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**The Diglossic Situation in an Algerian
Language Teaching Context:**

Case of Tlemcen Primary Schools

*Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Candidacy for the
Requirement of the Degree of “Doctorate” in Sociolinguistics.*

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Statement of Originality

I, Faïçal FATMI, declare that my doctorate thesis entitled, “**The Diglossic Situation in an Algerian Language Teaching Context: Case of Tlemcen Primary Schools**”, contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

April 18th, 2018.

Mr. Faïçal FATMI

Dedication

I humbly and gratefully acknowledge the continual and enduring love and emotional support given by my parents.

Thanks for still being there and being as supportive as ever. To my beloved wife, Halima for her never-failing sympathy and encouragement.

To my daughter Hazar and my son Younes.

I would like also to extend my thanks to my sister Rahima and my brothers: Bouziane, Fouzi, Aissa and Ibrahim. Thank you all very much for being so generous

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Abstract

The main goal of the present study consists of examining the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal education, focusing on the primary schools level in The Algerian Schools. It aims at underlining the sociolinguistic phenomenon of 'diglossia' and its impact on pupils' linguistic performance. Recently, clear weaknesses seem to have been observed in pupils' linguistic skills in all Arabic schools, principally at the primary level, for most of them have relatively little or no acquaintance with the official language of instruction outside the school context. In the Algerian policy, Modern Standard Arabic is said to have a high stance and function since it has become the prevailing language used for instruction; while children acquire Algerian Arabic as a mother tongue. The pupils' educational weaknesses and the persistent feelings of linguistic insecurity are directly attributed to diglossia considering its impact on the learning/ teaching process. Therefore, the findings obtained reveal that the teachers often have recourse to Algerian Arabic, which they find more appropriate to get the message across. What should be stressed is that the pupils' linguistic weaknesses are essentially due to their lack of exposure to Modern Standard Arabic outside the school environment. Hence, this study examines the reasons behind shifting from a high to a low variety.

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List of Abbreviations

AA: Algerian Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic **CS:** Code Switching

ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic

H: High variety

L: Low variety

LP: Language Policy

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

MLF: Matrix Language Frame

ML: Matrix Language

List of Phonetic Symbols

These phonetic symbols approximate the International Phonetic Alphabet

(IPA):

Consonant

Tlemcen Arabic English Gloss

❖ Plosive Consonants

[b]	[bɪɪt]	‘room’
[t]	[taab]	‘he repented’
[d]	[darwaʔ]	‘now’
[k]	[kla]	‘he ate’
[g]	[gamra]	‘moon’
[t]	[batatɑ]	‘potatoes’
[d]	[d̪baʔ]	‘hyena’
[ʔ]	[ʔadʒɪ]	‘come!’

❖ **Flap Consonant**

[ɾ]	[rukba]	‘knee’
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❖ **Nasal Consonant**

[m]	[mlɪɪh̃]	‘good’
[n]	[nad]	‘he wake up’
[l]	[lɪɪl]	‘night’.

❖ **Approximant Consonants**

[w]	[waalu]	‘nothing’
[j]	[jəd]	‘hand’

❖ **Fricative Consonant**

[f]	[farɪɪna]	‘flour’
[s]	[sɪɪf]	‘sword’
[z]	[zɪɪt]	² ‘cooking oil’

[ʃ]	[ʃrəb]	‘he drank’.
[ʒ]	[dʒbəl]	‘mountain’
[x]	[xaaf]	‘he feared’
[ʁ]	ʁurbaal]	‘sieve’
[ħ]	[ħbəl]	‘cord’
[ʕ]	[ʕabba]	‘he took’
[h]	[hrab]	‘he escaped’
[ʂ]	[ʂɑat]	‘he blew’
[ʒ]	[rɑzəzʒe]	‘hornet’

❖ Classical Arabic Consonants

CA English Gloss

[θ] [θaur] ‘bull’

[ð] [ðɪʔb] ‘wolf’

[d] [maudɪʔ] ‘place’

[ð] [ðɑhr] ‘back’

Vowels

❖ Vowels of plain consonant

Short Vowels: Long vowels:

[ɪ] → [xudmɪ]: ‘knife’ [ɪɪ] → [sɪɪf]: ‘sword’

[u] → [kursN]: ‘chair’ [uu] → [fuul]: ‘broad beans’

[a] → [ħall]: ‘he opened’ [aa] → [baab]: ‘door’

❖ Vowels of Emphatic Consonants

Short vowels: Long vowels:

[e] → [ʒejjɑħ]: ‘he cried’ [ee] → [tomateeʒ]: ‘tomatoes’

[o] → [fotɑ]: ‘towel’. [oo] → [ʒoor]: ‘wall’

[ɑ] → [ʒtɑħ]: ‘he danced’ [*ɑɑ] → [tɑɑl]: ‘it lasted’.

General Introduction

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The diversity of language seems to be of crucial importance for linguists, as it displays the original aspects of this human phenomenon. This, in fact, is supposed to contribute to the elaboration and establishment of their hypotheses to form the coordinative groups of languages, which constitute the same linguistic family with a common origin, notably Latin, Greek and roman, and the derived Semitic languages. This may be attained using a number of linguistic research instruments within a general coherent theory of a body of data.

Nevertheless, language problematics nowadays, is no longer language itself, but language as a human function in different human and social forms among nations, peoples, tribes and individuals. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that human language has got particular natural properties such as; creativity, double articulation, language displacement, and traditional transmission. Additionally, according to the communicative theory, language is regarded as a means by which to transmit linguistic messages composed of selected arbitrary and conventional signs, according to different situational contexts, and where a number of variables are engendered and interrelated; particularly, in the present research that is based on the Arabic linguistic context. For instance, when people use

language, they naturally choose their words, which function is submitted to a set of norms and rules.

Among the most important phenomena that attracted the interest of sociologists and linguists, are the different uses of language in the same society; there are some dialects which distinguish categories and social classes from others, for instance jargons of professions, and the local regional dialects like those found in Algerian dialects, different from the Tunisian, Moroccan and Mauritanian ones, though all of them are said to have the Arabic language as their first and official national language.

In this sense, our problematics relies on the fact that the analysis of language as an independent fact has been concerned with two major dimensions: studying language as a system and a structure, or studying language as a means of communication and social interaction. This approach is explained by conceiving language as a behavioural system, which takes different and interferential forms, since one may notice several linguistic popular uses within the same speech community. The aim, through this research work, is to study the different factors that control the nature of relationship between the social milieu and the distinguished linguistic behaviour in the Algerian society, then the linguistic type which results from this mutual influence of a particular social context, essentially the diglossic character of the Algerian situational context, in general, and Tlemcen

speech community, in particular. It is worth pointing out at this level that Algeria is a very interesting area for sociolinguistic studies, taking into consideration the diglossic, bilingual, and even multilingual situations that prevail. To keep the study within manageable bounds, this study sheds light on the impact of Arabic diglossia on the teaching/learning process among pupils studying in the different grades at primary level. It was conducted in eight different primary schools situated in different parts of the city of Tlemcen.

The primary aim of this study consists of contributing in enriching the database of information available on sociolinguistics, in general, and the phenomenon of diglossia in particular; examining by doing so the nature of Arabic language used by Arabic course teachers when presenting and explaining the lessons. It seeks, therefore, to identify the aspects of such sociolinguistic phenomenon.

In addition, it underlines its repercussions on pupils' linguistic skills in classroom interaction. It investigates also diglossia in relation to cases in which h and l are said to be versions of the same language, bearing in mind the fact that h has never been the means of communication in the daily interaction among people.

The investigator, in this research work, raises the following research inquiries:

- Does Algeria express a diglossic situation in its language-teaching context?
- What may be the pedagogical implications that may reveal our Algerian primary schools, more precisely in a Tlemcen speech community?
- In what ways those pedagogical implications would positively or negatively influence the educational outcomes?

It is, consequently, supposed that diglossia and its impacts are the absolute evidence of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria.

For the sake of gaining a better insight, other partial hypotheses can be considered in this context:

- Algeria seems to remarkably express a diglossic situation in its language-teaching context.
- Most of the pedagogical implications of the diglossic situation in Algeria may be clearly underlined at the linguistic levels of our primary school learners and teachers alike.

- Those pedagogical implications operating at more than one level appear to negatively influence our teachers' practices, and then, our learners' outcomes.

It is hoped that in the future, this study will pave the way to further debates and meaningful reflection on the socio-professional milieu which in turn, is not immune from the phenomenon of diglossia, and that it will provide a useful 'map' of the issue, and eventually, drawing definitive conclusions and solutions aiming at reducing progressively the gap between colloquial Arabic and MSA with the collaboration of policy-makers within the context of formal education.

Actually, the inquiry holds a mirror up to the situation; it does not attempt to solve the problem on its own—but it is clear that schools can and do make a dramatic difference to the educational outcomes of pupils. In fact, it is strongly assumed that the regional vernacular by no means replaces MSA, which is, of course, indispensable for literacy in Arabic. Indeed, the use of the colloquial Arabic is often inappropriate for the professional contexts of use. In this line of enquiry, a large body of sociolinguistic research deals with the diglossic nature of the Arabic language, stressing thus, its severe impact on the educational process. However, not a great deal of empirical investigation has been undertaken to analyze the diglossic

repercussions which still affect not only the communicative competence of the learners but also to a great deal, the socio-professional milieu. It is observed that the vernacular, or at least, the ‘middle language’ appear to occupy a substantial place in both: the verbal expressions of most teachers.

In various classroom contexts and among teachers themselves, in addition to formal and official settings, as the generational shift is going on, adding to that, the lack of an efficient approach which serves the society’s best interest for a fluent Arabic as a basis for, and symbol of, national and regional identities. This consists, primarily, of involving and deploying the use of modern standard Arabic as the soul medium of instruction for developing communicative competence, within academic circles and among teachers and instructors of Arabic, including all sorts of pedagogical contexts, with the objective of reinforcing a thriving Arab scientific community.

The layout of this research work is framed within three distinctive chapters; theoretically and practically articulated as follows:

A first chapter almost reserved to a theoretical background account, depicting the notion of diglossia and what does it entail as a key-word in the bulk of sociolinguistics.

Based on this, a second chapter which is twofold provides a general background of the Algerian sociolinguistic profile, the context of our study, focusing on the dialect of Tlemcen speech community. The chapter therefore builds on the concepts and the theoretical framework outlined in the literature review, namely: diglossia and its outcomes, that is, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowings; to familiarize the reader with the linguistic situation in Algeria in general and the linguistic situation in Tlemcen in particular.

Ultimately, a third chapter, being the methodological framework, provides a general description of the situation analysis, it strives to analyse the gathered data, including the target sample population and the research instruments adapted to data collection procedure; relying on a quantitative and qualitative approach. This was, obviously, achieved through descriptive statistics.

Chapter One
Theoretical Perspectives

Chapter One: Theoretical Perspectives

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- 1.9. Conclusion

1.1. INTRODUCTION

How many times every one of us have ever repeated the expression: ‘I cannot find the words’ for what I actually think or feel. Fishman once asks “Who speaks what language to whom and when?” indeed, it is not clear how ‘language’ should be defined when people often complain about language as related to their thoughts and emotion. Recently Linguistics has been related to sociolinguistics to clarify the phenomenon of language and society.

1.2. LINGUISTICS AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The issue of linguistics and sociolinguistics is highly problematic when we classify the speakers’ origin, from where they come, age, gender, and social/educational background which call urgently for the institution of sociolinguistics to determine the variation as socially significant.

1.2.1. Linguistic and Communicative Competence

Sociolinguistics is that branch of linguistics which studies just those properties of language and languages including social, factors in their explanation. As for learning, the language Chomsky(1986) suggests to have a mind or brain state that every member of our species attains and he calls it mature linguistic competence. As exactly there is a universal language, there is analogically a universal grammar to view language as a physical system, basically psychological or cognitive but eventually biological.

Language has a social explanation especially in the act of communication involving human mental abilities that Chomsky calls linguistic performance. In fact:

Within the Chomsky paradigm, language is highly idealized. Clearly, the use of language to communicate messages, from hypotheses or fix beliefs requires social explanation. But these are not of Chomsky's language.

(Downes 1998: 11).

At criticism of limiting 'competence' to grammatical knowledge, Hymes (1964) extended the concept to 'communicative competence' to put aside grammatical competence as part of a larger competence that was worthy of study.

Moreover, the sole study of competence misleads the core of language especially as a means of communication as used in its social context. Progressively one starts to believe that language knowledge involves two categories of rule: grammatical and social; linguistics, then, account for both linguistic competence (generative grammar) and communicative competence (sociolinguistics). Accordingly, linguistics caters for the study of the native speaker's innate linguistic abilities.

1.2.2. Social Aspects

In fact, the relationship of linguistics to sociolinguistics may be summarized in giving two types: the first focuses social patterning of variation and change through sociolinguistics patterns such as class, sex, geography, and formality which other disciplines confirm as variation studies and modern urban dialectology ; the second, rather, examines small-scale speech situation between speaker A and speaker B and other disciplines are interrelated to deal with it such as pragmatics, conversation analysis, the ethnography of communication and discourse analysis.

Though language has been found as long as men were created on earth, the interest in the social aspects of language has just started in the last fifty years when sociolinguistics as an academic field developed. Sociolinguistics as a word was already coined in an article by Thomas Hodson in 1939 entitled “Sociolinguistics in India;”the word was first used in linguistics by Eugene Nida in his “Morphology” in 1949 and in 1952 but the field of sociolinguistics has become popularized by the 1960s. It sheds light on various colossal topic researches dealing with speech and variation. Whitney (1867: 404) points out:

Speech is not personal possession but a social: it belongs, not to the individual, but to the member of society...the whole development of speech, though

initiated by the acts of individuals, is wrought out by the community. μ

On the other hand, dialectology is considered as earlier attempt to deal systematically with dialectal variation and rural speech habits as recognized in a given society, and so, sociolinguistics constitutes a confluence of disciplines that highlight the concept of linguistic variety, society and culture because as Dell Hymes (1968: 113) in “the Ethnography of speaking” puts it **“it is clear that the status of a form of speech as dialect or a language or level cannot be determined from linguistic features alone...there is a socio-cultural dimension”**.

In this vein of distinguishing dialect from language many scholars namely Ferguson and Gumperz (1960), Haugen (1965) and Stewart (1968) attempt to attribute the two terms to four criteria: mutual intelligibility (there is an understanding between speaker A and B), historicity (the historical development of a variety from a language family), autonomy (a standard variety can be autonomous and independent) and standardization (standard variety has codified grammar and vocabulary).

1.3. LANGUAGES, DIALECTS AND VARIETIES

The subject of linguistic varieties is dependent on a matrix of inter-related factors: historical development, autonomy, standardization, the

speakers' attitudes and social networks that sociolinguists argue to institute language system.

As for the difference between dialects and languages, the question is the most wondering and critical for many specialists because there is no criterion agreed on to distinguish between the two and all the difference is a matter of degree and not kind:

The term “dialect” has a connotation in technical usage which is somewhat different from its ordinary meaning. To the linguist there is no real difference between a “dialect” and a “language” which can be shown to be related, however remotely, to another language. By preference the term is restricted to a form of speech which does not differ sufficiently from another form of speech to be unintelligible to the speakers of the latter.

(Sapir 1949:83)

A dialect may be helpful to know the origin of languages and the institutionalization of the standard but it is in no case lower or deviant from the norms. Dialects are useful in research to highlight language differences, innovations, variation and change through time and space.

The vast majority of so-called dialects are merely the regular, differentiated development of earlier forms of speech which antedate the recognized languages. Popular confusion on the subject is chiefly due to the fact that the question of language has become secondarily identified with that of nationality in the larger cultural and ethnic group which, in course of time, absorbs the local dialect.

(ibid: 84)

Dialects are no more considered as substandard of low status or rustic form of language lacking prestige; users of language are essentially speakers of dialects, language then is not linguistically an independent notion but speaking dialects are dialects of a language and the standard language is originally a dialect and so no dialect is in any way superior than any other.

To avoid which to use 'language' or 'dialect' specialists have suggested the word 'variety' to mean dialect or language or both. Any language is not simply a kind of object for study but it exhibits internal variation in the sense that any language comprises varieties and undermines both social and regional Variations:

Dialect variation (including both regionally and socially differentiated varieties), particularly phonological variation, has been the main focus of recent sociolinguistic literature.

(Southworth 1990:27)

In fact there are various factors to determine two types of dialects ‘social and regional’ like origin, place of residence, cultural background, class, ethnicity...and so on.

1.3.1. Regional Dialects

The first point that may be marked whenever people talk is their regional difference that exercises a fascinating peculiarity that both dialect and accent may adjust in their way of speaking. People of distinct dialect backgrounds may be source of academic studies and research especially by sociolinguists. Sociolinguists, like Wardaugh, relate the regional variation in the way a language is spoken especially:

As you travel throughout a wide geographical area in which a language is spoken, and particularly if that language has been spoken in that area for many hundreds of years, you are almost certain to notice

differences in pronunciation, in the choices and forms of words, and in syntax.

(Wardhaugh 2006: 43/44)

Crystal comments on regional variation as far as English is concerned by saying that:

The study of regional linguistic variation has thus more to offer than purely descriptive interest. The more we know about regional variation and change in the use of English, the more we will come to appreciate the striking individuality of each of the varieties which we call dialects, and the less we are likely to adopt demeaning stereotypes about people from other parts of the country, or of the world.

(Crystal 1995: 298)

Regional variation affords an answer to the question “where are you from”; but this is not enough for any analyst of variation unless the latter is linked to society. In the same vein, Gumperz defines the regional dialect in the country of India by stating that:

The regional dialect is the native language of small town residents. There are some variations between one

town and another, but these are minor in comparison to the difference on a local level.

(Gumperz 1971:4)

As for Wardhaugh, the definition of regional dialects is rather a simple matter. He says:

One basic assumption in dialect geography is that regional dialects are really quite easy to sample: just find one or two people in the particular location you wish to investigate, people who are preferably elderly and untraveled, interview them, and ask them how they pronounce particular words, refer to particular objects, and phrase particular kind of utterances.

(Wardhaugh 2006: 139)

To understand some words regionally is not all to know a dialect especially when it is related to social factors denoting, sometimes, people's occupation in society.

1.3.2. Social Dialects

Throughout the world, people acquire many identities since they participate in the social structure of their languages. This enables them to

belong to different social groups maintaining social activities in life. Moreover, other factors may contribute in the social variation such as age, sex, and cultural and educational backgrounds:

The term dialect can also be used to describe differences in speech associated with various social groups or classes. Whereas regional dialects are geographically based, social dialects originate among social groups and are related to a variety of factors, the principal ones apparently being social class, religion, and ethnicity.

(Wardhaugh 2006: 49)

Most scholars refer to the pioneer study of social dialects held by Labov as stated by Wardhaugh:

The investigation of social dialects has required the development of an array of techniques quite different from those used in dialect geography. Many of these derive from the pioneering work of Labov, who, along with other sociolinguists, has attempted to describe how language varies in any community and to draw conclusions from that variation not only for linguistic

theory but also sometimes for the conduct of everyday life.

(Wardhaugh 2006: 142-143)

In some cases the regional dialect can be also the social one and the difference is difficult to make but there are some factors to distinguish one from another:

Attitudes to social variation vary widely. All countries display social stratification, for example, though some have more clearly-defined class boundaries than others, and thus more identifiable features of class dialect

(Crystal 1995. 364)

Consequently, dialects may be regional or social or both referring to the speaker's social and geographical origins.

1.3.3. The Algerian Context

Dialect refers to either ‘social’ or ‘regional’ variety which may be distributed to geographical lines called ‘isoglosses’ on maps to demark a dialect from another. In Algerian Arabic the feature /q/ I an isogloss which occurs in different regions of the Algerian territory: /ʔ/ in Tlemcen, /k/ in Ghazaouet and neighboring regions, /q/ in Algiers and the central part, /g/ in the remaining parts of the country.

Other examples may be given about the word ‘saucepan’ which is ‘bazina’ in Beni Saf, ‘marmita’ in Ain-youcef, ‘gamila’ in Maghnia and Ghazaouet, ‘kasrouna’ in Tlemcen, ‘tawa’ in Sidi Bel Abbess, ‘qboucha’ in Mechria.

A dialectal word can have other features such as the isophone: /q/ ([ʔ][k][g][q]), isomorph (ntin, ntina, nta, ntaja to mean ‘you’), and isoseme ([ntaʔi] and [diali]). This just reminds us Gumperz (1968) who asserts that speakers generally refer to “verbal repertoires” in his daily social interaction which may lead to other linguistic phenomena such as accent, idiolect, register, dialect and language.

1.4. DIGLOSSIA

Communicating through language is a phenomenon that has inspired various scholars to deal with it. Charles Ferguson is considered as one of them to exploit big interest in language; this is why he has been as the first

to deal with the concept of diglossia in his article entitled “Diglossia” by 1959 published in the revue entitled “Word”; and Joshua Fishman in 1967 who dealt with “extended diglossia” associated with unrelated languages.

Fergusson tries to develop the concept of diglossia in referring to four cases in different countries: Greece, Switzerland, Arab countries, and Haiti. Diglossia, then, refers to a kind of bilingualism where one of the languages is considered as the high variety often symbolized as (H) and the low variety also symbolized as (L). the former has high prestige where the latter has the low prestige. Fergusson’s examples take account Standard German (H) and Swiss German (L), Standard Arabic (H) and Vernacular Arabic (L), Standard French (H) and Krévol (L) in Haiti, Katharevousa (H) and Dhimotiki (L) in Greece. Ferguson, thus, uses:

Four modern language situations as the legs for his table (Swiss German, Arabic, Haitian Creole, Modern Greek), Ferguson described a particular form of bilingual community in which a special relationship existed between its primary languages, which he labeled simply the high and low codes.

Watt in Porter (2000:18-19)

However, this definition to diglossia seems to be a simple suggestion that has lacked afterwards clarity and objectivity and that is what Fergusson put in doubt when Ferguson himself has noted the weak points of his original article in *Diglossia Revisited*. (1991, *The Southwest Journal Linguistics*). For the most part he gave new supports to his original article, but he does criticize his ambiguity on specifying that his definition for diglossia was putative.

Yet, according to Fishman diglossia can be example of different countries and languages for example Alsatian in Alsace as (L) and French as (H). this is why, (H) is usually the written language used in formal situations; while the (L) is the spoken one used in informal situations. Apparently, Fishman also seems unsatisfied for the first definitions asserted about diglossia:

What Fishman effectively demonstrated was the need for increased flexibility in Ferguson's paradigm; what he appears to have lost in the process was definition, for the application of 'diglossia' to multilingual situations would soon become so broad, one might wonder what multilingual situation in the world today is not diglossic.

Watt in Porter (2000: 19)

In fact, Fishman (1967) extended the concept of diglossia to include “several separate codes, and recognized two types of compartmentalization: functional and social/political” (Chen 1997:4). **This is why Watt in Porter (2000:18) claims that there were** “philosophical differences between the conflicting traditions of Charles Ferguson (1959, 1991) and Joshua Fishman (1967, 1971) – something that has animated much of the broader literature on diglossia”. **Since that there were many discussions necessary to have good understanding, or at least modifications, about diglossia which explains that Ferguson’s self-modified (1991) version of his landmark 1959 article contains the necessary definitions and constraints needed for a productive application of the term, and it comprehends the undeniable fact that tertiary languages and spoken variants of high forms are present in the speech repertoire of many communities.**

(idem)

The differences about the concept of diglossia are logically related to the complex situations of language systems in the world particularly in the Arab world characterized by multilingualism.

1.4.1. Arabic Diglossia

The language has got different features and notions, and hence researchers sought to simplify it, starting with MOTHER TONGUE a very important language for the linguists as it shows the first aspects of this human phenomenon, that they use to establish their hypothesis to form the coordinative groups of languages which constitute the same linguistic family with a common origin, like Latin with Roman, German with English and Mother Semitic with the derived Semitic languages.

1.4.1.1. The Arabs' Premise in Language Variation Study

There is a fact that Arab scholars have been interested in Arabic linguistics and dialectology and topics related to dialects and languages in addition to the linguistic variation at all levels:

The systematic study of dialect geography is a typical invention of Western European nineteenth-century linguistics. But it would be wrong to suppose that the Arabs themselves were not aware of the variation in speech in the Arabophone world.

(Versteegh 2001:130)

The Arabs were basically aware of dialect studies through the movement of many scholars to remote places and recording the data from the mouths of

different tribes with the objective to save the Arabic tongue from erroneous uses of language which they call 'lahn al a'amma'. There are many proved evidence through the phrases "kama qualat tamim" or "lughat hadil".

Qu'ran is good reference to prove the advent of Arabic in the field of dialects to have included more than the dialect of Kuraychi tribe at all the phonological, syntactic and semantic levels; Aba hiyan al-andalousi includes 63 readings including dialects in his interpretation of Koran. Sibawayh says that the verse "mahada bacharan" is with fath tanwin while with banu tamim mahada bacharun" bi raf'e tanween. Others like Gahiz does notice the difference in the talks of speech in a particular geographical area:

At an early date, Gahiz informs us that the people in the cities talk according to the language of the Bedouin immigrants that had settled there, which is why you find lexical differences between the people of Kufa and Basra and Syria and Egypt.

(idem)

Besides, Ibn Kaldun in al Miqaddima who devoted a whole chapter about:

The differences between sedentary and Bedouin speech, entitled the language of the sedentary

population and the city-dwellers is an independent
language, differing from the language of Mudar

(idem.)

It is true that the Arabs classified and categorized and discovered the dialectal phenomena, described the phonetic variation in everyday speech, knew even diseases of the tongue like taetaa or faefaa but could not go further through instituting and codifying systematic rules about dialects to create an independent discipline for it called dialectology. This task was done by the Germans and the French before the English starting by traditional ways of collecting the data through climbing rocky mountainous regions in remote rural areas to gather the different features of dialects from the mouths of old people with the intention to save such dialectal heritage before the death of these people. Recently methods of research in dialectology have radically changed especially within the advent of Sociolinguistics and other disciplines like discourse analysis and pragmatics; thus the use of some innovative research tools to develop the analysis of data is primordially required like the use of questionnaire, interviews and maps originally used through the development of technology and computer assistance.

1.4.1.2. Diglossic Phenomenon in Arabic

Though it is generally known that Ferguson was the first to have introduced the term of diglossia inspiring it from the French term “diglossie” from Marçais but in fact the term ‘diglossia’ was first used in 1903 by the German Karl Krumbacher who discussed the question of both Greek and Arabic diglossia.

The phenomenon of diglossia has created very hot polemics until doubts about its existence and spread from a society to another, in particular in Arabic, because recently, **“there has been a renewed interest in the concept of diglossia (Fishman 1983, !tabouret-Keller 1982) and its applicability to the language situation in the Arab world”** (Mahmoud 1986:239). There is a big similarity between the terms diglossia and bilingualism in Arabic, the former refers to the coexistence of many linguistic registers of a same language; other linguists use it to say Bilingualism which means the coexistence of two different languages, and vice-versa.

In the case of Arabic diglossia, Freeman (2000) has profoundly dealt with the concept of diglossia in Arabic languages asking the question of how we can accommodate Arabic to a working model for diglossia. This is why diglossia in the Arab world is suggested to be rather a multiglossia since there are more than two varieties of Arabic:

Arabic diglossia is being re-evaluated through the use of the term “Arabic multiglossia”, which is introduced because it more accurately reflects the existence of more than two varieties of the language. These varieties can be placed on a continuum that reflects the options open to native speakers in various social situations and conditions.

(Hary 1992:3)

In fact it is not to cut off the struggling matter between diglossia or multiglossia in Arabic world but they are some indicators that may describe the situation a speaker is involved in like:

- 1- Personal or public affairs
- 2- Standard vs. Dialect
- 3- The type of topic discussed
- 4- Occupation
- 5- Setting
- 6- Formal vs. informal style
- 7- Native vs. non native

They are others that through the following points they will be discussed.

1.4.2. Language Prestige

Prestige in sociolinguistics denotes the level of respect that a language or dialect is afforded in a speech community. In some countries, like England, prestige is related to class to mean upper class in which prestige is positive and it is negative in the case of lower class. Generally, **“greater prestige tends to be attached to the notion of the standard, since it can function in higher domains, and has a written form”** (Leith 1997: 18).

Prestige, be it for dialect or standard, is a phenomenon that differs from a country to another and has distinct effects on language structure but most linguists believe that there is no variety of language better than another because there is no language inherently better than any other language for every language serves its purpose of allowing its users to communicate (Wardough 2006: 335).

Though, the concept of prestige is related to standard language where the very prestigious dialect is likely to be standard language, but in the case of the Arab speaking world this rule is not easily applied to Arabic notably based on factors as religion, literature and society.

1.4.2.1. Arabic and Prestige

Arabic has to do with language prestige especially the subject of spoken varieties of Arabic in relation with Standard Arabic is evoked;

Scmidt and Shohmy (2004:220) in Palmer (2007:112) comments on the situation of Arabic in Israel:

One frequently hears from teachers and pupils that formal Arabic is not useful language for personal communication given that it is the spoken variety, though less prestigious, which de facto is used in everyday life for colloquial purposes and for personal interactions.

The situation in the Arab world is complex because the latter is extended from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Arabian Sea in the east, and from the Mediterranean Sea in the north to the Horn of Africa and the Indian Ocean in the southeast. In this gigantic world Arabic represents the union of the Arab World where different varieties of dialects and languages characterize and identify each country alone and all together since Arabic is used in formal speeches, politics, mosques and educational institutions but also used in the streets and home with different accents and dialects.

In the case Arabic, Arabs feel some superiority in Arabic mainly due to the divine protection of Arabic in Qu'ran:

It is not an exaggeration to say that Arabs are passionately in love with their language. Just speaking

and hearing it can be a moving aesthetic experience. Arabs are secure in the knowledge that their language is superior to all others. This attitude about one's own language is held by many people in the world, but in the case of the Arabs, they can point to several factors as proof of their assertion.

(Nydell 2006: 95)

Arabic represents an exception to the rule since it is a saint qu'ranic language and a rich literary heritage in addition to other considerable international standing since there are **“prestigious and standard variety that coincide to the extent that the two terms can be used interchangeably”** (Ibrahim: 1986: 115). Arabic, be it spoken or written, has its prestige in the whole Arabic countries.

1.4.2.2. Spoken and Formal Arabic

The very concern of foreign and Arab scholars is how to study the gap between Arabic colloquial dialects and Modern Standard Arabic. Though it is normally acquired that spoken Arabic is the use of non-educated people and Formal Arabic for educated ones, but the use of spoken Arabic by academicians, professionals and the authors' classrooms make the question

of dialect and standard Arabic a real issue to give two varieties of Arabic Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Formal Spoken Arabic (FSA).

Yet, formal Spoken Arabic (ESA) is named by other scholars as Educated Spoken Arabic that Mahmoud (1986: 239) defines:

The emergence of a new, intermediate form of Arabic called Educated Spoken Arabic is commonly cited as evidence that the diglossic situation is undergoing a dramatic change (Abdel-Masih 1975, Bishai 1966, Mahmoud 1984, Mitchell 1962).

The problem is raised when the subject of non standard Arabic is evoked:

In the past 40 years, the world of research in Arabic theoretical linguistics has expanded considerably, but the production of professional quality textbooks and reference books for colloquial Arabic has remained limited.

(Ryding, Mehall 2005:xv)

Arabic then is a treasure reflecting a long history and its musical rhythm makes it a good language of art and it deserves to be the language of Qu'ran:

Arabic, if spoken or written in an ornate and semi-poetic style, casts a spell. Hearing the words and phrases used skillfully is a poetic experience, and people respond as much or more to the style as to the content. A talented orator can wield power in this subtle way. Beautiful Arabic conjures up images of once-memorized Qu'ran passages or bits of poetry, and it can be just as intricate orally as the most complex Arabic calligraphy designs.

(Nydell 2006: 95)

Other scholars are rather optimistic about the diversity of dialects in the Arab world because this may endorse thoroughly Arabic dialectology that contributes to offer a great deal of linguistic theory:

The wealth of information that may be collected and studied over such large area, a good amount of historical evidence that can be brought to bear, as well as increasingly detailed studies on social history, all make Arabic a powerful case for testing, proving, and even generating theory.

(Brustad 2000:1)

FSA or ESA refer to spoken and colloquial languages including dialects and sub-dialects; besides Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) that is largely used in the medium of education and instruction which may create an interplay between it and FSA or ESA. MSA, then, is considered as the modern version to Classical Arabic which is:

The language of Qu'ran and of medieval literary and religious texts. Many Arabs and especially the few who have mastered it, proudly credit it with preserving the Arabs' rich and glorious heritage and making it continually accessible to succeeding generations.

(Mahmoud 1986:240)

It is then suggested that there are different varieties of Arabic: MSA formerly called Classical Arabic, and ESA or FSA to mean the vernacular of the educated people, let alone idiolect and slang that maybe easily heard in informal contexts. Out of these varieties diglossia had been studied as changing in the Arab World and ESA is useful means to bridge the gap between varieties for the elite as stated by Mahmoud (1986. 247):

Diglossia is not an unchanging, stable phenomenon as it may have appeared to Ferguson, and ESA is a

definite harbinger of change in the Arabic speech community since it seems to be bridging successfully the gap between the two forms of Arabic and increasingly satisfying the communicative needs of its elite

(El Hassen 1978, Al Shaayib 1976, Mahmoud 1984).

Diglossia concept should be clarified through the efforts of all scholars concerned with Arabic language so that to avoid issues in the community especially at broad communication among different regional and social groups. Indeed the Arabic language situation may seem complex where members of the same speech community cross different repertoires this is why Fishman (1972) ,discussed a language situation where diglossia and bilingualism may be considered theoretically the same.

1.5. DIGLOSSIA AND BILINGUALISM

The relationship between diglossia and bilingualism was raised at the period when Latin was the official language of Great Britain and linguists wonder how to call such situation for both Latin and English were used in education but at the same time Latin was the language of the elite and English was the possession of the peasants especially in rural areas. The

dichotomy diglossia/bilingualism is a subject of debate in other societies like in many countries of the Arab world:

The functional distribution in the Arabic-speaking countries is nothing but a special case of a general phenomenon of sociolinguistic variation in all speech communities

(Versteegh 2001:190)

Not all members have a unique equal command of using language. The use of two languages may be diglossic but also bilingual; when a speaker uses MSA in formal contexts and ESA in informal is the case of Diglossia but in the same country a foreign language may be used in Formal context and native language in informal use and inhere the dichotomy of Diglossia/bilingualism in enlarged:

In the Arab world, an example of such a situation is Algeria just before the independence. The majority of people in the speech community knew only Arabic and at the most a smattering of French, but a small group of intellectuals had been raised and educated in French and lost the ability to speak Arabic.

(idem)

Language situation may be intricate in the case of speech variables used by different members of linguistic communities.

1.6. LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES

The subject of language nowadays is no longer sought as a separate language for its own sake but as a human function in different human and social forms among nations, peoples, tribes and individuals. Therefore, human language has got special characteristics like: creativity, double articulation, language displacement, and traditional transmission. Additionally, according to the theory of communication, language is considered also, as a transmission means of linguistic messages composed of selected arbitrary and conventional signs.

Indeed, when we use language we naturally choose our words whose function is submitted to a set of norms and rules; for example when we use the definite article *a/* in Arabic, we cannot add a verb just after because in Arabic grammar this phoneme is related to nouns and not verbs.

It is noticed from the linguistic investigations of different researches, that there exist many questions about the ideological systems of the origin and identity of Language, among the different linguistic communities, since there are two levels of language: supreme and low; this distinction is due, in fact, to the social conditions which influence on the attachment to languages

and their saving to next generations. Gumperz (1971) used the term by analogy with Ememeau's term "linguistic area". He defines it as:

A social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication.

(Gumperz 1971: 101)

He also adds that "linguistic communities may be viewed in terms of functionally related roles, defined according to Nadel (1957)" (idem).

Among the most important phenomena that attracted the interest of the sociologists and linguists in addition to anthropologists are the different uses of language in the same society: there are some dialects which distinguish categories and social classes from others, for instance jargons of professions, and the local regional dialects like those found in Algerian dialects, different from the Tunisian, Moroccan and Mauritanian ones. Therefore various speech communities may appear in the body of the one society.

1.6.1. Speech Communities

The analysis of Language as an independent fact has taken two ways: studying language as a system and a structure, or studying Language as a

means of communication within different members of speech community but in fact:

There are no priori grounds which force us to define speech communities so that all members speak the same language. Total bi- or multi-lingualism is the rule rather than the exception in a wide variety of societies including the nineteenth century Russian urban elite, the ruling groups of many modern Asian and African nations, the American immigrant groups as well as many others.

(Gumperz 1971:101)

Through the language system, members of a speech community can communicate with each other, and communication is the essential aspect of language; communication is the transmission of significations vocal signs put in conventional structures and systems which distinguish a community.

This approach is explained by the being of Language as a behaviour system which takes different and interferential forms since we notice several linguistic popular uses in the same society.

As for speech community it is the regular correlation that sociolinguistics attempts to describe between language structure and social

structure; in this vein, Gumperz (1968: 381) in “the Speech Community”: international encyclopedia of the social sciences states that **“the speech community is any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage”**.

The term is, thus, applied to any human social group which exhibits regular patterns in social interaction as well as linguistic behavior. Verbal interaction is essential point that sociolinguistics asserts and in this context Fishman (1972:2) in his book “Language in Sociocultural Change” maintains that:

Part of the ultimate quest of descriptive sociolinguistics is concerned with describing the generally accepted social organization of language usage within speech community.

As for Labov (1968) who dealt with only monolingual speech communities thinks that a speech community is a set of collaborative norms shared by the members to constitute a uniformity of abstract patterns of variation.

1.7. Arabic and Religion

Arabic is of a special status when religion is associated to; Arabic is suitable not only to our prayers but also to different other situations as confessed by the Lebanese A. Furayhah (1955:33) in Mahmoud (1986: 242):

We think, speak, sing, murmur our prayers, talk kindly to our children, whisper to our beloved, seek understanding with whomever we want to, and insult those whom we see fit to, in a flowery and smooth language which does not retard our thinking nor require much effort.

Arabic variety at use depends a lot on the speaker function and goal changing from lawyer, teacher, orator, preacher, imam, or lecturer; and this creates a linguistic identity that adjust their stress, rigidity of rule or simply informal style when it is required. If we consider that the imam is basically an educator, it is logically assumed that he is confronted with a diglossic situation:

It is perhaps in the field of education that the impact of diglossia has been most acutely perceived both in

the mode of acquisition and use of the two forms of Arabic.

(Mahmoud 1986: 242)

The power and richness of Arabic enables it to be used in different settings at communication especially in some religious gathering like in the mosques.

1.7.1. Arabic at Mosques

Diglossic situation in Algeria may occur in different places. Schools, Mass media, administrative and educational institutions, court, republic, literature, public places, streets, and of course mosques. The latter have been of big interest to research since the phenomenon of diglossia is found in the speech of the imam using simplified Arabic to clarify his speech to people of different levels of education, age and culture.

The mosque has a good effect to help the spread of Arabic language. It had been the only place where Arabic was safe during the French colonization. Actually in Algeria **“there are more than 10.000 mosques that may constitute positively in the spread of spoken Arabic, especially that in**

every mosque, there imams who daily use Arabic besides Fridays and Religious feasts”¹ .

Therefore mosques can be good source to learn Arabic especially at reference to Qu’ran and al-Hadith:

The Qu’ran is treated with the greatest respect. Although it has been translated into many languages, most Muslims read the text in Arabic, which is said to be the language of God.

He adds by stating that:

The original Arabic text always remains the same- it has not been changed since it was first written down. Mosques often have beautiful copies of the Qu’ran that are enriched with Arabic script in bright colors and gold page decorations.

(Khan 2003:6)

¹يوجد في الجزائر في الوقت الحالي ما يربو عن عشرة آلاف مسجد، ومن شأن هذا العدد أن يكون له تأثير عظيم في العربية المنطوقة، ولا سيما إذا علمنا أن كل مسجد يؤمه عشرات الأشخاص كل يوم، وخاصة أيام الجمعة والأعياد الدينية.

منشورات المجلس الأعلى للغة العربية. الغلاقة بين الفصحى والعامية. مجموعة من الأساتذة. سلسلة منشورات الجيب. أبريل 2005. الجزائر.

Mosques are considered as social and religious centers for Arabic Muslim speech community, an important institution to announce daily Islam and faith at the call of God. There are also some qu'ranic schools associated within mosques to teach Islam but also Arabic.

This is why, **“Schools (mad-ra-sa) have always been associated with mosques, primarily to teach the Koran but also reading, writing, and arithmetic.”** (Wise: 53). Mosques are, then, institutes for sermons and prayers even if in America:

Speeches given at the mosques in Arabic on Shi'a Muslim topics should suggest to the congregation that Arabic is the appropriate language to be used in such contexts, thereby encouraging its use. This should be the case when topics are highly elevated ones, such as theology and philosophy. There is a difference I the degree in which Arabic is spoken at the two mosques in the area.

(Rouchdy 1992:202)

Mosques are the best viewed buildings for native, strangers and even tourist; they are national and religious monuments often suitably ornamented wince the words of Allah are recited.

1.8. DIGLOSSIA in SCHOOLS

Education as an important field has a big connection with diglossia because it has its impact on the learner's linguistic performance. This is why diglossia as a sociolinguistic phenomenon has its contact with the educational environment at schools and thus it affects the learner's proficiency to understand the acquired language and the learned one.

1.8.1. The Challenge of Education and Diglossia in the Arab World

The situation of education in the Arab world is notorious repulsive and exigent. Tough for both the learner and the teacher, both in real challenge to survive and promote.

The Arab World as a whole is notoriously difficult to assess- in politics, in culture, in quality of life and in education. For one thing, it is often difficult to get adequate information, especially information that permits a reasonable comparison between two or more Arab states. (Swales 1984:9)

The union is often shaken in the whole Arab world in different domains and educational system if of paramount importance with different policies for language acquisition and language planning

For another, if the observer does manage to reach some useful vantage point it often turns out that his instrument is not so

much a telescope as a kaleidoscope. Suddenly the clear bright pattern of shapes he has created is changed in an instant with an inadvertent movement of the hand brought by ground tremor or buffet of wind. Suddenly, today's Arab World is not the same as yesterday. (idem)

This is the case of the linguistic scenario as portrayed by Swales. Also the phenomenon of diglossia in education represents a problem when we see the gaps between the mother tongue of the speaker and the standard form of Arabic scholars like Abdulaziz (1986) often explicated the gravity of the situation when he wrote: The gap between the colloquial forms, including the mother tongues of the speakers, and MSA causes many troubles to educationalists and specialists. While it is presumed that the use of the standard form is the much adopted in the education system, the fact is that it is used only for writing and the colloquial form is more adopted in oral activities in explanation, instructing and guiding whether in schools or universities. Students are for that reason faced with reception issues in both reading and speaking. Abdulaziz (1986:18) also states that MSA faces several major challenges, including

The development of a more efficient orthography, the modification of grammar to make modern Arabic a workable

standard for most functions including education, and the elaboration of vocabulary to cover modern culture and learning.

The debate stands hot related to which form to use par rapport formal\informal context and style.

1.8.2. Diglossia and Education

Education is a field of research so polemical for many reasons least of all the language suggested and sometimes imposed for use in schools. It really requires sophisticated instruments and other factors to best manage it.

Nancy Hornberger (1996:461) views it so important to establish a strong link between language and education when she writes that:

Education is the site where, on the one hand, larger social and political forces are reflected in the kinds of educational opportunities offered to speakers of different language varieties and, on the other, language use mediates their participation in those opportunities and, ultimately, their potential contributions to the larger society.

It is not easy to judge which form to use in schools the standard or the dialectal one. The learners' circumstances differ from one to another as to their ability to use a more standard variety than a non standard one. Besides

the teachers attitudes towards such use is variable and uneasy to make. Trudgill, for instance, suggests three situations as to the use of non standard variety at schools:

- 1- Teachers focus on learners to avoid using the non standard form in their speech
- 2- Teachers allow the use of non standard variety in informal context a situation called bidialectism
- 3- Admission of dialect differences since the society's power over children to use dialect has been constant, and thus, they are helpless

Richards and Schmidt (2002: 286) classify language attitudes as the:

Attitudes which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language.

This is why:

Language attitudes may have an effect on second language or foreign language learning. The measurement of language attitudes

provides information which is useful in language teaching and language planning.(idem)

The child use of the non standard form is unavoidable; therefore, diglossia is a force in language shift. This is why a pedagogic bilingual practice turns to be legitimate with time. Definitely, diglossia affects to a large extent the learning teaching process which causes embarrassment for the learners at early levels.

1.8.3. Arabic Diglossia in Schools

The research work essence is to view observe and discuss the status of Arabic in schools; Arabic as a mother tongue and as a standard form for learning teaching process.

Reading as an elementary skill and essential process has been the concern of scholars to focus as for the learner's achievement and acquaintance like the Arab prominent sociolinguist Abu- Rabia (2000), who sees a strong relationship between the reading process challenges and complexities and Arabic diglossia, because Arabic as a mother tongue is different from the standard form in the view of the new learner faced with a language of instruction anew for him. In his study, Abu-Rabia has investigated an experiment applied on first and second pupils during their preschool time as far as reading comprehension is concerned. He thinks that

the level of reading comprehension fits the child's acquisition two years later than his starting stages of learning as he says: **“reading skills in the early years of a child's life are essential for the acquisition of knowledge in later schooling.”** (2000: 149). He also calls the attention of policy makers who have to intervene in the teaching\learning process by suggesting the following:

- Policy makers may incorporate this pedagogy in all preschool years as part of the curriculum.
- Educating elementary school teachers and kindergarten teachers in diglossic issues
- The recommendation that teachers at all levels use literary Arabic as the language of instruction. (ibid: 155)

Other scholars relate the intricateness of confronting a new language of instruction with the mother tongue with oral performance mapped in a specific orthography.

Arabic native children are required to simultaneously master the representation of a set of diglossic structures that are not available to them from their oral language experience and to discover how these structures are mapped onto the specific orthography. The present results show this task to remain a serious challenge for children even at the end of the first grade. (Saiegh-Haddad, 2003: 444)

Diglossia and education in schools as related to Arabic is related to a host of views for policy makers, for modern Arabic, for the gap between dialectal and standard Arabic. Other educationalists relate it to the writing system which copes best with the standard form; whereas the oral use is convenient with the colloquial variety.

Abdulaziz (1986: 21) explained the seriousness of the situation when he wrote: The gap between the colloquial forms, which are the true mother tongues of the speakers, and MSA causes many problems to educationalists and writers. Although it is assumed that in the education system only the standard form would be used, the fact is that it is used only for writing.

He also says:

The language of instruction in schools or university lectures is the colloquial in its various forms. Students are therefore faced with the problems of receiving their instruction in one form and reading and writing in the other.

Thus, there is a gap and a linguistic division at macro level which makes of diglossia an impactful factor.

Indeed many factors intervene to depict the seriousness of the situation of diglossia in schools, like classrooms, teachers' experience, context, background, training as the following figure sums up:

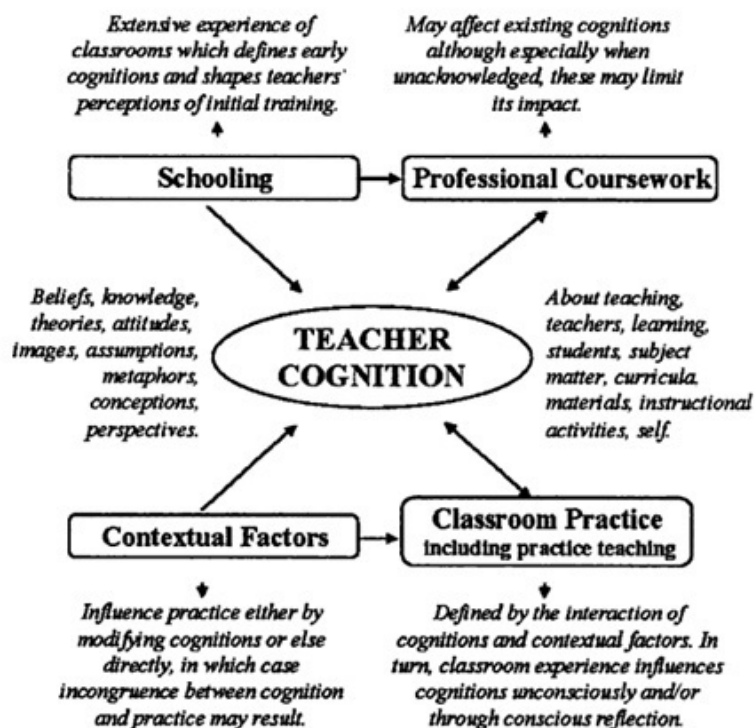


Figure 1. 1.

Teacher

cognition, schooling, professional education, and classroom practice (Borg 1997)

Simon Borg the teacher of TESOL in Leeds who insists on the teachers' behavior, beliefs and competency for an effective learning.

Since standard Arabic is a complex language at phonological, morpho-syntax and Lexical levels which make its difference from the colloquial variety often considered as the mother tongue of the learner coming to new world for him faced with a new way of speaking and writing. Accordingly,

the use of the high variety is convenient in formal usage and the low variety for informal one: Wardhaugh (2005: 90) clearly puts it:

The H variety is the prestige variety; the L variety lacks prestige. In fact, there can be so little prestige attached to the L variety that people may even deny that they know it although they may be observed to use it far more frequently than the H variety.

He adds:

This feeling about the superiority of the H variety is reinforced by the fact that a body of literature exists in that variety and almost none in the L variety. That literature may reflect essential values about the culture. Speakers of Arabic in particular gain prestige from being able to allude to classical sources. The folk literature associated with the L variety will have none of the same prestige.

This is why a pre schooling period where the incorporation of standard Arabic starts step by step is very important for the child. One advantage that Arab children have is the learning of Qur'an in early age helps intensifies the learning of Arabic in its highest rhetorical status this is why

the calling for Qur'anic schools to the society, as a pre-schooling is a good solution for the acquisition and learning of Arabic as a standard form.

1.9. CONCLUSION

This chapter has been devoted to underline basic concepts that may be involved in a linguistic situation where different varieties of the one language are interplayed especially in Arabic which has represented a dilemma to describe its status in the Arab World as a bilingual or diglossic situation. As far as the topic research is concerned, the linguistic situation at the mosques under consideration in Tlemcen speech community is rather classified as diglossic and not bilingual because the French language is not used and the most focus is on Arabic language.

This chapter focuses on the definition of key concepts in this research work as diglossia being a concept, a problem, and a solution to the complexities of education for learners in primary schools. The next chapter highlights the methodological issues related to diglossia and its implications in educational system.

Chapter Two
Sociolinguistic Situation in
Algeria

Chapter Two: Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

2.1. Introduction

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2.8. Conclusion

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Based on the fieldwork and investigation we have conducted, this chapter constitutes a careful study of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, focusing by so doing on the dialect of Tlemcen speech community. The chapter, therefore, builds on the concepts and the theoretical framework outlined in the literature review. To familiarize the reader with the linguistic situation in Algeria in general and the linguistic situation in Tlemcen in particular, the present chapter provides a detailed account of the target population as well as the linguistic environment in which they operate. It also sheds light on the research instruments used to bring to light the diglossic situation under study.

2.2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE IN ALGERIA

Several studies proved that a discussion of the Arabic sociolinguistic situation remains incomplete without considering the role of global and local languages in the Arabic sociolinguistic scene. According to Abdulkafi Albirini (2016), these languages are critical for understanding the speakers' language attitudes, language identities, language choice, and other language-related issues. He maintains that the comfortable position the Arabic language has enjoyed in the Arab region for the major part of its history is, to a certain degree, unsettled by the competitive presence of a number of local and global languages in the Arabic sociolinguistic situation;

which is in fact quite complicated. Apart from the competition between Standard Arabic and its spoken variations, a host of these spoken variations seem to pepper the linguistic landscape in the Maghreb. Algeria in particular attests to this dazzling variety. Not only is Algeria the biggest African country, but it is also the biggest Arab country, making its dialects worth studying.

Undeniably, for a long time, Algeria has gone through extremely stimulating historical facts, which have led in the present day to a very complex linguistic situation.

As a matter of fact, it is a very productive field in that it has paved the way to studies of different kinds, and that might cause very significant discoveries. In addition, linguists, sociolinguists, and educationists could fall upon so much to do in analysing the dynamics of a multilingual background; where, along with CA and/or MSA, the literary forms of Arabic, not only multiple varieties of the Arabic language, are used in various districts, but also languages that are not related genetically. However, the linguistic profile of Algeria is far more complicated than this, and its reality is so much difficult to be identified within its various configuration.

The truth is that, in addition to Berber varieties that represent the native tongue of a particular part of today's Algerian people, a large number of Algerian Arabic local varieties coexist with various degrees of

intelligibility, and in real dynamics, but also with French. The latter extremely influences the Algerian linguistic situation because of the long-term French colonization, bearing in mind, that the Algerian linguistic landscape before the French invasion, was characterized by a mixture of Algerian Arabic and some Berber varieties, in addition to a weak presence of Turkish and Spanish lexical items. What is significant in the Algerian context is that the various language choices are featured by a kind of blend of all three codes, especially found in urban centres and understood very well by the majority of Algerians because of linguistic friction contexts. Although this research does not focus on the linguistic variation characterizing the Algerian speech community and in ways that can enrich our understanding of the multifaceted nature of language as a social phenomenon, one finds himself compelled to discuss these linguistic features as far as they lend themselves to the discussion of the diglossic situation in Algeria. Also, taken into consideration are the historical, political, ethnic, educational, and socio-cultural factors which have all contributed in making Algeria worth investigating its mosaic linguistic composition in which three main languages coexist side by side.

In fact, Algeria is land to a mix of races: Berbers, Arabs, Turks, to name a few. Being the indigenous inhabitants of Algeria, the Berbers who figure more prominently in the history of the country, and who have resisted the Arabization campaigns, have managed to preserve their language,

(Tamazight) across areas of the country, albeit to varying degrees. What is more, after a long struggle for institutionalization, claiming thus, a space and legitimacy in the Arabic sociolinguistic sphere, Tamazight could finally achieve the status “joint-official” language (2016) by recognizing native Algerian forms of spoken Arabic and Berber as educational building blocks for young children in schools. These developments have extended the use of Berber to the public domain (e.g. some media outlets, and magazines). Nevertheless, Tamazight gradually lost ground to Arabic in use and influence alike. Under the French colonization of Algeria, Arabic fared well despite the colonizer’s attempts to Gallicize the population. After Algeria’s independence, Arabic survived to be the country’s official language. Nonetheless, it is safe to say that French has not lost its sway altogether, for it has tainted Algerian Spoken Arabic, as it were, giving rise to a phenomenon worthy of study at so many levels. French has turned out to be an unseparated constituent of the Algerian linguistic repertoire today. Accordingly, through the different events that the Algerian state has witnessed, it has attained a peculiar identity whose linguistic variation can be seen in the ways people talk in comparison with the neighbouring countries in the Maghreb, namely, Morocco and Tunisia.

Morocco and Tunisia were subject to a more or less destructive colonial, linguistic policy, a policy that is nevertheless different from the one carried out in Algeria. The French policy applied in Morocco and Tunisia

was entirely distinct from that of Algeria in that it did not lead to the disintegration of their societies. The two countries functioned as protectorates, a reality that did not last for a long time. By contrast, Algeria languished under French colonialism for more than 130 years (1830-1962). France conceived Algeria as an eternal overseas province, whose abandonment was at any rate out of the question.

Highlighting the different linguistic policies of France in the Maghreb, particularly in Algeria, Ennaji (1991) argues that:

By contrast, in Algeria the place of French is a paradoxical subject of conflict for historical reasons. Because France attempted to assimilate (Algeria more than Morocco and Tunisia) into the French cultural community, officials in independent Algeria react in a hostile way to French and are very keen on seeing it replaced by the national language, Arabic. (17-18)

As a consequence to this different policy, a rich array of French vocabulary items has found its way into Algerian Spoken Arabic. In nowadays-social interaction, it is well demonstrated that an ordinary Algerian speaker would adapt or Arabize French words to give them an Arabic ring before using them in a host of social contexts. B. Jumpers draws attention to this phenomenon of adaptation, calling it “situational shifting

where the two languages process at the same time several and different social meanings.”

The following example shows how spoken Arabic and French—strange bedfellows as they seem to be—intersect to produce an utterance that does not sound like authentic Arabic but one that conforms to its regular grammatical/lexical patterns: “Tla3na felbus wamshina lafac.” In English, the utterance literally translates into “we took the bus and went to University,” or simply “we went to University by bus.” Two French words were adapted here: “bus” and “fac”; they were adapted in such a way as to conform to the Algerian Arabic sentence pattern. This example is just a snippet of a mixed code of two contrasted repertoires or linguistic codes that result from the country’s bilingual situation.

From the example above, it follows then that in order to fully understand the diglossic situation in Algeria and the different contexts that give rise to it, the present research focuses solely on the bidialectal speakers adapting French words in different situations to produce hybrid utterances, as it were.

Ferguson (1976) compares and contrasts languages based on three fundamental categories: primary languages, secondary languages, and languages of a special status. Spurred by socio-political considerations, this classification assigns different roles to different languages; while some of

them assume an official and national order, others are used for administrative purposes or enjoy a standard status. The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is said to be exceptional in that it has bred a mixed dialect peculiar to it, a dialect that has resulted from its colonial past.

To throw some light on Ferguson's classification, an example reflecting the linguistic situation in Algeria is worth considering. In Algeria, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), although it has a very limited use, is the official language of the country. It is used in formal settings such as education, administrations, serious media, to name just a few. French, on the other hand, has competed fiercely with Standard Arabic in the previously mentioned formal settings, providing by so doing Algerian speakers with many bilingual options. In less formal settings and more relaxed situations, Algerians use a host of regional dialects of Arabic, which more often than not share distinctive features based on regional closeness. Besides these regional dialects, a handful of Berber dialects have survived in some regions, mainly in the Kabylie region.

However complicated the linguistic situation in Algeria might appear to be, it should be noted that the low Algerian Arabic varieties are much more frequently used than Standard Arabic. On the basis of what has been observed so far, it may be hypothesized that an average Algerian speaker exhibits a linguistic behaviour that oscillates between two varieties of the

same language, namely Standard Arabic—enjoying an official status—and one of its dialectal variants—used in everyday relaxed situations.

The use of any of these varieties reveals much about the social role, and sometimes the social rank of the speaker. Although they have more functional purposes, dialectal variants of Algerian Arabic have failed to make their way to the classroom, mosque oratories, serious media, and so on and so forth. The Algerian context therefore provides an interesting example of two distinct varieties operating in a host of different social contexts. Serving by so doing different purposes, these varieties provide the speaker with many linguistic options, plunging the speaker in an interesting linguistic situation that Ferguson (1959) calls Diglossia. Being the cornerstone of the Arabic-language situation, according to Yasir Suleiman (2011), this sociolinguistic phenomenon is the most extensively studied topic in Arabic sociolinguistics. In fact, well before the concept gained massive currency in Arabic socio-linguistics in the West, following the publication of Ferguson's study (1959), the Arabs—who referred to it by the term *izdiwajiyya lughawiyya* ('linguistic duality') in the nineteenth-century debates over language in the Levant (Khuri 1991)—summed it up by reference to the two terms *fusha* ('standard Arabic') and *Umiyya/darija* ('colloquial Arabic').

2.3. THE LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES OF TLEMCEN SPEECH COMMUNITY

By focusing on the Tlemcen speech community, it is hoped that unearthing the intricacies and peculiarities of this dialect in particular may throw more light on the general linguistic situation in Algeria. Being characterized by the existence of many dialects, some of them very similar, it is deemed wise to familiarize the reader with relevant facts about Tlemcen, be them geographical, historical, statistical, and so on.

2.3.1. Tlemcen's Geographic Location

Tlemcen, a town located in Northwest of Algeria, is the capital of the *Zianides*, as it is said to be one of the famous cities prominent with its art and civilization, i.e., it occupies an important place in the Algerian cultural landscape. It is bordered by Morocco in the west, Ain Temouchent in the north east, and Bechar in the south. It stretches over an area of 2,020 km² and lies at an elevation of 2,648 feet. Also, known by its cool climate in the mountains, it has grown into an important centre of tourism in Algeria. Administratively, it is composed of 21 *daira*; it is bordered by Maghnia then Remchi in the west, Mansourah in the north, Oulad Mimoune in the east and Sebdou in the south. The following map illustrates its strategic location:



Figure 1. 2. Tlemcen Geographical Map

Tlemcen boasts of prominent historical monuments that equal in importance and grandeur those of Granada. Adorned with marble columns, and cased with a mosaic of the most varied designs, a brick minaret of 112 feet decorates the top of the Great Mosque (Jamaa-el-Kebir). The mosque was built in 1136 A.D. to replace a much older building.

Unlike the other Algerian coastal cities, Tlemcen is much less humid due to its being an inland area, which nevertheless receives refreshing sea breeze during summer, making it one of the few cities that enjoy a mild climate. Such a climate has resulted in a rich natural landscape, ranging from hills, mountains, and plains. Hence, Tlemcen can be split into four main sub-areas:

- a. From the North Heights of Trara till the Mediterranean coast;
- b. Marne ;
- c. Mountains that occupy more than one third of the territory of the town;
- d. Plains that are mostly situated in Maghnia and Hennaya.

Besides the natural and the cultural richness of Tlemcen, and as far as the educational context is concerned, the present study provides at length, an overview of the current sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, with a focus on the diglossic situation which prevails in the context of education. The aim is then to connect the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of Arabic diglossia to the present circumstances of formal education in the region. To pursue this aim, the research is conducted in a number of primary schools in Tlemcen, in the hope to gain a better insight into language use in general, and the Algerian diglossic situation as a sociolinguistic phenomenon in particular.

2.3.2. Tlemcen's Ethnic Diversity

There is consensus among researchers that the Berbers are the indigenous people of North Africa. They have populated areas stretching from "Siwa" oasis of the eastern Egyptian region to the western Atlantic Sea and southern Niger River. The appellation (Berber) is somehow a misnomer, for it was first popularized by the Greeks to refer to any foreigner who did

not speak their language. By the same token, the Romans used the same appellation to refer to any individual who refused to succumb to their sovereignty or integration into the empire's mainstream culture.

In this respect and what is worthy observational at this level is that history has proved to us that the Berber ethnicity constitutes a wide antiquation traced back to its ancient civilization that had been founded and spread all along North Africa. In fact, this is what may explain and justify their presence nowadays inside cities and many famous capitals in general, and in Algeria in particular; and more precisely in Algiers the capital where Bani M'zghen and the Sanhagis lived; in addition to Djurdjura, Banu Ouartilane, and Ouargla in south Algeria, and in Mniaa, Tiaret, Tlemcen and its sub-urbs. They also coexist in Cherchal, Tenes and in Al Ouancharis mountains, in addition to the surrounding areas of Ammour Mountains in Oran city, and souk Ahrass, Constantine and Diar sebka in Beninzab region as well.

Prior to that, north Africa; Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia had been subject to a Roman invasion, who established a geographical connection between those regions, and set up a bulwark to ban the surrounding tribes raids, who refused to admit that they had been defeated and did not want to stop fighting against the existence of this coloniser of their own land for

looting and pelage as opposed to the so-claimed propaganda of Religious, educational and civilizational missionary tasks.

Such a camp was given the name of “Pomaria” well known today as “Tlemcen city”. A Roman town, Pomaria, occupied a site east of the present town. It derived its name from the abundance and luxuriance of the apple, pear and other fruit trees in the neighbourhood. The Roman town was ruined in the period following the Vandal invasion, and at the time of the Arab conquest appears to have been deserted. This, in fact, refers to the first historical Monuments of the two first tombs dating back to the Alexander Severe, and the other one goes back to the Kurdish. Consequently, both of them reveal the leaders of the Romanian Armored that belonged to Pomaria. In this vein, Tlemcen had been considered as the city of the gardens par excellence and it is linked to the coast through two distinct roads; the former crosses the city of Ain-Temouchent, and the later stretches all along Siga the ancient capital of the Berber king called Syffax till Tafna issue.

Regardless the Latin manuscripts that have been found on different walls, notably on the down part of Agadir, these monuments as being historical markers, and a prove of the existence of the Romans in Tlemcen city, might to some extent, explain the degree of civilization that the city of Tlemcen had witnessed during that era since several and various civilizations came across. As there have been a number of conquests among

which some lasted and others rapidly vanished such as that of the Vandals and the Byzantines around A.D. 641.

It should be also mentioned at this level, that while the Romans were marking their presence in Algeria, the Islamic openings started to take place and a large state stretching its expansion from east to west, have been gloriously founded. Later on and gradually, Egypt then the Arab Maghreb was opened, reaching finally El-Andalouss Area. Yet, Tlemcen was opened by the Arabs headed by Okbaa ibn nafii and Abi Almuhadjer during the first century of El hidjra 7th century A.C).

As a matter of fact, though Tlemcen area witnessed an intensive existence of the Berber, fundamentally justified by the great amount of vocabulary used in Tlemcen dialects, the Arabs took control over the middle and extreme Maghreb where they started spreading Islam for the sake of getting the Berber closer.

In A.D 675, those Islamic openings reached Tlemcen city and eventually contributed in learning Arabic by its inhabitants, and in consequence to that, there had been a kind of fusion between the Arabs and Berber. However, in A.D. 690, the Idrissites settled down in Tlemcen for the building of a new city named Agadir (Berber, the fortress), and then The Almoravides who reigned sixty-five years, ruling the area in 1079 AD, under the leadership of Yusef ibn Tashfin and his son Ali ibn Yusef. In 1080, the

Almoravide sovereign Yusef ibn Tashfin, after besieging and sacking Agadir, built a new town on the site of his camp. Afterward, and in 1143, the Almohades governed Tlemcen under the leadership of Abdel Mumen ibn Ali, an era during which this province knew a noticeable economic progress.

Yet, the most prospering and flourishing era that Tlemcen knew was that one reigned by the Zianids state and its civilization between the 13thC and the 16thC, when it became the capital of the middle Maghreb in 1248, due fundamentally, to its founder and his efforts, namely Suleiman Abu Yahia Yarmorasen (Ghamarasan); it became a commercial centre of a paramount importance in the Arab world, especially because of its strategic geographical location.

On the other hand, the collapse of El-Andalus, in general, had a remarkable impact on the other Algerian cities, and Tlemcen in particular, to which a great number of Muslims and Jews exuded, after they had been fired by the Spanish who steadily had power over it, and who had been, in their turn, invaded by the Turks from whom Tlemcen inhabitants harshly suffered as a result of their soldiers' mistreatment.

Such a significant impact on the city of Tlemcen and its inhabitants has also, in a way or another, immortalized the hallmarks of this presence strongly reflected in some of the names and titles inherited from one generation to another. What should be noted in this context as well is that

the negative impact on their whereabouts, impoverished the hallmarks of the city and seldom any technical, scientific and even religious emulation, following, for instance their predecessors El-Murabits. Hence, this land went through a new era of pain and tragedy, giving to the enemies the opportunity to spoil the country. Then, it was France after the Turks and Spaniards, one of the principal colonialists who imposed their complete hegemony all over the country.

As a result of this, the city of Tlemcen was raped under the Principality of Marshal Clausel in 1836, and the President of the Turks Mustafa ibn Ismail leading them into El-Meshuar Fort, which has long ensured the protection of long-term occupation, until there had been a break of the treaty Tafna, in 1842, when General Peugeot took control over the city on the ground that France tended then deliberately to impose its control in almost all aspects of life.

That led, gradually, France to attempt intentionally to eradicate the Arabic language and strategically and purposefully establish the French language to gradually compel it on the Algerian people. With such a linguistic policy which was not less important than the other fields of expansion, the French language use reinforced different Algerian dialects of different areas, fundamentally aiming at planning and considering the

Algerian geographical division as an extension of the French territory, by monopolising, at the same time, the political, economic and social domains.

This was embodied in the general policy of the French colonialist, in form of mechanisms often appearing peaceful and educational, while its hidden content has no purpose except to get rid of the necessary elements closely related to the national identity and what it entails of social, cultural and civilizational values, notably its linguistic means of communication and social interaction. As a matter of fact, the French linguistic code alone became the language of instruction at all levels for teaching and learning purposes.

Moreover, the French administration and the Mass-medias relied totally on this language too. The main objective behind such a procedure was, in fact, to make of the Algerian cultural environment part of the French one, on the basis of the 1948 decision which considered the French language as the governing language.

Through this historical overview, it can be said that there are various races that settled in Tlemcen through different historical periods. Consequently, Tlemcen dialect had been clearly affected by those peoples' languages and dialects, and thus mixed with a huge number of foreign words. These races can be summarised as follows:

1. *The Berber*: who are said to be the first race who had settled since long times ago in Tlemcen; notably El-Zinatyun who resided in Middle Maghreb, in addition to other peoples who also settled in the suburbs of Tlemcen city, which caused the mixture of the Arabs with the inhabitants of the city because of their exodus to the Maghreb.
2. *The Arabs*: according to the historical researches, Okba Bnu Nafii and his companions, on their way to North Africa, initiated that exodus to the Arab Maghreb; they built their own houses and got their own families which allowed them to fully be integrated and become like any other ethnic group maintaining an identical style of life of that area. This Arab exodus had a significant impact on the Berber customs and traditions, including even their linguistic code in that the Arabic language had become their first language though some of them still preserve Tamazight for some communicative purposes.
3. *The Turks*: they originally descended from Ottoman soldiers and mercenaries who married, at that time, with some of the Arab or arabised Berber women of that city.

2.3.3. The Linguistic Characteristics of Tlemcen's Speech Community

Tlemcen, as any other city in Algeria, has been also subject to various linguistic changes quite worthy to tackle. In this sense, its linguistic variety

witnessed a vital diachronic development at different levels, from purely phonological to absolutely semantic.

This might be traced back, in fact, to the different civilisations and tribes and population shift, such as the Spaniards, Turks, and earlier the Arabs who came from diverse places, and who are marked by a co-existential and tribal spirit, characterized by a conservative style of life due to particular hard social and environmental conditions. All this enormously contributed to the emergence of a very specific speech variety typically local.

As a result, it is clearly observed in general that the different dialects, coexisting with each other, display a kind of discrepancy, mainly recognised in the phonological particularities, especially if one considers that the speech sounds production constitutes the basics to any communicative situation while conversing with each other as interlocutors.

For a more detailed background account, it is believed that an exposé of the linguistic situation of Tlemcen has to be discussed on the basis of two distinctive eras; the former before the French coloniser, and the latter after the independence.

2.3.3.1. Tlemcen Speech Community before the French Colonization of Algeria

Researchers commonly agree, that during this period, Tlemcen citizens were mainly communicating and interacting through three distinctive varieties, more or less, quite linguistically close to standard Arabic. As mentioned above, Tlemcen speech variety is regarded as one of the urban dialects embedded by the first Arab conquerors in North Africa, coexisted side by side with the rural ones implanted later on by the Arab settlers, namely the nomadic populations.

Therefore, there was a linguistic variety spoken by sedentary people called in Arabic terms “hodor”, and two other rural speech varieties; the one marking that population living near around the city, notably “houzi dialect”, and the other one settling completely in the villages, called “arab or nomad” as stated by Ibn Khaldun in his book *El-Muqaddima*, clearly marked with specific dialect features, mainly phonological and morphological aspects, and some of the lexical items, all which we will deal with in chapter three. However, this social distinction, as mentioned by Dendane (1993) in his unpublished Magister thesis, tends to disappear nowadays since the merging populations of the two speech types both coexist in the city and the big commercial centres to which they intensively shift, and which can be explained by the fact that they were fleeing the hard conditions of life of the

rural areas because of diverse socio-economic and political issues that Algeria witnessed through different epochs.

In the light of this, some of the Arab modern linguists have seriously been preoccupied by the omission of the grammatical marker or mute the words endings what the Arab grammarians called /el-waqf/ or /sekt/, one of the most ancient linguistic features in spoken Arabic dialects. Such a linguistic feature is rather supposed to be used by the interlocutors to ease and speed language use, and realise a kind of language economy in terms of language production while interacting with each other in daily conversation.

2.3.3.2. Tlemcen's Dialect after Independence

During and just after the French colonisation, the Tlemcen dialect, as any other regional variety of the Arabic Algerian dialect as a whole, found itself in a weak position because of a number of circumstances, which among them, its partial abandon by its native speakers. Politically speaking, it also can be explained by the fact that there were several measures taken against those who write it or even just have it as a subject of research.

Such a condition soon got its influences on the linguistic situation in Algeria, where several changes occurred both at the phonetic and phonological levels; as there has been an emergence of new grammatical structures with the introduction of a new foreign lexical repertoire inserted

in the Arabic language system, and which has no equivalent in the standard Arabic language system. This, in fact, gave birth to new modes, forms of speech and styles of expression to be used for different communicative purposes, to perform different social roles. Therefore, many linguistic rules and norms, totally different from that of the standard Arabic language system, came out to create a typical linguistic system in terms of language use.

As an illustration to this, the most relevant linguistic features of Tlemcen speech varieties lie basically on the phonetic realisation of a great number of phonemes and morphemes, such as most of the suffixes and some of the lexical items. For instance, the difference in use of the verb “to come” which varies from an urban speech form to a rural one, respectively as follows: /aeji/ Vs /rwah/, also the word “to do” which is realised as /3mel/ Vs /daer/ or simply the interjection “yes” which takes the form of /yih or ih/ Vs /wah/ and so on. Nonetheless, the classical Arabic phoneme /q/ as voiceless, is particularly realised as a glottal stop /ʔ/ by Tlemcen sedentary people whom are identified as “hodor”, coming from the urban centre, as already pointed out above, or either as the voiceless /q/ or /k/ or the voiced velar rural /g/ as realised by the arab (nomads).

Though, Tlemcen has often been regarded as a long-established urban centre strongly marked by highly conservative social and cultural

characteristics that is reflected even in its population speech, by the use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ which, in fact, does not vary according to any socio-economic style differentiation. Such a linguistic distinction tends more and more to disappear mainly because of the intensive population shift (rural exodus) towards large sedentary centres (adapted from Dendane's; *ibid*).

As far as the present work is concerned, it should be stated here, that there seems to be no support of linguistic variation correlating with such aspects as class and style in a similar way for two major reasons:

a/ A sharp distinction between classical Arabic which is merely used in its written form, and especially in formal situations, like Religious ceremonies and political speech deliveries, and any low variety (dialects) of daily conversations, should be systematically drawn.

b/ At a social level, it is harder to correlate linguistic characteristics with socio-economic stratification because of some political and religious motives (adapted from Dendane's; *ibid*).

To put it in a nutshell, though the realisation of the glottal stop variable seems to undoubtedly personify the Tlemcen speakers' identity, particularly when associated with linguistic situations almost free from any social constraint, and though women speakers tend to preserve their own

vernacular aspects whatever the context they are involved in, it should be quite obvious that this does not occur in some social contexts.

Moreover, the socio-economic status of the speaker has nothing to do with this, and that the large-scale rural exodus, after the independence, and the fact that, in Algeria, the glottal stop realisation is often viewed as *stigmatized*; an effeminate speech form to mock at when produced by men, contributed enormously to a situation shifting to some of the linguistic features of the rural variety, like to avoid the glottal stop use or some lexical items, essentially because of *dialect contact* phenomenon (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980).

2.4. Arabization Policy

Just after independence, the new political leaders, at first, aimed strongly to return our Arabo-Islamic identity. They launched a simple and rapid language policy known as ‘Arabization’. The concept ‘Arabization’ is sometimes translated into Arabic as ‘ta \square riib’. The main focus of this policy is to restore and reinforce MSA as an official language; mainly as a means utilized for instruction, as well as public administration, formal written form and media in general. In this respect, El-Mouloudi (1986:121) points out that:

Arabization [...] in its most general sense refers to the cultivation

and extensive use of Arabic as the language of all Arabs, and either official means of oral and written communication. It covers broad issues such as language and nationalism, language as a medium of instruction, scientific research, administration, and social activities.

Among the most important reforms in newly independent Algeria was to restore the Arabic language as affirmed in the Tripoli Program 1962:

The role of the national culture will be based, primarily, on restoring the dignity and efficiently to the Arabic language as a language of civilization [...]. Restoring the national culture and gradual arabization of education relying on scientific bases, and this is among the hardest missions of the revolution as it demands modern cultural means, and doing it in a hurry is not promising without a possible sacrifice.

The first president of post-independent Algeria was 'Ahmed Ben Bella' (1962-1965). He proclaimed adherence to *Al-Umma Al-Arabiyya*, 'the Arab Nation'; declaring that '*Nous sommes des Arabes*' "We are Arabs". This adherence is indorsed in the first Algerian constitution 1963 in article 2, indicates that "Islam is the religion of the state" and article 3 "Arabic is the national and official language".

The Algerian Arabization Policy, therefore, knew ambivalence views. A group of people defended Arabization and rejected the use of the French language; i.e., monolingualism, because they saw the French colonizers as **“a source of suffering and a sign of alienation or acculturation”** (Ennaji, 1991:21). The other group; however, claimed for Arabic / French bilingualism; i.e., they did not neglect the use of Arabic; yet, they wanted keeping the use of the French language.

Consequently, Algerian political leaders tried to resolve the problem. Among them, the Algerian president Houari Boumediène (1974) decided upon a full Arabization. He advocated that,

The transformation of the Algerian man and the recovery of his identity, should be done by actively pursuing the program of arabization previously embarked on, which constitutes an essential instrument for the restoration of our national personality which must emerge from the use of the national language in all areas of economic, social and cultural life.

Quoted in Benghida, 2006:36

A complete Arabization was also defended by Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:191) as appeared in the following quotation:

Est une de nos options fondamentales. Il ne s'agit pas de refuser

le dialogue avec les autres peuples et les autres civilisations, il s'agit de redevenir nous-mêmes, de nous enraciner dans notre sol et dans notre peuple, pour mieux assimiler ensuite ce que les autres peuvent nous apporter d'enrichissement².

Thus, the action of Arabization reinforces the single use of Arabic and rejects the use of any foreign language mainly that of the colonizer; i.e., French, in addition to Berber which was also excluded at first. It has been, in fact, criticized as having no scientific basis as stated by Taleb Ibrahimi, (1981: 96) that “arabization suffers from improvisation” (Dendane, 2007: 90). Today, thirty (30) laws exist; which advocate the official use of language in Algeria. The policy of arabization touched many spheres as education, administration, media, and government. Education is the field that has known heavy reforms. The article 15 of January 16th, 1991 impulses the exclusive teaching of the Arabic language.

Article 15:

L'enseignement, l'éducation et la formation dans tous les secteurs, dans tous les cycles et dans toutes les spécialités sont dispensés en langue Arabe, sous

²Personal translation: is one of our fundamental options. It is not a matter of refusing the dialogue with other people and other civilizations, it is, however, a matter of becoming we same, in order to root in our soil and our identity; for better assimilating what the others can bring us of enrichment.

réserve des modalités d'enseignement des langues étrangères”³.

2.5. Diglossia as an Inevitable Sociolinguistic Phenomenon

With the rise of modern linguistics, a synchronic approach to the study of language has gained ground over the diachronic practice, which dominated language studies for centuries. The synchronic approach to the study of language focuses on the phenomenon of language at a particular point in time. Language change over lengthy periods of time, from a modern linguistics vantage-point, does not describe the phenomena, the changes, and the adaptations that any language goes through in the course of its life. One such phenomenon is the duality of language, commonly referred to as diglossia. The latter has only been seriously taken into consideration following the rise of modern linguistics.

There has always been a literary form of language, a standard form, a pure form, so to speak, which associates itself with rank, prestige, and political power. The status of this pure form, as it were, was buttressed through many vehicles and canonical texts such as political documents and literary texts. It follows then that people in power always looked down upon any use of language that did not belong to this standard form. However, with

³Personal translation: Teaching, education and training in all sectors, all the cycles and in all the specialties are exempted in the Arabic language, subject to the methods of foreign language teaching.

the advent of modernity and the spread of the mass means of communication, distances have shrunk but horizons have widened in the sense that people are now enjoying more contact and social interaction.

Indeed, language is a form of social interaction, meaning that it influences as it is liable to influence. Diglossia is then a sociolinguistic phenomenon that sees the speaker oscillating between, say, the standard, academic form of language and its colloquial offshoots. Such is the case of Arabic.

2.6. The Diglossic situation in the Arab World

2.6.1. The Historical Importance of Classical Arabic

The present Arabic sociolinguistic situation has not changed a lot throughout the centuries in that the variation, in terms of dialect that characterized the language fourteen centuries ago, can be seen and felt nowadays. The richness of the Arabic lexicon is paralleled by a wealth of dialects that feature in its linguistic map, which stretches from the Middle East to the Maghreb. Arabic is rich in dialects that not only vary from one nation to the other, but also from one region to another even within the same country. According to Abdulkafi Alberrini, differences in terms of dialects can be detected even a limited social setting as small as a Bedouin area. Albeit common comprehensibility may not generally be ensured between

speakers of the local dialects (e.g., Yemeni and Moroccan), these dialects are believed to be traced back to a common history that finds justification in the undeniably common phonological, syntactical, morphological, and lexical features that bind them to the standard form (9).

Classical Arabic is a form of Arabic that has been consolidated and immortalized by the Quran, which has established its loftiness, its prestige, and more importantly its formality. Standard Arabic is still used in formal and academic settings nowadays as it is the form of Arabic used by influential, political entities such as the Arab League. It is nonetheless misleading to believe that Arabic dialects have developed in vacuum. The history of Arabic has witnessed the rise and fall of the Islamic Civilization, transporting Arabic to foreign territories and linguistic environments. In recent times, European colonialism has pitted Arabic against the language of the colonizer, with the almost inevitable mutual influences that result thereof. These historical events, in Alberrini's eyes, should not be neglected, for they may "redraw the sociolinguistic map of the Arab region and dictate new patterns of language use in the Arab context" (10).

Alberrini argues that three different developments in particular have catapulted CA into a status of dominance and established its formality. The spread of Islam came in tandem with a deep interest in the study of the Quran and the Hadeeths of the prophet. These two sources of jurisdiction

have had a notable impact on the development of an Islamic worldview and a philosophy, which could by no means be accessed without a proper mastery of SA. Therefore, understaffing Standard Arabic came to be regarded as a *sin qua non* for understanding Islam (11). Secondly, the spread of Islam outside the Arabian Peninsula came with the inevitable corollary to codify the standard form, which was open to foreign influences. The codification efforts were motivated by an urgent need to preserve the language of the Quran, crystallizing in the publication of wide range of academic books dealing with the proper use of the language. The aim was, to put it in Al Berrini's words, "to impede any modifications that may affect the purity, eloquence, and beauty of CA" (11). Al Berrini explains that Arab grammarians like Abu Al-Aswad Ad-Du'ali (ad 603–688), Al-Khalil Bn Ahmad Al-Faraheedi (ad 719–786), Sibawayh (ad 757–796), and their students described and prescribed the rules and the standards of CA based on the Qur'an, pre-Islamic poetry, judgment of Bedouins, and directly observed language use (Chejne, 1969; Owens, 2001). This suggests that, at least up to that stage (around tenth century), CA was probably used in everyday interactions by certain sectors, groups, or communities in the Arab societies. As a result of the codification process, CA earned an official status, stability, and fixed orthography and grammar. In addition to its religious importance, CA has therefore become the language of high culture. (11)

The third development, according to Al Berrini, came in the wake of the Arabization of administration during the Umayyad period, which was also a period of hectic intellectual activity and scientific, philosophical, and cultural upheavals (11).

A large swathe of Arab territories was subject to the most degrading forms of modern colonialism, which came at a period in which the balance of power had been tilted in favor of the West. Not only is modern colonialism a military undertaking, but it is also an intellectual enterprise, through which a foreign culture, language, and mode of thinking was imposed on the colonized. Unfortunately, the Arab World was not immune to such alien influences in the sense that various language patterns embedded in European languages crept into the linguistic repertoire of Classical Arabic. The process through which these alien influences crept into Classical Arabic was accelerated by a massive wave of translation from the language of the colonizer to the language of the colonized, namely Classical Arabic. What is more, colonialism has shaken the established status of Classical Arabic because many speakers, to evoke Al Berrini, “diverged gradually from CA, particularly with respect to the lexicon.” Hence, this prompted linguists to coin the term Standard Arabic to describe the new sociolinguistic phenomenon looming in the horizon (2).

2.6.2. Colloquial Arabic: A Hallmark of Linguistic Variety

Colloquial Arabic (QA) refers to the sum total of dialects spoken by Arabic speakers in different parts of the Arab World. It is the form of Arabic used in relaxed, friendly settings, among family members, in mainstream media talk shows, and so on and so forth. The diversity of these dialects challenges the view or the claim that they are mutually intelligible, for a number of lexical and phonological features make intelligibility almost an unattainable end. Al Berrini Draws attention to the highly marked differences between the various Arabic dialects:

As Mitchell and El-Hassan (1994, p. 2) note, “Regional differences are lexical (and phonological) before they are grammatical.” The structural homogeneity of the Arabic dialects is confirmed by a number of studies on the structural comparability of the different Arabic dialects (e.g., Aoun, Benmamoun, & Choueiri, 2010; Benmamoun, 2000; Benmamoun et al., 2014; Soltan, 2007). Ferguson (1959b) identifies fourteen features that are shared by all modern dialects and argues for a common ancestor for all modern dialects, “a koine.”³ For example, all modern dialects have no feminine comparative (e.g., *kubra* “big.f.”). Likewise, all use the suffix *-i* instead of the *-iyy* for marking nisbah nouns and adjectives. In addition, all have lost the dual category, dropped the gender-agreement feature in number + noun constructions, and come to have reduced verbal inflections.

(13)

The use of non-standard dialectal forms of Arabic was considered an anomalous linguistic deviation, which was the mark of ignorance and illiteracy. Efforts to codify Classical Arabic in the past have similar echoes in the present thanks to formal institutions like Arab academies, which seek to preserve the standard form from further linguistic corruption. In fact, this is what accounts for the lingering differentiation between SA and QA. These efforts notwithstanding, in Al Berrini's view, will not have a serious impact in that the rate at which modern technology is shaping and changing the world around us makes the preservation of an untainted form of language a well-nigh impossibility. Blau argues that "The gap between the standard literary language and the spoken vernaculars would have been bridged if the history of Arabic had taken its 'normal' course and the spoken vernaculars had influenced the literary language"(Quoted in Al Berrini, 14).

Blau's contention, according to Al Berrini, stimulates interesting insights about the eventual fate of SA and QA in the light of the ceaseless mutual influence of the two forms, an influence that may grow in intensity owing to the ever-developing means of communication and mass media (14). Al Berrini sums up in short the differences between CA and QA:

First, Arabic dialects are acquired from parents and family by all speakers of Arabic. They are generally the medium of everyday interactions. Arabic dialects are not typically written, although a certain amount of

literature exists in some of them. Unlike SA, QA does not have an official status in any of the Arabic-speaking countries. A few attempts have been made to bring recognition to QA, particularly when various parts of the Arab World were colonized, and to give it an official status alongside SA. These attempts found no appeal in many Arab social circles and were resolutely resisted by several intellectuals because of their weakening effects on counter-occupation, pan-Arab, and Islamic movements (Mejdell, 2006).

Interest in QA has been recently revived by many scholars and researchers, mainly from the USA and Western Europe or Western-educated Arab scholars, who have engaged in important studies on the different dialects. These studies have fueled some of the current debates in the Arab region concerning the roles of QA in education, media, business, and public life. The debate may have political, economic, social, and ideological roots but language is always put at the forefront of the debate. (14)

2.7. Pedagogical Implications of Diglossia in the Algerian Educational Context

Diglossia as a language phenomenon has generated a lot of debate among language scholars, but perhaps not as much as in the context of education. In other words, given the diglossic nature of the Arabic speech communities, sociolinguists have studied the phenomenon of diglossia with regard to the impact it has in the language classroom in general and on the

learning process in particular. Interestingly, many researchers in the Arab world believe that the use of Standard Arabic is the number one reason behind the students' underachievement. On the other hand, being very different from its dialectal offshoots, illiteracy rates in the Arab world are still too high because of the difficulty associated with learning Standard Arabic. This argument has been made by a number of researchers (like Maamouri, 1998, Ayari, 1996), who justify their claims on a number of reasons. One among such many reasons is that Arab children grow up speaking their parents' dialects and usually become aware of the existence of a standard form when they enter school.

The challenges posed by this duality of language has attracted the attention of academics operating within the domain of linguistics and education. One claim they often make is that this challenge impacts on the learning and teaching processes alike, especially with regard to planning and goal setting. Many researchers (e.g. Maamouri, 1998; Saiegh-Haddad, 2003) have studied the effects of teaching using Standard Arabic on the students' achievement, and postulated that the students have a hard time understanding texts, which would otherwise be more accessible if they were written in the dialect they spoke. This is the reason behind the development of a view that is based on the belief that effective learning will only take place if we were to use the spoken dialects rather than Standard Arabic.

2.8. Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to shed light on the Algerian context in general and on Tlemcen speech community in particular. The researcher gives a detailed analysis about the linguistic characteristic of the speech community under investigation before and after independence. The researcher also sheds light on diglossia in the Arab world and diglossic implications in certain contexts. Diglossia; indeed, refers to the use of two distinct varieties into two totally different settings for varied functions. The High variety is employed in formal domains whereas the Low one is used in informal contexts only. In reality; however, many people can notice that many colloquial forms interfere in a formal speech or vice versa. This is the case of our Primary School Arabic language teachers who, though being supposed to use only the high form of the Arabic language in the classroom, switch to the low variety due to some factors. The factors of their switch in the class and the consequences of this sociolinguistic phenomenon will be analyzed and interpreted in the next chapter.

Chapter Three
Diglossic Situation in
Tlemcen Language
Teaching Contexts

**Chapter Three: Diglossic Situation in Tlemcen Language
Teaching Contexts**

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3.2. Sample Population

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3.6. Conclusion

3.1. Introduction

The third chapter is devoted to the analysis of data collected through the instruments employed; i.e., recording observation, teachers' questionnaires, and teachers' interviews. The mixture of these three instruments aims at providing us with pertinent data and results. The sample population is selected randomly since the phenomenon at hand concerned the whole Algerian system of education. This random selection's main target is to gather more illustrative instances that can be easily generalized and adapted to our research.

This chapter also considers the different steps that have been undertaken in investigating the phenomenon of diglossia and its effects on formal instruction in the Algerian education system among pupils studying at various grades of the primary level. It discusses in details the methodology pursued in the construction of our research work. Hence, the chapter will explain the context of investigation and sample population, in addition to the restatement of the research questions and hypotheses. After that, the chapter will consider the different instruments used for gathering data and will describe the data collection procedures. Finally, it will discuss the various data analysis procedure sunder taken in this study.

3.2. Sample Population

Research process is generally fulfilled by the help of the sample population. In fact, the selection of participants for any investigation is not an easy task since it is the fundamental phase through which the study will be based on. That is to say, the research frame is determined and the target sampling is designed. Therefore, the aim of this element is to characterize the respondents' profile through the option of a random selection of ten primary schools from Tlemcen.

Two primary schools: 'Abou-Abdellah' and 'Abadji' have been intentionally selected from Abou-Tachefine, the researcher's living region, since most teachers if not all are the researcher's neighbors. As a result, it was easily for him to get regularly in touch with them even at home. Two schools 'Sahi' and 'Talalissi' are from Boudghen speech community near Tlemcen centre. The other four primary schools have been situated in Tlemcen center and they are near to each other: 'Ben Hmidi' is situated in Mansoura, 'Tebbal' in Imama, 'Alili' in Bouhannak, and 'Merabet' in Birouana, 'Mediouni' in Bab-Djiad, 'Ben Youcef' in Cerisier. Collecting data was, in fact, not an easy task at all since most of the teachers said that they were always busy and could not find a free time for answering to the researcher's questions. These respondents can be summarized clearly in the following table:

Table 3.1. Sample Population

Tlemcen Primary School Arabic Language Teachers	60
“Abou-Abdellah” <i>Abou-Tachefine</i>	5
« Abadji Mahmoud » <i>Abou-Tachefine</i>	8
« Alili Djilali » <i>Bouhannak</i>	9
« Ben Youcef El Kissi » <i>Cerisier</i>	4
« Ben Hmidi Ali » <i>Mansourah</i>	5
« Mediouni Aicha » <i>BabDjiad</i>	5
« Sahi Khaled » <i>Boudghen</i>	6
« Tebbal Ahmed » <i>Imama</i>	5
« Talalissi » <i>Boudghen</i>	9
« Merabet » <i>Birouana</i>	4

3.3. Research Instruments

In order to attain reliable data, the researcher followed a methodology, which primarily aims at gathering quantitative and qualitative data. For this purpose, three different tools namely; field observation side by side with audio recordings, a teacher questionnaire, teacher interview are employed. Hence, the researcher opted for the triangulation of data. The latter helps the researcher to investigate the distinctive facets of the phenomenon under investigation; i.e., to scrutinize the ways teachers' behave in the class, to look for the chief motives behind their selections of codes, and more importantly to know the results and the effects of such a use. McMurray (2004:263) says that:

Triangulation is another way to talk about the use of multiple methods of data collection. Triangulation refers to the use of several different research techniques in the same study to confirm and verify data gathered in different ways. That is, a research attempts to pinpoint an outcome by making several assessments from different perspectives, with a view to finding an outcome that is supported by each of the approaches. In other words, triangulation uses multiple methods or techniques for gathering data in the hope that each technique produces complementary data. Such an approach adds rigour, richness, and depth to the research design and to the data collected.

The idea is that utilizing more than one instrument leads the researcher to feel more confident about the achieved results. Further, the triangulation of data reinforces the research and permits any surveyor to obtain insightful and comprehensible arguments and to check the validity of

his findings. It also sustains the analysis of the collected information in several setting.

3.3.1. Recording Observation

The field observation instrument is initiated in the research at hand for the sake of observing real situations where a myriad of language usages are employed by the primary school teachers. It also enables us to notice many ways and strategies that teachers utilize to get their messages across. For example, as far as the diglossic situation in Algerian schools is concerned, the researcher notes that instructors do not stick to one code in their whole lectures rather their language use often varies from Modern Standard Arabic to non- standard Arabic. This situation has been observed in almost all the investigated primary schools. Parallel with observation, the researcher records many conversations in each school including different levels and sessions as well.

3.3.2. Teacher Questionnaire

The questionnaire takes the form of a list of printed questions directed to a specific sample of population for the sake of achieving statistical data about a given phenomenon. Parasuraman (1986), Tull and Hawkins (1987) and many others cited in Kaufmann and Hans-Ruediger (2014: 439) deem the questionnaire as:

The most useful tool to evaluate the quantitative dimension of a behavior, an opinion, an expectation. The same question is asked to all respondents and its “conversion” in number offers good possibilities for statistics elaboration. That is the reason why the questionnaire is both a measuring instrument and a means of communication.

The Questionnaires are widely used in research because they not only provide the surveyor by a quantitative evaluation but they are also regarded as the cheapest and quickest instruments of collecting pertinent and substantial amounts of data. It also permits the researcher to ask/ include a big number of participants in his investigation. Thus, the questionnaire is commonly employed because of the wide range of information retrieved by it.

As far as the questionnaire of the research is concerned, it consists of 8 questions that range from closed ended questions that require from the informants to answer merely by ‘yes’, ‘no’ or ‘sometimes’ and pursued by contingency questions which complement open ended questions since they are generally recommended by the respondents who provide particular answer to the former one. Yet, the participants have been in many cases asked also to clarify or justify their answers so as to extend the area of the research.

The questionnaire indeed, aims at searching the chief reasons which lead the teachers to switch to Algerian Arabic in the class. The constructed questionnaire for the research indeed starts by asking questions which helps in the division of the sample population into sex, teaching language, level of teaching in primary school and names of schools where each teacher works. After, these introductory questions, the researcher moves on to start asking questions about the language or the variety of language employed during their lectures emphasizing especially on the way do teachers include AA in addition to which extent does AA emerge their teaching session.

Teachers were also asked about the situation that leads them to use AA i.e. if they use deliberately, spontaneously or according to the levels of their pupils. The following question can be regarded as a reinforcement to the previous one as it suggested multiple choices about the reason behind their inclusion of AA. So, teachers were supposed to select from the following proposition to answer the question: is it because of the difficulty of the lecture, to facilitate the subject, to create a relaxed atmosphere or because the child is familiar with the language? The researcher went on to ask teachers if the pupils use AA instead of MSA in answering questions in class if they do so he was supposed to justify why? Do you permit your pupils to employ AA in class? Why? And to which extent do your pupils use MSA? These two questions have been asked to show the paradox which occur in Algerian schools where the little pupil may find himself in the dilemma of

which language variety he is supposed to learn in school. The last question took the form of a table where the researcher suggests eight propositions about the aims of utilizing either AA or MSA. Thus, the respondents had to cross the answer which suited their situation. The last questions aimed at knowing to which extent and with which level of primary school teachers cherish the use of AA.

To sum, the researcher strives to facilitate the questionings as he reorders them from specific to general. This action aims at retrieving relevant data from respondents. Hence, even smallest details have been considered so as to guarantee appropriate, intelligible and unbiased questions.

3.3.3. Teacher Interview

Interview is an omnipresent instrument in research as well since it can be fulfilled differently. That is, the researcher may conduct it through a face to face interaction or may call his respondents or merely send them mails or e-mails only. It was administered orally in order to check the answers of the written form (the questionnaire) and the ones of the oral form (the interview). The researcher was vigilant especially about some contradictory answers as he compared them later and considers them as reinforcing data to his survey. Kvale (1996:14) regards interviews as “an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual

interest, sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, and emphasizes the social situatedness of research data.” Admittedly, any researcher who is looking for profound and detailed answers, the interview will be the adequate tool which can serve his purposes.

Factually, the questions of the interview resemble to the ones of the questionnaire. However, the aim of using this tool was to achieve reliability of data since the answers are instant as the researcher can also remark even non-linguistic matters such as gestures, feeling of satisfaction or disagreements and so on. In this vein, questions like: how often do you find yourself using AA? Which level requires more AA than the other? Does the use of AA enhance pupil’s understanding and does it influence their language performance? And so on compose the interview body. Yet, it is discernible that they turn around the same axe of that of the questionnaire. It emphasizes however, the main consequences of the switch between AA and MSA in addition to the difficulties faced during the lectures.

3.4. Research Results

The current section analyses the results and treats them both quantitatively and qualitatively, in order to validate our research hypotheses.

3.4.1. Recording Results

The researcher recorded many conversations in the classroom indifferent schools and with different levels.

➤ *Abadji Primary School*

Among the cases observed during our research was that one teacher had introduced or given an idea about the upcoming questions which are related to the exam text before giving it to them as she said:

‘*χaʃnenəffahmah,* *nəfham,*

məmbəʃdbəʃnəfhamn’zəwubʃalaəlʔasʔila...

*ʔ’læ:ʃrɑ:hjət’kaləm...*⁴⁴which means ‘I need to understand, understand, in order to be able to answer the questions....about what does the text talk....?’

And then she started reading the text which is about crowding of passengers in the bus, and just before finishing reading, she insisted on her pupils that they have to use their imagination during the reading process and said the following words:

-‘*rɑ:ninət’χijəlfnəʃbəʃnəfham...*

rɑ:ninət’χijəlwrɑ:ninʃufðæ:kəzzihæ:mm’təʃhəm.

This expressions stands for the following meaning: ‘I imagine people in order to understand... I imagine and at the same time I see their crowding’

-‘*psæ:ʃidbənəʃsibiəlχɑjæ:lwabiəlwakiflinʃiʃæh*’ it signifies ‘I help myself by coupling both imagination and reality’.

⁴⁴Switch to AA is written in bold and MSA is italicized.

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ʃəftu:ðæ:likaəzzihæ:mliʒ'ra:fiəlħa:fila...rækibtəmfiəlħa:filaʃə
ftu:ðæ:likaəzzihæ:m...ə'nasjatakalmuʃənðælika.

Means that: have you seen the crowding that occurred in the bus ...you rode the bus you saw: that's crowding ... in fact the text talks about that.

Later, the teacher started correcting the questions about the comprehension of the text with her pupils:

- 'ʃku:njaq'raɪnmæ'su:ʔæ:ləl'awaɪb'lafawɖɑ:' 'who wants to read the first question without making noise?

- 'ʔi:rbəs'jæ:sʔ'li:k' means 'slowly'

- 'tu:zadbθalaθniqɑ:ttuqɑ:biɪluħaθalaθan'tæʃəlʔasʔila. i.e. 'There are three points which related to three questions'.

-ʃɑqaləkə'su:ʔæ:l, signifies 'what does the question tell?'

'kiʃ'qɒɪnəɪ'mammɑrbiə'dæ:riʒɑ' means 'how shall we say pedestrian crossing in dialect'

'kiʃ'qɒɪnɪmtɑtɑbiə'dæ:riʒɑ' 'how shall we say he rides in dialect'

'kiʃ'qɒɪnəʃæ:ʔirabiə'dæ:riʒɑ' 'how shall we say empty in dialect'

'hunamattədi:ʃnɒqɑ,matəsmɑħʃhɑtɑfiɪrɒbʃnɒqɑ'

'ħɑTɑrʃrɑkm'Taləbbiʔibarawɑħdɑ'. This means 'in this case you will not have the mark not even quarter of the mark because you are asked to give only one expression'

In addition to this the teacher was all the time emphasizing on the necessity of using dialect for the sake of understanding the question.

‘ɔħawilɔənaƒhamahɑ: bikulliiə’Tɔrrɔq,qɔlnaħata:
ə’ʃʃarħbil’ƒæmi ja, naʃraħl’nəfsi:
bil’ƒæmi jabæ:ʃnəfhaməlmɑfhumtæfə’suʔælawələn,
wælmɑfhum wabi tæ lin’qqadnəstəχrəzəli zɑ:ba’ So, this can be translated

as follows: ‘ I try to understand in every way, I said even the explanation should be in dialect, so I explain to myself: using dialect, the meaning of the question should be first and thus I will be able to extract the expression.

➤ *Tebbal Primary School*

Teacher: */maa maƒnaolaaħid maanatrokʃxajali w naƒrodsaolaaħid*
ʒoorɑ biƒaini maƒnaahƒaqli w ƒajni mƒaʒoorahaadihijjaolaaħid/.

/təbƒu

mliiħawwalʒalaatjuʔaddihalmuslimhijasalatʒsəbħwallatiwaqtuhalx

aamisaʒabaaħankunnaqrina *f*

tarbijjariyaadiyyaawqaatuʒsəbahaħayya təbƒu mƒajaxotwa xotwa/

/suƒaalʔaawadlahkulwaaħad ħor f taƒbiirtaƒu...zajjid ƒuu anta ħor

fii taƒbiiraklaakinlastaħor fiitaχjiiriƒadad aʒsalawaat/

/laaħidʃuumanagraafssukuunfiiaaxirl kalimaat ma naqraafɔohrqɔohro/

/ raakitakkatbi sʏiirbanti ilamakaanik/.

➤ *Mediouni Primary School*

In the area of our research, some cases have been confronted in which we were not able to make any observations on the teacher while she was doing the lecture except some cases (expressions) that concerned encouraging or stimulating pupil's participation. She tried to stimulate her pupils through a reading session where the text was talking about how to organize time. Thus, she said:

- 'α'jja,menjuri:du: əlqəra: ʔaawtəʔbir? 'Well, who want to read or express his ideas'

- 'nuħa:wilfiɣumlabəʃitaənnuʔabirafəmanara:hufiəʃpraα'jja' 'We try to express what we see in the text in a simple sentence...come on'

- 'α'jja,mæðɑ: jjaɔaʔvəlpɑ:bfiəlhakibα'jja, 'come on... what does the dad put in the suitcase.... come on'

- 'α'jja,...mælə:bis.... əlpəkl... mæðɑ: ʔajɔan? 'Come on...clothes....food.... what else..?'

- 'α'jja...ʔuridu: ʔaɣwibɑ' 'Come on.... I need answers'

- 'α'jja...l'ʔaxarun' 'Come on.... the others'

- 'ʃ'kunlij'qu:li?lɑ: nuɣibuɣaməʔijən' ' who will answer? No, do not answer collectively'

- 'ʃ'kunjæftniə'nætiʒɑ?' 'who wants to give me the result?'

Sometimes the teacher uses dialect on purpose but in a limited way in order to attract pupils 'attention

- 'dæ:jmɛnn'qulhal'kɒmmunðubidajæ:tə'sənaləwqatiruvæjri' 'I always repeat the same thing do not interrupt the others'

- 'mætətəkəlmʊʃbilkælimætəlbijumal' 'do not use only words instead use sentences'.

- 'ʔallisawtak' 'speak up'

- 'iðənfu:lanatakalamʔənwaqtədirasafahuwamunaqam' 'so, look we do not speak about learning time because it is organized'.

ʔ- 'læzəmj'ku:nændi: tari:qanəqmawaqti' 'we should find a way which permits us to organize time'

- 'ʃufu: əttilmi:ðləmjatawəqqaf' 'look the pupil didn't stop i.e. he didn't respect punctuation'.

Thus, it has been noticed that the teacher each time guided and corrected every mistake the pupils commit during the reading process, in addition to her efforts in doing the lecture by using a correct Arabic language. Regarding the observation noticed in the other schools, no AA use has been noticed since all teachers there were informed before with the presence of a foreigner. This is why, the researcher felt that teachers did their best to avoid AA to the extent that in one session, one pupils told his teacher: 'Miss, why you are not using AA as usual, we cannot understand well'. This fact can explain well that the teacher here did not include AA because the researcher's presence and thus, all classrooms witness the inclusion of AA.

3.4.2. Questionnaire Results

The results are treated both quantitatively and qualitatively.

3.4.2.1 Quantitative Results

The majority of Arabic language teachers state that they use MSA in the class while others they announce that they mix both MSA and AA. The table and diagram below exhibit statistics related to the first question which asked what is the code used in the class.

Table 3. 2. Code Used in Primary school classes.

Tlemcen Primary School Arabic Language Teachers	MSA Use	AA Use	Both of them
<i>Abou-Abdellah</i>	3 (5%)	0 (0%)	2(3.33%)
<i>Abadji</i>	3 (5%)	0 (0%)	5(8.33%)
<i>Alili</i>	7 (11.66%)	0(0%)	2(3.33%)
<i>Ben Youcef</i>	2 (3.33%)	0(0%)	2(3.33%)
Ben Hmidi	3 (5%)	1(1.66%)	1(1.66%)
Mediouni	2 (3.33%)	0(0%)	3(5%)
Sahi	4 (6.66%)	0(0%)	2(3.33%)
Tebbal	3 (5%)	0(0%)	2(3.33%)
Talalissi	3(5%)	0(0%)	6(10%)
Merabet	2(3.33%)	0(0%)	2(3.33%)
Total	32(53.33%)	1(1.66%)	27(45%)

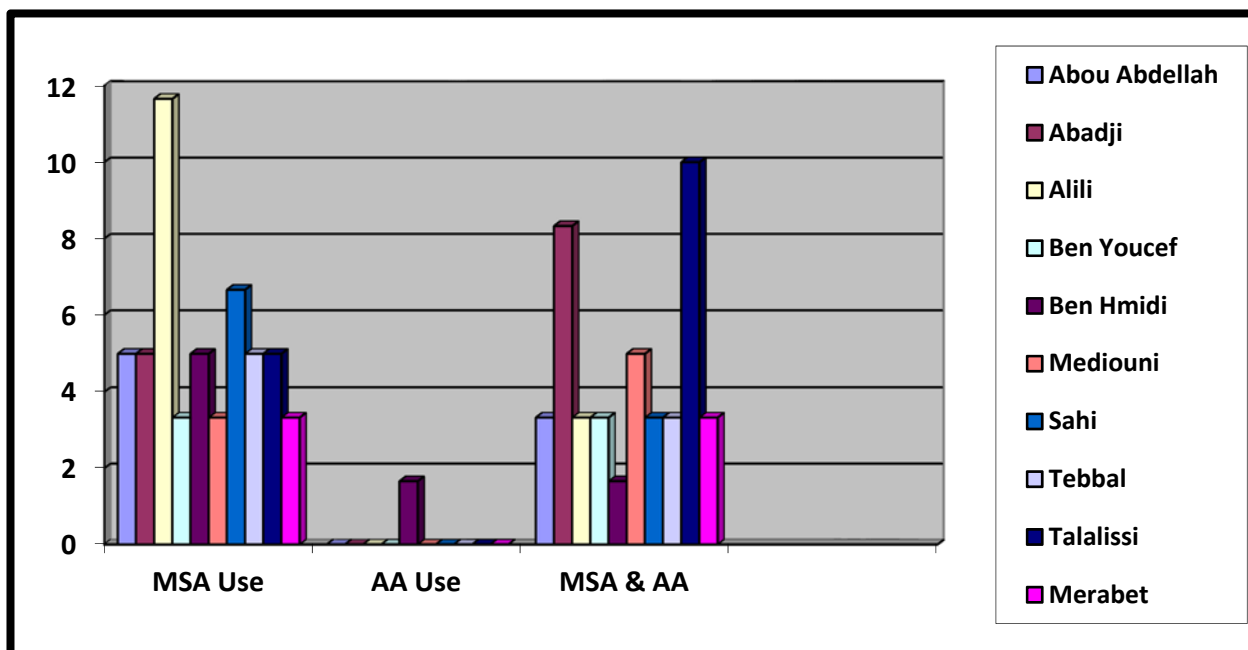


Figure 3. 1. Code Used in Primary School classes by Teachers of the Arabic language

In the second question, teachers were asked if they used AA in the class or not. The following table and figure represent obviously the findings obtained:

Table 3. 3. Frequency of AA Use by Arabic Language Teachers in the Class

Tlemcen Primary School Arabic Language Teachers	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
<i>Abou-Abdellah</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2(40%)	1(20%)	2(40%)
<i>Abadji</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4(50%)	4(50%)	0 (0%)

<i>Alili</i>	0 (0%)	1(11.11%)	1(11.11%)	7(77.77%)	0(0%)
<i>Ben Youcef</i>	0 (0%)	0(0%)	2(50%)	2(50%)	0(0%)
Ben Hmidi	0 (0%)	1(20%)	1(20%)	3(60%)	0(0%)
Mediouni	1 (20%)	0(0%)	2(40%)	2(40%)	0(0%)
Sahi	0(0%)	1(16.16%)	3(50%)	2(33.33%)	0(0%)
Tebbal	1 (20%)	0(0%)	2(40%)	1(20%)	1(20%)
Talalissi	0(0%)	1(11.11%)	6(66.66%)	2(22.22%)	0(0%)
Merabet	0(0%)	0(0%)	2(50%)	2(50%)	0(0%)
Total	2(3.33%)	4(6.66%)	25(41.66%)	26(43.33%)	3(5%)

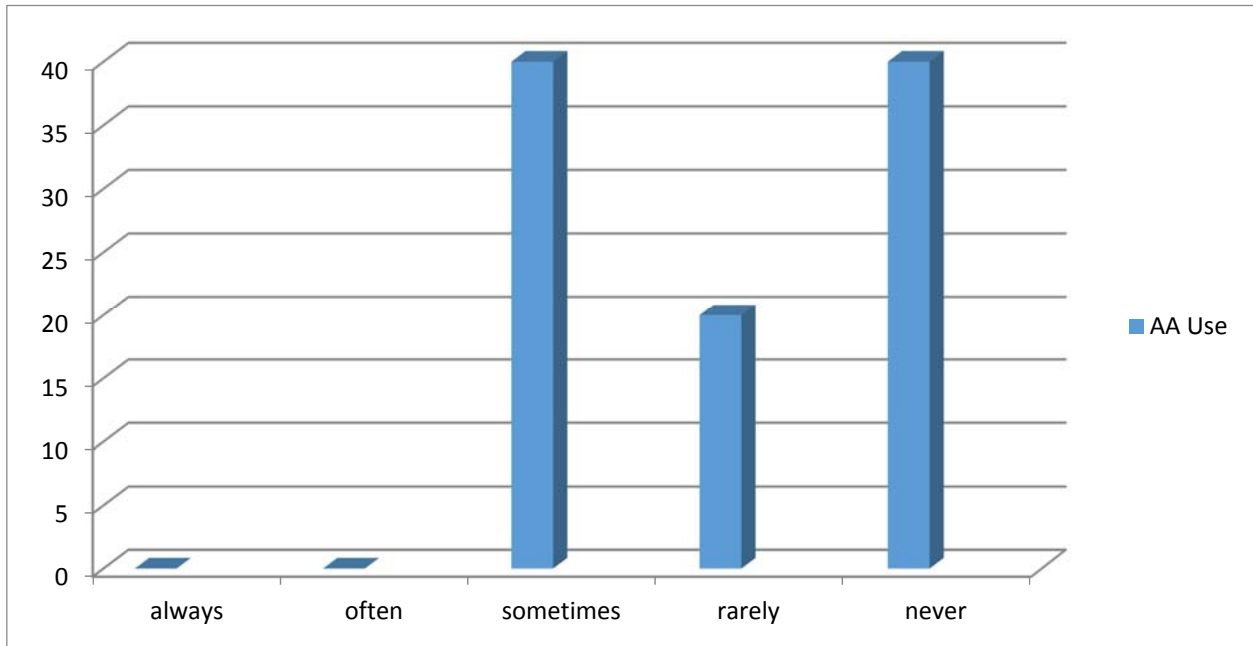


Figure 3. 2. 'Abou-Abdellah' Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

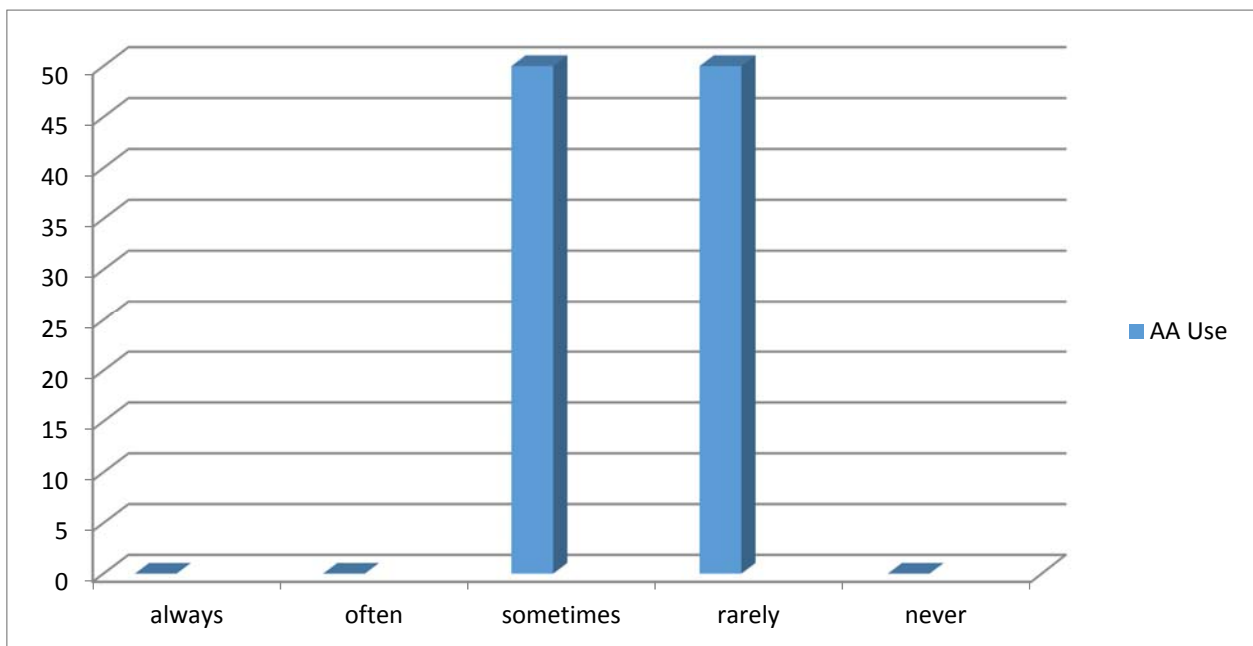


Figure 3. 3. 'Abadji' Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

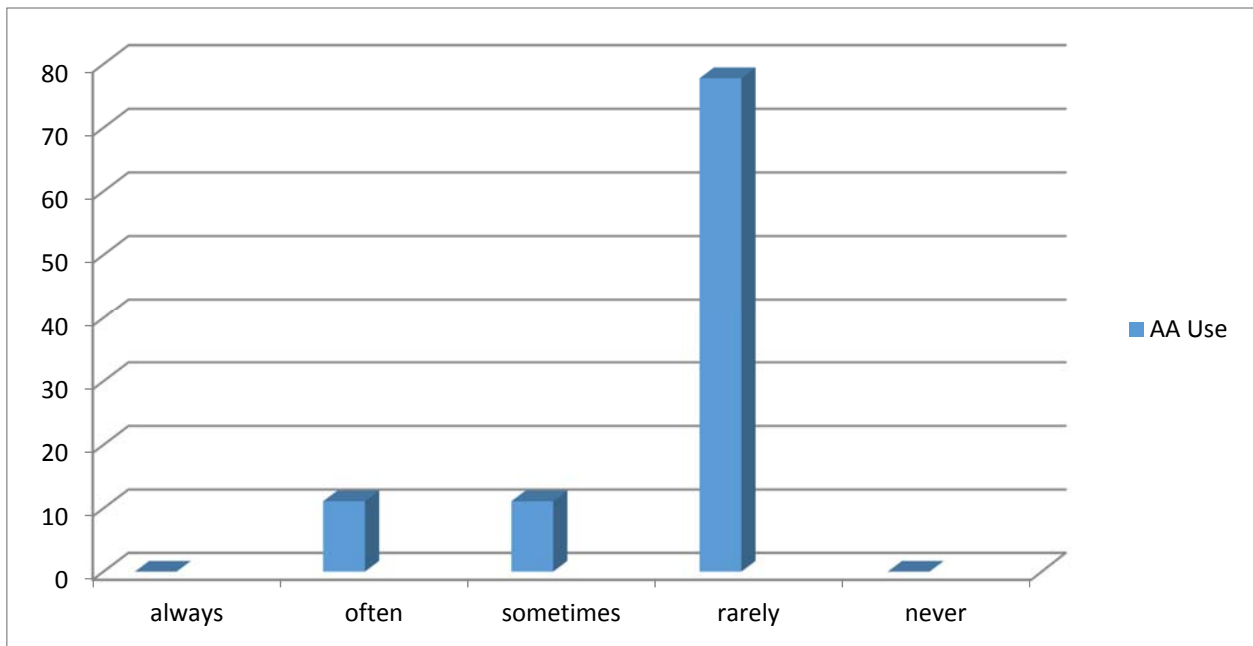


Figure 3. 4. 'Alili' Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

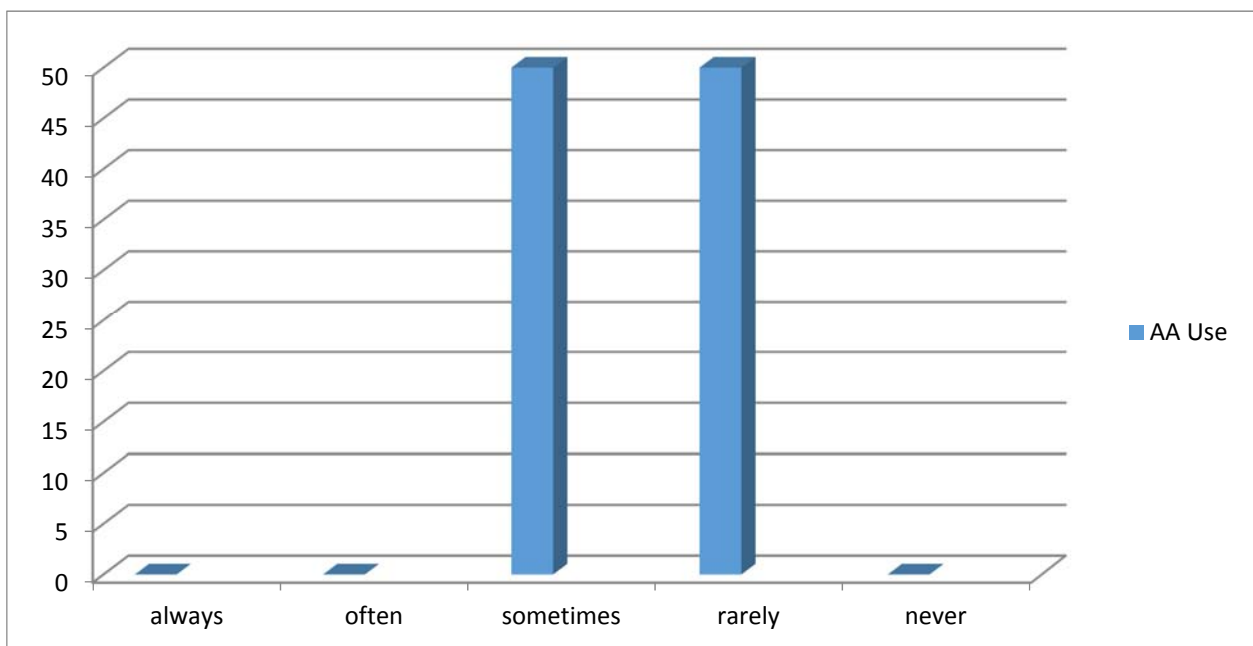


Figure 3. 5. 'Ben Youcef' Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

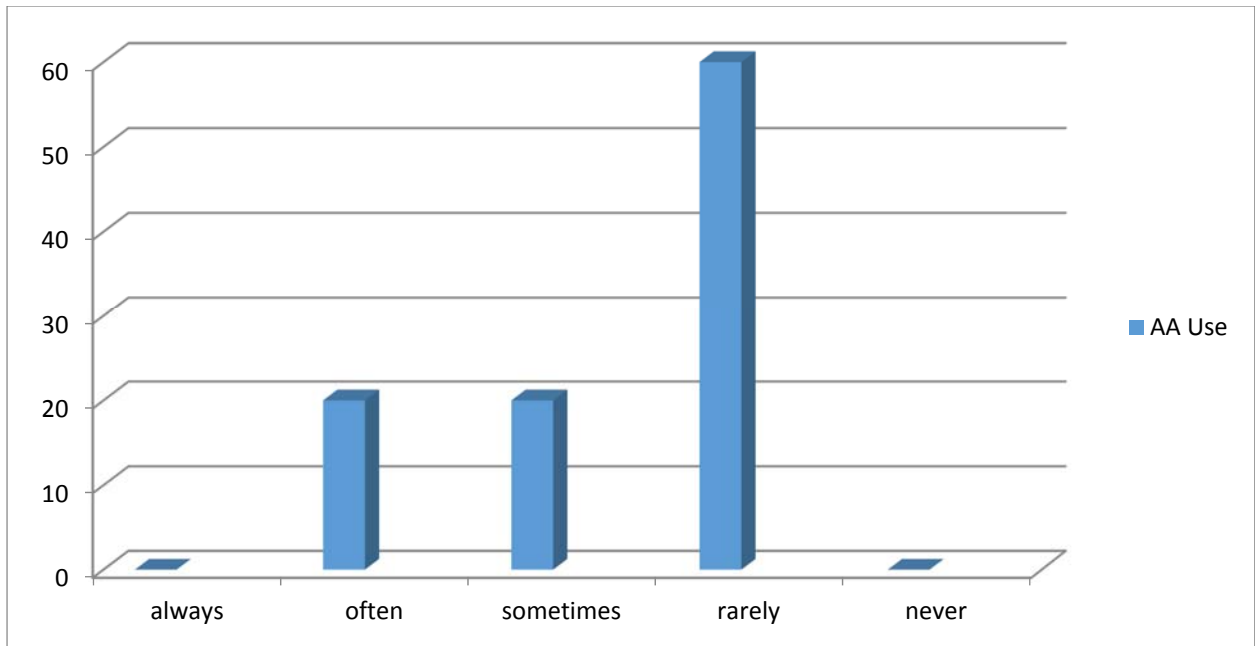


Figure 3. 6. 'Ben Hmidi' Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

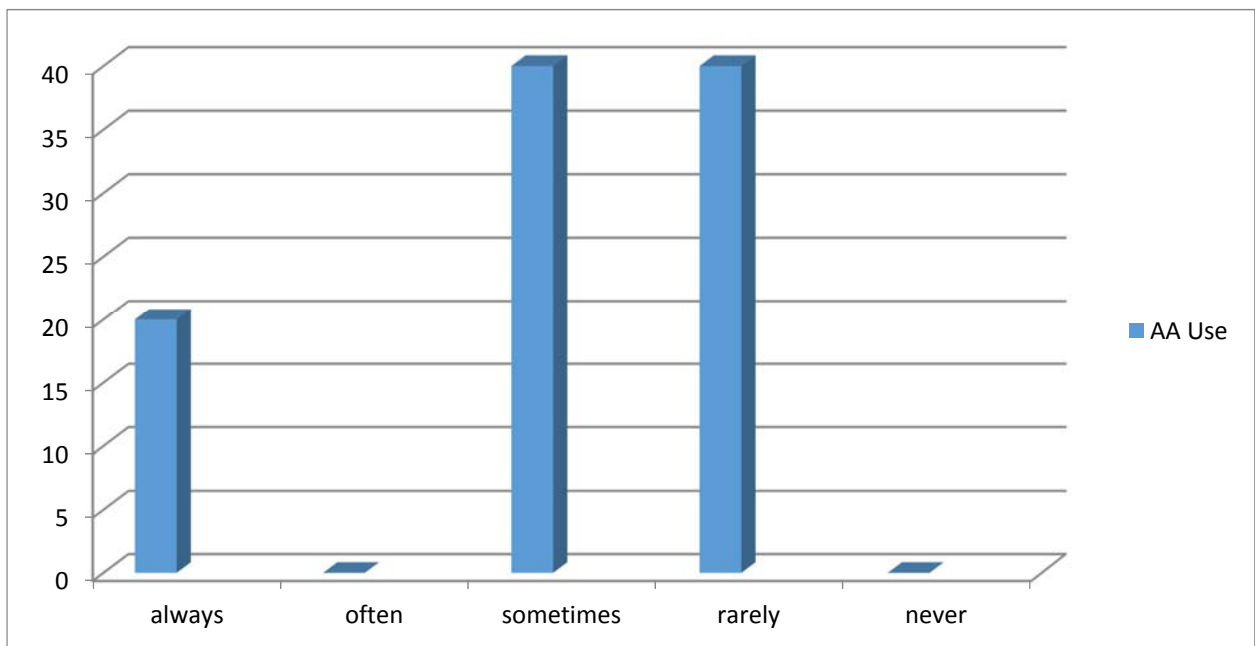


Figure 3. 7. 'Mediouni' Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

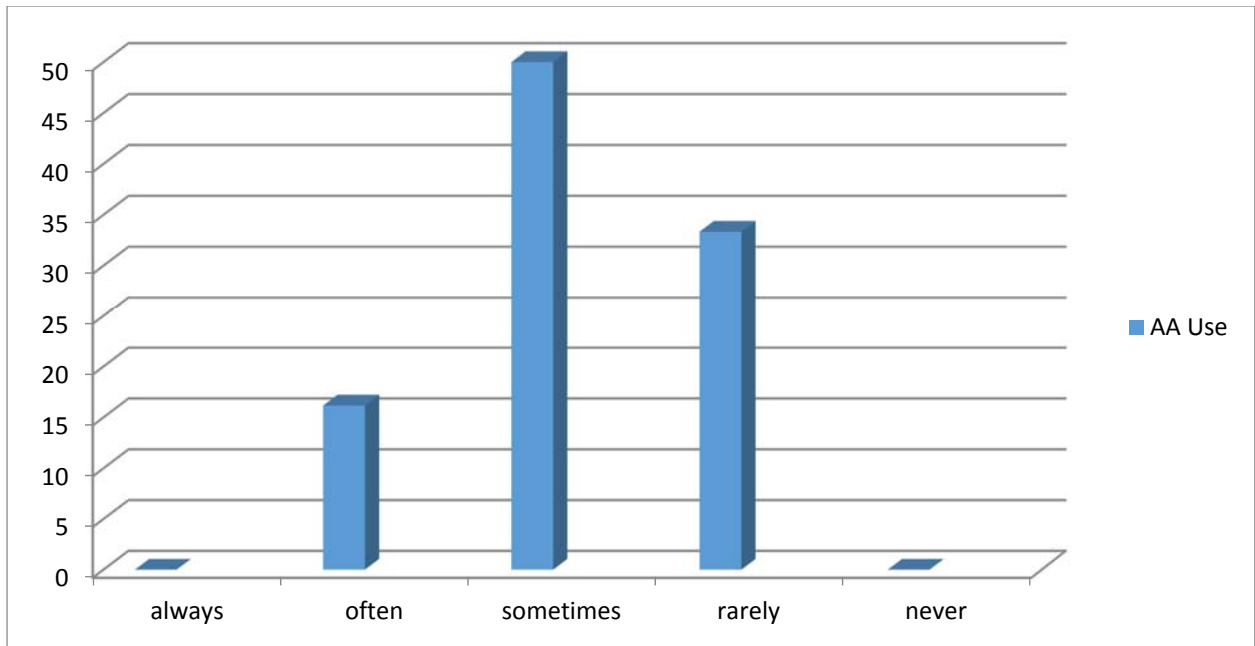


Figure 3. 8. 'Sahi Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

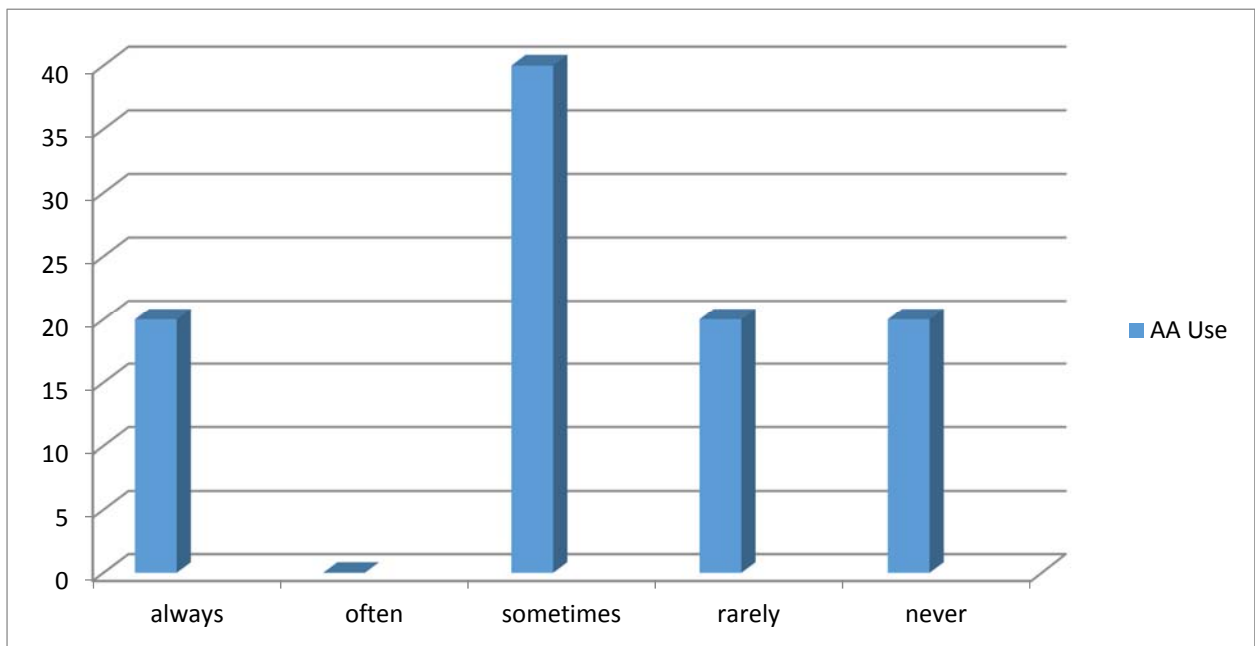


Figure 3. 9. 'Tebbal' Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

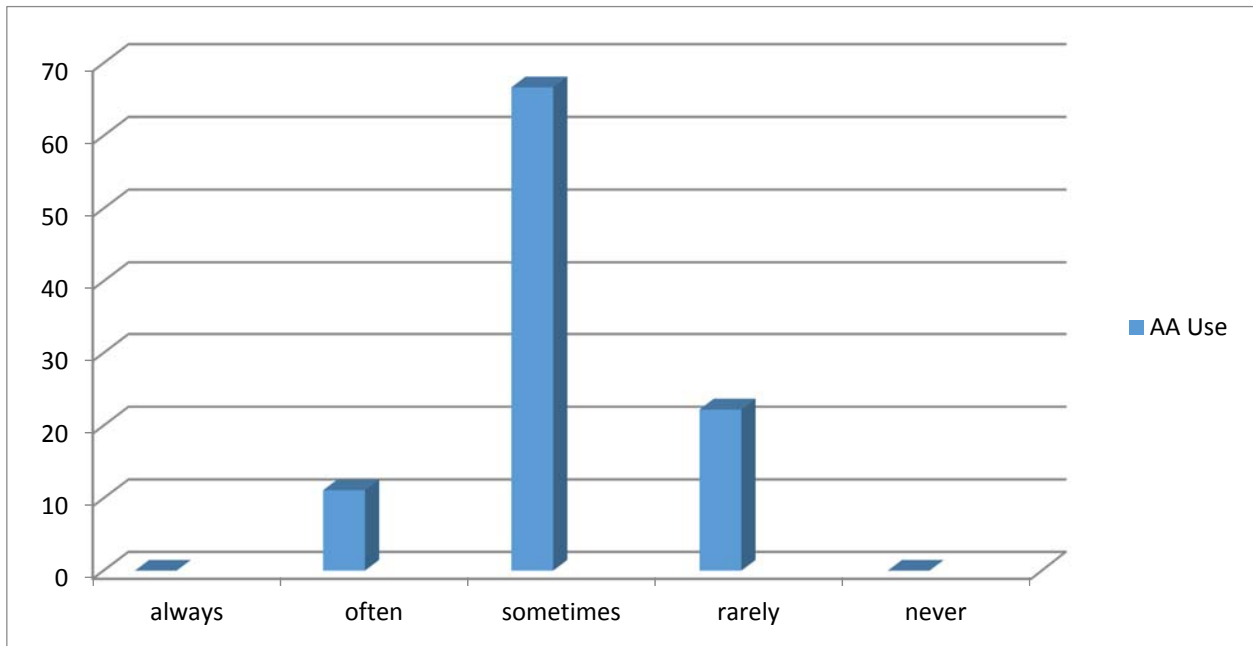


Figure 3. 10. 'Talalissi' Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

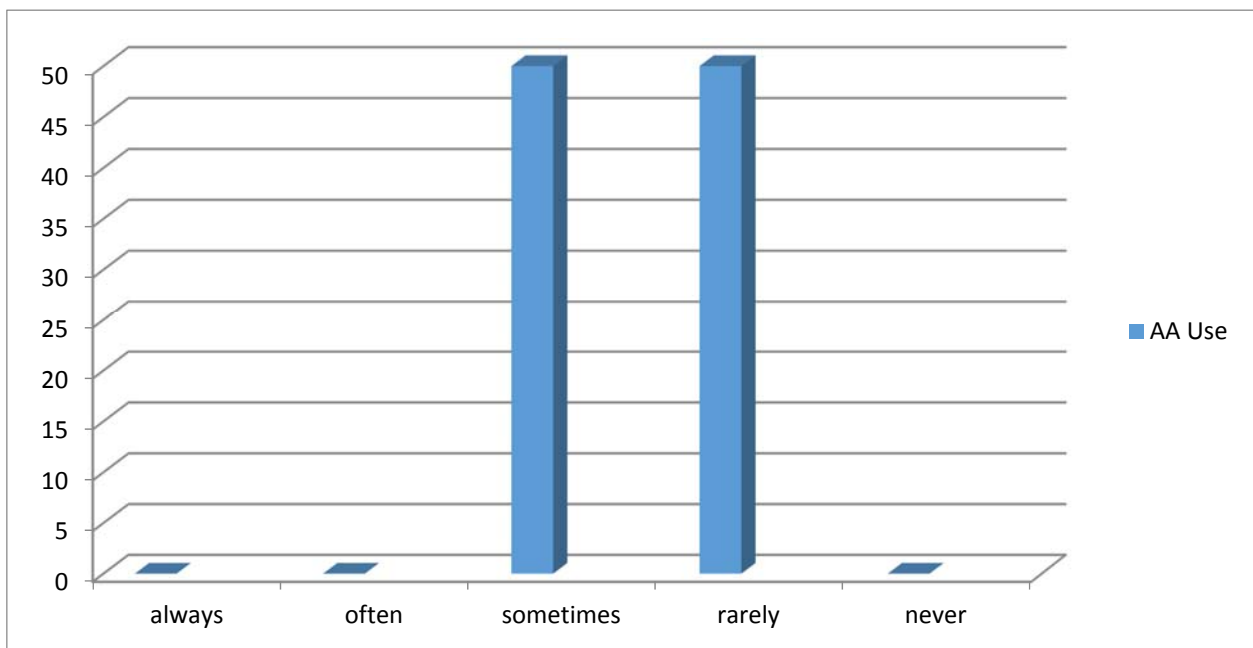


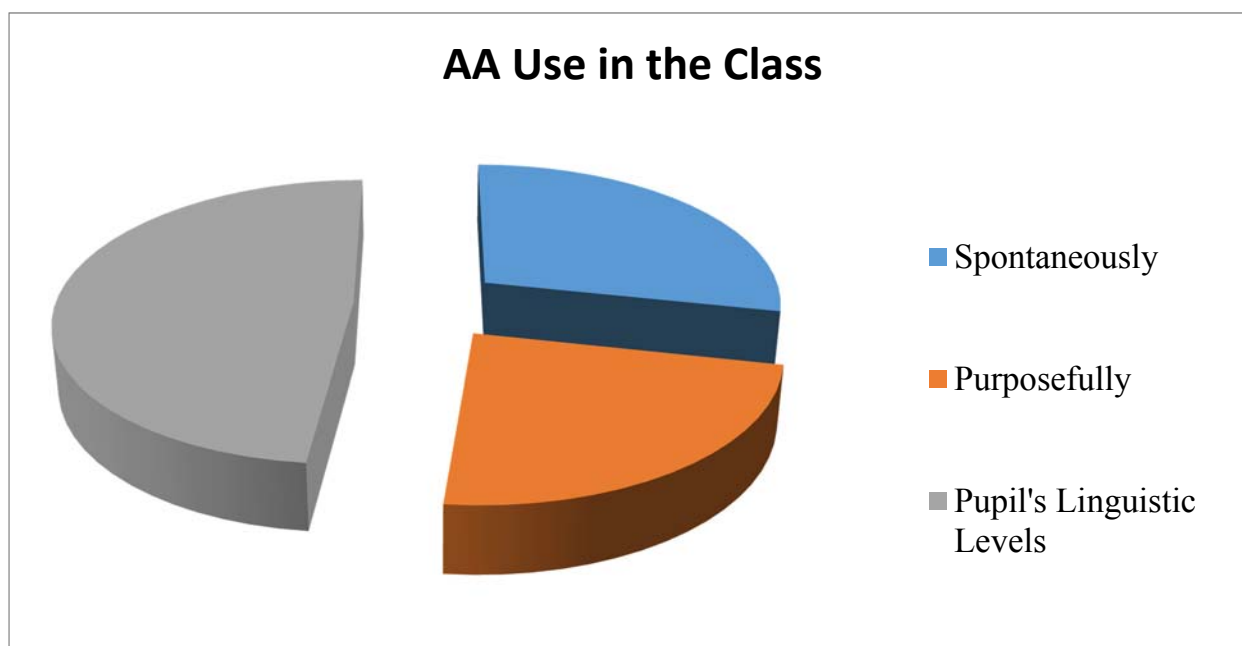
Figure 3. 11. 'Merabet' Teachers' Frequency of AA Use in Classroom Interaction

When Arabic language teachers at different Primary schools were asked if they used AA on purpose, spontaneously, or depending on pupils' linguistic levels, the following results can be noticed:

Table 3. 4. AA Use in Correlation to different Parameters

The use AA in the Class	Tlemcen Primary School Teachers	Frequency
A spontaneous way	17	28.33%
On purpose	14	23.33%
Pupils' linguistic levels	29	48.33%

Figure 3. 12. Teachers' AA inclusion in the class in correlation to



different parameters.

In the fourth question, the informants were asked to determine the reasons that push them to use AA in the class. The results obtained can be summarized in the table and figure below:

Table 3. 5. Reasons Leading to Teachers' AA Inclusion

Reasons	Rate of Reasons that push teachers' to use AA in the class	
	Primary school teachers	Percentages
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Difficulty of the subjects	19	31.66%
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Facilitating pupils' understanding	21	35%
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Creating a relax and warm atmosphere in the class	11	18.33%
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• AA is the pupils' mother tongue that is used in all their informal contexts.	9	15%

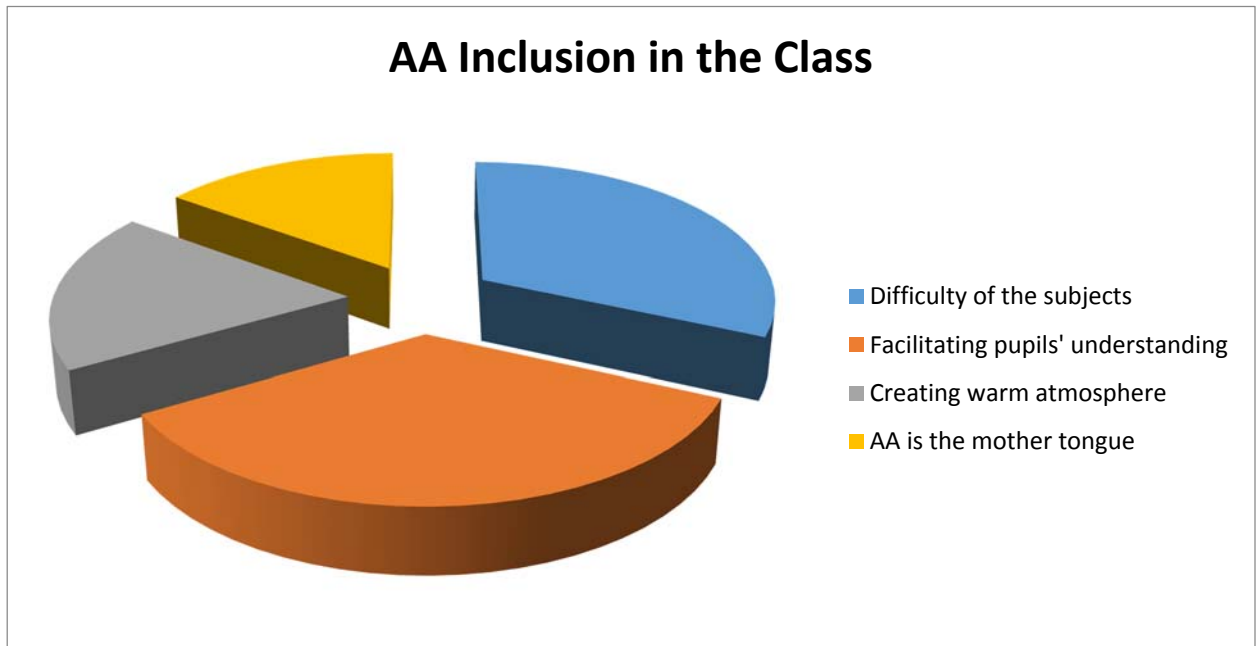


Figure 3. 13. Primary School Teachers' Use of AA in relation to different reasons.

The table and its corresponding graph below display statistics concerning pupils' use of AA in the class:

Table 3. 6. Pupils' AA Use in the Class

	YES	NO
Tlemcen Primary School Arabic Language Teachers	47 (78.33%)	13(21.66%)

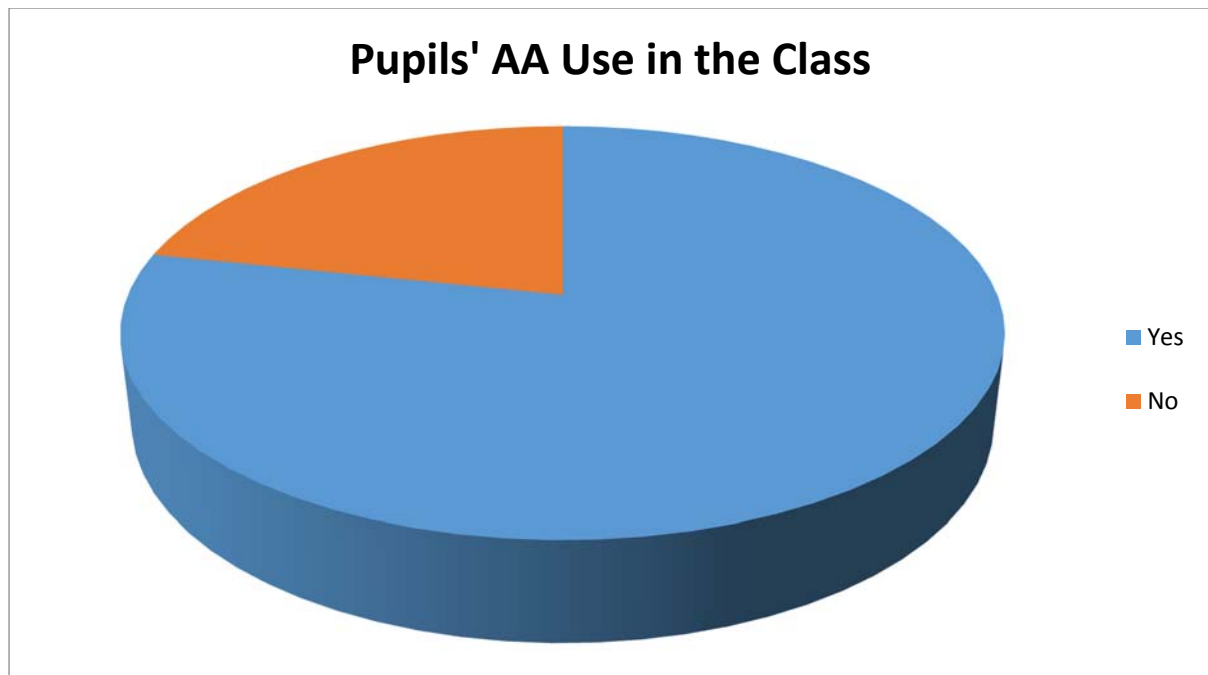


Figure 3. 14. Primary school Pupils' AA Use in the Class.

In question n° 6, the informants were asked if they allow their pupils to use AA or not in the class, the following statistics have been displayed:

Table 3. 7. Rate of teachers' permission to AA pupils' use in the class

Primary School Teachers		
<i>YES</i>	<i>SOMETIMES</i>	<i>NO</i>
3 (5%)	29 (48.33)	28 (46.66)

These statistics can be represented in the following chart:

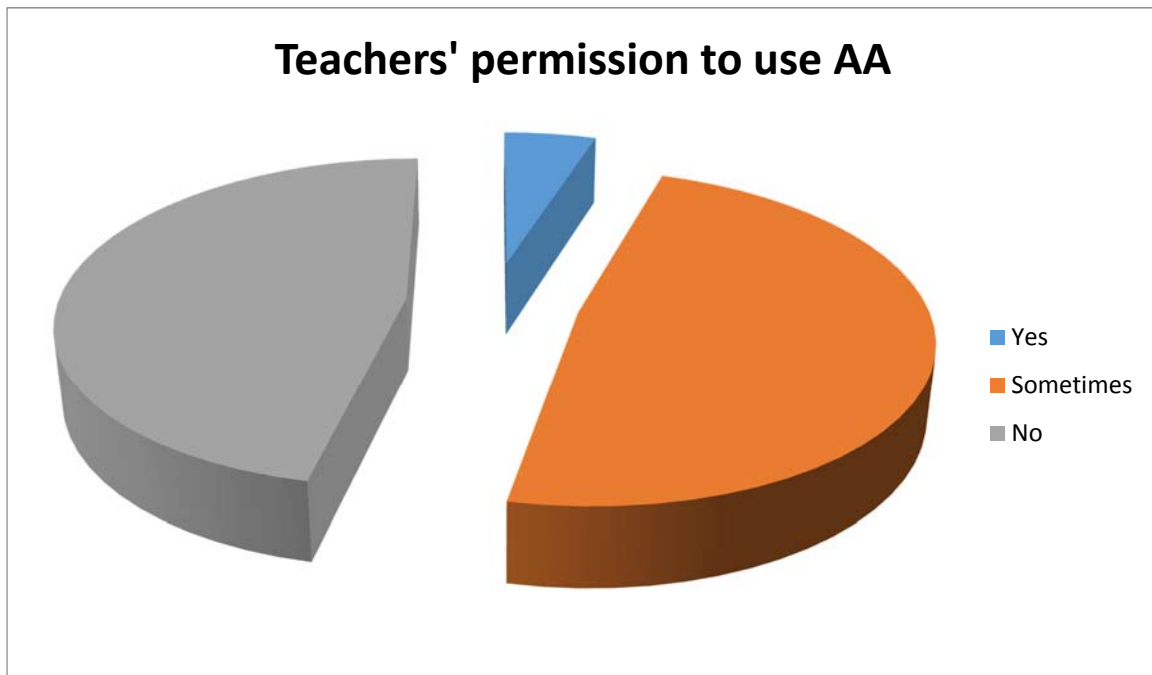


Figure 3. 15. The rate of teachers' permission to pupils' AA use in the class.

The table below clearly shows to what extent pupils used MSA in the classroom in each primary school as claimed by their teachers:

Table 3. 8. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use in the class

<i>Primary Schools</i>	Always	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Abou Abdellah	1(20%)	2 (40%)	1(20%)	1(20%)	0(0%)
Abadji	1(12.5%)	2(25%)	2 (25%)	3(37.5%)	0(0%)
Alili	4(44.44%)	2(22.22%)	1(11.11%)	2(22.22%)	0(0%)
Ben Youcef	1(25%)	2(50%)	1(25%)	(0%)	0(0%)
Ben Hmidi	2(40%)	3(60%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Mediouni	3(60%)	2(40%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Sahi	2(33.33%)	1(16.66%)	2(33.33%)	1(16.66%)	0(0%)
Tebbal	5(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Talalissi	2(22.22%)	3(33.33%)	0(0%)	4(44.44%)	0(0%)
Merabet	1(25%)	1(25%)	2(50%)	0(0%)	0(0%)

The results above are obviously demonstrated in the graphs below:

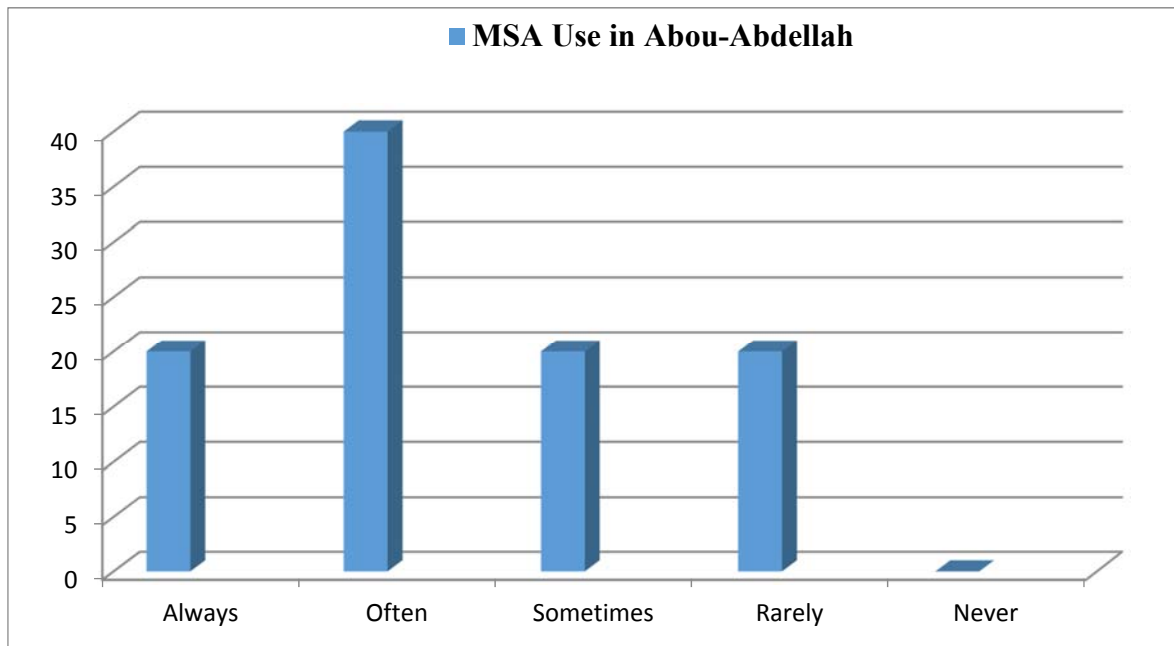


Figure 3. 16. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use in Abou-Abdellah Primary School

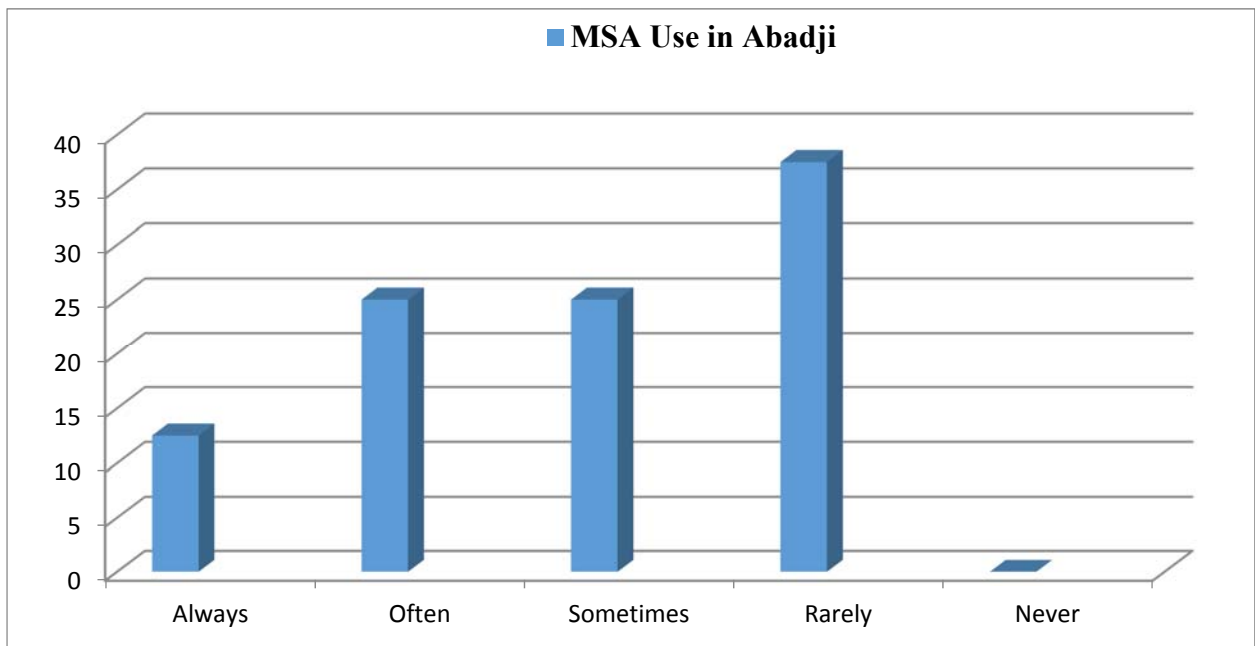


Figure 3. 17. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use in Abadji Primary School

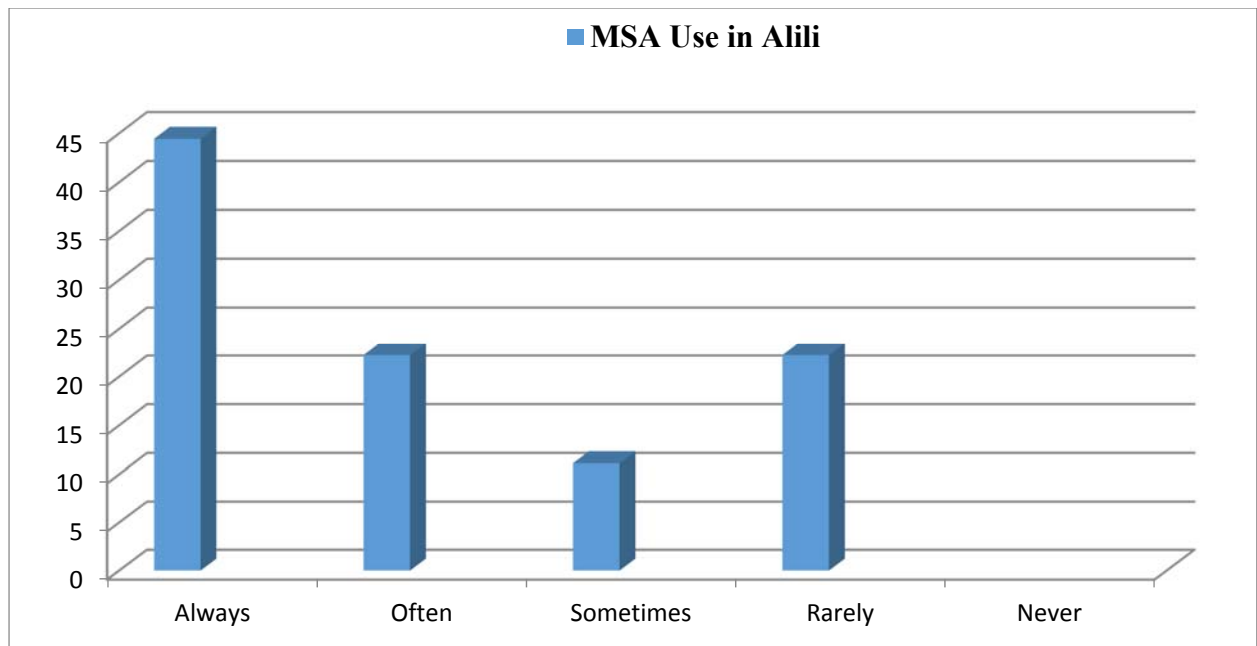


Figure 3. 18. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use in Aili Primary School

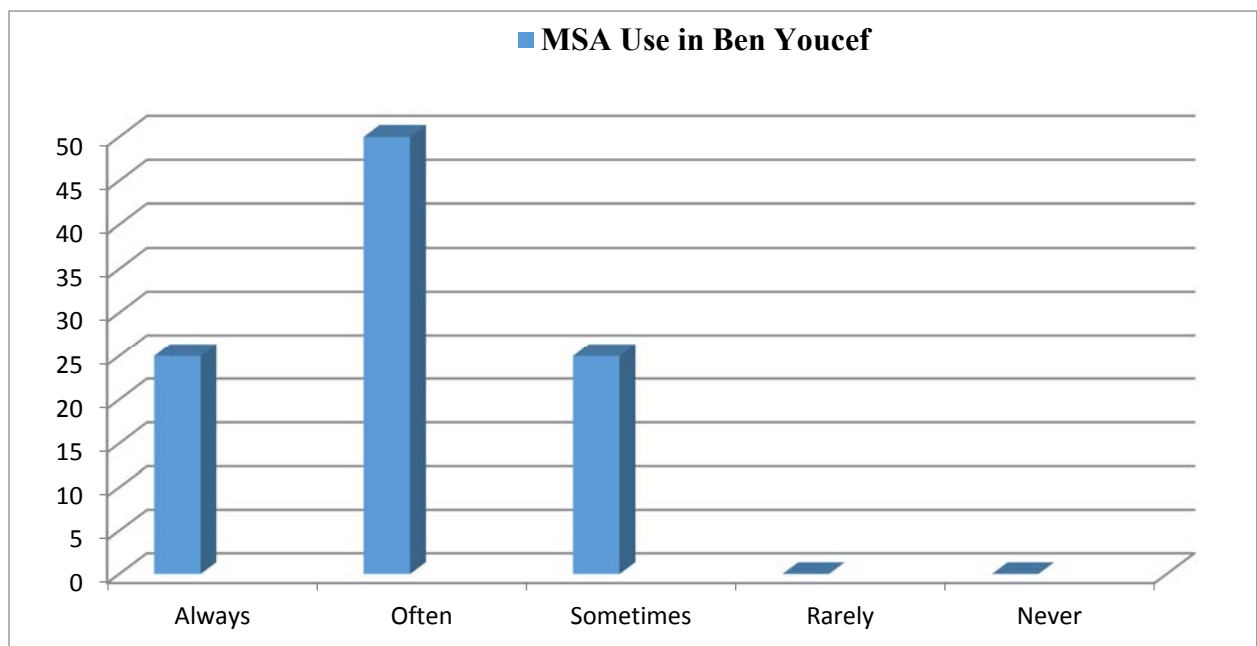


Figure 3. 19. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use in Ben Youcef Primary School

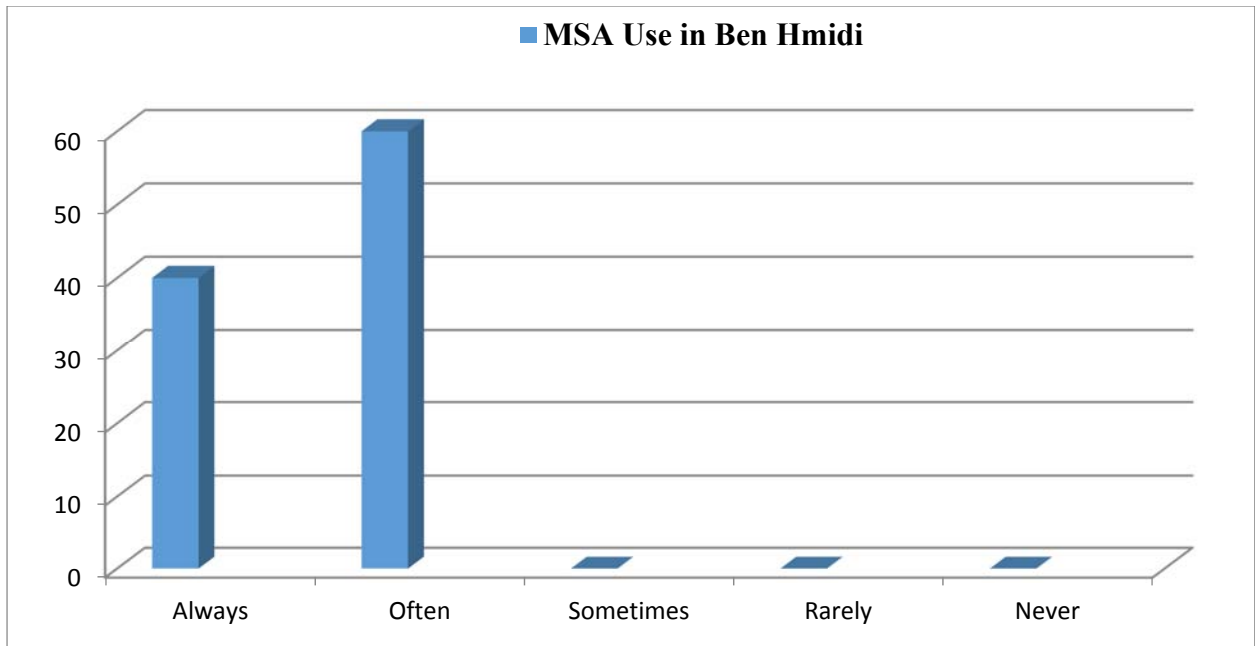


Figure 3. 20. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use in Ben Hmidi Primary School

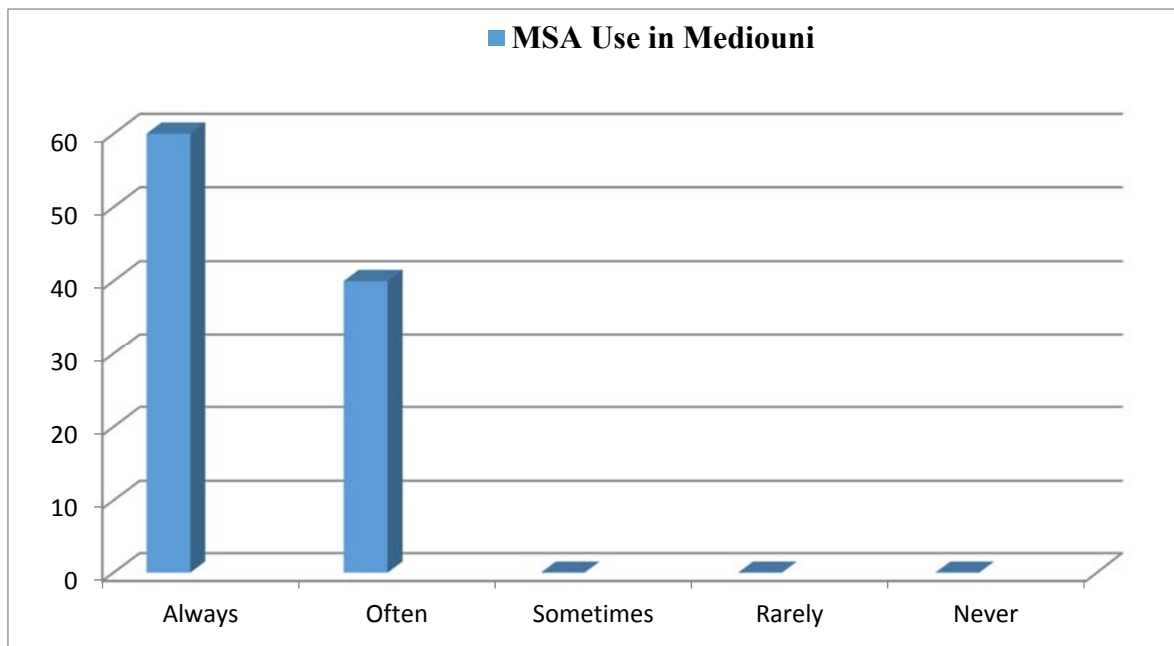


Figure 3. 21. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use in Mediouni Primary School

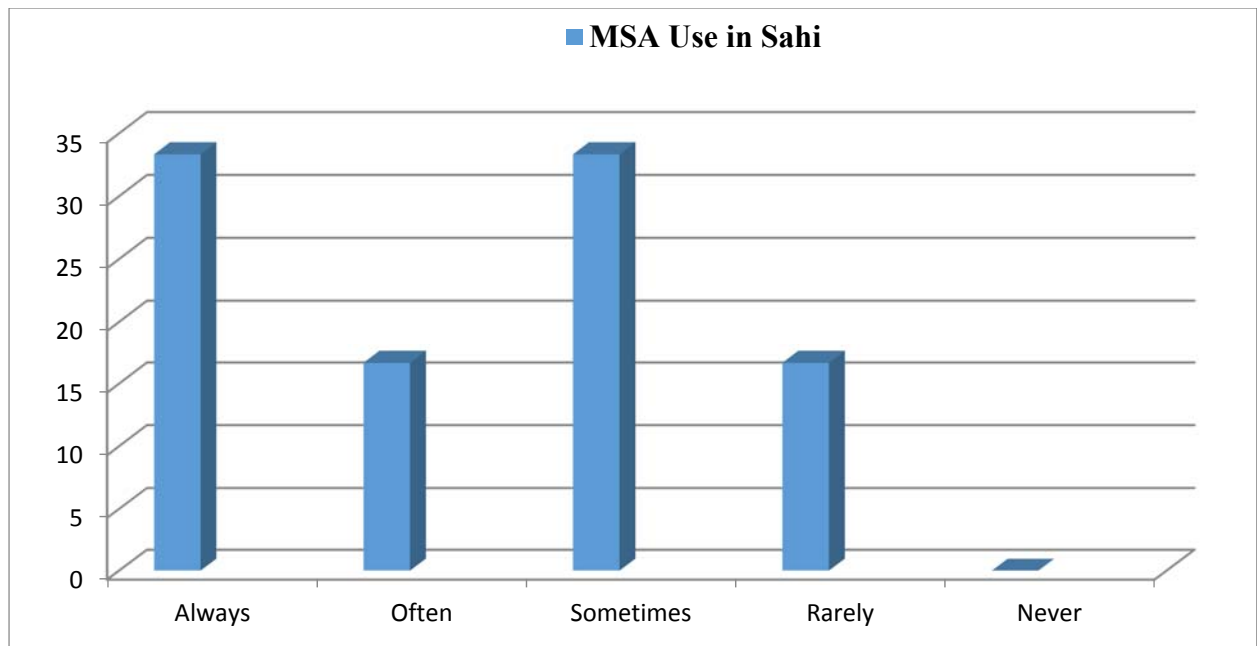


Figure 3. 22. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use In Sahi Primary School

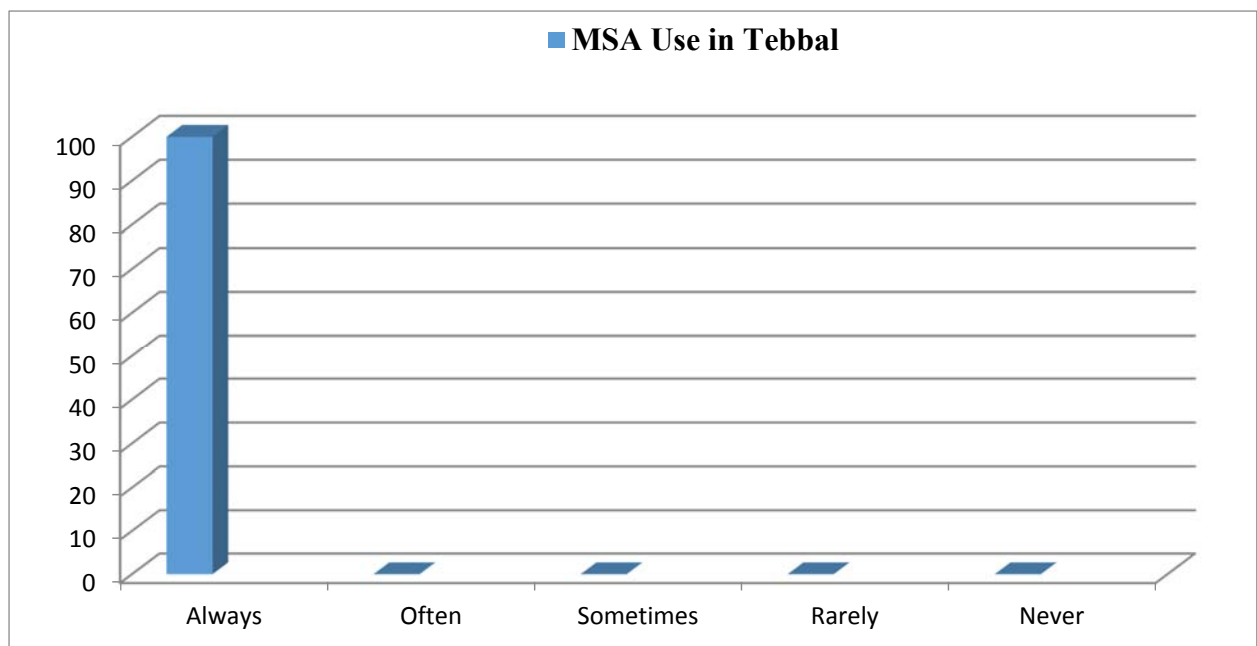


Figure 3. 23. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use in Tebbal Primary School

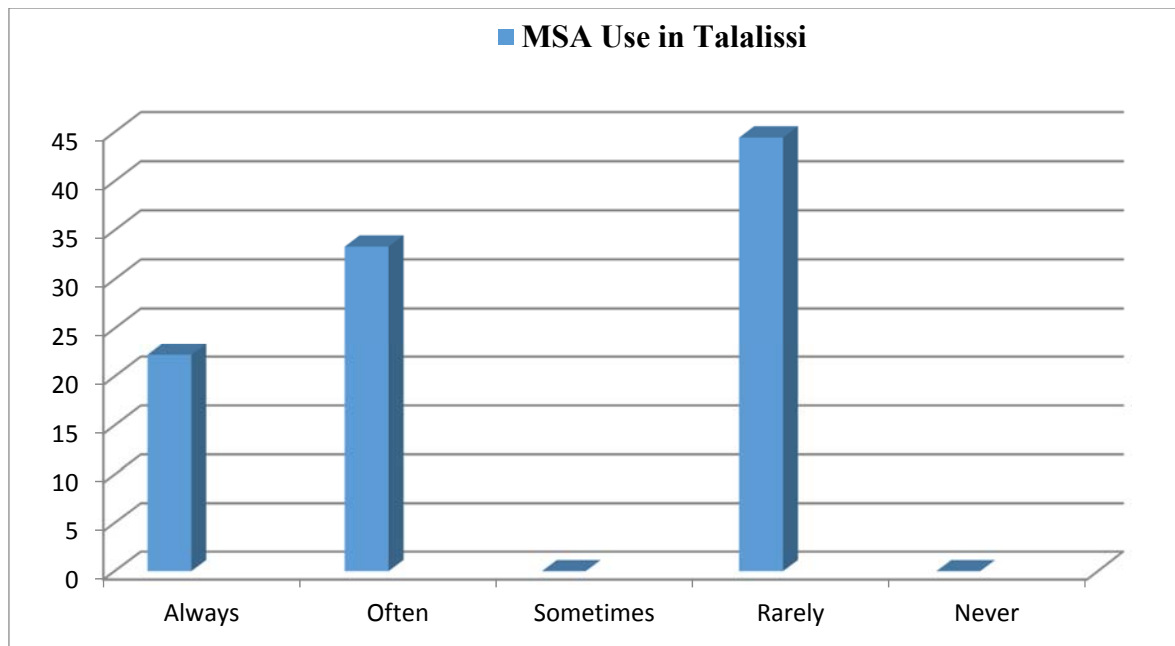


Figure 3. 24. Frequency of Pupils' MSA Use in Talalissi Primary School

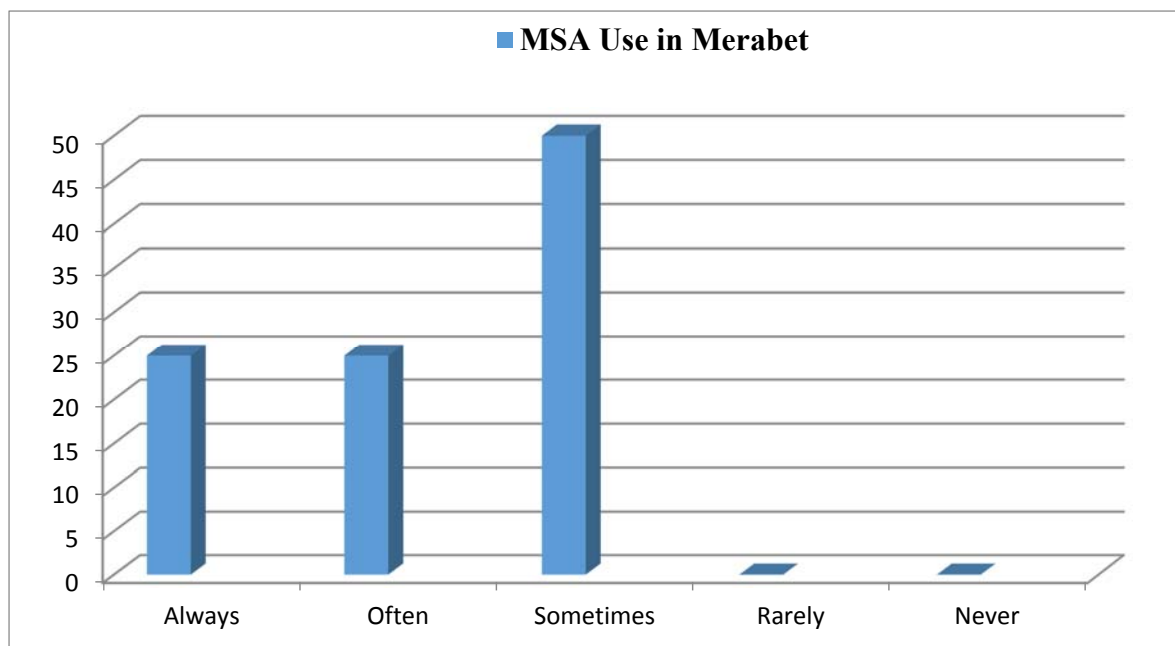


Figure 3. 25. Frequency of Pupils' MSA in Merabet Primary School.

The eighth question has been presented in a form of table. This table consists of a set of expressions (seven expressions). These expressions are, in

fact, considered as factors that may push teachers or learners to use AA in classroom interaction. Thus, the researcher, here, attempted at deducing the reasons behind such linguistic behaviour in an indirect way through giving the informants three choices: ‘yes’, ‘no’, or ‘sometimes’. The findings can be summarized in the table below as follows:

Table 3. 9. Teachers’ Attitudes Towards AA or MSA Use in Classroom Interaction.

	YES	NO	SOMETIMES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> AA use in the class can facilitate learners’ enhancement. 	36 (60%)	9(15%)	15(25%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pupils get to use AA. This is why teaching using MSA is a difficult matter. 	11(18.33%)	35(58.33%)	14(23.33%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teaching MSA is an easy issue 	27(45%)	19(31.66%)	14(23.33%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When pupils speak in AA, they feel more relax. 	19(31.66%)	19(31.66%)	22(36.66%)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The teacher finds him/herself in many times using AA in the class. 	9(15%)	16(26.66%)	35(58.33%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Simplification of teachers' linguistic behaviour helps learners to understand and participate more. 	43(71.66%)	04(6.66%)	13(21.66%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pupils' psychological level is one among the effective reasons that due to AA inclusion in the class. 	22(36.66%)	14(23.33%)	24(40%)

In the last question, the participants were asked to give their standpoints about which level at primary schools, it is better to include AA in classroom interaction. As a consequence, the data obtained are as follows:

Table 3. 10. Preferred Year Levels to AA Use

Levels to use AA	Percentages
1 st Year Only	35 (58.33%)
2 nd Year Only	01(01.66)
1 st Year +2 nd Year	14(23.33%)
1 st Year+2 nd Year +3 rd Year	04(06.66)
5 th Year	02(03.33)
1 st Year +2 nd Year +3 rd Year +4 th Year +5 th Year	01(01.66)
No Year Level	03(05%)
Total	60(100%)

- These results can be apparently seen in the following graph which shows at which year levels, primary school teachers prefer that AA should be included in the classroom:

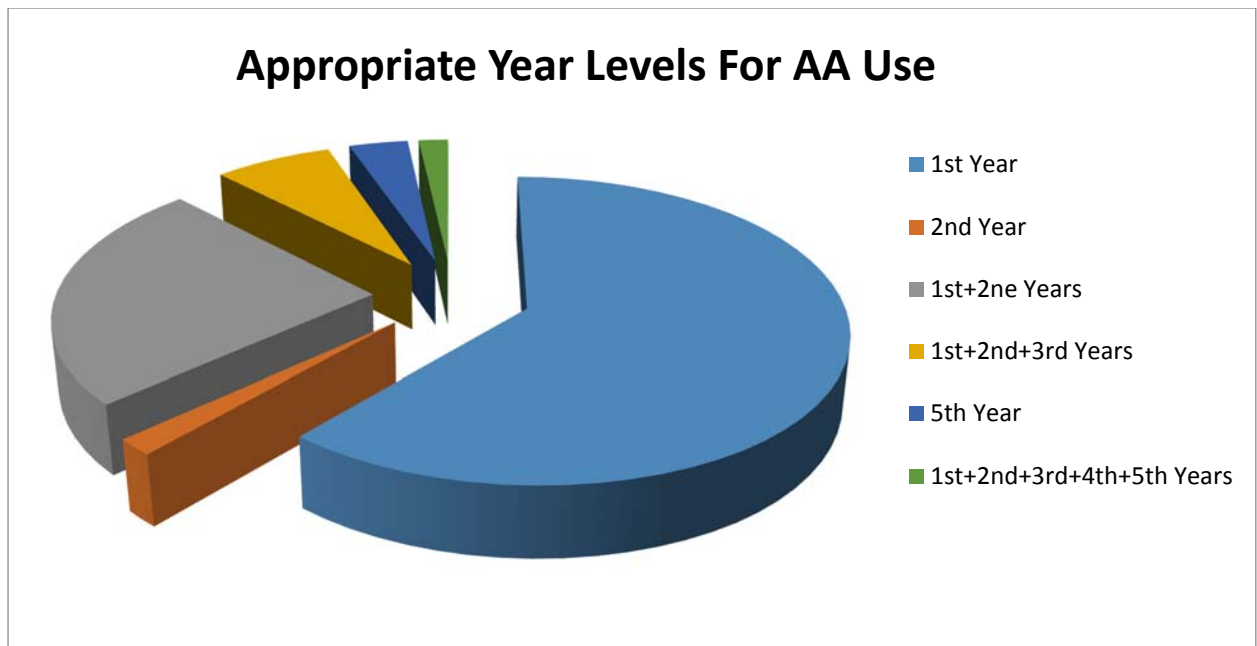


Figure 3. 26. Preferred Year Levels to AA Use at Tlemcen Primary School.

3.4.2.2. Qualitative Results

When Primary school teachers were asked to clarify their use of AA in the class either spontaneously or purposefully, the following expressions have been exposed:

➤ **AA Use Spontaneously:**

- It is our mother tongue
- To tackle topics not related to the lesson.
- I use usually AA; but once I recognize, I switch directly and I repeat the idea in MSA.
- I cannot sometimes find the correct word in MSA; thus, I

- use AA.
- To form an active context.
- To encourage learners to work hard and be better.
- To give a piece of advice to my learners.
- In cases of pupils' illness in the class.
- In sessions such as mathematics and geography, the teacher finds him/her explaining new concepts in AA.

➤ **AA Use Purposefully:**

- To facilitate pupils' understanding.
- To facilitate complicated terms, expressions, or ideas.
- To explain a new concept introduced for the first time to pupils.
- As a final solution.
- First year pupils at the Primary school encounter many difficulties in learning MSA.
- To simplify explanation of the lesson.
- To facilitate lesson's understanding.

- As a helpful tool when explaining.
 - To attract learners' attention.
 - To create a relax context.
 - To help the learner at getting the right information and keeping it in his/her mind.
- **AA Use depending on pupils' linguistic levels:**
- To help pupils with low linguistic levels at understanding the lesson.
 - As a teacher of first year primary school, I must use AA to explain some concepts.
 - To give examples when pupils seem to be confused; especially with those having a low capacity in the learning process. Or the teacher sometimes prefers to explain the lesson again in AA to these specific groups.
 - Uneducated parents also contribute in such a situation since their children, of course, unfortunately had not the opportunity to read or write MSA at home.
 - In the primary school, there are different linguistic levels

among pupils. Therefore, for facilitating communication between the teacher and the learner, the teacher usually includes AA expressions in order to facilitate complicated matters in the class.

- The role of the teacher in the class to transmit the information with an easy and simple code that can be understood by both competent and less competent learners. Furthermore, the Arabic language is rich with its vocabulary and distinct styles.
- If the learner cannot understand a word, an idea, or the question, the teacher must switch to AA.

The following reasons have been added to explain teachers' use of AA in classroom interaction:

- To give examples; especially in sessions of mathematics.
- The teacher, him/herself is a member from this society that speaks AA as a mother tongue.
- Difficulty in sessions of oral expression.
- Pupils, at their first stages, do not have a previous linguistic background in MSA since they do not use MSA at home.

- The rate of assimilation differs from one pupil to another.
- Due to low of cultural and scientific levels in the Algerian society.
- Parents' absence in teaching MSA to their children.
- We must use MSA to train learners using it; except in some cases where necessary for gaining time as well as simplifying concepts.
- A male teacher from 'Sahi' school, who has four years of teaching, claimed: "I have neither enough experience nor a high competence in order to use MSA fluently".
- Among the reasons that oblige teachers to use AA during the lesson is the transmission of the message and the facilitation of teaching process as a whole.

In the fifth question, the participants were questioned whether their pupils use AA when answering or not. As mentioned above, the majority of them said 'yes'. Therefore, they have been also asked to clarify pupils' AA use in the class or not.

➤ *Reasons behind pupils' AA use in the class:*

- AA is the easiest code for pupils.
- Lack of MSA concepts.
- Pupils sometimes cannot use MSA since they are still in

their first stages to learn MSA.

- Because the pupil cannot sometimes find the suitable words in MSA due to his low linguistic level.
- A pupil of first year at the primary school comes from an environment where solely AA has been used. He will encounter a very difficult situation in which he is going to hear new words that he did not use to speak them. At the beginning, of course, he cannot use MSA.
- It is impossible to communicate with pupils at the primary school only in MSA except with some of them.
- Pupils used to speak AA as it is their mother tongue.
- They are still at their first learning years.
- They use AA spontaneously.
- Teachers sometimes are responsible for such pupils' linguistic behaviour because they do not correct the pupils when using AA.
- It is the code used at home and in the street and the school is the context that suffers from the problem of MSA use.
- A male teacher of fifth year 'Talalissi' primary school said because they think that some words in AA are themselves MSA words. He claimed that pupils, for example, said 'jaftαhoon' instead of 'jarqosoon'.

- If any pupil starts speaking in AA, therefore, you will find yourself in a situation where all the class uses AA too.

Concerning the second part where teachers were asked to justify the reasons behind the absence of pupils' AA use in the class, no answer has been done.

Question n°6 searched for the reasons that pushed teachers to allow pupils using AA or not. The responses range between 'yes', 'sometimes', or 'not'. The reasons are expressed as follows:

➤ *Teachers who favour AA use (yes/sometimes) in the class:*

- To give pupils the opportunity at participating in the class and expressing their ideas. After that, it will be our duty to correct them and teach them the appropriate expressions and the equivalent words in MSA.
- For explaining a new concept.
- Simply because learners' answers with AA is better than keeping silent.
- MSA is not their mother tongue and used neither at home nor in the street. Moreover, pupils do not used to read in MSA. All these factors make their linguistic levels so low in MSA.

- Some learners find difficulties to form correct sentences in MSA. Therefore, we allow them using AA in order not to affect their psychological levels. We should repeat their ideas in MSA in order to help them gradually using MSA and recognizing their mistakes as well.
 - It is easier than MSA.
 - Because we feel that he/she has the answer; so, we let him answer then we will correct his/her mistakes.
 - With first year pupils, I use AA and let them using AA because they are new learners and they do not know MSA concepts.
 - For encouraging all the class to participate without fear or hesitation.
 - To help them transmitting their ideas, information, or sometimes inquiries.
- *Teachers who reject AA use (no) in the class:*
- It is a humiliation for education in Algeria.
 - First of all, the pupil is in the class. He should learn MSA which is our first language. MSA is the language of Quran and the language of the Algerian nation. We must give it a high enough value and encourage our pupils to use and love it. We should get proud of it and preserve as much as

we can.

- It is impossible to read and write in MSA while speaking AA.
- For helping the pupils to acquire MSA.
- To get used MSA.
- It is the language that they must use at school.
- For enhancing their styles and linguistic levels in MSA.
- I reject for not mixing between MSA and AA use.
- If we allow a pupil to use AA, he will never achieve a highly competence in MSA as female teacher of second year Abou-Abdellah school said:

‘منشبعلنشيءشابعليه’

- To train them using MSA at both the speaking and writing levels; especially in the session of written expression.
- To ameliorate their levels. In cases when pupils make mistakes, it is the role of the teacher to correct them.
- The focus on MSA use will certainly develop learners’ educational levels.

- AA can affect negatively on the teaching and learning

processes.

In the last question, when teachers were asked to give their viewpoints about the level in which teachers should include AA, the answers have been approximately the same by all teachers in all primary schools. The majority of them said that it is better to use AA with first year pupils and also with second year level. According to them, a first year and second year pupil is at his / her first stages to learn a new language. Hence, we should help pupils at this difficult preliminary period through using and letting them speaking and expressing their ideas in AA. Only 5% of them rejected totally using AA in the class. Their rejections were expressed by statements such as:

- We must avoid using AA in the class.
- It is not the language of instruction.
- We must eliminate the interference of this variety in the classroom since it is not standard and has no grammar rules.

3.4.3. Questionnaire Interpretation

More than the half of the informants in all the ten primary schools claimed that the linguistic code used in the classroom is MSA as it is a session of Arabic. They declared that AA should not be used during the Arabic session, and that the only linguistic code to be used is MSA as it is programmed (see section 2.4.). For some reasons, however, the others

announced that they should include AA in the class.

When checking whether Arabic language teachers at the primary school use AA spontaneously or purposefully. Nearly all teachers confirmed that the low linguistic pupils' level is an effective factor that pushes them to switch to AA. Therefore, they argued that they sometimes include colloquial expressions on purpose because of certain reasons in the classroom on the one hand. They also used to speak intentionally in AA for creating a good atmosphere in the classroom and to give examples when pupils seem to be confused; especially with those having a low capacity in the learning process. Hence, a simple code must be used in the class in order to be understood by less competent learners and to enhance their level of assimilation. This fact clearly explained that our respondents seem to be aware of the value and position of MSA as an Islamic identity symbol. On the other hand, they also claimed that they, in some cases, include AA in a spontaneous way due to the diglossic situation of the Algerian society since AA is Algerians' mother tongue.

The majority of teachers also blamed the parents who ignored MSA use at home. According to our respondents, uneducated parents also contribute in such a situation since their children, of course, unfortunately had not the opportunity to read or write MSA at home.

Considering the reasons that stand behind the use of these colloquial

expressions in classroom interaction, the highest rate (21%) emphasized its use for facilitating pupils' understanding; in addition to another reason (19%) which lies under the rubric of 'difficulty of the subjects'. These responses are totally related to pupils' needs; i.e., AA is mostly employed for the sake of simplifying complicated matters and difficult concepts and; thus, helping young learners to understand the lecture especially with first year level learners who suffer linguistically from the diglossic situation due to the gap between AA and MSA. It can be clearly noticed that the basic role of any teacher in the class is to transmit the information to his/her learners without giving enough importance to the code through which the message has been delivered. Therefore, teachers aim essentially at helping pupils as much as possible at the learning process. They also favoured using AA in order to create a warm and relax atmosphere in the class since AA is their mother tongue and all pupils feel linguistically secure and at ease when using it. This behaviour of mixing linguistic patterns indicate that the classroom is the context where multiple registers co-exist, as they do in real life (Al-Batal&Benlap,2006).

3.4.4. Interview Results

3.4.4.1. Quantitative Results

In the first question, the teachers were re-asked about the code used in classroom interaction in another way. The results obtained in each school can be represented in the following tables:

- *Abou-Abdellah*

Table 3. 11. Code Used in Abou-Abdellah Primary School

Code used	MSA	AA	Both MSA & AA
Rate	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	3(60%)

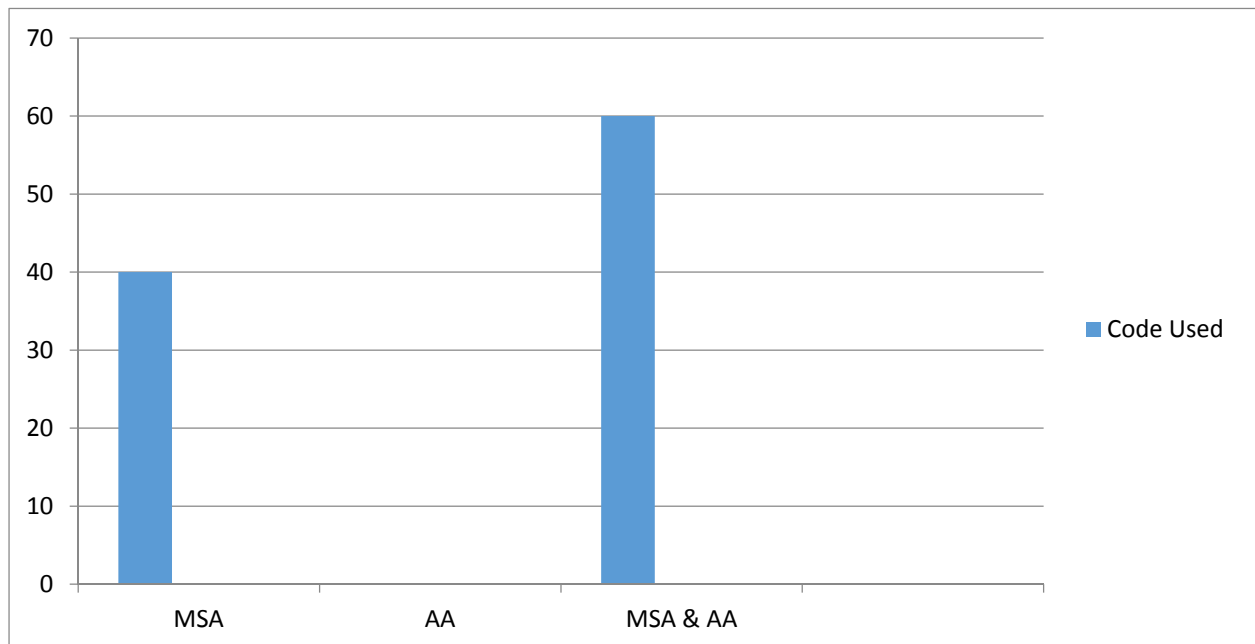


Figure 3.27. Code Used in the Class by Abou-Abdellah School Teachers

- *Abadji*

Table 3. 12. Code Used in Abadji Primary School

Code used	MSA	AA	Both MSA & AA
Rate	1 (12.5%)	0 (0%)	7(87.5%)

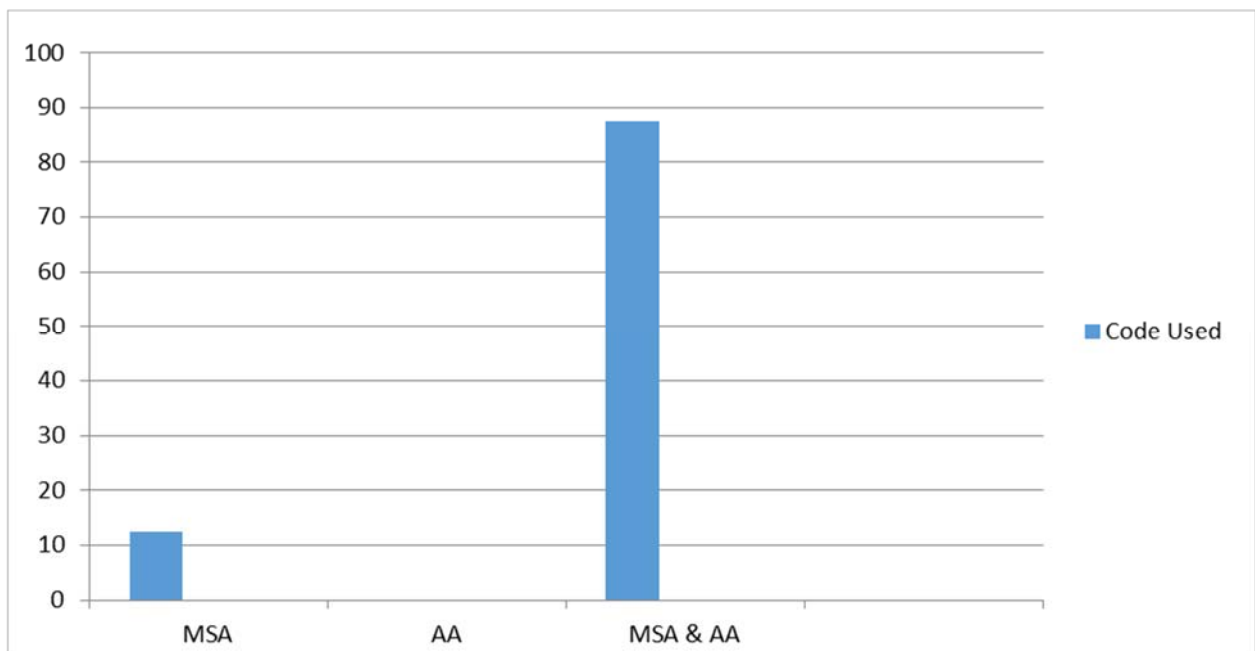


Figure 3. 27.Code Used in the Class by Abadji School Teachers

- *Alili*

Table 3. 13. Code Used in Alili Primary School

Code used	MSA	AA	Both MSA & AA
Rate	7 (77.77%)	0 (0%)	2(22.22%)

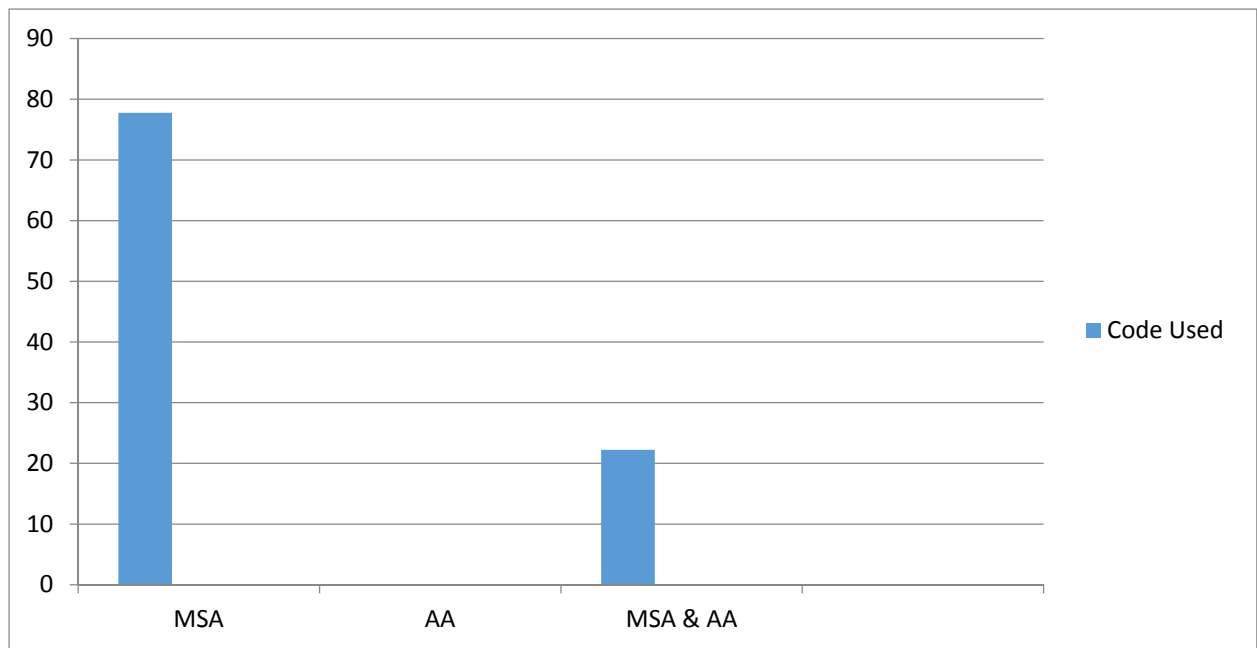


Figure 3. 28. Code Used in the Class by Alili School Teachers

- *Ben Youcef*

Table 3. 14. Code Used in BnYoucef Primary School

Code used	MSA	AA	Both MSA & AA
Rate	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	3(75%)

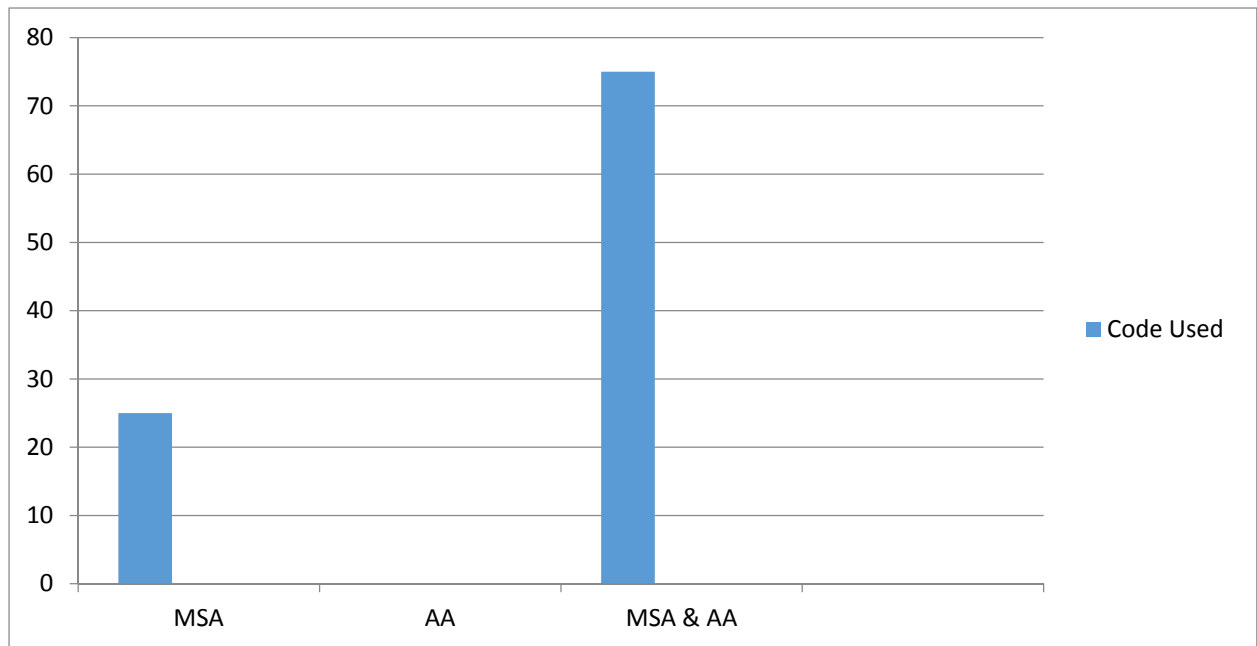


Figure 3. 29. Code Used in the Class by Ben Youcef School Teachers

- *Ben Hmidi*

Table 3. 15. Code Used in Ben Hmidi Primary School

Code used	MSA	AA	Both MSA & AA
Rate	3 (60%)	0 (0%)	2(40%)

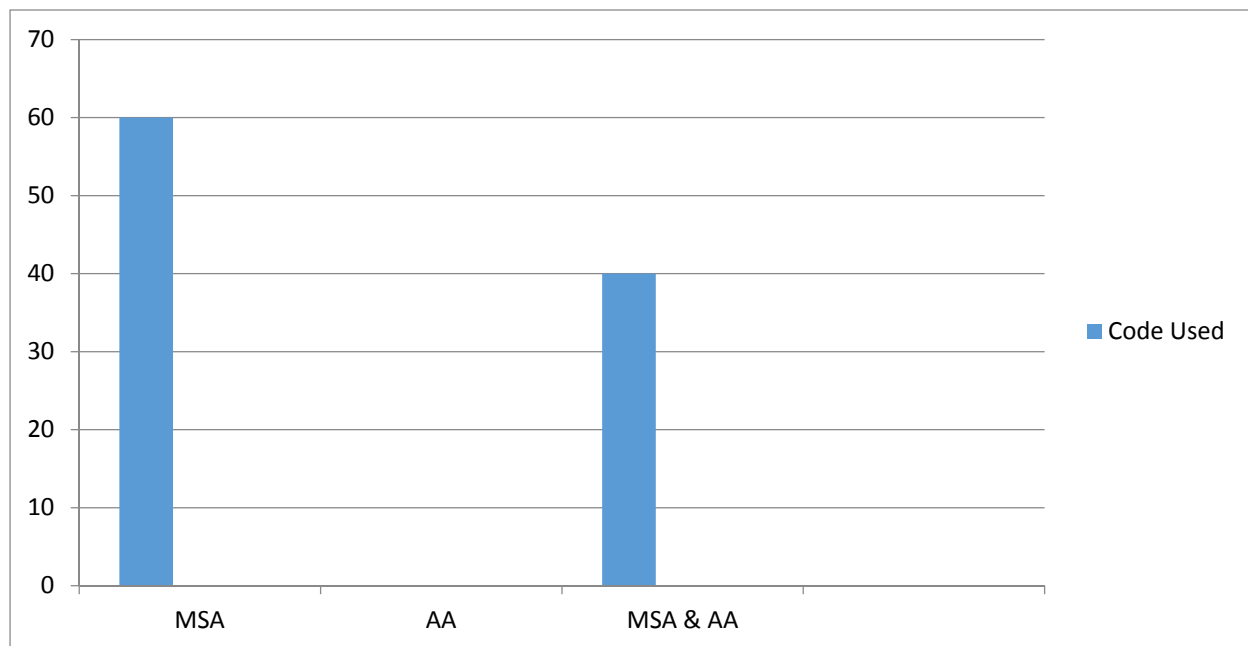


Figure 3. 30. Code Used in the Class by Ben Hmidi School Teachers

- *Mediouni*

Table 3. 16. Code Used in Mediouni Primary School

Code used	MSA	AA	Both MSA & AA
Rate	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	3(60%)

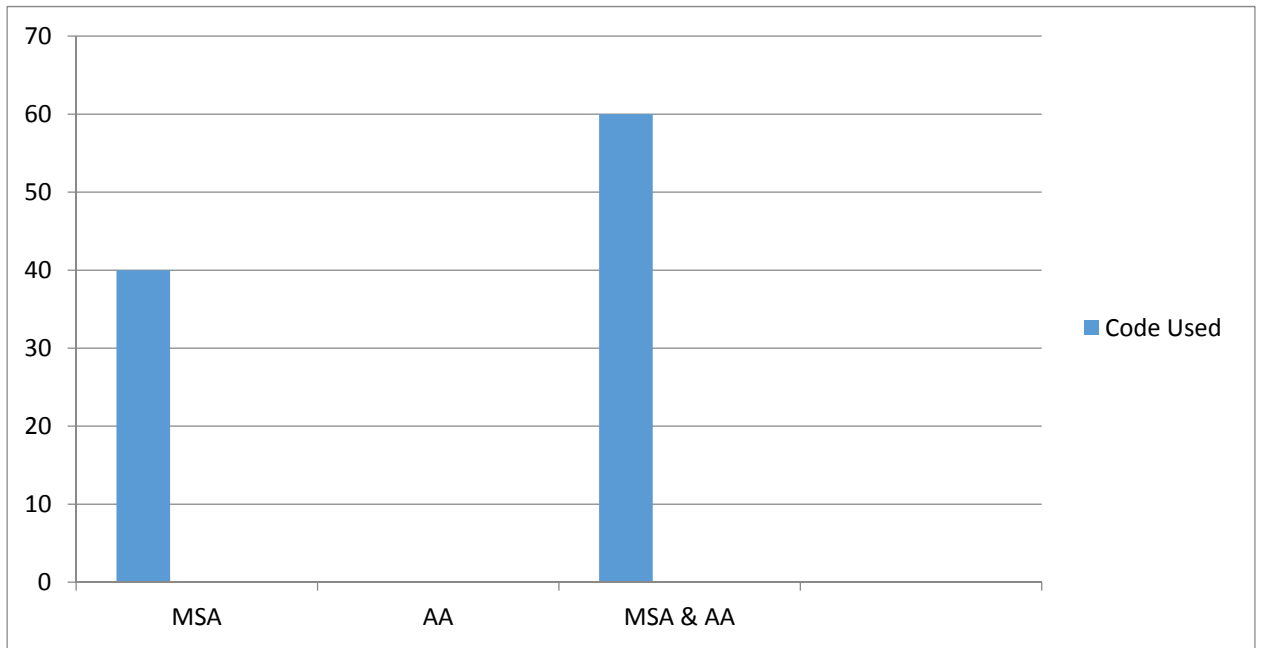


Figure 3. 31. Code Used in the Class by Mediouni School Teachers

- *Sahi*

Table 3. 17. Code Used in Sahi Primary School

Code used	MSA	AA	Both MSA & AA
Rate	4(66.66%)	0 (0%)	2(33.33%)

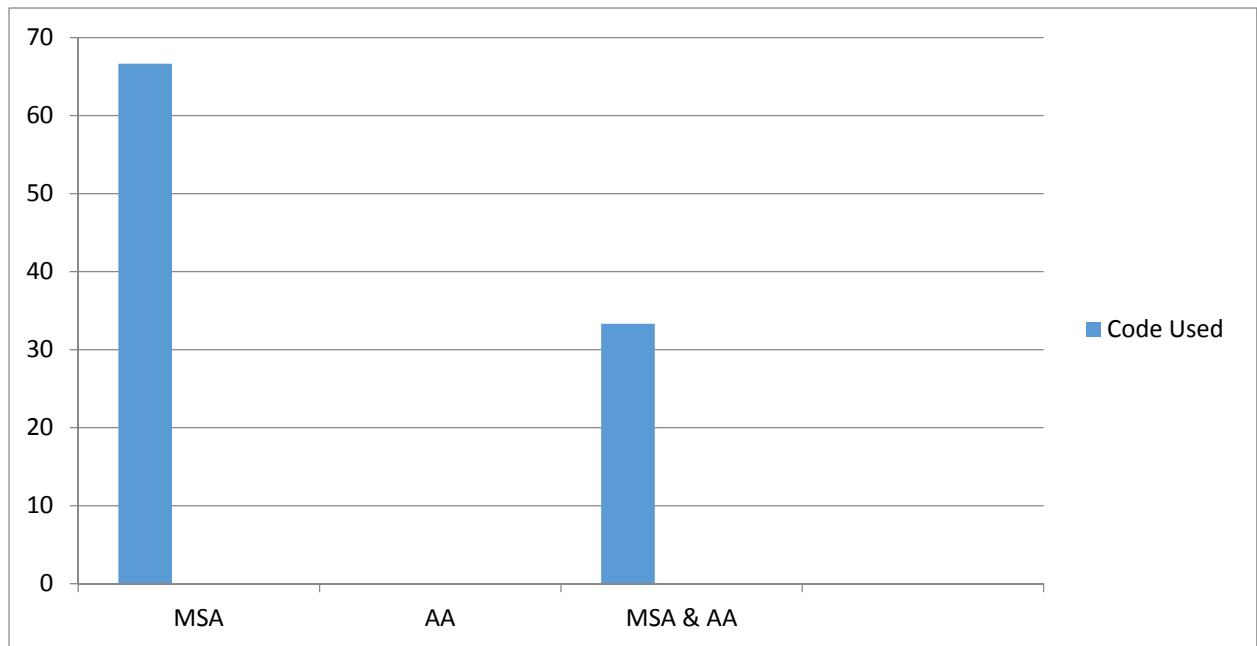


Figure 3. 32. Code Used in the Class by Sahi School Teachers

- *Tebbal*

Table 3. 18. Code Used in Tebbal Primary School

Code used	MSA	AA	Both MSA & AA
Rate	3 (60%)	0 (0%)	2(40%)

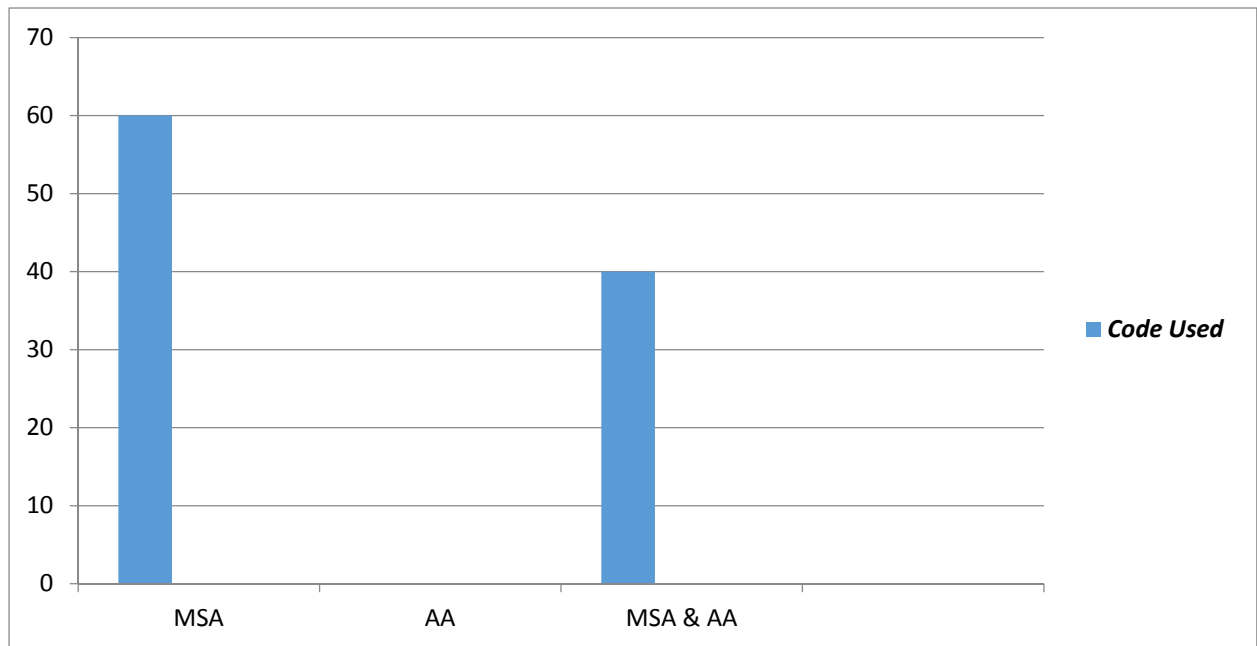


Figure 3. 33. Code Used in the Class by Tebbal School Teachers

- *Talalissi*

Table 3. 19. Code Used in Talalissi Primary School

<i>Code used</i>	MSA	AA	Both MSA& AA
<i>Rate</i>	4 (44.44%)	0 (0%)	5(55.55%)

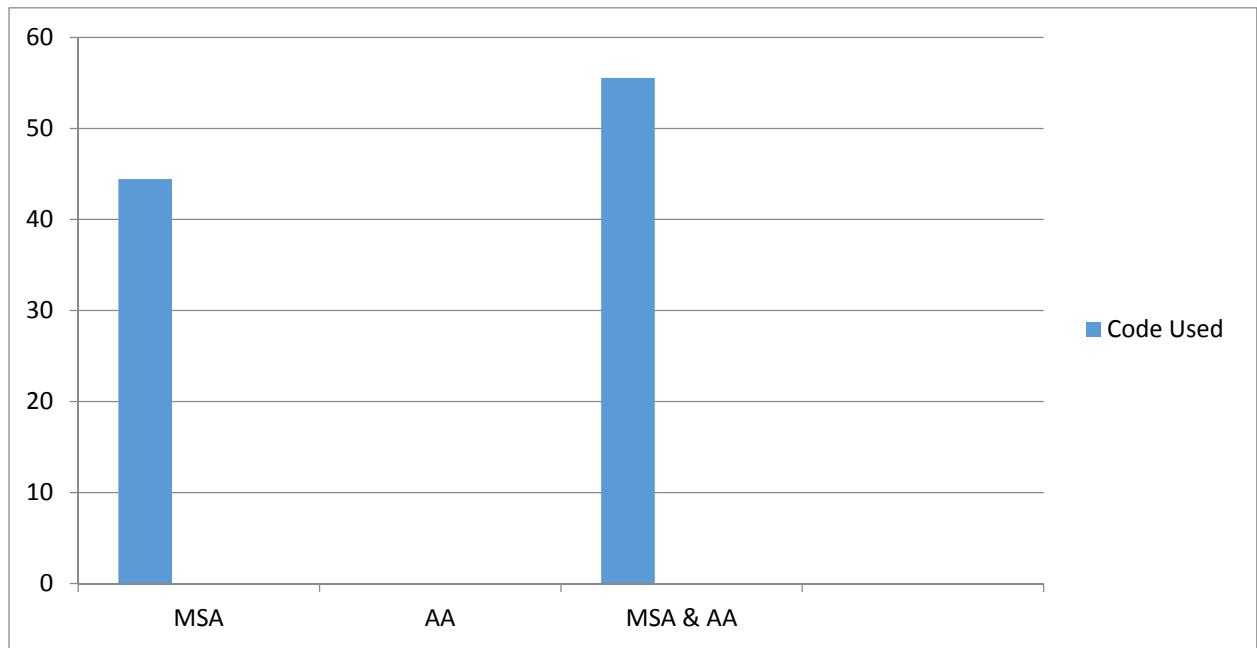


Figure 3. 34. Code Used in the Class by Talalissi School Teachers

- *Merabet*

Table 3. 20. Code Used in Merabet Primary School

Code used	MSA	AA	Both MSA & AA
Rate	1(25%)	0 (0%)	3(75%)

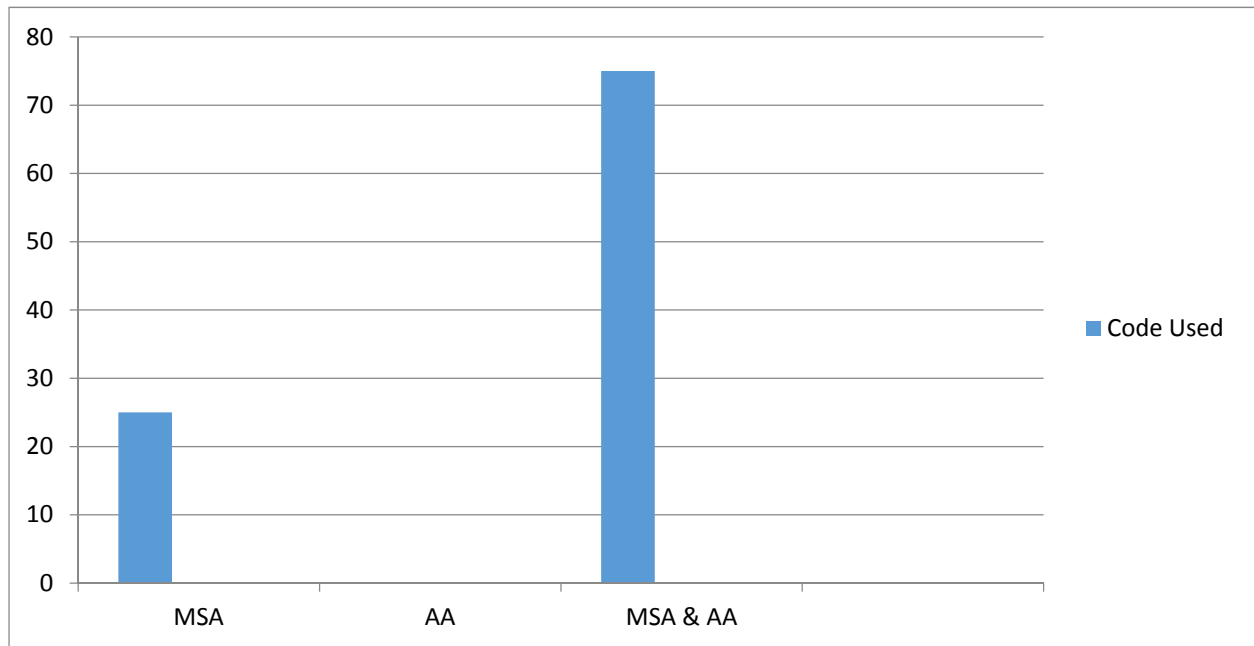


Figure 3. 35. Code Used in the Class by Merabet School Teachers

The respondents were asked if they find themselves, in many occasions, including the dialect in the class for the sake of lessons' simplicity and facilitation. 93.33% of the teachers affirm that they did it whereas only four (04) teachers 6.67% said that they did not use AA in the class (1 teacher from Tebbal, 2 teachers from Alili, and 01 teacher from Merabet primary schools). Those who agree that they used AA were asked with which level they should use it more. The results obtained are as follows:

Table 3. 21. AA Inclusion in correlation to different year levels

Tlemcen Primary School Arabic Language Teachers	<i>Preferred Year Levels</i>							All Year Levels
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	1 st + 2 nd	1 st + 2 nd + 3 rd	
<i>Abou-Abdellah</i>	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Abadji</i>	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Alili</i>	4	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
<i>Ben Youcef</i>	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ben Hmidi</i>	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Mediouni</i>	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
<i>Sahi</i>	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
<i>Tebbal</i>	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
<i>Talalissi</i>	2	0	0	0	1	4	2	0
<i>Merabet</i>	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0

When the teachers were asked if AA use in the classroom has a

positive effect and increases the rate of pupils' participation, the following findings have been noticed:

Table 3. 22. the rate pupils' participation in the class when using AA.

Tlemcen Primary School Arabic Language Teachers	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
<i>Abou-Abdellah</i>	3	2
<i>Abadji</i>	6	2
<i>Alili</i>	3	6
<i>Ben Youcef</i>	4	0
<i>Ben Hmidi</i>	2	3
<i>Mediouni</i>	4	1
<i>Sahi</i>	4	2
<i>Tebbal</i>	2	3
<i>Talalissi</i>	6	3
<i>Merabet</i>	2	2
<i>Total</i>	36 (60%)	24(40%)

The informants, in the fifth question, were asked whether their AA

integration in the class affects pupils' linguistic levels or not. The statistics can clearly appear in the table and graph below:

Table 3. 23. The Rate of AA effect on pupils' linguistic proficiency in primary schools.

Tlemcen Primary School Arabic Language Teachers	YES	NO
<i>Abou-Abdellah</i>	5 (100%)	0 (0%)
<i>Abadji</i>	8 (100%)	(0%)
<i>Alili</i>	6 (66.66%)	3 (33.33%)
<i>Ben Youcef</i>	4 (100%)	0 (0%)
<i>Ben Hmidi</i>	5 (100%)	0 (00%)
<i>Mediouni</i>	3 (60%)	2 (40%)
<i>Sahi</i>	4 (66.66%)	2 (33.33%)
<i>Tebbal</i>	4 (80%)	1 (20%)
<i>Talalissi</i>	7 (77.77%)	2 (22.22%)
<i>Merabet</i>	3 (75%)	1 (25%)
Total	49(81.66%)	11(18.33%)

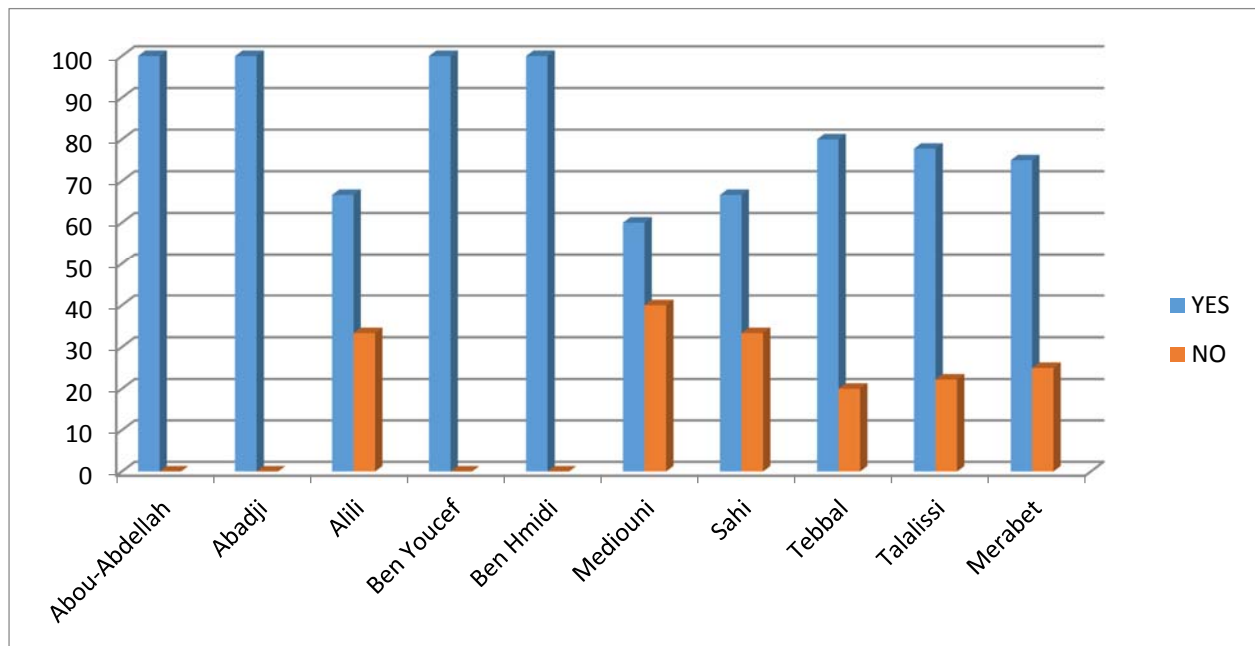


Figure 3. 36. The rate of AA Effect on Pupils' Linguistic Levels.

3.4.4.2. Qualitative Results

In the second question, only 4 teachers said that they do not include AA when explaining the lesson for the following reasons:

➤ *Alili School*

- MSA is the standard language. It is larger, richer, and more prestigious than the dialect.
- AA use can lead to MSA teaching difficulty.

➤ *Tebbal School*

- No clarification or answer has been given by the teacher.

➤ ***Merabet School***

- For teaching our learners the standard and correct form of the Arabic language which we lack it in our schools.

In question n° 04, the answers range between agreement and disagreement towards the use of AA as a positive tool that increases participation among primary school learners. Here are below the reasons given by the teachers for and against AA use:

❖ **Factors that encourage the use of AA:**

- It helps the pupil to understand easily the meaning.
- It can simplify the ideas in a better way. Pupils sometimes cannot understand the questions. Thus, the teacher should re-explain the same question through AA.
- It facilitates the communication process.
- It enhances pupils' assimilation.
- It decreases learners' fear and hesitation.
- To simplify the concepts and the ideas that can break down lessons' objectives.
- Pupils can understand more and can get the answer.

❖ **Factors that reject the use of AA**

- It is a hindrance to MSA. A female teacher from Tebbal school

wrote the following expression in Arabic that can indicate the teacher's feeling towards the use of AA :

- It has no positive effects rather it decreases learners' educational levels.
- AA has a negative impact on pupils' learning since it limits their knowledge.
- AA creates a noisy class.
- If pupils get to use AA in the class, they will find no difference between the street and the school.
- They will find a big difficulty in the session of written expression; how they could write in MSA if they have not the word in their minds in MSA.
- Teachers' role is to encourage the use of the correct form of the Arabic language through which our children can read Koran correctly. We must teach them the appropriate use of that language and its grammar rules and, therefore, we create among pupils a certain feeling of love and respect towards MSA.

In the fifth question, the majority of teachers affirmed that AA influences negatively learners' linguistic levels. When they asked how, their answers were as follows but nearly 20% did not provide any reasons:

- AA affects negatively pupils' levels and he/she cannot acquire

new MSA concepts.

- When we ask our pupils to write a paragraph, they include words in AA thinking that it is the standard form since they all the time use the colloquial form in the class.
- Get used AA.
- Because we use AA just in some cases and we cannot depend on AA solely.
- The learner will not be able to learn a good correct linguistic background.
- Pupils will find a lot of difficulties in oral and written expression sessions.
- They can neither understand TV programmes in MSA nor read Quran or MSA books or even short stories.
- The learner usually imitates his/her teacher. If the teacher uses AA, the learner will certainly get to use it in the class and cannot learn the standard form of the Arabic language.
- The huge use of AA in the class will decrease pupils' linguistic levels.
- MSA use is better than AA because MSA will develop the pupils' linguistic proficiencies.
- No written or oral MSA production.

Very few teachers (18,33%) asserted that AA did not affect negatively pupils' linguistic levels but only 5% of them explained the question 'how'. Their responses were as follows:

- AA has a positive impact as it can facilitate pupils' assimilation.
- AA facilitates difficult concepts.

In the sixth question, the informants were asked about the reasons that lead to low pupils' linguistic capacities. The expressions provided by each school are as follows:

➤ *Abou-Abdellah School*

- Dialect use in the class.
- Pupils do not read books, stories, or excerpts in MSA.
- Daily oral communication are in AA and not MSA

➤ *Abadji School*

- Pupils get the habit to use AA in the class.
- Pupils' absence of reading in MSA.
- Pupils' living environment does not encourage them to read or to enhance their reading skills.
- Psychological and social reasons at home and at school as well.

➤ *Alili School*

- Our learners get to use AA from childhood.
- Parents do not give any attention or importance to the standard form of the Arabic language.
- Absence of practicing MSA from childhood.
- Absence of encouragement towards the use of MSA via reading.
 - Teachers' acceptance of sentences given in AA rather than correcting pupils' answers.

➤ ***Ben Youcef School***

- The use of the dialect in the class.
- The use of the internet in doing their home works without making any efforts; especially when the teacher asks them to analyze a text in the session of reading comprehension.

➤ ***Ben Hmidi School***

- The variety used at the street is neither standard Arabic nor another language.
- Neglecting the Arabic language.
- Giving more importance to foreign languages than our original language.
- The use of some dialects as being the standard one.
- Teachers' widely tolerance towards AA use in the class.
- Due to pupils' living environment.

➤ *Mediouni School*

- 20% of the teachers relate the low linguistics pupils' levels to the excessive use of AA.
- 80% of the informants do not give any answer.

➤ *Sahi School*

- Pupils do not usually practice reading at home.
- The teacher is the first and the most responsible factor towards pupils' low capacities since he gets always affected by his/her pupils' speech in the class.
- There are other secondary reasons such as:
 - Pupils do not use MSA at home with their family members or at the street with their friends and neighbours.
 - If we speak about media; at television, for example, nearly most programs include AA.
- The big mistake lies in teaching first year pupils via AA; thinking that they are very young and AA can facilitate teaching / learning processes.
- AA takes a big part in the class and it does not let very much occasions for MSA to be excessively used.

➤ *Tebbal School*

- There is no library at the level of schools.

- AA excessive use among pupils and teachers as well.

➤ *Talalissi School*

- The teacher does not correct his/her learners' mistakes.
- Teachers' use of AA in the class instead of using MSA.
- Absence of reading tasks.

➤ *Merabet School*

- Reading in MSA is nearly absent among our children. Instead of reading, they spend most of the time on the internet especially; on facebook.
- The administration at the school can be also blamed as they oblige us to pass first year pupils to the second year automatically even if they not have at least average. Thus, pupils pass without recognizing even Arabic letters.

Negative consequences that can be resulted from AA inclusion in the class and that can have a negative impact on pupils as pointed out by Arabic language teachers by tenth Tlemcen primary schools were as follows:

- A very limited use of MSA concepts.
- The level of the pupil will be very weak especially in the productive skills.
- Pupils cannot understand MSA words.
- He cannot acquire the standard form of the Arabic language.

- He cannot express his ideas in MSA even though.
- Pupils will be not able to write corrects paragraphs in MSA.
- He get use AA and neglect MSA use.
- AA use will create a new generation that cannot form a correct use or speak MSA and, thus, not able to interfere in the changes of the world.

By the end, the informants were asked to give their opinions about the future of education in this way and about the suggested solutions as well.

The findings can be summarized as follows:

➤ **Future education through AA:**

- The level of education will be very weak.
- Education through AA cannot access to its objectives.
- Pupils' linguistic levels will be very weak.
- AA hinders the correct appropriate education.

➤ **Suggested solutions:**

- Parents should use MSA at home and motivate their children to use it.
- To avoid AA entirely in the class.
- To motivate pupils to express their ideas in MSA.
- To motivate pupils to read more and more in MSA.
- Parents should help the child lo acquire the words in both

varieties; i.e., AA and its equivalent in MSA.

- Teachers training first, to provide all schools with the necessary materials in order to rise the Arabic language use and to regain its high status as it is the language of Qoran.
- The creation of libraries within the schools where the learner can read books, stories, or articles in MSA.
- The organization of competitions in MSA such as: plays, poems,... in which the winner will have a present. Through this way, they can create a good atmosphere among pupils to participate in these competitions and, hence, speak MSA.
- To build and establish Quoranic schools.
- To correct pupils' mistakes directly.
- The teacher should be competent enough for learning in the right way.
- The elimination of MSA use means the elimination of the Islamic Arabic identity.
- Pupils should be accustomed with MSA from the preliminary stages of the learning process.

3.4.5. Interview Results Interpretation

- At this level of research, the researcher aims to examine the main consequences that may result from AA inclusion in primary school classes. When teachers were asked if AA use has a positive effect on learners or not and how it may occur, nearly the majority do agree that AA can be a positive tool since it helps the pupil to understand easily the meaning, it can simplify the ideas in a better way. Pupils sometimes cannot understand the questions. Thus, the teacher should re-explain the same question through AA. It also facilitates the communication process, it enhances pupils' assimilation, and it decreases learners' fear and hesitation as well. Another group sees it as a negative tool in the class since it is a hindrance to MSA, it has no positive effects rather it decreases learners' educational levels, it limits their knowledge, it creates a noisy class. According to them, teachers' role is to encourage the use of the correct form of the Arabic language through which our children can read Koran correctly.
- Nearly all teachers agreed that AA lead to weaker educational level. MSA is, in fact, the language of

Koran that should be presented and have a high status in all formal domains mainly education. In order to develop MSA use in a correct way, teachers should be trained first, parents should motivate their children to use MSA and to teach them some MSA words.

3.5. General Results Interpretation

- This empirical research work unveils the concrete diglossic situation of classroom interactions in the primary schools at Tlemcen. The findings of this assignment reveal that the variety used by most teachers in the teaching process in classroom interaction is a mixture of two codes: Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. The results revealed that teachers switch back and forth between the standard and non-standard forms. According to teachers, the use of AA in the class facilitates the teaching process and helps pupils' assimilation. In this vein, Al-Batal (1992) declares that **“a colloquial and MSA should be taught in the classroom to reflect the linguistic reality in the Arab world today”**. This research affirms that the informants emphasized more on providing the learners' knowledge about the language

rather than developing their linguistic skills.

- The recorded data displayed that nearly all Arabic language teachers showed a diglossic switch towards colloquial Arabic. According to the results obtained in this work, the dialect occupies an obvious place alongside MSA in teaching Arabic. Teachers focused more on transmitting the message and dismissed the standard form of Arabic. Yet the use of AA in the class has a set of consequences. Though it facilitates the teaching/learning process, AA has a negative impact on learners in particular, and on education as a whole. AA, in fact, will hinder the correct usage of MSA as well as hindering the educational process in its right way. The level of education will be very weak and cannot access to its objectives. This is why, MSA must regain its high status as it is the language of Koran.
- Questionnaire results showed that nearly all teachers switched to AA mostly due to the low linguistic pupils' level. Therefore, the teachers argued that they sometimes include colloquial expressions on purpose because of certain reasons such as: creating a good atmosphere in the classroom, giving examples when pupils seem to be. This fact clearly explained that our

respondents seem to be aware of the value and position of MSA as an Islamic identity symbol. AA, in other cases, is used in a spontaneous way due to the diglossic situation of the Algerian society since AA is Algerians' mother tongue. Uneducated parents also contributed in such a situation since their children, of course, unfortunately had not the opportunity to read or write MSA at home.

- It has been also deduced that the main reasons that stand behind the use of these colloquial expressions in classroom interaction lie in facilitating pupils' understanding, enhancing pupils' assimilation, simplifying complicated matters and difficult concepts and; thus, helping young learners to understand the lecture especially with first year level learners who suffer linguistically from the diglossic situation due to the gap between AA and MSA, in addition to the difficulty of the subjects. The psychological level also plays an effective factor that leads to AA use. Therefore, teachers aimed essentially at helping pupils as much as possible at the learning process. They also favoured using AA in order to create a warm and relax atmosphere in the class since AA

is their mother tongue and all pupils feel linguistically secure and at ease when using it. This behaviour of mixing linguistic patterns indicates that the classroom is the context where multiple registers co-exist, as they do in real life (Al-Batal&Benlap, 2006). Some informants; however, rejected the use of AA since the latter is considered as a humiliation for education in Algeria. Moreover, they announced that it is necessary to use MSA solely. To solve such linguist problem, all teachers, indeed, should have a good training.

- The results obtained from the interview also revealed an excessive use of AA in the class. This use can have positive and negative effects. Though it helps pupils' assimilation, teachers' role, in fact, is to encourage the use of the correct form of the Arabic language through which our children can read Koran correctly. Therefore, AA use can lead to weaker educational level. This is why, MSA as the language of Koran should be presented and should have a high status in all formal domains mainly education. In order to develop MSA use in a correct way, teachers should have a good training.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter endeavours to analyze the data gathered through the use of a set of research instruments mainly; recording, interview, and questionnaire. The results had been analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively approaches. The research unveils the diglossic switch of Arabic language teachers in Tlemcen primary schools.

The chapter also seeks to explore the reasons as well as consequences of teachers' switch to AA. Though AA can facilitate the teaching process and enhance pupils' assimilation, it has a negative impact on the linguistic levels of the pupils and on the educational level as well.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

As stated in its problematics, this dissertation tried to explore to what extent the diglossic situation in Algeria is remarkably invading even its academic context marked by the Arabic language and its two distinctive varieties (Low and High variety). It undertook Tlemcen speech community as a sample population in general, and some of its primary schools from different areas in particular. It is, thus, becoming more and more one of the educational challenges and very intricate linguistic situations facing mainly our primary schools' Arabic language teachers, especially if we consider that for so many years Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) was proposed as the solely formal variety to be used in official contexts such as academic institutions, administration and media, to name just few.

In this respect, the diglossic phenomenon has created a real polemical banner by its spread and use from a social context to an academic one. Through a research fieldwork, this sociolinguistic study revealed more or less the effect of such a linguistic behaviour at more than one level mainly lexical and syntactic. The selected subjects in the study were approached by using a triangulative research method based on a questionnaire, an interview and recordings for gathering a set of a quantitative and qualitative

data from their purely natural utterances that we tried to discretely obtain. Hence, it has been opted for what we call in sociology “representativity”; in hope from the researcher, to reach the pragmatic category which has been believed to better correspond to the objectives of this study.

The results provided us with significant remarks, and a clearer linguistic landscape about the various linguistic behaviours of Arabic language teachers in classroom interaction with their respective pupils.

One of the most noticeable conclusions that the researcher has drawn is the fact that almost all teachers unconsciously shift from an MSA use to an AA variety and colloquial forms. The main reason behind such a change is fundamentally due either to the specificity of the topic tackled or sometimes to the little capacity of learners’ comprehension.

Furthermore, it can be also stated that the use of a simplified version of the Arabic language in classroom is apparently imposing itself through a gradual larger tolerance from the different parts of the society.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Teacher's Questionnaire

نرجو منكم الاجابة عن بعض الاسئلة, في مجال بحث علمي، و هذا بوضع علامة (x) أمام الإجابة الصحيحة، أو أخرى إذا تطلب الأمر ذلك (يمكن وضع أكثر من علامة إذا تطلبت الإجابات أكثر من ذلك).

الجنس : ذكر أنثى

مدة التدريس:.....

مستوى التدريس : 1 ابتدائي 2 ابتدائي 3 ابتدائي 4 ابتدائي 5 ابتدائي

مؤسسة التدريس:.....

1. ما هي اللغة المستعملة في القسم :

اللغة العربية الفصحى الدارجة كلاهما

2. هل تستعمل الدارجة في القسم :

دائما غالبا أحيانا نادرا أبدا

3. إذا كنت تستعمل الدارجة, و لو نادرا, هل تستعملها:

عفويا متعمدا حسب مستويات التلاميذ

كيف ذلك ؟

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4. ما هي الاسباب التي تدفعك لاستعمال الدارجة أثناء الدرس :

صعوبة الدرس

لتسهيل فهم التلاميذ

لخلق جو مرح في القسم

لأن الدارجة هي لغة الشارع التي إعتاد عليها الطفل

أسباب أخرى:

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5. هل يجيب بعض التلاميذ بالدارجة في القسم ؟

لا

نعم

إذا نعم، لماذا؟

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إذا كان جوابك لا لماذا؟

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6. هل تسمح للتلاميذ، استعمال الدارجة في القسم؟

نعم أحيانا لا

لماذا؟

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7. إلى أي مدى يستعمل التلاميذ اللغة العربية الفصحى أثناء الدرس :

دائما غالبا أحيانا نادرا أبدا

8.

أحيانا	لا	نعم	
			1. إدراج الدارجة في الدرس يسهل إستيعاب التلاميذ
			2. التلاميذ اعتادوا على الدارجة، و لهذا التدريس باللغة الفصحى يشكل عائقا بشكل كبير
			3. تعليم اللغة العربية الفصحى مهمة سهلة
			4. تكلم التلاميذ بالدارجة في القسم يشعره بالارتياح أكثر
			5. يجد الأستاذ نفسه في كثير من الأحيان يستعمل عبارات عامية

			6. تبسيط الأسلوب اللغوي يساعد على الفهم و يزيد المردودية (نسبة المشاركة)
			7. الجانب النفسي للتلميذ من العوامل التي تدفعك على إدراج الدارجة

9. في رأيك، مع أي مستوى يُستحب إدخال الدارجة أثناء شرح الدرس؟

1 ابتدائي 2 ابتدائي 3 ابتدائي 4 ابتدائي 5 ابتدائي

Appendix 2

Teacher's Interview

الجنس: ذكر أنثى

مدة التدريس:

مستوى التدريس: 1 ابتدائي 2 ابتدائي 3 ابتدائي 4 ابتدائي 5 ابتدائي

مؤسسة التدريس :

1. ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها في القسم اثناء الشرح؟
اللغة العربية الفصحى الدارجة كلاهما

2. في كثير من الاحيان، هل تجد نفسك تدرج الدارجة من أجل تبسيط الاسلوب و تسهيل فهم
الدرس؟
نعم لا

3. إذا كان نعم، مع من في رأيك تستعمل الدارجة أكثر؟
ابتدائي 2 ابتدائي 3 ابتدائي 4 ابتدائي 5 ابتدائي

إذا لا، لماذا؟

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4. إدراج الدارجة في القسم له تأثير إيجابي وتزيد من نسبة المشاركة
نعم لا

كيف ذلك؟

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5. هل استعمالكم للدرجة في القسم يؤثر على الأداء اللغوي للتميذ؟
لا نعم
كيف ذلك؟

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6. ما هي الأسباب التي تؤدي إلى ضعف المستوى اللغوي للتميذ؟

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7. ما هي التأثيرات السلبية التي تنجم عن استعمال الدرجة في القسم على التلميذ؟

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8. في رأيك، كيف يكون مستقبل التعليم في الجزائر بهذه الطريقة؟
ما هي الحلول المقترحة؟

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شكرا على تعاونكم

ملخص :

هذه الأطروحة تندرج في إطار سوسيو لغوي بيداغوجي. فهي تعالج ظاهرة استعمال اللهجة الجزائرية في مجال التعليم بالمدارس الابتدائية، آخذين مدارس تلمسان كعينة: تحاول هذه الأطروحة تحليل الاسباب وكذا نتائج هذه الظاهرة على التعليم الجزائري، بصفة عامة، وعلى المدارس الابتدائية بصفة خاصة. تحاول ايضا في نفس السياق، معرفة مواقف الاساتذة اتجاه استعمال الدارجة.

كلمات مفتاحية :

الازدواجية اللغوية، اللهجة الجزائرية، اللغة العربية الفصحى، التعليم.

Résumé

Le contenu de ce travail qui s'inscrit dans une étude socio-didactique, est axé principalement, sur un nombre d'idées et des connaissances sur des conflits diglossiques constatés au sein des écoles primaires afin de combler le fossé entre l'utilisation de l'arabe standard et le dialecte qui caractérise nos écoles primaires lors de l'enseignement. Il s'avère que l'enseignement de la langue Arabe n'échappe pas aux effets de la diglossie sur l'apprenant. Cette enquête est basée sur le fait que, dans les différentes utilisations du langage dans la même société, il y a des dialectes qui manifestent une distinction entre les différentes catégories et classes sociales, par exemple les jargons de professions, et les dialectes locaux régionaux comme ceux observés dans les dialectes algériens. En conséquence une recherche a été menée, ciblant quelques collègues primaires, pour répondre à l'ensemble des problèmes. Il est à noter que L'originalité du développement de l'Arabe dans l'enseignement se situe à plusieurs niveaux qui vont intéresser notre propos

Mots clés : Diglossie, enseignement, Langue Arabe, Dialectes, arabe standard

Summary

This work is part of a socio-didactic investigation, it focuses on various sociolinguistic concepts, examining the phenomenon of diglossia observed in primary schools for the sake of bridging the gap between the use of the standard Arabic and dialect that characterizes the educational process at the level of our primary schools. The inquiry shows that the teaching of the Arabic language is not immune of the effects of diglossia on the learner. This study is based on the fact that within the different uses of language in the same society, there are some dialects which distinguish categories and social classes from others, for instance jargons of professions, and the local regional dialects like those observed in Algerian dialects. Consequently, a research has been conducted, targeting some primary institutions. It should be noted that this work is concerned with the natural development of Arabic within the educational process at distinct levels.

Key Words: Diglossia, Algerian Dialects Modern Standard Arabic, Education

Summary of the Thesis

As a summary of this dissertation, one may first consider the idea that the diversity of language seems to be of crucial importance for linguists, as it displays the original aspects of this human phenomenon. This, in fact, is supposed to contribute to the elaboration and establishment of their hypotheses to form the coordinative groups of languages, which constitute the same linguistic family with a common origin, notably Latin, Greek and roman, and the derived Semitic languages. This may be attained using a number of linguistic research instruments within a general coherent theory of a body of data.

Nevertheless, language problematics nowadays, is no longer language itself, but language as a human function in different human and social forms among nations, peoples, tribes and individuals. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that human language has got particular natural properties such as; creativity, double articulation, language displacement, and traditional transmission. Additionally, according to the communicative theory, language is regarded as a means by which to transmit linguistic messages composed of selected arbitrary and conventional signs, according to different situational contexts, and where a number of variables are engendered and interrelated; particularly, in the present research that is based on the Arabic linguistic context. For

instance, when people use language, they naturally choose their words, which function is submitted, to a set of norms and rules.

Among the most important phenomena that attracted the interest of sociologists and linguists, are the different uses of language in the same society; there are some dialects which distinguish categories and social classes from others, for instance jargons of professions, and the local regional dialects like those found in Algerian dialects, different from the Tunisian, Moroccan and Mauritanian ones, though all of them are said to have the Arabic language as their first and official national language.

In this sense, our problematics relies on the fact that the analysis of language as an independent fact has been concerned with two major dimensions: studying language as a system and a structure, or studying language as a means of communication and social interaction. This approach is explained by conceiving language as a behavioural system, which takes different and interferential forms, since one may notice several linguistic popular uses within the same speech community. The aim, through this research work, is to study the different factors that control the nature of relationship between the social milieu and the distinguished linguistic behaviour in the Algerian society, then the linguistic type which results from this mutual influence of a particular social context, essentially the diglossic character of the Algerian situational

context, in general, and Tlemcen speech community, in particular, it is worth pointing out at this level, that Algeria is a very interesting area for sociolinguistic studies, taking into consideration the Diglossic, bilingual, and even multilingual situations that prevail. To keep the study within manageable bounds, this study sheds light on the impact of Arabic Diglossia on the teaching/learning process among pupils studying in the different grades at primary level. It was conducted in eight different primary schools situated in different parts of the city of Tlemcen.

The primary aim of this study consists of contributing in enriching the database of information available on sociolinguistics, in general, and the phenomenon of Diglossia in particular, examining by doing so, the nature of Arabic language used by Arabic course teachers when presenting and explaining the lessons. It seeks therefore, to identify the aspects of such sociolinguistic phenomenon.

Besides, it underlines its repercussions on pupils' linguistic skills in classroom interaction. It investigates also diglossia in relation to cases in which h and l are said to be versions of the same language; bearing in mind the fact that h has never been the means of communication in the daily interaction among people. Thus, the investigator, in this research work, raises the following research inquiries:

- Does Algeria express a diglossic situation in its language-teaching context?
- What may be the pedagogical implications that may reveal our Algerian primary schools, more precisely in a Tlemcen speech community?
- In what ways those pedagogical implications would positively or negatively influence the educational outcomes?

It is, consequently, supposed that diglossia and its impacts are the absolute evidence of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria.

-For the sake of gaining a better insight, other partial hypotheses can be considered in this context:

- Algeria seem to remarkably express a diglossic situation in its language-teaching context.
- Most of the pedagogical implications of the diglossic situation in Algeria may be clearly underlined at the linguistic levels of our primary school learners and teachers alike.

- Those pedagogical implications operating at more than one level appear to negatively influence our teachers practices and then, our learners' outcomes.

It is hoped that in the future, this study will pave the way to further debates and meaningful reflection on the socio-professional milieu which in turn, is not immune from the phenomenon of Diglossia, and that it will provide a useful 'map' of the issue, and eventually, drawing definitive conclusions and solutions aiming at reducing progressively the gap between colloquial Arabic and MSA with the collaboration of policy-makers within the context of formal education.

Actually, the inquiry holds a mirror up to the situation, it does not attempt to solve the problem on its own—but it is clear that schools can and do make a dramatic difference to the educational outcomes of pupils.

In fact, it is strongly assumed that the regional vernacular by no means replaces MSA, which is, of course, indispensable for literacy in Arabic. Indeed, the use of the colloquial Arabic is often inappropriate for the professional contexts of use. In this line of enquiry, a large body of sociolinguistic research deals with the Diglossic nature of the Arabic language, stressing thus, its severe impact on the educational process, however, not a great deal of empirical investigation has been undertaken

to analyze the Diglossic repercussions which still affect not only the communicative competence of the learners but also to a great deal, the socio-professional milieu, it is observed that the vernacular or at least the 'middle language' appear to occupy a substantial place in both: the verbal expressions of most teachers.

In various classroom contexts, and among teachers themselves in addition to formal and official settings, as the generational shift is going on, adding to that, the lack of an efficient approach which serves the society's best interest for a fluent Arabic as a basis for, and symbol of, national and regional identities. And this consists primarily, of involving and deploying the use of modern standard Arabic as the soul medium of instruction for developing communicative competence, within academic circles and among teachers and instructors of Arabic, including all sorts of pedagogical contexts, with the objective of reinforcing a thriving Arab scientific community.

The layout of this research work is framed within three distinctive chapters theoretically and practically articulated as follows:

A first chapter almost reserved to a theoretical background account, depicting the notion of Diglossia and what does it entail as a key-word in the bulk of sociolinguistics.

Based on this, a second chapter which is twofold, it provides a general background of the Algerian sociolinguistic profile, the context of our study, focusing on the dialect of Tlemcen speech community. The chapter therefore builds on the concepts and the theoretical framework outlined in the literature review, namely: Diglossia and its outcomes, that is, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowings. To familiarize the reader with, the linguistic situation in Algeria in general, and the linguistic situation in Tlemcen in particular.

Ultimately, a third chapter, being the methodological framework, provides a general description of the situation analysis, it strives to analyse the gathered data, including the target sample population and the research instruments adapted to data collection procedure. Relying on a quantitative and qualitative approach, this was obviously, achieved through descriptive statistics.

As stated previously in its general problematic and objective, this dissertation attempted at exploring to what extent the Diglossic situation in Algeria is remarkably invading even its academic context marked by the Arabic language and its two distinctive varieties (Low and High variety). It undertook Tlemcen speech community as a sample population in general, and some of its primary schools from different areas in particular. It is, thus, becoming more and more one of the educational challenges and very

intricate linguistic situations facing mainly our primary schools' Arabic language teachers, especially if we consider that for so many years Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) was proposed as the solely formal variety to be used in official contexts such as academic institutions, administration and media, to name just few.

In this respect, the Diglossic phenomenon has created a real polemical banner by its spread and use from a social context to an academic one. Through a research fieldwork, this sociolinguistic study revealed more or less the effect of such a linguistic behaviour at more than one level mainly lexical and syntactic. The selected subjects in the study were approached by using a triangulative research method based on a questionnaire, an interview and recordings for gathering a set of a quantitative and qualitative data from their purely natural utterances that we tried to discretely obtain. Hence, it has been opted for what we call in sociology "representativity"; in hope from the researcher, to reach the pragmatic category which has been believed to better correspond to the objectives of this study.

The results provided us with significant remarks, and a clearer linguistic landscape about the various linguistic behaviours of Arabic language teachers in classroom interaction with their respective pupils.

One of the most noticeable conclusions that the researcher has drawn is the fact that almost all teachers unconsciously shift from an MSA use to an AA variety and colloquial forms. The main reason behind such a change is fundamentally due either to the specificity of the topic tackled or sometimes to the little capacity of learners' comprehension.

Furthermore, it can be also stated that the use of a simplified version of the Arabic language in classroom is apparently imposing itself through a gradual larger tolerance from the different parts of the society.



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EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE DIGLOSSIC SITUATION IN AN ALGERIAN LANGUAGE TEACHING CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

This paper is, in fact, an attempt to unveil the underlying pedagogical implications of the diglossic situation in Algeria that seems to be strongly influencing the teaching/learning situation in general and, the course of the lecture in particular; in terms of maintenance and transmission of the Arabic standard language. In this respect, this paper seeks to reveal the linguistic gap existing between two distinctive varieties (standard vernacular) and how they co-exist within an educational context, highly characterized by an infinite number of variables, which interplay at different levels.

KEYWORDS: Arabic Diglossia, Algeria, Language Teaching, & Educational Implications.

INTRODUCTION

Communicating via language, as a natural phenomenon has always inspired various scholars and linguists who have been active and triggered to uncover some of its fascinating aspects fundamentally, related to its regular use. As a matter of fact, it has been given considerable attention by different disciplines in human and social sciences, notably, *Anthropology, Dialectology, Sociology, Psychology, Pragmatics etc.* These linguists, namely, Charles Ferguson has been largely interested in investigating it; being thus, as the first to deal with the concept of *diglossia* in his article entitled “Diglossia”, in 1959 published in a journal called “Word”; and then, Joshua Fishman in 1967 who dealt with “extended diglossia” associated with languages even of different language parent families.

Ferguson (1959), tried to develop the concept of diglossia referring to four cases in different countries: Greece, Switzerland, Arab countries, and Haiti. Ferguson’s examples take into account, Standard German (H), Swiss German (L), Standard Arabic (H), Vernacular Arabic (L), Standard French (H), Creole (L) in Haiti, Katharevousa (H) and Dhimotiki (L) in Greece. Ferguson, thus, uses four modern language stations as the legs for his table (Swiss, German, Arabic, Haitian Creole, and Modern Greek), in addition, he described a particular form of bilingual community in a special relationship which existed between its primary languages, which he labeled simply as the high and low cards. Watt in Porter (2000:18-19)

The concept of diglossia, however, has been institutionalized after the contribution of many scholars like, Ferguson and Fishman. After his famous article about the definition of diglossia in 1959, Ferguson revised his paper and evoked the weak points of his original article in his *Diglossia Revisited* (1991), printed in the *Southwest Journal Linguistics*. For the most part, he gave new supports to his original article, but he did criticize his ambiguity on specifying that, his definition for diglossia was putative. Yet, according to Fishman (1967), diglossia can be example of different countries and languages for example Alsatian in Alsace as (L) and French as (H). This is why, (H) is usually the written language used in formal situations; while the (L) is the spoken one used in informal situations. Apparently, Fishman (1967)

also seems unsatisfied about the first definitions asserted about diglossia: What he effectively demonstrated was the need for increased flexibility in Ferguson's paradigm. What he appears to have lost in the process was, a definition for the application of 'diglossia' to multilingual situations would soon become so broad, and one might wonder multilingual situation is not diglossic at present. Watt in Porter (2000: 19)

In fact, Fishman (1967) extended the concept of diglossia to include several separate codes, and recognized two types of compartmentalization: functional and social/political (Chen 1997:4). That is why, Watt in Porter (2000:18) claims that there were "philosophical differences between the conflicting traditions of Charles Ferguson (1959; 1991) and Joshua Fishman (1967; 1971) – something that has animated much of the broader literature on diglossia". Since that, there were many discussions necessary to provide a better understanding or at least modifications about diglossia that explains that Ferguson's self-modified (1991) version of his landmark 1959 article that contains the necessary definitions and constraints needed for a productive application of the term. It comprehends the undeniable fact that, tertiary languages and spoken variety of high forms are present in the speech repertoire of many communities.

The differences about the concept of diglossia are mainly due to the complex situations of language systems in the world, particularly in the Arab world, characterized by multilingualism. In other words, understanding Arabic Diglossia, as Heller (1988; 1992) remarks, necessitates knowing the linguistic peculiarities of the Arab world, burdening the linguist thus, with the task of accounting for the different historical and social contexts, in which it occurs.

In this respect, it is worth noticing that Arab scholars have been interested in Arabic linguistics, and dialectology and topics related to, dialects and languages in addition to the linguistic variation at all levels:

The systematic study of dialect geography is known to have been as a typical development of Western European nineteenth-century linguistics. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to suppose that, the Arabs themselves were not aware of the variation in speech in the Arabophone world. (Versteegh 2001:130)

The Arabs were basically aware of dialect studies through the movement of many scholars to remote places and recording the data from different tribes, with the objective to save the Arabic tongue from erroneous uses of language, which they call 'Lahn al a'amma'. There are many proved evidences through the phrases, "kama qualat tamim" or "lughat hadil".

The Muslim Holy book "Qur'an" repeatedly emphasizes the "Arabness" of its language, and remains a tangible reference to prove the advent of Arabic in the field of dialects, by having included more than the dialect of the Kuraychi tribe at all the phonological, syntactic and semantic levels. Aba hiyan al-andalousi includes 63 readings, including dialects in his interpretation of the Qur'an. Sibawayh says that the verse "mahada bacharan" is with fath tanwin while with banu tamim mahada bacharun" bi raf'e tanween. Others like Gahiz (d, 255\868) does not notice the difference in the talks of speech in a particular geographical area:

At an early date, Gahiz informs us that the people in the cities talk according to the language of the Bedouin immigrants who have settled there, which is why you find lexical differences between the people of Kufa, Basra, Syria and Egypt. (Versteegh 2014: 172)

Moreover, Ibn Kaldun in al Muqaddima who devoted a whole chapter about:

The differences between sedentary and Bedouin speech, entitled the language of the sedentary population and the

city-dwellers is an independent language, differing from the language of Mudar (Ibid)

It is true that the Arabs classified, categorized and discovered, the dialectal phenomena, described the phonetic variation in everyday speech, even knowing the diseases of the tongue like, taetaa or faefaa but could not go further through instituting and coding systematic rules about dialects to create an independent discipline for it called, dialectology. This task was done by the Germans and the French before the English started with traditional ways of collecting the data through climbing rocky mountain regions in the remote rural areas, to gather the different features of dialects from the speech of old people, with the intention to save such dialectal heritage, before they died.

Recently, methods of research in dialectology have radically changed, especially within the advent of Sociolinguistics and other disciplines like, discourse analysis and pragmatics; thus, the use of some innovative research tools to develop the analysis of data is primordially required like, the use of questionnaires, interviews and maps originally used through the development of technology and computer assistance.

DIGLOSSIA AS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PHENOMENON AND ITS EFFECTS ON EDUCATION

In the context of education, teaching Arabic posed many problems often related to the complicated diglossic situation of Arab countries. Teachers had to cope up with their teaching, especially with, vocabulary and syntax. Young learners may find themselves dealing with almost new language structures as these often depart from the normal dialectal structures with which they have been familiar. Gradually, spoken Arabic has been relegated to a lesser status. According to Palmer (2007:111), it is “often stigmatized as a less prestigious variety of Arabic and is less worthy of study, even though it is the language of choice for day to day Communication for native speakers.” Similarly, Versteegh (2001) believes that, unlike SA, the QA varieties have traditionally been considered as a distorted, debased, and deficient forms of SA – a form that necessitates consistent rectification (Versteegh, 2001). As an Lahn “eccentric accents,” QA varieties were often viewed as a mark of ignorance. Salama Ben Abdulmalik is reported to have said: “The lahn in the speech is uglier than the chickenpox on the face” (Ibn Qutayba’ *Ṣuyūn Al-Akhbaar*, 1996, p. 197) in (Albirini 2016:81)

The view that spoken Arabic is an inferior form of the language is not without a historical precedent. Besides, the view that spoken Arabic is nothing more than, a distorted form of the original, as it was, a prevalent pessimistic attitude towards spoken Arabic that has been reinforced to a lesser degree by nonprofessionals, and to a larger degree by intellectuals. Accordingly, many in the Arab World still entertain the conviction that, the simplified grammar of the spoken form does not amount to the sophistication of the original and the logic of the original. Albirini (2016).

Moreover, many scholars stress the need to constantly examine the Arabic sociolinguistic setting in which diglossia has perpetuated till date. The sustainance of this long-standing paradigm of dichotomy, or sharp cleavage between literary and colloquial Arabic has both weakened the effectiveness of Arabic language teaching, and undermined the appeal of Arabic as a learnable and useful foreign language. Thus, leaving the field in crisis for many years, they protest, vehemently against the interference of some colloquial forms within standard Arabic, fearing dreadful educational quality results. Among these scholars Maamouri (1989) who alarms about “the growing use of the colloquial forms in formal and non-formal education and in other numerous everyday activities” (Mambourin, 1989: 68).

While other scholars regard the diglossic situation where, el fusha is involved within other varied vernacular forms of Arabic, which may have a positive effect in the Arab world like Zughoul who refers this to the elevated amount of illiteracy as a reason for the gap between el fusha and Arabic dialects, were quite noticeable.

Kaye (2001: 119) mentions, that, diglossia and bidialectal variations exist in Arabic-speaking countries, “Some educated Arabs find it difficult to carry on a conversation in Modern Standard Arabic”. Unfortunately, in the Arab world, there is a negative impact when the phenomenon of diglossia interferes in the reading and writing skills of the learner, in schools because of the different forms between, colloquial and standard Arabic. Consequently, the phenomenon of diglossia in school engenders not only poor results of literacy but also, very bad achievements, failure and poor feedback in schools.

Therefore, low linguistic attainment in almost all Arab schools urges national authorities, supported by language policy-makers, sociolinguistic researchers, as well as college educators to inquire about the linguistic reality of the Arabic language and its negative consequences on learner’s abilities and competencies to conduct an academic course.

Considering Modern Standard Arabic as nobody’s mother tongue, almost not used at home or for daily life activities, that are manifested through a range of colloquial varieties, it has been thought to bridge the difficult gap existing between written and spoken skills, especially at the beginning, and intermediate levels.

Such a situation marked a remarkable number of pedagogical implications, which is hard to get control over. It delineates how colloquial Arabic has seriously weakened the effectiveness of, not only language teaching, but also the process of learning. Among these weaknesses, one may advocate at first place the idea that Arabic is becoming a learnable foreign language dealing with functions and topics of a very classical and traditional approach, relying much more on linguistic rules and norms rather than practicing it as a medium of communication and interaction, i.e., lack of practical experience. In this sense, Attia points out: “the four linguistic skills cannot be fulfilled unless the Arabic is thought functionally”

PEDAGOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The UNESCO suggests a shift from mother tongue to language learning, in parallel with illiteracy to literacy: “It is better, psychologically and pedagogically, to achieve literacy by two short jumps (that is, from illiteracy to literacy in the mother tongue, and from literacy in the mother tongue to literacy in a second language) than by one long jump (that is, from illiteracy in the mother tongue to literacy in a second language”. (1968: 699). This, largely means that, the language of instruction is in deep relationship with the learner’s attainment in schools.

Maamouri (1983) opts for a literary Arabic for good learning, plus having a better chance for work in the future. He wrote:

The choice of MSA for adult education, seen as the acquisition of basic reading and writing skills, seems to be a logical one. Any literacy teaching in TA, would have been laughed at, and looked down upon by the potential literates themselves, who would have considered it a sub-standard and therefore a useless form of education, which was not likely to secure them a better job, or improve their low social status.

Quoted in Ayari (2009 :247)

It is then highly recommended to strengthen standard Arabic in schools for a better academic success

CONCLUSIONS

The phenomenon of diglossia has widely been studied by different contexts and countries globally, agreeing on a firm and adequate definition of it, interpreted up to the nature of mother tongue coexisting with other varieties. In countries where more than one language exists, spurs the phenomenon of diglossia, where it becomes more importantly viewed when it drives pedagogical implications; particularly in the Arab world, in which Arabic is a strong reason for diglossia, for the big effect it has on education and, thus, it makes it an inevitable sociolinguistic phenomenon. The diglossic community transits to schools, to deal with languages of instruction and learning, with the aim to promote proficiency, and widen communication to dominate the shift from home to school.

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