom they know. This process continues until one gets into a saturation point of data. This technique is mainly used when there are only a few people in the group we wish to study, and the choice of the entire samples depends upon the choice of the individuals in the first stage.

Expert sampling has been used when we have intended to select people specified in the field of education and teaching, and also those who are interested in the field of Arabic language teaching such as inspectors, directors and some experienced teachers. These samples have been contacted directly as they have themselves identified other members who are interested in providing all the knowledge they have in mind about the use of *Fusha* in educational institutions. This has therefore called for the snowball technique in which some two or three Imams have also selected other ones to have interviews with us. Snowball sampling has been also used with the pupils who have identified other pupils studying in other schools so that they become part of our sampling. The other types of non-random/non-probability sampling design have not been used.

In the quota sampling, the researcher is guided by some visible characteristics he is looking for, such as gender, race, social class, etc. He initially selects the sample from a location convenient to him, then whenever he sees another person who has the same features as the first sample(s) he asks him to participate in the research. In contrast, accidental sampling does not attempt to search for people on the basis of their visible features, but the researcher stops collecting data when he reaches the required number of respondents he needs though some people contacted may not have the required data. Following the judgment or purposive sampling, the researcher goes directly to people who, in his opinion/judgment, can provide him with the data

he needs and be willing to share it with him. The size of samples has not been determined before, but we have involved as much participant as we could so as to arrive at data saturation or the data needed to make precise descriptions and draw exact conclusions. After selecting the samples, we have counted them according to each institution and field work as the previous section has presented.

3.5 Research Tools and Instruments

The construction of a research instrument or tool is an important aspect of any research project because any information that one collects needs to be recorded through a given tool like camera video, any kind of recorder, note taking, etc. These help the investigator to keep the data with him and analyze it later. Only the last two instruments were basically used when recording observations and interviews. It is an important principle to ensure the validity of the research instrument, for this fact a camera video was not in fact accepted in any kind of data collection. Although such tool is very helpful for recording the interactions of the participants both acoustically and visually, neither the interviewees nor the samples under observation agreed to be registered through it. Therefore, it was imperative to record the data through note taking and sometimes through a recorder. Both tools have aided us but both of them had negative aspects.

During our observation, both tools of note taking and recorder have been used alternately, in addition to interview guide and schedule. The recorder was more helpful than note taking since it allows any researcher to register what he hears and meanwhile see the interactions of the samples. It was mainly used with interviews for recording the conversations of our interviewees, but not all of them accepted to be registered through it especially within group interviews. The recorder has been also used within many classes for recording the interactions held between the teachers and their pupils, but before using such a tool it was necessary for us to demand the permission from the samples; some of them agreed while others did not. Thus note taking was in many cases

the only available instrument. Such a tool permitted us to record the samples' own words which in turn helped us for taking examples of diglossia mainly in the classroom.

In fact, using a recorder was not always a good technique, such a tool has really aided us and permitted to record all the interactions done by the samples including the needless ones, and thus not all the recordings were helpful for us. Analyzing the interactions required listening to all the conversations which in turn demanded much time to process. The recorder was not only used in formal settings but also in informal ones especially when registering the conversations between people. It has saved much from our time instead of speaking, listening and writing the interactions at the same time. The samples were ensured that any confidential data revealed in the recordings will be kept secret and analyzed for academic purpose only. Analyzing the data taken from the recorder seemed time-consuming than analyzing information taken from notes; thus the note-taking technique allowed us to write the required data leaving out needless details. We have also got the advantage to writing down notes using our own words and style. But using handwriting for registering information in observation and interviews has delayed us as we have missed some interaction and some details have been forgotten. It was difficult to concentrate on the interactions and write down the observations and interviews at the same time.

Research instruments are not always materials, they can be also techniques accompanied with methods of data collection like 'the interview schedule' which is a list of questions, closed or open-ended, prepared to be addressed to our interviewees. Data in qualitative research are not in most of the time collected through predetermined questions; a researcher can usually develop a list of issues around different areas to discuss with their interviewees; such list is called the interview guide. The interview schedule and guide are exclusively used within interviews; the former involved list of questioned used during structured interviews while the latter has been used with unstructured

ones and suggested a list of topics that have a relation to the main topic. Both tools guided us to the right path and helped the interviewees to be restricted to the subject matter. In the method of questionnaires, the respondents were required to record the answers themselves and express their ideas and opinions.

3.6 Problems and Limitations

Researchers are sometimes interrupted by a number of obstacles such as lack of sources, inappropriate techniques of data collection, or the unavailability of methods of data collection. During our investigation, there was no lack of secondary sources; but the problem lies in fact at the level of the primary sources of data collection as well as their instruments. One of the most crucial problems that we faced in observation is that many informants tended to alter or accommodate their behavior and speech when they were under observation, and thus spotting the right data was a hard task. Many teachers in schools reduced and some even avoided their use of their dialect in class during our presence and especially when they knew the real reason for our observation. Moreover, our observation was in few cases incomplete because of the note-taking tool we were obliged to use in some classes. We have observed interesting interactions but at the expense of certain details that should be written; and in another case, we have recorded many necessary details but at the expense of some interactions that should be observed. Moreover, observation within administrations was not possible because it was difficult to stay with all the staff together.

Interviews are well known for their time consuming; therefore; it was hard to contact some interviewees while others gave us short and sometimes interrupted timing. Many interviewees have made unfair judgments on the topic under investigation, while other went out of the topic additionally many opinions of multiple interviews have contradicted each other and thus were difficult to analyze. Another crucial problem lies in the questionnaires, although they have been contacted many times, many respondents, especially teachers, have unfortunately failed to return our questionnaires for their own

reasons. This is why we have distributed a large number of questionnaires to the participants. Moreover, within the returned questionnaires, there were too many questions left without answers; while others preferred to respond to closed questions only leaving the open-ended ones without answers. This has led to the decreasing amount of data; which has, in turn, pushed us to look for extra participants and involve other institutions.

A negative aspect of the questionnaires, in general, is that they are restricted to be used with people who can read and write while illiterate people were involved. Therefore, it was imperative to make the observation with those people and ask them each time about a certain behavior or interaction done by them. Since questionnaires are not suitable for long and complicated issues, we were in need to involve questions about such issues in interviews which have consumed more time to complete. Although we have written our questionnaires in Arabic and formulated easy, clear and simple questions; but many respondents did not answer many questions mainly 'wh' ones.

Following the designs of the samples; we have fortunately succeeded to gather a large sample size though some of them caused a lack of primary data within their answers. Research tools and instruments have also caused some problems which are all described in the previous section. Nevertheless, we have tried to benefit at the maximum from each method of data collection as well as the research tools. We have tried to use each technique and strategy for the best and most appropriate situation, as we have altered some techniques when necessary. For instance; when some teachers refused to register their interactions in class through a recorder we have moved to record the data by writing. Moreover, both data collection and data analysis were difficult but necessary in informal settings. Such sphere witnesses the switch into French more than a switch into *Fusha*; thus taking examples and distinguishing diglossia from code-switching was a hard task.

3.7 Standard Arabic and Pedagogical Implementation

For the favor of the national language in education, President Ben Bella declared on October 1962 that Arabic should be involved within the educational system; thus Standard Arabic, or *Fusha*, had been implemented as the official language of all formal settings. *Fusha* is taught from the primary level of schools and continues until secondary and university levels. Benrabah (2005) talked about the two major educational faults that Algerian leaders planned to correct since 1962; these were: first the ignorance of the Algerian culture and identity, and second, excluding many Algerians from educational opportunities. Thus, they aimed at providing a universal education for all the Algerians, increasing the use of the Arabic language and imposing the Arabao-Islamic culture in the teaching process.

In the early 1962, the Arabisation policy, which was primarily directed towards education, suffered from a lack of planning and organization. Bouamrane (1986: 52-53) sees the introduction of Arabic in school programs as a quantitative character. Ording to AcGrandguillaume (1983:97), the first year of independence (1962-1963) witnessed seven out of 30 hours per week were taught in Arabic; while in the 1963-1964 school year, teaching Arabic became obligatory in all programs and at all levels, and the value of the French language teaching decreased. Then in 1964-1965, the authorities arabized the first year of the primary level and increased the rate of Arabic language teaching to 10 hours at all other levels in addition to a number of religious instruction. In a report made in 1966, the Ministry of Education set up the following details on the state of Arabisation:

1) *in primary education*: pupils of :

➢ 1st year: are totally Arabised, i. e. they have 15 hours of Arabic per week

➢ 2nd, 3rd and 4th years: have 10 hours of Arabic and 15 hours of French

➢ 5th and 6th years: have 10 hours of Arabic, 20 hours of French

2) in secondary education:

➤ From 8 hours of Arabic in the first form to 5 hours in the 7th form (final year)

➤ 5 secondary schools are totally Arabised

➤ 17 Islamic Institutes are totally Arabised giving an essentially confessional teaching

3) in higher education:

➤ The year of 1964 witnessed the creation of Institutes of Arabic Language and Literature in the Faculties of Arts at the Universities of Algiers and Oran. These Institutes train students for the "Licence» (Bachelor of Arts) in Arabic Language and Literature[57].

Benrabah (2005) referred to the "Arabisation Commission" was founded in 1967 by the Ministry of National Education seeking to support the Arabization process; thus four distinct methods were adopted which are:

1) horizontal progression which focuses on Arabising all the educational spheres starting by the first year of primary education until the last year of higher education;

2) vertical progression which seeks to Arabize the various subject matters according to availability in human and technical means;

3) punctual progression which demands a definite Arabization from the first year in primary education to the last year in secondary education, in a number of schools throughout the country, then extend this process progressively around all the schools throughout the country.

4) geographical progression, which is based on Arabising primarily rural and southern areas probably characterized by Arabic monolingualism.

The year of 1967 witnessed the beginning of four major changes in the National Education. The first period, which lasted from 1967 to 1970, was characterized by the total Arabisation of the second year of primary education since the start of the academic year of 1967. In the following academic year two-thirds of the 3rd primary school year, half of the 4th and 5th primary years,

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[57] Cited in Bouamrane (1986:52-53).

and one-third of the 6th primary year, in addition to some sections in the secondary school were also arabized (Benrabah 2005). At the level of higher education, this period witnessed the creation of Arabised sections in the Faculties of Law, and an Arabised History section Faculties of Arts. In the second period, which was from 1970 to 1977, the Ministry of National Education was divided into three parts: Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education; Ministry of Higher Education; and Ministry of Original Education and Religious Affairs.

In 1971, many other domains were arbized in addition to education. Between 1973 and 1974, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th years in primary education were totally arabised though the last two grades included teaching French as a foreign language; additionally one-third of the 5th and 6th years were totally Arabized but included teaching French as a foreign language. In middle education, one-third of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd forms were totally arabised with French taught as a foreign language. In secondary education, literary sections were totally arabized with teaching French foreign language; mathematical and scientific sections have been arabised and French was taught as a foreign language. Arabization in higher education was very slow, in 1974 Arabised scientific sections were created at the University of Algiers and an Arabised Law section at the University of Oran. In the same year, the generalization of teaching Arabic as a subject matter was all other disciplines in all institutions under the supervision of the Ministry of Higher Education (Benrabah 2005).

In the period between 1977 and 1978, the Arabisation process stopped. The Minister of National Education declared that Arabic is still inadequate for teaching sciences; thus this case demanded the foreign language in order to accelerate the educational progress[58]. The last period started from 1979 when there was a reaction against the measures held during the previous period aiming at increasing Arabisation initially in primary and secondary education. Higher education has faced little changes during the same period. The beginning of the 1980/1981 academic year, the of social, political, economic

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[58] "El Moudjahid: (7,8,11 August 1977)

and law sciences, which required double sections, one in Arabic and one in French, were suppressed. The process of Arabisation at university level varies from one university to another, depending on the availability of qualified teachers in Arabic (Benrabah 2005).

Before his assassination in June 1992, President Mohamed Boudiaf described the Algerian educational system as '*doomed*' and not fitting the Algerian people (Messaoudi & Schemla, 1995:186). Later, the President Abdelaziz Bouteflika repeated the same description of '*doomed educational system*' several times during his 1999 presidential campaign. Thus, he insisted on urgent reforms seeking for better requirements and educational achievements for the country. In a July 1999 public meeting, he declared:

> *Standards have reached an intolerable level to the point that the*
> *Algerian degree, which used to be accepted by Ia Sorbonne, Harvard*
> *and Oxford up to the 1980s, is no longer recognized even by Maghreban*
> *universities. Tunisianand Moroccan students used to come to Algeria to*
> *study medicine and pharmacy. Today, the opposite is true [...]. I have*
> *a solemn duty towards the Algerian people to let them know about the*
> *problems facing the educational system, from basic and secondary levels*
> *to higher education. The situation is dangerous, very dangerous. If we*
> *keep on this track, we will go from one type of illiteracy to another, worse*
> *than the previous one.* (Benrabah, 2005:99)

The exclusive adoption of the Arabic language in education in the early 1970s was regarded by Mohamed Benrabah (2005:437) as a 'failure'[59]. During the National Conference on the Teaching of Arabic held in Algiers in April 2000, participants declared that « *after nine years in basic education, pupils are still unable to master Arabic properly* » (Liberté, 2000:24).

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[59] Mohamed Benrabah (2005: 437) «The Language Planning Situation in Algeria, Current Issues in Language Planning », (6:4, 379-502, DOI).

3.8 Standard Arabic in Education

In many multilingual communities, the question of what language
should be introduced in education has always been a matter of interest to
educationalists mainly at the primary level. In all the Arab regions, Arabic is
regarded as the medium of instruction in schools. As stated previously, Arabic
appears in two forms Classical Arabic (CA) which is the language of Quran and
Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) which is often referred to as Al Fusha.
Maamouri (1998) described MSA as the modernized form of the language which
can be used to write more contemporary texts like newspapers, official
documents, and letters, and spoken in many formal or official channels. It is
neither the first language (L1) of any Arab region, nor is used for daily
communication. MSA is learned formally in school, and proficiency in it differs
from person to person in all the Arab speaking countries including Algeria which
had adopted a policy of Arabization mainly in schools.

After the independence, Algeria followed the French educational
system. During the period of 1962 to 1976 primary education was lasting six
years, intermediate education was lasting four years leading to the certificate of
intermediate education (BEM), while secondary education was lasting three
years ended by the baccalaureate (BAC). Then, the 1976 reform created two
types of education: compulsory basic education for children between the ages of
six and 16, an educational level that lasts for nine years and is comprised of
three-year cycles which finally leads to the certificate of basic education (BEF)
(Benrabah 2005). Secondary education that lasts three years is organized into
three core curricula in the 1st grade and splits into three branches of education
from the 2nd grade: general, specialized, and technical. The 2004 reform marked
a return to the previous system, i.e. primary education lasting six or possibly five
years, intermediate education lasting four years, and secondary education lasting
three years.

Schooling aims initially at teaching children the correct language and expressions; this is why the policy of Arabization started in schools. Arabic does not appear alone in education, it is accompanied by French, English, Berber, and other languages, but it is still regarded as the cornerstone of education at the primary level. However, the majority of modules are submitted in Standard Arabic mainly in the primary schools, even in the middle and the secondary levels it takes the lion's share among the modules in order to achieve better results in Arabic competence. Among the scientific specialties, there are some modules which are still taught in French but again with Arabic intervention of course, i.e. code-switching.

The role of Arabic in education is extremely important; it reinforces the status of the language and the nation as well. The main objective of teaching and learning Standard Arabic is to equip the student with the ability to master language skills, and to recognize and realize the meaning of many chapters in Quran. The main reason for introducing Arabic since the primary school is to reach the following objectives:

- Listen to the sound of the Arabic language, alphabets, words, and sentences and understand them;
- Articulate those alphabets, words, and sentences accurately;
- Utter in Arabic according to certain situations and understand them;
- Read accurately and understand the words and sentences that you read in the Arabic language;
- Write the Arabic language alphabet, words and sentences accurately;
- Recognize the grammatical rules of Arabic;
- Write passages based on certain situations using simple sentences and understand them.

Many educationalists agree on the fact effective MSA teaching and learning is not yet achieved for the lack of proficiency among teachers. Many of them even admit that the teachers of MSA don't possess enough knowledge to effectively supply the students with the information they need[60]. Moreover, most of the Arab countries are not interested in providing training courses of Arabic for the teachers. This idea has been suggested by Maamouri (1998) who claims that the educational authorities should establish training courses for Arabic teachers so as to enhance their capacities in teaching MSA. He thinks that if the teacher is fluent in MSA, his students will be satisfied and will show their desire to learn from him; and thus, MSA will not be difficult to learn. Maamouri (1998:40) describes the situation of MSA in Arabic classrooms as very complex because of the mixture of Arabic language patterns which:

> *leads serious pedagogical problems and even to the feeling of*
> *linguistic insecurity in formal school communication among*
> *high numbers of young Arab learners. This lack of security comes*
> *from a general feeling of low understanding of Modern Fusha and*
> *of low identification with its norms*

Such case pushes many Arabic course teachers to move to dialectal Arabic in order to communicate with their learners and facilitate understanding.

The Algerian educational system seeks to provide the pupils of all the different levels with a high amount of information of the Arabic language and to reach a high percentage of proficiency in Arabic teaching and learning. Standard Arabic has long been accused of being difficult to learn as it is seen as a barrier on children mainly in the primary schools. At this phase, children go to the school where they meet a new language which seems different from the dialect that they have already acquired and used in everyday interaction (Benrabah 2005). Children are therefore required to learn SA which is the vehicle of knowledge for them; but most of them face many difficulties in recognizing the grammatical rules, new lexical concepts, conjugation, and other patterns which

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[60] Mohamed Maamouri, « Language Education and Human Development. Arabic Diglossia and its Impact on the Quality of Education in the Arab Region », 1998.

they have never seen in their dialect. Thus, they will resort to their dialects claiming that the latter is easier to use with less grammatical rules and simple lexical items.

Parkinson (1991:37) states that Arab scholars have *"faulting authors on their use of grammar, vocabulary, and Arabic style"*; while Taha Hussein (1954) claimed that the teachers of *Fusha* are not competent enough in it. W. Philistin (1958) claimed that the low proficiency of Arabic teachers has negative effects for the acquisition of *Fusha* by pupils in schools. Maamouri (1998:39) suggests that Arab educational authorities in most Arab countries should consume their greatest efforts for training Arabic teachers so that they become competent in *Fusha*. This issue must be integrated among the most important reform recommendation aiming at improving the Educational system of the Arab system.

Maamouri (1998:40) says that:

This measure is important both pedagogically and psychologically
because when Arab teachers show an acceptably high fluency in the
the language of instruction, their example will encourage the students to
learn from them

This fact may convince the Arab schoolchildren and illiterate Arab adults to believe that Arabic is no more a difficult language and can be easily learned. After the independence, most of the teachers were francophones and a respective number of them were foreigners mostly French. The Algerian authorities sought to revive the national identity through replacing French by Arabic in schools, but when a large number of French teachers left, Algeria faced a major problem since the country suffers from a shortage of Arabic teachers. At the same time, the authorities marked a lack of well-trained teachers and literate populations.

In order to solve the problem of the lack of Arabic teachers in Algeria, many Algerians holding primary schooling certificate have been recruited into teaching along with a great number of teachers coming from the Middle East though the latter were affected by their mother tongues when

teaching *Fusha*. But both Algerian teachers and those coming from the Middle East could not teach Standard Arabic accurately and correctly because of many reasons. First of all, they were lacking professional qualifications as well as pedagogical training; moreover, they were using traditional approaches and methods in teaching *Fusha*. And at the top of these, the Middle East teachers, mainly, were introducing their dialects into their classes, a dialect which was different lexically and phonologically from Algerian Arabic.

Bouamrane (1986) declared that the teachers of some secondary schools were not cooperative because they came from different regions and had various backgrounds; thus pupils found themselves listening to many Arabic dialects and exposed to different accents in each lesson, some of them even declared that they could not understand what their teachers say at all. According to Wardhaugh (1987:189), *«this experiment was a disaster: dialect differences were too great and the traditional Arabic pedagogy, these teachers brought with them, compounded the difficulties»*. Taleb Ibrahimi (1966) also views that each dialect:

> *Has nothing to do with that which our children speak and understand at home… there is finally their tendency to interfere with the interior policy of the country, the lack of faith in their mission, and the unbridled search for material advantages*

(cited in R. Bassiouney2009)

As a head of the Ministry of Education early in 1966, Taleb Ibrahimi decided to stop recruiting Middle East teachers into Algerian schools in order to solve such problem (Ibrahimi, 1981:94). This suggestion is existing and the teaching staff in all the former primary schools under the new "Ecole Fondamentale» system are completely Arabised. Nevertheless, many other problems also affected education in general and the process of Arabisation in particular. However, there was a kind of regional, social and economic imbalances in school enrollment; moreover, educational institutions and schools were nor sufficient. Benrabah (2005) noticed that the existing schools at that time were overcrowded, a situation that necessitated the "half-time"

system whereby some pupils go to school in the morning and others in the afternoon and one teacher teaches two groups of pupils in the same classroom; but others were obliged to leave school leading to an increase in the rate of dropouts.

Benrabah (2005:442) has also referred to the absence of competence in SA which was derived from the lack of qualified teachers and the limited number of pupils. Another problem lies in the poor sources and documents mainly books, especially those of Arabic grammar, phonology, literature, etc, and the Algerians were dissatisfied with available textbooks imported from France which were sometimes culturally inappropriate[61]. Many educationalists believe that learning and understanding MSA is not an easy task, this has, in turn, led many learners to neglect it and avoid its use. Additionally, many teachers were not fluent speakers in MSA, such act pushed them to use their dialect and sometimes the French language when explaining the lesson. Thus, children were exposed to various languages and this will probably handicap the process of learning the pure form of Arabic.

In other levels, such as middle, secondary and even university level, the use of MSA is challenged by the use of other foreign languages mainly French. At these levels, many specialties and modules are taught in French mainly the scientific fields and here the teacher needs to explain the lecture in that language using sometimes colloquial Arabic but not MSA. However, in many social and human sciences at university, the use of MSA may be highly noticed though they still integrate their dialect during their explanation. It has been noticed that many university teachers feel that they are not obliged to use MSA in their job arguing that they have been taught in French. Many of them were even taught by French teachers during the colonization and after the Arabization found themselves teaching in the Arabic language which they probably had never mastered, this has, in turn, pushed them to use their local dialect during the lecture.

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[61] Thomas and Shan (1999:27)

The intervention of the French language and the local dialect in the Algerian educational settings is one of the main reasons that led to reducing the use of MSA in education. Many psychologists show that the human cannot speak two languages at the same level of mastery; his desire to master the foreign language for social reasons pushes him to ignore his first language. MSA in Algeria is therefore surrounded by French and AA, the former is regarded as the language of science and technology and modern techniques and the second is the mother tongue which appears even in many formal settings. Moreover, many people see that the use of MSA in education is restricted to students, teachers, and especially the researchers of MSA; others think that it is not the appropriate language of modern sciences though seeking to enhance its status and use is the task of all the people.

Maamouri (1998:22) claims that the process of Arabization had a significant role in the Arab regions at all levels such as the social, cultural, educational, and political ones since it represents the symbolic significance, status, roles, and functions of the Arabic language. It is also related to the attitudes of Arabs and non-Arabs towards the Arabic language and their appreciation to its importance. Arabic is completely tied to the religious culture and with the Arab political events; for this reason, Arabization acquired various definitional frameworks which all reflect the specific nature of each of the major areas of the Arabic world.

3.8.1 Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA)

Between H and L there is an intermediate language or a middle language referred to as 'Educated Spoken Arabic", a variety of spoken Arabic that is used among educated Arabs (Karin. C Ryding, 1991). It is for Benrabah (2005) used by Arabs who come from different parts of the Arab world in order to facilitate communication, since the use of the local vernaculars may lead to miscommunication. Education has an important impact on the spoken dialect; one can notice that the dialect spoken by the educated people is better and more prestigious than the dialect used by the uneducated ones. Badawi (1973) suggested three spoken forms; these are categorized as follows: illiterate

spoken Arabic enlightened spoken Arabic and educated spoken Arabic. He described the first type as the variety used by less or uneducated people, whereas the second type is used by people who acquire a certain degree of education though not high, the last type is therefore used by the highly educated people whose variety is influenced by MSA and is used in political speeches and media. Owens (2001:430) on his side says that: *"education is one of the most important elements contributing to variation in modern-day Arabic"*.

The idea of Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) has been developed during the 1970's by Mitchell who defines it as the variety that is a mixture of MSA and the dialect spoken typically by educated people, it is also described as the variety used by educated Arabic speakers coming from different Arab countries or from the same country to communicate with each other (Zughoul 1980). In his definition to ESA, Mohamed Benrabah (March 2014:201) described it as: *'half-way between the written and the spoken forms of Arabic"*. The actual model of ESA depends from one scholar to another. Ferguson (1959) has also remarked the existence of a third intermediate form of the language which he called *"the middle language"*, though he did not give it concrete interest and had regarded it as part of the Low variety.

Ferguson (1959) defines ESA as:

> *a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semiformal or*
>
> *cross- dialectal situations has a highly classical vocabulary with few*
>
> *or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax*
>
> *but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax,*
>
> *and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary.   (p. 340)*

Ferguson (1996) has before predicted that the future standard variety will be based on the primary dialect *"with is a heavy mixture of H vocabulary"*[62]. In the same sense, Kassem Shaaban (1978) indicates that *"Educated Arabic remains strikingly dominated by dialectal features especially in phonology and syntax and that switching to fuṣḥā Arabic depends on the nature of the*

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[62] Cited in Niloofar Haeri, « Form and Ideology: Arabic Sociolinguistics and More », 2000, 66.

topic, country of the speaker, and familiarity with other interlocutor and other dialects"[63]. Other linguists took this case as a disagreement to diglossic analysis claiming that a new and different variety was emerging among educated Arab speakers, i.e. ESA, which is neither colloquial nor classical (El Hassan 1977, Mitchell 1986). Others argue that there are not only two languages, but there are various types of Classical Arabic with different degrees of simplification and 'modernization'[64].

El Hassan (1977-1978) doesn't support Ferguson's idea of the middle language but agrees with the existences of ESA which involves elements from both MSA and the colloquial though it should be distinguished from the latter (1977:113)[65]. Mitchell (1986:09) adds that *"vernacular Arabic (meaning dialectal/colloquial Arabic) is never plain or unmixed but constantly subject to the influences of modern times"*[66]. According to him, ESA is not a separate variety but is 'created' and 'maintained' by the interaction between the written language and the vernacular. ESA, for him, exits upon the needs of the educated people to talk about matters beyond the scope of regional vernacular; it also allows the educated people to share ideas with other Arabs of similar educational background. Therefore, Arabs need a common means of communication, but instead of switching into 'oral MSA' they use a form of language which contains features of the vernacular and MSA[67].

Meiseles (1980:125) also defines ESA as *"… mainly oral (but lately, to some extent, also written)… language, occupying an intermediate position between the extremes of Arabic diglossia…."* Some linguists regard Educated Spoken Arabic as an alternate model of diglossia. ESA was given various names by many linguists such as: 'the middle language' by Ferguson (1959), 'the Acceptable language' by Lakhdar (1959), 'Modern Inter-Arabic' by Bishai (1966), 'Intermediary Arabic' by Maghrebi (1977), and the most common one

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[63] In Zughoul, M. R. (1980) "Diglossia in Arabic: Investigating Solutions" Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 22,
No. 5, pp. 201-17.
[64] Niloofar Haeri (200: 66).
[65] Cited in Ali Bouamrane (1986: 08).
[66] Cited in Reem Bassiouney, « Arabic Sociolinguistics », 2009, 16.
[67] Reem Basiouney (2009: 16).

'Educated Spoken Arabic' (ESA) by El Hassan (1977 and (Mitchell 1986) or 'aamiyyat al-muthaqqifiin' by Mahmoud (1986: 246). Benali (2002:62) cited two major sources for its emergence: *"first, the need to be intelligible to the masses; and second the educated speaker's inability to master the complex rules of the H variety"*.

The first trend is a direct result of the recent evolution of the social and political contexts which require far more democracy. For example, during the latest election campaigns, politicians have usually resorted to ESA and Algerian Arabic as a way to communicate with the population (Grandguillaume, 2002: 163-4; Queffelec et al., 2002: 33)[68]. Mitchell (1986) has also referred to some general structural rules of ESA. For example, as a comparison to MSA where the dual number is marked in demonstratives, verbs, nouns, pronouns, and adjectives; in ESA, it is marked only in the nouns and adjectives. Reem Bassiouney (2009:17) added that ESA helps people, either of the same community or of different communities, to communicate with each other. She has also criticized Mitchell for not giving a clear description of how ESA works, i.e. what should people do when they switch between MSA and their dialect. She suggested that he should describe the situation in specific countries first arguing that ESA does not help in applying the concept to the language situation in a particular country. Parkinson (2003) also argued that although ESA is supposed to be rule-governed, it misses determined rules that describe it; he claims that *"Educated spoken Arabic may not actually be anything"* (2003: 29).

3.8.2 Formal Spoken Arabic (FSA)

Other researchers, on the other hand, refer to ESA as Formal Spoken Arabic (FSA). It is a term which has been used for many years in Foreign Service Institute (FSI) of the United States Department. Ryding, (1991:212) describes FSA as a variety of spoken Arabic which serves as a medium of instruction and communication for foreign service officers and other US government employees who work in the Arab World. FSA is not attributed to a

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[68] Cited in Mohamed Benrabah, « The Language Planning Situation in Algeria » (March 2014: 473).

given geographical area in the Arab World, but it represents a real segment of the continuum of spoken Arabic variants and serves communicational purposes throughout the Arabic speaking world. It is also referred to as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA). FSA has emerged from the basic needs of Foreign service officers to interact with Arab officials from various regional areas. In this case neither the regional vernacular is appropriate for their professional contexts of use, nor MSA allows their conversational, interviewing, or briefing needs [69].

" *Formal Spoken Arabic, however, has served their purposes through providing a linguistic option that is flexible and informal enough not to sound pedantic, and yet formal enough not to be stigmatized as vulgar* says Ryding `(2014:212). FSA replaces MSA in cases where the latter cannot be used. However, FSA can be used to improve the traditional focus on literary Arabic, particularly at the beginning and intermediate levels, preparing learners to a widely acceptable form of spoken Arabic. For Parkinson (2003), FSA plays an important role in communication. In the past decade, FSA has been the focus of research as it is actually increasing in frequency in the Arab world. Parkinson (2003), states that FSA helps the students of Arabic as a foreign language to solve some of the problems of communication and understanding.

Recent linguistic developments, as documented by Ibrahim (1986:121), indicate that the use of FSA is spreading rapidly, *"the younger generation showing a much wider use of FSA features than their parents."* He claims (p. 122) that FSA is "the most understood L variety" and even *"considered prestigious is not spoken"* (i.e., non-Levantine areas) [70]. The terms "formal» and "spoken" which are used in FSA seem contradictory when applied to Arabic; exist in this mixed variety of language. Ryding (2014:220) prefers to use the term «*Formal Spoken Arabic"* instead of *"Educated Spoken Arabic,"* arguing that: *"educated is restricted to this*

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[69] Karin C. Ryding, « Proficiency Despite Diglossia: A New Approach for Arabic », June 2014, 212.
[70] Ibrahim, Muhammad. "Standard and Prestige Language: A Problem in Arabic Sociolinguistics." Anthropological Linguistics 28 (1986): 115-26.

language, whereas the term formal refers language itself". Other researchers prefer to use the term 'middle language' claiming that the term ESA may exclude uneducated people although this variety can be used by both educated and uneducated speakers.

El-Hassan S.A. (1977) suggested the terms 'the middle language, or 'the M variety' as more appropriate instead of FSA claiming that the latter may create a confusion about what to consider it, either as a H variety because of the use of the word formal, or as a L variety because of the use of the word spoken. Thus, Hassan Alshamrani (2008:60) concluded that Arabic includes three varieties: (1) Literary Arabic (H), (2) Middle language (which he describes as the M variety) and (3) local vernaculars, (L). He also sees that:

> *this approach which is based on the three varieties reflects*
> *better the real complexities of the Arabic situation than does the*
> *approach based on just H and L, especially on Arabic TV stations*
> *where the M variety is being frequently used. Moreover, the M variety*
> *has its own features that distinguish it from both the H and L variety*
>
> H. Alshamrani (2008:60-61).

H. Alshamrani (2008) also clarified that although the M variety tends to borrow words from both H and L varieties, there are essential distinctions between the H variety and the M variety mainly in morphology. Ryding (1991) lists the distinctions that characterize the middle language compared to literary Arabic in the following points:

1. The omission of inflection, i.e., final short vowels on all parts of speech.

2. Consequent metathesis of vowels on pronoun suffixes.

3. Reduction of inflectional endings in dual and sound masculine plural to the oblique or non- nominative form.

4. Elimination of the separate feminine plural categories in verbs and pronouns and reduction to one non-gender-specific plural.

5. Elimination of the dual category in verbs and pronouns, both second and third person, and merging of this category with the plural.

6. Omission of final ''nuun'' on inflectional suffixes for second person feminine singular and second and third person plural in the imperfect.

7. Generalization of the defective suffix stem to geminate verbs in the past tense.

8. Conversion of final nunation on indefinite defective nouns to a long vowel.

9. Creation of a category of verbs with the embedded indirect object. (p. 216)

3.9 Definitional Problems of *Fusha* in Bechar

According to Maamouri (1998), most people in the Arabic speaking countries, mainly the non-fluent ones, admit the complexities of *fusha* at many levels. As described before, *fusha* includes many lexical terms which are not understood by many people, such as olds or youngsters, males or females. It also carries many grammatical rules not found in other languages and even in its various Arabic dialects. People in Bechar also have such problems in *fusha*; most of them meet many items, mainly in the Quran, which seem ambiguous for them. They also hear similar terms in many other circumstances, formal ones especially, in the mosque, TV, Radio, education, political spheres, etc. For instance, they may hear or read terms like: (516) [safa:qa] which means "foolishness", (517) [tɒxaras] "to cost", (518) [sali:qa] "innate", (519) [jaxɒr] "to move your foot", and other words. Ambiguity does not exist in words only, but also in many expressions which are mainly used by the more fluent users of *fusha* and by the Imams in the Mosque also.

Maamouri (1998:34) suggests three positions which explain the confusion around *fusha*; these can be summarized as follows; first; many Arabs restrict the use of *fusha* to the Arabic of the Islamic tradition and literature of the Classical period. Second, those who follow the Classicists' position, use it for a language that imitates CA and strictly follows the rigorous grammatical rules set by the early Arab grammarians. The third position is represented by the Arabs who believe that *fusha* manifests itself in the Arabic language of today's written and spoken formal use. This group believes that a Modern *fusha* appears in modern literary works, newspapers and other channels of written and oral media, official documents, and in the educational system.

Fluency in *fusha* varies among the inhabitants of Bechar even among the educated elite. The high level of proficiency in *fusha* can be noticed mainly among teachers of Arabic, journalists, Imams, poets, novelists, and others. People argue their weak proficiency in *fusha* by the complex grammatical rules mainly those called in SA; 'al nahw, al sarf, al iiraab, al tahwiil, etc'. In addition to the ambiguous terms, *fusha* also includes many complexities at the morphological level mainly in the various incorrect pronunciations of some phonemes especially: [ð] which is articulated as [d] in terms like (520) [ðahab] "gold", (521) [ðalam] "darkness, (522) [ðaru:ra] "emergency; [θ] is also articulated as [t] in (523) [θalӡ] "snow", (524) [θawb] "dress", etc; mispronunciations like these are committed by people when reading or speaking *fusha* mainly when reading the Quran.

Fusha, in general, is relatively difficult because it requires learning new scripts, consonants, sounds, and a distinct syntax, as well an extensive lexis with few cognates. Despite its difficulty, Arabic is not exclusive to the educated elite or students; it can be an enjoyable challenge for any ordinary individual in the community and anyone has the chance to be very successful in learning it. Each time the Handbooks for students of Arabic advise students not be afraid from Arabic's reputation, they also increase their confidence in learning Arabic arguing that many non-Arabic language speakers have reached superior level proficiency in Arabic. Obviously, the dialect of Bechar seems easier and far from *fusha* for its simplicity without complex grammatical rules; it is the language of both the literate and illiterate, poor and rich people.

In contrast, *fusha* requires a long time to learn and to master, as well as huge human and material efforts such as: schools, universities, and institutions. *Fusha* carries alphabetic letters which do not exist in any other language in the world like: [ɖa:ɖ], [ʕajn], [ħaa]; on the other hand it also lacks many consonants which exist in other languages like French, such as: "v", "p", and "g". Indeed the high space between Standard Arabic and Becharian dialect or any other Arabic dialect is itself an obstacle for many studies; many people have in fact stated that the difficulty of SA forbids them to carry their studies

and to submit their research work. Many teachers even declared that they are obliged to replace SA by their colloquial in many circumstances; the reasons were related mainly to the writing system as well as to the technico-scientific terminology of SA or *Fusha.*

In writing, the Arabic script includes twenty-eight letters which are all consonants; of letters are shaped distinctly whether they occur at the beginning, the middle or at the end of the word. Arabic, in contrast of many other languages mainly European ones, does not have a system of capitalization for its letters; moreover, the alphabet has three symbols for short vowels in addition to three other corresponding long vowels which are expressed with individual characters and written as integral parts of words. Bouamrane (1986:262) argues that the short vowels, exceptionally in the Quran, have never been counted among the permanent part of the writing system, but they adapt correct reading. He also regards Arabic as an inflected language with neither written endings for the nominative, nor accusative and genitive cases of nouns; therefore, the reading skill demands hard mental and physical efforts. For this reason, understanding is a necessary element for correct reading in Arabic. W. Marcais (1930: 403) writes that:

> *All his life, the Arabophone; a squirrel in a cage, turns*
>
> *Around in this vicious circle that he must restitute the non-written*
>
> *vowels in order to understand a text and that he must understand*
>
> *this text in order to restitute them.*

Such remarks are also pointed out by many scholars such as Monteuil (1960:45) who quotes that: *"we are the only people who must understand in order to read: all other peoples of the world read in order to understand."* Furthermore, there are many economic problems which arise from the defects of the Arabic writing system. The use of many forms for printing purposes demands too much money, effort and time. Monteuil (1960:48) notes that an average of 700 mobile characters is needed in Arabic printing and that an Arabic typewriter has 137 characters, whereas a French one has only 90. Thus, in order to solve such problems, especially the

educational ones, a reform of the Arabic script seems to be imperative. For this purpose, Bouamrane suggests three main attempts; the first one demands the Latinisation of the script, the second supposes the replacement of the Arabic alphabet by a with or without incorporated vowel signs, whereas the third favors simplification without destroying the integrity of the script[71].

Although in ancient time *Fusha* was the language of science and medicine, many people believe that it becomes out of touch with the modern life of science and technology. This fact goes back to the long-term of its decadence which lasted from the 12th to the18[th] centuries and also because the founders of the renaissance movement searched their inspiration and models from the great writers of the golden age. Monteuil (1960: 159) states that: *"the central problem of the Modern Arabic Language is, without doubt, that of its technical and scientific vocabulary."* There has been a disagreement between those who favor the derivation of new technical terms into Arabic, and those who favor the Arabisation of foreign technical words. Thus, terms like "telephone" could be (556) [al tilifu:n] for the first group; and (557) [al ha:tif] for the second.

The lack of technical terms in *Fusha* is also due to the weakness of the Academies which are concerned, Lakhdar (1959) (quoted in Thelbault, 1959:31) notes that from 1927 to 1958 the Academies have listed 16,000 words among 100,000 basic technical terms used in engineering, mechanics, electricity, and mining only. Moreover, those Academies have no authority to implement their decisions neither locally nor in different Arab countries, so that devise its own terminology[72]. Cheyne (1969:156) also notes that one technical term like "constitution" has various equivalents used around the Arab countries; however it is called [dustur] in Egypt, Lebanon and Syria, while Iraq and Jordan use [alqanun el asasi]. For the sake of a unified and adequate scientific terminology throughout the Arab world, Bentahila (1983: 138) notices that:

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[71]Bouamrane (1986:264).
[72]Bouamrane (1986:271).

there are signs that greater cooperation is developing in this
respect with the setting up of the computer system which now links
the Moroccan Institute of Arabisation with those of other Arab
countries.

Bouamrane (1986) sees that such great cooperation between Arab states would not solve the problem arguing that sheer quantity of new items along with the evolution of scientific achievements which seem indispensable to know grow rapidly; thus their translation would not be achieved. Moreover, each Arab region would try to translate the concepts using its own method. Additionally, modern science is submitted in the French language mainly in the North African countries which were under French colonization; while in the Middle East, new technologies are adapted to the English language.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the primary methods of collecting data which are: observation, interviews, and questionnaires. It gave a detailed description of how, where, and why these methods were used and how did they help the research work in gaining information. This research work moves from the general fact to the most special one, therefore, this chapter is an introduction to the following chapters which picture the fact of diglossia in Bechar speech community in both formal and informal settings. The analysis of certain sociolinguistic phenomena requires first an analysis of the languages or the dialects which carry such phenomena along with a description of the area where such language or dialect is used. These have been already described and explained previously, but the following chapter will initially present a description of the fact of diglossia in the speech community under investigation but in formal settings. However, in the last chapter which carries data analysis and results, a description of diglossia in informal settings will be the opening of the chapter.

Chapter Four

Diglossia in Bechar Speech Community

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Diglossia in Bechar Speech Community; Formal Settings

4.3 Description of Diglossia in Educational Institutions

    4.31 Teachers' Fluency in Standard Arabic

    4.3.2 Students' Qualifications of *Fusha*

4.4 Diglossia in the Primary School

4.5 Diglossia in the Middle School

4.6 Diglossia in the Secondary School

4.7 Learners' Perceptions of Diglossia

4.8 Diglossia in Administrative Spheres

4.9 Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

This research work, in general, and this chapter in particular, speaks about the aspect of diglossia in an Algerian urban context. The second chapter has analyzed the case of Algeria as a diglossic speech community, while this chapter concentrates on the same sociolinguistic phenomenon going further into the Sahara. The region which has been chosen to be under investigation is Bechar; an area which also witnesses the alternate use of Standard Arabic along with its dialect. But, it should be noticed that this society involves many Arabic dialects spoken in various parts and by different ethnic groups. These dialects are divided into five ones; the dialect spoken by the majority of the population, the dialect of the group of Doui Mnii, the dialect of the group Ouled Djrir, the dialect used by the Ksourians, and Berber or Shelha which is spoken by the Berber groups who live in the rural areas or the so-called Ksour. It has been remarked that all these dialects which are spoken in Bechar are used alternately with Standard Arabic in various contexts; therefore in order to limit the field of work we will concentrate on the dialect spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of Bechar for its wide alternate use with SA.

This research work presents the alternate use of Standard Arabic along with the dialect of the majority in Bechar speech community. The main chapter deals with diglossia in formal settings which involve the three educational institutions, primary, middle, and secondary schools, in addition to some administrative spheres as models of diglossia. Diglossia in informal settings will be discussed in the following chapter where both uneducated and educated people are involved among the participant being questioned in order to obtain information about how to use *Fusha* along with the dialect in every day interaction.

4.2 Diglossia in Bechar Speech Community; Formal Settings

The alternate use of MSA and Bécharian Dialect can be noticed in both formal as well as informal settings in the speech community of Béchar; this section will initially analyze such case in formal ones taking the spheres of education, administration and the mosque as samples. Generally speaking, formal settings like these reflect a perfect model of diglossia mainly that of education. The latter witnesses an evident usage of MSA since it is the main language determined for instruction. MSA in schools such as primary, middle, secondary, and even at the university level, is used alternatively with the dialect of Béchar by the teachers and sometimes by the learners. It has been remarked that the level of the alternate use of MSA and BD depends on the teachers' proficiency of MSA as well as the modules they teach. Reasons for applying diglossia may vary among the participants though many of them admitted the same causes. The latter will all be explained in the following sections with illustrated examples.

On the basis of our analysis, it was clear that the teachers' fluency of MSA varies from one teacher to another and from one educational level to another; and this will have therefore a clear effect on diglossia. That is, those who are more fluent in MSA will apply diglossia only in few settings for their ability to explain the lecture exclusively in MSA. Moreover, we have noticed that teachers who teach in the primary level are highly affected by their dialects in the classroom arguing that their pupils are still beginners and cannot understand the Standard form of Arabic as compared to the learners in intermediate and secondary levels.

The second model of diglossia lies in administration; during our investigation, we have visited each of TV Center, the Agency of Social Development (ASD), Hydraulic Company, and the Private Company of Construction (URBAT) in Bechar. The use of diglossia in spheres like these also depends on the participants' fluency of MSA, their kind of job and their interlocutors who seem to affect each other through their conversations. There is a clear application of diglossia in the two first domains more than the last

ones; this is probably because of the nature of their job. Journalists and sociologists seem to be more fluent in MSA, to some extent, than the engineers. The former stated that most of their reports, articles, etc, are submitted in MSA, even when they are speaking to each other they tend to integrate their dialect with MSA. The engineers, on the other hand, claimed that most of their job is conducted in the French language, and this fact makes them less fluent in MSA and thus diglossia may rarely exist there. We will, therefore, check the validity of these facts in a specified phase in this section.

The last model of diglossia takes place in the mosque. Diglossia in this setting may be restricted to the Imam who is the responsible for reading the sermons or the lesson (Al Darss) for people. The latter come from various places as they have different levels of education, therefore the sermon cannot only be read but it should also be explained. At this phase, the Imam needs to use terms from his dialect in order to send the right message to his listeners mainly the old ones and ensure their recognition to what he wants to reach from his lesson. Imams have also different levels of mastery of MSA which may depend on their levels of education. They also vary in their application to diglossia, i.e. some of them use the dialect more than others, and some use MSA more often as well. Their reasons for applying diglossia may be common though some of them declare that they prefer to read and explain the sermon in MSA only.

4.3 Description of Diglossia in Educational Institutions

Educational spheres are of the most common places where diglossia exists. School in Algeria is free by law for all children, and the current educational system in Algeria is composed of four grades; primary, middle, secondary and university levels. Children start their education at the age of six (and sometimes five for some pupils) to the age of ten passing by five primary educational steps until they pass the exam on the fifth year and get the Certificate of Basic Education. The average school day is between 5.5 and 6.5 hours, and pupils are required to study basically: Arabic language mainly its grammar, writing, reading, and other modules like mathematics, Islamic

science, history, etc. Education in the foreign language, which is French, begins in the second year of the primary grade until secondary school and in some cases until the university.

The intermediate or the middle stage has been recently programmed to last four years so that pupils get their Certificate of Intermediate Education (BEM). At this phase, pupils get in touch with other deeper modules such as physics, chemistry, in addition to the English language. Secondary education lasts three years ended by the baccalaureate degree (BAC). Pupils should follow either one of two directions: technical and vocational; or general and specialized. The Baccalaureate is achieved through a final national exam and pupils should take a general exam in every subject studied, and earn a combined average of at least 50% in order to pass to university. In higher education, one can notice that Algeria has 47 universities and university centers in addition to 17 other institutions of higher education. The university level is the fourth educational grade where students are involved in a more academic life which is full of fields that students can choose.

4.3.1 Teachers' Fluency in Standard Arabic

After the colonization movement, a shift in favor of Standard Arabic has occurred in the language of instruction at least in the primary and secondary levels. In Bechar educational settings, including primary, middle or intermediate, and secondary levels, teachers estimated their competency in *Fusha* around 50% to 70% and even reaches the 90%. In the primary schools which were visited, for example, 26 teachers among the total of 40 one estimate their fluency in SA around 50% such number has an average rate of 65%. Eight of them (8) which represent a percentage of 20% declare 70%; while 15% or six (6) teachers announce 90%. These teachers are those who teach the Arabic language except the teachers of French who are not involved in this investigation (see Figure 4.1). In fact, the rate was not very high as much as we have expected, and in order not make things complicated for their young pupils; teachers argue that they often need to use their dialects to facilitate the

learning of SA. A fact that makes their local dialects overcome their competency of SA

Each teacher in the primary schools is required to teach his pupils all the modules such as Arabic, reading, writing, mathematics, grammar, history, geography, Islamic science, and technology which has been added recently along with some scientific approaches. These modules should be taught in Arabic only; this is why they seem to have therefore more knowledge in all the fields getting in touch with all the technical terms related to those domains; and thus, their vocabulary increases. Moreover; they are the main responsible for teaching pupils the fundamental rules and requirements of Standard Arabic, basically the alphabetic system, reading and writing skills.

In the primary schools each teacher has to teach all the modules to his pupils except French, but in the middle schools, each teacher is given a definite module to teach. At this phase, the pupils move from simple and basic knowledge to more specific detailed information. Similarly, the majority of the modules are submitted through SA. The percentage of teachers' fluency of *Fusha* in the middle school reaches the degree of 90%. The latter represents the teachers of Arabic literature mainly, history and geography, Islamic science, etc. A very small group of teachers estimate their Fusha fluency with a degree of 50% (see Figure 4.2).

Those who do not teach the Arabic language per se in middle schools seem to have a limited knowledge specifically in SA rules and characteristics, i.e. each teacher has information about the module he teaches. Nevertheless, the last group of teachers has deeper and more detailed information than the former. That is, teachers of history know more detailed information than the teachers of primary schools; the latter are also weaker than teachers of geography, Islamic science, mathematics, etc, in middle schools. But, as mentioned above, the teachers of primary schools are rich in terms of technical terms related to all fields more than the teachers of middle and secondary schools as they declare.

Similarly, secondary schools teachers also announce that their degree of competence in SA is also high ranging between 70% and 90%, while very few of them estimate their ability with a percentage of 50% (see Figure 4.3). The high rate reflects mainly teachers of modules submitted in SA also while teachers of foreign languages state that they are not fluent enough in SA as they are in the foreign languages they teach though they are not involved in the study population. Teachers at this level are continuing the educational process that their colleagues start in the primary and intermediate levels; i.e. teachers in the primary school begin their educational task by fundamental knowledge of SA, then those of the middle-level move to more specific data being divided into various modules and teachers.

The third stage is then the task of secondary school teachers who are responsible for preparing the pupils for a more academic domain which is the university degree. Thus, they are required to move to more complex issues so that pupils get all the knowledge they need. In Arabic literature, for instance, pupils deal with more complicated subjects like poetry, novels, texts analysis, etc. Issues like these normally need more competence in SA which has been noticed by most of the teachers at this grade.

The teachers' articulation of the Arabic words and phonemes seems accurate, such as the pronunciation of [θ] and [ð], the grammatical rules are correctly applied, thoughts are well expressed, their vocabulary is rich, and at the top of these they feel that they are the most responsible persons of teaching *Fusha* more than the others. It is the language that God specifies for our religion, they say, thus they should protect it from a bad use and an inaccurate learning. The other teachers teach their modules using *Fusha*, they may make mistakes in some grammatical rules or in articulating some phonemes, but Arabic teachers teach how to use *Fusha* accurately in every field, thus errors should not be committed, they add. On the basis of their responses, the percentage of teachers' fluency of *Fusha* seems high in spite of the existence of a given variation between the teachers of all levels. One should, therefore,

remember that the teachers involved in this phase are exclusively those who teach their modules using SA.

Fluency here includes the four basic skills of speaking, writing, and understanding when reading and listening *Fusha*; thus the teachers being questioned and interviewed confirmed that they are capable of speaking *Fusha* fluently, writing it accurately without mistakes, understanding what they are listening to, as they are able to read texts produced in it. Teachers can produce and recognize any concept taken either from CA or MSA; they are also among the most experienced people who are able to realize many ambiguous terms found in the Quran. Teachers of this generation do not involve others coming from foreign countries; they can, therefore, teach their pupils the pure form of *Fusha* without the influence of other non-Algerian dialects.

Upon our observation and interviews with some teachers, we have remarked that there is a noticeable variation in terms of *Fusha* fluency among teachers of all the levels. The teachers of middle and secondary schools are similarly competent in *Fusha,* a level of mastery which is higher than primary school teachers. Secondary and middle school teachers have also an important knowledge of *Fusha* including its lexis, phonology, poetry, and grammatical rules.

Primary school teachers provide simple and easy rules of *Fusha* not to make their lessons complicated and not to make their pupils frustrated from learning their first language. They teach their pupils the phonological system of *Fusha* and pronunciation, how to read and write; this is why their knowledge of *Fusha* rules and requirements are limited. Primary, middle and secondary school teachers use *Fusha* fluently, but very few of them can produce it with its pure accurate accent. Thus, according to a comparison done between teachers in middle and secondary schools, it appeared that teachers of Arabic language and literature are the most fluent ones of *Fusha* being able to apply its grammatical rules properly, read it and speak it accurately, analyze it correctly and recognize the meaning of all its terms and concepts.

Table 4.1: Degree of Fluency in Fusha among Teachers of Primary Schools

Samples	Number of teachers	Rate	The degree of Fluency in SA
Teachers of Primary Schools	26	65%	50%
	8	20%	70%
	6	15%	90%
Total	40	100%	
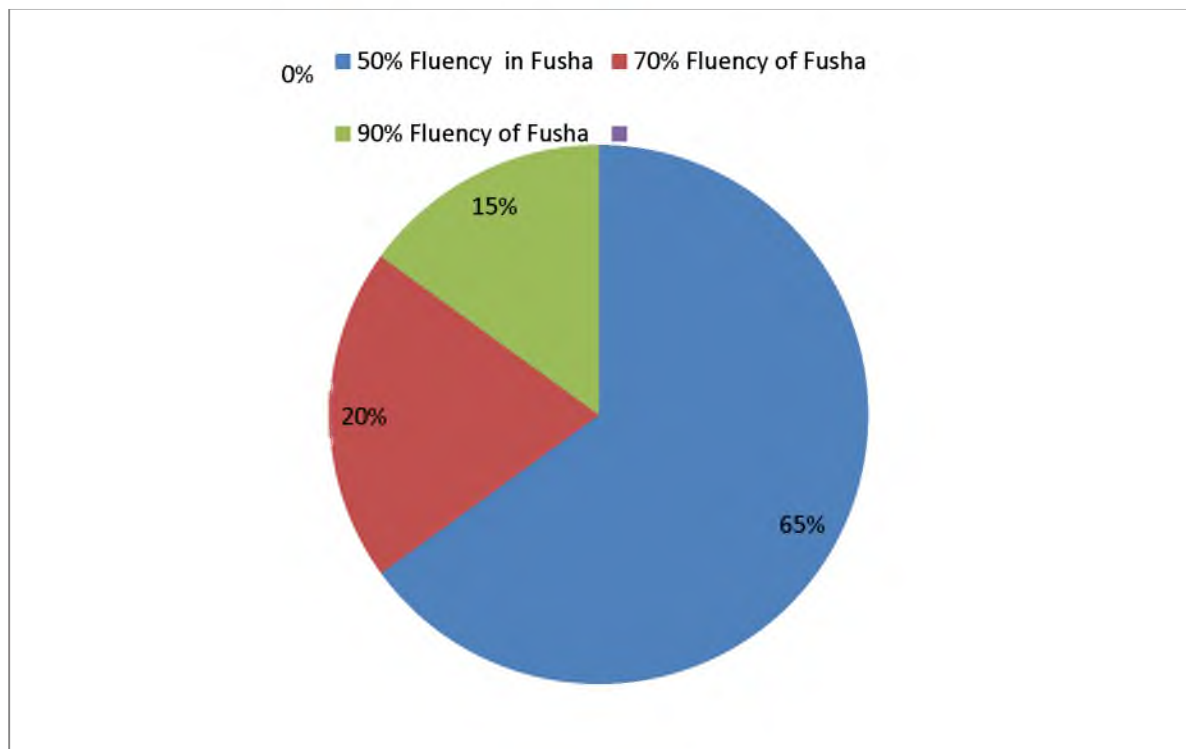
Figure 4.1: Degree of Fusha Fluency among Primary School Teachers

Figure (4.1) and its table represents the degree of *Fusha* fluency among primary school teachers in which 65% of the teachers (26 teachers) state that their competency in *Fusha* is around 50% while 20% (8 teachers) estimates their fluency to 70% and only 15% (6 teachers) state that their fluency reaches 90%.

Table 4.2: Degree of Fusha Fluency among Middle School Teachers

Samples	Number of teachers	Rate	The degree of Fluency in SA
Teachers of Middle Schools	7	6 %	50%
	29	27%	70%
	72	67%	90%
Total	108	100%	
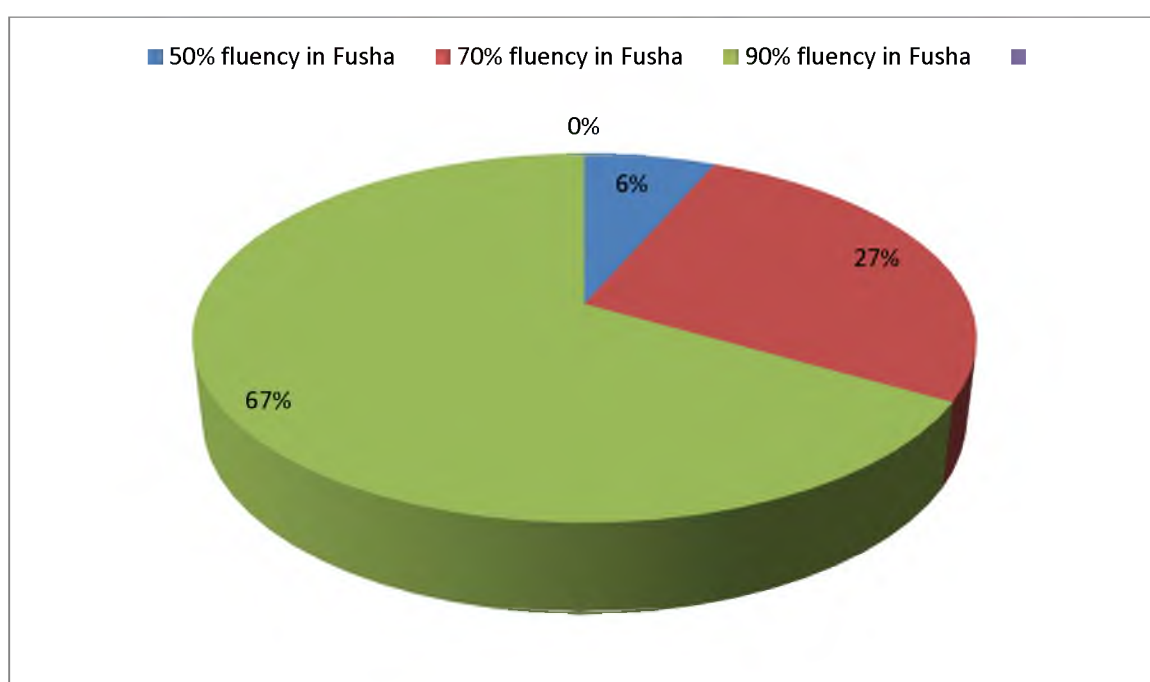
Figure 4.2: Degree of Fusha Fluency among Middle School Teachers

Figure (4.2) represents the degree of *Fusha* fluency among middle school teachers, 67% of teachers (72 teachers) declare that they achieve a rate of 90% of competence in *Fusha* and 27% of them (29 teachers) are fluent to a degree of 70% and only 6% (7 teachers) have a degree of 50% of fluency in *Fusha*.

Table 4.3: Degree of Fusha Fluency among Secondary School Teachers

Samples	Number of teachers	Rate	The degree of Fluency in SA
Teachers of Secondary Schools	6	6 %	50%
	36	45%	70%
	39	49%	90%
Total	81	100%	
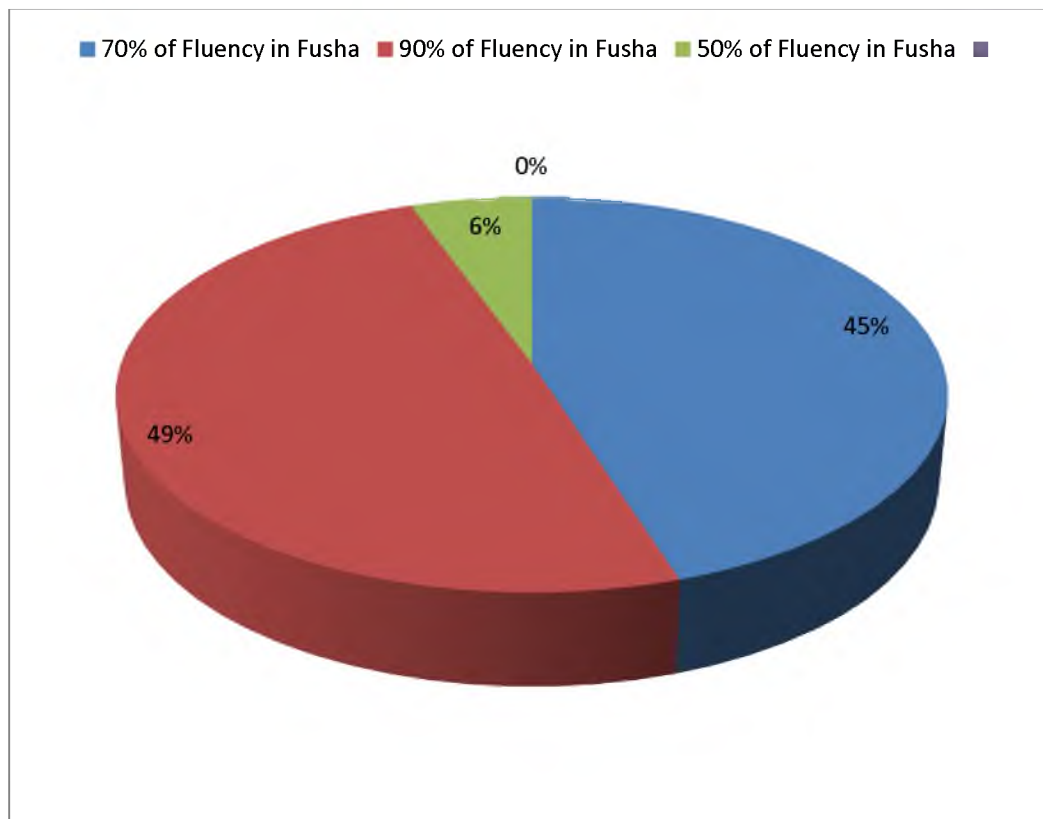
Figure 4.3: Degree of Fusha Fluency among Secondary School Teachers

The degree of *Fusha* fluency among secondary school teachers is well presented in Figure (4.3) where differences in its competency between the teachers are not very high in which 45% of them (36 teachers) estimate their fluency at a percentage of 70% and 49% (39 teachers) estimate it with 90%, the rate of 50% fluency is reached by only 6% (7 teachers).

4.3.2 Students' Qualifications of *Fusha*

The teachers' fluency of *Fusha* facilitates its learning; in addition to the students' attitudes towards it which play important roles in the learning process at all educational levels. Pupils in the primary level have not been questioned but their teachers describe their ability to learn *Fusha* as between weak and medium. Pupils at this level are between the ages of six and ten years old as they are normally passing by the first steps in learning *Fusha*. Therefore, they are not required to be fluent in *Fusha* as their average learning is still medium if not weak for some pupils (see figure 4.4). Until the fifth year of primary education; pupils would only be able to read and write in *Fusha*, inflect verbs into the past, present and future; transform sentences into masculine and feminine, or into singular, dual, and plural, etc. Pupils would, therefore, learn *Fusha* gradually in the following educational steps.

The teachers of primary education explain that such estimate may be due to the weak mastery and fluency of *Fusha* by some teachers; an act which has a direct effect on their pupils who would be a 'copy' of their teacher. That is, if the teacher is not competent in *Fusha* his pupils will not learn its pure and correct. Similarly, if he commits mistakes in its rules, pupils will learn such error as a proper element because they are unable to discover errors since they are still in the early stages of learning. Pupils would, for instance, articulate [θ] as [t], [ð] and [ḍ] as [d], [ṣ] as [s], etc on the basis of their teachers' false articulation. Others argue that pupils are still incapable of realizing all the letters of *Fusha* and their articulation as they are still in the stage of spontaneous oral expression which is a mixture of few words of *Fusha* and others of dialectal Arabic. Children at this level are highly affected by their mother tongue which seems dominant on *Fusha;* moreover, their teachers state that they all have the same level of capacity since they are in the first steps.

Table 4.4: The Level of Primary School Pupils in Fusha

Samples	Number of pupils	Rate	Competency in SA
Pupils of Primary Schools	422	88 %	Weak
	58	12%	Medium
Total	480	100%	

Middle school pupils describe their mastery of SA as the medium; among the sample population of 285 pupils, around 43 among them, representing 15%, describe their *Fusha* as good while 71 of them, i.e. 25%, refer to their capacity as weak (see figure 4.5).

Table 4.5: Competency of Fusha among Middle School Pupils

Samples	Number of pupils	Rate	Competency in SA
Pupils of Middle Schools	71	25 %	Weak
	171	60%	Medium
	43	15%	Good
Total	285	100%	

Pupils at this degree have higher and better qualifications than those who are still in the primary level; they could enhance the basic knowledge they got in the primary school. Thus, in addition to the abilities they could achieve in primary education pupils at this grade can read and speak *Fusha* with few or no grammatical errors, capture the mistakes committed on *Fusha*'s rules, write paragraphs where they express their ideas and emotions, their vocabulary will increase, etc. 60% among middle school pupils, that is 171 one, describe their mastery of *Fusha* as medium. Learning at this level is basically Arabized and pupils are not required to select any of the scientific fields of study, the intermediate is, therefore, a stage where pupils continue what they learn in the

previous level. Their teachers also describe their mastery as the medium for the limited abilities and qualifications they have and for the kind of lessons they are exposed to. In this grade, teachers can easily distinguish between the capacities and levels of education of their pupils in which there are some elements who have better and higher abilities than the rest of pupils. Those elements represent 15% of all the pupils being questioned and are therefore classified among the pupils whose *Fusha* is 'good' as compared to the others.

Variation in *Fusha* among all pupils is due to various reasons such as intelligence, social and cultural environment, parents' education, and the desire of the pupils towards learning, etc. In many cases, some pupils are apparently more intelligent than others, while some may have a great desire and ability to study more. These two elements have crucial roles in enhancing the level of competency in *Fusha*. One more important factor is the level of education of the pupils' interlocutors mainly his parents and members of the family. 32 pupils among the 43 ones who declared that their capacity in *Fusha* is well mentioned in their questionnaires that they are helped by their parents whose educational level allows them to provide their children with important information of *Fusha*. Around 11 pupils admitted that their parents are illiterate but their *Fusha* is certainly good due to their high ability and desire of learning in addition to their intelligence. The social conditions of pupils also contribute in developing their mastery of *Fusha*, this appears when many parents pay for their children in order to get additional courses which develop their educational capacities in general and their achievements in particular.

The 25% of the pupils who estimated their competency in SA is weak explain that the reason behind this low ability returns to their teachers describing them as incompetent enough in SA as they do not teach them all the requirements of *Fusha* accurately. The students argue that their mastery of *Fusha* will increase as far as they pass to secondary school; at this level, the students being questioned clarify that they are more competent in *Fusha* than they were in middle school.

Table 4.6: Competency in Fusha among Secondary School Pupils

Samples	Number of pupils	Rate	Competency in SA
Pupils of Secondary Schools	29	11%	Weak
	135	52%	Medium
	96	37%	Good
Total	260	100%	

Among 260 of the pupils questioned, 69 of them, or 37%, state that their competency is good, 29 pupils, or 11%, describe it as weak while 135, 52% describe it as medium but better than they were qualified in the previous levels (see figure 4.7). At this grade, pupils have the chance to choose the domain that they prefer, literary or scientific. Those who describe their level in *Fusha* is weak argue that SA is not necessary for their field of study which is basically scientific.

The 37% or the 69 pupils who describe their *Fusha* as good are mostly those who study literary domains. They state that their level is good in SA because they like it for the fact that it is the language of Quran and the one which reflects their traditions and loyalty to Islam as it is the official language of the nation. These pupils also argue that they used to deal with it since primary education and keep its use until secondary and probably up to university. The increasing number of hours specified to *Fusha* also helps those pupils to be fluent in it. It is studied in some classes, literary ones mainly, four hours per week. This allows them to get good marks in evaluation which in turns reflects their high capacity in it in general, and their understanding of its complex grammatical rules in particular that some pupils describe them as easy to learn and to use. For those pupils, *Fusha* is used and found everywhere, we read its classical form in Quran, we use a colloquial dialect every day and such colloquial carries many similarities with it, we hear and read newspapers, radio programs, advertisements, magazines, etc which are mostly based on it. Thus, *Fusha* is not hard to acquire and to understand. They have a strong desire to use

it as they enjoy it when speaking fluently more than any other language, and they describe it as the most beautiful language.

Although they are at the secondary level, 52%, or 135 among the pupils agree that their level in *Fusha* is medium. In order to justify their answer, most of them state that *Fusha* is more difficult than their dialect, i.e. the dialect of Bechar; which is more useful than SA; they are not competent enough in it because: « we use *Fusha* only in schools where we spend no more than nine hours per day, in contrast, we spend the rest of the day within our social environment where we mostly speak our dialect », they explain. These pupils agree on the idea that the lessons given to them are extremely difficult to understand and blame their teachers for their incompetency of *Fusha* while others are unable to recognize many lexical terms of *Fusha* and this pushes them to resort to dictionaries seeking for their meanings. Again, pupils of scientific fields argue that they are not required to master SA because learning it is not essential for them as much as for literary pupils.

Mastery of *Fusha* increases among teachers as far as they get more experienced in the field of their works, similarly, their pupils become more competent in *Fusha* as far as they pass to the following grade/grades. In primary level, pupils' mastery can be described as neither weak nor medium because they are only required to know *Fusha*'s characteristics and rules suitable for their level, thus no one assumes them to get a good level in it. Their level starts to enhance when they move to middle and secondary grades where their *Fusha* will be medium moving to be good for the best pupils, and when they pass to university their *Fusha* should be really good.
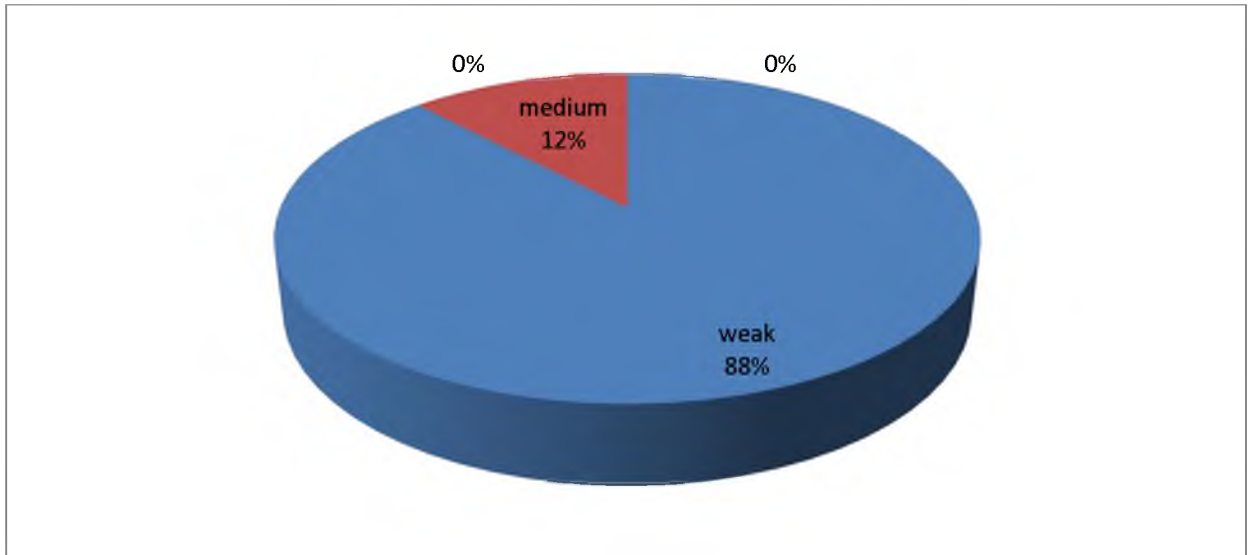
Figure 4.4: The Skills of Primary School Pupils in Fusha

Figure 4.5 show competency of *Fusha* among primary schools pupils. The teachers in this setting claim that *Fusha*'s competency among primary pupils as mostly weak; pupils at this level cannot be judged for their low competency since they are not required to learn all the various aspects of *Fusha*. Nevertheless, teachers state that 88%, that is 422 out of 480 pupils have low qualifications in *Fusha*, and 12%, or 58 of them whose *Fusha* is moving towards the medium.
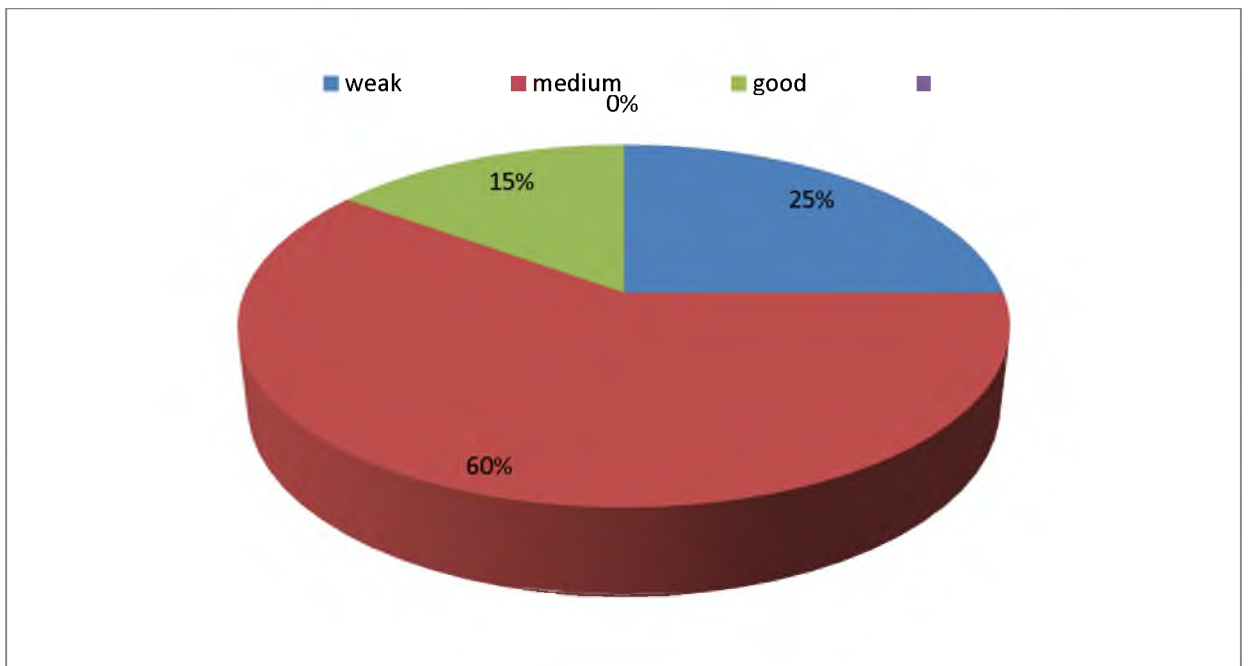
Figure 4.5: Competency of Middle School Pupils in Fusha.

Pupils of middle school have better capacities in *Fusha*; 60% of them, 171 pupils, state that their *Fusha* has developed into medium though 25% or 71 pupils declare that their ability is still weak in it for the reasons explained above. Nevertheless, 15% or 43 among the pupils see that they are good users of *Fusha* because of the good experience they get from their teachers. Pupils in the questionnaires are asked to describe their abilities in Fusha as weak, or medium, or good. These expressions have been also used in questionnaires when asking the participants about the same issue and upon their answers, we have drawn conclusions which are presented in the above tables and in the following diagrams.
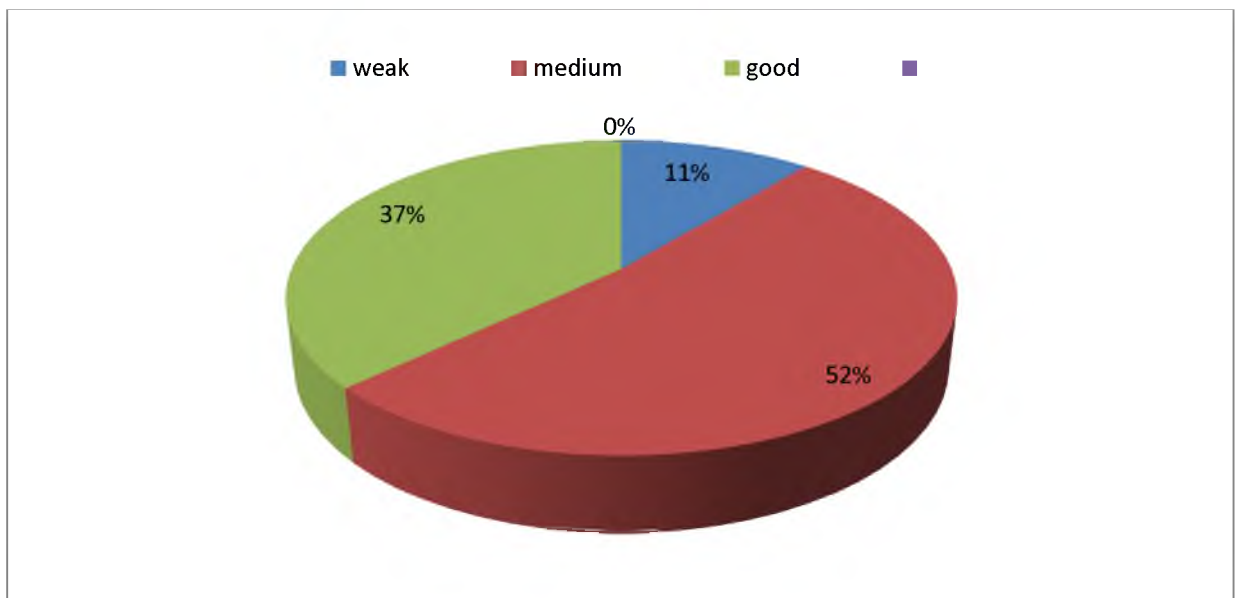
Figure 4.6: Competency of Secondary School Pupils in Fusha.

Figure 4.6 is specified for pupils in secondary schools. When pupils get into secondary education they enhance their use of *Fusha* both in receptive and productive skills thanks to the detailed lesson they have. The figure shows that 37% of them, that is 69 pupils, are identified as good users of *Fusha*, a number which is higher than that of the middle level though 52%, or 135 pupils, regard their ability as medium; while 11%, 29 pupils, are still weak in their use of *Fusha*. The low ability in *Fusha* among our participants is mainly noticed among pupils of scientific fields and foreign languages in secondary education.

Teachers, on their sides, gave their judgment concerning the competency of their pupils in *Fusha*. In the middle school, 73 teachers, or 67,59%, agree that the majority of their pupils, around 80%, have the medium level in *Fusha*. They insist on the fact that SA or *Fusha* should be the main and lone means of teaching Arabic modules without the intervening of any other variety, i.e. dialect and French; but not all the teachers follow such instruction. *Fusha* includes many rules that should be taught gradually, therefore pupils are required to learn such rules according to each grade and move from medium level to a good one. Pupils are themselves responsible for increasing their ability of *Fusha* through reading books; this contribution will develop their vocabulary and style as it will teach them the way of combining sentences and paragraphs. But, those who refer to their capacity is SA as weak do not recognize the value and the importance of *Fusha* and they do not have strong desires towards learning *Fusha* or speaking in it; they only hear it in schools and read it in the Quran. Moreover, due to cultural and social reasons, some of them have positive attitudes and motivations towards learning foreign languages more than the first language.

During the interviews, teachers of primary schools blamed the educational system which is full of modules, programs, and lessons; thus pupils cannot recognize and master *Fusha* itself with this high rate of requirements. On the other hand, teachers in the middle schools blame the primary school teachers for their incompetency in *Fusha* arguing that mastery in it starts basically in primary education where pupils should learn how to pronounce *Fusha* accurately and gradually until they get into the middle school. Teachers of this grade claim that their main function is to correct the mistakes done by the pupils and to increase their vocabulary and capacity. But, the pupils whose level in SA is weak commit extremely serious errors such as in articulation, sentence foundation, etc; this fact pushes the teachers to say these pupils have poor qualifications in *Fusha*. The large distance between the dialect spoken in Bechar and *Fusha* also prevents pupils from mastering *Fusha*; they use the former everywhere since their early stages of development and use the second

only in education. Many pupils think of an idea using their dialect and translate the expression into *Fusha*, and this opens the way of the mixture between H and L.

Teachers at secondary school regard that competency of *Fusha* at the secondary level is more developed than the other former levels among their pupils. Teachers of this grade attribute the weak level of the 11% of the pupils in SA to many obstacles such as the pupils' lack of many lexical terms, their poor style of expression, doing grammatical mistakes, and their difficulty in asking or answering questions, etc. These remarks push their teachers to give medium evaluation for most of the pupils, while some of them are given a weak assessment. On the basis of their answers in the questionnaires as well as their behavior in the classroom, it appeared that literary pupils have higher capacities in *Fusha* in writing, speaking, reading, and listening, than those of scientific fields.

Teachers agree on the fact that cultural and technological colonization of the developed countries play an important role in the weak use and competency in our first language. Obviously, many people use the foreign language (s) more fluently than *Fusha*; this appears in their use of the various social networks, diplomatic and economic relations, etc. The main target of such kind of colonization is to spread the use of the foreign language, culture, tradition, and civilization, and equivalently reducing those of the main country.

Weakness in *Fusha* among pupils in schools returns to many problems. One important problem lies in the educational programs and disciplines which are regarded the pupils as burdens explaining that they have been improperly integrated with their social and familial environments where they have to grapple with no less than five languages: Algerian Arabic and occasionally Berber, Standard Arabic and French which are used as mediums of instruction, English when they get to the middle level, in addition to other compulsory foreign languages at secondary school. Thus, anyone can wonder as Mazouni (1969:41) does that: « *How could our adolescents digest all this and speak correctly any one of these languages?* » and Mazouni's scare about

the risk of *"primarising to a great extent secondary education and consequently secondarising higher education"* does not seem to have been seriously taken. The increasing rate of dropouts is also another cause of the weak learning of SA, along with the shortage of all types of documents and various sources which help the pupils and guide them.

Another problem exists when most people approach the Arabic language they start with a series of textbooks. The latter usually use one common method that processes from the simple point to the complex one. The first three chapters of any textbook include phrases, nominal sentences, and how to connect words together in order to combine longer sentences. Sawitri Mardyani (2013) regards the simple to the complex method as the proper one because if anyone wants to attain any goal he looks at it as steps instead of a project. Therefore, in order to facilitate the achievements of his target, he segments it into steps and then undertakes them gradually moving towards his goal. "But in the case of Arabic this is a big error", says S. Mardyani (2013:08). When you approach from the simple to complex in learning Arabic, you are severely preventing your progress. This method ignores the fundamental nature of the Arabic language since it is an intricate system of conveyance of meaning as it includes many detailed grammatical rules. Moving from the simple to the complex makes the language difficult to process because each rule is not really tied to a central theme and just seems like something irrelevant and random. Finally, Mardyani suggests that the teacher should initially focus on how the language works, teach the student the system and tie every new detail and rule into a big picture.

4.4 Diglossia in the Primary School

Diglossia in educational spheres within the speech community under investigation is tied to the level of proficiency of teachers in *Fusha;* that is it is the degree of competency which determines the use of diglossia. If one teacher is highly competent in *Fusha* he will not apply diglossia very often and probably never; whereas the one whose mastery is limited to a given rate will, therefore, introduce his dialect into his classroom whatever module he teaches.

According to their percentage of competency in *Fusha*; it has been noticed that the majority of Arabic language teachers in primary schools in Bechar use their dialect in the classroom mainly with pupils of the first year of primary education, but the crucial question which arises here is how do they introduce their dialects? Pupils at this grade are required to meet the standard form of their dialect; thus dealing with its complex rules demands more efforts and patience as it needs explaining certain issues through the local dialect.

In fact, children are not surprised when they hear *Fusha* at school for the fact that the latter is not the first place where children meet it; they are already exposed to it before thanks to TV programs and mainly cartoons. Some children also deal with it in the mosque and the Quranic schools where they memorize the Quran, but they articulate the Arabic lexis as they hear it without a background of its general rules. When children watch cartoons or any of the TV educational programs, they can understand what is said, they can even repeat what they hear and memorize the lyrics of the cartoons. But this act is done on the basis of their memorization of what they see and when they listen to complex terms they may not recognize their meaning. Therefore, it is the educational system which guarantees the learning of *Fusha* to people in general and children in particular during their first stages of education.

'Pupils are a copy of their teacher'; a sentence that has been heard and seen many times during data collection mainly in the phase of observation. On the basis of what we have observed, diglossia is present in the primary school at all levels but with a certain degree of variation. The latter is a matter of the teachers' proficiency of *Fusha* as well as his/her attitudes towards it. In some first year classes, some teachers explain the lecture in *Fusha* only and introduce their dialect only when giving orders, pieces of advice, instructions, and in class management. These teachers adopt the fact that pupils should learn the pure form and the basics of *Fusha* at this level; i.e. the first year. They feel that they are the first responsible for the success or the failure of learning *Fusha* by their pupils; moreover, they state that *Fusha* must be used at home and parents should also use or at least produce some lexical items of *Fusha* at home starting

by themselves. They, for instance, teach their children to say: (525) [mɪħfada] "school bag", (526) [θallaʒa] "refrigerator", (527) [mɪrħaːd] "water cycle", (527) [tɪlfaz] "TV", (528) [qalam] "pen", (529) [ṭawila] "table", (530) [kʊras] "copy book", (531) [mɪdjaːʕ] "radio", (532) [sajaːra] "car", (533) [rɪħla] "trip", (534) [ħaːfɪla] "bus" instead of saying: [karṭab], [frɪʒɪdaːr],[ṭwalet], [televɪzjʊ], [stɪlʊ], [ṭabla], [kajɪ], [raːdjʊ], [lʊṭʊ], [ṣʊrtɪ], [kaːr].

Upon the comparison that we have made between the teachers of primary level, we have noticed that teachers who do not use diglossia when explaining the lecture seem more competent than those who introduce their dialect during their explanation. Observational data at this phase is divided into two categories; first, we introduce teachers who explain the lessons in *Fusha* but use their dialects in very few cases; and others who use their dialects even during the explanation of the lecture. The first category involves around 27 teachers form the total samples 40 making a percentage of 67,5%. These teachers respect the norms and the rules of *Fusha* in which they teach their pupils reading, written and oral expression, Islamic, art and civic education, and mathematics in *Fusha*. In order to explain to his pupils the complex terms, the teacher sometimes uses gestures instead of saying its synonym in the dialect; for instance in order to refer to some issues as: (535) [maʒmuːʕ] "collection", (536) [ħaðaːrɪ] "be careful", (537) [mʊrabbaʕ] "square", etc he uses signs and gestures that indicate these actions.

Teachers of this category use easy terms and simple sentences of *Fusha* since their pupils are still beginners and cannot be exposed to complex items; they use Fusha very often such as when explaining the exercises, correcting mistakes which are committed by their pupils. They also give questions in *Fusha* and similarly, their pupils reply in *Fusha* but with short and simple phrases, for instance: The teacher says (538) [ʔɪla ʔajna ðahaba Reda] "where did Reda go?"

They answer: (539) [ðahaba Reda ʔɪla maktabɪ ʔal bari:dɪ] "he went to the post office". He says: (540) [ʔarbaʕa za:ʔɪd ʔɪθna:nɪ kam tʊsa:wɪ] "what equals four plus two?" They answer: (541) [tʊsa:wɪ sɪtta] "it equals six".

When pupils want to ask some questions, they use *Fusha* and integrate their dialect in such questions mainly when they do not know the SA word that expresses their needs and misunderstanding; and the teacher answers their questions in *Fusha*, these processes increase the level of pupils in learning *Fusha*. He also evaluates and appreciates his pupils in Fusha saying: (542) [ʒajɪd] "good", (543) [aħsant] "well done", (544) [naʕam] "yes", (545) [ṣaħi:ħ] "correct", (546) [ʃʊkran] "thanks".

The use of the dialect along with *Fusha* by these teachers, as stated previously, appears when they give some instructions to their pupils like orders, pieces of advice, punishments, etc as in: (547) [**wqaf** w ja:web] "stand up and answer;

(548)[**laməd** adawa:tək wa ta:bəʕ maʕɪ] "hold your objects and follow me";

(549) [**msaħ** lmaʒmu:ʕa:t lʔan **maʕandnaʃ** lmaʒmu:ʕat] "clean the collections, we don't need them now";

(550)[**gʊtlək matzi:dʃ** təktəb fə l kɒras] "I told you don't write on the copy book".

But in many cases they use *Fusha* for such instructions; as in:

(551) [ʔɪntabih ʔɪla ṣabbɒ:ra] "look at the board";

(552) [ʔɒktɒbɪ bɪ ʃaklɪn wa:ɖɪħ ħata jara:hʊ zʊmala:ʔʊkɪ] "write clearly so that your classmates can see it];

(553) [ɖaʕha fɪ maka:nɪha wa ʔɪntabɪh maʕɪ] "put it on its place and give me attention".

In some cases, the teacher starts explaining activities in *Fusha*, but if some pupils do not understand some issues or do not get the solution then he introduces few words of his dialect during his second explanation in order to facilitate understanding. For instance, the teacher first says: (554) [jʊwʒad fɪ ʔal ʃahr ʔarbaʕt ʔasa:bi:ʕ] "the month contains four weeks"; if they could not

recognize what he means he moves to say: (555) [ʃhar **fiːh rbaʕ** sɪmaːnaːt]. If he asks them a question like (556) [kam jʊwʒad fɪ l ʔɒsbuːʕ mɪn jawm] "how many days are there in one week?"; if his pupils did not recognize the meaning of this sentence he says (557) [**ʃhal kajən mən nħaːr fə** sɪmana]. Reading

texts is accompanied by explaining complex and ambiguous concepts in SA, a process which is not done deliberately; but the teacher initially asks the pupils to check and guess the meaning of those terms. In case they could not get the right meaning, their teacher then moves to say it in the dialect; a process which led to the application of diglossia in the classroom.

The second category involves 13 teachers, i.e. 32,5%; on the basis of our observation, these teachers appear using their dialects within their classes more than the former group; not only for giving orders, pieces of advice and punishment, but also when explaining the lesson. Notice that these teachers also teach the first year of primary education, thus two contradicted visions appeared during our investigation and observation. In contrast to the first group of teachers who support the idea that pupils of the first year should be taught in *Fusha* only without the intervention of the mother tongue, the other teachers, of the same level but within other classes, argue that pupils at this grade should not be exposed to *Fusha* directly because of their level. They have even intended to describe their level as weak instead of referring to them as beginners. Teachers of the first category insist on the fact that lessons should be explained in *Fusha* only so that their pupils get the correct pronunciation and meaning of the terms; they even believe that accuracy in *Fusha* starts at this grade. On the other hand, the other teachers hold the idea that first year pupils are not required to learn the basics of *Fusha* and a need for dialect intervention in classroom alternatively with *Fusha* is necessary for them when misunderstanding is present. But on the basis of our observation, those teachers use their dialect before the occurrence of ambiguity.

Teachers of this category are apparently less competent in *Fusha* than teachers of the former category, and some of them even seem frustrated and incapable of submitting the lecture. Teachers should, therefore, explain to their pupils what to read in the standard form of the language; but as it seems to us many of them move to explain in the dialect before referring to the main idea in *Fusha* initially. Examples:

(558) [**ʃkuːn majəʕrəfʃ** lmatʒar] "who does not know the shop?"

(559) [fɪ l matʒar **kajən** matʕam] he wonders: "Is there a restaurant in the shop?"

(560) [**mazaːl ma wsalnaʃ** l kiːs l ħalwa] "we did not get into the candy bag"

Some of these teachers introduce their dialect when teaching letters; one teacher says (561) [**ʔɪmħɪ** ʔal harf ʔal θaːnɪ] instead of [ʔɪmsaħ ʔal harf ʔal θaːnɪ] "clean the second letter".

Examples like these appear in giving orders and class management like:

(562) [ʕaːwdɪ lʒumla] "repeat the sentence"; (563) [**maqriːtiːʃ** naṣ] "you did not read the text";

(564) [**gulna makanʃ** lmɖiːɣ fəl qɪsm] "chewing is not allowed in class";

(565) [**wiːn raha** l kalɪma **gulna** lmɪstara tkuːn taht l kalɪma] "where is the word? We said that the ruler should be under the word!";

(566) [zagɪ masmaʕtk ana gaːʕ] "speak up, I did not hear you";

(567) [bsɒrʕa magulnaːʃ hdər] "quickly, don't speak".

(568) [**ʃkuːn** ʕandah qalam ɪɖaːfɪ] "who has an extra pen?"

Teachers of the second level, who involve 7 teachers (17,5%) explain the lessons in *Fusha*, correct the pupils' mistakes immediately and even ask the pupils to correct each other so that to get the right rule. Nevertheless, they still introduce their dialect in class leading to diglossia but not as much as teachers of first year pupils who include 8 teachers (20%). They move from time to time to introduce their dialects for clarifying complex issues and for giving various instructions. For instance, they say:

(569) [kʊl waːħəd jəʕtiːnɪ raʔjah] "each one gives me his viewpoint";

(570) [maʒəbtʃ lkɪtab] "you did not bring the book";

(571) [**mənha** nəqra w **mənha** nətʕaləm] "I read and learn at the same time";

(572) [haːd lħajawaːn **maʕəndah** ħata ðanb] "this animal is not consumed with guilt";

(573) [naħnʊ natakalam ʕan al ħajawaːnaːt **maʃɪ** lʔaʃjaːʔ **lɪ raːha** fəl **ktaːb**] "we are talking not talking about things mentioned on the book, but about animals";

(574) [ħaʒa **mataʕarfuːhaːʃ** matgʊluːhaːʃ xaːsɛatan fəl qurʔan] "don't say things that you don't know mainly in Quran";

It has been noticed, according to these examples and others as well, that diglossia is practiced among teachers of second year especially in difficult situations as the above examples show; but in other cases, the teachers give such instructions in *Fusha* as in (575) [man jaqraʔ l ʒumla] "who reads the sentence";

(576) [man janqʊsʊhʊ ʃajʔ jaktʊbʊhʊ l ʔan] "those who miss something should write it now"; (577) [ʔɪftaħ ʔal kɪtaːb safħa sabʕa wa ʕɪʃruːn] "open the book on page twenty seven"; (578) [ʔɪqlɪb ʔal safħa] "turn the page". Diglossia among teachers of this level is also applied but to a lesser extent than for the first year because the pupils at this grade have developed many skills that they probably lacked before. They are able to answer questions with fewer mistakes; they correct their mistakes and correct each other as well, they start to write longer sentences and read longer paragraphs, etc. Nevertheless, they still miss other skills that will be learned in the following three years.

Four (4) of the seven (7) teachers of the second year are even fluent and competent speakers of Fusha with a good accent; this appeared in their teaching process as well as their attitudes towards it. They strongly hold the fact that teachers must use only Fusha during their teaching so that their pupils acquire and learn its correct and pure form. On the basis of our observation, pupils of the second year seem to be able to understand better Fusha than those

of the first year; they become acquainted with the correct accent that their teacher has and can understand what he says without the intervening of his dialect. Because of the teachers' competency in Fusha and their use of soft, clear and easy terms; pupils feel comfortable when listening to their teachers and understand all what they say in Fusha. The teachers argue that they tend to use terms which are suitable for the level of their pupils, who are still in their second year.

These teachers refuse totally the idea of explaining the lessons for primary pupils with the intervention of their dialects; they even push and teach them not to use their dialects in the classroom, a goal which cannot be easily reached because they are still beginners in learning *Fusha*. At this phase when the pupils introduce their dialect when asking questions to their teacher, the latter corrects immediately and asks them to give the equivalents of the dialectal terms to *Fusha*. Moreover; most of the instructions, punishments, and remarks are directed through *Fusha*. Examples: (579) [ʔɪftah ʔal naːfɪða lʕaxiːra] "open the window at the back";

(580) [ʔal ʔɪʒaːbaːt lʔaʃwaʔɪja laː ʋhɪbʋha narfaʕ lʔʋsbʋʕ] "I don't like random answers; you raise your hand"; (581) [man jaqraʔ lfaqra] "who wants to read the paragraph";

(582) [fɪ lmara l qaːdɪma laː ʋhɪb taʃtiːb] "next time I don't accept crossing out";

(583) [man jamsah ṣabbuːra ʕanɪ lɪ anɪ taʕɪbt] "who cleans the board because I got tired";

(584) [ʔɪqraʔɪ bɪ ṣawtɪn mʋrtafɪʕ] "read loudly"; (585) [hal ʔʋsaːʕɪdʋk] "can I help you";

(586) [laː baʔs kʋlʋna nʋxtʲɪʔ] "don't worry we all make mistakes";

(587) [naquːm bɪ tashɪːh bɪṣʋrʕa] "let's correct quickly".

The teacher also gives immediate corrections to his pupils if they commit errors in grammar, lexis, expression, and so on; as he appreciates his pupils through

Fusha using words like: (588) [ʒamiːl] and (589) [aħsant] "well", (590) [ʒajjd] "good".

Those teachers seem to be competent in *Fusha* and use it when explaining the lecture, but nevertheless, their use of their dialect has been noticed in some cases. In other situations, they need to give some orders or instructions mixing between Fusha and a few words in the dialect which in turn leads to diglossia as in:

(591) [**makaːʃ** lfawɖa] "stop making noise"; (592) [**makataklɪːʃ** laħm] "don't you eat meat?"

(593) [**ʃkuːn** talamiːd lɪ ma ʔaħɖaruːʃ lʔalwan **ntaːħħum**] "who are pupils who did not bring their colored pens"; (594) [ʕṭɪːna mɪθal ʕla lʔaraːnɪb] "we gave an example about rabbits";

(595) [**ntabbaʕ** wahda b wahda] "we follow one by one";

(596) [**ʕadlɪ** kʊrraːsək] "adjust your copybook";

(597) [ʔantɪ tʊsrɪʕiːn **bəʃwija tkuːn** kɪtaːbtək mʊnaɖama] "you are hurrying up, be slow so that your writing can be more organized".

A permission given by the inspector allows the pupils of first and second years only to use their dialects in the classroom; while teachers of all levels are not. Pupils of such grades are still affected by their dialects, while those of third, fourth and fifth grades seem to acquire a given degree in Fusha; therefore their teacher should control them and limit if not exclude any dialectal intervention in their classes. Teachers of the third and the fourth years hold the idea of explaining the lessons in Fusha exclusively; asking questions and seeking answers in Fusha only. In order to enable the pupils to express their ideas orally through *Fusha*, the teacher presents a picture which contains various symbols and asks them to describe what they observe. Pupils challenge the influence of their dialects at this task and are corrected by each other in case of giving wrong expressions or introducing a dialectal term saying: "you should not say this but say…" Undoubtedly, the level of the third and fourth

year pupils seems more developed than those of the first and second years in all skills such as; reading, speaking, and writing.

At the fifth grade, pupils seem to be more competent in distinguishing between their dialect and *Fusha*. On the basis of this fact, two (5%) among the six teachers of this grade believe that if they introduce their dialect in their classes pupils will not be affected by them. According to our observation, three teachers (7,5%) of the fifth year introduce their dialects in their class through giving various instructions, orders, punishment, etc. They explain the lessons in *Fusha* with a remarkable intervention of their dialect during the explanation, though questions, exercises, and activities are given and explained in Fusha. Examples of diglossia done by teachers of this level are noticed when they say:

(598) [**kamalti** tashi:h] "did you finish the correction";

(599) [ʔɪdan **ʃhaːl** ʕandna mɪn raqm] "so, how many numbers do we have?";

(600) [lʔaːn **ʃuːfʊ** mʕaja lwadʕɪja] "now, follow the position with me";

(601) [taʕarfʊ **waːʃ** maʕna taxfiːd̪aːt] "do you know what is meant by reduction";

(602) [ʕaːwdɪ qraj mən l ʔawal] "read again from the beginning";

(603)[nadaʕ lfaːṣɪla bəṣaħ **nəshab** mina l wahəd] "we put a comma and we take from number one".

In order to explain the meaning of certain new issues, the teacher says:
(604) [ɪnhɪjaːr lasʕaːr jaʕnɪ anuː ʕɪndama təbda al mantuːmʒaːt **tɒnqɒs** fɪ al θman **ntaʕha**], "price collapse means when the prices of products start to decrease". In order to explain the key term in this example, the teacher introduces the complex term in *Fusha* and starts to explain its meaning by moving back and forth from *Fusha* to his dialect. In that example and in the following ones also the dialectal terms are written in bold. Sometimes the teacher presents a picture to his pupils in order to explain new facts such as names on animals, objects, plants, places, etc, and sometimes he gives the equivalent of the ambiguous concepts in the dialect, for instance he may say that the meaning of (605) [mʊtaħaddɪrɪːn] is (606)[mqadmiːn] "developed"; (607) [al zallaːʒa] is (608) [ɣalaba] "lock", etc. Many teachers argue that

misunderstanding new or ambiguous terms are due to intelligence and competency differences of pupils; some of them may recognize such terms but others cannot. Cases of diglossia have also been noticed in the following examples:

(609) [ʃkuːn jəmsaħ ṣabbuːra], "who wants to clean the board";

(610)[laːzəm tħəlʊ kɒl al tamariːn fi al ʕɒʈla] "you must do all the exercises in the holidays".

(611) [ɣadan inʃaallah malazəmʃ tənsaʊ daftar al waːʒibaːt], "you should not forget exercise copybook".

(612) [xaskɒm tħaːfɖɒ ʕala naɖaːfat al qɪsm], "you must keep the classroom clean".

(613)[al taʔxiːr maʃɪ masmuːħ biːh baʕd l ʔɪstɪraħa fahamtʊ], "lateness is not allowed after the break, understood?!"

4.5 Diglossia in the Middle School

At all the levels of education, pupils develop their level and capacities as far as they pass to the next grade or academic institution. On the basis of the observation held in many intermediate schools; pupils of the first year of intermediate education appear to be more capable of writing, reading and understanding longer paragraphs. They also increase their ability in expressing their ideas at the levels of writing and speaking. In contrast to the primary schools where pupils are given all the lessons by a single teacher, in middle schools pupils of the first, second, third and the fourth grades are taught by not only one teacher, but by various teachers of various specialties. Similarly, the latter are also exposed to the various four levels in which each one is given a definite module to teach. Thus, many teachers are met in most of the grades; and many of them use *Fusha* when explaining the lessons though their use of their dialects is noticed but in some situations. They use it, for instance, in order to give instructions and orders to pupils as: (614) [mlɪ ʕlɪha belʕqal] "dictate slowly";

(615) [qraːj lana as suʔal aθθaːnɪ] "read the second question";

(616) [wɪn raha l waraqa ntaːʕək] "here is your paper";

(617) [waʃ kaːtba hijja] "what does she write";

(618)[haːk l waraqa ntaːʕək] "take your paper".

Tables 4.7: **Middle School Teachers' Use of the Dialect in Class**

Samples	Number	Dialect Use in Class	Rate	Non-Dialect Use in Class	Rate	Total
1st Middles school teachers	32	19	59,37%	13	40,62%	100%
2nd Middles school teachers	41	27	65,85%	14	34,16%	100%
3rd Middles school teachers	35	12	34,22%	23	65,71%	100%
Total	108	69		39		

Samples	Number	Rate
Teachers using their dialect in class	69	63,88%
Teachers avoiding the use of their dialect in class	39	36,11%
Total	108	100%

In the middle schools under investigation, 63,88% of teachers integrate their dialects into their classes during their explanation which is sometimes done 'unconsciously' They have been heard saying:

(619) [kaːnat hunaːka fɪʔa taʃɣal haːd al ʕɪlm llɪ hwa al sɪħr…] "there has been a category which occupies that science which is magic…";

(620) [tǝkdǝr fɪ jawm waːħɪd **duːr** kʊl haːðɪhɪ al mantɪqa lɪ ʔanaha ṣaɣiːra] "you can visit all that area in one day because it is a small one";

(221) [man jaʃraħ l ħɪmaja l ʔɪʒtɪmaʕɪja, **waʃ nqɒṣdɒ biːha**] "who explains the social protection, what do we mean by it";

(622) [ʔɪðan **hna kaːjǝn** ʔɪnʒaːz ʕɪlmɪ] "so, there is a scientific miracle". Nevertheless, they have been heard explaining various issues and giving different instructions in Fusha, as in:

(623) [narsʊm ʒadwal] "we draw a table",

(624) [man jʊʒiːb ʕala sʊʔaːl θaːnɪ] "who wants to answer the second question";

(625) [ʔʊktʊ bɪ xat̩ waːd̩ħ wa nataʒanab ʔal ʔaxt̩aː ʔa lʊɣawɪja] "write with a clear line and avoid language mistakes";

(626) [man jʊkawɪn lana ʒʊmla] "who can construct a sentence";

(627) [ʔʊktʊbɪ ʕala ṣabbɒːra wa ʔʊktʊbuː maʕahaː] "write on the board, and you write with her";

(628) [laː natrʊk faraːɣan ɪla ː baʕda lmɪθaːlɪ wa l ʔaːxar] "we leave space only between examples"

(629) [lɪmaða la taqɪf] "why don't you stand up?"

(630) [man rama l qalam] "who threw the pen?"

(631) [ʔɪltafɪt ʔɪla hʊna] "turn here" ;

(632) [man jʊʕt̩ɪnɪ fɪʕl θʊlaːθiː] "who can give a verb made up of three letters?"

36,11% of the teachers of the same grade have strong attitudes towards SA; they explain the lessons in *Fusha* and avoid the use of their dialect in their class. They communicate with their pupils in *Fusha*, asking questions and receiving answers with longer sentences. They correct lexical and grammatical errors immediately in order to keep the pure form of *Fusha*. These teachers claim that the weak level that some of their pupils have in SA is because of the primary school programs for the overcrowded modules and lessons involved in it. They argue that pupils will focus on learning other modules like mathematics, history, etc rather than learning how to speak, read, write and understand Fusha. They also blame the teachers of the primary schools for not

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teaching pupils correct *Fusha* thinking that they base their explanation on the dialect.

During the observation, these teachers were heard using pure *Fusha* which was understood by their pupils. In the teaching process, they specify fifteen minutes for warming up and revising what has been said in the previous lecture so as to move to the following one mainly when dealing with grammatical issues. Grammar is one of the most important elements of learning and teaching pure Fusha. Mastering grammatical rules enable one to avoid many grammatical mistakes as well as those of oral and written expressions. After fifteen minutes of revision; the teacher starts the new lecture by asking the pupils to give him examples that enable them to recognize the main case of the lesson which is explained later by the teacher using SA. At the end of the lesson, the pupils are asked to draw the definition of the main grammatical case upon their understanding. The pupils are therefore required to answer the teacher's questions in Fusha and are told that using the dialect is not permitted within the class mainly with the teachers. If someone introduces a dialectal term as in:

(633) [ʃħaːl mən saʈr natrʊk bajna l ʔamθɪla] "how many lines should we leave between the examples?"

The teacher replies: (634) [ʔalam ʔaqʊl lakʊm natahadaθ bɪ lʊɣa al faṣiːha] "I told you to speak only Fusha".

As mentioned before, mother tongue use in the classroom depends on each teacher and his level of competency in Fusha. This aspect has been noticed at all the educational institutions which were under investigation. Within the same middle school, we have seen teachers having strong attitudes of Fusha refusing any diglossic case; while other teachers, unfortunately, have weak attitudes towards SA and do not insist on its use in the classroom by their pupils. The second group of teachers explains their lessons in Fusha but along with the use of many dialectal words within their classes. Their diglossic

behavior appears in the following examples during the explanation as well as when giving various instructions, as in:

(635) [ha:d l ?ɒmɒr lɪ tħadəθna ʕli:ha] "those issues that we have spoken about…";

(636) [al waθi:qa llɪ raha mʕa l faqra] "the document which is with the paragraph";

(637) [bɪn nɪsba lɪ ṣɒra raqm rəbʕa] "concerning the fourth picture…";

(638) [ha:di hja ?al ʕana:ṣɪr ?aṭbi:ʕɪja ?al ?asa:sɪja..maka:nʃ ʕana:ṣɪr ?ɒxra] "these are the essential natural elements; are there others?"

(639)[kabrɪ ʃwɪja lkətba marahʃ tba:n] "make your writing bigger, it is not visible".

(640) [wa l?a:n raha tba:n l kətba] "is the writing clear now?"

(641) [naftaħ l kɪta:b safħa tma:ni:n] "open the book on page eighty";

(642) [nɒʒi:b ʕala taṭbi:q maʃɪ fəl kta:b] "we solve the activity but not within the book";

(643) [matəktəbʃ fəl kta:b] "don't write on the book".

The rate of 36,11% represent the supporters of exclusive use of *Fusha* in classroom and are those who teach the Arabic language and grammar in addition to some teachers of history and geography; while the percentage of 63,88% represent teachers of natural sciences, physics, mathematics, etc and their lessons are submitted in a mixed variety between SA and their dialect. Pupils themselves can easily distinguish between those who refuse any dialectal intervention in the classroom and those who are less interested in such use. They can behave in the way that is homogeneous with each group; they pay more attention to their language when talking to a teacher of Arabic and talk freely with teachers of history and other modules besides Arabic. Pupils of this level can express their ideas using their own language and are able to answer the teachers' questions in Fusha. Once the teacher asks them about what we mean by human environment saying:

(644) [ma:ða naʕni: bɪ ʔɪṭa:r hja:tɪh], they say: (645) [jaʕni mʊħɪṭɪhɪ] "it means his environment";

(646) [ma:ða naʕni: bɪ ʕana:ṣɪr ʔɪṣṭɪna:ʕɪja] "what is meant by artificial elements"

They say: (647) [hɪja kʊl ʃajʔ mɪn ṣʊnʕ ʔal ʔɪnsa:n] "it is everything made by humans"; pupils could even give examples like: car, telephone, TV, etc.

We have noticed, during our observation, that the teachers who do not use their dialect in class explain, give examples, ask questions and also communicate directly to their pupils, give various orders and pieces of advice through SA. Similarly, their pupils become more capable of reading and understanding complex and longer passages in *Fusha* as they enhance their experience of correcting each others' mistakes. They have more ability in providing longer answers for the questions asked by their teacher in *Fusha*. Teachers who use their dialect in their classes have the same reasons and probably the most important ones lie in that they use their dialect unconsciously during their interaction inside the classroom and also for class management.

The fourth grade is the last and the highest level in the middle school; pupils of such level seem the most competent among the other three previous grades being able to express their ideas and communicate easily and freely with their teachers using the standard language without spending time looking for the needed terms for such a conversation. They have acquired a respective amount of vocabulary that helps them avoid committing lexical and grammatical mistakes. They become able to guess its meaning of the complex and ambiguous terms before their teachers' clarification. During the session of reading comprehension, they are given the chance to read the whole text silently to get it meaning; then they are given various questions about what they read. The questions are more detailed including getting the general idea about the text, the author's language, style, and synonyms of difficult terms. The answers provided by the pupils are all required to be in *Fusha*, for instance, they may say that the meaning of:

(648) [ʔal mʊtaħanɪθ] is (649) [kaθi:r ʔal ʕɪbada] "someone who prays a lot";

(650) [maʈlu:la] is (651) [ʒami:la] «beautiful» ;

(652) [ɣawa:rɪb] is (653) [amwa:ʒ] "waves".

Teachers who declare that they do not introduce their dialect in class insist on the fact that their pupils should be communicated only through Fusha. They refuse any diglossic practice neither by them nor by their pupils; rather they push their pupils to use only Fusha through talking with them through it in the classroom about various issues. They explain more complex terms through looking for their synonym in SA rather than the dialect, as in:

(654) [bana:t hadi:l taʕnɪ al ħama:m] « pigeon »

(655) [ʔaɣʃa taʕnɪ ʔaħʊl] « I arrive";

(656) [ʔal fawa:ṣɪl hɪja ʔal ʒʊmal ʔal qaṣi:ra] "short phrases".

After the explanation, they ask them to use those words in new sentences of their own. But, like all the other educational levels, there are still other teachers who apply diglossia for many reasons mentioned before and that will be explained later in a specific section.

Teachers who represent the rate of 63,88% explain that they need sometimes to use their dialects within their classes when pupils find a difficulty in recognizing some facts mentioned in the lesson. Thus, moving back and forth from Fusha to their dialect, for them, helps the pupils to realize issues already explained in Fusha and that could not be understood. Pupils, for example, cannot understand what their teacher means by (657) [ʔal maħlu:l ʔal ma:ʔɪ jatakawan mɪn mʊði:b wa mʊða:b] until he says: (658) [jaʕnɪ ħaʒa ða:jba fɪ ħaʒa] "water includes elements that can dissolve each other"; or he may say: (659) [kʊra] instead of (660) [ʈa:qa l kahraba:ʔɪja] "electricity". They also argue that their questions are a mixture of a based Fusha and their dialect so that their pupils can provide answers quickly without spending much time in explaining the question itself, but such behavior led pupils to apply diglossia when giving their answer orally. The latter is also caused by the behavior of their teachers who answer the pupils' questions, which are also asked in a

diglossic way, mixing between their dialect and Fusha. And teachers always justify such aspect by trying to make cases easier to understand for the pupils.

Thus, teachers either refuse to submit their lectures in a diglossic manner, or see it as normal and needed when meeting complicated issues. Those who refuse claim that pupils go to school in order to hear, learn, speak, and write Standard Arabic, not the dialect. Pupils or children are exposed to their dialect at the levels of listening and speaking every day. They can hear *Fusha* on TV but they rarely interact with it in society. This fact is one of the main conditions that Ferguson puts forth in order to have a diglossic community; H is never used in everyday communication or for low purposes; similarly, L cannot be used in formal settings or when H is called. Using only *Fusha* in the class by teachers enables pupils to acquire and learn it appropriately. But this aim seems difficult to reach for the fact that other teachers hold the contrast of this idea. Supporters of using *Fusha* alone in class are trying to reach their objective but they are unfortunately interrupted at a respective rate by those who use *Fusha* with their dialect.

In fact, pupils are not only meeting different teachers in middle schools but also they are watching different attitudes towards *Fusha*. Pupils are taught by those who use only *Fusha* in class and also by those who use it along with the dialects. This method prevents both the supporters of *Fusha* from reaching their objectives and the pupils from learning the pure and correct form of *Fusha*. Teachers who practice diglossia in class argue that using the dialect in class is imperative mainly when pupils ask them to clarify subjects that could not be understood when explained in SA. Teachers can feel of the existence of ambiguity among their pupils who used to deal with easy and simple Arabic; it seems that these teachers focus on the information and how pupils can recognize it and give less interest to the way *Fusha* is used. Using SA with the dialect opens the way to many lexical, phonological and grammatical mistakes at the expense of *Fusha*; it also leads to borrowing terms between each other leading to diglossia.

Teachers who admit their dialect intervention in class argue that such action is determined by the situation they are facing, in which they explain the lesson through *Fusha* and give punishment in the dialect stating that the lesson is more important for them and requires SA only. They even move to argue that their use of *Fusha* depends on the level they are teaching. They seem using it exclusively when teaching third and fourth year grades and are switching into the dialect when they are in contact with first year and second year levels. Nevertheless, they insist on asking questions and getting their answers in *Fusha*, similarly many of their pupils ask about various matters in a diglossic manner but in this case teachers give their answers in *Fusha* so that pupils learn how to use it. They add that they prefer to introduce their dialect in the classroom rather than using foreign languages like French. The dialect has many lexical similarities with SA, thus it can convey the meaning that SA seeks to send. In contrast, French is far from achieving such goal as it prevents pupils from increasing their lexical luggage. It is true that switching to the dialect creates many educational and language problems but it is better than switching in French or another foreign language whose effects are more damaging.

4.6 Diglossia in Secondary School

Similarly, teachers of the secondary schools under investigation form two groups; one group uses the dialect in the classroom while the second group does not use it. Teachers of the second group are mainly those who teach Arabic literature and Islamic science; while teachers of the other modules such as science, physics, mathematics are those of the first group who in turn introduce their dialect along with *Fusha*.

Tables 4.8: Secondary School Teachers' Use of the Dialect in Class

Samples	Number	Dialect Use in Class	Rate	Non-Dialect Use in Class	Rate	Total
1st secondary school teachers	23	09	39,13%	14	60,86%	100%
2nd secondary school teachers	28	18	64,85%	10	35,71%	100%
3rd secondary school teachers	30	19	36,33%	11	36,66%	100%
Total	81	46		35		

Samples	Number	Rate
Teachers using their dialect in class	46	56,79%
Teachers avoiding the use of their dialect in class	35	43,20%
Total	81	100%

A percentage of 43,20% (35 teachers) seem to have strong attitudes towards *Fusha* seeing that the dialect neither achieves the educational goals nor contribute to their success. They also see that using the dialect reduces the value and the importance of the lesson. They argue that their explanation is submitted only in *Fusha* with all the educational level including first, second, and the third years and with all the specialties. These teachers seem to respect the official amendment that determines the exclusive use of *Fusha* in the classroom and similarly prevents the use of the dialects when explaining the lessons.

Teaching the Arabic literature involves analyzing literary texts, grammar, reading comprehension, and written expression which are required to be submitted though pure *Fusha* otherwise these elements may lose their values and validity. These teachers also use Fusha exclusively when asking oral questions seeking to install its use among the pupils. It is the main way of expressing ideas and feelings; it also helps the learners to have a command on various questions found in the different academic and educational sources and books. Teachers argue that this behavior makes pupils use Fusha consciously and unconsciously. In fact, they insist on asking questions in Fusha so as to ensure the pupils' understanding of the lesson which they explain in Fusha; one teacher may ask pupils to summarize what has been explained so as to train them to the use of Fusha.

As a response to his questions, any one of these teachers focuses on receiving answers through Fusha by the pupils though they reply in many cases in a diglossic manner that appears similar to their way of asking their questions. On the other hand, the teachers give their answers in Fusha in order to train the pupils using Fusha when giving answers orally in the classroom or within the exams. Classroom interaction is also based on Fusha such as warming up, class management, control, correcting errors, etc. Pupils are also advised to communicate in Fusha mainly with the teacher seeking to separate the educational setting from their daily life. Nevertheless, they still introduce some dialectal terms when talking with each other, or when demanding more clarification for ambiguous matter saying for example: (661) [ʔɒstaːd ranɪ **maːfhamtʃ** l mɪθal lʔaxiːr] "teacher, I did not understand the last example". In order the solve the case, the teacher advises his pupils to use Fusha at least within the classroom not to meet with ambiguity and complexity in any situation and also to acquire a good level of competency in Fusha which is, in turn, the main objective that these teachers seek to achieve.

Among 81 teachers, 46 of them, i.e. 56,79% argue that they introduce their dialect in some cases for the same reasons given by the other teachers of primary and middle schools. They also add that they have been taught in another language, i.e. French, because of the nature of the fields they have chosen. They claim that the kind of modules they teach do not insist on Standard Arabic per se but on the information and how it can be understood. They use many symbols, such as in mathematics and science, which are all driven in French. Others even justify their diglossic use by their incompetency in Fusha; thus they are inevitably suffering from the lack of Arabic vocabulary which in turn pushes them to substitute the missing term for a dialectal one.

The use of the dialect by these teachers does not mean that they explain the whole or most of the lesson in the dialect, but they introduce it whenever they need to give more clarification to their students. They claim that their main target, during the lecture, is to deliver the information to their pupils and such act pushes not to concentrate on the way they use Fusha. In other cases, they use the dialect to punish their pupils or to blame them for not doing certain tasks. Teachers of scientific modules admit that they are not competent enough in Fusha since they have studied their field in the French language; this fact has, in turn, pushed to use their dialects even during the explanation. Questions asked by these teachers are also made up of a mixture between their dialect and *Fusha*; an act which is also done by their pupils who appear imitating their teachers. Teachers tend to answer such questions in *Fusha* but with a notable use of their dialect; while their pupils give most of their answers in a mixture between *Fusha* and the dialect.

This group of teacher adds that their use of their dialect appears when talking directly to one of the pupils about special issues like bad marks or unacceptable behavior in the classroom. They argue that they were also taught in a diglossic manner since their primary education. Thus, they see it a normal process to facilitate the information to their pupils with the help of their dialects. The use of *Fusha* in educational spheres seems dominant on the dialect of Bechar, but the latter is still introduced in many cases along with SA

within the same setting for various reasons described before. In their questionnaires, these teachers gave the same reasons for introducing their dialects and probably the most important ones lie in that they use their dialect unconsciously during their interaction inside the classroom and also for class management. They add that their use of the dialect can be the consequence of slips of the tongue mainly when they are anxious or worried. The teachers are more fluent in their dialects than they are in Fusha, but 35 of them control the influence of the dialect by excluding its use in their classes in one way or another; while 46 teachers are unfortunately heavily affected by their dialects to the point that they use it even inside their classes, thus these seem unable to separate *Fusha* from their dialects (see the table above).

When the informants were asked about the issue of diglossia in the classroom; 56,79% of the teachers argue that they feel obliged to introduce the low variety according to the pupils' needs and level of education as well. For the sake of explaining complex cases in the lessons, classroom management, giving pieces of advice and instructions; teachers show a tendency to use their dialect alternatively with Standard Arabic. The misunderstanding seems the main aspect that pushes teachers of the primary school to use their dialect within their classes; this does not mean that they explain the whole lesson in the dialect but only the most complex issues which are difficult to recognize by the pupils. Although the directors do not agree with such alternate use between BD and *Fusha*; but diglossia seems to be necessary when misunderstanding exists in order to facilitate learning complex issues of Arabic.

43,20% among the teachers refuse the idea of mother tongue use in classroom viewing it as a negative aspect which may not allow pupils to understand what they read in their books and what they hear from their teachers. These have strong attitudes towards *Fusha* and they claim that our belonging to the Arab nation obliges us to develop the use of *Fusha* everywhere so that the following generation practice its use and be able to learn it easily rather than using other languages. These teachers see that relying on the dialect when explaining various requirements of *Fusha* may lead to

neglecting that language and giving birth to a generation that may not respect and ignore the value of its history and civilization. They have even wondered if the dialect is used to teach Standard Arabic, then the latter will no more be called teaching Standard Arabic or *Fusha*; "we teach the Arabic language, or Standard Arabic in schools not dialectal Arabic which is acquired before schooling", they say.

The increasing use of the dialect leads inevitably to the reduced use of *Fusha* in the classroom, but if the teachers use *Fusha* most often their pupils will ignore the use of their dialects because they always imitate their teacher. Teachers who support the use of dialect in their classes find it difficult to abandon the intervention of dialectal Arabic from classroom since the Arabization process is not really apparent; nevertheless, motivating pupils for using *Fusha* is necessary. One of the situations of their use of their mother tongue in their classes appears when joking with their pupils so as to break the routine of learning the standard language. They have even shown strong attitudes towards their dialects and their desire of introducing it in their classes during the explanation in order to guarantee the pupils' understanding. Learning *Fusha* for them should not be a deliberate and quick process; they argue that it is not easy to understand therefore pupils should learn it gradually.

The 46 teachers also attribute the practice of diglossia in their classrooms to the individual differences of pupils in intelligence, social background and desire to learn. Practicing diglossia seems necessary with first year primary pupils while those from second to the fifth year should practice *Fusha* as they should hear it from their teachers. They see that dialect intervention in the classroom helps the pupils to learn better and understand the lesson correctly since their dialect is no more a new code for them. They also see that a dialect is used spontaneously and plays a major role in clarifying complicated matters. It is the variety that facilitates communication between the pupils, of the first year mainly and their teachers.

Pupils acquire their mother tongue as they hear it from their interlocutors and environment since their childhood; similarly, when they start

school they learn *Fusha* as they hear it from their teacher including pronunciation, rules, and accent. If their teacher is competent in *Fusha* and uses the correct accent when talking, his pupils will, therefore, learn and acquire it in the right way; but if he lacks competency and fluency his pupils will be qualified as weak learners of *Fusha*. If the teacher does an error his pupils will learn such error and use it as a correct element in *Fusha*; this has been unfortunately observed among the teachers whose fluency in Fusha is low at all levels starting with the weak accent that they have; lexical mistakes, inaccurate articulation of many sounds and terms as well. Moreover, they do not even show a tendency to correct the mistakes done by their pupils stating that first year of primary education is the year of letting pupils commit mistakes mainly in the primary grades. This is agreed by many people because none learns without making mistakes, but the latter must be accompanied with a correction.

Moreover, the pupils are still affected by their dialect which they use in the classroom. This appears when they want to talk to their teacher about various issues using Fusha alternately with their dialect whose terms are more than those of Fusha. They also practice diglossia when they reply to orders given by their teacher or when they are exposed to certain claims; though they sometimes answer with short phrases of Fusha. Supporters of exclusive use of SA in classroom claim that they should explain various issues and give different instructions in *Fusha* so as to train their pupils to use *Fusha* since their early years of education. They also complain from the crowded lessons included in the heavy program which has been regarded as a barrier to the learning of correct and pure Fusha.

The aspect of diglossia seems a very crucial issue for the teachers; when they were asked about the code they use when asking oral questions for their pupils in order to ensure understanding, they say that they mix between *Fusha* and their dialect. The main reason behind such mixture is to approximate the understanding of the question by the pupils so as to recognize what their teacher wants and to gain answers in a short or limited time. Similarly, pupils tend to answer such questions using *Fusha* in some cases but

with short phrases or terms, and in others cases, they mix between *Fusha* and their dialect. On the other hand, pupils also ask about complex issues which they do not understand in the lesson by mixing between SA and their dialect in most of the cases. Those who avoid the use of their dialect in class insist on giving answers in *Fusha* in order to train their pupils to use *Fusha* in both oral and written forms since the first stages of learning to acquire the various concepts and expressions. These teachers insist to answer in Fusha in order to supply their pupils with new items and expressions and to teach them to answer the various questions in Fusha rather than mixing the two varieties H and L together.

They also argue that they ask oral questions using *Fusha* holding the fact that learning must be only in it. Questions given *Fusha*, for them, seem more important, more valuable and more interesting than questions asked in a diglossic manner as in: (662) [ʔaʕtˤɪ amθɪla ʕan suluka:t sajjɪʔa] "give examples of bad behavior". Asking questions in Fusha allows the teachers to check at what extent their pupils understand what they hear, as it enables them to employ the various Standard Arabic terms and expressions. In order to give answers to such questions; pupils again use *Fusha* or apply diglossia. Those teachers add that they should explain various issues and give different instructions in *Fusha* so as to train their pupils the use of *Fusha* since their early years of education. They also complain from the crowded lessons included in the heavy program which has been regarded as a barrier to the learning of correct *Fusha*.

4.7 The Learners' Perception and Attitudes to Diglossia

Learners of different levels have various attitudes and perceptions on the ways their teachers use *Fusha* when they explain the lesson.

Tables 4.9: The Learners' Perception and Attitudes to Diglossia

Samples	Number	Agree on diglossia in class	Rate	Disagree on diglossia in class	Rate	Total
Middles school pupils	288	160	55,55%	128	44,44%	100%
Secondary school pupils	260	148	56,92%	112	43,07%	100%
Total	548	308		240		

Samples	Number	Agree on diglossia in class	Rate	Disagree on diglossia in class	Rate	Total
Pupils	548	308	56,20%	240	43,79%	100%

The percentage of 56,20% of the pupils being questioned agree on their teachers' use of their the dialect in the classroom; they even give the same reasons explained by their teachers as a justification for their use of dialectal Arabic. When they have been asked about the modules that are taught in a diglossic manner, they all agree on mathematics, physics, natural sciences; philosophy and even within history and geography. What has been derived from their questionnaires is that pupils have various and contradicted perceptions of diglossia in the classroom or the intervention of the dialect during the lecture. They have divided themselves into two categories; the first category involves pupils who agree and favor of the use of their dialect by their teachers in class while the second category includes the learners who disagree with them refusing the use of any dialectal term in explanation.

Pupils who accept introducing the dialect when the teacher explains the lessons argues that the dialect plays an important role in clarifying many difficult cases and helps them to better understand the lesson. The ideas which are explained with the help of the dialect become easily and rapidly recognized by pupils for the fact that the dialect is understood by all people in contrast of SA which is more complex and complicated. It also facilitates the learning process and reduces the possibility of ambiguity and time consuming when explaining in *Fusha*. They argue that they feel comfortable when hearing the dialect in which they can ensure understanding; they even show their interest to the teachers who explain in a diglossic manner, while those who use *Fusha* alone push them to feel bored as they argue. Within their arguments, pupils refer to dialect intervention during the explanation more than class management.

In fact, not only the teachers introduce their dialect in class, but also the pupils use it particularly when they ask questions to their teachers or give answers. They argue that they can express better their ideas and viewpoints through the dialect; the latter also helps them to describe issues easily and enables them to give a criticism to various matters. Most pupils suffer from a lack of vocabulary in SA, thus they show their tendency to borrow terms from the dialect. They say, for example:

(663) [ha:d l fatra l ʔɪxtɪba:r ʒa sa:həl] "exams of this semester were easy";

(664) [həli:tʊ tama:ri:n lɪ ʔṭana l ʔɒsta:d] "have you done the exercises given by the teacher?";

(665) [kɪfa:ʃ ndɪrʊ nfarqʊ bi:n sʊʔal lʕɪlmɪ w l ʔadabɪ] "how can we differentiate between scientific and literary question?";

(666) [nqədrʊ ngʊlʊ had l ʒawa:b b tari:qa ʔɒxra] "can we say this answer in a different way?"

Through using the dialect in class; pupils can easily find the terms that better express their thoughts. Another reason that pushes them to resort to their

dialect when necessary is that they are not competent enough in *Fusha;* this is why they miss many terms as they face a difficulty in recognizing complex terms. Pupils of scientific branches declare that their level in *Fusha* is weak because they are more exposed to scientific modules which focus on the information more than SA.

Although these pupils welcome diglossia in their classes and accept the use of the dialect for the sake of explaining complex cases and facilitating understanding, they still blame their teachers for not providing them with a given amount of lexical concepts in *Fusha*. They even tend to justify their weakness in *Fusha* by its complexity and by their teachers' permanent use of the dialect in the classroom. Diglossia helps these pupils to communicate easily with their teachers and with each other as well. They also see that SA is not the language of science and development.

Those pupils also admit that they did not insist on talking in *Fusha* since the primary school where they were exposed to many teachers who do not insist on its use in the classroom. They see that the dialect is clearer and more appropriate for clarifying complex matters. Some even move to argue that talking in the dialect is similar to talking in SA since their dialect originates from *Fusha*, so talking with either language does not create a real difference ignoring the existence of a formal standard language and a non-formal one. The dialect plays an important role in the school in which it helps the pupils to recognize better what the teacher says.

The second category reflects those who have strong attitudes towards *Fusha* supporting its exclusive use in the classroom and refusing any dialectal intervention neither when explaining the lesson nor when giving various instructions. 43,79% of the pupils regard that any diglossic practice in formal setting mainly in schools leads to the reduction in the use of *Fusha* which may lose its value and importance by people. The dialect is full of many borrowed terms, many lexical mistakes, slangs, grammatical errors, in contrast, *Fusha* is the correct language, and at the top of these, it is the language of the Quran.

Thus, it seems unfair to mix a correct language with a very divergent dialect; they argue. They see it a real embarrassment to be less competent in *Fusha* at this grade of education. They have been learning *Fusha* since the primary school and are given the majority of the modules in *Fusha* but they are qualified as incompetent speakers of it.

Pupils of this category see that the dialect prevents them from learning SA vocabulary, as it contributes a lot to the drop of the educational levels and the low competency of *Fusha* by both teachers and pupils. They also believe in the fact of using the appropriate language for the suitable setting, therefore, *Fusha* should be used in schools and the dialect should be left to everyday communication. The dialect is not appropriate for explaining lessons in the classroom for its inability of conveying and reflecting the exact meaning and the real message. *Fusha* increases the cultural background of the pupils as it strengthens his knowledge. Using *Fusha* when communicating with the teacher in classroom reduces the possibility of misunderstanding various questions during the exams and when providing various tasks and exercises. The dialect is not intact and inappropriate for explaining lectures in schools.

The two groups have contradictory viewpoints, but both of them use their dialect when talking with each other, and try to speak *Fusha* when they are in contact with their teacher. In fact, the pupils' use of the dialect in the classroom depends on the teacher's behavior, if the pupils feel that their teacher(s) have weak attitudes towards *Fusha* and pay less attention to its use will introduce their dialect freely and use it without restrictions in the classroom for various functions. On the other hand, if they recognize that some of their teachers insist on the function and the role of *Fusha* in class as a necessary and the only medium for communication, they will respect its role and control its use and even reduce or exclude any dialectal term or expression in class.

Educational spheres are the main places where anyone can learn, speak, write and practice his standard language; therefore pupils and mainly teachers are responsible for its use. The 25% of middle school pupils who describe their competency in SA as low stated that such level prevents them from using Fusha more than their dialect, or to mix between the two. They fear from being mocked by their classmates for their inaccurate *Fusha*; they cannot spend a long time talking in *Fusha* because of their low competency in it; thus they need to use their dialect in order to hide some of their weakness. But, many dialectal terms cannot be used along with *Fusha* for their low status or being regarded as slang or very divergent terms. Therefore, *Fusha* would be better used alone so as to keep its purity and status as an official standard language.

4.8 Diglossia in Administrative Spheres

People working in administrations have different levels of education as well as various functions and positions. Administrative spheres which are under investigation are the Agency of Social Development (Agence de Development Social "ADS" de Béchar), with 58 participants, the TV Centre in Bechar, with 120 samples, and the Hydraulic Company with only 45 respondents along with the private company of construction (URBAT). In the former setting, i.e. Agency of Social Development, most of the participant state that they use their dialect alternatively with *Fusha*. Whereas teachers in educational spheres use SA more than the dialect; the participants of this agency use their dialect more than *Fusha*, the latter is used mostly in written documents and some decisions. Moreover; within their questionnaires, they describe their competency in their dialect as more than their competency in *Fusha*.

The staff in this agency communicates in the dialect about special and daily matters, but they introduce or use terms taken from Fusha when they need to speak about issues related to their work. They may say:

(667) [ʕtˤɪni hadi:k l wati:qa l xa:sˤa b ʔoӡrat l mowadˤafi:n] "give the document which is concerned about the salary of the employees";

(668) [wi:n ra:h l modi:r l ӡɪhawɪ] "where is the regional director?"

Dialect for them is the best, easiest, and the most appropriate medium of interaction in the agency; they even feel that they will be mocked if they speak only *Fusha* with the other employees. Their use of their dialect apparently exists everywhere inside and outside their agency; while their use of *Fusha* appears in written documents. They use SA alternately with their dialect when they hold official meetings with each other or with their manager, when being interviewed by journalists, and when speaking about cases related to their job. *Fusha*, for them, can be exclusively used only when they are reading some documents or writing some decisions.

Table 4.10: The Use of SA with the Dialect vs. the Use of French with the Dialect

Setting	Number of participants	Using SA with the dialect	Rate	Using French with the dialect	Rate
TV center	120	98	81,66%	22	18,33%
ASD	58	41	70,68%	17	29,31%
Hydraulics and URBAT	45	8	17,77%	37	82,22%
Total	223	147		76	

Among the 58 participants, 41 persons (70,68%) in the ASD show strong attitudes towards *Fusha* arguing that it is initially the language of the Quran and the sign of nationalism and belonging to the Arab nations. But they do not use it exclusively in their agency believing that it handicaps their communication with each other, and due to the fact that they are not competent in it they will spend too much time and do hard efforts to find the appropriate terms for the suitable situation. Thus, they appear using it along with their dialect. They wish to hear *Fusha* talked by the employees during the daily interaction; they even suggest its use inside of their agency and while they

leave work they can go back to their dialect. They state that they are proud of their language which was the main vehicle of science and medicine in the old past. 17 participants, i.e. 29,31%, of them, argue that they switch between French and their dialect rather than moving back and forth from *Fusha* to their dialect explaining that their studies were held in the French language which seems the most useful in their agency. They also use the French language to write documents which are regarded as necessary decisions but they are not central to our study.

The other participants are the journalists working on TV center including 120 participants. 98 of them, 81,66% describe the language they use at work as a mixture between their dialect and *Fusha* thought it is mostly dialectal. They argue that they are not obliged to talk in *Fusha* with each other; it can only be used at the level of writing some reports and programs, or reading various documents, newspapers, and journals, etc. Similarly, the participants working here have also various educational levels, therefore, their competency in *Fusha* varies. Their level in it is high because of the nature of the job which demands writing articles and reports, making interviews with official personalities. Thus, the main language appropriate for these occasions is *Fusha*, though in other cases a demand for the French language seems necessary.

People working in this setting agree on the fact that their dialect helps them to deliver and recognize the main information. The key and important terms are of course articulated in *Fusha* because of the nature of their job and the importance of the case; whereas, the rest of the message is given in the dialect. And in this case, it will be a variety which is mixed between *Fusha* and based on the dialect. They also state that their use of *Fusha* depends on the subject matter and their interlocutor. If they are talking about everyday issues like sport, life problems, etc; they mostly use their dialect and when they are talking about issues related to their job they use *Fusha* alternatively with their dialect. The subject matter is highly related to the persons involved in such a

communication, if they are talking to someone who doesn't work with them, like a visitor, they use their dialect because there is nothing in common between them; whereas they use more a formal language with which they share their job and interests.

In the TV center, 74 samples, i.e. 61,66%, among the employees support the use of *Fusha* for the interaction between the staff in administrations, though this idea is far from being achieved. They regard it as the official language of the administration that must be applied not only in the written form but also in the spoken one. *Fusha* increases the importance of their communication and reports and reduces to some extent the dominance of French. Using *Fusha* between the staff increases the vocabulary and capacities in it; but 46 employees, or 38,33%, are against such idea. The latter see that *Fusha* handicaps their conversation because they need to spend time looking for the accurate terms that express the linguistic situation. Around 22 samples, 18,33%, mention their use the French language rather than Arabic for their mastery in it more than SA.

37 among the employees who work in the Hydraulic company and URBAT, i.e. 82,22%, declare that they are highly affected by the French language which they use very often more than *Fusha* and more than the dialect. They admit that they are competent in French more than they are in SA which seems difficult for them to master. The various engineers explain that they have studied all the modules related to their job in the French language. The latter is the main language of many technical terms related to their job, for this fact they switch into French rather than into SA. But since the case of the French language is no central in our investigation, we pay less attention to it giving all the focus to the cases of *Fusha* and the dialect spoken in Bechar. 8 samples, that is the rate of 17,77%, show their favor to base their communication and written documents on SA though the switch between French and the dialect exists more than the alternate use between *Fusha* and the dialect.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has been interested in the study of diglossia. It presented initially the degree of fluency in SA the teachers and their pupils. The chapter insists on giving an observation about diglossia in formal settings; the latter involves the main study cases of the various educational spheres of primary, middle, and secondary schools. But university involves various academic fields which are based on teaching the French language, thus in order to limit the field of study only the three first educational spheres were analyzed.

The second formal setting is the administration which involves four administrative spheres as models and areas of investigation but focuses on only two of them which are the Agency of Social Development (ASD) and the TV center. The data presented in this part are all driven by our own observation initially and after that, we moved to present the data taken from the answers of the participants' questionnaires. Recordings and data collected from interviews have also an important part of this chapter.

Chapter Five

Data Analysis and Results

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Mastery of Standard Arabic in Bechar Speech Community

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5.9 Samples' Attitudes on the Use of the Dialect in Classroom

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5.11 Discussion

5.12 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

Diglossia can be noticed in many formal settings such education, media, administration, government, and others; but it is highly apparent in many informal settings. In fact not only educated or literate people switch in their speech between *Fusha* and their dialect, but also less educated on uneducated people apply diglossia in their conversations. They have at least a respective amount of Standard Arabic terms which they can use along with their dialects. Diglossia in formal settings has been limited to educated people or employees such as teachers, administrators, students, pupils, and directors whose alternate use of D1 and Fusha depended on many aspects.

The previous chapter gave a description of diglossia in formal situations; and the present chapter moves to present the case of diglossia in the informal settings. The chapter starts by providing the degree of mastery of SA in Bechar by both educated and educated people so as to know who switches into SA more. The chapter also joins the two described cases of diglossia, formal and informal settings, analyzes them and gives the results and their discussion. Besides, it compares between such cases of diglossia, and how, why and where it is mostly applied; all under the theme of the data analysis.

5.2 Mastery of Standard Arabic in Bechar Speech Community

Before examining the degree of mastery of Standard Arabic (or MSA), we should refer to the percentage of mastery of dialectal Arabic which is used in the speech community under investigation. As described earlier, Bechar adopts five common dialects, four Arabic ones and a variety of Berber used in many distributed areas and villages. Each of these dialects has been investigated apart from the other so as to get the percentage of their use in the community; it has been noticed that each dialect is highly mastered by its speakers. One can wonder why those dialects have been investigated separately; it is simply because each one is used by a given ethnic group. Nevertheless, there is a common dialect which is used by the population even by members of the various ethnic groups in Bechar, it is the dialect of the majority (D1). Like all the other Algerian regions, Bechar adopts SA as the official language of education, administration, media, etc. Mastery of SA depends on people mainly at the level of education, it has been remarked that educated people are absolutely more competent than the less educated ones in Standard Arabic; such competency refers to speaking and most often understanding, reading and writing.

5.2.1 Educated People

The educated people include teachers and administrators who had the chance to continue their education. We would like to notify that the teachers who have been questioned in this phase are mainly those who teach the Arabic language, or other modules like history, geography, Islamic science, etc. Their percentage is clearly high simply because they normally teach their pupils using the Arabic language, or SA, more frequently than those who teach mathematics and other different scientific sciences. They already deal with Standard Arabic since they started their education, mainly when they got to university where they were in need to read, speak, write, prepare and present research works in Standard Arabic.

The rate of 06% in tables 4.2 and 4.3 refer to the degree of fluency in SA; such percentage involves especially teachers of mathematics who declare that their mastery of SA is lower because of the intervention of the French language. Their modules were, and are still, taught using the French language more than SA. Nevertheless, they are able to read in SA especially the Quran, newspapers, book, etc; as they are capable to understand it as well. As compared with the teachers' fluency in *Fusha*, the administrators' mastery of SA is reduced because the latter had less chance to be taught through SA up to university level especially those who chose scientific fields; moreover, many fields have been taught using the French language.

The fields of administration vary from each other, some administrators use SA when they need to submit documents or proposals, while others use the French language (see table 4.10). For example, people working TV center and the Agency of Social Development (ASD) introduce Standard Arabic in their reports and various documents and decisions; on the other hand, employees working in the Companies of Hydraulics or constructions provide their documents, plans, and reports using the French language rather than SA. The participants in the two first domains declare that their mastery of SA lies at the level of understanding, writing, reading, and to a given percentage speaking because of their frequent use of SA, more than the last ones who can understand, read, but rarely speak and write in SA. The latter had less chance to deal with SA in their education, mainly at university, while the former continued to deal with SA until the last phases of their education.

The Imams in the mosque, whose number was only eight (08), have also been regarded as participants in this research work. Before we speak about their alternate use of SA along with the dialect which is clearly noticed during the Sermon we will investigate their mastery of SA. Their level of education is not all the same, Five Imams have in fact acquired the BA degree in Islamic education; while three of them have been categorized as Imams upon some training supervised by the government. Nevertheless, they describe their mastery of SA as good since they study the correct form of the Arabic language, i.e the

language of the Quran. The Imams' mastery of Standard Arabic appears high and can even reach all the four skills such as speaking, understanding, reading, and writing. It means that they are able to speak SA fluently, understand it, read and write the sermon using the correct words and the classical style of SA. In fact, even the teachers can do it, but when the Imams read or explain the sermon they need to use the dialect along with SA to ensure understanding because they are exposed to many people who have different levels of education mainly the less educated ones.

5.2.2 Uneducated People

As a comparison with the educated elite, mastery of Standard Arabic among the less educated people[73] is weak; this is due to the difference at the level of education between the two groups. The less educated people show their ability to understand those who speak Standard Arabic while watching the news or Arabic programs on Television; nevertheless, they still have a difficulty in speaking in SA or even recognizing the meaning of some SA terms like (565) [sali:qa] which means "innate". Thus, their capacity of understanding ambiguous terms makes them able to use such terms in their daily communication; for example (566) [lju:m kan ʕandi muʃkil kbi:r] "I had a big problem today". It is therefore clear that the use of diglossia among the less educated people appears in informal settings, the latter can be also the case of the educated elite who can also switch between SA and their dialect in formal settings as well. The less educated people are not only the old people, including our grandmothers and fathers, but they involve also many young people who could not continue their education because of various social reasons and circumstances.

In fact not all the elders have a low level of education, but there is a respective number of them who are classified among the educated elite and who are more experienced than the young generation. On the other hand, not all the youngsters can be regarded as educated people, but many of them, unfortunately, suffer from school dropout. This social phenomenon forbids many people from

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[73] We use the term « less educated people » instead of « illiterate or uneducated people » because any illiterates are now seeking a higher level of education.

getting knowledge mainly that of SA. In contrast to the old people who might not enter to school, the youngsters, who left school early, could be able to get into a certain level of education though not high. Nevertheless, they proved that they still have an amount of SA terms in their minds; furthermore, they can utter some sentences in SA, read and even write if asked to do.

5.3 The Dialect of the Majority, the Selected Code

The dialect of the majority (D1) has been chosen to exemplify its alternate use with SA. In fact, the dialect has not been selected randomly, most of the samples being questioned about related issues to the topic admit their use, moreover, we have noticed its wide use among the population thanks to our observation and recordings. D1 can be regarded as an amalgamation of the three main dialects of Doui Mnii, Ouled Djrir, and the Ksourians in addition to many lexical features taken from the other regional dialects of Algeria because of the contact between their speakers. Many people come to Bechar seeking a job or settlement bringing their dialects with them; similarly, many people travel from Bechar to the other towns seeking a study, trade, tourism and other reasons and consequently they contact other people leading to an exchange between their dialects. There are also many lexical terms which leak from D1to the Moroccan dialect and vice versa because of geographical borders. Thus, the contact between the first settlers of the area, Doui Mnii, Ouled Drir, and the Ksourians led to the combination of a unique dialect spoken by the majority of the population.

Speakers of those dialects built mutual intelligibility between each other and each group contributed with many lexical items forming one dialect shared by them with common grammatical and phonological features. For example, /q/ is pronounced as [g] as in (669) [wgəf] "stand up" but not very often. People sometimes keep the pronunciation of /q/ in terms like: (670) [nəqra] "I learn or I read", (671) [qalam] "pencil", etc. The Berber variety did not mark a real and noticeable contribution like the other dialects because of its unique form and characteristics; nevertheless, it has many lexical similarities with D1 and the other dialects as well. Although speakers of the other dialect

shifted into the dialect of the majority they can be distinguished from each other thanks to their accents.

D1 has also a specific accent but it is mainly used by the new generation while many adults still preserve the accent associated with their own dialects and many old people keep their dialects themselves. Although there is a common dialect spoken by the majority of the population, there is still a noticeable variation within this dialect mainly at the levels of age, gender, and also accent and some sort of ethnicity as describe earlier. When interviewing educated people we have noticed that they use the dialect that is heard around the community which is under investigation; one should note that the interviews held with the samples were basically submitted in the common dialect with a switch into SA when talking about formal and educational issues.

Moreover, the various interactions and conversations that were recorded among the ordinary people in informal settings proved that all the speakers interact with a common dialect understood by not only those speakers but by all the population. Speech variation which exists between old and young, educated and uneducated, men and women, and the various ethnic groups is not a barrier to mutual intelligibility. The selected dialect does not involve the old terms that are specific to each dialect, but it carries the terms which are shared by all the dialects and the most understood ones in addition to many new terms mainly slang, introduced by the new generations. The new terms do not take part in the three other dialects D2, D3, D4 and D5 since these dialects seek to preserve the purity of the vocabulary and free it from the new borrowed terms.

The main reason for the exclusion of the new terms from the other three Arabic dialects is that they are still used by the old people who do not show a tendency to borrow or create slangs like the teenagers. In fact, D1 is full of terms taken mainly from D2 and D3, while the speakers of D4 provide it with some items because they insist on preserving the vocabulary of their dialect as they prevent its terms from leaking into the other dialects. The speakers of D4 are still living in separate areas specific to them mainly in

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Kenadsa and the Ksar of Bechar. But because of the contact between the following generations with the other people, some terms have spread into D1. The lexical system of D5 or Berber is very typical of it as it involves many terms that are ambiguous to other people and are difficult to memorize and to use.

5.3.1 *Fusha* and the Dialect of the Majority

Fusha is the standard form of Arabic which plays high functions in society and it is appropriately used in exclusively high, official and formal settings; it is therefore described as the High variety or simply H. The dialect which has been chosen to be alternately used with *Fusha* is that of the majority which plays low functions and is restricted for use in low and informal settings; it is, therefore, the one represented by the Low variety or 'L'. *Fusha* and the dialect of the majority are therefore described in this research work in general, and this section in particular, as H and L so as to reflect the fact of diglossia in the main speech community. H and L, or *Fusha* and D1 are used alternately in many situations mainly in formal ones.

Each one in the community switches into the dialect, in formal cases, or into SA, in informal cases, according to the situation he is involved in. The reasons are many but the result is the same either in formal or informal occasions. People may switch on the basis of their level of education which allows them to acquire an important lexical background in *Fusha* while the dialect is highly mastered by the population. Analyzing diglossic variation at the level of age, gender, ethnicity and social class is not central to this research work. They may have variations at the levels of lexis, phonology, accent, style; but they all apply diglossia because they all use the same dialect of the majority and recognize SA as the official language of school, media, government and other formal domains.

5.3.2 Dialect Shift versus Dialect Maintenance

It should be noticed that the four common dialects were not mixed together seeking to create a common dialect used by the majority; if the dialects have been mixed with each other this means that they no more exist nowadays. Therefore; the process of koinization is not really held in this case. The dialect of the majority is highly used by the following generations and it becomes difficult to reduce its use among the population and regain the use of the other dialects. The only dialect which is preserved is Berber or D5. Doui Mnii and Ouled Djrir are living with each other in the city center where the contact between people is highly adopted.

The eight Berber varieties spoken in different regions in Bechar are all characterized by losing many old lexical terms as their use started to be reduced mainly among the young people who acquired D1. Nevertheless, Berber is still preserved among the old people and among those who have strong attitudes towards their original dialect and mother tongue. Therefore, the aspect of dialect shift can be highly remarked among Doui Mnii and Ouled Djrir especially those who live in the countryside. There is a minority of Doui Mnii living in Abadla and are still talking in their dialect though their children started to use D1. Dialect maintenance can be noticed among the Berbers whose varieties reflect a sign of their identity and belonging to the Berber groups. The Ksourians are also maintaining their dialect at a certain degree though a respective number of them shifted into the dialect of the Majority.

Dialect maintenance represents particularly the process done by the old people while dialect shift is adopted by the young people and the coming generations. Most of the new generations, such as Doui Mnii, Ouled Djrir, Ksouria, and the Berbers, gave approximately the same reasons for their shift into the dialect of the majority. They see that their ancient dialects as very old and have weak and poor style; they are full of old terms which seem ambiguous and heavily articulated. When they were asked to give examples of these terms some of the youngsters failed while others did not recognize the meanings of some terms given to them. Moreover, the different accents associated with

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those dialects are not appropriate for the modern life. They see those accents as inferior and not civilized as compared with the accents of the other dialects of Algeria. Their contact with people coming from other areas and their education abroad pushed them to build and acquire new modern accents.

The occurrence of bidialectalism in Bechar had inevitably led to language shift from D2, D3, D4, and D5 into D1; but the end point of language shift is language death. In fact, none of these dialects died, they might be reduced at the level of use but they are still recognized by members of the community. Language death touched a very special dialect which was used by a very small group of Jews who lived in Bechar since the French colonization but left the area few years after the independence. The dialect used by those people has undergone the process of creolization. As a definition a pidgin is a variety of language without a native speaker; it arises when varieties are mixed up with each other between people who have no common language leading to the creation of a new variety for immediate purposes of communication.

A pidgin becomes a Creole only when the former is acquired from one generation to another leading to the acquisition of native speakers. The large contact between the Ksourians and the Jewish families, who had no language in common, gave birth to the sixth dialect which was neither admired nor used by the other people. Like any pidgin, the sixth dialect or D6 was a mixture between D4 and the Jews language with some features taken from the Moroccan dialect used in the south. This dialect was very typical mainly at the phonological level where, for instance, the sound /s/ was articulated as /ʃ/ like (672) [sɪdhʊ ʔɪsħaːq] "Sir Ishaq" which was pronounced as [ʃɪdhʊ ʔʃħaːq]. D6 disappeared after the departure of the Jews from Bechar; this is why it was not mentioned in this research work as obtaining data about it was difficult.

5.4 Diglossia in Informal Settings

The case of diglossia in formal settings has been the main interest of the previous parts; such sphere involves mainly people who are educated or have a certain level of education including pupils, teachers, students, various administrators, directors, and experts. But, informal settings involve both educated and less or uneducated people; and all these samples have diglossia in various cases and for many reasons. Informal settings, in this research work, refer to any kind of daily interaction between people who belong to many origins, have different educational levels, own various social status, and switch between their dialect and *Fusha* in different ways. It has been already stated that there are five common dialects used in Bechar, three of them, i.e. D1, D2, and D3, are Arabic dialects, one of them is a variety of Berber, and another variety is a special dialect used by people mainly living in the area of Kenadsa.

The co-existence of many dialects in this speech community creates a variation in the sort of dialect which is switched with Fusha. As described before, those dialects are spoken by various ethnic groups of people. Doui Mnii, for instance, moves back and forth from their dialect, D2, to Fusha; Ouled Djrir switch between D3 and *Fusha*, the Ksourain switch between D4 and Fusha. The co-existence of these dialects and SA in Bechar is regarded as a diglossia; but the coexistence of D5 or Berber and *Fusha* is not diglossia for Ferguson because both varieties do not belong to the same language in contrast to Fishman who pays attention to the existence of more than one original variety in the same speech community. Such case can be also regarded as diglossia for the fact that the two varieties, Berber and Fusha, have different functions in society as H and L. Therefore, in order to limit the field of study, it is decided to examine D1 since it the most useful and is spoken by most of the population even those who belong to different regional areas and have different ethnic origins.

The alternate use of Fusha and the dialect of the majority (D1) is very common in everyday interaction. All the samples being questioned claim that they use their dialect alternately with SA in many situations and for many reasons. Teachers, for instance, use many SA terms outside their schools when they are talking with their interlocutors. They justify such use by their high influence by the language they use and teach in the school. Thus, whenever they go out of class or school they produce statements like:

(674) [bəlaʕ θala:ʒa] "close the refrigerator";

(675) [ʕandek na:fɪða dɒrbək] "pay attention, the window will hit you";

(676) [ʔasriʕi dʊk trɒħ ʕli:k l ħafɪla] "hurry up, the bus is leaving";

(677) [raħ da:həmna l waqt] "we are late",

(678) [sa:fərt l ba:rəħ bəl qɪtˤa :r] "yesterday; I traveled by train";

(679)[ħablu:na tala:mi:ð b ʕadam lʔɪhtɪma:m] "we suffer from the pupils neglect";

(680) [wɪn raha l ma:ʔɪda ntaʕ lʔakl] "where is the eating table?"

(681)[kɪfa:ʃ ra:h lmʊstawa ddɪra:sɪ ha:d l ʕa:m] "how is the educational level this year";

(682) [ra:h ʕandna nadwa ʕɪlmɪjja jawm lʔaħad] "we have a scientific seminar on Sunday",

(683) [ħəli:t tama:ri:n kʊlha:] "I have done all the exercises";

(684) [ta:kʊl tʊfa:ħa wʊla bʊrtʊqa:la] "do you want to eat an apple or an orange?"

Examples like these are many and are used every day and by all people of this speech community.

Within their questionnaires, the teachers who declared that they don't use their dialect in class, see that *Fusha* should not only be used inside of the academic institutions and the various educational settings but also around society and with all people either educated or less educated. Using *Fusha* in society increases its value, helps to impose its control and power on the other varieties and similarly reduces the dominance of French in many domains because the process of Arabization is not really achieved. French is still used in

many administrations for writing various documents. On the other hand, the teachers who admit dialect intervention in their classes do not accept the use of *Fusha* out of their work seeking to change the environment that they live in approximately the whole day. They argue that they will be confined when they use *Fusha* and prefer to use it in class and be free from it out of school so as to break the routine created by their job. Those teachers regard such behavior as the best way to preserve the value of *Fusha* and protect it from bad use and non-competent speakers who may use it in a very low way.

Sometimes *Fusha* does not really convey the message people want to convey when they are interacting with each other; they need to shout, fight, sing, punish, joke, dispute, and do many daily activities in which *Fusha* is not appropriate. Doing such activities needs speed; therefore the suitable code in these situations is the dialect since the use of *Fusha* demands time to look for the appropriate words to say. Thus, the dialect serves better these functions as the terms used are easier to find and express. Two primary school teachers claimed that they feel proud, comfortable and happy when they are talking in *Fusha* alternately with their dialect in daily conversation as they regard it as a sign of strength. Cultural sophistication is also reached through *Fusha* better than French or any other language. The practice of *Fusha* every day reduces systematic errors, including lexical, grammatical and phonological ones.

Table 5.1: The Use of SA Terms in Informal Settings

Samples	N⁰	Using SA in everyday communication							
		Agree	Rate	Disagree	Rate	Frequently	Rate	Rarely	Rate
Ordinary People	250	83	33,2%	167	66,8%	150	60%	100	40%
Teachers	229	123	53,71%	106	46,22%	189	82,53%	40	17,46%
Pupils	545	369	67,70%	176	32,29%	411	75,41%	134	24,58%

Attitudes towards *Fusha*, as explained before, vary among the population for many reasons. Apart from the teachers, 167 ordinary people, i.e. 66,8%, refuse its use in society arguing that it is the language of the Quran and should not be used in everyday communication alternately with the dialect, the

latter is full of many slang and divergent expressions with should not be used in parallel with SA. This language is appropriately used in education, media, government, and other formal domains. Similarly, they think that *Fusha* should be used only in formal setting whereas the dialect must be spoken only in informal ones so as to create a more organized society with one language for the appropriate situation; but such aspect may exclude the existence of diglossia. 83 of them, i.e. 33,2% see that society involves both educated people who can understand *Fusha* and uneducated people who are unable to recognize it or many terms of it. Thus, it is the role of the educated people who should introduce SA terms in their daily communication so that the uneducated ones can acquire and learn many concepts and use them.

For the same reason, 53,71% among the teachers of all levels insist on the use of SA lexis in daily interaction so that those uneducated people can acquire a certain level of competency or can at least learn some items in it. Many old people were unable to learn *Fusha* in schools; thus they have a difficulty in understanding many lexical terms when they are in the mosque or when they watch TV programs. Thus, using SA vocabulary in daily interaction helps many people to be in touch with many issues discussed in their society. Many of them do not know what is meant by: (685) [naqa:ba] "syndicate", (686) [ʔiʕtɪşa:m] "sit-in", (687) [mawkɪb] "parade", and other terms. Therefore, using *Fusha* in everyday conversation increases its spontaneous use and facilitates its learning in schools. Among the ordinary people who agree on using SA terms in society express their proud of their language arguing that they are able to speak the language of Islam whenever and wherever they want in time, many non-Arab Muslims are not able to use it in everyday communication.

On the basis of our observation and according to their answers in the questionnaires; 60% among the ordinary people and 82,53% among the teachers tend to use *Fusha* alternately with their dialect frequently when they speak with each other. Teachers argue that they use many SA terms when they are in contact with their colleges when meeting out of work, their classmates,

and out of class, etc. On the other hand, 40% of the ordinary people and 17,46% among the teachers use SA term rarely when they are in contact with people having a limited level of education, illiterate, children, members of the same family, relatives, and old people. They see that ordinary people should be communicated to through the language they best know and use so as to preserve the purity and the value of *Fusha*.

The francophones regard those who use *Fusha* or some of its lexical terms in informal settings as being underdeveloped. They can be also classified as being backward, monolinguals and have no contact with the outside world believing that *Fusha* cannot be used for communication with strangers. The one who knows or uses *Fusha* is unable to communicate with highly educated people like doctors, engineers, teachers, directors, and many official personalities, they add. The ordinary people regard those who speak *Fusha* fluently as lucky and capable of communicating with all people in the Arab world.

Unfortunately, *Fusha* is sometimes used for joking with each other or for mocking on someone's speech. 18% of the ordinary people regard anyone who speaks Fusha or introduces its terms as being a laughing stock. When they were asked about their use of *Fusha* to joke or to mock on someone they admit stating that it should not be tied to seriousness, formalization and official use. But 82% have totally refused the idea of using *Fusha* for joke arguing that it is used for learning and talking by not for joking. They regard such action as an offense on the language holding the fact that *Fusha* has been created for Quran as it reflects the nationalism of the Arab nation, rather than joke and irony. Many terms are found in the Quran and can be used in every day but not for laughing; there are however other dialectal terms appropriate for a joke and should not be accompanied with SA terms not to leak into it.

People working in various administrations may not be highly affected by *Fusha* as much as teachers for the fact that they do not use it at work at the same extent like teachers, as the previous sections presented. Thus, moving back and forth from *Fusha* to the dialect by those participants is not high.

Many of them prefer to switch into French rather than *Fusha* since the latter is not widely used by the population. Nevertheless, there are many issues that can only be discussed through *Fusha* or at least can be switched into it, such as religious matters, social problems, historical events, educational programs, etc. The 33,2% who agree on the use of *Fusha* in every day seek to spread its use more than the foreign language mainly French. It is, for them, a very rich language containing many lexical terms that seem more beautiful and more expressive than the dialect or any other foreign language. The daily use of *Fusha* entrenches its use for the following generations, and this leads to language maintenance rather than language endangerment or loss. The alternate use of SA and the dialect in society appears many statements such as:

(688) [ʕandɪ ʔɪrsaːl lɪmawd̪ɒʕ ʔɪxbaːrɪ] "I have a registration for a subject of news";

(689) [jallah nṣalʊ ʒamaːʕa fəl masʒɪd] "let's go and pray together in the mosque";

(690)[haːd lfasaːd baːɣɪ jət̪ɣa ʕ ləblaːd] "Corruption will spread in the country";

(691) [lʕawlama ʕamat l blaːd] "globalization involved all the nation";

(692) [wala ħaːʒa raːha mʊstaħiːla haːd l waqt] "nothing is impossible now";

(693) [waːʃ rak ħaːb tkuːn fəl mʊstaqbal] "what do you want to be in the future?"

(694) [ʃaʕb jəbɣɪ lʕadaːla] "people love justice".

Pupils of various grades have been also involved in examining the rate of the diglossic case in informal settings. Similarly, 369 among 545 pupils, that is a rate of 64,70%, welcomed the use of *Fusha* in their speech along with the dialect seeing such behavior as a good way of practicing and applying what they study at school. Talking *Fusha* out of school allows them to meet, acquire and use many terms and recognize the meaning of others. *Fusha* helps people to talk in a more revered way for its inclusion of many polite and respectable terms, unlike the dialect which contains many borrowed terms and expressions which are deviated from the social norms. The rest, i.e. 32,29% (176 pupils)

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have a contrastive idea holding the fact that *Fusha* is not needed in their daily communication since the dialect provides mutual intelligibility between people. Thus, *Fusha*, for them, is very complicated and cannot be understood by all the people as it should be introduced in schools leaving the chance for the dialect to play its role as a medium of communication; they prefer to talk only in the dialect so as to live out of the school environment. These generations found their parents and families using the dialect for low functions, thus they feel that the use of *Fusha* for the same need is not required.

People may have varying attitudes and views towards diglossia in everyday communication or towards SA itself but in one way or another they use *Fusha* alternately with their dialect either consciously or unconsciously. Those who refuse the use of SA in their daily speech but they still introduce it when they lack lexical items in their dialects. *Fusha* and the dialect have many lexical similarities but there are many SA concepts and technical terms which do not have their equivalents in the dialects like: (695)[saʕa] "hour", (696) [dqi:qa] "minute", (697) [naha:r] "day", (698) [ʒami:ʕa] "university", (699) [duru:s] "lessons", (700) [mɪsṭara] "ruler", (701) [kta:b] book", etc. Therefore, people use these terms in their speech alternately within their dialect leading to diglossia. People with different origins, levels of education, and various social backgrounds are heard talking in a diglossic manner producing sentences like (702) [lʔazma **ħa:dɪ fa:tət ʕli:na** salama:t] «this crisis has passed safely» ;

(703 [**maka:nʃ bəza:f** 1 mɪsa:ħa:t lxadra **hna**] "there are not enough green areas here";

(704) [la:zəm **təqra** dali:l **ba:ʃ** təfham] "you must read the guide so as to understand";

(705) [tfaraʒt **lba:rəh** barna:maʒ taqa:fɪ **mli:ħ**] "yesterday I watched an interesting cultural program".

The alternate use of *Fusha* and the dialect may vary according to many factors; the most important ones are the level of education and the degree of competency in Fusha. The educated people have an important size of SA vocabulary that enables them to use it when they need. People using SA terms

alternately with Fusha in informal occasions may appear as saying something important and in relation to social and political issues, as they are able to express better themselves. But some people see them unable to speak a foreign language or affected by TV programs.

5.5 Diglossia in the Mosque

This part has been specified to give some description and observation about the diglossic case existing in the mosque which is one of the models of diglossia where the alternate use of *Fusha* and the dialect of Bechar is apparent. This setting welcomes by people, who have various backgrounds and levels of education, for religious purposes. People go to pray in the mosque and listen to the sermon mainly on Friday. But what is specific in this sphere is it the Imam who alternately uses SA with his dialect; he spends most of the time speaking to people about various religious, social, and sometimes political issues, and sometimes teaching them some experiences of real life.

After interviewing the Imams, they claimed that they sometimes need to use *Fusha* and their dialect alternately during their declamation of the sermon. It is obvious that the mosque welcomes many illiterate people for prayer, and the Imams declare that talking in *Fusha* alone prevents these people to understand everything said. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify ambiguous matters through the dialect along with *Fusha*. The literate people are also involved in such setting though they are not really the main target of the diglossic application. This group of people, as the Imams claim, has an important level of education, awareness, and knowledge which enable them to understand the lesson easily. The illiterate people are mainly old people including men and women who may not recognize the meanings of: (706) [ʕamalɪja ʔɪntɪqaːʔɪjja] "selection", (707) [ʔɪʃkaːlɪja] "problem", (708) [jaʔba] "refuses", (709) [tadriːb al naʃʔ] training the generation", (710) [ʔɪtˤaːr] "cadre", (711) [sʊbaːt] "sleep", (712) (713) [ʔal haːdɪr] "rumbling", (714) [hʃa] "fragile", (715) [namatˤ] "pattern", (716) [ʔɪstɪ faːda] "thoroughgoing", etc.

Nevertheless, there are many young people and literate people who find a difficulty in understanding many phrases in *Fuhsa*; thus they can also benefit from the explanation and clarification that the Imam does in a diglossic manner. The Imam has a very important role not only in the mosque but in the whole society. They guide people of both genders, and of all ages and levels of education. They are specialized in the religious field and know many issues that many people need to be aware of. Therefore, the Imams' main job is to teach those matters to various people in a very simple and easy way. They are allowed to introduce their dialect during their explanation and declamation. In some cases, they introduce their dialect as far as they start their speech; but in other cases, they prefer to introduce the original speech or verse in *Fuhsa* and then move to explain with the aid of their dialect.

Using the dialect in the mosque along with SA helps the Imams to clarify complex issues in Islam and explain Quranic verses. Classical Arabic is the language of Quran and many old and complicated concepts exist in it, therefore, they need to give the synonyms of those terms in the dialect or explain them in full sentences. They also tend to give examples from real life in order to have a concrete image of their lesson. These examples are in many cases given in the dialect in time the main sentences that reflect such case are told in Fusha. Thus, the mixture here seems more organized in which the sermon is in *Fusha* and examples of clarification are given in the dialect. The Imams read the sermon which is written in *Fusha*, and move to explain in the dialect what is written and what they read since the dialect cannot be written.

The Imams' use of their dialect in the mosque is neither a sign of bad *Fusha*, nor is it a reflection of their incompetence in it. Those who have a BA degree are counted among the literate and educated people; they speak *Fusha* fluently as their mastery of it is obvious. But, as explained before, they need often to move to the dialect for the sake of making things clearer and simpler. Six of the eight Imams agree on the intervention of the dialect in the mosque for the same reasons mentioned before, but two of them refuse such use stating that there are many religious issues that can only be described through *Fusha*.

They hold the fact that the Quran is introduced in *Fusha* through which the explanation must be. Nevertheless, they, from time to time, move into their dialect when they know that the listeners could not understand certain issues in SA. Dialectal Arabic is the sub-version of *Fusha* and is appropriate only for low functions, nevertheless, they insist on that the dialect fails to reflect what is mentioned in the Quran and cannot convey the real message. They see that explaining in the dialect is only a form of translation from *Fusha* to dialect. There are also some sensitive and complex matters that should not be discussed through the dialect.

Giving the explanation in the dialect may reduce the importance, the value and the wisdom of the idea, as it may not convey the real meaning of the Quranic version. The dialect lacks many terms related to religion and is therefore inappropriate for such function. Even though, the eight Imams use their dialect for the same reasons. But it is important to note that *Fusha* in the mosque is used more than the dialect which is used to remove ambiguity and misunderstanding, and here again, we see that the powerful use of *Fusha* is not exclusive to school. In addition to the teachers of Arabic literature and Islamic sciences, Imams are also affected to a high degree by *Fusha* which they use in the mosque. In fact, religious men are also competent enough in *Fusha* as they use it not only in the mosque but also in daily interaction with their interlocutors in order to speak about various social, economic and other issues. They are also regarded as the people who agree on the use of *Fusha* in daily communication so as to be familiar with it and avoid any confusion found in the sermon.

5.6 Data Analysis

The previous sections provided explanation and description of the diglossic case in Bechar speech community taking into consideration the formal and the informal settings. The former presents a description of diglossia in the various educational spheres, such as primary, middle and secondary schools, and some administrations where the use of *Fusha* and the dialect can be noticed. This section refers to many aspects related to the use of *Fusha* in

educational places including its alternate use with the dialect, teachers' and learners' competency in SA, and the pupils' perception of diglossia. The description of diglossia in administrative places came after that of the educational settings and all their analysis will be in the main section.

The second part was specified to describe diglossia in informal settings where ordinary people have been involved. People under investigation have been also asked about their attitudes and feeling towards *Fusha* and the various problems and limitations they face when they learn it in schools. The aspect of diglossia in the mosque has been also dealt with in this section. All these aspects have been only described above, but their analysis will be presented in the main phase involving all the related issues to the alternate use between Fusha and the dialect of the majority in Bechar speech community. These two varieties of Arabic are represented, according to Ferguson's suggestion, as High variety 'H' for Fusha and the Low variety 'L' for the dialect of the majority (D1). The data analyzed in this phase will take into consideration every described aspect above including the diglossic case found in the mosque. The main diglossic variation has been noticed at the level of education as described before in which educated people use SA alternately with their dialects according to each setting.

5.6.1 Analyzing Diglossia in Classroom

On the basis of our observation and the teachers' responses in the questionnaires we have noticed that the use of the teachers' dialect in classroom depends on their proficiency in *Fusha*; that is if one teacher has a high level of mastery in *Fusha* he will not introduce his dialect in his class for one or any reason. On the other hand, if the teacher's mastery of *Fusha* is not good, he will probably borrow many terms from his dialect so as to serve some functions. This fact has been remarked during our observation to the various educational settings starting from the primary school and passing by the middle and the secondary schools. In all these institutions a variation in *Fusha* was apparently observed among teachers of the different modules. The analysis of

the diglossic case in the classroom will be presented below being detailed into sub-headings; while the analysis of the diglossic case in administration will be in the next phase.

A) Primary School

The way in which each teacher uses *Fusha* indicates the level of his proficiency in it. This fact has many effects on the pupils who are required to acquire and learn *Fusha* as it is presented by their 'fluent' or 'non-fluent' teacher. That is, if their teacher is fluent and competent enough in *Fusha*, the pupils will get a good foundation in it. The fluent teacher can pronounce the alphabetic letters correctly, adapt the grammatical rules in his speaking and writing skills, and teach the requirements of *Fusha* accurately. On the other hand, the non fluent teacher may not pronounce some of the sensitive Arabic letters, like: /ɖ/, /ʂ/, /θ/, and /ð/, correctly and thus the pupils may not get the right way of articulation and consequently they will acquire the incorrect pronunciation of many alphabetic letters. Pupils will be a good or bad copy of their teacher on the basis of his teaching methods and techniques.

Pupils of primary schools learn and recognize *Fusha* as it is transmitted from their teacher, and thus their level of competency depends on their teachers' proficiency and background in it. They are said to be a copy of their teacher, but such copy may be good or bad according to each teacher and his mastery of *Fusha*. Teachers of this level teach all the required modules, a fact that pushes 9 of the interviewed teachers to complain about the overcrowded program and the complex lessons involved in it. They are no more interested in the basics of *Fusha*, which are reading, writing, and speaking as much as they are interested in many other aspects such as mathematics, civic education, history, geography, and technology. Searching for information about these issues reduces their focus in learning and teaching the language itself. On the basis of this fact, it seems that these teachers justify their incompetency in *Fusha* by the kind of lessons they teach which, they assume, are not suitable for their pupils who are unable to bear all such complicated matters.

67,5% among the teachers in the primary school claim that they avoid using their dialect in class mainly when they are explaining the lessons; nevertheless, they have been heard, during our observation, introducing it in some cases mainly in class management. Many of them unselfconsciously use some dialectal terms which seem more expressive for the situation than SA ones. Other cases of diglossia were used when giving some orders or pieces of advice. This group of the teacher has a good competency in *Fusha* which appears in their pronunciation; their dialect intervention in class doesn't mean that they switch very often in their speech, but their alternate use occurs at the level of some words only. These teachers are among the main supporters of *Fusha* as they defend its use not only in school but outside too.

32,5% among the teachers have really marked a noticeable use of their dialects in their classes mainly with the pupils of first and second years holding the fact that these pupils are still beginners and are not required to hear correct *Fusha*. They thought that their pupils may not dislike or notice the use of the dialect in class as much as doing so in *Fusha*. These teachers do not only give orders, pieces of advice and control their classes through their dialect; but they also use it when they explain the lesson. Ambiguity and misunderstanding are the main factors that push them to borrow terms from D1 in order to clarify the case, but in fact, it has been observed that D1 intervenes in class before the existence of complex issues. Some teachers of third, fourth, and fifth grades also apply diglossia. Pupils of these levels are prepared to pass to middle schools where more detailed and complicated subjects will be found, as they are more capable for understanding many terms and cases in Fusha; nevertheless, their teachers use their dialects to do various activities. The main and most appropriate explanation here is that some of those teachers use D1 for their low capacity in Fusha; while others introduce it unselfconsciously and seem highly affected by it.

The dialect is talked and heard everywhere and at any moment, but *Fusha* is used only when they go to school and meet their teacher, and when watching TV in some special cases. The pupils still want to use *Fusha* as they

hear on TV which provides them with some educational lessons that can help them but it cannot be effective as much as their teachers. They need to see their teacher in front of them, hear his voice directly, and at the top of these speak to him as he replies. They acquire the way he reads the passages, the way he talks in *Fusha*, and his attitudes towards it. If their teacher introduces his dialect in class they will introduce it as well, but if he does not and prevents them from using it in class they will pay more attention when talking or writing some issues. The teachers who avoid using their dialect in class (27 teachers) tend to correct immediately the lexical errors done by their pupils mainly when they use a dialectal term in class. The other teachers who admit their dialect intervention in their classes (13 teachers) leave their pupils to say whatever they want regardless of the reasons that push them to commit such errors. They see that pupils must feel free when talking to the teacher and see that any attempt of correction will panic him and push him to forget the information he wants to say. The pupils probably could not find the exact SA term for the situation, they may forget it, or do not know at all, and need the help of the teacher to provide them with the missing terms.

B) Middle School

At this level, none of the teachers complained about the crowded modules since each one teaches a definite module; rather that they have complained about the high number of lessons and their complexity as well. Teachers at this level should use *Fusha* without any fear of misunderstanding since their pupils appear more capable of overcoming ambiguities. They become also able to check the meanings of complex terms in dictionaries instead of asking the teacher for clarification. Nevertheless, 69 teachers (63,88%) introduce their dialect in the class; the reasons that push them such act are many as they vary from one teacher to another. This percentage reflects mainly the teachers of natural sciences, physics, and mathematics who claim that the nature of their modules is not based on *Fusha* per se. The main target for them is the content of the lesson and how pupils receive the information or the idea correctly.

Those teachers have shown a tendency to borrow terms not only from D1 but also from the French language arguing that there are many symbols and equations that can only be produced through French. They think that they may not be judged for their dialect intervention in class though the use of their dialect to explain a given idea has an effect on the idea itself. If the teacher uses dialectal terms during his explanation to refer to some fact, the pupils will find a difficulty in expressing such idea in *Fusha* particularly in the exams since it is already given in a diglossic manner. In this case, the teacher complicates rather than facilitates the subject matter to his pupils. They claim that using *Fusha* fluently and correctly is the target and the role of teachers of Arabic literature, Islamic sciences, history, and geography. These teachers are the responsible for teaching and applying rules of grammar, lexis, and pronunciation.

Another negative aspect here is that pupils themselves may evaluate their teacher(s) as being incompetent in *Fusha*, and thus unable to explain the lessons in it. If pupils feel that the information will be better understood with the intervention of the dialect they will no more want to receive it in *Fusha* and their attitudes towards *Fusha* itself will decrease. This idea has been really noticed and felt among 55,55% of the pupils who see that the dialect is the main facilitator of understanding; if they hear their teacher explaining in *Fusha* they will not concentrate on what he says and they will wait for an explanation in a diglossic way. The dialect for them becomes a necessary tool or element that approximates the information while *Fusha* becomes an obstacle to learning. The teacher's use of his dialect in class is demanded by those pupils so that to arrive at a certain point of understanding. The teacher will find himself obliged to carry on the diglossic method he has used right from the beginning; in contrast, teachers who used to explain in SA alone may not face such a problem.

As explained earlier, the teachers' use of their dialect in class appears mainly when they are communicating directly to one of the pupils talking about various issues. The latter involve punishment, order, giving

pieces advice, and controlling the pupils when they are doing some activities or tasks. On the other hand, the other teachers of Arabic literature and Islamic science particularly, show a strong tendency in excluding at the maximum the use of D1 in class. As described before, 36,11% of the teachers insist on explaining the lesson exclusively in *Fusha*. They focus on the use of SA not only by them but also by their pupils who respect such behavior and desire. As a comparison, pupils have varied attitudes towards their teachers; they pay more attention to the language when attending the class with these teachers as they show a high ability in talking in *Fusha*, and they pay less attention to their *Fusha* when they communicate with the teachers who introduce their dialect. Thus, the pupils' use of *Fusha* depends and is related to the teachers' attitudes and ways of using SA in class. Teachers of Arabic modules speak correct *Fusha*, they also fear from committing any kind of mistake when using it not be deviated from its accurate use.

C) Secondary School

Within group interviews, four of the six teachers believe that as far as pupils move to a higher level; they are no more in need of learning the basics of *Fusha* and its characteristics. Pupils should be taught the fundamental rules of *Fusha* in primary and middle schools where they are required to hear the pure *Fusha* from their teachers. One should notice that using one's dialect is not allowed in the classroom by any teacher whatever he teaches such as literary modules, scientific modules, and foreign languages. Nevertheless; 56,79% of the secondary school teachers use their dialect in class for various reasons mainly their focus on the lesson and its understanding by the pupils rather than focusing on the way and the language they use when they are explaining. Their mastery of *Fusha* is not really marked, as they miss many Arabic expressions appropriate for situations like class management, punishment, controlling exercises, etc.

In many cases, those teachers borrow dialectal terms which have synonyms in *Fusha*; the loan words appear even during their explanation regarding it as a slip of their tongues rather than a deliberate behavior. Their

use of their dialect is highly remarked in class management and when giving punishment since the dialectal terms used for such situations are more expressive than those of *Fusha*. As a response, pupils appear using their dialect in order to ask about various issues believing that their teacher will not blame them for such behavior. This is one of the main negative consequences of dialect intervention in the classroom by the teachers who have been heard replying to many questions asked by their pupils in a diglossic manner. This fact may reduce the lexical bank of teachers and mainly pupils who are still in the learning stage. It may also affect their ability to express their opinions on both the spoken and the written forms.

Teachers of Arabic modules, as described before, are the main characters who show their support for the functions, role, learning, and use of *Fusha* in all settings mainly in schools. D1 for them has no role to play in schools. 43,20% of the teachers who do not use their dialect in class insist on asking oral questions to their pupils only in *Fusha* so that the information and the question itself keep their value and importance. Questions submitted in D1 appear having weak and unimportant information while those asked in *Fusha* carry an important and essential value behind. Therefore, these teachers focus on keeping the importance of the information through using *Fusha* with their pupils. As a response, their pupils will learn to give their teachers the information with the value they seek to preserve. Their behavior succeeds in making their pupils respect the role and use of *Fusha* in the classroom. Thus, the teachers of all the levels are divided into two groups in which some of them use their dialect in class while others do not.

After analyzing the data provided by secondary school teachers, we have noticed that 56,79% of the teachers introduce their dialects in class. These teachers regard that D1 facilitates their job and plays a crucial role in education. These teachers regard such action as a good behavior which benefits the pupils and ensures their understanding; they see that pupils of secondary schools cannot be easily affected by dialect intervention in class. On the other

hand, 43,20% of the teachers still insist on the use, the value and the importance of *Fusha* even with the third year pupils.

5.6.2 Analyzing Diglossia in Administration

The various employees working in different administrations are using SA at the level of writing more than speaking. Thus, they can't be blamed for using D1 as much as the teachers whose job focuses on both the spoken and the written forms. They may not have the same level of proficiency in SA as the teacher, and may not have strong attitudes towards it or insist on its use. They speak D1 more than *Fusha* at work, but they write *Fusha* rather than D1. At the level of speaking, the employees use D1 more than the teachers; and in one moment or another, they introduce some terms taken from *Fusha* simply because they leave their exclusive use of *Fusha* when writing various documents.

In some cases, French substitutes *Fusha* in many written documents, this also appears when the employees communicate with each other borrowing from French rather than from *Fusha*. There are some cases when the switch into French is more than the switch into *Fusha*; but in other cases, the switch into *Fusha* is imperative mainly when demanding some documents, archives, decisions, etc. *Fusha* is valued more than D1 and French and the employees are required to have a certain degree and ability in it so as to practice their jobs. *Fusha* is the basic language of various administrations while D1 is the variety of interaction between the staff. The latter is not controlled for their use of *Fusha* at the spoken form, nor are they obliged to communicate through it. People working in administrations are not seeking to use or hear correct, accurate, and pure *Fusha*, as much as they are seeking to express their opinions and write documents using a good style in it. The written documents can also be read but without the intervention of D1.

In the administrations under investigation, *Fusha* is alternately used with D1 but it is the dialect which takes the biggest part of the diglossic process. The code that the employees use is basically their dialect with some terms form *Fusha* and French. But in order to restrict the case between D1 and *Fusha*, it is a dialect with some lexical terms borrowed from *Fusha*. Thus, their speech is basically D1 with some *Fusha* terms used when needed and when necessary. While the teachers have contrasted visions and attitudes towards *Fusha*, the employees, around 223, declare approximately the same viewpoint basing their ideas according to the nature of their job and experience too.

The administrative spheres under investigation involve four model agencies but we focused on only two of them. The other administrations were the Hydraulic Company and the private company of construction (URBAT) where the engineers and the staff switched back and forth from dialect into French or do the reverse case. Nevertheless, the switch into SA has been noticed but at a very low rate moreover, such switch appears when joking with each other. French seems to be the dominant language in those setting more than SA because of the nature of their jobs which requires producing documents, plans, reports etc in the French language. Most of the key terms which are related to their job are derived from the French language; these terms are used every day and for any purpose for their importance. Thus, this fact pushes them to switch between the dialect and French rather than moving from SA into the dialect.

5.6.3 Analyzing Diglossia in Informal Settings

Diglossia in informal settings varies among people who have different social, educational, and ethnic background. The second factor, i.e. education, is the main criterion of the diglossic case in informal occasions. At this setting people communicate through D1 and introduce terms from Fusha; in contrast to educational settings where teachers use *Fusha* and introduce terms from D1. People tend to borrow terms from *Fusha* according to their level of education. Those who have a certain level of education have a rich vocabulary and many

SA terms that can be used in everyday speech when the switch is needed. The switch into the French language is also noticed and exists very often; for instance people say: (717) [tilifu:n] instead of (718) [hatif] "telephone", (719)[ɒɣdinatə:r] instead of (720) [ħa:su:b] "computer", (721) [pɒɣtabl] instead of (722) [ħa:tif naqa:l] "mobile phone", (723) [lɒtɒ] instead of (724) [sajjara], (725) [karṭa:b] rather than (726) [mɪħfaḍa], and soon.

The French terms are neither better nor more expressive than the SA ones, but most of the Algerians use these words since the presence of the French and cannot abandon them from their speech. On the other hands, there are situations which call for the application of SA terms only, one can say for example (727) [ʃħal raha saʕa] but not [ʃħal raha lə:r] "what time is it?" The Algerians are highly affected by the French language to the point that the phenomenon of code-switching may exist more than diglossia. People who have the chance to go to school and learn the French language, and also those who have been in contact with the French during the colonization introduce the French language in their speech more than SA. Among the southern regions where one can see the low competency in the French language, Bechar involves people, both educated and uneducated, switching into French using words that have been transformed from one generation to another.

In informal settings, teachers use many SA terms for the fact that they use *Fusha* in schools at all levels such as reading, speaking, and writing. They carry *Fusha* outside of the schools, but their use of it lies at the level of words rather than full sentences and paragraphs. They talk in D1 for daily interaction and introduce terms borrowed from SA when they need. The loanwords have their equivalents in D1 but they prefer to use the SA ones for reasons will be explained in the following section. Teachers, as they claimed before, are highly affected by *Fusha* mainly teachers of Arabic modules and those who teach in the primary schools.

67,5% among the teachers of primary schools explain their focus on using only SA in class; they also seek to increase the use of *Fusha* in society, as they wish to enhance the functions that it plays not only in formal and educational occasions but also in informal ones. They even substitute the switch into French by the switch into SA. Their main target is to make *Fusha* the most dominant language in all the educational, political economic, and mainly at the social level. Increasing the use and the role of *Fusha* starts by society; if people used to speak the dialect alternately with the *Fusha* more than French they will no more find a difficulty when learning it in schools. Practicing *Fusha* in everyday speech facilitates its learning when going to school, and enhances the feeling of national identity and educational awareness.

60% of the ordinary people also use SA terms frequently when they are communicating with each other. Such use depends on the subject being discussed and people involved in the conversation. When a group of people is talking about the improvements of education, political conflicts, economic crises, they need many SA terms so as to express their ideas and describe the case accurately. Similarly, if the people involved in that discussion have an important degree of education they will use more correct terms taken from SA. The educated people, in general, use SA terms informally more than the uneducated ones. Those uneducated individuals mark a noticeable diglossic use but with a limited vocabulary as compared to the educated.

The loanwords introduced into D1 are sometimes more expressive and more polite than the local ones, and in other cases, they lack their synonyms in D1. On the other hand, dialectal terms are in many cases weaker than their equivalents in SA because of the low function that D1 plays. D1 also involves much slang that is deviated from the social norms and cannot be used with the public; therefore, the use of *Fusha* here is necessary for the sake of good and beautiful communication. Uneducated people suffer from a limited percentage of the vocabulary of *Fusha,* a fact that limits their use of diglossia in informal

settings. They may hear *Fusha* on TV, radio, news, and other places from where they can acquire more lexis and use it when they are talking with each other.

The alternate use of some SA terms among the population pushes uneducated people to use those terms as well especially if they are related to life issues in general. They seek to be important and active members of society getting in touch with many issues and being aware of the new changes in society. Using SA terms is sometimes necessary for the uneducated or less educated people. *Fusha* is lexically larger than D1 though the latter increases its lexis by the French loanwords; nevertheless, there are situations and cases that can only be expressed through *Fusha*. Discussing Islamic matters is one of those cases for the fact that CA is the language of Islam where many subjects can be referred to by SA terms only.

The Imams in the mosque are heard each Friday reading the sermon in *Fusha* and moving to explain its meaning with the use of their dialect in a diglossic manner. The Imams use *Fusha* more than D1; that is Imams borrow from D1 into Fusha. In other cases, they speak directly to people in a mixture between D1 and Fusha. The main target population of such linguistic use is the uneducated people who have a limited ability in understanding *Fusha*. The main reason that pushes the Imams to switch into the dialect is the same reason that the teachers hold so as to justify the use of their dialect in the classroom. Imams seek to clarify issues and subject matters that seem complex for the listeners so that they can understand and benefit from what is involved in the sermon. While the teachers choose to switch to the dialect, the Imams are sometimes obliged to move into the dialect in order to attract the attention of the population within the mosque.

5.7 Reasons of Diglossia

The reasons that push people to use SA alternately with their dialect are many and depend on each individual and his background. In Formal settings, teachers justify their use of D1 in class as a way of clarifying complex issues, facilitating understanding since D1 is understood by all the pupils, and explaining new and difficult terms like (728) [ʃajjada] "built", (729) [ħaθθa] "insisted", (730) [ʔaːθaːr] "effects, etc.

Table 5.2: Teachers' Use of D1 in Class

Samples	Number	Use D1 in class	Rate	Avoid D1 in class	Rate
Teachers of all levels	229	128	55,89%	101	44,10%

The 55,89% of the teachers who use their dialect in class gave many reasons for such activities such as class management, giving orders, punishment and for controlling tasks. They also suppose that the kind of the module that they teach do not demand an exclusive use of *Fusha* and a focus on it, or they may not have a good style of expressing ideas in *Fusha* as they have in D1; as they may be affected by their dialect more than *Fusha*. Their incompetence in *Fusha* pushes them to use D1 to fill that gap. They also attribute such use for the different mental capacities of their pupils while some can understand quickly and others need an explanation in the dialect. Another reason is to remove ambiguity and misunderstanding from the pupils mainly when they are exposed to new subjects.

Although they are in formal settings, the workers of the various administrations borrow terms from *Fusha* into the dialect arguing that D1 is the main medium of interaction between the staff who are not really proficient in *Fusha*. The latter is not necessary for the spoken form as much as it is needed

in the written form. Diglossia occurs mainly at the spoken form; thus the staff uses D1 alternately with *Fusha* which is used so as to serve administrative functions. They also use many dialectal terms with SA when attending official meetings and when they are discussing subjects of their interest. The main language held in the meetings is SA though they argue that it is not used alone because they are not competent enough in Fusha and cannot talk in it fluently as they do in their dialect.

At the top of the informal settings, the Imams introduce dialectal terms when they are reading the sermon which is written in *Fusha* so as to make issues clearer to those who have limited ability in *Fusha* mainly old and uneducated people. They also give the synonyms of many complex SA terms in the dialect mainly items found in Quran. On the other hand, ordinary people show a tendency to introduce words from *Fusha* in their daily speech so as to strengthen its value and expand its use. In some cases the lexis of SA is more expressive than that of the dialectal, and in others, there are no equivalents of SA concepts and are therefore used as they are in daily interaction. Ordinary people who show their favour to use *Fusha* in their conversation attribute such act to their ability and competency in it or for jock.

The alternate use of *Fusha* and D1 has both negative and positive effects. The negative results occur in formal settings where D1 may handicap learning *Fusha* and make pupils rely on the explanation in the dialect. If pupils are exposed to a difficult situation in *Fusha* they will not try to realize the case since explanation in the dialect is coming. The use of the dialect in education reduces the value of *Fusha* and limits the pupils' desire to learn more vocabulary. Moreover, pupils will not acquire the correct, accurate and pure form of *Fusha* since its learning is interrupted by D1. *Fusha* is dominated by D1 in administrations where its use is limited to the written form and appears in few cases. Nevertheless, diglossia in informal settings has positive consequences. It helps people recognize what the Imams say in the mosque and be on the right path of the sermon. Using *Fusha* in everyday interaction

increases its value and importance in society as it enhances the attitudes towards it among the population. People will also increase their lexical background of *Fusha* and will have a better style and more beautiful language of everyday speech

5.8 Results

The use of D1 alternately with SA in classroom varies among the teachers; 55,89% of them introduce D1 in various normal uses like class management, giving orders, and other instruction, or when during the explanation of the lesson to clarify complex issues in addition to giving different instructions. Thus, the practice of diglossia depends on each teacher and the needs of his dialect. The reasons for the alternate use between *Fusha* and D1 are many, as the previous section showed, but they all lead to the same sociolinguistic phenomenon which is diglossia. 44,10% of the teachers have rigid attitudes towards *Fusha*; they insist on preserving the use of each of H and L varieties for its appropriate function; H or *Fusha* is restricted to be used inside the classroom leaving the L variety or D1 outside for interaction with each other.

The analysis also shows that teachers who use D1 in class are mainly those who teach scientific modules like natural sciences, physics, mathematics, etc. On the other hand, those who avoid any dialectal term in class are teachers of Arabic literature and Islamic science mainly. The teachers of the former group argue that they were taught through a language which is a mixture between Arabic and French though sometimes it is only French; while teachers of the second group declare that they were exposed to pure *Fusha*. Thus, the use of D1 depends not only on proficiency in *Fusha* or the needs of the dialects but also on the nature of the modules which are taught. It also depends on the level or the grade of the pupils; many teachers of the first year of primary schools only are allowed to use D1 in class for various functions because their pupils are still beginners. For the same reason, some teachers in secondary

schools use D1 believing that their pupils do not need to hear pure *Fusha* since they have already acquired its basics in the previous grades.

The pupils are affected by the attitudes and behaviors of their teachers. If the teacher uses D1 in the classroom his pupils will also use it when asking questions or giving their answers orally. Moreover, not only will they suffer when they take their examinations, but they will also lose out when they have to speak in formal situations such as attending job interviews. In practice, the teachers who avoid using D1 in class prevent their pupils from using their dialect in class, as they correct every occurring instance of a non-standard feature. Sometimes they punish those who refuse to conform to the use of the standard variety. Thus, these pupils respect the attitudes that their teachers have for *Fusha* and seem to pay more attention not to speak with any dialectal term mainly with the teacher. Teachers who use D1 in their classes ignore the way *Fusha* is used in class and move to concentrate on the target content of the lesson moving back and forth in their speech between *Fusha* and D1 when interacting with the pupils. The latter, similarly, have less regard to the way they speak *Fusha* in class through asking various questions in a diglossic manner, in addition to their interaction with each other through D1.

The teachers may accept the existence of two varieties of Arabic, *Fusha*, and D1 in class; but they should encourage and adopt the use of a standard variety for formal and educational purposes. The teachers can furthermore recognize that to switch appropriately between the H and L varieties of Arabic when required demonstrates that shows a good understanding of the linguistic demands of the society we live in. It is, in fact, a positive aspect that people have a command of the two varieties of the same language and be able to switch between the standard high variety and the un-standard low variety in many situations.

As a comparison between the formal settings which are under investigation, we have discovered that there is a variation in the application of diglossia in the main spheres. Within the educational institutions, D1 intervenes on *Fusha* while in administrations *Fusha* interrupts the use of D1 from time to

time. Teachers in schools talk and communicate with their pupils in *Fusha* and borrow terms from D1 when they need to serve some functions; on the other hand, the employees interact with each other in D1 and borrow some lexical items from *Fusha* in order to refer to some official matters. Actually, samples in educational schools have a higher level and competency of *Fusha* than people working in administrations mainly at the spoken level. Obviously, *Fusha* marks a higher use in schools than in administrations at all the levels of speaking, reading, writing, and listening; while D1 takes the biggest share of interaction in administrations leaving the written form to *Fusha*. Thus, we can conclude that the code used in schools is a *Fusha* based diglossia, while in administration the code is dialect based diglossia.

It seems that the way the teachers talk in class reflects their competency in *Fusha*; if one teacher uses many dialectal terms he may have a low or intermediate level of proficiency while the teacher who does not use any colloquial concept in class is apparently a real proficient speaker. Unlike the teachers who are not allowed to use D1 in class since their pupils should learn correct Fusha, the Imams are required to explain and talk in a diglossic manner so that people can realize what the sermon is about. Imams are aware of many issues more than the other people, thus they are permitted to use D1 in the mosque. Nevertheless, the diglossic case that exists in schools is the same as that in the mosque since both teachers and Imams borrow from D1 into *Fusha* in their functional settings; that is they both interact in *Fusha* then move from one moment to another into D1. Imams vary from the employees in their diglossia where the former use *Fusha* more than D1 and the staff use D1 more than *Fusha;* moreover the Imams deal with *Fusha* at the levels of writing, reading and speaking while the last skill is not focused on among the employees who insist on reading and writing *Fusha*.

Generally speaking; talking in *Fusha* is noticed in schools and the mosque more than in administrative spheres and informal settings. As a comparison between diglossia in formal and informal settings one can easily notice that in the former, speakers use Fusha and borrow terms from D1 while

in the latter speaker talk D1 and borrow terms from Fusha. That is in formal occasions people move from H to L or from *Fusha* to D1 while in informal setting ordinary people move from L to H or from D1 to *Fusha*. But both facts lead to diglossia, and this, in turn, implies that the influence between *Fusha* and D1 is bidirectional or one affects the other according to each situation. Obviously, D1 is used more than *Fusha* since it is always associated with low functions in society. The samples involved in formal setting can be also involved in informal ones and thus diglossia occurs in a variety of ways.

Undoubtedly, SA concepts are more than the dialectal ones in formal settings, while the vocabulary of the dialect seems dominant than that of *Fusha* in informal occasions. As a colloquial variety of Arabic, D1 is widely established among the population in Bechar and it is not possible to eliminate it neither from formal nor informal settings. At the same time, learners need to be aware that the ability to use a more standard variety easily and some situations are for their future. the two varieties and encouragement for learners to select the most appropriate variety for each, therefore, the most moderate and practical approach. Attempts to eliminate the dialect entirely by punishing pupils who use it and recommendations that D1 should be adopted in the classroom are two extreme positions that require a hard effort and political and educational decisions. Similarly, imposing the exclusive use of Fusha in administration may be impossible to achieve while eliminating D1 from the mosque is not admired.

5.9 Samples' Attitudes on the Use of the Dialect in Classroom

The present research work is basically qualitative, but in some cases, we are in need to draw some charts and tables so as to exemplify the main case and show evidence for some facts. The table below shows to what extent the samples agree or disagree on the use of D1 in classroom mainly for explaining the lessons and removing ambiguities. All the samples, including teachers, pupils, administrators and ordinary people, are asked if they accept the use of D1 with *Fusha* in classroom or not. The idea if D1 can or cannot help *Fusha* to reach understanding creates a dispute among the samples mainly the teachers;

their answers are presented in the following table which is divided into four main columns.

Table 5.3. The Samples' Agreement or Disagreement on the Use of D1 in Classroom

Samples	Number	The use of D1 in class				
		Agree	*Rate*	*Disagree*	Rate	Total
Teachers	229	128	55,89	101	44,10%	100%
Pupils	548	308	56,20%	240	43,79	100%
Employees	223	137	61,43%	86	38,56%	100%
Ordinary people	250	119	47,6%	131	52,4%	100%

Teachers and pupils are the main targets of these statistics; they are both presented in the first two parts. Among the teachers; 55,89% welcome the use of D1in class for explaining the lessons and for various interactions. D1 is easier and clearer than *Fusha* and it helps them in delivering the information so that it can be easily understood by pupils who have varying mental capacities. On the other hand, 44,10% are against such use. Information, for them, can only be delivered through *Fusha* in order to preserve the role it plays in formal settings. *Fusha* should be used alone in schools so that pupils learn its pure form and be competent in it; with the use, the dialect in class pupils do not feel that they are in an academic educational institution. D1 is a barrier rather than a facilitator as it leads to reducing the importance of *Fusha*, the value of the teachers, and handicaps the formation of the generation. Teachers argue that their main task is to teach Fusha rather than the dialect of the population which is already acquired before schooling.

56,20% of the pupils see that D1 helps them to understand what could not be understood in *Fusha*; while 44,10% see that D1 is not suitable to be found in schools claiming that each variety must respect the function it is associated with. Their arguments are already explained previously within learners' attitudes towards diglossia where they explain the reasons why they accept dialect intervention in class and why others refuse. People working in administrations are also asked about the idea of diglossia in the classroom; 61,43% of them agree to give the same reasons proposed by the other samples. They think that D1 facilitates the information to pupils and simplifies the complex ideas mainly to beginners. But 38,65% are against such argument seeing that D1 will be dominant on *Fusha* in schools since all the population masters it more than the standard language. If the child relies on the assistance of D1in explanation, he will fail in expressing his opinions, emotions, and desires in *Fusha*.

Ordinary people have also given their arguments about the case; 47,6% of them agree on the suggested idea while 52,4% are against. The reasons of the agreement and disagreement are mostly the same among the samples; those who agree to see that D1 enhances understanding in the classroom while those who disagree regard D1as an obstacle towards learning pure, correct and accurate *Fusha*.

5.10 Samples' Attitudes towards the Use of SA in Daily Interaction

The samples have been also asked about the issue of using SA for daily communication so as to strengthen its use among the population, increase its value and exchange its vocabulary among the educated and uneducated people. Similarly, various members of the community have been asked about their agreement or disagreement on such issue; the sampling at this phase involved teachers, pupils, employees, engineers, and ordinary people. Their answers have been coded into numerical data and were presented in previously in table 5.1. The samples have different reasons and goals behind their approval

or refusal; those reasons and purposes might contradict each other but they all lead to the same result which the use of their dialect alternately with *Fusha.* In spite of their oppositions; but all the samples agree on the appropriate function that *Fusha* plays as being high, formal, and official; while D1 is suitable for low, informal and daily functions.

Fusha is more beautiful and has a good and polite style; therefore using it with the dialect purifies our speech and makes it more expressive and more comprehensible. It creates a good, positive and beautiful communication between all the members of the community, educated or uneducated. Using SA in informal settings may help people to acquire more lexis and exchange it with each other as it reduces both ambiguities in many SA complex terms and committing grammatical mistakes. People in the same speech community speak various regional dialects, therefore introducing *Fusha*, which is common among them, can unite these people and reflect their solidarity. People who approve of the use of *Fusha* in their conversations aimed to exclude and reduce lexical differences between the different dialects used in the community.

Those who give their approval seek to keep the continuity of *Fusha* and teach its use to the following generations and to increase the Arabic culture and save it from extinction. SA is rich in terms of vocabulary which allows people to talk freely and express their ideas. For the fact that CA is the language of Quran, people argue that it must be used. For the same reason, other people disagree with them stating that it should be preserved from low use so as to keep its purity and to respect the language of Quran from bad and low use. These people are therefore against the use of *Fusha* in informal settings claiming that communication will be difficult under this condition since this sphere involves many illiterates who cannot understand many terms in SA.

Competency in *Fusha* varies among people and there are even those who are not able to talk it, therefore, it would be better to limit its use and leave people to talk with the most comprehensible code. 46,22% of the teachers who are against the use of SA in informal settings are more aware of its complex

system; they regard *Fusha* as an obstacle which restricts their minds and prevents them from communicating freely with people with varying language capacities. Using the dialect alone allows people to be distinguished ethnically from each other. They suggest that their use of the lexical terms of *Fusha* in conversations makes their interlocutors, mainly the uneducated, feel inferior and have a low status for their inability of communicating at the same level; they may also feel ashamed and think that the others are exhibiting or showing off their competency in *Fusha*. Many illiterate people see those who introduce Fusha seek to characterize themselves from the rest of the population and try to present themselves as more educated and better than the others.

The new generation, pupils mainly, have followed both opinions, that is some agree and others disagree (see table 5.1). They adopt the same arguments given by those who approve and those who refuse. Those who disagree describe *Fusha* as complicated, difficult to use and understand, as it involves too many grammatical rules which are not easy to learn and to apply. Society has a high rate of illiteracy mainly among the old people who can only communicate and understand the dialect. On the other hand, those who agree describe it as beautiful, good, and more interesting than their dialect. They see it imperative for them to use it in their conversation so as to recognize many issues that can be submitted to *Fusha* especially the religious ones. They add that they can increase their lexical bank and level in *Fusha*, and can facilitate SA learning in schools.

5.11 Discussion

This section is reserved to ensure the answers to the research questions and to approve testing the hypotheses listed in the general introduction. The study has proved that Bechar is a diglossic speech community by giving a general description of the diglossic cases in formal and informal settings followed by an explanation of such cases. The research work started with the formal settings where educational institutions and administrations were our case studies. In these two settings, an alternate use between Standard Arabic

and the dialect of Bechar (D1) has been noticed and described. Within the educational spheres, the study presented the way SA is used in schools in which most teachers resort to their dialect so as to remove ambiguity and misunderstanding. And for the sake of class management, warming up, control and giving pieces of advice and various instructions most teachers mix between *Fusha* and D1. These are the main reasons that the teachers gave in order to justify the use of their dialect in the classroom in addition to explaining complex terms and the heavy effect of the dialect.

Attitudes towards *Fusha* vary among the teachers and their pupils; those who have strong attitudes towards SA reduce or exclude the intervention of their dialect in contrast to the other teachers who use it in their class because of their weak attitudes. As a reaction, pupils seem to imitate their teachers in the ways they use SA in class in a diglossic or non-diglossic manner. Pupils of primary schools may develop a good or bad copy of their teacher according to the way he speaks and teaches *Fusha*; in contrast, middle and secondary school pupils who may live in confusion since they are exposed to many teachers using SA differently. Thus, these pupils may also use SA differently according to each teacher through reducing dialectal terms with the teacher(s) who does not accept to hear the dialect in class; and talking freely in a diglossic manner with the one who does not pay attention to the kind of language used by the pupils.

The research allowed pupils to express their real feelings towards diglossia in their classes. 56,20% of them favor the use of the dialect as a facilitator of understanding while 43,79% refuse seeing it as a handicap that limits their capacities in recognizing issues in pure Fusha as it prevents them from learning its correct and accurate form. The employees also limit the use of SA at the level of writing at work allowing their dialect to be the dominant code of interaction. Nevertheless, SA has been used alternately with the dialect in the form of diglossia based on the dialect, unlike the teachers' diglossia which is based on Fusha. The same case has been noticed in the Imams' diglossia which is also based on Fusha. In their justification, the Imams argue

that the use of the dialect helps people of different levels of education to understand what is involved in the sermon. Imams are obliged to move to their dialects for the complexity of any religious issues and for the various mental abilities that people have.

Like all the other Arab speech communities, people in Bechar suffer from the complexity of *Fusha* at the levels of lexis, grammar, phonology, etc. Although it is their first language associated with their mother tongue, they still regard it as the most difficult language to be learned and not easy to use. In informal settings, people switch in their conversation between SA and D1 according to their levels of education, the subject matter, and people involved in the conversation. Their lexical background of *Fusha* also determines the extent of their diglossic way of interaction. Educated people use more SA terms in their conversations mainly when they are talking about certain topics related to formal, official, and political issues with people having approximately the same level of education. Similarly, those who have an important amount of SA vocabulary thanks to schooling or other factors are more likely to use such terms alternately with their dialect in society.

After analyzing data, the research work proved that all the constructed hypotheses are 'true'. It presents the four common Arabic dialects and one variety of Berber which are used by different ethnic groups in Bechar speech community, these are: the dialect of Doui Mnii, the dialect of Ouled Djrir, the dialect of Ksouria, Shelha, and the most common dialect which is spoken by most of the population which is the dialect of the Majority. These five dialects are used alternately with SA but by few people for the fact that the dialect of the majority is the dominant one in the area. Therefore, the dialect of the majority has been the focus of this research work in which it is the one most used alternately with SA in formal and informal settings.

In formal settings, diglossia in schools depends mostly on the level of the teachers' fluency of SA which in turn determines the level of the introduction of his dialect in class. Moreover, one teacher may explain in a diglossic manner because of the different mental capacities of his pupils. It has

been also noticed that teachers of Arabic modules rarely use their dialect in contrast to those who teach scientific modules who use their dialect frequently focusing on the information rather than the language they use which is based on Fusha. But, in administrative spheres, the code used here is basically the dialect with a given amount of SA items that are introduced according to the subject matter. The same case occurs in informal settings where diglossia is based on the dialect and it is noticed among both educated and uneducated people, though the former group switches into *Fusha* in their conversations more than the uneducated people because many reasons explained before.

5.12 Conclusion

Diglossia takes place not only in formal settings but also in informal occasions and at a high degree. Its occurrence in the educational setting may create conflicting views as it can be seen as a crucial sociolinguistic phenomenon, in contrast using the standard variety in everyday interaction is seen as a normal and positive aspect. It frees the restrictions put on SA as it allows people to use it freely in order to express important ideas and fill the gaps left by their dialect. Using SA for low functions or in everyday interaction has not only advantages but also disadvantages; some elite regard such use as a dereliction on the language of the Quran which has been used alternately with much slang, deviated terms, low expressions, etc. *Fusha* is a pure language and people should preserve its purity and value rather than using it for low and weak purposes.

Nevertheless, *Fusha* is used in society alternately with the dialect. The co-existence of many dialects in the speech community under investigation creates confusion in the diglossic case in Bechar. There are four Arabic dialects in Bechar which originate from various ethnic groups; these are the dialect spoken by Doui Mnii, the dialect spoken by Ouled Djrir, the one used by the Ksourians, and Berber. These dialects witness a limited use among their speakers; the majority of the groups speak the common dialect which has been created out of the contact between those four dialects; D1 has been chosen to analyze its alternate use with Fusha, it is the dialect spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of Bechar even those who came from other areas and settled in Bechar. A special case has been noticed on dialect five or Berber which does not belong to the same language as SA though both are used alternately with each other. Such case has been regarded as code-switching according to Ferguson (1959) and as diglossia for Fishman (1967). The case of diglossia in Bechar has been limited, described and analyzed taking into account only the dialect of the majority and *Fusha,* a phenomenon that has been observed around the whole speech community.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Diglossia is a common sociolinguistic phenomenon that exists in most speech communities in the world. It is as much interesting as the other sociolinguistic phenomena of bilingualism, multilingualism, bidialectalism, borrowing, code-switching, code-mixing, pidgins, creoles, and so on. The two most related sociolinguistic aspects of the subject matter are bidialectalism, borrowing, and code-switching. Diglossia is the consequence of language contact in general and bidialectalism in particular. The existence of many varieties in one speech community leads to a contact between those varieties which may belong to the same language or be part of other foreign languages of other communities. Thus, the varieties can borrow or lend their features to each other. Bidialectalism is itself a consequence of the contact between two dialects, thus it can only be defined as to the ability to speak two dialects of one language. Being a bidialectal speaker does not need to go to school and acquire the dialects of the other regions of the community; it can be simply acquired when speakers of various dialects are interacting with each other.

Diglossia also calls for the aspect of borrowing that is an integrated part of it. Many people assume that the loan words can only be taken from foreign languages leading to code-switching; but the loan words can be also taken from other dialects leading to koiné, and can be taken from the standard language leading to diglossia. Following the process of koiné, the speaker switches between two varieties that have a low status and are related to informal functions; while in diglossia the speaker switches between two varieties originating from the same language but having different status in society.

Diglossia has been analyzed from different points of view by the two famous scholars; Ferguson and Fishman. Ferguson (1959) insists on the fact that both varieties must belong to the same language but have a differing function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. He also moves to call the standard variety as

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the High variety or H and the non-standard variety as the Low variety or L. H is associated with official and formal functions while L is used in non-official and informal functions; H is more prestigious than L and has a body of literature that L lacks. H is learned formally in schools while L is acquired by children in their early stages of development. In contrast to L, H is the standardized language through formal codification, grammars, dictionaries, pronunciation guides, and books of rules for correct usage; while descriptive and normative studies in L are non-existent.

Diglossia is also described by Ferguson as an extremely stable phenomenon which preserves the use of more than one language variety in one community for various roles. Borrowing between H and L is bidirectional; L borrows learned words from H when the speaker seeks to use L in more formal ways; similarly, H borrows terms from L in many formal settings for the sake of clarification and explanation. H and L have considerable differences in their grammatical structures, H has grammatical categories not found in L and has an inflectional system of nouns and verbs which is much reduced or totally absent in L. Nevertheless, they share many lexical concepts with variations in form, use, and meaning. H involves many technical terms and learned expressions which have no regular L equivalents; on the other hand L has popular expressions, borrowed words, and names of very homely objects that do not exist in H. At the phonological level; H and L phonologies have many similarities in Greek; but they are different from each other in Arabic or Haitian Creole; as they are divergent in Swiss German.

These are the nine rubrics that Ferguson suggests in order to characterize diglossia. Similarly, Fishman (1967) agrees with Ferguson on the different positions and functions that the two varieties have in society; he also accepts to characterize them as H and L. But Fishman moves further to take into consideration the existence of more than one original variety in the same speech community; in this case one can be confused if those varieties may not belong to the same language as in the Algerian speech community where

Arabic and Berber are the original languages of the population. For Fishman, H and L should not necessarily have the same origins of language; they can be alternately used in the same conversation in a diglossic manner. In this case, most of the Algerians switch in their speech between SA and AA leading to diglossia, similarly, the Berbers also switch in their conversations between SA and Berber creating a diglossic situation as well. Fishman has also distinguished diglossia from bilingualism characterizing both aspects with and without each other.

Diglossia is a very common sociolinguistic phenomenon in the Arab communities including Algeria. Arabic diglossia is one of the main cases that Ferguson explains in his theory where he sees that switching between Standard Arabic and dialectal Arabic is frequent among all the Arabic language speakers. He claims that in Arabic diglossia, MSA is the divergent, highly codified, and superposed variety; while colloquial Arabic is specified for the low function. MSA also owns an organized orthography and a high prestige thanks to its rich literary tradition; moreover; MSA may be viewed as a marked system while colloquial Arabic as unmarked. Both MSA and any of the existing Arabic dialects reflect clear phonological, syntactic, and lexical differences. The higher variety is referred to in Modern Standard Arabic, Standard Arabic or *Fusha* (in Arabic), while Classical Arabic is tied to the language of the Quran. The low variety (L) is referred to as '*amiya* (in Arabic) or spoken Arabic, vernacular or colloquial or dialect(s). Arabic diglossia raises many questions mainly in the educational field where the teachers were confused about what variety to teach, either MSA or the dialect; and how should they introduce their learners to this linguistic reality of Arabic as a diglossic language.

The existence of many languages and language varieties in the Algerian speech community led to the creation of many sociolinguistic phenomena. Algeria's language repertoire includes Arabic in its two forms SA and AA, French and Berber; in addition to many foreign languages such as

English, Spanish, German, etc which are taught in educational institutions. Algeria bases its communication on Arabic, French, and Berber; and thanks to these languages Algeria is regarded among the bilingual as well as the multilingual speech communities. The coming of the Arabs to the area of North Africa led to the introduction of the Arabic language as a way of spreading Islam in the regions. Thus, Algeria became a bilingual speech community involving two languages Arabic and Berber. Then, the French colonization of Algeria in 1830 brought the French language which has, in turn, classified Algeria among the multilingual speech communities. The three languages, SA, French, and Berber have official status, while Algerian Arabic remains a non-official and non-standard variety.

After the independence, Algeria witnessed a serious dispute among the Arabophones, Francophones, and the Berbophones about what language will be the official and the national one. Such actions led to a rapid Arabization which is not admired by the supporters of the French and the Berber languages. Standard Arabic is the official language of Algeria since 1963; Berber has been identified as a national language recently in 2002, while French has been kept with the educational system of Algeria as well as in everyday interaction. The Arabization movement aimed first at regaining the nationalism and identity of the Algerians that were ignored by the French during the colonization movement; it also sought to replace the French language by Standard Arabic in all the formal spheres. The francophones did not accept this policy fearing from losing their position. Thus, in order to keep their previously high status, they thought of the acquisition of French as a key to economic development, modernization, intellectual pursuit and progressive values. In fact, the need for economic and technological development demands the use of the French language when contacting the West.

Similarly, the Berbers regard the process of Arabization as a way of eradicating not only the francophone elite but also an attempt at reducing the minority languages mainly Tamazight. The Berbers, who had an important role

in defending the state against the French, refused such a policy and considered it as a threat against their culture; they have been even more resentful towards MSA regarding it as a foreign language. Moreover, the Arabophones passed amendments against the use of Tamazight and other identity depriving languages on radio and TV networks; they regarded the recognition of Berber as an official language would weaken the status of Arabic and make French the only common language for the Algerians. Thus, great conflicts and resistance appeared among some members of society. The process of Arabization that aimed to unify the nation has also created many linguistic disputes among the supporters of those languages.

Arabic, French, and Berber have had linguistic and political conflicts between each other; and they have also given birth to many sociolinguistic aspects such as bilingualism. Algerian bilingualism has been a very crucial matter among language scholars such as Milliani who devoted his article to speak and characterize the case. He describes it as the consequence of 132 years of French colonization, and even after 1962 Algeria suffered from the linguistic effects of the French language. Milliani divides Algerian bilingualism into two types; the first one is societal bilingualism which is the result of the gradual control of the French on the whole country; and the second type is individual bilingualism which is the result of the regional, economic, social, cultural, ethnic, and educational backgrounds of the individual. This type has been characterized as being balanced or unbalanced, passive or active. Balanced bilingualism exists when the speaker has an equal command on both L1 and L2; while unbalanced bilingualism takes place when the second language is dominant. Active bilingualism concerns those who have an active ability in their productive and receptive skills; whereas passive bilingualism occurs when only the receptive skills are more or less developed.

French is used along with SA, AA which is used in everyday communication, and Berber as an indigenous language which is still used in some parts of Algeria in spite of the Arabization process. Although the use of these languages depends on the individuals they all classify Algeria among the

multilingual speech communities. Obviously, not all Algerians speak Berber, and not all of them master French and even Standard Arabic; the only language which can be used by the majority of the population is AA. Each Algerian individual has a command of one or more of the existing languages in the country; but not all of them can master or speak the three main languages SA, French and Berber. It is imperative to master these three languages in order to be qualified among the Algerian multilingual speakers, however, there are other languages which are used in Algeria such as English, Spanish, Italian, German, etc which help the individuals to be distinguished from the monolingual speakers.

When one speaker switches in his speech between two of the three languages he is following the process of code-switching; but if he keeps his switch between two varieties of one language he is talking in a diglossic manner. The main and available language that can provide such linguistic behavior is the Arabic language which does not only classify Algeria as a bilingual speech community but also as a diglossic one. All the Algerians move in their speech between SA and their dialects which are distributed over the regional areas. Thus, each group of speakers regards diglossia as moving back and forth from SA to its regional dialect. The diglossic situation in Algeria causes serious educational problems mainly for children who are supposed to learn the standard form of their dialect in a more formal way. The teachers who teach their pupils SA in a diglossic manner see that talking in SA will not facilitate its learning. Thus, educational spheres are the common places where diglossia exists; it is practiced by not only teachers but also by their pupils who appear imitating their instructors as we have discussed before.

Among the diglossic regions within the Algerian speech community, we have chosen to analyze the same case within the area of Béchar. Like all the other Algerian towns, diglossia in Bechar is regarded as using SA alternately with its dialect. But after exemplifying the case five common dialects have been found in the main area; these are the dialect spoken by the majority of the population, the dialect spoken by Doui Mnii, the dialect used by Ouled Djrir,

the dialect talked by the Ksourians, and Berber or Shelha. The speakers of the last variety are the original inhabitant of Bechar whose varieties are close to each other at a high level. Each group of speakers considers diglossia as moving from SA into their dialect, but an important aspect that should be noted here is that those dialects become spoken by a limited number leaving the others adopting the first common dialect. It is the dialect of the majority which is spoken by most of the inhabitants even by many people belonging to the groups of Doui Mnii, Ouled Djrir, Ksourians, and the Berbers. Therefore; in order to limit the field of investigation, we have chosen such a dialect to analyze its alternate use with SA.

The inhabitants of Bechar own a degree of competency in SA or *Fusha* which has, in turn, permitted them to borrow its terms in order to use them in daily interaction. On the other hand, their mastery and fluency of their dialect pushes them to integrate it even in many formal settings. Therefore, diglossia in both formal and informal settings has been the main focus of this study. The dialect of the majority (D1) is used by most of the population; similarly, SA in Bechar is the official language of education, administration, media, etc. As we have seen before, proficiency in SA depends on people mainly at the level of education; it has been remarked that educated people are more competent than the less educated ones. Educated people, who have been involved among the samples, are limited to teachers and their pupils in addition to people working in administrations; while uneducated people are ordinary people who have different social, ethnic, and educational backgrounds. Both educated and uneducated people have approximately the same level of competency in the dialect but different proficiency in *Fusha* or SA.

Diglossia in formal settings has been the first case discussed in this research work. Samples involved in the main settings are the educated people whose competency in D1is not very far from their fluency in *Fusha;* an ability that makes them be affected by both varieties in varying settings. The formal settings are limited to the various educational institutions which are primary, middle, and secondary schools and administrative spheres. Settings like these

carry a perfect model of diglossia mainly that of education where SA is adopted as the main language of instruction. The use of SA in schools is not exclusive, but it witnesses the parallel use of the dialect of Bechar by the teachers and the learners. Among the teachers and the pupils themselves, there is still a variation at the level of *Fusha* proficiency. It has been noticed that the teachers who are responsible for the Arabic modules such as Arabic literature, history, geography, Islamic science, Arabic language, grammar, etc are more fluent and competent in *Fusha* than teachers of scientific modules like natural science, mathematics, physics, etc.

Pupils have also distinct capacities in *Fusha* ranging from a weak, intermediate and good level in it. They also have a varying ability in the skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking. People working in administrations have different levels of *Fusha* mainly in the skills of reading and writing. Other administrative areas have been also visited such as the Hydraulic Company and the Private Company of Construction (URBAT) seeking for the alternate use of Fusha and D1, but after questioning the samples we have discovered the phenomenon of code-switching rather than diglossia. People working in these places are highly affected by French more than SA; they argue that their field of study demands the French language instead of Arabic. Thus, the engineers are more interested in switching to French rather than SA according to the needs of their work. Nevertheless, they have provided us with many data mainly the percentage of their mastery of *Fusha*.

The results show that the alternate use of SA and D1 in the classroom depends on the teachers' proficiency of *Fusha,* the modules they teach, their attitudes towards *Fusha,* the mental capacities of their pupils, the content of the lesson, and the kind of conversation. The teachers who have a high proficiency in *Fusha* rarely introduce their dialect and probably ever; while teachers whose competency is limited favor the use of the dialect in the classroom. The teachers also apply diglossia according to the modules they teach, those who teach literary modules avoid the use of their dialect for any reason while those who are responsible of the scientific modules use their dialect arguing that they

are more interested in the information rather than the language they use. Attitudes towards Fusha have also contributed in explaining the case of diglossia in the classroom; teachers, mainly of Arabic modules, carry strong attitudes for *Fusha* and refuse to mix it with their dialect during the teaching process. On the other hand, other teachers have normal and simple feelings towards it and favor the existence of D1 with *Fusha* in class.

Many teachers take into consideration the different mental capacities of their pupils seeing that using the dialect in class helps those who have weak and limited capacities of understanding to recognize better the information. Sometimes, it is the content of the lesson which calls for the dialect in order to clarify complex issues. *Fusha* involves many difficult and ambiguous concepts and expressions that need to be clarified through the dialect. The latter is more familiar to pupils as it helps them to understand the matters that could not be realized in *Fusha*; but actually many teachers involve their dialect without the existence of ambiguity in the lesson. In many cases, the kind of conversation that occurs between the teacher and his pupils requires dialectal expressions. Many teachers manage their class, punish the pupils, give them orders and pieces of advice and control their activities through a mixed code of SA and D1. They see that the dialect for these situations is more expressive than *Fusha*; though these are not the only cases where D1 is involved in the classroom.

The case of diglossia in classroom divided teachers into two groups; one group involves the teachers who use their dialect in their classes and the other group includes teachers who refuse such use. Teachers of both groups gave their justification for their linguistic behavior which in turn contradicted each other. The teachers of primary school who use their dialect attribute such act to their pupils arguing that they are still beginners and are not required to be exposed to pure Fusha. As a response to this idea, middle and secondary schools teachers claim that the primary school is the main and the first setting where pupils must hear and learn correct Fusha. Dialect at this level handicaps the process of learning pure Fusha rather than a facilitator of understanding. Primary school is not only the first grade of education but also the most

fundamental one that determines their competency of *Fusha*. Nevertheless, those who have strong attitudes towards *Fusha* believe that it should be used along with the pupils so that they can acquire strong basics of it.

The teachers who use D1 in the secondary school classes hold the fact that their pupils have already acquired the fundamentals of *Fusha* in primary schools and cannot be confused if it is used along with the dialect by the teachers. Pupils of that grade become more able to distinguish dialectal terms from SA ones; they can also recognize the meaning of complex terms or search about their synonyms in the dictionaries. But they ignore the fact that pupils follow the attitudes that their teachers have towards *Fusha*. It has been noticed that pupils develop their attitudes and use of *Fusha* in classroom on the basis of their teachers; if their teacher uses only *Fusha* and refuses any dialectal expression in class pupils will pay attention to their speech; but if he uses his dialect and permits its use inside of his class pupils will use the dialect freely for any purpose. Pupils can be taught by teachers who have both ideas, for instance, their teacher of Arabic literature prevents them from talking in the dialect while the teacher of mathematics does not. In this case, pupils will behave differently with both teachers; they use only Fusha with the first teacher and mix it with the dialect with the second one; though such action may lead to confusion and loss.

The use of D1 depends according to the needs of the teachers and pupils; it can be used for class management or for explaining the lesson but both aspects lead to diglossia. Pupils have also expressed their views of diglossia in the classroom, 56,20% of them favor such process as a good way of explaining complicated sections, while 43,79% regard it as a linguistic error and a negative behavior. They even move to characterize teachers who exclude their dialect from class as proficient teachers and fluent speakers of *Fusha* while those who use it are qualified as lacking competency and capacities in *Fusha*. Some pupils refuse such use blaming their teachers who regard them, in their opinions, as not capable to be exposed to *Fusha*. Therefore, the pupils cannot bear all the responsibility for introducing their dialect in class; it is,

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therefore, the mistake of their teachers who make their pupils a copy of them. Because of this behavior, pupils may find a difficulty in expressing themselves in *Fusha* and in producing ideas during the examinations.

Unlike the educational spheres where D1 interrupts *Fusha* in class; in administrations, it is *Fusha* which interrupts D1. Both settings are formal and require the use of *Fusha* as the main language of their job. *Fusha* and D1 are kept quite apart from each other; the former is used for writing and sometimes for reading documents while the latter is left for communication with each other. Nevertheless, both can affect each other in one or more ways. Diglossia in administrations is not frequently noticed. The reasons that push the employees to move in their speech from D1 into *Fusha* are not the same reasons given by the teachers and pupils. Their main reason lies on the topic being under discussion which may demand *Fusha* intervention. The latter is mostly used within the various meetings with each other and with their manager; the topics discussed in this case are about formal issues that call for the use of *Fusha*. It has been explained that the code used in this setting is diglossia based on dialect; while the one used in schools is diglossia based on *Fusha*. That is, the staff communicates in D1 and introduce from one moment to other many lexical terms borrowed from SA.

Diglossia in the mosque is quite similar to diglossia in schools; both are based on using *Fusha* more than the dialect as they share many reasons for using the dialect. Using the dialect in El Masdjid helps ordinary people to understand what the Imam says, and get in touch with many religious issues. The code used in El Masdjid is diglossia based on Fusha with a noticeable use of D1. Imams are therefore permitted and demanded to integrate their dialect so as to have a mutual intelligibility with their interlocutors and be understood by the listeners. On the other, people, either educated or uneducated, use D1 as the main means of interaction for the fact that this dialect is associated with low use and informal settings. It is the one adopted by the whole population and is mastered more than Fusha. The samples have represented the population under investigation, they reflected that the inhabitants use many SA terms in

everyday interaction. Diglossia in informal setting maybe because of the nature of the subject being discussed or the SA terms are more expressive than the dialectal ones. People having positive attitudes towards *Fusha* describe those who use SA in their speech as saying something important and are qualified as highly educated people and important figures in society.

This research work presented first a description of the diglossic case in Bechar speech in formal and informal settings, and then it moved to process the data collected through the primary sources and gave the results of analyzed information. As a conclusion; diglossia exists in Bechar in both formal and informal settings but in different ways. It is found in schools and El Masdjid where SA is interrupted by the dialect, in the administration where the dialect is interrupted by *Fusha,* and in informal settings where the alternate use of SA and D1 is practiced. Diglossia is practiced by all the members of the speech community under investigation, but with a given variation among the speakers. Those who have a certain command on Fusha are able to use many of its lexical items in their conversation, while those who have a low or a limited mastery of Fusha may borrow few of its concepts. Many SA terms can be current and exchanged by all the population such as terms related to educational, social, economic, and political issues. These terms along with the dialectal ones lead to the occurrence and the continuity of diglossia.

Samples' Interpretations about Fusha and its Alternate Use with the Dialect in Formal and Informal Situations

This section is devoted to present the various interpretations and recommendations suggested by the samples within the questionnaires given to them. The most important suggestions are introduced by the teachers and people working in administrations that most of them are jealous of their language and some of them are even sorrowful for their incompetence in it.

1. Teachers' Interpretations:

➢ Many teachers expressed their sorrow for the weak attitudes that many people have towards *Fusha*; many inhabitants have shown their favor to French and other foreign languages rather than the language of Quran. This act is one of the most serious linguistic consequences of the French colonization in Algeria in which the French language is widely influencing the speech of the population. Teachers who are affected by their dialect in classroom wish to get rid of such influence so that they can reach better achievements and enhance the linguistic situation of both the teachers and their pupils. *Fusha* is the most important criterion of our nationalism and our significant from the Western world. In addition to Islam; it is the sign which identifies and groups all the Muslims, in general, and the Arabs, in particular. It preserves our civilization, customs, and culture; as it reflects our personality and unifies our linguistic, social and cultural backgrounds.

➢ The use of *Fusha* is imperative in society so as to keep its continuity and be proficient in it; some teachers regard the weak use and capacity in it as a shame and a serious linguistic error. The practice and the wide use of SA will regain its dominance that it has acquired in the past as the most important language of science, medicine, and development. *Fusha* should not be attributed to low status, mocking, and characterizing its users as uncivilized; rather that it is the correct, pure, and the most beautiful language that is tied with the right path and safe life. The status of the language of Quran seems reducing because of the spread of technology which is submitted in

foreign languages mainly English. *Fusha* is surrounded by many languages which limit its use and good acquisition; the French language which is highly used in everyday speech by the population on the one hand; and the peoples' favor of learning other languages so that to contact other people in the universe on the other hand. It is good to learn other languages but not at the expense of *Fusha.*

➢   Arabic dialects are sub-divisions of Standard Arabic, both varieties share many linguistic similarities, but the dialects are largely used more than *Fusha* which is limited to formal settings only. Restricting the use of *Fusha* in formal domains helps in keeping its purity so that it would not be mixed with many slangs and low-status terms. But this may reduce its use and makes the dialects more dominant and influence it in many fields; the dialects are really reaching the situations in which *Fusha* must be exclusive; including education, parliament, administrations, etc. If the use of SA is reducing is because of all the population belonging to the Arab world, particularly the decreasing use of *Fusha* in the classroom is because of the teachers initially since the language used in class is based on their own choice. The latter can be *Fusha,* dialect, or a mixture between the two.

2. *Employees' Interpretations:*

➢   Many people working in administrations state that *Fusha* is a correct language that must not be mixed with the dialect or any other language not to reduce its value. Many ordinary people use Fusha only when praying or when reading Quran because they are highly influenced by foreign languages. These people are imitating the western world not in only in their languages but also in many of their culture, customs, and habits. The language of Quran must not be equated with any language in the world but sorrowfully people like these are reducing its value and importance. SA is a rich language and through it, one can express his ideas without resorting to foreign languages when there is a lack of expression in the dialect. SA is the lingua franca of the entire Arab world whose dialects are different from each other and many of them do not

achieve mutual intelligibility for their speakers. All the people agree that *Fusha* is a powerful language but it needs more efforts to regain its wide use.

➢ The switch between *Fusha* and the dialect mainly in informal settings is good for the uneducated people who will have the chance to acquire and use terms of SA in their speech. In fact; the uneducated people are not the only ones who have weak competency in *Fusha*; but there are many educated members, who have important and high positions in society, suffer from the low capacity in *Fusha*. These people were educated through foreign languages mainly French and this may remind that the Arabization process in Algeria was based on political matters more than linguistic and educational ones. Reducing the use of *Fusha* leads also to decreasing the Arabic culture and increasing the Europeans culture. The Arabic dictionary involves more than ten thousand Arabic terms (10000) but probably no more than five hundred concepts (500) is used and this one facet of its low usage.

Recommendations

❖   The educational institutions are the first responsible for the weak use and proficiency of Fusha; therefore there must be an approach that focuses on the exclusive use of SA in the various educational institutions.

❖   Teachers must respect the inspector's decision which allows only teachers of the first year in the primary schools to introduce, at a certain degree, their dialect in the classroom only in case the pupils could not recognize some issues in Standard Arabic.

❖   Teachers must use only _Fusha_ in the classroom so as to achieve wide use and acquisition of it among the current and the following generations; their use must be at all levels including explanation, class management, giving orders, pieces of advice, etc.

❖   It is difficult to force the employees to talk in _Fusha_ in administrations, and similarly excluding the dialect from El Masdjid may not allow illiterate and old people to understand what the Imam says.

❖   _Fusha_ must be valued at all the fields, and academic works and conferences submitted in SA must increase.

❖   Textbooks must be written in easy and clear language so that the pupils can understand what is involved and reduce the possibility of using the dialect to remove ambiguity.

❖   The content of the scientific modules must be explained in _Fusha_.

❖   Pupils must be taught how to communicate with each other in SA in the classroom.

❖   _Fusha_ must not be used to mock on someone or to laugh on somebody's speech.

❖   The Language of the Quran must be appreciated by all the population and it should not be attributed to any civilization.

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Appendix One : Teachers' Questionnaires

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و الصلاة و السلام على رسوله الكريم

تهدف هده الدراسة إلى معرفة إلى مدى يتم مزج **اللغة العربية الفصحى** مع **اللهجة العربية** المتحدث بها فى ولاية بشار
فى ميادين العمل أو فى الحياة اليومية لذلك نرجو من أساتذتنا الكرام الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية و نحيطكم علما انه أى
إجابة مهما كان نوعها ستكون مهمة بالنسبة لنا فى هذا البحث و شكرا على تعاونكم

المستوى الدراسي:..
التخصص: ....

هل تتقن التحدث **باللغة العربية الفصحى**:   نعم ☐   لا ☐   نوعا ما ☐

إلى أي مدى :   10 %   25%   50 %   70 %   90 %

هل تستعمل **اللهجة** داخل القسم؟   نعم ☐   لا ☐

متى؟ ....
لماذا؟ ....

هل تقوم بشرح الدرس **باللغة العربية الفصحى**:   نعم ☐   لا ☐   أحيانا ☐

لماذا؟..

أعط أمثلة عن ذلك:..

هل تقوم بطرح أسئلة شفوية أثناء الدرس على التلاميذ؟ نعم ☐   لا ☐

أي لغة تستعملها لطرح السؤال؟ العربية الفصحى ☐   اللهجة العربية ☐   تمزج بينهما ☐

أعط أمثلة عن بعض الأسئلة: ....
....

يقوم التلاميذ بالإجابة ب: العربية الفصحى ☐   اللهجة العربية ☐   يمزجون بينهما ☐

أي لغة يستعملها التلاميذ لطرح أسئلة أثناء الدرس؟
العربية الفصحى ☐   اللهجة العربية ☐   يمزجون بينهما ☐

هل تجيب ب: العربية الفصحى ☐   اللهجة العربية ☐   تمزج بينهما ☐

كيف تقوم نسبة تعلم اللغة العربية الفصحى لدى التلاميذ؟ ضعيفة ☐   متوسطة ☐   جيدة ☐

لماذا؟ ....
....

هل تستعمل **العربية الفصحى** في حياتك اليومية أي خارج ميدان العمل:نعم ☐   لا ☐   أحيانا ☐

كيف يتم ذلك: تمزجها مع **اللهجة العربية** ☐   أم تتحدث **العربية الفصحى** لوحدها ☐

متى؟...

....

أعط أمثلة عن ذلك: مثال: "هاد المشكل مالقيناله حتى حل"

....

....

كيف تقوم نسبة إتقان اللغة **العربية الفصحى** في المجتمع؟ ضعيفة ☐ متوسطة ☐ جيدة ☐

هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال **العربية الفصحى** في الحياة اليومية ؟   مع ☐   ضد ☐

لماذا؟...

....

هل تقوم بمزج اللغة العربية مع اللهجة من اجل المزح ؟   نعم ☐   لا ☐

أين؟   في العمل ☐   خارج العمل ☐

أعط أمثلة عن ذلك:

....

....

كيف تقوم نسبة إتقان اللغة **العربية الفصحى** في المجتمع؟ ضعيفة ☐ متوسطة ☐ جيدة ☐

هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى في الحياة اليومية في سبيل المزح؟ مع ☐ ضد ☐

لماذا؟...

....

تعليق: (أرجو منكم تقديم تعليق أو أي إضافة عن موضوع البحث أو عن مكانة اللغة العربية الفصحى في المجتمع)

....

....

....

الأستاذة مويلي فتيحة , سنة ثالثة دكتوراه بجامعة تلمسان تخصص لسانيات اجتماعية

Email : mouilifatiha@yahoo.fr

شكرا على تعاونكم

Appendix One : Teachers' Questionnaires

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و الصلاة و السلام على رسوله الكريم

This study seeks to examine the intervention of dialectal Arabic in schools; therefore, we will be grateful if you answer the following questions honestly.

Level of Education: ……………………..

Specialty: …………………………….

Do you master SA?   yes ☐   no ☐   somehow ☐

To what extent? % 90   % 70   % 50   %25   % 10

Do you explain the lesson using SA only?   Yes ☐ No ☐   Sometimes ☐

Why?...

Give some examples:…………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

Do you use dialectal Arabic in class?   Yes ☐   No ☐

When?..

Why? …………………………………………………………………………

Do you ask your pupils oral questions?   Yes ☐ No ☐

Which language do you use? SA ☐   Dialect ☐   Mix the two ☐

Give some examples: …………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………..

The pupils answer using: SA ☐ Dialect ☐   Mix the two ☐

The pupils ask questions during the lesson using: SA ☐ Dialect ☐ Mix the two ☐

Do you answer using: SA ☐   Dialect ☐   Mix the two ☐

The pupils' level in SA is: good ☐   average ☐   weak ☐

Do you use SA in daily communication?　Yes ☐　No ☐

How?　Talk SA alone ☐　mix it with the dialect ☐

When?...

Give some examples: ……………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

How do evaluate the mastery of SA in society? Good ☐ average ☐　weak ☐

Are you with or against the use of SA in daily communication? With ☐ against ☐

Why? ……………………………………………………………………………

Are you with or against the use of SA in jocks?　With ☐　against ☐

Why? …………………………………………………………………………..

Do you use SA in your jocks?　Yes ☐　No ☐

Why?..

Give some examples: …………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………

Additional comments: ………………………………………………………….

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………….

Thank you for your collaboration

Appendix Two: Pupils' Questionnaires

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و الصلاة و السلام على رسوله الكريم

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى معرفة إلى مدى يتم مزج **اللغة العربية الفصحى** مع **اللهجة العربية** المتحدث بها فى ولاية بشار فى ميادين العمل أو فى الحياة اليومية لذلك نرجو منكم الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية و نحيطكم علما انه أى إجابة مهما كان نوعها ستكون مهمة بالنسبة لنا فى هذا البحث و شكرا على تعاونكم

ـالمستوى الدراسي:..

هل تتقن التحدث **باللغة العربية الفصحى:** نعم ☐ لا ☐ نوعا ما ☐

إلى أي مدى : 10 % 25% 50 % 70 % 90 %

هل تستعمل **اللهجة** داخل القسم؟ نعم ☐ لا ☐

لماذا؟ ....
....

كيف يقوم الأستاذ بشرح الدرس داخل القسم؟ يتحدث اللغة العربية لوحدها ☐ يمزجها مع اللهجة ☐

ما هي المواد التي تلاحظ فيها هذه الظاهرة؟

....

هل تقوم بطرح أسئلة شفوية أثناء الدرس؟ نعم ☐ لا ☐

أي لغة تستعملها لطرح السؤال؟ العربية الفصحى ☐ اللهجة العربية ☐ تمزج بينهما ☐

أعط أمثلة عن بعض الأسئلة: ....
....

هل تجيب على الاسئلة الشفوية التي يطرحها الاستاذ أثناء الدرس ؟

ب: العربية الفصحى ☐ اللهجة العربية ☐ تمزج بينهما ☐

كيف تقوم نسبة تعلمك اللغة العربية الفصحى؟ ضعيفة ☐ متوسطة ☐ جيدة ☐

هل تستعمل **العربية الفصحى** في حياتك اليومية أي خارج المدرسة ؟نعم ☐ لا ☐ أحيانا ☐

كيف يتم ذلك: تمزجها مع **اللهجة العربية** ☐ أم تتحدث **اللهجة** لوحدها ☐

متى؟..
....

أعط أمثلة عن ذلك: مثال: "هاد المشكل مالقيناله حتى حل"

....
....
....

هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال **اللهجة** داخل القسم؟   مع ☐   ضد ☐

لماذا؟...

....

....

هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال **العربية الفصحى** في الحياة اليومية ؟   مع ☐   ضد ☐

لماذا؟...

....

....

هل تقوم بمزج اللغة العربية مع اللهجة من اجل المزح ؟   نعم ☐   لا ☐

أعط أمثلة عن ذلك:

....

....

....

....

شكرا على تعاونكم

Appendix Two: Pupils' Questionnaires

<div dir="rtl">

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و الصلاة و السلام على رسوله الكريم

</div>

This study seeks to examine the intervention of dialectal Arabic in schools; therefore, we will be grateful if you answer the following questions honestly.

Level of education: ………………………..

Do you master SA?   Yes ☐   No ☐   Somehow ☐

To what extent? % 90   % 70   % 50   %25   % 10

Do you use the dialect in the classroom?   yes ☐   no ☐

Why? ……………………………………………………………………..

How does the teacher explain the lesson in class?

        Using SA only ☐   mix it with the dialect ☐

In which modules? …………………………………………………………………..

Do you ask oral questions during the lesson?   Yes ☐   No ☐

Which language do you use?   SA ☐   Dialect ☐   Mix the two ☐

Give some examples: ……………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

Do you answer using: SA ☐   Dialect ☐   Mix the two ☐

Your level in SA is: Good ☐ average ☐   weak ☐

Do you use SA in daily communication?   Yes ☐   No ☐

How?   Talk SA alone ☐   mix it with the dialect ☐

When?..

Give some examples: …………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

Are you with or against the use of the dialect in the classroom?   with ☐   against ☐

Why?………………………………………………………………………………………..

Are you with or against the use of SA in daily communication? With ☐ against ☐

Why? …………………………………………………………………………………

Do you use SA in your jocks?   Yes ☐   No ☐

Give some examples: ……………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

Thanks for your collaboration

Appendix Three : Questionnaires Held in Administrations

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و الصلاة و السلام على رسوله الكريم

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى معرفة إلى مدى يتم مزج **اللغة العربية الفصحى** مع **اللهجة العربية** المتحدث بها فى ولاية بشار فى ميادين العمل أو فى الحياة اليومية لذلك نرجو من أساتذتنا الكرام الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية و نحيطكم علما انه أي إجابة مهما كان نوعها ستكون مهمة بالنسبة لنا فى هذا البحث و شكرا على تعاونكم

➢ ـالمستوى الدراسي:...

المهنة: ....

هل تتقن التحدث **باللغة العربية الفصحى:** نعم ☐ لا ☐ نوعا ما ☐

إلى أي مدى : 10 % 25% 50 % 70 % 90 %

هل تستعمل **العربية الفصحى** داخل مكان العمل؟ نعم ☐ لا ☐

متى؟...

....

لماذا؟...

....

كيف يتم ذلك: تمزجها مع اللهجة ☐ أم تتحدث اللغة العربية لوحدها ☐

أعط أمثلة عن ذلك:...

....

هل تستعمل **العربية الفصحى** في حياتك اليومية أي خارج ميدان العمل:نعم☐ لا☐ أحيانا☐

لماذا؟...

....

متى؟...

....

أعط أمثلة عن ذلك: مثال: "هاد المشكل مالقيناله حتى حل"

....

....

هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال **اللهجة** في ميدان عملك؟ مع ☐ ضد ☐

لماذا؟...

....

هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال **العربية الفصحى** في ميدان عملك؟ مع ☐ ضد ☐

1

لماذا؟...

....

....

هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال **العربية الفصحى** في الحياة اليومية ؟   مع [ ]   ضد [ ]

لماذا؟...

....

....

هل تقوم بمزج اللغة العربية مع اللهجة من اجل المزح ؟   نعم [ ]   لا [ ]

أين؟   في العمل [ ]   خارج العمل [ ]

أعط أمثلة عن ذلك:

....

....

هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى في الحياة اليومية في سبيل المزح؟ مع [ ]   ضد [ ]

لماذا؟...

....

كيف تقوم نسبة إتقان اللغة **العربية الفصحى** في المجتمع؟ ضعيفة [ ]   متوسطة [ ]   جيدة [ ]

هل توافق استعمال **اللهجة العربية** لشرح الدروس في المدارس؟   مع [ ]   ضد [ ]

لماذا؟...

....

....

تعليق: (أرجو منكم تقديم تعليق أو أي إضافة عن موضوع البحث أو عن مكانة اللغة العربية الفصحى في المجتمع)

....

....

....

الأستاذة *مويلي فتيحة*, سنة ثالثة دكتوراه بجامعة تلمسان تخصص لسانيات اجتماعية

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شكرا على تعاونكم

Appendix Two: Pupils' Questionnaires

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و الصلاة و السلام على رسوله الكريم

This study seeks to examine the intervention of dialectal Arabic in schools; therefore, we will be grateful if you answer the following questions honestly.

Level of education: ………………………..

Do you master SA?   Yes ☐   No ☐   Somehow ☐

To what extent? % 90   % 70   % 50   %25   % 10

Do you use the dialect in the classroom?   yes ☐   no ☐

Why? ……………………………………………………………………………….

How does the teacher explain the lesson in class?

Using SA only ☐   mix it with the dialect ☐

In which modules? ………………………………………………………………….

Do you ask oral questions during the lesson?   Yes ☐   No ☐

Which language do you use?   SA ☐   Dialect ☐   Mix the two ☐

Give some examples: …………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

Do you answer using: SA ☐   Dialect ☐   Mix the two ☐

Your level in SA is: Good ☐ average ☐   weak ☐

Do you use SA in daily communication?   Yes ☐   No ☐

How?   Talk SA alone ☐   mix it with the dialect ☐

When?………………………………………………………………………………

Give some examples: …………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

Are you with or against the use of the dialect in the classroom?   with ☐ against ☐ 4

Why?...

Are you with or against the use of SA in daily communication? With ☐ against ☐

Why? …………………………………………………………………………………

Do you use SA in your jocks?   Yes ☐   No ☐

Give some examples: …………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

Thanks for your collaboration

المستوى الدراسي:...

المهنة: ....

ما هي نسبة إتقانك <u>**للغة العربية الفصحى**</u>: 10 %   25%   50 %   70 %   90 %

هل تستعمل **اللهجة** في ميدان عملك؟   نعم   لا

متى؟

لماذا؟

كيف يتم ذلك: تمزجها مع اللغة العربية   أم تتحدث اللهجة لوحدها

هل تتحدث **العربية الفصحى** في حياتك اليومية أي خارج ميدان العمل:نعم   لا   أحيانا

كيف يتم ذلك: تمزجها مع **اللهجة** العربية   أم تتحدث **العربية الفصحى** لوحدها

لماذا؟

متى؟

مع من؟

هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال **العربية الفصحى** في ميدان عملك؟   مع   ضد

لماذا؟

.هل أنت مع أم ضد استعمال **العربية الفصحى** في الحياة اليومية ؟   مع   ضد

لماذا؟

هل تقوم بمزج اللغة العربية مع اللهجة من اجل المزح ؟   نعم   لا

أين؟   في العمل   خارج العمل

كيف تقوم نسبة إتقان اللغة **العربية الفصحى** في المجتمع؟ ضعيفة   متوسطة   جيدة

لماذا

هل توافق استعمال **اللهجة العربية** لشرح الدروس في المدارس؟   مع   ضد

لماذا؟

Appendix Four: Interview Schedule

Level of Education: …………………………

Profession: ………………………………

Your level in SA is around:% 90   % 70   % 50   %25   % 10

Do you use dialectal Arabic at work?   Yes ☐   No ☐

When?……………………………………………………………………………

Why? ………………………………………………………………………………

How?   Talk SA alone ☐   Mix it with the dialect ☐

Do you use SA in daily communication?   Yes ☐   No ☐

How?   Talk SA alone   ☐   mix it with the dialect ☐

Why?……………………………………………………………………………

When?……………………………………………………………………………

With whom?………………………………………………………………………

Are you with or against the use of SA at work? With   ☐   against   ☐

Why? …………………………………………………………………………

Are you with or against the use of SA in daily communication? With   against

Why?…………………………………………………………………………

Do you use SA in your jocks?   Yes ☐   No ☐

Where?………………………………………………………………………

.

How do evaluate the mastery of SA in society? Good   average   weak

Are you with or against the use of the dialect to explain the lessons in schools?

Summary

Diglossia is one of the most important sociolinguistics phenomena. It has been introduced by Charles Ferguson in 1959 and it is regarded as one of the linguistic consequences of language contact in general, and bidialectalism in particular. Diglossia is investigated in this research paper taking the area of Bechar which is located in the south-west of Algeria, as a case study. The area under investigation witnesses an alternate use between Standard Arabic and its dialect mainly the dialect spoken by the majority of the population. The topic takes into consideration both the formal and the informal settings of the area and analyzes them. The formal setting involves an analysis of diglossia in the various educational institutions such as primary, middle, and secondary schools; and some administrative places. Diglossia can be also involved in informal settings where ordinary people are interacting with each other using a code which is a mixture of SA and their dialects. Diglossia exists in both settings but its occurrence depends on the nature of the code being used; that is in formal setting the code used is based on SA with dialect interference while in informal settings the code is based on the dialect with the inclusion of SA terms.

Keywords: *Diglossia, formal settings, informal settings, Standard Arabic, the dialect of the majority.*

Résumé

La Diglossie est l'un des plus importants phénomènes sociolinguistiques. Il a été introduit par Charles Ferguson en 1959 et il est considéré comme l'une des conséquences linguistiques de contact de langues en général, et en particulier du bidialectalisme. La diiglossie est étudiée dans cette recherche prenant la région de Béchar, qui est situé dans le sud ouest de l'Algérie, comme étude de cas. Cette région témoigne d'un usage entre l'Arabe Standard et son dialecte principalement le dialecte parlé par la majorité de la population. Le sujet prend en considération à la fois formel et informel de la zone et les analyse. Le domaine formel implique une analyse de diglossie dans les différents établissements d'enseignement comme le primaire, l'intermédiaire et le secondaire; et certains endroits administratifs. La diglossie peut être également impliqué dans des contextes informels où les gens ordinaires sont en interaction les uns avec les autres en utilisant un code qui est un mélange entre l'Arabe Standard et leurs dialectes. La diglossie existe dans les deux paramètres mais son apparition dépend de la nature du code utilisé; dans un cadre formel le code utilisé est basé sur l'Arabe Standard avec interférence du dialecte dans un cadre informel le code est basé sur le dialecte avec l'inclusion de termes de l'Arabe Standard.

Les mots clés: *Diglossie, des domaines formels, des domaines informels, l'Arabe Standard, le dialecte de la majorité.*

ملخص

تعد ازدواجية اللسان من أهم الظواهر اللغوية الاجتماعية. وقد تم عرضها من قبل تشارلز فيرجسون في عام 1959؛ فهي تعتبر من بين النتائج اللغوية للاتصال اللغوي بشكل عام، و ثنائية اللهجات بشكل خاص. لذلك يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة ازدواجية اللسان في ولاية بشار التي تقع في الجنوب الغربي من الجزائر. تشهد هذه المنطقة مزج لغوي بين اللغة العربية الفصحى واللهجة المحلية خاصة المستخدمة من قبل غالبية السكان. يبرز هذا الموضوع حدوث هذه الظاهرة اللغوية في المجالات الرسمية و الغير رسمية. فيشمل الإطار الرسمي تحليلا لازدواجية اللسان في مختلف المؤسسات التعليمية مثل الابتدائية والمتوسطة و الثانوية؛ وبعض الأماكن الإدارية, أما الأماكن الغير رسمية فيقصد بها الأماكن العامة أين يتواصل عامة الناس عن طريق مزج لغوي بين اللغة العربية الفصحى ولهجاتهم. ازدواجية اللسان موجودة في كل الأماكن ولكن حدوثه يعتمد على طبيعة اللغة المستخدمة؛ ففي الأماكن الرسمية تعتمد اللغة على العربية الفصحى مع تدخل اللهجة, أما في الأماكن الغير رسمية فتعتمد على اللهجة زائد تدخل الفصحى من حين إلى أخر.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ازدواجية اللسان، المجالات الرسمية، أطر غير رسمية، اللغة العربية الفصحى، لهجة الأغلبية.