A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Diglossic Switching in Algerian Classroom Settings:

MSA/Colloquial Arabic Alternation in Primary, Middle and Secondary Levels

Thesis submitted to the Department of English in candidacy for the degree of

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Abstract

Diglossia is a linguistic phenomenon that characterizes speech communities with a clear co-existence of two varieties of the same language, each being used for a set of functions in the society. Arabic-speaking countries, including Algeria, have been regarded as the most obvious cases of diglossia as the High variety, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is used in formal domains such as administration and education and is assigned an official status while all Colloquial forms, Algerian Arabic in the present study, make up the Low variety used in everyday speech interaction. Yet, speakers sometimes tend to escape the rule and switch codes in a diglossic situation and might mix the two varieties in settings, which results in what is referred to as diglossic switching. The present research work attempts to investigate such phenomenon as it occurs in educational settings. In formal education, MSA is supposed to be the language of interaction in class; however, teachers and learners are often heard to switch between H and L. This study explores learners' linguistic behaviour when interacting with their teachers using a sampling from the three educational levels: primary, middle and secondary. Adopting a number of research tools, namely, questionnaires, interviews, observation and fluency tests, we aim to relate the pupils' linguistic behaviour in class to their age and educational background. Results show that while primary level pupils are eager to interact in the school language, middle school pupils start to show some negative attitudes towards MSA and the older they get the less importance they give to its use in class. In secondary school, their reluctance of MSA use reaches its maximum. The obtained results are; weaknesses in practice and thus lack of fluency in MSA, on the one hand, and negative attitudes towards the language on the other are responsible factors for pupils' behaviour in classroom settings.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AA: Algerian Arabic
CA: Classical Arabic
CS: Code Switching
EM: the Extended Model
H: High Variety
L: Low Variety
LPP: Language Policy and Planning
MLF: Matrix Language Framework
MSA Modern Standard Arabic
ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic

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General Introduction

One of the linguistic issues most Arabic-speaking countries, namely Algeria, suffer from is *diglossia*, which is, as first defined by Ferguson (1959), in terms of the coexistence of two language varieties, related genetically, in one speech community. What characterizes diglossia is that these two varieties are used in different domains. The first one, which is referred to as 'the high variety' or H, is devoted to formal settings such as politics, religious speech and education, while the second, 'the low variety', L, is reserved for more relaxed everyday communication. But though these two varieties have clearcut domains where to be used, they sometimes overlap, and thus speakers often switch to L when using H and vice-versa.

As far as the Arabic-speaking countries are concerned, Modern Standard Arabic, or MSA for short, is the H variety. It is a variety of language that is characterized by quite elaborated grammatical structures, and a rich vocabulary. Being standardized, it has a graphic representation, and has witnessed all the stages of language planning so that it is raised to the status of a language rather than a dialect. This variety is the nearest to Qur'anic Arabic, the language variety used in the Qur'an and known by its rhetorical style, as well as being associated with the religion of Islam. This sacredness, and thus prestige, have promoted Arabic to be considered as the language of 'paradise', as the Qur'an is believed to be the 'Word of God'.

On the other hand, colloquial Arabic is used in relaxed settings like family, friends and all informal social interactions. All Arabic-speaking countries have various local colloquial varieties occupying the status of an L variety. What characterizes these varieties is that they are derived from MSA, but contain borrowings from foreign languages, and have not been promoted to the status of a language. In one Arab country, and even in one district, one can come across distinct varieties that are embodied under the generic term of colloquial Arabic, but remain mutually intelligible.

Algeria is a North African country that has attracted several civilizations since its antiquity. The original inhabitants spoke Berber varieties, which are still preservedas existing varieties in some areas, in spite of all the conquerors who attempted to eliminate them. Starting from the Romans, to the French colonization, Algeria exhibited a fierce resistance and maintenance of identity. Nowadays Algerian Arabic, hence forth AA, carries many clues conveying the rich and diverse historical heritage the area has acquired. Its simplest etymological analysis will reveal a cocktail of languages traces like Punic, Berber, Turkish, Spanish and Italian, though to a tiny extent. However, it remains an Arabic descendent variety, serving as an L variety in Ferguson's classical model of diglossia. Due to Islamic conquests starting from the mid-7th century AD, Algeria embraced the Islamic religion and consequently the Arabic-speaking world.

Since independent Algeria, and following the Arabic-speaking countries model, Arabic has been declared constitutionally the 'language of the nation'. In addition to being a symbol of the Algerian identity, it has become the official language for all administrative documents and signs and compulsory in all of the state institutions. No reference has been stated concerning which version of Arabic is to be used as the official language; especially that Arabic is a comprehensive term enclosing the Arabic language and its local sub varieties. Yet, it is axiomatic to deduce that the version concerned with Language Planning and Policy, LPP, is the standard version, or what we refer to as MSA throughout the present work. This evidence stands on the fact that it is the sole ready version of Arabic that has long undertaken the process of standardization and graphisation and that can cover both the oral and the written functions that an official language requires.

All colloquial forms of Arabic used by Algerian speakers are not standardized, and did not pass through LPP activities, contrary to one Berber variety that could finally be erected to the status of an Algerian official and national language for political reasons. The present work, excludes from its scope any interference with Berber varieties, because they do not figure within the studied fieldwork register. Our study is rather concerned with colloquial forms of Arabic referred to as

Algerian Arabic, or AA, for short, throughout the work. The selected dichotomy for studies MSA / AA falls into a diglossic correlation, in which MSA is H and AA is L.

Therefore, the two varieties have defined domains of use, each serving special conventional functions, and any speaker who breaks the conventional rules of code choice is seen as odd. Indeed, MSA is predictably used in education as the language devoted for classroom settings, while friends address each other in AA as a sign of solidarity. However, this rule is often broken, and both teachers and learners switch from H to L, i.e., from MSAto AA. This linguistic behaviour is referred to as 'diglossic switching' throughout the present research work and is our main concern. The adopted approach attempts rather to analyse code-choice mechanisms in the three educational levels as a process and not as a product. In other terms, our concern is not to describe the switches from H to L, answering the question 'what'. It is, however, to answer the question why, unveiling the possible reasons that make pupils switch in a classroom context.

In an attempt to understand pupils' linguistic behaviour and to tackle the issue, the following overall question is raised: Given that the official language of instruction is Standard Arabic in the Algerian school, what explains pupils' code-switching in classroom settings while interacting with their teachers at the three educational levels: primary, middle, and secondary?

In order to facilitate the research work and our investigation of the issue, the following sub-questions are put forward:

1. Which code do pupils choose while interacting with their teachers at the three educational levels?
2. What are their attitudes towards the available codes, MSA and AA, and what generates such attitudes?
3. Do the Algerian LPP intervene in defining the pupils' attitudes towards the available codes in the diglossic context.

To tackle these questions, the following hypotheses are proposed:

1. Pupils switch from MSA to AA in class, but to different extents in relation with their level.
2. Their switch lies in their attitudes towards the two codes which vary according to the pupils' educational stage at school.
3. The language implemented by the Algerian policy in the education system affects the pupils' attitudes towards MSA and AA.

In order to approach the cited-above hypotheses, the present research is handled in four chapters.

The first chapter is devoted to defining the key concepts of the research; it is a literature review about the sociolinguistic approaches with focus on those involved in the research. The chapter also exposes the main concepts of the research, beginning with the macro level, mainly diglossia and language policy to come to micro level sociolinguistic concepts, mainly code switching, and the different approaches studying it. It also displays the history of Arabic that generated several versions of it, and thus the situation of diglossia. Then it highlights the phenomenon of diglossic switching from a theoretical perspective. In one section of this chapter, we will strengthen the theoretical aspect of the work by defining the most important concepts in direct relation with the topic, mainly attitudes. It attempts to display theorists' definitions of these concepts and relate the macro level of sociolinguistics to the micro level.

The second chapter gives a panoramic view of the Algerian linguistic profile by having a glance at the historical events that have led to the actual linguistic diversity. It highlights all the events that contributed to the diversity of the involved languages in the Algerian setting, beginning from the antiquity to main historical beacons, includingArabisation, French colonization and independence. Then, the chapter relates the relevant concepts to the language situation in Algeria before exposing the language policy in relation to the two linguistic codes in question, MSA and AA. Finally, it tackles language practices in today's sociolinguistic situation.

The practical side of the research work begins genuinely in the third chapter in the sense that the sample population profile as well as the locus in question are exposed in it, in addition to the research methodology and the research tools used. Research expectations are defined and the collected data are exposed at the end of this chapter. It also encloses the collected data using the research instruments for each educational level, in an attempt to expose and analyse them in the following chapter.

The data gathered are analyzed in a deeper mannerin the fourth chapter. Interpretation is proposed for each piece of data already exposed in the previous chapter. All certified data are compared and synthesized in order to attain reliableconclusions concerning the educational system in question in relation to the use of Arabic in class.

A set of research instruments is used in order to obtain reliable data. Through examining the linguistic behaviour of the sample population from different angles, objectivity and exactness are approached. Questionnaires, interviews, observation, and fluency test technique are the data collection procedures we exploit in the fieldwork. These data collection procedures are used at the three educational levels; primary, middle and secondary schools.

A stratified sample population of 150 pupils is questioned in the data collection phase using the questionnaire. It includes, 53 pupils schooled in primary school, 49 in middle school, and 48 pupils in secondary school. The questionnaire is a tool used to collect profile data in addition to elicit pupils' awareness and attitudes towards the available codes.

Twenty-nine teachers accepted to be interviewed within the three educational levels. 10 female teachers teaching in primary school, with a teaching experience that ranges from 1 to 10 years. For the middle school, only four females were interviewed, with a teaching experience ranging from 15 to 24. As far as secondary school is concerned, 15 teachers accepted to be interviewed by the researcher their teaching experience ranges from 5 months to 30 years. The interview is not a

principal research tool but rather a subordinate one, assisting the researcher to elicit more data and approach the genuine linguistic situation within the three educational levels. Being in permanent contact with pupils, teachers can provide more exact observations seen from their standpoint.

During classroom observations in the three educational stages, the teachers felt disturbed and embarrassed, especially in the middle school and secondary school. For the primary school settings, however, the observers' paradox was acceptable. The learners were excited to receive a guest and did their best to participate more in order to give a good impression to the observer. Yet, this excitement did not affect much their code choice if one compares it to their linguistic behavior in the sessions where they received the questionnaire or the fluency tests. On the other hand, other solutions to obtain more reliable results are proposed to overcome the observer's paradox encountered in middle and secondary schools like asking some teachers to lend a hand. They are asked to record a video of themselves teaching in class in order to track their pupils' linguistic behaviour as realistically as possible.

A test is administered to the pupils in order to verify their fluency in MSA. It is used as a diagnostic tool to know their ability to communicate effectively using only the standard form. Most of the test questions were designed to test the pupils' fluency and to elicit some of their language attitudes through asking direct questions about Arabic. The fact of raising this topic of discussion will put them in an atmosphere of MSA and encourage them to use it during the test. Fifty students in each educational level are tested by the researcher, which gives the sum of 150 pupils to be tested.

During the fieldwork many difficulties have been encountered because of the fact that the researcher is not in direct contact with the sample population, and accessing the three educational levels requires an authorization from the part of the responsible administration. The problem is that obtaining such an authorization requires the researcher to finish collecting data in one week, in the three educational levels, and is asked not to take from the time of the teachers when doing their job,

and avoid any access to the three establishments during the period of tests or exams. These restrictions have really constrained the advancement of research, and the only practical solution found is to access data in an informal method. This could not be performed without the help of the schools stuffs. They gave the friendly permission to interact with the pupils, and teachers using questionnaire and interview, respectively. Then, they have permitted the researcher to attend some sessions for onsite observation, then to apply fluency test for each of 150 pupils, which was really time consuming and effort demanding.

Another challenge encountered in the research is the dynamic nature of the educational system, in the sense that language planning and policies are changing constantly. Decision makers are permanently modifying teaching methods, and updating policies. Since attaining the research finals is time demanding, especially with the administrative constraints, which made data access sometimes impossible, accomplishing the research was a challenging task to fulfill. Besides, the end of the research period witnessed some hindering events, like a long-term national popular movement as well as the pandemic of Covid 19, which together paralyzed the educational system for nearly three academic years. Mainly during the pandemic, direct access to data was quite impossible since the educational system moved to particular practices to ensure a social distance to limit its outcomes.

Chapter 1

From Macro- to Micro-Sociolinguistics:

Key Concepts

Chapter 1. From Macro to Micro Sociolinguistic: Key Concepts

1.1. Introduction

Any scientific research work will fall apart if it does not stand on previous findings in the field of research. The present chapter covers the theoretical frame of the research work. It exposes the different sociolinguistic key-concepts needed for the research. After exposing the broad sociolinguistic approaches, the key concepts are drawn moving from a macro- to a micro-level ~~of~~ analysis. We will define language policy, and attitudes before tackling the situation of diglossia. At a narrower scale, we will test this linguistic phenomenon in action within the Arabic language. We will expose code-switching approaches for a better understanding of diglossic switching.

1.2.   Sociolinguistics and its Approaches

Till the beginning of the sixties of the 20thcentury, the field of sociolinguistics was not a discipline standing on its own, but rather a set of scattered concepts shared among other fields like dialectology, linguistics and sociology. With the introduction of the seminal works of the American sociolinguist, William, Labov, starting in 1963, followed by the equivalent British school founded by Peter Trudgill, the empirical framework of the field of sociolinguistics was established. The term sociolinguistics was introduced as a hybrid field combining linguistics and sociology. Yet, it remains distinct from the field of sociology of language. Though these two fields are often used interchangeably, and, their scopes are overlapping, each could set boundaries of its concepts and research methodologies, and then, stand on its own.

As far as the field of sociolinguistics is concerned, as its name implies, it concerns how language is used in society. In Coulmas terms, it is the study of choice and its principal task is "to uncover, describe, and interpret the socially motivated choices an individual makes." (2013: 11). In other terms, it considers how social factors, such as gender, age, ethnicity, job, etc. affect a speaker's language choice. In parallel, sociology of language is concerned with society and how it is affected by language, mainly large-scale speech communities like nations,

states, or regions. It includes "not only language usage per se, but also language attitudes and overt behaviors towards language and towards language users", as Fishman (1972: 336) puts it. Fishman (1972:29) has introduced the terms micro and macro sociolinguistics to refer to them, respectively. Wardhaugh (2006:13) explains that 'macro' is the sociology of language and 'micro' is sociolinguistics in a narrow sense.

Hudson (1996:5) claims that macro-sociolinguistics studies 'the effect of language on society', what societies and groups do with their language which has led to the emergence of various studies including language policy, language shift and maintenance, language and identity, language attitudes and more... It also explores large-scale linguistic phenomena like bilingualism, multilingualism, and diglossia. On the other hand, micro-sociolinguistics, or sociolinguistics proper, as referred to by some scholars, studies language processesin small social groups, and how society influences a speaker's idiolect, that is the type of language he uses to communicate with the others in a special context. In fishman's terms (1972a), it is concerned with 'who speaks what language to whom and when?' An example of its concern is the studies of code choice. The concepts defined below are exposed from a macro-and micro perspective to clarify the terms in relation to the present research work.

1.3. Language Policy and Planning

Language is part and parcel of the process that leads to attaining national unity and to enforcing national sovereignty. Therefore, a whole branch has been concerned with problems related to language and politics. It attempts to adopt scientific approaches to tackle macro-sociolinguistic issues such as language policy and planning.

1.3.1. Language Policy and Planning Defined

Policy makers are responsible for taking appropriate decisions concerning language choice and functions. This task is referred to as language planning, though

one might come across a diversity of terms in the literature: language policy (LPP henceforth), language engineering, language development, language management, language treatment or glottopolitics (Rahman 1999:235). In spite of this diversity, these terms all refer to

> …the systematic manipulation of language in pursuance of certain state or society-driven goals. Since these goals are also political – concerned with the distribution of power in a society – LP is related to politics and governance.

Hence, LPP is goal-bound; no LPP occurs without a definition and explicit future objective to achieve. In an organized set of decisions, decision makers aim at attaining national unity or improving communication and education (Trudgill 1992) through giving prominence to speakers of a privileged language or excluding a minority group. Therefore, one might deduce that LPP components are, as cited by Christian (1988:193),

- Intervention in events to influence language future use.
- Explicitness in decisions, which are pro-active rather than reactive.
- Goal oriented: towards a definite goal.
- Systematic: A careful analysis of the present situation and defining what to do in a sequence of activities.
- Choice among alternatives: choice of a language among many because of the belief that 'one language as an official unifies a nation' (idem). We speak of LPP when there is more than one language in the speech community.
- Institutionalization, which is any effort to handle a variety in specialised bodies, often sponsored by the state or specialised organisations.

The term 'Language Planning' was first introduced by Weinreich (1953), though it is also believed that Haugen (1959) used it as well. Some theorists, however, preferred to substitute it by a more neutral term, 'Language Policy' (Spolsky, 1998).

Cooper (1989:95) offers us a more precise definition of the term, alluding to the set of activities necessary to perform in the LPP frame: "LP refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure,

or functional allocation of their language codes." What is meant by 'efforts' includes the procedures performed by policy makers to develop a language and to implement it for specific functions. These three actions refer, respectively, to status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning.

1.3.2. Activities of Language Policy

Language policy appears in a set of decisions and procedures in order to reach an explicit goal. Theorists of the field agree on defining three dimensions of LPP, which are exposed below.

1.3.2.1. Status Planning

As its name implies, status planning refers to the decisions taken by policy makers, usually the powerful, as the assignment of a given language. In Gorman's terms (1973:73)[1], status planning is regarded as the, "…authoritative decisions to maintain, extend or restrict the range of uses (functional range) of a language in particular settings."

Language planning draws on decisions taken by politicians concerning 'language allocation', i.e., any official privilege offered to a language variety or varieties. This language often has a moral, religious or an economic value which makes it, in Fishman's terms, 'the beloved language' (1997:330). It can be reinforced as an official language or a national language through extending its functions over the remaining indigenous varieties. Rahman (1999) describes this imposition as 'linguistic imperialism', or rather 'cultural imperialism', in which one language is made 'prestigious' and its speakers 'the élite'. On the other hand, restricted varieties become marginalized and this may lead to their death.

Therefore, status planning is a purely political issue undertaken by policy makers and does not reflect any inferiority or superiority in the linguistic code *per se*. It deals with language as a static object. This explains the terminology in

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[1]Quoted in Rahman (1999:237)

Hamers and Blanc (2000) who call it 'external planning', as opposed to 'internal planning' which deals with the internal structure of the language. It attempts to describe it and even modify it. This task is referred to as 'Corpus planning'.

1.3.2.2. Corpus Planning

A language cannot serve the functions that it has been assigned to if it is not prepared internally. This activity can only be accomplished with the linguists' intervention; they manage to decide upon 'appropriate' forms of the language and define its structures. It is their task to make a language written and take care of its spelling. They manage to provide documentation in the chosen language. This task is often accomplished by official specialized academies though part of the task can be handled by learned men.

Corpus planning is of prime importance in any language planning process, so that some theorists have emphasized it in defining LPP. Haugen[2] (1959:8) defines LPP as, "The activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in non-homogeneous speech community." Haugen shows how the activity of corpus planning is important before the implementation phase. Basically, he describes the phases making up corpus planning which begins with graphization or regraphization to provide a written form for the language. It, then, passes through standardization, modernisation and renovation.

Since the graphic system is important in any written language, linguists manage to select a vehicle by which they graphicize the language. Their choice often falls on an ancient script in order to emphasize the authenticity of the language. They may also prefer to use the Roman script for westernisation or to suit modern technology, mainly computing. The written system of a language may even be regraphicised for purely political reasons, since language is a political symbol. An illustrative example is the case of Russian which moved from the Roman script to

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[2] Quoted in Rahman (1999: 235).

the Cyrillic to reinforce Russian identity and to move away from European links. Another famous example is the Turkish substitution of the Arabic script by the Roman script in order to break the links with the Ottoman identity and to be clustered to Europe and the Western world.

Standardization is a procedure which makes a linguistic variety, often the *élite's* mother tongue become a standard language. It defines one conventional form of pronunciation, spelling, vocabulary and grammar to cite in specialized books and dictionaries. Linguists attempt to control concepts and define vocabulary meanings. If they do not find expressive terminology for new concepts they move on to modernisation.

Modernisation refers to any effort to coin terminology for technical use in a 'creative' way, in order to enable language users to speak and write about technical topics, mainly academic and scientific domains. This process is labelled 'intellectualisation' by Trudgill (1992:40). Linguists can rely on borrowing morphemes or whole words or on coining or compounding elements from the language that is being modernised. However, this choice is not made off-hand. It reflects a whole ideology and conception of identity.

Borrowing ready-made terminology from other languages or morphemes economises much efforts, especially for the reason that scientific fields are advancing day after day leaving no time for linguists to invent their own terminology. Another argument held by those relying on borrowing is that the majority of languages especially those associated with science, like English, have borrowed from Latin or Greek. Thus, they see no harm in following the same path of the worlds' languages by borrowing from other languages. Yet, many politicians, insisting on identity and viewing 'language' and nation' as synonymous, reject any attempts to borrow from other languages. They conceive borrowing as outrageous to the language of their nation, i.e., they interpret borrowing as a weakness which might mean that their language is inferior and primitive. Therefore, they stress

relying on their own languages in modernization and often sponsor specialized bodies to do the task.

In Israel, for instance, all modern concepts are coined by the Hebrew Academy on the basis of Hebrew origin morphemes or at least of a Semitic origin. Similarly, renovation reflects political concerns and stresses national identity. It may include the level of language form like re-graphisation and spelling as it may reach the level of vocabulary and semantics. American English renovation of spelling and even grammar and vocabulary and its distinction from British English reflects an act of identity. Another illustration of renovation is the French trend of Anti-'Franglais', in which its leaders oppose the use of words from English and prefer French words origin.

Thus, a language should be prepared in order to be appropriate for technical and scientific use before any implementation. However, it can be modified to suit it better after being in use in schools and universities. Education, the media and legislation might lend a hand in this mission, mainly in innovating new terms or popularizing a new linguistic form. Hence, the activity of acquisition planning interacts with corpus planning as it has to do with status planning. The next section attempts to define it and show this relation.

1.3.2.3. Acquisition Planning

This term describes all efforts made by the ruling elite in order to spread the use of a language or set of languages in a speech community. Thus, acquisition planning, or 'Language Education Policy', as named by many theorists, is promoted by politicians. They draw their decisions relying not on purely linguistic grounds, but on other theories, mainly politics, economics, sociology, social psychology and education.

The question of planning, being strongly tied with political decisions, has long been associated with status planning by many theorists among whom Fishman and Trudgill can be cited. The latter, for instance, chooses to split LPP into two

activities instead of three; Status planning and Corpus planning (1992:47). In the same line of thought, Wardhaugh (2006) includes functions assigned to a given language as well as language rights in education under his definition of status planning.

The term language acquisition planning was set by the linguist Cooper (1989) as a separate activity beside status and corpus planning. This distribution is made on the basis that its approach is more 'practical' and its decisions are rather 'tangible'. Christian (1988:200) adds further, to clarify this point, that it is "the plan put into action" and calls it 'the implementation phase'.

All in all, language acquisition planning encompasses all attempts to "increase the number of speakers of a language at the expense of another language (or languages)" (Nahir, 1984:365)[3]. These attempts may be in the form of government formulas, laws to specify the use of a language in specific domains. Spolsky (2004) enumerates the possible domains for acquisition planning; the workplace, religious organizations, the media, and especially education.

Workplaces include military groups, business firms and commerce interactions. A government may impose a language in all work interactions. Its speakers can have subsides while sanctions are given to those who avoid it.

Religion has long been language-tied. Many religions insist on keeping the original version of the sacred text and consider it as untranslatable, as in the case of the Qur'an, the sacred book of Muslims. They may use a variety that is different from their everyday interactions and associate it with religious practices. They consider it as 'superior' 'clean' and 'pure' in comparison to all languages. Suitable examples of this case are Islam and Judaism.

The media, too, play a role in LPP, especially news broadcasting. The majority of TV channels launch news in one imposed language and they never do it in the

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[3]in Rahman (1999: 236).

vernacular. The majority of newspapers in the world are written in the standard, often in a defined-in-law language.

Education is paramount in LPP so that acquisition planning is named after it. Hoffmann (1991:214) points out that education is one of the most important domains in acquisition planning stating: "the education system is by far the most important tool for implementing a government's language planning policy." In the same vein, Spolsky (2004) agrees that choosing the language to use as a medium of instruction and deciding on the foreign languages to be taught in school are part of the scope of LPP, "…since it is the school that […] wins the hearts and minds of the next generations" (Bell, 1976:176).

Therefore, children in schools are taught in one unified variety, always a written language. They are seldom taught in their mother tongue. As soon as they start schooling, they are faced with a new language. This may affect their schooling achievements negatively (Romaine 2000). A solution proposed by the British colonial education system is to use the child's mother tongue as a variety for school instructions in the first few years. Yet, it made educationists caught between the horns of dilemma of which variety to choose and when to stop using the mother tongue. So, the French and Portuguese education colonial models still insist on the use of the standard from the first day of schooling.

Thus, LPP is assigning a language to a defined set of domains often formal ones, and leaving vernaculars for less formal use. This distinction of functions in a speech community, often, stands on purely non-linguistic factors, but rather political ones. Based on purely non-linguistic motives, one variety is assigned a higher status, then more prestige within the speech community over the remaining language varieties. These activities affect automatically the social attitudes towards the available language varieties either positively or negatively.

1.4. Language Attitudes

Attitude represents one of the effective variables that may affect human behaviour. It was originally a concept in social psychology that has been associated with language and adopted as a key concept in macro sociolinguistics. Crystal, D. (2008:266) defines it simply as "The feelings people have about their own language(s) or the languages of others". Crystal emphasises the effective component that composes attitudes to the extent that he has restricted their definition to it. Yet, Baker (1995:12) dissected the concept of attitudes into three components; in addition to feelings, he states the cognitive components, which represent beliefs, in addition to action one takes towards a given language.

Language attitudes investigations were pioneered by the Canadian psychologist Wallace Lambert in 1960 who used an innovative method he named 'The Matched Guise Technique' to elicit people's attitudes towards languages. This technique consolidates a method of investigation that relies on the indirect inquiry rather than a direct one. Instead of asking the informants direct questions about their attitudes, it presents a sole language material to them in the form of two guises, inquiring them about their conception of each guise. This revolutionary method could serve research in the field of human sciences and has permitted researchers to deepen into the human psyche and unveil their cognitive perception of languages.

Labov's works have not only been the foundation stone of the field of sociolinguistics, but also the turning point in the studies of language attitudes. His unveiling of the notion of prestige associated with language, has permitted language attitudes studies adopt a more cognitive approach, rather than a behavioural one. In other terms, understanding the process the human mind undertakes became more interesting for research than focussing on 'the product' of language attitudes, by describing informants' behaviour. Analysing behaviours to explore the human cognitive processes is of high importance in order to extract useful conclusions, which can be exploited in favour of other studies like LPP, education and language learning.

In the same vein, Ryan and Giles (1982) claim that language attitudes relate to its situation, and thus, depend on whether the language in question is standardized or not, the number of its speakers within a speech community and the status it has been promoted. Therefore, changing language attitudes is feasible via changing the language status, augmenting or reducing the number of its speakers, and expanding or restricting its use. For instance, the standard variety tends to be allotted a higher status, often the status of an official language, and thus it receives positive attitudes, contrary to dialects which are reserved for everyday relaxed interactions and are often allotted some negative attitudes. These language varieties, be they languages or dialects, when functioning within one speech community, are described to be in a diglossic situation, and this linguistic situation is named *Diglossia*.

1.5 Diglossia

The term 'diglossia' is used to classify communication situations in societies that make complementary use of two languages or language varieties. These exist side by side throughout the speech community, each being "assigned a defined social function" (Trudgill, 2000:113). This linguistic situation was first tackled by the German linguist Krumbacher (1902) in his study about the origin, nature and development in Arabic and Greek linguistics (Zughoul, 2004). The term 'diglossie' was later used by the French linguist William Marçais (1930-31) to describe the "competition between a highly codified language and its widely spoken variety used in everyday conversation." (Ennaji and Sadiki 1994:83). But according to Dendane (2007:98-99), it was Marçais

> who made a first attempt to describe this particular type of linguistic dichotomy in the Arabic language by using the term *diglossie* to account for the two contrasting aspects of the language, though he did not mention explicitly the specialized functions of each when he said:

La langue arabe se présente à nous sur deux aspects sensiblement différents : 1) une langue littéraire… 2) des idiomes parlés… . (W. Marçais 1930:401).[4]

It is only a few decades later that the theory of diglossia was developed and soundly studied. The seminal work of the American linguist Ferguson, published in the journal *Word* 1959, is a turning point in the systematization and characterization of languages and/or language varieties co-existing in the same community, as reviewed in the next section.

1.5.1 Classical Diglossia

Ferguson (1959) re-introduced the term 'diglossia' to describe four linguistic situations, namely, Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German and Haitian Creole. He considers diglossia as

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

Ferguson (1959:245)

This definition, often quoted in the literature about diglossia, is a comprehensive description of the linguistic situation in a given speech community where one language variety is High, i.e., it has a high prestige and the second is Low and assigned lower prestige. 'H' or the 'High Variety' is a superposed standard variety which often has a literary heritage and is reserved for formal use. It is never used in informal interaction, contrary to 'L', the Low variety, which is often an unwritten dialect used in ordinary conversation.

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[4]My translation of the French text: "The Arabic language presents itself to us in two noticeably different aspects: 1) a literary language… 2) spoken idioms…].

Ferguson's theory is multidimensional in the sense that it considers a diversity of criteria. It compares high and low in terms of linguistic and social characteristics: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, as well as grammar, lexicon and phonology (Romaine: 2000).

Function refers to the use of one language variety in a given social situation and not the other. Ferguson (1959)[5]views: it as, "...one of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function." He exemplifies the use of *al-Fusha*, the H variety for Arabic, in sermons in mosque, opposed to L, *al'aammiya,* which is never used instead of H, and is spoken among friends, colleagues and family. This association with formality and informality affects social attitudes towards H and L.

Prestige is overt for H because of its literary heritage. It is more highly valued than L and it is "... thought of as being in some sense, a more correct or purer version of the language itself." (Lyons, 1981:285). On the other hand, L is underestimated and often negatively valued. It is "...felt to be less worthy, corrupt, 'broken', vulgar, undignified, etc." (Schiffman, 1997: 207).

H gained a positive attitude due to the importance assigned to its literary heritage, especially if it represents a sacred text or an antique written literature. Most written literature is in H while folk literature is the only literary production in L. It is often underrated and associated with servants or children.

The only possible acquired language as a mother tongue by children is L; "no one acquires H as a mother tongue; H is learned through school". (Hudson, 1996: 50). H learning is similar to second language learning as the child learns the four skills at school. H should be a written language in order to be used in schools. It should be codified in books and well defined in dictionaries. In other words, H, being a standard language, it is preserved and stable.

Stability is another feature used by Ferguson to describe diglossia. It lasts for centuries with clear-cut and complementary functions for all of H and L,

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[5]in Giglioli 1973:236).

particularly in the case of Arabic. However, there might be instances showing the overlap of the two varieties. Due to the spread of literacy, intellectuals may switch to H while using L, especially those educated in H and those using it all daylong in their workplace. Ferguson illustrates this phenomenon by the appearance of *'Greek mikti'*, *'Arabic Allugha- alwusta'* and *'Haitian Creole de Salon'*.

In addition to social differences, H and L display linguistic contrast at the level of grammar, lexicon, and phonology. H grammar is often more complex than L with more complex tense system and syntax. The lexicon in diglossia is characterized by duality, i.e. two signifiers for one sign, in De Saussurean terms. To clarify the idea, here is an example in Arabic, Algerian children call 'electricity' /kahrabaʔ/ at school and /ᵊđđaw/ outside. Although, there might be a shared lexicon between H and L, it is often pronounced differently. The phonologies of H and L in Arabic are somewhat different; there might be sounds present in H and not L and vice versa. An illustrative example from Arabic is the phoneme /q/ pronounced as a voiced velar plosive [g] in a number of rural or Bedouin Arabic dialects. The plosive [p] is not part of the Standard Arabic phoneme inventory but is used in Maghrebi dialects in words borrowed from French.

Thus, what makes Ferguson's theory a milestone in the field of sociolinguistics is that he provided the concept with the above cited formulas. It has gained the attention of many theorists who have attempted to extend it over other sociolinguistic situations. In this respect, references should be made to the work of Fishman (1967) and that of Gumperz (1964), who have attempted to reintroduce the concept in a new vision. The modified version of diglossia is referred to as 'extended diglossia'.

1.5.2 Extended Diglossia

Joos (1961) shows stylistic variation ranging from the frozen style to the intimate relaxed one in his book *The Five Clocks*. He shows syntactic and lexical variation as well as functional roles of each. Many linguists include even stylistic variation in the theory of diglossia, calling them 'functional dialects' (Haugen,

2003:417). This situation is described in a more exact term by Haugen[6] (1962) as, *'Schizoglossia'*.

Without using the term 'diglossia', Gumperz (1964) and Sjoberg (1964) extended the concept to describe all linguistic situations where two or more varieties are used under distinct circumstances. This is found almost in all societies, including France and Britain. They both argue that the language used at school and the variety spoken in family interaction in France are so contrastive that they sound like two different varieties. Hudson (2022:20) refers to this implicit explanation of diglossia in the following terms:

> While neither Gumperz nor Sjoberg explicitly mentions diglossia as such, their social descriptions of ''intermediate'' and ''preindustrialized civilized'' societies, and their corresponding verbal repertoires, bear more than a passing resemblance to many cases of diglossia up to recent times.

Fishman (1967), however,has become famous for extendingthe notion 'diglossia' to cover instances where H and L are genetically unrelated. He refers to Paraguay, where Spanish, a language of Latin origin brought by the conquistadors in the 16th C, occupies H functions, while Guarani, an indigenous American Indian language, plays the role of L (Hudson 1996:50). Thus, the distribution-of-functions feature and complementary distribution which characterize classic diglossia also fit situations where two genetically unrelated languages co-exist.

As a matter of fact, diglossia has become a concept moulded into a diversity of linguistic situations. Theorists propose terminology to distinguish different definitions. Myers-Scotton (1986), for instance, labels Fishman's concept as 'Diglossia Extended' to differentiate it from 'Narrow Diglossia'. Kloss (1966:38), for his part, terms the former as 'out-diglossia' in contrast with the latter 'in-diglossia'.

This terminological variation and concept extension paved the way to the elaboration of more complex definitions. Abdulaziz (1978) uses the term 'triglossia'

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[6]Quoted in Haugen (2003 :419).

to name situations where there are three varieties in practice: one H and another L and a third that is 'higher' than H and is devoted to special functions, often more formal situations. Romaine (2000) exemplified this situation by Tunisia, where L is dialectal Arabic and the H varieties are MSA and French. This term led Platt (1977) to the consideration of situations where there are more than three varieties. It is named 'polyglossia'; one H and several L varieties are present. Muller and Ball (2005:61) give the example of Malaysia. Fasold (1984:44-50) lists a narrower terminology to describe more complex situations such as 'double overlapping diglossia', 'double nested diglossia' and 'linear polydiglossia' as types of multiple language polyglossia. This terminology is not to be developed in the present work since it does not serve our objectives. Citing it is just to show the degree of heterogeneity of the concept of diglossia in the literature. Yet, many theorists prefer to rely on the classical definition of diglossia. Their argument is that Fishman's (year) theoretical framework as well as Fasold's (year) make diglossia become "…an aspect of essentially all language situations and then no longer refers to a type of language situations." (Huebner, 1996:19).

However, one cannot deny that classical diglossic situations are becoming less frequent in the world. The argument here is that in the original definition by Ferguson (1959), H and L are in 'complementary distribution', i.e., H is never used in an informal context such as family interaction and L should never be used in a formal situation like a university lecture or a President's speech. Intellectuals may use H in their everyday interaction because of the spread of literacy manifesting a form of language which has been named as 'Middle Variety' by Ferguson (1991). On the other hand, dialect awareness raised in the world by minorities results in the acceptance of switching from H to L to express solidarity or simply to be understood.

Arabic, among the four cases described by Ferguson in the original definition of the concept of diglossia (1959),is classified as a two-level language with a High variety and a Low one. *Al fusha* stands for the H variety, while *El'aammiya* is the common term for L. They are two varieties of the same language but have distinct

functions. There is a general agreement among specialists in the field of language studies that Arabic embodies the most complex situation but the most representative of classical diglossia among the remaining language situations studied by Ferguson, which makes it a fertile domain for investigation. Other approaches to Arabic will be exposed below for better understanding of its linguistic situation.

1.5.3 Diglossia and the Arabic Language

Several linguists have offered to diagnose Arabic and have gone beyond a two-level classification of this language. It has been seen from different perspectives in different works, beginning from Ferguson(1959) to later works such as Blanc (1960), El-Hassan(1977), Meiseles (1980), and Badawi(1973)[7], in addition to many other researchers, all agreeing on characterising the Arabic varieties in three or more levels. El Hassan (1977), for instance, has split the Arabic language into three varieties: MSA, ESA for Educated Spoken Arabic, and colloquial Arabic. MSA is the language used in education and in news reporting, while colloquial Arabic is reserved for more relaxed everyday settings. The definitions of these two varieties remain in the frame of diglossia in the sense that each variety has a special domain for use. He adds the notion of ESA to describe cases of speakers mixing MSA and colloquial Arabic in specific contexts, , clarifying that '...these varieties of Arabic are neither discrete, nor homogeneous; rather they are characterized by graduation and variation' (1978: 32). In other terms, he highlights the importance of the settings and the speaker's background in characterising Arabic varieties. The innovative point for this theory is the introduction of the idea of continuum within the Arabic language varieties instead of breaking it into independent isles like Ferguson did in his diglossic classification.

In a similar line of thoughts, and in an attempt to show how the linguistic system of Modern Arabic works, Badawi, an Egyptian linguist of the American University of Cairo, has offered us the diagram in Figure 1 to characterise Arabic in

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[7]Quoted in Benali, Mohamed.(1993: 4).

Egypt. This diagram may be applicable not only to the situation it has been described for, but also to the entire Arab world, including Algeria.


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Figure 1                              a           e           b
fuṣḥā al-turāth                                                        fuṣḥā

fuṣḥā al-ᶜaṣr
                                                                      ᶜāmmiyya
ᶜāmmiyyat al-muthaqqafiin

ᶜāmmiyyat al-mutanawwiriin                                            dakhiil

ᶜāmmiyyat al-'ummiyyiin

                                      c           f           d

     fuṣḥā = more eloquent = classical
     ᶜāmmiyya = general speech = colloquial
     dakhiil = foreign elements
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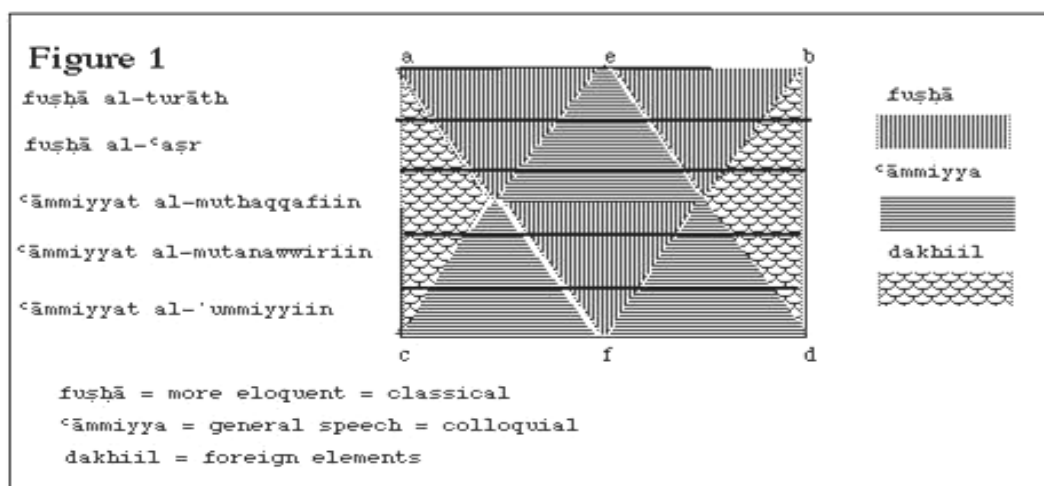
Figure1.1: Badawi's Diagram "Levels of Egyptian Arabic"[8]

Freeman, A. (1996) has translated into English the names of the five levels, from top to bottom as follows: 'the Classical Language of Tradition, the Modern Classical Language, the Colloquial of the Educated, the Colloquial of the Enlightened and the Colloquial of the Illiterate.' He explains that in this five-level model every level includes mixing from all the other elements of the system. The first one refers to the variety of the Qur'an. The second refers to MSA as used in formal domains, for example by news announcers. The third refers to the middle variety, used by the educated elite and sharing many elements with MSA. The fourth variety contains very few elements from MSA while the fifth contains 'pure' colloquial forms.

Contrary to Ferguson's traditional H / L model, in this model, in Meiseles' terms (1980:121), "we cannot say where one variety stops and the other begins". It is different from Ferguson's description of diglossia which states that the two forms are in complementary distribution. In this picture we can see that even the speech of the illiterate contains elements of the High variety (*fuṣḥā*). Badawi's model also takes into consideration what is termed as '*eddakhil*', i.e., borrowings which are

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[8]Retrieved in www-personal.umich.edu/~andyf/index.html

often neglected in other studies. The amount of borrowings increases in MSA in comparison with CA. these borrowings often result of the contact of Arabic with other languages, mainly during colonisation. Any mixing of Arabic with other genetically unrelated languages falls into the scope of a micro sociolinguistic phenomenon which is codeswitching.

1.6 Codeswitching

Codeswitching (henceforth CS) is one of the language contact phenomena that many theorists have attempted to define, viewing it from different angles.

1.6.1 Defining Codeswitching

A diversity in the terminology has been used to refer to CS, in particular code mixing and alternation of codes. CS was first introduced by Gumperz (1964) for switching with a discourse function, but, as Clyne (2003:70) says, "...over time it was employed increasingly for any kind of switching irrespective of its functions." This has raised a discussion among theorists attempting to give it a watertight definition. Some view CS as restricted to mixing two languages while others have included under its concern even style shifting.

The present work takes CS simply as "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:1). In other words, it takes CS as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems."(Gumperz, 1982:59). In these two views, CS is used as an umbrella term to cover alternation between two languages or two dialects of the same language. Thus, relying on this extension, the concept might be re-extended to embody even those switches present in diglossia; from H to L and vice versa since H and L differ in their grammatical systems.

The terminology about CS reached the dilemma of differentiating it from 'borrowing', using a diversity of approaches and models. After all, as Eastman

(1992:1)[9] advocates, "efforts to distinguish codeswitching, code mixing and borrowing are doomed". Eastman proposes to neglect the distinction between CS and borrowing because it is sometimes useless. Our work, for instance, does not need stressing such a distinction because any borrowing from L to H is cited in specialised books and dictionaries. Thus, if a speaker uses L where s/he should use H, it is usually a CS rather than a borrowing.

CS is used by all speakers, either as bilinguals or monolinguals in style shifting. Yet, it has long been a stigmatized form in conversation (Boztepe: 2008). It has been associated with semi-lingualism; code switchers lack mastery of both codes. It was the source of inspiration of the deficit hypothesis in USA and Britain. However, recent research has shown that these views are misleading. New dimensions have been taken when dealing with CS. It is sometimes used, according to De Kleik (2006: 602), as a tool "…to examine the relative linguistic abilities of the interlocutors ''. Similarly, Chung (2006) supports CS claiming that it serves as an important communicative strategy. CS, according to Ayemoni (2006: 91), may reveal: "…group identity, poetic creativity and expression of modernization".

Hence, attitudes towards CS in general, and CS studies in particular, have changed to the extent of becoming a 'multidimentional interdisciplinary' field. Woon Yee Ho, J. (2007 : 21) clarifies what could CS studies bring to language related fields, alluding to the approaches tackling CS :

> Studies of CS enhance our understanding of the nature, processes, and constraints of language use and individual values, communicative strategies, language attitudes and functions within particular socio-cultural contexts.

CS is approached as a product, as a process and as a social phenomenon. These are the three dimensions most agreed on among theorists: the structural, the psycholinguistic and the sociolinguistic approaches, which will be considered below.

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[9] (Quoted in Boztepe (2008 : 8).

1.6.2 Approaches to Codeswitching

CS has been the centre of interest of many theories from different fields. These theories are exposed in the following three sections.

1.6.2.1 Structural Perspective on Codeswitching

This approach attempts to answer questions that begin with the word 'what', taking CS as a product (Müller and Ball : 2005). Its concern is to answer the question: 'How does a speaker code switch?', i.e., it attempts to describe grammatical aspects inswitching codes. It takes CS as a rule-governed composition, respecting a set of syntactic and morpho-syntactic constraints. The most famous theorists who have adopted this approach, cited in almost all the literature about CS, are Poplack and Myers-Scotton, in addition to some generativists.

Poplack's 'linear order constraint' (1980) is one of the most influential works on CS. She puts the first proposition of her theory in her famous article: *'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en español'*. It studied English/Spanish bilinguals. Her theory encompasses two constraints: the 'equivalence constraint' and the 'free morpheme constraint'. The first is defined as a mechanism in which switching may occur at points in discourse around which the surface structure of the two codes "map onto each other" (Poplack, 1980: 586). It does not violate the syntactic rules of both codes.

This constraint was opposed by many theorists giving counter examples from many cases like English and Japanese switching, being distant in terms of structure. She defines her second constraint in these words: "Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme" (1980:585). She means that it prohibits switches between a lexical item and a bound morpheme. This constraint theory was supported by most theorists, though few violations of this rule were cited in some cases in the world.

A variety of other studies relied on Chomsky's generative theory in CS, focussing on phrase structure as the source of constraints. In this respect, 'the Government and Biding framework' came to prohibit any switching between V and its NP, i.e., between verb and object. However, Romaine (2005) gives counter examples from Punjabi /English data.

Opposing the generative model and relying on a more psycholinguistic speech production theory, Myers-Scotton (1993a) puts forward her 'Matrix Language Frame Model', MLF for short. She worked on a Swahili /English corpus to develop her theory on intra-sentential CS. Since its first proposal in Myers-Scotten (1993a), after a set of modifications, MLF became a referential work in CS studies. Relying on Joshi's principle of asymmetry, she views CS as "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation." (Myers-Scotten 1993b:4).

In her definition of CS, she uses two terms that are part and parcel in the MLF: 'Matrix Language' (ML) and 'Embedded Language' (EL). Grosjean (1988) explains these two terms by labelling the former as the 'Base Language' and the latter as the 'Guest Language'. Myers-Scotton (1997:221) explains her theory, splitting MLF into three constituents:

1) Mixed constituents, contain content morphemes from both the ML and the EL but have a grammatical frame from the ML.

2) ML islands, too, have an ML grammatical frame but all morphemes come from the ML.

3) EL islands are morphemes coming from EL and framed by its grammar.

The structural approach to CS brought so much to the field. It could set a diversity of notions and describe different types of CS as a product. It could draw the difference between intrasentential CS and intersentential CS. The former refers

to "switches occurring at the lexical level within a sentence' (Hoffman, 1991: 104). It is often referred to as 'code mixing'. It was the concern of most studies conducted by Myers-Scotton. The latter embodies changes over phrases or sentences, including tags and exclamations at either end of the sentence. They are called 'code switches' or 'CS'. Poplack (1980) is much concerned with this type, though CS is used as a more general term to cover both types in the literature.

However, it might not always be easy to recognise CS in adult speech, in contrast with borrowings. The problem was posed even in child language. A proposition was put forward to solve this problem: to check the linguistic storage of the two languages in the speaker's brain. This theory is part of the psycholinguistic approach to CS.

1.6.2.2 Psycholinguistic Perspective on Codeswitching

Early researchers, adopting a psycholinguistic approach, viewed CS as evidence on the bilingual's mental dictionary organisation. Weinreich (1953) classifies three types of bilingualism in relation with the two languages storage in the bilinguals' brain. Coordinate bilingualism in which "…the two language systems are kept distinct", is explained by Bell (1976:120). In compound bilingualism, a single concept has two different labels from each language since they were acquired in two separate contexts. Subordinate bilinguals acquire one language then the second, using the strongest one in interpreting the other.

Similarly, Green (1986) explains the mental switch mechanism, extending his theory on monolinguals' style shifting. He argues that in the process of shifting, the chosen language is activated, i.e., turned 'on'. Simultaneously, the second code is inhibited, i.e. turned 'off' (Heredia and Brown (2008)). This mental switch is responsible for selecting the appropriate mental dictionary for use in production and perception as well. Another research is concerned with the comprehension of CS words, identifying the factors influencing the receiver's understanding. The latter is proved to be fastened if the two languages share a phonological overlap, in comparison with phonologically distinct languages. A more recent research adopts

the 'language dominance' theory which claims that bilinguals retrieve faster code switched words from the 'dominant language'. That is, the mental dictionary which is used most and accessed faster. This research, thus, takes care of both the speaker and the receiver and accounts for the situation in which class interaction occurs. This intersects with another viewpoint about CS; that of sociolinguistics.

1.6.2.3 Sociolinguistic Perspective on Codeswitching

The sociolinguistic study of CS deals with it as a process, i.e., it attempts to answer questions like 'why do bilinguals switch?' (Müller and Ball: 2005). 'Interpretive sociolinguistics', according to Le Page (1997: 31), "… starts from the observation of linguistic behaviour and interprets it in terms of social meaning". It relates language as a product to its social presumed interpretation. The sociolinguistic approach tackles CS at two levels: macro and micro levels. Wardhaugh (2006: 101) shows the difference between the two scales in his definition of CS which, according to him, "can arise from individual choice or be used as a major identity marker for a group of speakers who must deal with more than one language in their common pursuits."

In other words, the macro-level approach explores language choice at community level, while the micro-level analysis of CS deals with it as an interactional phenomenon.

The work of Fishman (1965) is a referential work in macro-level studies of CS. His 'Domain Analysis' framework, describes CS, in relation with the type of activity where it occurs. Inspired by Ferguson's seminal work on diglossia, he puts forward the idea that only one of the available varieties is chosen by a "particular class of interlocutors" on "particular kinds of occasions" to discuss "particular kinds of topics" (Fishman, 1972 : 437). In other words, language choice depends on who takes part in the conversation, the topic and the setting. This reflects his often-quoted questioning on 'who speaks what language, to whom and when?' (1972).

The micro level was adopted by Blom and Gumperz (1972) who introduced situational CS and metaphorical CS. The former describes situations where there is a direct relationship between the social situation and the code choice. The latter occurs with changes in the topic rather than in the social situation. Conversational CS was added to CS terminology to describe functions such as quotations, addressee, specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, and personalisation vs. objectivisation.

Other models were developed out of Blom and Gumperz works. Auer (1988)[10] introduced the Conversation Analysis approach in which he insists on interpreting CS in relation with its sequential environment. The focus is, then, on the individual's choice of code in a special situation as an act of identity.

Gumpez (1982), too, referred to the 'we-code' vs. the 'they-code' to describe the two codes in terms of their function; solidarity for the code used in group relations as opposed to the one used in out-group communication. Code choice occurs in relation with a set of factors. Grosjean (1982: 136) summarises these factors in relation with participants, situation, and content of discourse in addition to function of interaction. Participants would choose a particular code in relation with their language proficiency, language preference and social factors such as age and sex. Their history of linguistic interaction, kinship relation, intimacy, power relation and attitudes towards languages, all define their code choice. The situation depends on the setting, and degree of formality or intimacy. Function interaction can be to raise the status, to create social distance, to exclude someone and to request or command (ibid.)[11]

Macro and micro-level studies are complementary, though they seem to oppose each other. To bridge the gap between the two levels, Myers-Scotton (1993b) puts forward her 'Markedness model' in which she claims that "speakers use making code choices to negotiate interpersonal relationships" (Myers-Scotton,

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[10]Quoted in Boztepe (2008: 18)
[11]Quoted in Boztepe (2008 : 17).

1990 : 58)[12]. She considers CS as a means of defining or refining relations and situations relying on social motivations. Her model involves three maxims for code choice. 'The unmarked choice' is "…often not the language of greater socio-political prestige in the larger community" (Myers-Scotton, 1997: 231).

It is, thus, more associated with solidarity, in-group membership. On the contrary, 'the marked choice' is used to create a social distance. The third maxim is 'the exploratory choice maxim' which applies when there is an ambiguity in norms and role relationships because of a change of situational factors. In her more recent works, Myers-Scotton (2002) attempts to extend her markedness theory, redefining CS as an "Optimal use of the speaker's resources in their linguistic repertoires' (Boztepe.2008: 15), that is speakers switch among the available codes to economise speech, using the least effort and the minimum of language to pass the message across.

Similarly, Milroy (1987) links macro and micro-level in her 'social network theory'. She views CS as a sign of solidarity and group interaction. Speakers tend to switch to the language of the interlocutor, not just to facilitate communication but also to express solidarity in the sense to make them feel part of the same group. Interlocutors, then, may use one code instead of the other to consolidate the feeling that they speak the 'we-code'.

Codeswitching is a pervading phenomenon in the Algerian setting, as will be shown in the next chapters, not only in terms of Arabic diglossic switching, but also with the persistent use of French as a legacy from colonisation.

1.6.2.4 Eclectic Approach to Codeswitching

CS is a cross disciplinary concept. It has been tackled by the structural approach to define its possible grammatical constraints. Gardner and Edwards (2004: 126)[13] make the following comment:"Although syntax plays an important

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[12]Quoted in Le Page (1997 : 30).
[13]Quoted in Namba, (2007 : 75)

role in CS, it cannot be assumed a priori that the constructs of syntacticians are the best means for characterising the processes of performance data such as CS."They assume that syntactic analysis, though important in CS studies, is useless if not linked with other approaches such as psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. These two, in turn, should collaborate "…to develop models of processing and production which can handle codeswitching" (Romaine, 1995: 180).Thus, the three approaches cited above are complementary, in the sense that all of them contribute in building an overall theory of CS. Indeed, combining the various approaches to CS, scholars taking from one another will certainly develop a better understanding of this paramount phenomenon.

Recent work considers different frame works, such as Boztepe (2008:20), which encourages "more ethnographic studies of bilingual classroom interaction". Such studies "are needed", he claims, explaining that they may "link micro level analyses of classroom interaction with broader questions of social reality" (ibid.). The present work attempts to tackle this inquiry, shedding light on diglossic switching in classroom interaction, and relating broader concepts from macro sociolinguistics to narrower concepts like CS. As a matter of fact, Dendane (2007:101) attempts to make that link when he refers to pupils' and students' increasing use of MSA, saying that

> though they use Colloquial Arabic in everyday conversation, there is much evidence that, in a topic discussion, they often switch, almost spontaneously, to MSA, or mix the two varieties, simply because they have no alternative as they lack the necessary lexical items and linguistic structures to express their ideas in the Low variety.

The point will be developed in the following chapters in relation to diglossic switching.

1.5 Conclusion

The present chapter has as an aim to clarify the key concepts essential to tackle the research questions of the research work. It attempts to link the broader concepts of macro sociolinguistics to narrower concepts represented by CS. The

main sociolinguistic concepts are drawn, mainly, LPP, diglossia, codeswitching, and language attitudes. Diglossia is a linguistic situation in which the H variety is given importance over the L variety via LPP decisions, particularly education. One of LPP applications is to decide which code to use in the classroom as a language of instruction. However, the analysis of actual classroom interaction might reveal that participants in communication often deviate from the norm and switch codes. They might use the L variety in their classroom practices. Such a linguistic phenomenon is the nucleus concept of the present research and has to be tackled in a more empirical approach within the next chapters.

Chapter 2

The Linguistic Situation

in Algeria

2.1. Introduction

Though politically often claimed to be existing, monolinguality is quite rare. One cannot take the political and official status as a reference to the actual situation, which is the result of a whole historical heritage. Algeria was a melting pot of several civilizations throughout history. The present chapter exposes its linguistic situation; first horizontally, adopting a historical standpoint; then vertically, spotting light on its present situation, especially in relation with language planning.

2.2. Historical Landmarks

Algeria has been a scene of linguistic diversity since its antiquity by virtue of the fact that it had been a centre of attraction to different conquerors throughout history. Yet, not all of these conquerors have let traces in the Algerian linguistic register. Many went unnoticed, while some, mainly Arabs and French, became referential in its history.

2.2.1. Algeria in the Antiquity

As of highest antiquity (two thousand-year-old), Algeria was the cradle of a Berber civilization. There is a general agreement among historians that the original inhabitants of the country were the the A*mazigh*, the *Imazighen*, or the Berbers, the term adopted to refer to them throughout this work. They spoke the *Tamazight* language which gave birth to the Berber varieties present today in Algeria. They are often described as a people, who have always been colonized, but have never given up revolting against colonization. North Africa, a general term covering nowadays Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, has known several invasions.

Yet, the history of the area started officially only with the arrival of the Phoenicians in the 7th century B.C., coming from a far place situated in the Middle East, in modern day Lebanon, bringing with them civilization to North Africa; they were the first to introduce alphabets and to establish settlements and ports in the

area in order to enable them to have trade with the remaining settlements in the Mediterranean coasts.Though the Phoenician settlements were not unified in one state, "they used the same language, and worshiped the same gods." (Edey (1979:9) in Sayahi (2014:16).

At the beginning of the 5th century BC, the Carthaginians, descendants of the Phoenicians, dominated North Africa, mainly the coasts, leaving the interior of the lands to the Berbers. Punic, which is a Semitic language, was the official language of Carthage, and therefore of North Africa, since this latter was under their control. This language could persist in the area, so that one might find some of its traces in nowadays Berber varieties.

After the Punic wars (264-146 BC), the Romans occupied North Africa and transmitted their civilisation to the local populations, with the claimed mission of 'civilising the Berbers'. By 146 BC, the Romans destroyed Carthage and could reign over the whole area by 106 BC. However, this was not an easy task to accomplish because of the resistance of Berbers, which began first with the king Massinissa by unification of the different tribes in the 2nd century AD, to found the kingdom of Numedia (Derradji and Queffelec 2002:11), then by Jugurtha who led the military resistance against the Romans. Yet, with the defeat of Jugurtha, the Romans could make the kingdom of Numidia a Roman territory, by founding many cities like Timgad, Tipaza, Cirta (Constantine), Hippone (Annaba), Djemila, and Tidis (ibid.), obliging the many Berbers to take refuge in the mountains. The area was Christianised between the 2nd and the 4th centuries, due to Saint Augustin' efforts, and challenged by the resisting character of Berbers to foreign cultures and denial of assimilation. It ended up by the decline of Romans in the area leaving the floor to other colonizers.

The fall of the Roman Maghreb coincided with its occupation in 455 by the Vandals, who used their Germanic language and the Gothic script as well as Latin in the fields of legislation and diplomacy. The Vandals never mixed with the local populations and did not have any influence on the language of Berbers who lived in

the mountains. It should be stressed that their presence did not seem sufficiently long (455-533) so that an interbreeding occurs on a large scale. In 533, they were expelled by the Byzantine empire and disappeared by leaving practically no trace of their passage. But the survivors found refuge in living with the Berbers of Kabylia, and they at that time were assimilated to them.

As for the Byzantines, they hardly had time to be organized because they had to face the Arabs who broke in to occupy the area. Their arrival with the aim of spreading Islam in the seventh century AD (1st century Hidjra) was a turning point in the history of North Africa, including Algeria. The Arabs brought not only religion and socio-cultural principles, but also their language which spread in sedentary areas in Algeria. The new widespread religion at that time paved the way to the dominance of the Arabic language over the other already existing language varieties.

2.2.2. Algeria and the coming of the Arabs

The beginning of the Islamic conquests, 'alfutuhat al Islamiyya', was in 647. Rather than 'conquests', the Arabic term 'Alfutuhat' means 'opening', referring to the process of 'Islamisation'. With the purpose of spreading their religion, the Muslim armies came from the Arab peninsula to conquer North Africa, among other lands including Irak Egypt and Persia. In the beginning of this process, there had been a strong opposition from the part of Berbers, led by the warrior Kuceila, who allied with Greeks and Byzantines against the Muslims. This could hinder the progress of North African Islamisation, especially after the defeat and killing of the Muslim leader Okba Ibn Nafie in 683 AD, in the area of South Aures, nowadays Biskra. After the death of Kuceila, a woman named 'Alkahina' by Arabs, meaning the 'witch', continued the leadership of the Berber resistance against Islamisation for five years, till her defeat in 702, in the area of Aures by Noaman Al Ghassani. Her death was a mercy to the process of Islamisation of North Africa, which continued towards the west, led by Mussa ibn Nussayr, and to be accomplished in 709 AD. To this stage, most Berbers had converted to the new religion, and some

even joined the Muslim army to contribute to the futu:ha:t like Tarek Ibn Ziyad, who conquered Spain in 711 AD.

As a whole, the Berbers adopted Islam very quickly, but preserved their languages, at least those living in the countryside or the mountains. For a long time, Berber, Latin, Arabic and Punic coexisted in North Africa. Inscriptions attesting the use of written Latin were found to the 11th and 12th centuries (Benrabah, M., 1999: 33). The establishment of Arabic and Islam was carried out by the mosques. Then, the Berbers of the cities adopted Arabic gradually, regarding this language as 'a divine idiom'. For the Berbers of the mountains, the use of Arabic was limited. They continued to speak their ancestral languages. It is only after the 11th century that Berber would start its decline. Arabic became deeply rooted in Algeria with the coming of Banu Hilal (ibid. 37).

North Africa was the cradle of many Arab-Muslim dynasties like the Fatimides and the Zianides. Unlike Morocco and Tunisia whose existence as a State goes back to more than one millennium, Algeria was, before 1830, an area where powerful lords of the war, generally of the emirs, reigned as masters on the territory. In fact, all this area, which is called today 'the Maghreb', was dominated a long time by several local dynasties, i.e., Moroccan, Tunisian or Algerian, one driving out the other. One may refer here to the Rostemides and the Zirides in Algeria, the Fatimides in Algeria and Tunisia, then Egypt, the Hafsides in Tunisia, and the Moravides in Morocco. All these dynasties reigned in turn on the area in different periods, and could offer the area a certain cultural and architectural richness, that one can still see nowadays in their monuments.

Turkish and Spanish, too, had their contribution to the linguistic diversity of the area. Until the 16th century, Algeria became a province of the Ottoman Empire and was controlled by one 'Dey'. During the Turkish occupation, Algeria lived in great autonomy, under the authority of a military power exerted by the Dey and controlled by the Turkish militia. Like the Vandals before them, the Turks refused to be assimilated to the Arab-Berber populations. For three centuries, they never

sympathized with these Arabic- speaking people. They remained a distinct community living like foreigners in North Africa until 1830, when the French started colonizing the country.

The reason behind this attitude is that the Turkish presence in Algeria was not of a colonial type. The Turks present in Algeria were only those who belonged to the ruling elite as well as soldiers. Nevertheless, a certain number of Turks ended up with marrying indigenous women of these unions were born Kouloughlis, word coming from Turkish, *qul oghlu*, meaning "son of slave" (Benrabah, M., 1999: 41). Still today, many Algerians have Turkish origins and have preserved their names of Turkish origin. Yet, Arabic which was established definitively in Algeria was not the Arabic of the Qur'an. It was rather Colloquial Arabic, Algerian Arabic somewhat influenced by Berber and Turkish

During this time, the official language of the state was the Turkish 'Osmanli'. As the population was unaware of this language, the Turkish civil servants had to have recourse to interpreters to communicate in Berber and Algerian Arabic with the majority of the population. In parallel, a variety developed between the Turks, the 'Algerians' and the Europeans, including Spanish vocabulary and elements of Turkish and of syntactic shapes inspired from Arabic, used as a lingua Franca in commerce. It is especially by this language that Algerian Arabic acquired some Latin origin words, in particular in the field of navigation, naval artillery and fishing. This common language continued to exist after the French conquest in 1830. This linguistic diversity contributed to make of Algerian Arabic a different variety from the Arabic of the Middle East. The geographical distance, time and the socio-cultural context accentuated the divergence of Algerian Arabic from Middle East Arabic. What clouds further the issue is the French colonisation of Algeria which lasted 132 years and is assumed to be a prominent factor in complicating the linguistic situation in Algeria.

2.2.3. Algeria during the French Colonisation

Adopting a seen-from-above ideology, France colonized Algeria with the main tenet of acculturating Algerians and erasing their Arab-Islamic identity. All was done in order to reach this aim; including eradicating politically any Algerian language and claiming that Algeria would be a mere department of France. Algerians were deprived from their properties and lands. They were impoverished, starved and drowned in illiteracy.

The conquest of Algeria was long, contrary to Morocco and Tunisia where some agreements were enough to impose a 'protectorate'. In Algeria, the conquest was undertaken by force, village after village. The resistance of the famous Emir Abd el-Kader, later, delayed the full French occupation of Algeria for eighteen years. The French Army only succeeded in occupying the whole country in 1847, when Emir Abd el-Kader surrendered the weapons. Certain cities were devastated by the French troops; Algiers, Constantine, Médéa, Miliana, Tlemcen, and so forth. The methods used by the French Army were generally brutal and their expansion was at the expense of the Arab-Islamic civilisation. They attempted to apply a kind of 'human genocide' as well as a 'cultural cleansing'.

Tens of thousands of French people came to settle in Algeria. The settlers made low hand on the Arab grounds by buying at cheap prices vast Algerian fields. Algeria, thus, was immediately perceived like a 'colony of settlement'. France called upon a significant European population, French origin initially, but also Spanish, Italian, and Maltese. The settlement of Algeria by non-French Europeans was necessary to face the demographic weight of the indigenous population whose existence in Algeria threatened potentially the French presence.

Although the French occupation could increase the number of Algerians and decrease the number of settlers in the colony, it was very hard to completely de-Arabise Algeria due to schools of Qur'an until 1880. In general, the Arabs attended their Qur'anic Arabic schools in a parallel system of education (Dendane, 2012: 82). Indigenous education was financed by the local communities, not by the central

power. Therefore, people, especially in urban centres, were obliged to send their children to French schools because of a lack of any educational institution in Arabic. The latter was restricted to oral use in its dialectal forms. Indeed, "the Arab, in 1830, could read and write. After one half-century of colonization, he stagnated in ignorance [14]". Until the beginning of the 20th century, the Algerians resisted the French colonial model. While some rich families sent their children to the Middle East, the majority of the Algerians preferred to let their children grow in ignorance. Boutefnouchet (1982: 38)[15] explains this reaction, clarifying that the psychological feeling of a dominated person and his attitude are characterised by hatred and rejection of the language of the dominator:[The relation of the dominated to the occupier's language is always negative. The dominated rejects learning the dominator's language, as it is the language of atheism, the language of defeat.][16]

Admittedly, there was a small bilingual elite, favourable to the Western ideas, which supported French education. These two attitudes will later raise the conflicts between 'Franchising modernists' and the 'Arabising Islamic traditionalists'. Acquisition planning followed by the French school could make some Algerian attitudes shift from opposition and hatred to more positive attitudes; French became positively viewed, as the language of advancement and development. In fact, this reaction in colonised countries is universal; colonisers often succeed, to a certain extent, to implement their ideology and leave their language as a language of self-advancement (Romaine, 2000). In spite of the fact that Arabic was declared as the official and national language in post-independent Algeria, French continued to be used in many spheres; the administration and education were kept in French years after independence. Free education using French as a medium of instruction provided a free advertisement for French as the language of the 'intellectuals'.

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[14] My translation: Quoted in Lacheraf , M. (1974:14).
[15] Quoted in Guessoum, A. (2002: 192)
[16]My translation of the French text : « La relation du dominé à la langue de l'occupant est toujours négative. Le dominé rejette l'apprentissage de la langue du dominateur ; car c'est la langue de l'athéisme, c'est la langue de la défaite. »

However, Algerian nationalism developed after the First World War, not only within the urban Muslim middle-class, but also in the factories of France where the Algerian workers, in contact with their French colleagues, learned how to defend their rights within the trade unions and of the French Communist Party. In other words, the French language contributed paradoxically to Algerian nationalism. The situation in Algeria had seriously worsened: the National Liberation Front (*Front de Libération Nationale - FLN)* launched the beginning of a national liberating war led by the ALN[17] in November 1954, calling for 'independent Algeria'.

Algeria reached independence formally on July 5th, 1962. The involved languages were then Algerian Arabic (AA) and the Berber varieties, the two language varieties spoken by the indigenous population. French, Spanish in certain areas of the West and Italian in the East, were spoken especially by colonists. French, however, was deeply rooted in AA so that the latter contained many borrowings from French. Classical Arabic (CA) was the sacred language that almost nobody used in everyday communication, except perhaps *imams* and learned men talking about Islam and religious principles.

2.2.4. Independent Algeria

Independent Algeria has been characterized by linguistic diversity as a result of its historical background. It was necessary to build a unified State with a single religion, a single language and a single political party. Power was held by a restricted group holding a rigid and powerful authority. The doctrine was to have One Language, One Border, One State; a nation state.

In September 1962, Ben Bella was elected President of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. He suspended the Constitution of the country in October 1963 and Islam was issued "religion of State". The choice of Islam was automatic and 'logical' since it is the most important 'glue' that binds the Algerian

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[17] The National Liberation Army

nationalism together. It is in Islam that the Algerian power has drawn its legitimacy. In the Muslim states, Islam is legitimating, as classical Arabic is the vehicle of the Qur'an. Therefore, in order to be recognized as legitimate, the Algerian political power was to recognize Islam and the Arabic language as two pillars that hold the Algerian identity. In short, as Gonzale, J.J. (1998:12) states that Arabic is the language that has permitted to a population to be able to say 'we' opposing colonialism[18]. The 1962 Constitution declared in its article 3:*"Arabic is the national and the official language."*

The new nation refused any statute with AA or Berber, or especially French. The choice of Arabic was then 'logical' not only because all formerly-colonised Arab countries did so, but also because no variety of the present Algerian linguistic scene could pursue the mission of restoring the Algerian identity.

AA was excluded from the Algerian language policy on the basis of its lacking standardisation. Calling for its standardisation would have delayed the urgent need for the building of the new independent state. Even if this idea had been approached, it would have been handicapped by the question of which variety to standardise: AA of Algiers, Oran, Tlemcen or the Sahara. The term dialect, by definition, may embody a set of adjacent dialects. These are difficult to assign clear-cut boundaries. Choosing one geographical dialect among the others would have created an internal problem and could have torn the Algerian nationalism apart.

Indigenous varieties of Berber origin, too, were put aside from language policy in independent Algeria despite their being the mother tongue of many Algerians throughout the country. Berber is a language variety from which four Algerian dialects derive: such as Kabyle, Chaoui, Mzabi, and Tamazight. It is the only remaining living language of the Hamitic family (Boukous, 2002). It resisted against shift to many other powerful languages like Punic. This resistance is due to its native speakers' attachment to their own language and culture. However, it could not become a standard language because of its colloquialism (ibid.) Boukous

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[18] My translation of the original text "l'Arabe a permis à un people de pouvoir dire 'nous' en s'opposant au colonialisme".

(2002:269) explains: *La culture berbère relève essentiellement de la tradition orale. L'un des défis auxquels se trouvent confrontées la langue et la culture berbères est justement le passage de l'oralité à la scriptularité.*

Indeed, the oral nature of Berber stands as a barrier in front of assigning it the status of official language. Its lack of script has always been a source of disagreement among specialists; whether to use the Tifinagh or the Latin script or even the Arabic script. Hence, in order to be standardised, Berber dialects should be unified first. In addition, the Algerian authorities decided that AA and Berber were "impure" languages because they contained foreign words, thus, 'inappropriate' to be national symbols of the state. However, this political attitude was deeply striven by the minority languages speakers, mainly Berbers, and after strong resistance on their part, Berber could gain the status of national language (2002), then lately the status of official one (2016).

As a matter of fact, French was excluded from being the official language of Algeria. Though many countries have chosen the coloniser's language as the official one after their independence, like the case of Nigeria, Niger, and Mali, in addition to many other African countries, it was not the case for Arabic speaking countries in general, and Algeria in particular. This is simply because the Algerian decision-makers wanted to cut any thread that might link Algeria to the former coloniser. French, in the era just after independence, was a symbol of the 'dark years of colonisation', and choosing it as a language of the state would be a symbol of 'weakness' and 'under-valuation' of 'Algerianism'. However, later, it was, paradoxically, used in education for many years. This has contributed to assigning it a better social status.

Indeed, French spread widely after independence and was associated with prestige, modernity and development; science and education. It became deeply rooted in the Algerian repertoire and bilingualism grew more and more. Algeria was obliged to carry on the coloniser's already established system because of a lack of teachers who could use MSA as a language of instruction. MSA was taught as a

subject similar to mathematics, physics and history, which were all taught in French.Decision makers in Algeria attempted to reinforce MSA as the language of the state in many spheres, among them education through acquisition planning. This process is often referred to in literature as 'Arabisation', 're-Arabisation' or even 'Arabicisation'. Henceforth the term 'Arabisation' will be used to refer to the process of restoring Arabic as a language of Algeria in the frame of language planning. It includes the use of MSA as a language of instruction in the administration, education and the media.

2.3. The Algerian Language Policy

The Arabisation policy was an action logically taken by the new Algerian government as Arabic had been the language of the country for at least ten centuries, even during the Turkish rule. It was thus a priority to recover the language of the state in the post-independent period, especially in education. Its aim was more than restoring the Algerian identity; it was also to de-Frenchise Algeria by marginalizing the French elite.

2.3.1. The Policy of Arabisation

It is necessary to note that shortly after independence the public administration of the country remained completely Frenchised[19] in spite of all the anti-French speeches that spread at that time. The Algerian civil servants trained by France constituted a frightening force of resistance to the Arabisation policy. Since Algeria could not do without its civil servants, it was thus necessary to compose with them and to proceed by stages. About thirty laws were passed within the Arabisation policy, but none seems to have been fully respected.

In a more particular way, one can quote from Taleb Ibrahimi, K. (1997:191-215) the decree of May 22nd 1964 bearing on Arabisation of the administration, the ordinances No 66-154 and No 66-155 of June 8th, 1966 on justice, the ordinance of

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[19]The term is used throughout the research work with the meaning 'to force non-French people to speak or to use French'. Frenchisation is the process.

April 26th, 1968 on the obligatory knowledge of Arabic for civil servants, the circular of the Ministry for the Interior of July 1976 on posting, the new law No 05-91 on the generalization of the use of Arabic, promulgated language on January 16th, 1991 (adopted on December 27th, 1990) and schedules it No 96-30 of December 21st, 1996, which comes to modify some articles of the law No 05-91 and 'to supplement it'.

However, the law carrying generalization of the use of the Arabic language, which was promulgated on January 16th 1991, was 'deactivated' in 1992, then reactivated on December 17th 1996, but was put into force only on July 5th 1998. Law No 91-05 of January 16th 1991 bearing generalisation of the use of the Arabic language is without precedent since independence. This law aimed at excluding the use and the practice of French in public administration, the world of education (including the universities), hospitals, and socio-economic sectors. It also aimed at marginalising the Frenchised elite formed primarily in the Algerian schools of public administration and representing the technical and scientific framing of all the branches of industry. Ultimately, the 1991 law imposed the single use of the Arabic language, prohibited all 'foreign languages' and imposed a heavy penalty upon those who produced an official document in a language other than Arabic. It is worth noting that the language intended here is by no means any of the Colloquial Arabic forms used in everyday communication, but it is the standard form of Arabic that was meant, though the constitution does not make the point in an explicit form.

For Berber associations, the purpose of this law was not only to accelerate and intensify the process of Arabisation, but especially to remove definitively the Berber varieties, in particular Tamazight which is a language variety of a significant minority. The Algerian government imposed on July 5th 1998, the anniversary day of Algerian independence, a deadline for Arabisation in the totality of the Algerian life (administration, businesses, media, education, etc). Today, in front of the difficulties of application, the government decided to slow down this policy and to reconsider its decisions concerning language policy.

2.3.2. The Arabisation of Education

The Arabisation policy touched many spheres like justice, the media, public life and the administration in addition to the parliament and economic spheres. Our research work, however, is concerned with education. It is, thus, the highlighted domain. In fact, it is especially in the educational domain that significant measures have been taken.

Because in 1962 Algeria was deprived of competent teachers in Standard Arabic, the government imposed only seven hours of teaching of Arabic per week in all the schools. This number passed to 10 hours per week in 1964. To solve the problem of shortage of teachers, it was necessary to recruit thousands from Egypt and Syria. This action caused at that time many controversies and resistance in the educational sphere. Since 1989, MSA is the only language of teaching during the entire primary and the secondary education. It is the article 15[20] of the law N 91-05 of January 16th 1991 which impulses this exclusive teaching of the Arabic language.

> *Article 15: Teaching, education and training in all the sectors, all the cycles and all the specialties are provided in the Arabic language, subject to the modalities of foreign language teaching*

French, however, is introduced as an obligatory foreign language as from the third year of primary school and, thereafter, until the end of the secondary level. Moreover, in higher education, French remains largely present, particularly in scientific and technical disciplines. The Arabisation of the universities was slowed down.

Since 1971, MSA has replaced French as the medium of instruction in primary school. The use of MSA as a language of instruction in schooling was not welcomed by the French elite. This trend has been in constant conflict with Arabophones who call it *hizb fransa*, i.e. 'France party' (Granguillaume, 1998:70).

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[20] My translation of the original text in French: '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 réserve des modalités d'enseignement des langues étrangères.'

The latter often claims that Arabic implementation in the educational system was responsible for the decrease in the quality of schooling in national education. On the other hand, the Arabic trend encouraged Arabic reinforcement in education as a step forward in the mission of Arab- Islamic identity restoring. Analysing the Algerian language policy, Granguillaume (ibid: 69) states that[21] it had to face two conflicts: one flagrant, which we has been exposed in the few last lines, between written Arabic and French. The other conflict is veiled, which is between Arabic and the indigenous varieties, an issue tackled in section 2.4.

Since independence, the Arabisation process has been subject to criticism and accused of having no scientific basis. It has been viewed as responsible for the low achievements witnessed in the educational sphere as well as a semi-bilingualism often characterizing the Arabised pupils. This view is often carried out by the Franco-phones, mainly those educated as bilinguals in post-independence. Others are those anti-innovations, who have rejected it simply because it is new in Algeria. These are those who prefer to live in a steady life and do not accept change.

However, even Arabicists have recognized weaknesses and shortcomings of Arabisation. They have reported many controversies. It has thus been described as chosen and applied in a hazardous and improvised way. Taleb Ibrahimi, A. (1981:96)[22], the minister of education from 1965 to 1973, a fervent advocate of MSA admits (in 1966) that Arabisation suffers from improvisation. It has often been criticized for taking decisions without a well-planned organization at the level of application of these decisions.

Lastly, one can count in Algeria a large number of private schools scattered all over the country for all of three educational levels. In the seventies, the government abolished private schools and had placed all the schools under its control. The number of pupils registered in these private schools increases year by

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[21] Grandguillaume's riginal statement in French: "*La mise en œuvre de la politique linguistique recelait deux conflits : l'un, entre la langue arabe (littérale) et la langue française ; l'autre, masqué entre cette langue arabe et les langues de la quotidienneté.*"
[22] Quoted in (Dendane, 2012: 90).

year. The problem with these schools is that they turned the organizational failure of the Algerian educational system, into a linguistic one, seizing opportunity to reinforce the French language, and its speakers. This is often apparent in their hostile attitudes against Arabic as a language per se, and their supportive pro French propagandas.

The Algerian government envisaged a law whose implementation was to be in the Autumn 2005. The Minister for Education threatened to close the schools which would not conform to the official programme, in particular with a teaching of 90 % in Arabic. Less than one year after his warning, president Bouteflika passed to the acts while closing, in February 2006, more than 40 French-speaking private schools of Kabylia for causes of 'linguistic deviation', Franchising, and 'anti-nationalism'. Actually, these establishments were shown "to Franchise the school and Algeria as a whole, in an anti-Arabic and thus anti-Islamic picture'. This operation was carried out by the police in many localities; it intervened following a presidential ordinance which required teaching 'obligatorily in the Arabic language in all the disciplines and on all the levels'. A few days later, the Algerian government granted to the schools closed an exceptional additional time until the end June 2006 to conform to the law which makes them obliged to teach the same programmes as the public schools.

In fact, the law remains partially applied, but it will continue to feed linguistic diversity in Algeria. The majority of the directors of the private schools affirm that their schools aim to form Arabic-French bilinguals, so that they can normally follow the higher studies whose several studies are generally carried in the French language. Algerian universities present a frightening rate of failure in the first year. It is that the students arrive in higher education with an Arabic-speaking background, whereas they have to follow their courses in French. Granguillaume, G. (1998: 70) clarifies:

> *[…] hier comme aujourd'hui, le français reste la langue de la réussite sociale. Les membres des couches sociales supérieures le savent si bien qu'ils éduquent leurs enfants dans cette langue*

Grandguillaume pinpoints the controversy found in the Algerian linguistic situation and argues that French has been and will remain associated with 'social success'. Therefore, those who can afford educating their children in French- speaking private schools prefer to register them in these schools because they are aware of the social importance of French. Paradoxically, MSA is assigned a higher status in Arabisation over the remaining linguistic varieties present in Algeria, mainly, dialectal Arabic, Berber varieties and French. The two former are excluded from the language policy for lacking a conventional written form while the latter has been avoided for being the language of the ex-coloniser. Berber varieties and dialectal Arabic are only used in everyday communication; they represent the L-variety in a diglossic relationship with MSA.

2.3.3. The Current Educational System in Algeria

One of the first tenets of Algerian education since its independence is to reinforce the Algerian identity through stressing Arabic as a language of the state, in addition to striving against illiteracy, the main heritage of the French colonialism. To reach these aims, huge resources were prepared in the service of this sensitive sector, which stands on producing the future generations and investing in the human being. Thus, one-quarter of the national budget is devoted to it, keeping it free and compulsory for all Algerians up to the age of 16, and it is constitutionally decreed as being the right of every Algerian, whatever their social situation, gender, or geographical origin. Algeria's literacy rate could reach the rate of 69-70 % in 2008, higher than many other Arab countries like Morocco and Egypt but subpar by international standards. Education consumes one-quarter of the national budget. Algeria faces a shortage of teachers as a result of the doubling in the number of eligible children and young adults in the last years.

The Algerian education system consists of three levels before university studies: primary, middle and secondary schools. The primary level takes five years of studies, educating children from the age of 6 to ten years. A sixth year is recommended as a pre-schooling transition period in which the child is socialized

and exposed to the classroom atmosphere which facilitates learning in the following years, and helps to face any problem of adaptation in school. The language of instruction is standard Arabic, though Berber has been accepted as a language of instruction since 2003 in the Berber speaking zones. French is the first foreign language that the pupils should be exposed to in their third year primary school.

Institutionally, standard Arabic is an official language that has to be reinforced since the first year primary school. However, many claims have been put in this context, accusing standard Arabic use in the first years of schooling of being responsible for the general failure the sector suffers from. As a solution, the previous minister of education, Mrs. Benghabrit has proposed, as an issue of the national conference about the assessment of the Algerian educational system reform, held in July 2015, that the pupils' mother tongue is to be tolerated in the first two years of primary school. This language variety, which is referred to as Darja, is in diglossic relationship with the standard form, and socially considered as subordinate, and inferior to it. This proposition made the minister a target of a fierce opposition from the public; harsh comments were administered to her on social media, accusing her of being a pro-French person. This campaign was held by her opposers, relying even on criticizing her person, her origins and her ancestors and her incompetence in using standard Arabic is often raised as an argument to dis-Algerianise her. This negative reaction reflects the important representation of standard Arabic in the Algerian psyche, as an untouchable pillar of the Algerian identity, which any revision of its acquisition planning is to be held carefully.

In 1979, Algeria decided to move away from middle school education, inherited from the colonial era towards the fundamental school, established by that time minister of education, Mohamed Cherif Kherroubi; an Arabicist and Islamicist Berber, who was often criticized by his fellow Berbers for not using or supporting his mother tongue (Benrabah, 2007: 232). The primary six-year schooling and the four- year middle school were merged into a nine-year period called fundamental school. This school ends with an exam and focuses more on establishing the Arabisation policy. However, the system was sharply criticized and was doomed to

failure, and thus abandoned in the 2000s during the ministry of Aboubakr Benbouzid. Currently, the pupils learn for five years in the primary school, then a four-year period in the middle school, and end their elementary education by a baccalaureate exam taken at the end of a three-year period of studies in the secondary school.

Secondary education is the threshold step to specialized university studies. New students begin to choose their streams of studies in its first year, to be either in literary, scientific or technological streams. This choice often relies not only on their abilities, but on the available open classes in the secondary school in relation with their grades in their middle school. To solve the learners' choice and the available open classes' relationship, administrations follow a rule of 'best grades get their first choice', while average-graded learners are often redirected to free places in the remaining streams. This policy has created a kind of attitudinal hierarchy among these streams considering the scientific stream as the most prestigious, since often chosen by the best-graded learners. Most learners and their parents prefer this stream, since they will have a broader chance of choice after their baccalaureate exam, and thus a 'better' professional life. Thus, learners following a scientific stream are socially considered as more 'intelligent' than those following the technological stream.

Another issue that often has negative impact on education as a whole lies in the diglossic relationship between Algerian Arabic acquired as a mother tongue and MSA as the language of formal instruction.

2.4.   Diglossia in Algeria

Being a nation belonging to the Arab world, Algeria is characterised linguistically by a diglossic situation in which CA/ MSA represent the High variety, 'H', and the colloquial forms, mainly AA and Berber varieties, occupy the status of Low variety, 'L' (see section 1.4.). According to Ferguson's 1959 original definition of diglossia, H and L are genetically related. Indeed, AA consists of Arabic dialects. However, Berber varieties fall into Fishman's model of diglossia

(1967) because they do not share the same linguistic origin as CA/ MSA. The sub-section below attempts to draw H and L boundaries and to contrast them.

2.4.1. The High Variety in Algeria

Before the appearance of Islam, Arabic was a minor member of the southern branch of the Semitic language family, used by a small number of some nomadic tribes in the Arabian Peninsula. Though its speakers used to give a primordial importance to their language, they relied on orality to register their literature. It is due to the spread of Islam as a worldwide religion that divergent cultures were unified in one nation. This has permitted Arabic to be the official language of 22 countries, stretching from Central Asia to the Atlantic Ocean, and had even moved northward into Europe.

Classical Arabic (CA) is the term used to refer to the language of the Qur'an, and in the 'Sunnah' (the reported words and actions of Prophet Mohammed (pbuh). It is the 'H' variety as described in Ferguson's original theory (1959). It represents also the kind of language used in authentic texts used by literary people in the ancient age, till the Ottomans' era, during which, as explained in Ouahmiche (2000:80), the Arabic language (CA) knew a decline in terms of the quality of literature because it was under the rule of the Turkish language. At that time, CA was devoted solely for the religious sphere while Turkish served for administrative affairs.

However, the exact information of when the dialects of Arabic and Literary Arabic became distinct is not available. The prevailing view is that put forth by Ferguson in 1959 in an article entitled 'The Arabic Koinë' in which he hypothesised that all of the dialects existing outside of the Arabian peninsula had as their common source a variety spoken in the military camps at the time of the Islamic expansion in the middle of the 7th century. He added further that this variety was already very distinct from the language of the Qur'an (Ibid).

After independence of most Arab countries, the decision-makers considered the choice of 'Arabic' as axiomatic. They associate it with the notion of 'a nation' and consider it as part and parcel of their identity: 'the Arab-Islamic' identity. One often may come across many labels to refer to CA like 'the language of the nation' '*lughat al-oumma*'. In most of these countries' constitutions, it is proclaimed that 'Arabic is the language of the state', without showing which version of Arabic, simply because the only variety considered is CA.

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and CA are often used confusingly in the literature to refer to the variety of Arabic used in the written form. The Arabic term *fuṣḥā* is used to refer to the language which is grammatically virtually identical with the Arabic of the Qur'an. However, an objective observer notices from first glance that the language used in ancient times in the era of the Prophet Mohammed is different in some respects compared to the language used today in official documents, the president's speech or news announcement. No Arab president uses nowadays terms like /bulahnijja/ (comfort) or /ɣula:m/ (a child) in his speech, or any other similar 'antic words' that the layman cannot understand. Similarly, no news announcer might use complex grammatical structures as those in the Qur'an; otherwise, s/he would sound 'strange' and 'unintelligible' to the audience. In a word, the differences are mostly stylistic and lexical. The style of Qur'anic text is unique, different in many respects from any other type of register, including the Prophet's *sunnah* (his sayings, peace be upon him). It's all a question of styles; CA and MSA linguistic structure remains exactly the same, unchanged.

On the other hand, one may never hear words like /tilifu:n/ (telephone) or /dustu:r/ (Constitution) in a Qur'anic verse or in a Prophet's 'hadith' with the meaning currently used. This controversy has opened the way for much discussion among theorists. Some claim that CA is a 'dead language' since 'no speaker uses it in everyday communication' and prefer to call it MSA, the standard variety used nowadays. Another trend rejects sharply their assertion of the death of CA. They argue that one might come across words and structures in current literary works like poetry similar to those used in the ancient times. Besides, they say that people use

CA when reading the Qur'an or when praying daily and that they can understand 'Hadith', so CA is a language that is characterized by vitality.

Most researchers have accepted Ferguson's basic ideas about Arabic, splitting it into H and L, whereas many theorists have drawn the attention to the applicability of the concept of 'continuum' to the case of Arabic where the two poles, pure *fuṣḥà*, the eloquent version of Arabic, and pure *Darija*, the colloquial form of Arabic, are two extreme varieties of a continuum. They are rarely or never achieved in any given speaking situation. Generally, speakers might use a kind of language that includes elements from both the *fuṣḥà* and the *Darija*. This variety has been recognized by Ferguson (1991) in his 'Diglossia Revisited'[23]. Al-Toma (1969:5) explains in this respect that:

> Between …CA and the vernaculars…, there exists a variety of intermediary Arabic often called 'allugha al wusta' 'the middle variety' and described as a result of classical and colloquial fusion. The basic features of this middle language are predominantly colloquial, but they reveal a noticeable degree of classicism.

This middle variety is a much classicized version of dialect or a much colloquialised version of MSA used primarily by educated people. It is, however, questioned whether this is a stable form or a set of ad hoc accommodation strategies between educated speakers or just an unsuccessful attempt at speaking MSA. One might dare to wonder if it is a current language change in progress for Arabic in a way that makes the Arabic dialects moving closer to each other and to MSA at the same time, while MSA continues to be simplified and move in the direction of the dialects. Many elements come from French or English and become recognised in MSA. Here, one might notice that the borrowing depends on which Arab country it is; each country uses borrowing according to its historical background and colonial influence. An illustrative example may be given in this respect for the anagrams /si:da/ and /i:dz/ borrowed from French and English respectively to refer to the AIDS illness. The former is exclusive to the Maghreb area while the latter is used most in the Middle East. A long list of similar examples can be found in scientific

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[23]Ferguson (1991) 'Diglossia Revisited' published in *The Southwest Journal Linguistics*.

and technical terms. Another example is that of telling the months, in Algeria books used in education use the term /uːt/ to refer to the month 'August' and never use the term /uɣustəs/ as used in many eastern Arab countries. So, relying on these observations can one refer to Algerian MSA, Moroccan MSA and so forth? And if so, can one forecast a future divergence among these MSA varieties, especially if there will be borrowings from other linguistic varieties in the remote future? For Algeria, the problem is more acute, not only because of the intervention of Arabic-French bilingualism, but also the consideration of the Berber varieties. The latter are recognised by the Constitution as being one element of the Algerian identity and are assigned the status of a national language in 2002, then an official one in 2016. This status has been gained after many protestations among Berbers to call for more linguistic rights.

In this situation it is up to the ruling elite to find a solution that keeps the national unity from falling apart. To calm down the situation, will the Algerian policy makers dare to include some elements from Berber into MSA to form a kind of Algerian language? Will they opt for a written form of AA? If this will ever happen, how will policy makers handle the activity of standardisation? Which Algerian variety to take in this process? Does it mean that Algeria will no more remain a diglossic situation in which AA and Berber represent L? These questions are hard to answer for the moment and currently the Algerian situation is still diglossic in which MSA remains the H and AA and Berber make up the L.

2.4.2. The Low Variety in Algeria

As mentioned, L is either AA or Berber varieties. It depends on which area one considers. We focus on AA in the present research because the area we are concerned with is within the AA sphere. Besides, after the recognition of Berber as an official language of Algeria, side by side to Arabic, the situation is gloomy in the sense that one does not know whether the new political status assigned to this language will perturb the linguistic general scene, and change its landscape. Yet, reference should be made to Berber varieties in order to have a panoramic view of

the linguistic situation in Algeria. The map below displays the linguistic distribution of AA and Berber varieties in which we notice that AA is the majority spoken variety if compared with some scattered Berber-speaking areas.

2.4.2.1. Berber

The Berber varieties are spoken by a smaller portion of Algerians in comparison with AA speakers. Our research falls within the area of Tlemcen which is out of the Berberophone area. All our sample population has no direct contact with Berber speaking area and thus with the Berber language varieties. For this reason, this language variety will not be deeply tackled. However, it is worth giving a panoramic view on it for being a very important factor that interferes with language planning decisions and an important element of the Algerian linguistic diversity.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, Berber groups have revolted against the ruling elite, aiming at having Berber recognized, Tamazight in particular, as a national language, just like Arabic. These demands never had a chance to be adopted, but they remain significant. Moreover, the Berber heads are convinced that the law on Arabisation was conceived with no consultation of the Berbers who made efforts to require the abrogation of the 1991 law on Arabisation. For them, this law constitutes an attack against Algerian cultural diversity and the civil right to be expressed in the language of their choice and of the way in which they wish it.

A High commissionership with the 'Amazighity' near the presidency of the Republic was created by the decree of May 28th 1995. This organization was in charge particularly of taking various initiatives and to formulate proposals as regards teaching Berber in schools. One could believe that by this measure the authorities finally admitted the legitimacy of the requests of the Berbers, particularly about the teaching of this language. However, according to Berber associations, the activities of the High commissionership to the Amazighity seem to be very limited. Though Berber has been taught in many educational institutions, some establishments have abandoned its teaching in its classes for negative attitudes

of pupils, as complained on in a round table organised by a number of linguists (1995).

One of the main Berber claims is to require recognition of their language and identity. In fact, this behaviour is not particular to Algeria since many countries, if not the majority, have similar internal language conflicts. France, for instance, still ignores indigenous varieties like Breton and Basque and claims officially that French is the sole legitimate official language of France. Language conflicts, thus, are not particular to Algeria but rather a universal problem known even in countries claimed to be more 'democratic' than Algeria.

In January 2002, President Bouteflika announced that the Tamazight language (Berber) is to become 'a national language in Algeria' and that a modification of the Constitution is necessary. Finally, on April 8th 2002, the Algerian Parliament recognized the Tamazight 'as national language beside Arabic'. It is the law No 02-03 of April 10th, 2002 proclaiming that the Tamazight is also a national language:

This modification of the constitution has made Tamazight a national language. It is used in some schools in spite of the difficulties it has faced as well as in media having special TV and radio channels, but it is not used in administration and parliament. In spite of its recognition, its speakers still complain to be 'marginalised' and still object to the Algerian LP. This language variety is an L variety in diglossic relationship with MSA under Fishman's concept of 'extended diglossia' (see section 1.4.2.) The two varieties are not genetically related as it is the case for AA, which is an L in Ferguson's framework (see section 1.4.1.).

However, due to the long striving of Berbers that lasted many decades, their language could be proposed in the constitution to the parliament to be erected to the status of an official language of Algeria side by side with Arabic in 2016, and the law was passed officially in the parliament. The linguistic scene in Algeria will change into another diglossic distribution of language varieties, in which Arabic and Berber share the status of H, while the colloquial forms of both varieties will remain

as L, though in reality this officialization is only political as any standardization will need a long process to see light. In fact, passing this law will be a turning point in the linguistic and social history of Algeria. This will calm the anger that the Berber speaking area is known of since this has been their dream since Algerian independence.

This legitimate claim has been delayed, and even ignored for decades thinking that passing the law will make the Algerian unity fall apart, whereas this attitude generated a feeling of disgust, anger and revenge among Berbers. In fact the dilemma is not a mere linguistic claim, but rather an identity crisis; there is a general consensus among Berbers that their culture is not to be ignored or to be melted in the Arabic one because each is unique and doing so on the part of decision makers is a kind of 'internal colonialism'.

2.4.2.2. Algerian Arabic

As explained in Ferguson's theory, L is not considered as a real language. For this reason, AA has no similar problems to those arisen by Berbers. AA is 'under-valued' by its speakers. Hence, it had long been neglected by researchers in Dialectological studies. Sociolinguistic empirical works are quite limited in the Arabic world including Algeria. Few works were conducted by foreign scholars during the French or the English occupation of the Arab countries. The French coloniser, for instance, appointed special dialectologists like Marçais and Cantineau to draw grammar rules of the Maghribi dialects. The aim was to raise dialect awareness among its speakers and thus to widen the gap among them through encouraging them to speak AA as opposed to other Arabic dialects.

AA characteristics have been described by Marçais, W. (1902). Though the work is very old, AA has kept most of its characteristics which are "the lengthening of the *hamza*, i.e. the glottal stop when being inside a word and it is realized as a long vowel' (ibid: 20). For example, a word like [almu?minu:n], is realized as [almu:minu:n]; meaning 'the believers'

Another characteristic of AA is that "the final *hamza* never appears in final position" (ibid: 21) like in the word [hamra]; instead of [hamra?], to mean 'red' in the feminine form. Sometimes there is a loss of vowel in final position like in the word [fi:] 'in' which is often realized as [f] next to another word (ibid: 43). Other phonological phenomena are known in AA like epenthesis and dissimilation when the phonemes /l/ is realized as [n] in words like [sənsla] for /silsila/ i.e. 'a chain'. Or the reverse as in [fənʒa:l] instead of [finʒan] for 'a cup' (ibid: 38).

AA dialects differ at the level of phonology, morpho-syntax and lexicon in relation with the geographical region in which it is used. This variation, also, has to do with historical facts. North Africa in general and Algeria in particular have been Arabised within two periods. The first period began with the arrival of Muslims in 641 A. D. during which the *sedentary* dialects spread. The second wave of Arabs called: *Banu Hilāl* in the 11th century lasted around 150 years. Their *Bedouin* dialects brought to the country are the source of the most rural Arab dialects in North Africa today. They are found everywhere except in the regions where the urban dialects are spoken and in the isolatedmountains of the Berbers (Bourdieu 1961).

In traditional dialectology, AA was viewed as sedentary vs. Bedouin. The Algerian sedentary dialects are divided into two interlinked types: the Mountain or the Village dialects and the ones spoken in big cities. The Village dialects are found in the department of Oran in the mountains of Msirda and Trara, in addition to the department of Constantine which corresponds to Eastern Kabylia, including Djidjelli, Mila and Collo, whereas the Urban dialects are implanted in the long-established cities of Nedroma, Medea and Dellys (ibid.).

- According to Cantineau, J. (1940) the pronunciation of the Arabic morpheme /q/ decides on whether the dialect is sedentary or Bedouin. Thus, the most distinctive feature of sedentary and Bedouin speech is /q/ realization. In Sedentary Dialects, the uvular /q/ is pronounced either as a velar [k] like in

Ghazaouet, the mountains of Msirda and Trara, and Djidjelli, as a glottal stop [ʔ] like in Tlemcen or as [q] as in Algiers and Nedroma.

- The substitution of the interdentals /θ/, /ð/, /d/ and / ð./ bythe sounds [t], [d], [t], and [d.] respectively like the realization of the word /θaum/ as [tu:m] 'garlic', the word /ðuba:b/ as [dəbban], 'flies', and the word /baida:ʔ/ as [beeta] for 'white in feminine form', as well as as [əddla:m] instead of [əððala:m] for 'darkness'.

- Sedentary dialects have a set of morpho-syntactic characteristics. The most prominent one is the fact that no gender distinction is used in the second person singular as in Tlemcen, such as [ʔu:l] meaning 'Say!' addressing both feminine and masculine speakers. The use of forms like [ti:na] 'you' and [hu:mæn] 'they' can also be found. There is also the use of the suffix {-ayən} to mark duality. People say for instance: [ju:majən for 'two days'. In terms of syntax, an excessive use of these prepositions: {ddi}, {əddi}, {djal}, and {ntaʕ}. The sedentary dialects share remarkable common instances of vocabulary. Here are some examples which are specific to places considered to speak sedentary dialects in the area of Tlemcen: [ʔæsəm] or sometimes [wæsəm] 'what?', [χa:j] 'my brother', [ʔaʕməl] for 'do!', and [ji:h] or [ʔi:h] for 'yes' (Dendane, 1993:72).

- On the other hand, Bedouin dialects are spoken everywhere in Algeria except in the regions where the sedentary dialects were implanted before the arrival of the Arab Nomads called Banu Hilāl. Rural speech is widely spoken in the department of Oran, central and eastern Algeria and in the south where the sedentary speech is absent. Bedouin dialects are characterised by the voicing of /q/ into the back velar [g] in contrast with the glottal stop, the uvular [q] and the voiceless plosive [k] in the sedentary dialects; the word /qaala/: 'he said' is realized as [ga:l]. One can say that this realization is a 'marker' of Bedouin dialects.

- Other phonetic identifiers can be found in this type of dialects. There is a fair retention of the interdentals [θ], [ð]and [ð̣], as in [θaum] 'garlic' and [ˌð̣ˌhar] meaning "back". There is also a fair retention of the diphthongs [ai] and [au] like in the following examples: [bai ḍa] 'egg'. There is the use of [nta] or [nta:ja] instead of the Arabic pronoun /ʔanta/ 'you' to address a male and [nti] or [ntijja] for the pronoun /ʔanti/ to address a female.

These are some distinctions that might be made between Algerian dialects, though these rules are not watertight and witness a wide range of exceptions. Other works have attempted to enrich dialectology studies. Though Marcais (1960) and Cantineau (1937-40-41) and others had classified them according to their characteristics and their geographical distribution, Algerian dialects still need further linguistic research about the dynamics of language use. A glance at the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria reveals that AA has been developing remarkably. Indeed, new dimensions are known in the current Algerian linguistic scene. This shift is due to the phenomenon of 'exodus' that has spread in Algeria, which is the mobility of speakers of different dialects from one place to another, mainly from the countryside into larger cities and civil agglomerations. The aim of these people is to seek a better social life and to seize more opportunities for work, education and health services. Hence, few, if not none, of the Algerian dialects have remained intact from borrowings.

It is agreed that many varieties of AA are influenced in a heterogeneous way by other languages; for example, Berber, French, Spanish, Turkish and Italian. In its current form, this AA reflects the various stages which it crossed during its history. From the lexical point of view, one notes the presence of a long list of Berber originwords such as [zəlli:f] for 'sheep's head', [fəkru:n] for 'tortoise', [fəllu:s]for 'chick', and [xəmməl] 'to clean', etc, and a great number of other words drawn from the vocabulary of agriculture, breeding and toponymy. Words like [təbsi]for 'plate', [maʕʕadnu:s] for 'parsley', [branijja] for 'aubergine', and [boqre:ʒ] for 'kettle', etc., testify to the influence of Turkishin AA. Before the arrival of the French, Spanishwords entered the language, for example, [fe:ʃta]

'festival', [sbərdi:na] 'trainer', [boga:do]'lawyer', [əsskwila] for 'primary school'. (Benrabah 1997:40).

French left various lexical items which illustrates the capacity of adaptation of AA: fonara] from the French word /fulaʁ/, 'scarf', [kuzi:na] from the French /kuizin/ for 'kitchen', and [mizirijja] from /mizɛʁ/ for 'misery', in addition to a very long list of borrowings from French to the extent that for some Algerians, all these "foreign" words are Arabic. Speakers of other, non-North African varieties of Arabic even hesitate to identify AA as "truly" or "authentically" Arabic because it contains so much French, whereas many Algerian linguists insist that AA is purely Arabic using an etymological approach, like the work done by Mortad, A.(1981: 14).

This has raised a controversy among specialists concerning viewing AA as Arabic or not. And if so, the question that recurs in many discussions on, "How will one handle French?" This question is posed naturally, as a matter of the fact that the speakers of AA use significant amounts of French in conversation, not only as borrowings but also as CS. The use of French is, in fact, so characteristic of AA that it is typically the first feature mentioned when native speakers describe the Arabic they speak.

2.5. Code Switching in the Algerian Context

CS is a defining aspect of any bi- or multilingual speech community. The Algerian linguistic profile is often described to be a mixture of the available language varieties, to the extent that Algerians are stigmatized by the other Arab countries for being non-speakers of Arabic, and judge AA to be full of French expressions. It is often claimed that AA is not Arabic, or at least as one of the most difficult Arabic dialects to be understood, especially by Middle Easterners. This claimed unintelligibility stands on the basis that Algerian speakers did not do much to spread their dialect in the world, mainly in cultural production like films and when speaking to any Arab speakers, most Algerians tend to accommodate their speech to the others' dialect like Egyptian or Lebanese, or opt for MSA or a variety

that is close to it. By this linguistic behavior, they express a certain pride of the fact that they can understand and switch among most Arabic varieties, and simultaneously, they consider the claim that AA is 'the most difficult Arabic dialect' and that 'no one can understand their dialect' as 'compliments'. Algerian speakers do not usually stick to one code in everyday interaction but they use AA (or Berber in the Berber spheres) mixed with French or MSA, or even English for the younger ones.

2.5.1. Algerian Arabic/ French Code Switching:

AA, in general, is often qualified like nonsense unable to convey a 'higher culture'. This kind of prejudice is common among Arabs in the Middle East and Algerians alike. In general, AA-speaking people do not have any problem to communicate with those of Morocco, Tunisia or Libya, but it is more difficult for them to communicate with the Arabic-speaking people of more distant countries in the Middle East such as Syria, Iraq or Jordan. This is because Algerians use French so much, either as borrowings or as CS. Sometimes some French expressions are so much used in AA to the extent that they become considered as Arabic, especially by illiterate people.

For example, everyone in Algeria says [lo:to] for 'car', or in some areas [tonobi:l] from French *l'auto*, or *automobile*, respectively. No one calls it in Arabic [sajja:ra], except those Arabists who make an effort to abandon French origin words in their speech as an action of pro-Arab-Muslim identity. The cell phone is called by everyone [portabl] and very few use the Arabic equivalent [naqqa:l]. Expressions like *ça y est*, *ça va*, *normal*, *jamais*, *déja*, and *grave* are understood and used even by illiterate people. If one wanders in Algerian streets, s/he may very often come across written public signs both in Arabic and French, sometimes, even just in French in some places like the area of Bejaia, which is a Berber-speaking area. In some cases, one can find the French name written in larger letters in comparison to the Arabic ones. This can mean the prestige associated with French, and even the dependence on this colonial heritage. This dependence is flagrant if one considers

the toponymy of the country; for instance, one will not find his way if asking people where is *charie al istiqlel* 'Independence Street', which is a name given by language planners to a street in Tlemcen, but everyone can show the way to *la rue de France*, which is the name used during the French colonial era, more than half a century ago.

French has been ascribed high prestige after independence because of its association with the off-spring of French education. Though many consider CS to French as 'ugly', many of them switch consciously and purposely to French in their speech in order to sound more 'open-minded', 'intellectual', and 'civilised'. One might meet some people using French when addressing their children or their pets to be perceived as 'modernised'. Dogs, for instance, are usually addressed in French as if these can, ironically, understand French only. Algerians tell their dogs to come by saying *ici*, 'Here', and tell them to go away by an adopted word '*oukchi'* from the French expression *allez couché*, that is 'go to sleep'. This irony draws our attention to the following fact.

French is so spread in Algeria, but one often comes across a kind of 'Algerian French'. Many French expressions are adopted in AA to the extent that they witness a semantic shift, i.e., they lose their original French meaning. This is the case of not only old illiterate people, but of many literate ones as well. Algerian speakers, for instance, use the word [ssi:li:ma] from the word *cinéma* to refer to the meaning of 'a scandal' and sometimes to mean 'marvelous'. Many people, especially young ones, use words like, *normal, vrai* and *grave*, excessively, where it can be used and where it cannot. A large number of examples can be found within slang variety spread among youth and teenagers. Some words and expressions could even be accepted by *l'academie française* and include within the French dictionary like '*taxieur'* for a taxi driver, or *'hitiste'* an unemployed young person who spends his day leaning on a wall.

Few people, however, can handle a whole conversation in French, and many cannot produce a large stretch of speech in it. Indeed, the degree of bilinguality

among Algerians is a continuum that ranges from few adopted words to whole conversations in French. This continuum is in direct relation with the geographical origin of the speaker; in some places like Algiers and large cities, people use more French in comparison with those living in the countryside and small towns. One can relate this to other factors, like age and gender; female speakers use more French than males, whereas age is misleading because it depends on the educational and family background. The degree of bilinguality has to do with the educational level; the higher one's educational level, the larger are stretches in French. Here, many specialists intervene to raise a set of controversies. Many claim that this can be the case for the bilingual school, i.e., those educated in French in post-colonial Algeria. However, the Arabised school has been accused to be responsible for the decline of the degree of bilinguality among the youth. Some Arabisation enemies may even assert that it is responsible for failure in the Algerian educational system and 'semi bilingualism' among young Algerians. Many criticise the Algerian students for not being able to master both French and Arabic (MSA) and prefer to send their children to French-speaking private schools.

Yet, if we listen carefully to those educated in the Arabised school, we realise that many speakers switch rather to MSA on many occasions. If they do not find a ready word in MSA, or AA, they take it from French, or any available code they know that the involved people in the conversation can understand. Can one call this pragmatic failure? Or it is just a strategy of conversation which can be included within strategic competence? Can one speak of a kind of Algerian-French pidgin, since its speakers mix the two codes to form a special code? Can one refer to this mixed variety as Algerian French since it has its special significance among Algerians different from that shared among French native speakers? Another important question is posed in this respect: Is this bilingual situation a stable situation or will it disappear one day from the Algerian linguistic repertoire, especially with the spread of English among youngsters as a preferred language? And if so, will MSA replace French in all spheres, mainly in everyday communication, especially because there are indices of the spread of a middle language due to a diglossic code switching?

2.5.2. Algerian Diglossic Code Switching

Ferguson's original proposal of diglossia (1959) states that H and L are in complementary distribution, i.e., when one is used the second is not. He has, however, revised his theory and recognized the appearance of a third code called 'middle variety', a mixture of H and L. It has become customary to hear people saying [əlfurṢa] for 'opportunity' in their everyday speech when they do not find an expressive word in L. Larger stretches of H can be found mixed with L in some intellectuals' speech, especially those who use MSA at work like teachers and religious people. Arabised students, too, tend to switch unconsciously to MSA. Some people, on the other hand, attempt to use the maximum of MSA in their speech in order to retain their Arab-Muslim identity. For these, the use of any code other than MSA is a loss of identity and a disappointment to Islam and to the language of 'paradise'. So, you find parents who ask their children to call their father and mother as [ʔabi:] and [ʔummi:] instead of 'Papa' and 'Mama' as in AA in order to emphasize their Arab identity.

On the other hand, due to globalization and the recognition of dialect rights in the world, there has been a kind of tolerance of the other way switching; that is, using L when H is supposed to be used, as in the media, the president's speech, literature, writing, education and in the court of justice. This kind of tolerance has been rejected for decades, but people nowadays, very often switch to L either because they lack fluency in H, they want to sound free, to strengthen the feeling of solidarity with the audience or simply they feel 'lazy' so they make the least effort they can.Some playwrights tend to write in AA. A trend raised by Kateb Yassine called 'colloquialism' in the aim of being near the audience hearts. The news is the only sphere in which diglossic switching is rare, except when news announcers use expressions like [sahha ʕi:dkom] to wish a happy feast to the Algerians in Algerian terms.

The use of Colloquial Arabic has become flagrant in the domain of advertising. What is striking is the use of AA as written in the Arabic script,

inventing a number of letters to represent the sounds that exist in AA but not in MSA like [g] which is written as the Arabic letter ق for [q] adding it a third dot to give new letter ڨ . This convention came on the basis that the sound [g] is a realization of the phoneme /q/ in AA. For the same sound [g], one often comes across a script using the number '9' for its resemblance to the latin script of this sound. It has become usual to see advertising signs in the street exposing expressions like the expression used by the mobile company 'Djezzy that means 'it kills boredom': تقضي على اللقية . We notice in this ad the mixing of AA and MSA in the Arabic script in one sentence. A similar example is used by a competing Mobile company called Mobilis, which whenever a promotion of free calls is introduced, the word 'باطل' is used, an AA word that means 'free'. Tens of examples can be found in this phenomenon that shows the rise of a new kind of AA script.

Ex-president Bouteflika used AA expressions in his speech. We heard him say *'bərrzana təmbaʕ əsso:f'* a typically Algerian saying meaning that one should deal with one's problems wisely. He often used similar expressions not because he lacked fluency in MSA or felt lazy, but to sound 'Algerian', one among the people. Just for this reason, many people accepted code switching and found it appropriate and benign since the linguistic competence of the president was known and approved.

Very often, one might hear a judge switching to AA in the court and many teachers claim that they use AA in their classroom interaction. Learners, too, at all levels, use AA even in the Arabic session with a teacher who speaks MSA. To ask for permission to erase the board, for instance,pupils maysay [nəmsaħ ttablo] instead of /hal amsaħu aṣṣabbu:ra/;here, the question word /hal/ is not used because it is not in AA,and the conjugation of the verb /masaha/ (to erase) follows AA grammar rules. One might even observe in some cases that learners of a certain age avoid MSA use. This behaviour is quite strange if compared with Ferguson's claims about H being always more prestigious in comparison with L. This situation is also controversial if compared with other countries in the world in which dialectal forms

are avoided where they are not usually used. This is the concern of the fieldwork of the present research work.

2.6. Conclusion

MSA has been given importance in Algerian formal settings by virtue of its being the language of Arab-Islamic identity. MSA and AA are in diglossic relationship in the Algerian linguistic scene. Yet, since Algeria has been a melting pot of languages, CS became one aspect of Algerians' conversation dynamics. They often switch codes in their linguistic practices. In spite of the fact that H and L are defined as complementary in the original definition of diglossia, it is quite common to hear Algerian speakers switch between the two linguistic codes. One speaker might include H in everyday communication and mix it with L as they can insert L in a formal setting that is said to use H solely. The latter linguistic phenomenon became observable in many H domains like the media, the President's speech, religious practices and education. In actual classroom practice, for instance, there may be an insertion of L within classroom interaction. This linguistic phenomenon is to be diagnosed thoroughly in the next chapter using an empirical study of a sample population.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

and Data Collection

## 3.1.	Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the fieldwork of the investigation. It attempts to relate the theory and analysis mentioned in the two previous chapters to the actual situation observed in the setting, schools where Algerian pupils who are supposed to use MSA, the language of instruction, interact with their teachers in class mixing it with AA, their mother tongue. A set of research instruments is utilized to gather the needed data for the purpose of eliciting pupils' linguistic behaviour in a formal context. The data are eventually analysed and interpreted as objectively as possible.

## 3.2.	Research Objectives and Motivations

Out of necessity rather than tradition, the literature review chapter in this research attempts to define the crucial key concepts needed to draw a clearer image of the research objectives. Starting from the top of the pyramid, considering the macro level of sociolinguistics, mainly, Language Planning and diglossia, we have moved to more basic concepts, situated at the bottom of the pyramid, if we choose to view sociolinguistic studies in a pyramidal framework. Therefore, more micro-sociolinguistic related concepts have been covered, like switching codes and classroom settings in the light of some social factors. Hence, it attempts to relate both macro and micro approaches to sociolinguistics. This is done through describing LP. Then, it checks its application in actual situations, and it finally attempts to analyze its findings and relate them to LPP.

Another aspect worth mentioning about this research work is its concern with diglossic codeswitching in classroom settings, as a process not as a product. In other words, it does not aim at describing switches from MSA to AA in classroom interaction linguistically but rather quotes from this phenomenon to use it as a means to answer the question 'what are the reasons that makepupils switch to colloquial Arabic while using MSA?'.To answer this question, one might propose a number of reasons such as those cited in Grosjean (1982) (see section 1.5.2.3.). Yet, to restrict the field of research, two reasons are chosen to be tested, namely, pupils' fluency in MSA as well as their attitudes towards it. The former reason was

restricted to their fluency test instead of a whole language test because the concern of the study is oral interaction rather than written production. Though teacher and learners are both participants in classroom interaction, the focus here is particularly on pupils' speech. It concentrates on cases in which the teacher uses MSA with no switch to AA while the pupils' answer is in colloquial Arabic or they mix both codes in one utterance.

The present research, hence, attempts to shed light on codeswitching that occurs in classroom settings from MSA to AA. It adopts an analytic approach to tackle the problem of using AA while interacting with the teacher in class. In order to limit the scope of this study, pupils at three educational levels are studied, primary, middle, and secondary schools using a sampling method. The choice of the sample population came on the basis of motivations that are quite subjective, rather than being purely objective. In fact, we have tried to access data receiving recourse from family members and acquaintances working as teachers in the chosen schools at the three educational levels so that they can easily get in touch with the sample population. The observer' paradox is reduced because the pupils can be observed in the presence of their teacher. The sample population is presented in the next section.

3.3.   Sample Population

The sampling method is used to limit the fieldwork. It deals with different pupils and teachers round the area of Tlemcen, a city situated in the extreme west of Algeria, an Arabic-speaking sphere. It has been chosen, not for objective reasons, but rather subjective ones, simply for being the city of origin of the researcher, and thus the easiest place she can get to. The sampling method is random since in Milroy's terms (1997:19) "…anyone within the sample frame has an equal chance of being selected". It also attempts to be representative in a way that is "…broadened to include different types of language as well as types of speakers" (ibid: 21); that is, it tries to collect a maximum amount of data from all types of speakers. The number of inquiries may change throughout the fieldwork depending on each research instrument and each setting.

3.3.1. The Primary School Sample Population

The chosen primary school is situated in the city center. Its name is *IbnMarzouk*, an old school known from the colonial period as 'l'école Duffau[24].The reason of choosing this school, is that the researcher's cousin is a teacher in the school, and she could talk the headmaster into permitting me to carry out the experiment in a friendly way within the school, rather than an official one, since lately the administration in charge for national education has been quite firm as far as allowing exterior individuals to penetrate its institutions.

The Headmaster accepted my attendance for a classroom observation, to hand out a set of questionnaires to the pupils and to handle interviews with teachers, as well as tests of fluency to pupils. The same cousin was so kind to allow me to be in contact with her own pupils, fourth year level, as well as to convince her colleagues to permit me to interview them, and give questionnaires to their pupils and to test their fluency in the language. There were four classes, two classes of the fourth-year primary school, and two from the fifth-year grade. The questionnaires was handed to 53 pupils, 32 girls and 21 boys aged between 8 and 12 and having an average grade ranging between 5 and 9.64 out of 10 in the last term examination. The test of fluency in MSA was given to 50 pupils, among whom 34 were girls. The tested pupils' ages range between 9 and 11, and their average marks range between 3.71 and 9.78 studying in fourth and fifth year. So the sample population was random and every pupil of the two last years of studies in the primary school level had equal chance to be questioned or tested. Yet, the focus was put on these two levels of studies considering that the questions were quite difficult to be understood at a younger age.

As for the general atmosphere of the experiment, it was welcomed by the pupils who were excited to fill in the questionnaire, happy about expressing their

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[24]The colonial name was chosen after some French colonel, Duffau, but after independence it was replaced by the name of an Algerian14[th] century scholar, Shams-Eddin Ibn Marzuk.

opinion. In fact, they perceived the experience of doing the questionnaire and taking the test as an entertaining activity. On the other hand, some of the teachers were quite skeptical towards the questions, and perceived them as an attempt to inspect them, and even judge them in spite of the fact that the researcher told them that this had no relation with judging their performance as a teacher, but rather it was a descriptive work of today's pupils. This skeptic attitude from the part of the teachers appeared in the three educational levels, but for the primary school teachers, it was quite flagrant.

3.3.2. The Middle School Sample Population

The chosen Middle school is situated in an adjacent area to Tlemcen city center. The place is called *Bouhennak 400,* which is part of Mansourah district. It is a district situated about 10 Kms far from Tlemcen centre representing a newly-established urban agglomeration as many families have moved in from a diversity of places, speaking different dialects of Arabic and gathered in the area.The majority of informants speak an Arabic variety that is a mixture of the local dialect of Tlemcen – characterized with the realization of the Arabic phoneme /q/ as a glottal stop [ʔ]– and some borrowings from Bedouin dialects, which may interfere in many respects with their home dialect. In other words, there is a general agreed-on mixed variety accepted among the informants.

The pupils were asked about their parents' general occupational types in order to permit us to inspect the possibility that this might affect their linguistic repertoire. In other words, parents who are educated in MSA, for instance, may raise their children in a more 'MSA-speaking' atmosphere, compared with illiterate parents. Frenchised parents, on the other hand, may transfer their language competence and attitudes to their children. This idea has been supported by the psycho-sociologist Glen (1975: 78), who claims that parents' language attitudes can be unintentionally induced to their children.

The Middle School, named *El Habbak* School, is not an ancient established school; it has been in service since September 2008 and it includes four middle school levels. The general number of registered pupils does not exceed 500. The present research attempts to study about 10% of the whole population, i.e., 49 informants including 20 males and 29 females.

Therefore, the sample population is mixed in terms of gender, and educational history, i.e., previous schooling. The age ranges from 11 to 14 years old. Their families' origin as well as the socio-economic status and parents' educational levels are diverse. However, they share the fact of being part of the national program and they are part of an educational reform that includes a four-year studies period concluded with a national exam called 'BEM' at the end of their curriculum in the Middle School. They study different compulsory subjects with different teachers: Mathematics, Physics, Biology, Social Sciences, Sports, Arabic and Islamic Education are supposed to be taught in MSA as a medium of instruction. The pupils learn French and English as foreign languages. However, both teachers and pupils agree that none of these subjects is held in a single linguistic code. Codeswitching may occur from both parts in classroom interaction.

3.3.3. The Secondary School Sample Population

The chosen secondary school is called *Brahmi Mohamed*, situated in the district of Sidi Safi, in Beni Saf, about 60 kms far from Tlemcen city. Administratively speaking, this district is related to the wilaya of Ain Temouchent, an adjacent wilaya to Tlemcen, both geographically and culturally. The choice of this secondary school came relying not on scientific grounds, but rather on personal ones, which lie in the fact of easy access to data. A great help has been given by my brother, who works as a teacher there, and his colleagues. From an objective standpoint, changing the province to an adjacent one has allowed us to know that the linguistic phenomena we are studying are not particular to Tlemcen city, but it is crystal clear that most cities of Algeria, at least, Arabic-speaking areas, share the same linguistic phenomena. Therefore, it would be very interesting to have research

teams to study linguistic phenomena related to education in different cities of the country in order to be able to generalize scientific facts based on sound grounds in relation to LPP.

As far as the sample population is concerned, 48 pupils have done the questionnaire; 23 males and 25 females aged between 16 and 19. Their mean averages range between 7.65 and 16.06 out of 20. They are registered in different technical and scientific branches. To obtain a clearer picture of this linguistic behaviour, a set of research instruments is used in order to serve us to answer the inquiry objectives.

3.4. Research Instruments

In order to approach exactness and objectivity, a triangulation of research instruments is used in the present work, mainly elicitation instruments as well as observational ones. It attempts to consider the linguistic phenomenon of diglossic codeswitching in classroom interaction from three angles. First, questionnaires and interviews are used to elicit data explicitly from the informants. The second elicitation procedure relies on tests of fluency in MSA. The third perspective is observational as it adopts a direct study of the linguistic setting.

3.4.1. The Questionnaire

Seliger & Shohamy (1989: 172) define questionnaires as "printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously". In the present work, the questionnaire is used to collect data about the informants so that we can define their profile and eventually to designate the factors that are responsible for their linguistic behaviour. It also attempts to elicit the informants' awareness of their attitudes. 153 copies of the printed questionnaire in MSA are randomly distributed to pupils in different educational levels and classes in each level. The informants have been informed that this questionnaire belongs to a researcher working at the university so that they would not answer in a way to please their teacher. The challenge for the

questionnaire was to address the same questionnaire to children in the primary school and to young adults in the secondary school. In order to verify if it is understood by this age range, it was first tested with three pupils at the primary school third year and they found no difficulty to understand it. The day of the experiment, the researcher was present in the three educational levels and read the questions to the pupils. Observing the pupils interaction with their teacher and with the researcher, it was apparent that they found no difficulty in understanding them. Some primary school pupils asked the meaning of AA, and it was explained simply that AA '*eddarija*', is the way you speak at home, outside class, and with a shopkeeper, while MSA is the language you can read, hear in cartoons and that the teacher speaks. Surprisingly, when reading the questionnaire to secondary school pupils, many asked explanation of the questions because they found a difficulty in understanding them. They started translating the questions into the dialect to make sure that they have understood well the questions. This behaviour on their part can give a hint about their MSA attitudes. This means that they have taken habit on communicating in AA with their teachers to the extent that they no more consider MSA as a language capable of conveying meaning, or because they have no self-confidence to use it and understand it correctly. The idea will be better developed in combination with other data collected throughout the research work in the fourth chapter when analyzing the pupils' attitudes towards the available codes.

The questionnaire is composed of 16 questions arranged in three sections (See appendix A). The first part embodies three questions about the informant's profile: gender, age, their mean grades and educational level; primary, middle or secondary schools, in addition to their class level. These are the social factors that have been assumed *a priori* to be responsible for their linguistic behaviour. The second section includes questions from 4 to 9 (except for 6, which is related to the next last section), devoted to checking whether they use AA in the classroom and if they have code awareness and domain differences. This section includes rather multiple-choice questions and questions about giving an approximate percentage of AA use in classroom settings. The sixth question of the questionnaire is a self

assessment in MSA and is proposed to check implicitly their attitudes towards MSA. It is related to the last section, which directly attempts to touch the research question using seven open-ended questions. Yet, it was separated from the last section in order not to make the pupils feel pressure in successive questions related to attitudes. The questions from 10 to 15 use the term 'your mates' instead of 'you' to avoid embarrassing the pupils to be able to elicit the attitudes of the group rather than personal opinions of the respondent. Being related to psychology, asking about attitudes is very delicate since they are implicit in a way that the respondent is often not aware of them, and it is up to the researcher to introspect deeply into the respondents' psyche in order to come up eventually with an assumption about them. Yet, scientifically speaking, drawing generalizations relying solely on one research tool, which is the questionnaire, is misleading. Therefore, the interview is used as a complementary tool to obtain additional data.

3.4.2. The Interview

Unlike questionnaires, interviews are 'time consuming', in Seliger and Shohamy's terms (1989:166). Being oral, they require much effort from the researcher as well as volunteering and commitment from respondents. Consequently, they are seldom used alone, but they are often combined with questionnaires to reach more reliable results (ibid: 172). Before handling the interview with the actual sample population, we have tested pilot interviews with some pupils and teachers to get a closer view of the situation and in order not to be misled by subjectivity. Five teachers in different educational levels, selected among the researcher's acquaintances and relatives, are exposed to an unstructured interview, in the form of informal chats, containing the questions gathered in the interview schedule available in appendix 2. Five pupils, in parallel, were interviewed on the basis of simple questions like 'Is the lesson held only in MSA?'; 'Who uses AA in class?', and 'Why do pupils behave like that?' This is rather an unstructured interview with unpredictable answers, designed to introspect the hidden facts in a relaxed atmosphere.

After handling several pilot interviews in a friendly atmosphere, the structured interview, presented in appendix2 was formed. As one can notice, it is composed of 13 questions gathered in three blocks of questions. Each block contains one or more questions with a common objective. The first four questions are designed to draw the teachers' profile, which is very important when analyzing the collected data. The questions from 5 to 8 aim at exploring the phenomenon of diglossic switching and checking if their attitudes are flagrant to the teachers by the fact that they are in permanent interaction with pupils. More introspective questions are posed in the next block from the ninth to the thirteenth question with the aim of exploring the teachers' awareness of their pupils' attitudes towards MSA, AA, and diglossic switching.

29 teachers accepted to be interviewed within the three educational levels. 10 female teachers teaching in the primary school, 9 among them teach Arabic, while one teacher teaches French. Their teaching experience ranges from 1 to 10 years. For the middle school, only four females were interviewed, teaching, Arabic, mathematics, and English, with a teaching experience ranging from 15 to 24. As far as the secondary school is concerned, 15 teachers of mathematics, physics, biology, philosophy, Islamic sciences, civil engineering, history, Arabic, civil engineering and mechanic engineering accepted to be interviewed. Their teaching experience ranges from 5 months to 30 years. The researcher seized the opportunity of being within the three educational levels for giving the questionnaire and the interview by attending courses in classrooms with some teachers, in addition to giving the pupils tests of fluency in MSA. These are exposed thoroughly in the two sections below.

3.4.3. Observation

The aim of conducting classroom observation in the present research is not of the 'professional action observed' type as named by Wallace (1991:62), i.e., it is not held for educational purposes. It is chosen as a research tool, rather, for direct observation in class. First, it permits us to validate the results yielded in the pupils' questionnaire as well as the teachers' interview, then, to describe the different

patterns of MSA/AA switching. Berthier (1998:13) explains how to handle classroom observation without affecting the subjects, and watch them in a discrete manner, the observer should sit at the back in the classroom to be 'forgotten'[25]. This way of observing the subjects in an investigation is reliable in scientific research; Wallace (1991) compares this to a sport situation where the spectator sees most of the game contrary to the participants.

During my classroom observations in the three educational levels, the teachers felt very disturbed and embarrassed, especially for the middle school and in the secondary school. For the primary school settings, though the teachers felt quite embarrassed while being observed, they could overcome this feeling of being inspected by the researcher. The learners were very excited to receive a guest and did their best to participate more in order to give a good impression. Yet, this excitement did not affect much their code choice if one compares it to their linguistic behaviour in the sessions where they received the questionnaire or the fluency tests.

However, as mentioned above, the observer's paradox was crystal clear in the middle and secondary schools. The teachers, being aware of the research topic, deduced from the interview, started forcing themselves to use MSA more than usual. This change has been noticed by the pupils, especially because they too were aware about the topic. So, the observer turned into an inspector who came into the schools to force everybody to change their linguistic behaviour, and thus deserves to be treated with attention. Scientific objectivity has forced me to stop the observation in the beginning because the observer's paradox was so high that it flagrantly misled the observations. On the other hand, I thought of other solutions to obtain more reliable results: asking my brother, who is a teacher of computing in the secondary school, and my sister, a teacher of Arabic in the middle school, to give me a hand. As they are researchers themselves in their fields of study, research is a routine for them. My proposal was to ask them to record a video during their

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[25] Original text in French "L'observateur non-engagé observe discrètement les sujets, en se faisant oublier par exemple assis au fond d'une classe".

class session in order to track their pupils' linguistic behaviour as realistically as possible.

3.4.4. The Fluency Test

A test is administered to the pupils in order to verify their fluency in MSA. It is used as a diagnostic tool to know their ability to communicate effectively using the standard form of Arabic. Most of the questions were designed to test the pupils' fluency and to elicit some of their language attitudes through asking direct questions about Arabic. The fact of raising this topic of discussion will presumably put them in an atmosphere of MSA and encourage them to use it during the test.

Fifty students in each educational level were tested, a total number of 150 pupils to be tested. Being oral, the test was difficult to be handled with 150 pupils in terms of time and effort, especially for the reason that the idea of the test spread among them and they could prepare themselves beforehand in a way that makes the data unnatural. All of the pupils were tested alone by the researcher in the primary school, while recourse was demanded from two teachers: the sister who teaches Arabic in the middle school, and her brother who is a teacher of civil engineering and computing in the secondary school. At both levels fifty tests were held. The test stands on the idea of increasing the informants' need of using only MSA. Before the test, they were asked to imagine themselves with a teacher of Arabic, and addressed purely in MSA so they should do their best to show their linguistic ability in using the standard form. Section two precedes section three with the purpose of raising the pupils' awareness to make an effort in using MSA.

The test consists of three sections (see appendix B). The first section consists of direct questions to know the informant's factors; mainly gender, age, and educational level. The second is a self-evaluation question which requires the respondents to rank their linguistic abilities in MSA. They choose which level they are in the four skills from excellent to weak. This type of question often reflects one's attitudes towards a language. The third section is composed of three fluency levels. The first requires the use of one word; the second makes the respondents use

a small utterance like a sentence, the third level demands a larger stretch of speech, at least two sentences.

3.5. The Results

The research instruments cited above allowed us to obtain results to be presented and analyzed in the present chapter, to be eventually interpreted in the next chapter. Considering the three main criteria of a good scientific research, namely, empiricism, objectivity and exactness, both quantitative and qualitative data have been extracted from the used research instruments. The present work insists on drawing quantitative results from each research instrument to approach exactness. It also takes into consideration some qualitative remarks that will enrich the gathered data and give the work a more analytic nature rather than a mere descriptive one.

3.5.1. The Questionnaire Results

As mentioned above in section 3.3, the sample population is composed of 53 pupils in the primary school, 49 in the middle, in addition to 48 pupils in the Secondary school, which gives a sum of 150 questionnaires to be studied. Being a stratified random sample population, each level will be studied on its own, so that it will eventually permit us to compare and synthesize the obtained data.

3.5.1.1 The Primary School Results

We will expose here below the collected data from the questionnaire in the form of quantitative and qualitative data.

3.5.1.1.1. Quantitative Analysis

In question 4, out of the 53 pupils, 24 claim that they use MSA in class, as opposed to only 2 who report AA as a communication language. 27 pupils admit using both. The following table and chart display statistics about the question as to which code is used in class, as reported by the pupils.

Table 3.1 Pupils reporting their use of Arabic in class

AA use N=2	MSA use N=24	Both N=27
3.77 %	45.28 %	50.94 %
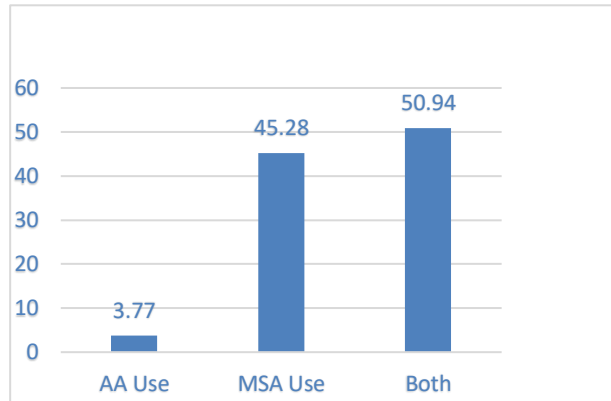
Fig. 3.1 Pupils reporting their use of Arabic in class (AA, MSA, both)

The table below and its corresponding graph expose the informants' reporting about the frequency of AA use in classroom interaction as question 5 inquires:

Table 3.2 Frequency of Pupils' Use of AA in Primary School Classroom

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=3	5.66 %
Often > N=5	9.43 %
Sometimes > N=24	45.28 %
Rarely > N=8	15.09 %
Never > N=13	24.5 %
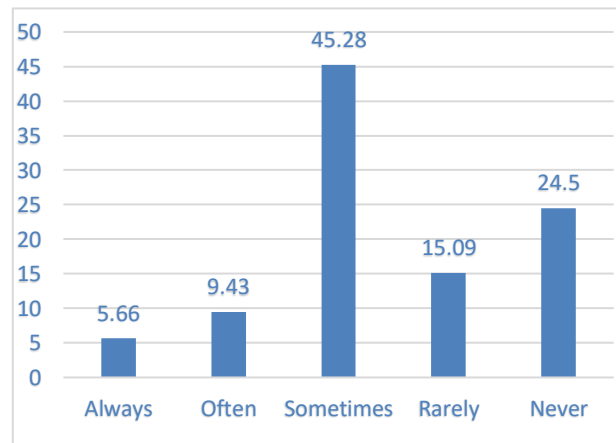
Fig. 3.2 Pupils' use of AA in class

Question 6 requires from the pupils to make a self-evaluation concerning their level in Standard Arabic. Their feedback is summarized in the table below.

Table 3.3. Primary School Pupils' Self Evaluation

Pupils' self-evaluation in MSA use	Percentage
Excellent> N=32	60.37%
Good> N=13	24.5 %
Acceptable> N=8	15.09 %
Average> N=0	0 %
Never > N=0	0 %
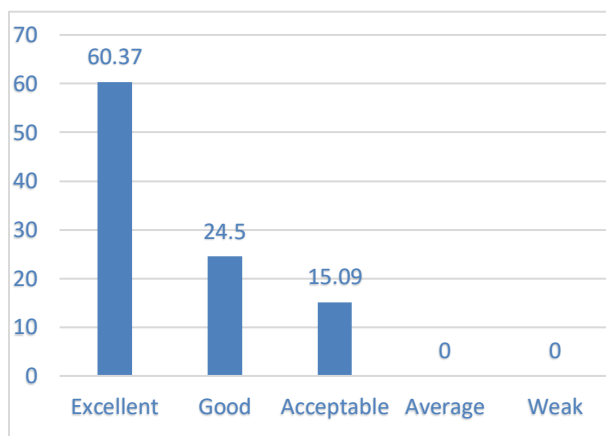
Fig. 3.3 Pupils' self-evaluation of MSA level

On the other hand, the pupils were asked about their teachers' use of AA in classroom settings. Their answers are exposed in the following table and graph.

Table 3.4 Frequency of Teachers' Use of AA in Class as reported by Pupils

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=7	13.20 %
Often > N=7	13.20 %
Sometimes > N=27	50.94 %
Rarely > N=3	5.66 %
Never > N=9	16.98 %
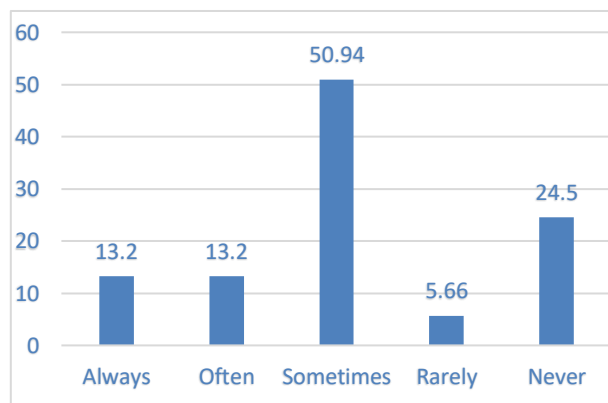
Fig. 3.4 Pupils' evaluation of teachers' AA use

In order to study the domain of use of AA in class, questions 8 and 9 were posed. A list of subjects was presented to the pupils and they were asked to quantify their teachers' use, then their own use of AA in class. Their replies have to be in the form of a percentage out of the time allotted to study each subject. The following table attempts to summarize all collected data for question 8 and 9, respectively.

Table 3.5 Teachers' Use of AA in Primary School Classroom according to Subject

Teachers' Use of AA in class	[0-20%]	]20-40%]	]40-60%]	]60-80%]	]80-100%]
Arabic	37	3	7	1	5
Mathematics	25	10	10	4	3
Islamic Educ.	36	2	6	0	9
Physics, Biology	23	8	12	2	3
History	25	11	11	3	2
Sport	3	2	5	4	39

Table 3.6 Pupils' Use of AA in Primary School Classroom according to Subject

Pupils' Use of AA in class	[0-20%]	]20-40%]	]40-60%]	]60-80%]	]80-100%]
Arabic	38	2	7	1	4
Mathematics	35	8	4	0	3
Islamic Education	36	7	4	1	4
Physics, Biology	37	6	4	1	2
History	28	9	8	3	4
Sport	4	0	5	1	42

From the remaining questions of the questionnaire, one could collect the following qualitative data

3.5.1.1.2. Qualitative Analysis

Starting from question 10 to 16, the pupils are asked direct questions in relation to their MSA, AA awareness, attitudes and practices in class. Primary school pupils are aware of the two language varieties, and all the informants have

revealed to be conscious of the domain that each variety serves. Many informants have difficulties in expressing themselves in longer stretches, especially male pupils, in comparison to female ones. Many pupils could exhibit some spelling mistakes. Yet very few had recourse to switching to AA in spite of their difficulties in using MSA.

100% of the 50 primary school pupils agreed on the fact that the teacher's use of AA in class has 'enhancing communication with pupils' as an objective. We received answers like for being clear, for a better understanding, to explain difficult words. Some of these answers as well as the informants of the three studied levels answers are gathered in appendix D, and appendix E. One primary school pupil guessed that the teacher uses AA because 'he doesn't know MSA'.

On the other hand, the majority of pupils related their peers' use of AA in class to their lack of mastery of MSA. 70% of the answers included this reason as first reason. Some other reasons could be collected like 'to be understood by the teacher (16% of them), 8% added 'to check if they have understood well. Just one pupil claimed that AA is their language so it is normal to use it for communication.

Question 12 of the questionnaire could elicit a set of attitudes towards MSA among primary school pupils. These attitudes could be arranged in the form of a continuum, from the most positive ones, passing through the neutral, then the most hostile ones. Their attitudes are quantified in relation to the number of pupils claiming each attitude; this combination of quantitative and qualitative results is important in the sense that it allows us to be more exact and enables us to compare the results of the remaining educational levels in the fourth chapter. The exact Arabic adjectives used by the informants are summarized in a table in appendix D, while the adjectives used within the work are an attempt from the researcher to be translated, relying on personal intuition as a member of the same speech community as the informants. The adjectives used by the pupils, to describe a pupil who uses MSA solely in class, were 'hard working' (23 pupils), 'excellent' (14 pupils), 'intelligent' (3), scientist (1), 'polite' (7), 'educated' (8), 'distinguished' (2), 'active'

(1), 'understandable' (1), 'Muslim' (1), 'successful' (1). Four remaining negative attitudes manifested by a minimal number of students are 'unable' (1), 'odd' (6), and 'uncivilised' (1).

In question 13, they explained their attitudes towards the MSA in-class-speaker. Most attitudes, towards the 'classmate who uses only MSA in class', were positive by most informants. 14 students expressed their admiration of his linguistic behaviour in class. They described him as 'excellent because he knows MSA', 'he respects the language of classroom' (3 pupils). Some guessed that he is excellent because 'he practices the language at home' (2 pupils). Attitudes like 'polite people always speak in MSA' (7 pupils), 'genius in MSA', 'intelligent' (4 pupils) and 'cute'. Some, even, went extreme by stating: 'We are jealous of him, because he speaks MSA better than us, we want to imitate him' (5 pupils). Only one pupil expressed a negative attitude claiming: 'He is odd because he doesn't speak AA' like we do'.

In parallel, questions 14 and 15 examine AA attitudes among the pupils. Most elicited attitudes were negative and very few were neutral, like 'they are ordinary people, normal, or average rated pupils' (4 pupils). The negative attitudes were answers like 'weak' (14 pupils), and similar answers like 'doesn't understand, doesn't know MSA' (8 students), 'he thinks he is at home', 'disrespectful' (6 pupils). He was described by some strong negative labels like 'negligent' (by 6 pupils), 'impolite' (3 pupils), 'jackass' (5 pupils), messy (2) 'odd' (2), 'lazy' (4), and naught. When asked to justify his behaviour, 26 students agreed on the fact that 'he must be weak in MSA', and many deduced his educational failure. Some emphasized on describing him as 'disobedient' and 'naughty' as they perceived AA as 'odd'. Yet, just two students were neutral and characterized his behaviour as 'normal'; 'though he had to speak MSA', in their terms. One of them confessed that 'very few pupils speak MSA in class', which made him 'an ordinary speaker'.

In question 16, the informants' attitudes were less sharp. They consider the act of mixing MSA and AA in class as a normal and ordinary behaviour. 10 claimed

that is 'normal, because we all speak like that'. Yet, mixing MSA and AA is perceived as a sign of pupils who are: 'limited to average capacities in studies' by 34 informants. 2 pupils guessed that the pupil mixes codes when he is 'shy'. Only one student expressed a negative attitude towards mixing by describing the pupil as 'insane'.

The next section exposes the encountered data using the questionnaire for the middle school level.

3.5.1.2   The Middle School Results

In the same pattern of exposing the collected data from the questionnaire for the primary school, both quantitative and qualitative data are analyzed below.

3.5.1.2.1 Quantitative Analysis

In question 4, out of the 49 pupils, 10 have claimed that they use MSA in classroom, as opposed to only 2, who have chosen AA as a classroom communication language. 37pupils have admitted to use both codes in classroom. The following table displays statistics about the question as to which code is used in class, as reported by the pupils.

Table 3.7: Code use in Middle School Classroom

AA use N=2	MSA use N=10	Both N=37
4 %	20.4 %	75.5 %
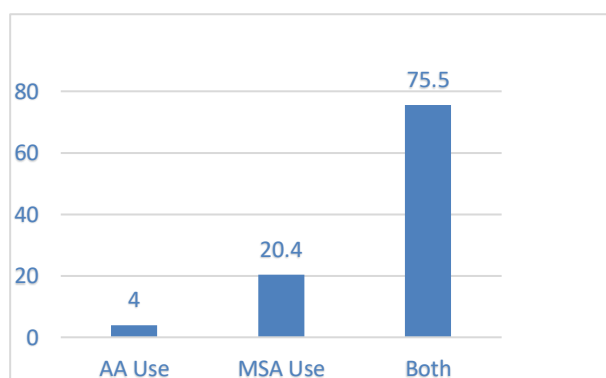
Fig. 3.5 Middle School pupils' use of Arabic (AA, MSA, Both)

The table and graph below expose the informants' reporting about the frequency of AA use in classroom interaction as question 5 requires.

Table 3.8 Frequency of Pupils' Use of AA in Middle School Classroom

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=0	0%
Often > N=1	2%
Sometimes> =31	63.26%
Rarely > N=11	22.44%
Never > N=6	12.24%
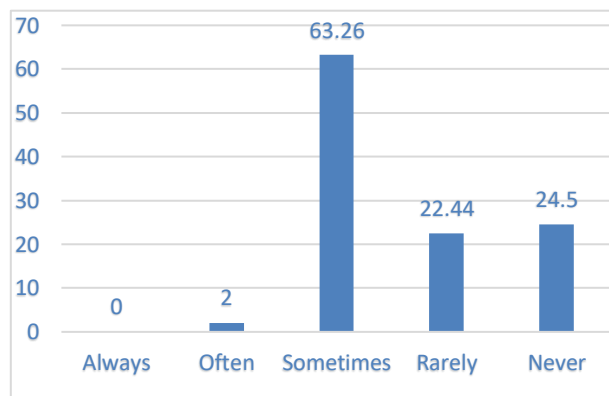
Fig. 3.6 Pupils' use of AA in class

Question 6 requires from the pupils to make a self-evaluation concerning their level in Standard Arabic. Their feedback is summarized in the table below.

Table 3.9. Middle School Pupils' Self-evaluation

Pupils' self-evaluation in MSA use	Percentage
Excellent> N=5	10.20%
Good> N=17	34.7%
Acceptable> N=17	34.7%
Average> N=10	20.4%
Never > N=0	00%
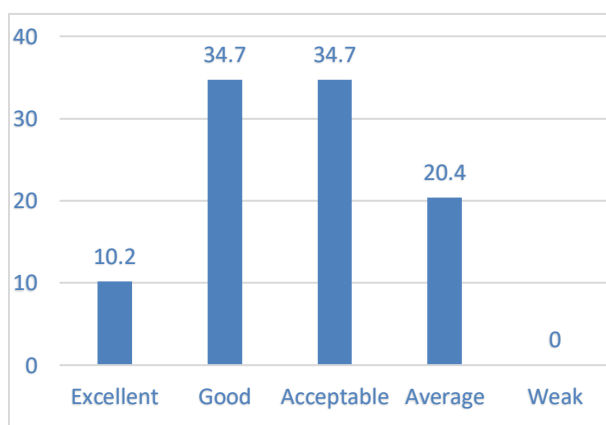
Fig. 3.7 Pupils' self-evaluation of MSA level

When asked about their teachers' use of AA in classroom settings, the pupils reported their assumptions as summarized in the following table:

Table 3.10 Frequency of Teachers' Use of AA in Middle School Classroom

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=1	2%
Often > N=9	18.37%
Sometimes > N=25	51%
Rarely > N=12	24.5%
Never > N=1	2%
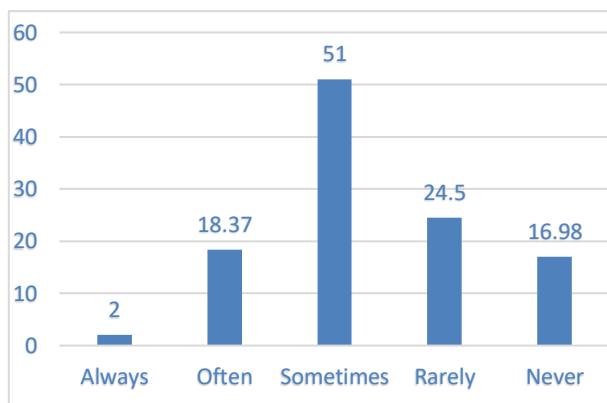
Fig. 3.8 Pupils' evaluation of teachers' AA use

In order to study the domain of use of AA in classroom, questions 8 and 9 were posed. A list of subjects was presented to the pupils and they were asked to quantify their teachers' use, then the pupils' use of AA in class. Their replies have to be in the form of a percentage out of the time allotted to study each subject. The following table attempts to summarize all collected data for question8, and 9, respectively.

Table 3.11 Teachers' Use of AA in Middle School Classroom according to Subject

Teachers' Use of AA in class	[0-20%]	]20-40%]	]40-60%]	]60-80%]	]80-100%]
Arabic	15	9	8	7	8
Mathematics	25	2	9	7	3
Islamic Education	24	4	9	4	8
Physics	11	5	12	11	8
Biology	5	8	8	11	15
History	20	7	7	4	8
Sport	6	2	8	2	31

Table 3.12 Pupils' Use of AA in Middle School Classroom according to Subject

Pupils' Use of AA in class	[0-20%]	]20-40%]	]40-60%]	]60-80%]	]80-100%]
Arabic	23	11	7	1	4
Mathematics	22	10	7	3	4
Islamic Education	26	11	5	2	2
Physics	25	9	6	4	5
Biology	18	7	11	5	6
History	21	9	7	6	1
Sport	14	0	3	7	24

From the remaining questions of the questionnaire, one could collect the following qualitative data

3.5.1.2.2 Qualitative Analysis

Starting from question 10 to 16, the pupils are asked direct questions in relation to their attitudes towards MSA and AA in relation to their classroom practices. Middle school pupils, too, are aware of the two language varieties, and all the informants have revealed to be conscious of the domain that each variety is reserved to. Contrary to primary school pupils, the middle school' informants exhibited a far away mastery of MSA, through expressing themselves in longer stretches and more precise diction. No use of AA was certified in their answers.

50% of the middle school pupils agreed on the fact that the teacher uses AA in class for a simple reason: 'better explanation of the lesson'. Further explanation could be given by some pupils. We received answers like 'for being clear', 'for better understanding', 'to pass the message', 'to simplify the lesson', and 'to be understood by all pupils whatever their level is'. More attentive pupils could decode deeper functions that using AA in class by the teacher can serve, like 'he has the habit to do so', or 'to approach the pupils in a language they are acquainted with at

home', 'to motivate the pupils and for leisure'. Some pupils reported that AA serves as a language for 'getting angry in' and for 'blaming naughty pupils'. 5 pupils guessed that the teacher uses AA because 'he doesn't master MSA'. Some of their original answers that bore qualitative data are listed in App 7 and 8, then translated and transliterated for more authentic data.

On the other hand, most pupils related their peers' use of AA in class to their lack of MSA mastery. Answers like 'they don't master MSA', 'they can't pass the message in MSA', 'they lack vocabulary', 'to be sure that they have understood well', or 'they don't know how to translate their ideas into MSA', all convey the idea of lack of proficiency in MSA. Two pupils were keen to discern a relationship between this linguistic behaviour and the teacher's use of AA in class: imitating the teacher as well as lack of opportunities to practise MSA to enhance their fluency. Few other affective reasons could be proposed like 'to hate the teacher' or 'to hate Arabic', in addition to reasons like 'they are acquainted to it' or they feel ashamed to use MSA'.

In Question 12, we could collect a set of attitudes towards MSA among middle school pupils. A special relationship was captured between the informants' mean grades and their MSA attitudes, which are represented in two poles; positive and negative ones. The positive attitudes, expressed by the highly graded pupils, but not restricted to them, are statements like: 'his language is beautiful and classy', 'he uses the language of our country', 'we like his language' 'we and the teacher like him', 'awesome', 'polite', 'he loves studies and knows the value of our language', 'respectful', 'educated', 'we listen to him attentively and imitate him'. The negative attitudes, on the other hand, came from different pupils diverse in terms of mean grades and from both genders. 50% of the pupils agreed on the fact that using MSA in classroom is 'funny'. Similar negative attitudes could be gathered at this level of the questionnaire, such as: 'an old fashioned person', 'we make fun of him, because he is arrogant and conceited',' I will never talk to him', and 'he is very odd, he wants to attract attention', 'he sounds like cartoons', 'I have never seen worse than someone who speaks MSA', 'he makes me furious and disgusted'.

In question 13, middle school informants' attitudes towards MSA were unveiled in more details. Interesting remarks were offered by some of them, reflecting their analytic thinking maturity, and their languages attitudes awareness. A comprehensive pupil' explanation reveals that 'excellent students like it (MSA)' while ' limited ones hate it, because they don't understand it. This is why they laugh'. Attitudes towards MSA speaker were: 'we hate him because communication with him is difficult', 'he must be a foreigner because Algerian people speak AA', ' he is ridiculous', 'he is like a cartoon', ' he speaks like primary school', ' he is different from the remaining pupils', ' I do not know anyone speaking MSA', 'he does that to attract attention and to make his mates laugh', 'in our generation, very few people speak MSA'. Yet few pupils adopted neutral to positive attitudes. They were neutral using explanations like 'it is normal', or 'he is free, he speaks as he wants', while only one pupil claimed 'they normally must speak MSA in class. It is the language of Qur'an'.

Simultaneously, questions 14 and 15 examine AA attitudes among the pupils. The collected attitudes range between positive, neutral with a majority, and negative ones.14 pupils answered answers of the type 'they are ordinary people', 'normal', or 'I do not care'. Some gave further explanation of their empathetic attitude, stating that 'he is doing that out of habit, and maybe he does not know MSA', or 'normal because, I am like him', 'they are all like that', and 'it is normal and not embarrassing', 'we should not embarrass him'. Some students went extreme by expressing their admiration and respect to this pupil. They expressed their positive attitudes via answers like: 'They harmonise with him and love him', 'he loves AA, and that is familiar and understandable', 'we communicate easily with him, because we feel at home'. A pupil chose to describe him as 'a modest person', and described AA as 'our national language'. However, some negative attitudes were expressed by many pupils, mainly in relation to his general educational achievement. He is described as 'a lazy pupil', or 'a low graded pupil'. Some described him as 'ridiculous' and 'funny'. There is a general agreement that he is often laughed at because, according to them: 'he does not know MSA', or 'he is odd'. They expect

him to be 'punished by the teacher' 'because he thinks he is in street or in a market'. He is described, also, by two pupils as 'naughty', and 'uneducated'

In the 16 question of the questionnaire, they considered the act of mixing MSA and AA in class as a normal and ordinary behaviour. 20 pupils claimed that is 'normal, because we all speak like that'. Some explained his behaviour as normal because 'he is accustomed on that since his younger age' or because 'he lacks fluency in MSA'. Some rated him as 'the best pupil ever and the most loved one because we can understand him'. An informant commented 'great! he masters two codes MSA, and AA'. Paradoxically, another informant has considered him as 'ridiculous because he does not make the difference between MSA and AA'. Mixing MSA and AA is perceived by some as a sign of having limited to average capacities in studies. Few students expressed negative attitudes towards mixing by describing the pupil as, 'lazy', or 'annoying'. 12 pupils highlighted the reaction of their mates represented in laughter and making fun of him.

The next section diagnoses the collected data using the questionnaire for the Secondary school level.

3.5.1.3 The Secondary School Results

Quantitative and qualitative data that secondary school pupils have yielded are displayed as follows:

3.5.1.3.1 Quantitative Analysis

In question 4 of the questionnaire, out of the 48 pupils, no-one claimed using only MSA in class, while 7 chose AA as a classroom communication language and 41pupils declared that they used both. The table below and graph display statistics about the question as to which variety is used in class, as reported by the pupils.

Table 3.13: Code use in Secondary School Classroom

AA use N=7	MSA use N=0	Both N=41
14.6 %	00 %	85.4 %
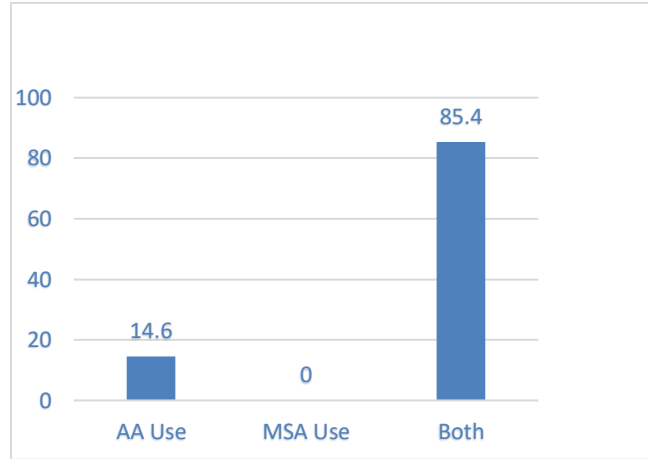
Fig. 3.9 Pupils reporting their use of Arabic in class (AA, MSA, both)

In their answers to question 5, secondary school pupils checked the following frequency of their use of AA in classroom settings

Table 3.14 Frequency of Pupils Use of AA in Secondary School Classroom

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=5	10.42%
Often > N=9	18.75%
Sometimes > N=24	50%
Rarely > N=8	16.67%
Never > N=2	4.16%
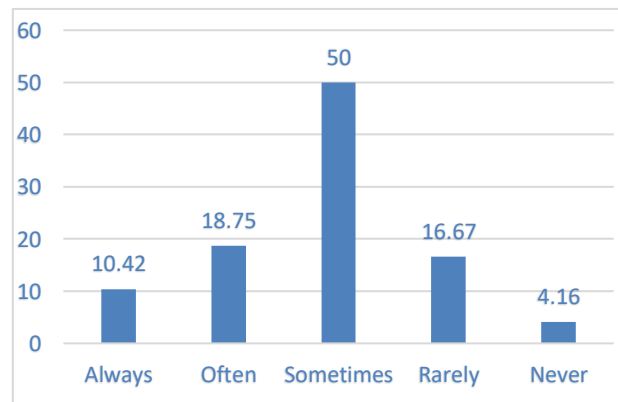
Fig. 3.10 Pupils' use of AA in class

The secondary school pupils have evaluated themselves in Arabic. Their replies to question 6 were as exposed in the table below.

Table 3.15. Secondary School Pupils' Self Evaluation

Pupils' self-evaluation in MSA use	Percentage
Excellent> N=4	8.33%
Good> N=20	41.67%
Acceptable> N=13	27.08%
Average> N=11	22.91%
Never > N=0	0%
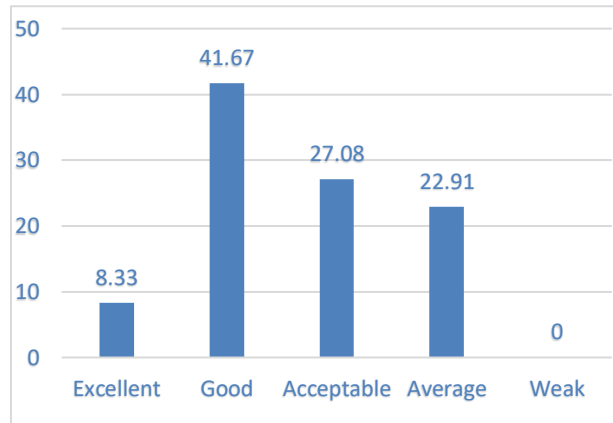
Fig. 3.11 Pupils' self-evaluation of MSA level

The pupils' answers to question 7, concerning their teachers' use of AA in classroom, are as follows:

Table 3.16 Teachers' Use of AA in Secondary School Classroom

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=3	6.25%
Often > N=14	29.17%
Sometimes > N=20	41.67%
Rarely > N=12	25%
Never > N=0	00%
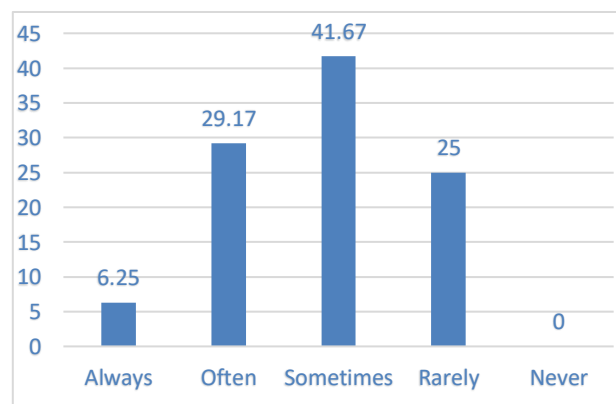
Fig. 3.12Teachers' use of AA in class

In order to study the domain of use of AA in classroom, questions 8 and 9 were posed. A list of subjects was presented to the pupils and they were asked to quantify their teachers' use, then the pupils' use of AA in class. Their replies have to be in the form of a percentage out of the time allotted to study each subject. The following table attempts to summarize all collected data for question8, and 9, respectively.

Table 3.17 Teachers' Use of AA in Secondary School Classroom according to Subject

Teachers' Use of AA in class	[0-20%]	]20-40%]	]40-60%]	]60-80%]	]80-100%]
Arabic	20	9	8	7	8
Mathematics	11	9	16	3	8
Islamic Education	27	7	7	2	4
Physics	10	9	12	9	6
Biology	18	8	11	7	2
History	20	1	10	9	6
Sport	7	3	10	7	20

Table 3.18 Percentage of Pupils' Use of AA in Secondary School Classroom according to Subject

Pupils' Use of AA in class	[0-20%]	]20-40%]	]40-60%]	]60-80%]	]80-100%]
Arabic	14	8	14	6	6
Mathematics	12	10	5	9	12
Islamic Education	21	10	3	7	6
Physics	10	9	9	7	13

Biology	16	9	11	7	4
History	19	5	6	13	5
Sport	9	4	3	3	30

From the remaining questions of the questionnaire, one could collect the following qualitative data

3.5.1.3.2 Qualitative Analysis

MSA, AA and their mixing are dealt with in the questionnaire, starting from question 10 to 16. The pupils are asked direct questions in relation to the available codes used and attitudes. Secondary school pupils, too, are aware of the two language varieties, and all the informants have revealed awareness about the domain that each variety is reserved to. Nevertheless, surprisingly, most of their answers were shorter, less developed, and less analytic than the ones proposed by the middle school informants. Many use AA, vague diction and even grammar mistakes.

There is a general consensus among the pupils on the fact that the teacher uses AA in class to ensure a better communication with his pupils. 15 pupils at this level agreed on the fact that teachers use AA in class for the simple reason of 'a better explanation of the lesson'. More exact AA functions could be proposed by some pupils, such as 'for simplifying and clarifying' (21 pupils), 'for faster understanding' (17 pupils), and 'to be understood by all pupils whatever their level is' (18 pupils). A peripheral AA function proposed by some is the fact that it can serve as a code to get angry and 'to quarrel with naughty pupils'. Reasons in relation with MSA, AA attitudes in class were revealed through the following answers: 'AA concepts are easier and simpler' (9 pupils), 'AA is adjacent to reality' (4 pupils), opposed to 'the teacher gets ashamed of MSA' and, 'MSA is boring, difficult, and heavy' (13 pupils). Some of the original answers of the questionnaire

can be consulted in appendix 7, and appendix 8, with their translation and transliteration for more authentic data.

In parallel, when asked about, their peers' use of AA in class, most pupils related it to their lack of mastery of MSA as well as AA facility for communication. We received answers like 'they don't master MSA' (17 pupils), 'they are afraid of making mistakes in MSA' 'they are afraid to be made fun of' since 'MSA is no more used', 'MSA is boring and difficult', and 'the teacher asks in AA' or 'to be understood by the teacher' (8 pupils). On the hand, AA was loaded by positive attitudes like its speed and easiness for passing the message (15 pupils) as well as being part of their identity and being bound to it.

Attitudes towards MSA are crystallised in the answers for question 12. Few positive or neutral attitudes could be captured like 'excellent' (2 pupils), 'polite' (2), 'marvellous' (3) and 'normal' (5). Negative attitudes, however, received the lion's share in their answers. 28 pupils reported that they laugh at someone using MSA, and make fun of him. A pupil reported 'he is a mockery' and another added 'he must be a comedy if he is in a scientific session'. An additional characteristic proposed by a pupil is that the pupil who speaks in MSA in classroom is 'a narrow-minded person'. Sarcastically, one pupil answered 'we call him *Abou-Jahl*, or *Al-Mutanabbi*'[26].

Reasons standing behind the informants' attitudes towards MSA were unveiled in more details in their answers to question 13. Their laughter attitude, for instance, is explained by the fact that the pupils are unacquainted with hearing MSA in class (8 pupils). Some just put it this way: 'We hate MSA' and another pupil said 'We prefer AA'. 2 pupils have raised the fact that MSA is associated with cartoons in the sense that the one who uses MSA sounds childish. 5 pupils deduced the reason of these negative attitudes as 'the pupils lack mastery of MSA, and thus they feel jealous of its speakers'. Few pupils advocated 'Our duty is to use MSA' (4 pupils), and one claimed that 'one should respect the general rules within the

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[26]*Abou-Jahl*and*Al-Mutanabbi*are two Arab personalities famous for their use of 'pure' Arabic.

classroom'. Two pupils responded that it is not bad to speak MSA because it is the language of Qur'an, and those who laugh just 'lack education and are ignorant'. One student kept neutral claiming that 'Language is not important. What matters is good behaviour'.

Attitudes towards AA are explored in questions 14 and 15. The attitudes elicited from the pupils range between positive, neutral with a majority, and negative ones. 26 pupils answered 'They are ordinary people', or 'normal'. 15 out of them gave further explanation of their tolerance of its use in class, stating: 'All pupils use AA', while 7 pupils explained that they took habit in using it. Some revealed 'we should respect the others and their different way of speaking, anyway'. Some pupils viewed AA positively, describing it thus: 'AA is so special; it is our language'. It is, in their terms, 'easy, and the language of life'. However, some negative attitudes were expressed by very few pupils (5pupils). One relates mainly to his general educational achievement. He is described as 'a very low graded pupil'. Some described him as 'ridiculous' and 'funny' because he does not respect class rules, creates chaos in class, and does not respect the teacher .

In question 16, they considered the act of mixing MSA and AA in class as normal and ordinary behaviour. 20 pupils claimed that is 'normal'. Three informants commented positively on the fact that one pupil masters two codes MSA and AA. Yet, four informants have considered him as 'funny'. Mixing MSA and AA is perceived by some as a sign of having limited to average capacities in studies. One even dared to characterize him as 'stupid', while another called him 'naughty'.

A more precise vision cannot be approached, unless one considers the situation from the teachers' standpoint. This is realized through the use of an additional research tool, which is the interview. The obtained results are exposed below.

3.5.2. The Interview Results

As already mentioned, the interview is more time-consuming and requires more energy than a questionnaire for the collection of the data needed. In addition, what may make an interview harder to deal with is the interviewee's reluctance and lack of commitment, particularly with teachers. However, thanks to our persistence and some help from within the schools, we have succeeded in obtaining valuable data from the questionnaires addressed to the teachers and then to some pupils.

In the following, we will expose the collected data from administering 29 interviews distributed on the three levels.

3.5.2.1 The Interview Results for Primary School

The interview could supply the research by both quantitative and qualitative results:

3.5.2.1.1 Quantitative Results

The following table displays the frequency of AA use in class, as reported by teachers.

Table 3.19 Frequency of Teachers' Use of AA in Primary School

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=0	0%
Often > N=0	0%
Sometimes > N=7	70%
Rarely > N=2	20%
Never > N=1	10%
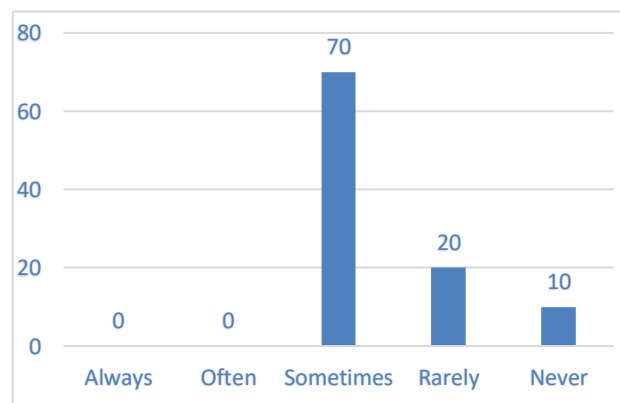
Fig. 3.13Teachers' use of AA in class

When asked about their pupils' frequency of use of AA in classroom, they replied as shown in the following table and graph below:

Table 3.20 Frequency of Pupils' Use of AA in Primary School Classroom

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=0	00%
Often > N=2	20%
Sometimes > N=5	50%
Rarely > N=1	20%
Never > N=1	10%
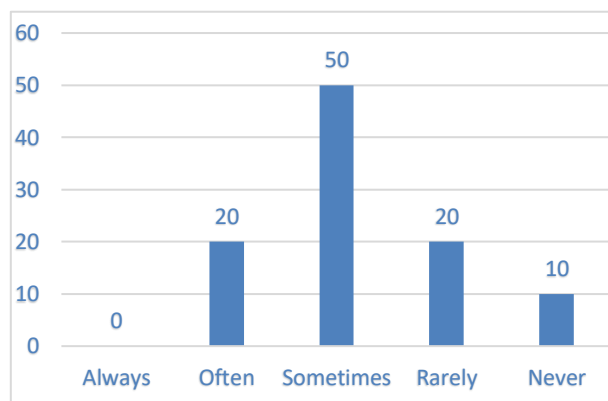
Fig. 3.14Teachers' evaluation of Pupils' AA use

Within the interview, some qualitative questions were asked for better understanding of code choice dynamics in class. (see Appendix B)

3.5.2.1.2 Qualitative Results

Seven questions from the interview could yield the qualitative results summarized below:

All of the 10 interviewed primary school teachers agreed that their use of AA in class sessions serves as a means of 'simplification of concepts' and 'better comprehension'. Some raised the point that loving their job and pupils made them address them in a language like home so that they will feel at home. One teacher made reference to the fact that 'It's ok for the teacher to use some AA in class, since it is included within the ministry proposed textbooks. As far as the pupils' AA use in class is concerned, 6 teachers related it to the influence of the milieu the pupils are raised in, namely, family and society. Two teachers stressed the impact of the teacher's code choice on the pupils. Five teachers related pupils' use of AA in class to their young age and lack of language proficiency, in addition to the difficulty of definition of some concepts in MSA. Some teachers highlighted the dominance of AA over the linguistic register of the pupils because of their obvious being used to it.

On the other hand, MSA use among pupils has received positive attitudes from the teachers. The 10 teachers agreed that the pupil using MSA must be the offspring of an intellectual family. He is usually the center of admiration and imitation for his peers, and has probably an excellent level. Only one teacher made reference to the reaction of laughter performed by some pupils when listening to one of their peers using MSA solely, and he has guessed that they laugh out of jealousy. All the teachers in their explanation of the reasons affecting the pupils' attitudes have emphasized that using MSA is normal and automatic due to the efforts done by the teachers to keep order in class by establishing an MSA-based communication. Teachers, according to them, are respected and loved by their pupils, which makes their encouragements for MSA useful.

Questions 11 and 12 investigate the case of pupils' use of AA in class. Most of the interviewed teachers claimed that such a behaviour is a sign of disrespect to the teacher, and one said 'It has never occurred in my classes'. They even judged the teacher that allows such behaviour to occur in class to be 'unprofessional'. Some claimed that a pupil using AA in class is a source of mockery from the part of pupils, and has to be helped by the teacher for using 'correct' language in class. For question 13, however, the teachers' position was more understanding concerning mixing the two codes MSA and AA. Some were even approving this linguistic behaviour to be effective in class, because it helps the pupils reach a better decoding of the lessons, 'especially for preparatory and first year primary school classes'. In spite of that, most teachers remain skeptical and insist to reinforce MSA in such situation by correcting the pupils and assisting them to produce less AA in class.

The same interview, handled with middle school teachers, could yield the data presented below:

3.5.2.2 The Interview Results for Middle School

The interview conducted with middle school teachers brought quantitative as well as qualitative results

3.5.2.2.1 Quantitative Results

The following table displays the frequency of using AA in class, as reported by the teachers of middle school

Table 3.21 Frequency of Teachers Use of AA in Middle School

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=0	00%
Often > N=0	00%
Sometimes > N=3	75%
Rarely > N=0	00%
Never > N=1	25%

Fig. 3.15Teachers' frequency of AA use in class

When asked about their pupils' frequency of AA use in class, they replied as detailed in the following table and graph.

Table 3.22 Frequency of Pupils' AA use in Middle School Classroom

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=0	0%
Often > N=1	25%
Sometimes > N=3	75%
Rarely > N=0	00%
Never > N=0	00%
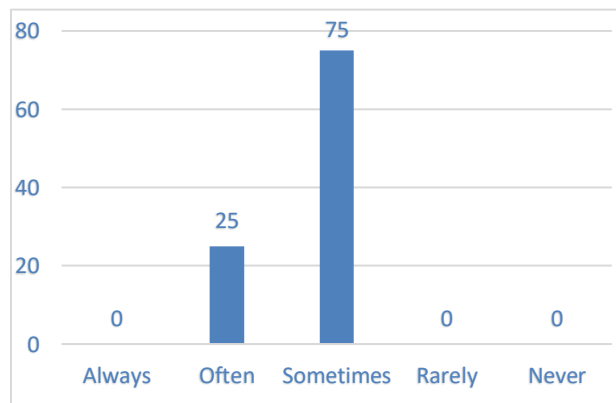
Fig. 3.16Pupils' use of AA in class

Seven questions in the interview are reserved for the qualitative data collection. The obtained results for middle school are as follows.

3.5.2.2.2 Qualitative Results

Two out of the interviewed primary school teachers agreed that their use of AA within class serves as a means of 'simplification of concepts and assimilation of concepts'. One teacher made reference to the effectiveness of addressing the pupils in their language, in terms of establishing a better communication. Two teachers emphasized the impact of the teacher's code choice on the pupils, describing using AA in class as 'the bad habit of using the language of home in classroom'. The reasons lying behind their linguistic choice according to the teachers, is due to their MSA deficiency, in addition to being used to AA use, especially by the teacher.

MSA use among pupils has received positive attitudes from the teachers. 2 teachers agreed that the pupil using MSA is the centre of admiration and imitation for his peers, and one teacher said that the pupils should be asked to use MSA instead of 'the language of streets'. Two claimed that it is often the source of astonishment and denial among pupils. They find the pupils' attitudes 'as negative and worthless'. They deduced as reasons of their choice: lack of proficiency and lack of practice of MSA in everyday life, which engendered a rejection and a low fluency in the language.

Questions 11 and 12 investigate the case of pupils' use of AA in class. One teacher claimed that such behaviour passes 'invisible' because they took habit on it. He made reference to the role of the teacher in establishing communication dynamics in class. Other teachers reported that they might remind him to avoid the language of home and streets, and that he is odd because he used the language of the street. Yet, two teachers claimed that the pupils like the peer who uses AA because they feel that he speaks their language. The teachers' attitudes towards mixing the two codes MSA and AA range between rejection and acceptance. Two teachers viewed this behaviour as inappropriate, and that the pupil should be interrupted to speak MSA, because it is 'unacceptable', and 'creates an atmosphere of indifference and disorder'. In parallel, the two remaining teachers accepted it 'because this is what they do in reality'.

The same interview was handled with secondary school teachers, and could yield the data presented below.

3.5.2.3 The Interview Results for Secondary School

The interview could provide the research by both quantitative and qualitative results

3.5.2.3.1 Quantitative Results

The following table and graph display the frequency of teachers' use of AA in class:

Table 3.23 Frequency of Teachers' Use of AA in Secondary School

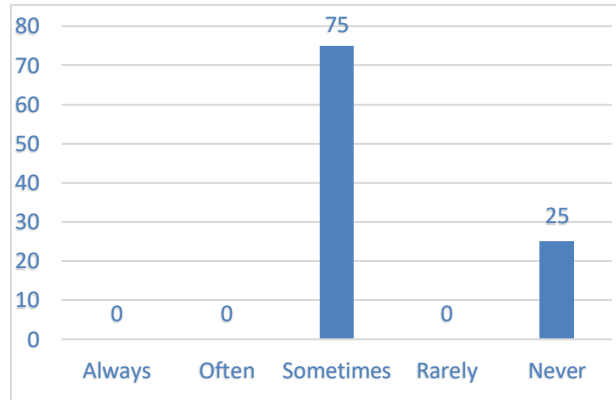| Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=3	20%
Often > N=9	60%
Sometimes > N=2	13.33%
Rarely > N=1	6.67%
Never > N=0	00%
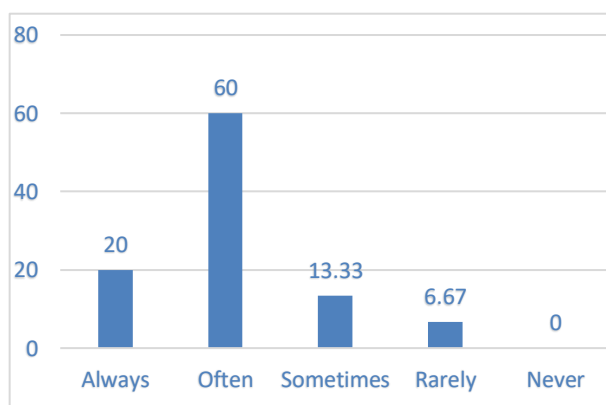
Fig. 3.17Teachers' use of AA in SS class

When asked about their pupils' frequency of AA use in class, they replied as shown in the following table and graph below:

Table 3.24 Frequency of Pupils' Use of AA in Secondary School Classroom

Frequency of AA use	Percentage
Always > N=3	20%
Often > N=2	13.33%
Sometimes > N=9	60%
Rarely > N=1	6.66%
Never > N=0	00%
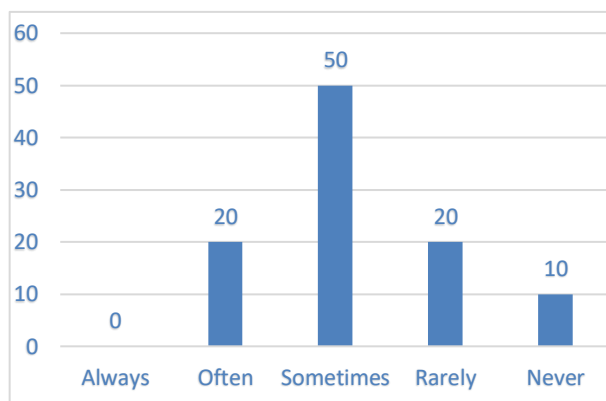
Fig. 3.18Teachers' evaluation of pupils' AA use

3.5.2.3.2 Qualitative Results

Seven questions in the interview yield the qualitative results summarized below. All of the 15 interviewed secondary school teachers agreed that the main reason generating their use of AA within class is 'simplification of concepts', 'better comprehension', and 'better explanation'. The majority of teachers highlighted the importance of addressing the pupils in a language they love and feel comfortable with so that they will feel at home and 'they will relate what they study in class to their everyday life'. Three teachers expressed their attitudes towards Arabic: two of them stated that 'MSA is a difficult language', and, 'it is unable to express some everyday physical phenomena', while one teacher stressed the importance of MSA use in class.

There is a general agreement among the interviewed teachers that the pupils use AA in class as a result of 'their lack of language proficiency in MSA, and lack of fluency because of lack of its use by the pupils'. Some teachers highlighted the difficulty of MSA as a language per se, and how 'it is difficult to pass a message in'. A great portion of teachers raised the point of being used to AA since primary

school, so that it became difficult for them to use it. Two teachers noted that pupils feel 'ashamed to use MSA'.

MSA use among pupils has received positive attitudes from four teachers. They expressed them in the answer 'they like it'. They assumed the reason of the pupils' admiration of such an attitude as the fact that 'MSA is the school language' and 'this is how they should speak in class'. Only one teacher was descriptive stating 'such a pupil does not exist'. Simultaneously, five teachers claimed that the pupils are indifferent towards such a linguistic choice. They used the term 'normal', to express how the linguistic code is 'meaningless' in class. The remaining six teachers highlighted the pupils' reaction to MSA with 'laughter and sarcasm', and they deduced that they do so because they are not used to MSA in society as a means of communication. Some of them related the pupils' attitude to their adolescence age psychological nature, and how they 'want to intimidate their peers by laughter and sarcasm.

Questions 11 and 12 investigate the case of pupils' use of AA in class. The interviewed teachers unveiled three types of assumed pupils' attitudes towards AA. Five teachers claimed that the pupils react with 'laughter and sarcasm', while seven claimed that this linguistic behaviour goes unnoticed in class, qualifying it as 'normal'. Only two teachers characterized it as 'odd', because: 'they usually use MSA', and 'impolite' because such behaviour is used 'by naughty pupils to create anarchy in classroom'. The teachers' explanation of 'mockery and sarcasm' from the part of the pupils, is that they feel being 'in the street', and that 'this behaviour is incorrect', since 'they have to use MSA' instead. Simultaneously, the teachers claiming that using AA is conceived as 'normal' by the pupils explained that 'AA is their language', contrary to MSA, which is 'not their language', and 'they do not understand it'.

For question 13, similarly, the teachers adopted three positions. Nine of them claimed that the pupils perceive mixing MSA and AA as 'normal'. Some commented that this mixing passes unnoticed to many, especially if using MSA is

restricted to 'classroom terminology', and their sentences contain more AA than MSA. Only two teachers noted this linguistic behaviour to be receiving admiration from the part of pupils, while four raised the point that 'this is a source of mockery and sarcasm'. The explanation of these four teachers of their attitude is that usually 'weak pupils feel inferior because they do not understand', while 'hard-working pupils offer to help'; so weak pupils laugh out of their 'inferiority', while 'hard working pupils expect the mixing code pupil to produce more meaningful utterances'.

The following results are extracted from observations within the actual fieldwork, reporting some mini dialogues performed spontaneously within the three educational levels.

3.5.3. Observation Results

This research tool is not crucial for the present research, but rather peripheral, used in order to enrich data collection and to have an actual contact with the linguistic sphere and the issue investigated. In order not to be misled by the pupils, or the teachers' subjectivity, we managed to attend some time within the class and take notes for primary school, while for middle and secondary schools, the teachers recording of a part of the lesson could bring some realistic data. The script in italics represents AA utterances within the MSA utterance. In the primary school, we attended two lectures of Arabic and one of mathematics and we could collect the following three mini-dialogues between the teacher and the pupils.

Example1:

Teacher: eghloq elbab *morak* (close the door after you (come in)

Pupil: *rahum 3ada jayyin* (they are still coming)

Example2:

Teacher: Houssem, wezza3 kararis alqism (Houssem, distribute theclass copybooks)

Pupil: mu3allima oundori Aimed (Teacher! Look at Aimed (disturbing his mate)

Teacher. Aimed!! Intabih (Aimed, pay attention!)

Example3:

Teacher: mimman tatakawwanou al ousra annawawiya (what is the nucleus family composed of?)

Pupil: mina al ʔumm… (of the mother…)

Teacher: (interrupting him) tatakawwanou…(It is composed …)

Pupil: tatakawwanou alousra annawawiyya mina al ʔab, wa al ʔumm, wa al ʔabnaaʔ (the nucleus family is composed of the father, the mother and the children).

Teacher: ʔaħsant (you did well).

When watching the middle school video made by a middle school teacher of Arabic, when teaching fourth year pupils, the following dialogue could be extracted. The videos are not clear in terms of image, thus, focus is rather on the spoken form

Example4:

Teacher: (reading a text excerpt in MSA then) *ça y est? iyya* haddou el3anasir *nta3ha.* (is it OK? So define its components)*besh neshoufou est ce que fhemtou wella ma fhemtoush* (to check if you have understood well or not).

Pupil: ʔoustada (teacher!) mata adat echart ('when' is a conditional pronoun)

Teacher: jayyid wa alfaʔ faʔ aljazaʔ (good and 'then' functions as a reward meaning)

Pupil: ʔoustada*, nqed negoull'ha* faʔ al iqtiran (teacher, can I call it 'a pairing then'?)

Teacher: ʔiqtiran *ella*! Al iqtirane ma3nah *raha* multasiqa bi joumlat jawab achart. *Ça y est ?* (pairing ?! no! pairing means it is attached to condition clause, right?)

Undertaking the same procedure, we could select the following short chunks from the videos of the secondary school. Example 7 is extracted from a video for the teacher of Islamic sciences during a first year class. The second video, on the other hand, could yield the dialogue in example 8 during a baccalaureate mathematics class.

Example7:

Teacher: (after explaining the lesson in MSA) *esseme3ou*, *na3tekom* 3achra thawani, *elli yjibeha nateh* za2id noqta fel fard. (listen, I give you 10 seconds, the one who answers well, I'll give him a plus one in the test mark).

Pupil: Ɂustad *enjaweb* (teacher, shall I answer)

Teacher: Ɂintadir, *ma3andich el chronometer* (wait, I don't have a chronometer)

Example8:

Teacher: lim x lnwahid za2id ithnen3ala x za2id wahid

(limx ln one plus two on x plus one)

chouf hadi ki tehsebeha ʧik halat 3adam etta3yin

(listen, when you will count it, it gives us a non Assignment Status)

Pupils making noise, speaking at the same time

Teacher: *hey esskat… esket a benti*. (hey, silence, keep silent daughter)

3.5.4. The Test Results

150 oral tests were conducted with the pupils: 5o tests for each level. This action was taken because the pupils' fluency in MSA is believed to be a factor responsible for their diglossic switching in class. We will display the collected data for each level, and analysis or synthesis of the data will be handled in the analysis chapter.

3.5.4.1. The Primary School Pupils' Test of Fluency

Among the 50 primary school tested pupils, 17 are boys. The tested pupils are schooled in the fourth or fifth years. They are aged between 8 to 12 and their meangrades range from 3.71 to 9.78. The test was intended to reveal quantitative results as well as qualitative features.

3.5.4.1.1 The Test Quantitative Results

They are summarized in two tables. The first exposes the informants' self-evaluation of MSA proficiency while fluency test results administered by the researcher are displayed in the second.

Table 3. 25 Primary School Pupils' self-evaluation in MSA

Language skills	Excellent	acceptable	average	weak
Listening	37 74%	12 24%	1 2%	0 0%
Reading	33 66%	13 26%	4 8%	0 0%
Speaking	26 52%	18 36%	4 8%	2 4%
Writing	23 46%	20 40%	7 14%	0 0%

After evaluating themselves in the language skills, the informants'fluency in MSA was evaluated by the researcher. The obtained data are summarized below:

Table 3. 26. Primary School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

Fluencyin MSA use	Percentage
Level 0> N=0	0%
Level 1> N=10	20%
Level 2> N=18	36%
Level 3> N=22	44%
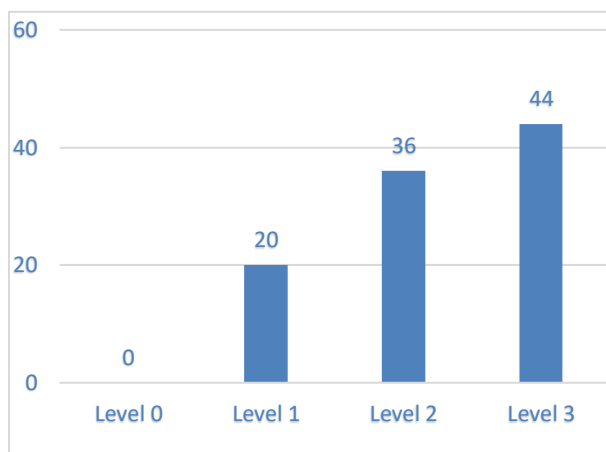
Fig. 3. 19 Primary School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

During the fluency test some remarks could be noted by the researcher, and they are summarized in the section below.

3.5.4.1.2 The Test Qualitative Results

Collecting qualitative data was not an easy task, especially that the test was handled orally. So, we had to record some of the pupils taking the oral test, and take notes simultaneously. The aim of this data collection was to elicit any data that might unveil the pupils' attitudes towards the available codes in combination with their general fluency level. Some inspiring replies were collected from them, and that are exposed, transliterated and translated into English in appendix 10. These replies unveil some of the pupils' attitudes, mainly answers like: 'MSA is better than AA', 'I do not love AA', 'MSA is the best language and the favorite variety for class', 'the one who use MSA will make the teacher happy and proud, and your friends will love you', and ' MSA is the language of Islam and religion'. Some pupils proposed some strategies to develop their MSA like 'watching cartoons', 'reading stories' and 'learning the Qur'an'.

It was noted that the pupils' issue of 'educated parents', like sons of 'teachers, lawyers, doctors', scored level three in MSA fluency. It was noticed, too, that there is no correlation between the pupils' high mean grades and their fluency test achievements; we found pupils with high mean grades who could not exceed level 1, while other pupils were graded 5, or 6, and could reach level 3 in the test. Self-evaluation answers were not answered objectively.

The same fluency test was performed with the two remaining educational levels. Below are exposed the results obtained at the level of the middle school.

3.5.4.2. The Middle School Pupils' Test of Fluency

50 middle school pupils are tested, including 23 males, and 27 females. They are aged between 12 and 14, and their meangrades range from 8.42 to 18.10. The test could yield quantitative and qualitative results.

3.5.4.2.1 The Test Quantitative Results

They are summarized in two tables. The first exposes the informants' self evaluation of MSA proficiency while fluency test results administered by the researcher are displayed in the second.

Table 3. 27: Middle School Pupils' self-evaluation in MSA

Language skills	Excellent	Acceptable	average	Weak
Listening	31 62%	16 32%	3 6%	0 0%
Reading	26 52%	18 36%	6 12%	0 0%
Speaking	13 26%	18 36%	18 36%	1 2%
Writing	10 20%	26 52%	13 26%	1 2%

After evaluating themselves, the informants were evaluated by the researcher. The obtained data are summarized in the table below:

Table 3. 28. Middle School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

Fluencyin MSA use	Percentage
Level 0> N=0	0%
Level 1> N=4	8%
Level 2> N=23	46%
Level 3> N=23	46%
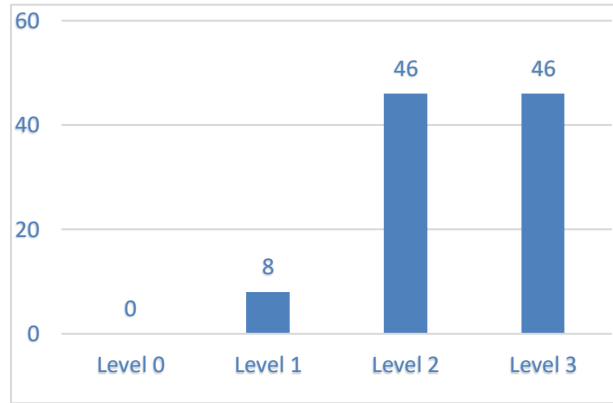
Fig 3. 20 Middle School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

3.5.4.2.2 The Test Qualitative Results

Following the same framework undertaken with primary school, qualitative data could be gathered using the test, for a better understanding of the situation. Yet, the general remark is that middle school pupils' answers were more exact, more fluent, and more expressive, with fewer mistakes. Some of the pupils' attitudes towards the available codes in combination with their general fluency level could be unveiled. The replies were collected, and exposed, transliterated and translated into English in appendix 10. These replies unveil some of the pupils' attitudes towards both MSA and AA. Few raised the point: 'MSA is the language of Islam and religion, the language of Qur'an', while an apparent AA awareness appeared. Some pupils described AA as 'the national language' and as 'easier, faster than MSA, and more expressive'. They proposed as explanation for the use of AA in class as 'out of habit', 'because of being shy', speakers tend to adopt 'the handier' variety which is AA. Paradoxically, all of the informants agreed on the fact that AA is 'disrespectful towards the teacher', and that 'trouble creators use it in classroom', because 'it is the language of the street'. Here, too, surprisingly, it was noticed, that there is no correlation between the pupils' high mean grades and their fluency test

achievements; we found pupils with a high mean grades, who could not exceed level 1, while other pupils were average graded, and could reach level 3 in the test. The next section explores the pupils' fluency test results for secondary school pupils.

3.5.4.3. The secondary School Pupils' Test of Fluency

22 males and 28 females are the tested secondary school pupils. Their age ranges between 15 and 20 and their mean grades is in the interval of [7 - 15.87]. The quantitative and the qualitative results are displayed here below.

3.5.1.1.1 The Test Quantitative Results

They are summarized in two tables. The first exposes the informants' self evaluation of MSA proficiency while fluency test results administered by the researcher are displayed in the second.

Table 3. 29 Secondary School Pupils' self-evaluation in MSA

Language skills	Excellent	acceptable	average	weak
Listening	32 64%	11 22%	6 12%	1 2%
Reading	26 52%	18 36%	5 10%	1 2%
Speaking	10 20%	20 40%	14 28%	6 12%
Writing	16 32%	20 40%	12 24%	2 4%

After evaluating themselves in the language skills, the informants' fluency in MSA was evaluated by the researcher. The obtained data are summarized below:

Table 3. 30Secondary School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

Fluencyin MSA use	Percentage
Level 0> N=0	0%
Level 1> N=18	36%
Level 2> N=16	32%
Level 3> N=16	32%
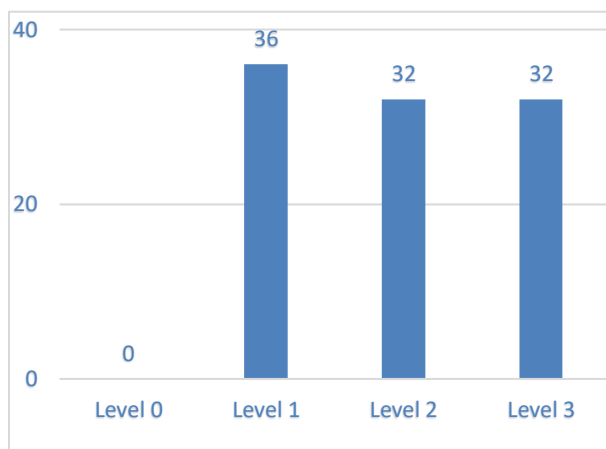
Fig. 3. 21 Secondary School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

After evaluating themselves, the informants were evaluated by the researcher. The obtained data are summarized in the table below:

3.5.1.1.2 The Test Qualitative Results

New language attitudes and thus practices were unveiled in secondary school pupils handling of the fluency test questions. First, in a panoramic consideration of their answers, many pupils exhibited grammar and vocabulary choice mistakes (check appendix 10). Many used diglossic switching in their answers, which were the shortest they could produce. Some felt 'lazy to answer' and produced the least effort utterances. As far as AA use is concerned, pupils, made no reference to the 'disrespect' image proposed by middle school pupils. Most of them were tolerant concerning its use in class, stating that 'they are just reproducing the same way of speaking they had been addressed by', making reference to the importance of the teachers' code choice and its impact on theirs. Some explained that their mates use AA 'out of habit', since 'it is easier to use AA, contrary to MSA, which is difficult and unable to pass the message'. Some pupils claimed that usually 'they think in AA and translate into MSA, while translation is not always easy'. Few consider AA as 'a distinct language' related to their identity. A correlation between the pupils

parents' educational background, like sons of 'teachers, engineers , doctors' and their score in the test; they could achieve level three in MSA fluency. Self-evaluation question answers, too, were misleading, because many answered that they were 'weak in MSA', while they could practically reach level 3 in the test.

3.6. Conclusion

The present chapter has been devoted to the exposition of data collection procedures used in the fieldwork. Both the sample population in the three educational levels and research instruments are presented in this chapter. Eventually, the obtained data using each research tool are collected and organized for analysis. Deeper analysis and interpretation are dealt with for the next chapter.

Chapter4
Data Interpretation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the interpretation of the results obtained from the data collected in this research work. It attempts to relate the theory and analysis mentioned in the previous chapters to the actual situation in relation to the fieldwork. The data presented below are to be analyzed and interpreted in order to come eventually to results that might be generalized in service of the research questions. The research instruments cited in the previous chapter yielded results that are analyzed, interpreted and synthesized in the present chapter. Scientific research should consider the three criteria of empiricism, objectivity and exactness for its credibility. In order to cover these criteria, we extracted data from the used research instruments both quantitatively, and qualitatively. The present work insists on drawing quantitative results analysis from each research instrument to approach exactness. It also takes into consideration some qualitative remarks that will enrich the gathered data and give the work a more analytic nature rather than a mere descriptive one.

4.2   The Questionnaire Results Interpretation

The collected data exposed in chapter 3 are interpreted isolated according to each educational level. Then, the three levels findings are synthesized and compared for more reliable results.

4.2.1 Interpretation of Primary School Questionnaire Results

We will expose here below the collected data from the questionnaire in the form of quantitative and qualitative data at the level of primary school.

4.2.1.1 Quantitative Data Interpretation

Data exposed in table 3.1 are exposed in the next figure for a better visualization of data. It summarizes the collected data from the questionnaire, concerning checking language awareness among pupils.
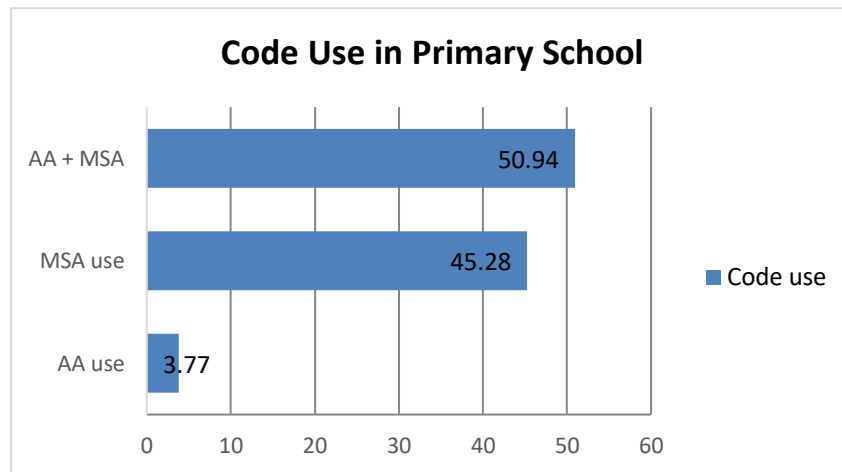
Fig. 4.1 Code use in Primary School Classroom

Out of the 53 pupils, 45.28 % have claimed that they use MSA in classroom, as opposed to only 3.77% of them, who chose AA as a class communication language. More than 50 % of the pupils have admitted to use both. The aim of this question is to check the pupils' awareness of languages and their appropriate domain. At their young age, one can deduce that they can differentiate the two language varieties of MSA and AA. They are aware that the language of classroom interaction is MSA. Half the number of the questioned pupils agreed on the fact that diglossic switching is present in class, while the remaining students chose the option of the 'said to be' the language of classroom, in a way to please the teacher and the researcher, and any person who might judge them.

Figure 2 below exposes the informants' reporting about the frequency of their use of AA in classroom interaction as question 5 inquires.
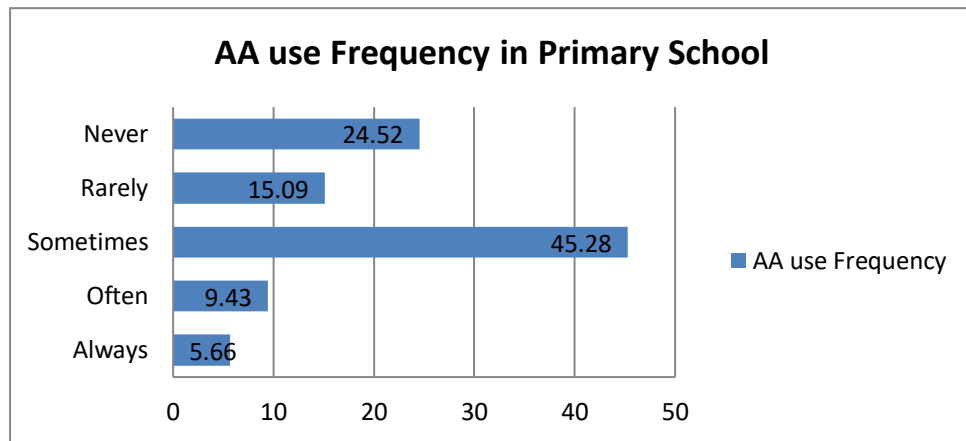
Fig.4.2 Frequency Use of AA in Primary School Classroom

From the bar chart above, one can remark how the majority of pupils agreed on that AA is sometimes used in classroom. The number of pupils claiming that they 'never' use AA in class, and even 'rarely', reinforces the idea cited in the analysis of fig. 4.1, that usually children like to be in the image of being 'a good boy', and that MSA is associated with that 'ideal' image of being 'good behaving' in their psyche. This implies that our claims concerning any language variety always relate to their representation in our minds, and thus their attitudes. In the same vein, asking the pupils to make a self-evaluation concerning their level in Arabic, may relate to their attitudes more than their actual language proficiency. Their feedback is displayed in the figure below.
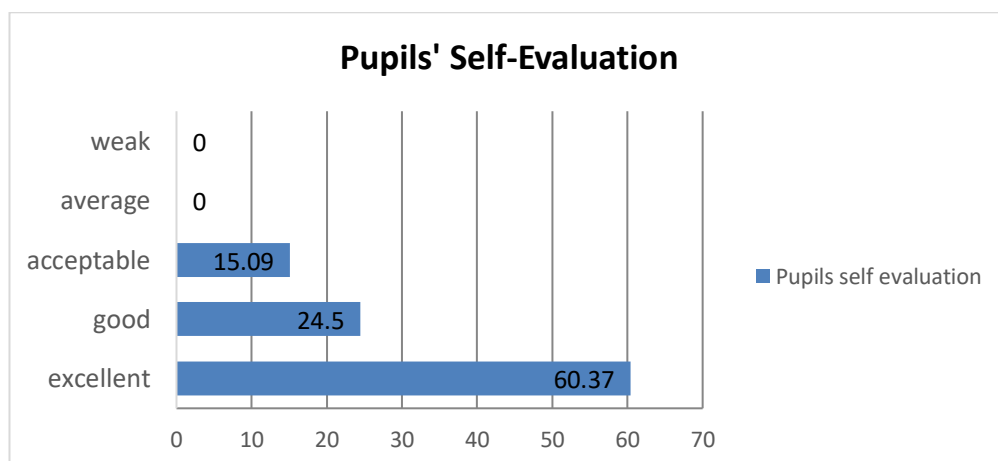
Fig. 4.3 Pupils' MSA Self-Evaluation in Primary School Classroom

As expected, the great majority marked their 'excel' in MSA. Fewer pupils claimed that good, but still a majority. No pupil chose being average or weak, which shows how MSA as a code is assigned a 'high status', and is associated with 'good behaviour' among primary school pupils.

On the other hand, the teacher' use of AA in class was described by the pupils as in the figure below.

Teachers' AA Use Frequency

	AA use Frequency
Never	16.98
Rarely	5.66
Sometimes	50.94
Often	13.2
Always	13.2
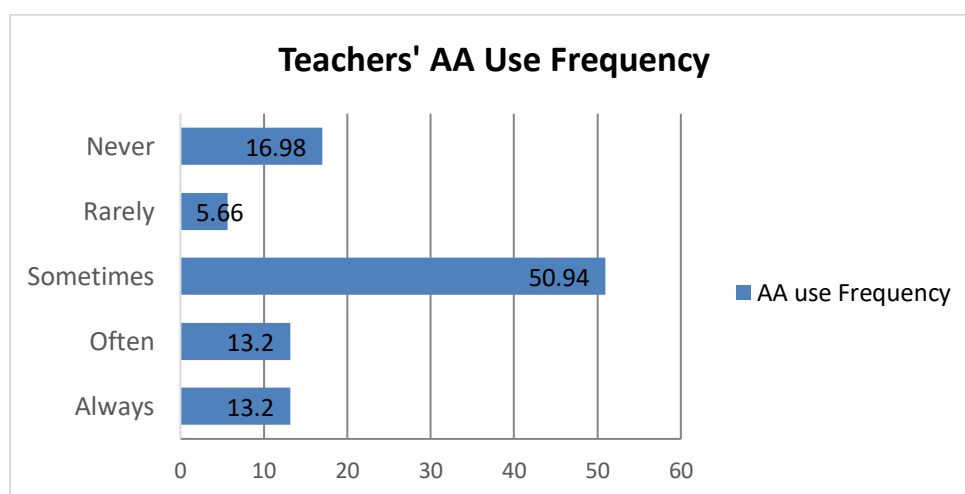
Fig. 4.4Teachers' AA Use Frequency in Primary School Classroom

While half the number of pupils claimed that their teacher uses AA 'sometimes', a great portion chose to state that he 'never' performs such a behaviour. This proportion of pupils went extreme by denying the use of any other code in class other than 'MSA', which reflects how it is associated with 'good behaviour and correct behaviour. Yet, not all the students refuse to admit the use of AA by the teacher, a sum of 26 % of pupils claimed that their teacher, too, uses AA in class, 'always', or 'often', which reflects the beginning of language awareness at theirage.

We have agreed on the overlapping use of MSA and AA in classroom, so we need to explore the dynamics of this diglossic switching and the pupils' awareness of these dynamics. A list of subjects was presented to the pupils and they were asked to quantify their teachers' use, then the pupils' use of AA in class. Their

replies have to be in the form of a percentage out of the time allotted to study each subject. The two figures display the teachers' use of AA in relation to subjects, and the pupils' code choice, respectively.
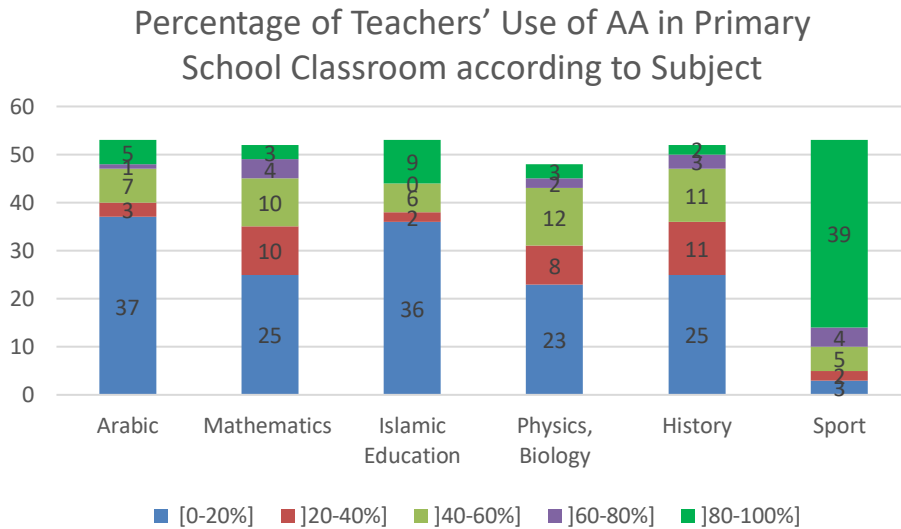
Fig. 4.5 Percentage of Teachers' Use of AA in Primary School Classroom according to Subject
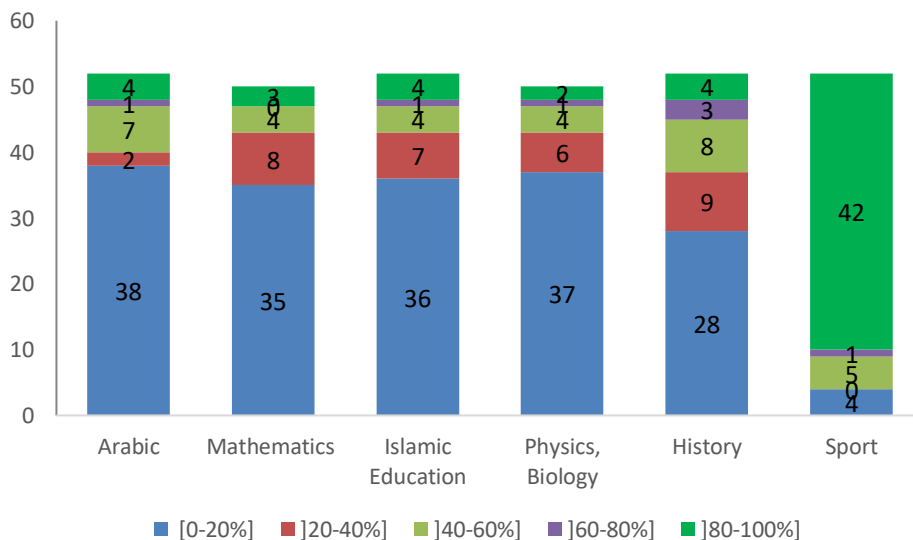
Fig. 4.6 Percentage of Pupils' Use of AA in Primary School Classroom according to Subject

At first glance, it is apparent that the pupils are well aware that the subjects they study differ in terms of degree of diglossic switching. The theory of domain applies to our context, and the pupils are fully aware that both teachers and pupils react differently in relation to the subject they are teaching/ learning. The majority agreed on the fact that both teachers and pupils use of AA does not exceed 20% of their speech during the sessions of Arabic, and Islamic Education, and that the majority of speech in sport session is in AA. The sessions of history, mathematics, physics, and biology are claimed to contain more AA than Arabic and Islamic sciences, and less than sport. Surprisingly, the pupils claim that their teacher uses AA more than pupils, which reinforces the idea cited above: 'MSA is the variety associated with being a good boys'. Further analysis can be drawn from qualitative data to verify the findings of quantitative data.

4.2.1.2 Qualitative Data Interpretation

For primary school pupils, they are aware of the two language varieties, and all the informants have revealed to be conscious of the domain that each variety serves. In spite of some difficulties in expressing themselves in longer stretches and with no mistakes, they chose to stick to answering in MSA. The majority even claimed they are excellent or good in MSA while this qualitative remark, in addition to the data collected from the test, later, proved that their claim is fed by their attitudes rather than their language mastery.

'Enhancing communication', 'for being clear', for a better understanding', and 'to explain difficult words', are some of the pupils' explanations of the teacher's use of AA in class. Similarly, the majority assumes that the first reason of the pupils' diglossic switching is 'they don't know how to say it in MSA', or 'to ensure a better communication'. These reasons show how the pupils conceive MSA as a means of communication and AA as an additional variety to ensure a better communication. For them, diglossic switching is a pure negotiation of meaning strategy, and MSA remains 'the main communication language'.

Most of the elicited attitudes towards MSA among primary school pupils were adjacent to positive ones rather than the hostile ones. The majority perceived the pupil using MSA as 'hard working', and 'excellent' some used 'intelligent' and 'scientist', 'educated', 'successful', 'distinguished', and 'active'; in addition to 'understandable', 'polite', and 'Muslim'. MSA is flagrantly associated with high educational achievements and classroom commitment, and its pupil using it is 'highly perceived'. This interpretation coincides with the pupils comments. They expressed their admiration, and even 'jealousy' of the pupil using MSA. They described him as 'excellent', because he knows MSA, and practices it. They perceived him as polite because he respects the instructions of the teacher by 'loving MSA' and using it.

A limited number of pupils expressed some negative attitudes towards the behaviour of using MSA in class by characterizing it as 'odd', maybe because they could notice that such a behaviour is practically far from reality. Only one pupil manifested his needlessness to reject AA as a language of communication because it is associated with his identity. Only one pupil dared to express a negative attitude towards MSA by associating it with 'uncivilization' and 'barbarism', while all the remaining pupils stick to 'idealizing' it and 'assigning it a sacred status'.

On the contrary, AA received a set of negative attitudes from the pupils. Most of the elicited attitudes were negative and very few were neutral, like 'they are ordinary people, normal, or average rated pupils' (4 pupils). Using AA is associated with 'weak educational achievements' and 'limited intellectual capacities'. The pupils are aware that MSA is the only variety 'worthy' to be used in class, and any ignorance to this class rule is a sign of 'disrespect', 'negligence', and 'impoliteness'. Some pupils permitted themselves to use offensive adjectives to describe AA user such as, 'jackass', 'messy', 'odd', 'lazy' and 'naughty'. Some justified their description by the fact that such a pupil is 'disobedient' and 'naughty' because he just ignored the teacher's instruction of using the language of classroom, which is MSA. Yet, only two students were neutral and characterized using AA as 'normal'; 'though he had to speak MSA', in their terms. One of them confessed that

'very few pupils speak MSA in classroom', and he described the pupil using AA as 'ordinary'.

This sole pupil attitude is reinforced by the pupils' perception of the pupil diglossically switching. The majority considered the act of mixing MSA and AA in class as a normal and ordinary behaviour. Some pupils explained their position by justifying 'we all speak like that'. Yet, the majority of pupils associated mixing MSA and AA with 'limited to average capacities in studies'. 2 pupils guessed that the pupil mixes codes when he is 'shy', maybe, because this is what is occurring to them personally. Only one student expressed a negative attitude towards mixing by describing the pupil as 'insane', because he does not stick to one variety, so he has judged the mental capacities of such a pupil.

The next section attempts to analyze, and interpret the encountered data using the questionnaire for the middle school level.

4.2.2 Interpretation of Middle School Questionnaire Results

In the same pattern of exposing the collected data from the questionnaire for primary school, both quantitative and qualitative data are analyzed and interpreted below.

4.2.2.1Quantitative Data Interpretation

The middle school sample population compromises 49 pupils, among which 10 claimed that they use MSA in classroom, and 2, chose AA as a classroom communication language. 37pupils admitted to use both codes in classroom. The results are represented in the figure below.
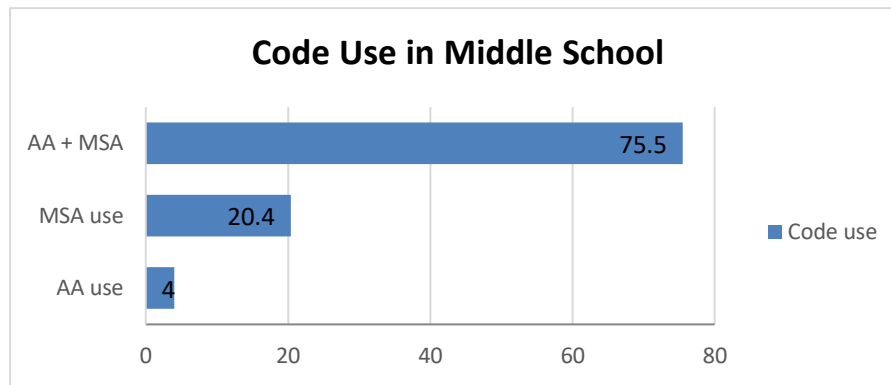
Fig. 4.7 Code Use in Middle School Classroom

When analyzing the graph, it is apparent that the number of pupils claiming that they use both codes is out passing the number of pupils claiming a single code. This may reveal that the pupils are aware of codes and could notice diglossic switching in class. Yet, a good proportion of pupils claimed that the language they use in classroom is MSA.

The figure below exposes the informants' reporting about the frequency of their use of AA in classroom interaction.
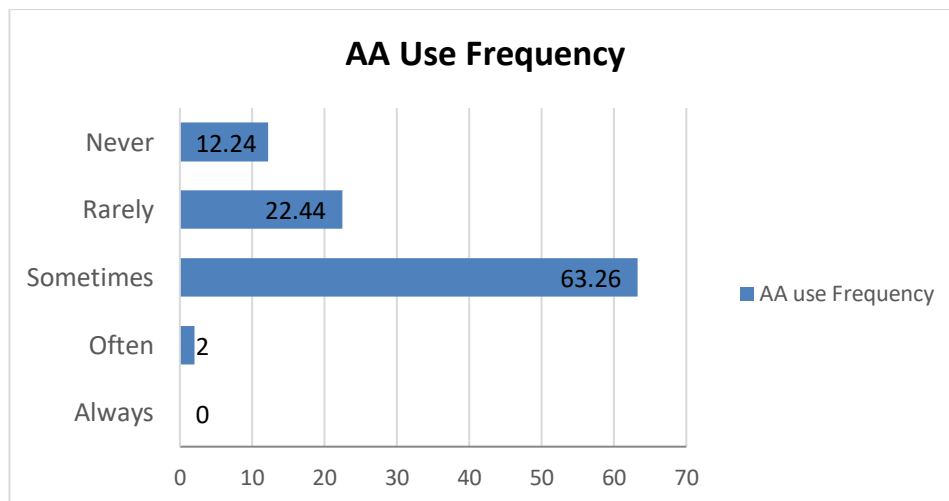
Fig.4.8Frequency Use of AA in Middle School Classroom

The pupils agree on the fact that AA is sometimes used in classroom, while nearly no pupils use AA always, or often. A good proportion of pupils chose the option rarely and never claiming that 'they quite never use it in classroom'. This

choice is to be tested using other research tools. This is because many pupils associate the researcher with their teacher and do their best to reflect a 'good image of them as pupils, and using AA in class may contradict with the perfect image they want to offer. This interpretation will be proved or disproved when examining their language attitudes. The figure below is part of attitudes analysis, in the sense that, usually, the person's self- evaluation can reveal some of his attitudes towards the language in question. It contains the pupils' self- evaluation in MSA.
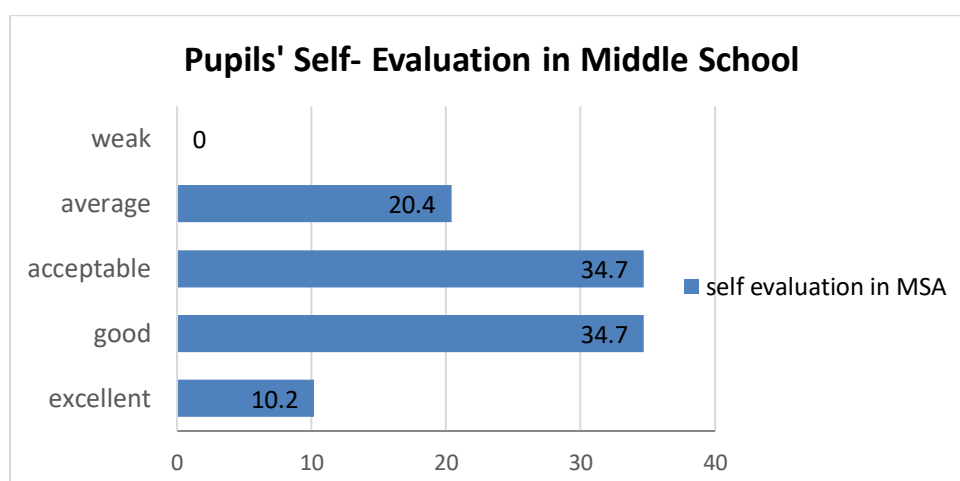
Fig.4.9 Pupils'MSA Self- Evaluation in Middle School Classroom

The pupils' self-evaluation, in MSA, range, equally, between 'good' and 'acceptable' with a majority, in comparison to the remaining evaluations. Pupils evaluating themselves as 'average' outnumber those claiming to be excellent. No pupil reported to be weak in MSA. These data remain mere pupils' claims about their MSA mastery, and are meaningless if uncombined with other data concerning the pupils' proficiency level as well as their language attitudes. As a promising clue, at this age, they have started moving away from child age taken-for-granted universals towards a more mature and critical perception of language and life in general.

When asked about their teachers' use of AA in classroom settings, the pupils reported their assumptions as visualized in the figure below.
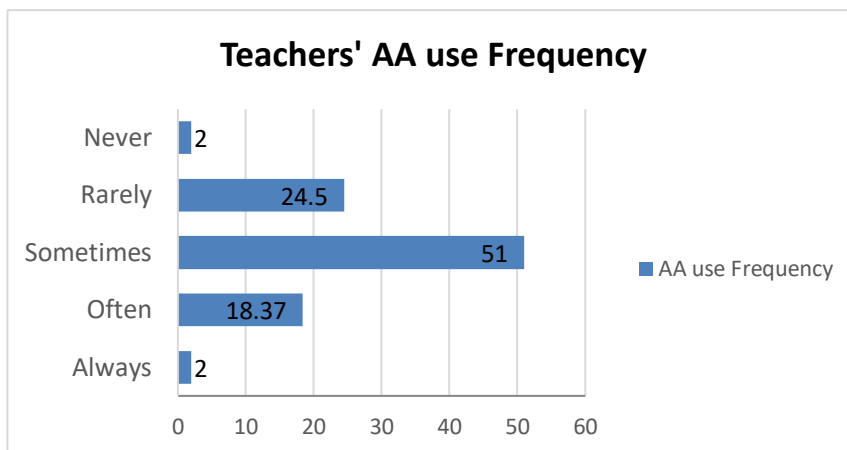
Fig. 4.10 Frequency of Teachers' Use of AA in Middle School Classroom

Most of the pupils claim that their teachers 'sometimes' use AA during class, while important proportions of the sample population selected the options 'often', and 'rarely'. Negligible claims were scored for the options 'always' and 'never'. The pupils' choices can reflect how they are becoming 'more mature' at this educational level in the sense that they could escape idealization of the situation and approach a critical vision by which they could describe their reality in objective terms.

In order to diagnose AA use dynamics in classroom in relation to domains, pupils were asked to propose a percentage to describe the degree of diglossic switching present in the teaching/ learning of each subject. The objective of this inquiry is to examine their awareness of the theory of domain, and their ability to decode diglossic switching dynamics. The collected data concerning teachers and pupils are visualized in fig 4.11 and 4.12, respectively.
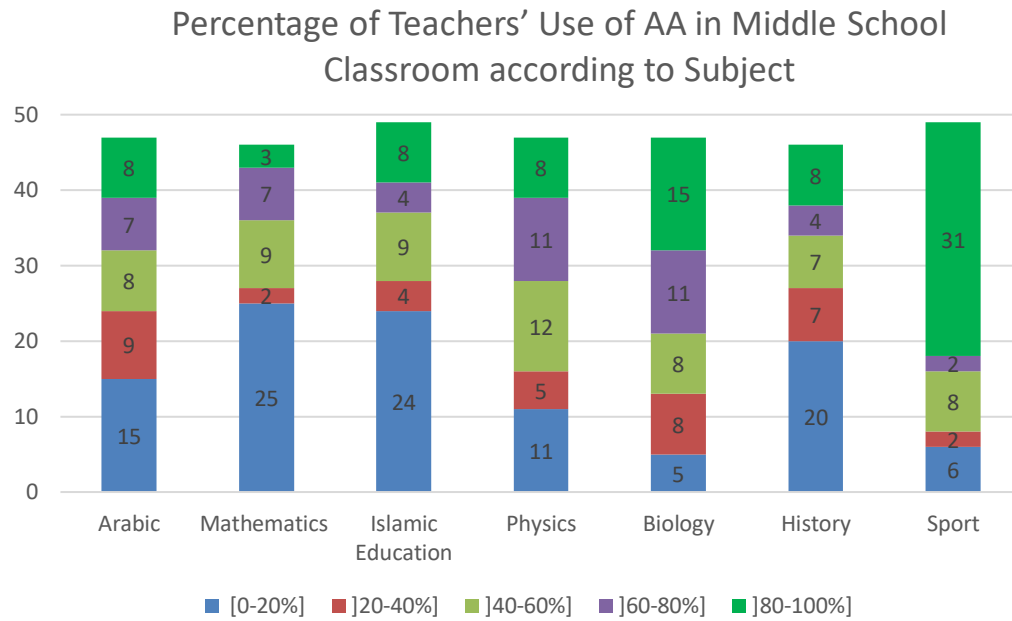
Fig. 4.11 Percentage of Teachers' Use of AA in Middle School Classroom according to Subject
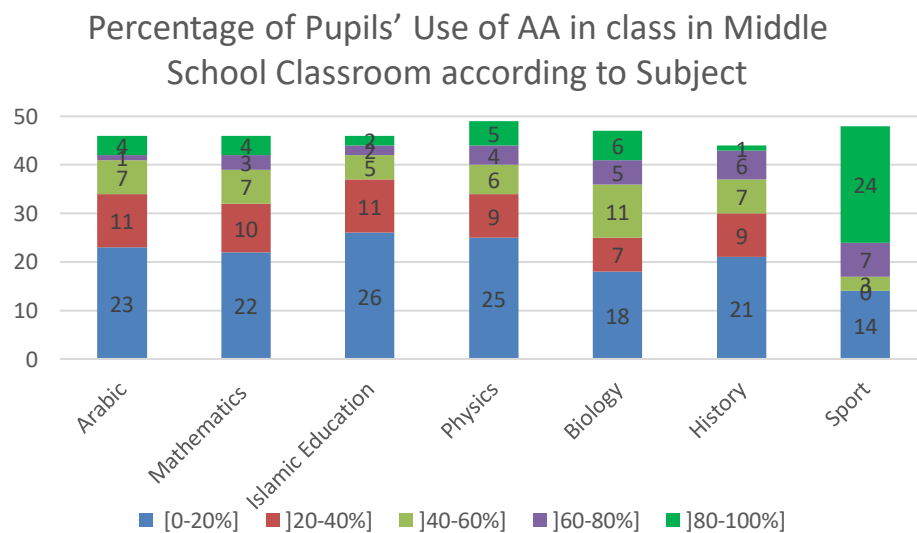
Fig. 4.12 Pupils' Use of AA in Middle School Classroom according to Subject

Similar to primary school pupils, but less extreme, the pupils claimed that their use of AA is less than that of their teachers. This may be interpreted that usually a person can notice how the others speak, but he might be unable to notice

his accent, or his language choices. This might mean, also, that pupils, sometimes, use AA unintentionally, so, they might use it without even being aware that they do. The majority agreed on the fact that AA is used the least in the subjects of Arabic, and Islamic sciences, and more than 20% in subjects like biology, physics, and history. The majority agreed on that during the session of sport, AA use is at its maximum. What is particular with middle school answers, in comparison to those given by primary school ones, is that there are more pupils claiming that they use AA, as well as teachers, more than 20%. This may imply that their language awareness became 'more mature' at the level of middle school in comparison to primary school. It may also imply that the studies nature at the level of primary school was language biased; which makes teachers and pupils more sensitive concerning code choice, while in other levels, attention is more on other educational aspects than 'language'. Further analysis and interpretation concerning language attitudes will be discussed in the section below of qualitative data for a better understanding of pupils' code choices.

4.2.2.2 Qualitative Data Interpretation

As soon as pupils reach middle school level, they exhibit a 'linguistic maturity'. They become, not only linguistically 'competent' in MSA, but also conscious of the different codes and their domains. After several years of practice of MSA during their primary school education, they become finally able to understand and produce 'correct language' with the least mistakes. Maturity could be noticed in their ideas, too. They could decode several communication dynamics in relation to the available codes.

For example, they could provide explanation to their teachers' diglossic switching more than bettering explanation of the lesson and ensuring a better communication within class. Further explanation could be given by some pupils, who could analyze the teacher's intentions of using AA like being used to using it, and 'to ensure a more relaxed atmosphere to pupils so that they do not get bored. Some pupils reported that AA serves as a language for 'getting angry in' and for

'blaming naughty pupils', which is in itself- a theory in psychology. Indeed, one usually tends to switch to his mother tongue when being angry, because the pulsation of anger does not permit to spend more time and efforts to express one's anger'. The pupil claiming that the teacher might not master MSA is stepping his first step towards beating 'the untouchable castle of a teacher'. In less rhetorical terms, he is moving from a child pattern, in which he considers adults as 'perfect and knowing everything', to adolescence pattern, in which he starts formulating his own vision to existence and stops perceiving the world of adults as 'perfect'.

Pupils did not restrict their peers' use of AA in class merely to their lack of mastery of MSA, which hinders their ability to communicate. They could unveil deeper socio psychological reasons of diglossic switching. They could assume that their peers are used to AA and they use it in thinking, so that they need to translate their ideas into MSA. This process of thinking in one variety and speaking in another can be an actual handicap that might distort the meant message. Reference was made too, to the pupils' attitudes towards MSA and the teacher as well. They explained that pupils might escape the former and feel 'ashamed' to it, or make any behaviour, including using AA to tease the latter. The social dimension of code choice was highlighted by some pupils, which reflects a certain analytic thinking, enabling them to decode code choice dynamics. They raised the evidence that human beings tend to accommodate their speech in answer to the way they have been addressed in. They, therefore, related using AA to an imitation reaction to the teacher's code choice. They spoke, also, of the importance of creating opportunities to pupils to practice MSA in order to develop their fluency, and thus, their language proficiency in it.

The manifested attitudes towards MSA among middle school pupils relate to their educational achievements. The positive attitudes were expressed by the highly graded pupils, but not restricted to them. They stated that MSA is a beautiful and classy language. They related it to 'Islam, identity, and nationalism'. They expressed their admiration to it because it is the language recommended by the teacher, so using it is a sign of 'good behaviour'.

Neutral attitudes were expressed by a few pupils showing their indifference concerning their peers' linguistic choices, while, 50% of the pupils viewed MSA and its speaker negatively. A deeper inspection of their claims reveals that they find it 'odd and funny' because its use in class is decreasing more and more. Pupils at this educational level are escaping its use because it is associated with primary school and cartoons, so, because of their age particularity, they want to appear grown up. They also might associate it with being 'old fashioned' and 'underdeveloped', probably in relation to their image of the socioeconomic status of the Arab world in general. Since MSA is escaped, its user is considered as 'arrogant and conceited' because he does not share the same language and behaviour with them, so he is cast from the group because he does not express his solidarity with them by escaping MSA. Since, in their terms: 'excellent students like it (MSA)' , and ' limited ones hate it', any pupil using MSA is conceived as a show-off because he does that to attract attention, using the language of 'excellent pupils'.

In parallel, the majority of captured AA attitudes among pupils were neutral. They expressed their tolerance to their peers' use of AA by guessing that they use AA simply because they are used to it, or because of their difficulties in MSA. Some pupils admitted that they usually use it themselves. Being a very common linguistic choice, using AA could gain some pupils' admiration and respect. They harmonize with its speaker and love him because they communicate easier with him the way they do at home. Contrary to MSA, AA is considered as an 'in-group' language, and AA user is received with solidarity and considered as 'a modest person'. On the other hand, since 'MSA is the language of the teacher', AA received some negative attitudes like being associated with low grades and naughty pupils, who always causes problems in class by being 'disobedient' and 'disrespectful to the teacher's instructions.

Mixing MSA and AA, however, is considered as a normal and ordinary behaviour by the majority of pupils. They are accustomed to it since their younger age, since code switching is a deeply established mechanism in the Algerian register. Most Algerian people consider mixing codes as a gain of two languages

rather than a disadvantage. So, mixing the two codes MSA, and AA falls into the patter of language dynamics these pupils have been trained on in their families'. Yet, because of the sacredness of MSA these pupils have been programmed on since their primary school, a few pupils still feel hostile towards any intervention of AA in class and inclusion in classroom interaction is perceived negatively.

Questionnaire for Secondary school level yielded a set of data, which are analyzed and interpreted in the next section.

4.2.3 Interpretation of Secondary School Questionnaire Results

Quantitative and qualitative data interpretation that secondary school pupils yielded can be displayed as follow.

4.2.3.1 Quantitative Data Interpretation

Among the 48 questioned pupils, no pupil has claimed that they use MSA in classroom, while 7 have chosen AA as a classroom communication language. 41pupils declared that they use both. Figure 4.13 displays their choice.
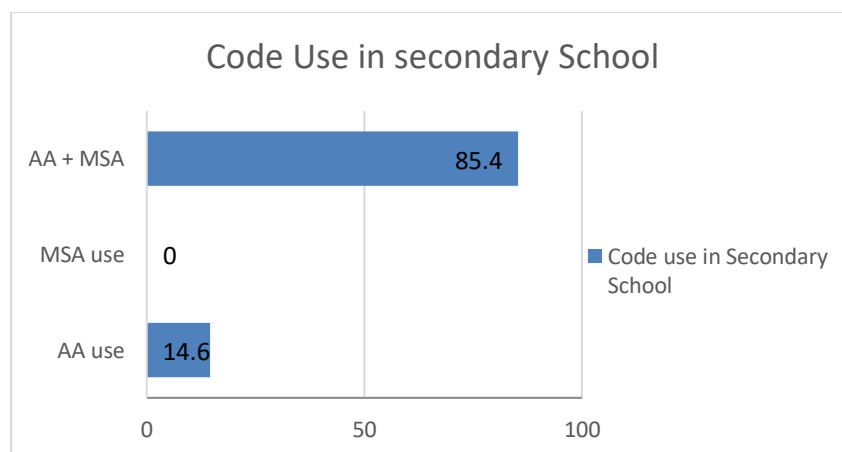
Fig. 4.13 Code Use in Secondary School Classroom

It is flagrant that MSA is no more present in classroom, and the majority use diglossic switching as a negotiation of meaning strategy. A small proportion made reference to AA as a language of class. This might reflect a positive attitude towards AA as a language of communication, as it might imply a hostile atmosphere for

MSA to be used in class, if taken in a competitive relation with AA. These statements cannot be affirmed unless deeper analysis will be handled in the coming steps of the current investigation.

Secondary school pupils revealed the frequency of their use of AA in classroom settings as exposed in the following figure.

AA use Frequency in Secondary School

Category	Value
N...	4.16
R...	16.67
S...	50
O...	18.75
A...	10.42
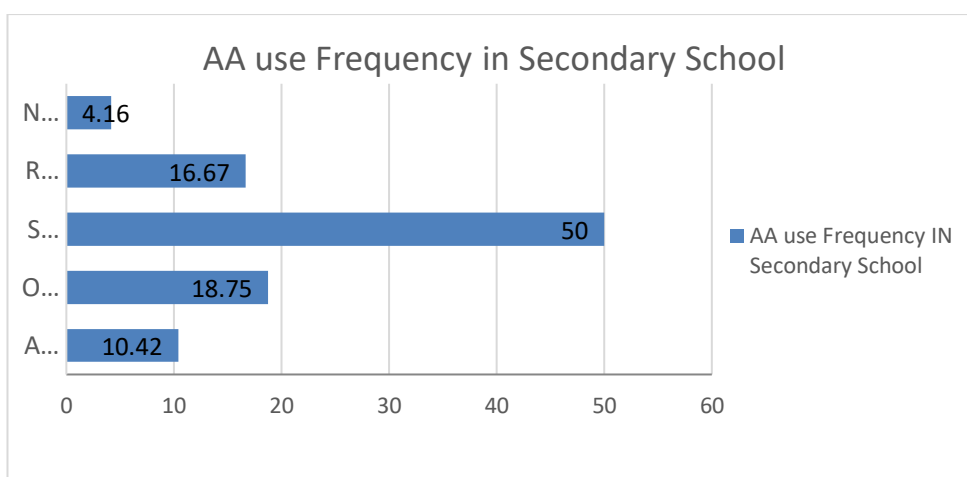
Fig. 4.14 Frequency of Pupils' Use of AA in Secondary School Classroom

The majority of secondary school pupils claimed that they sometimes use AA, while important proportion of them claimed to use 'often', and even 'always'. An important number of pupils claimed to use it rarely, while a negligible number chose the option 'never'. These two options statistics are quite striking as choices especially that these results contradict with their claims in the previous question. They have already ensured no use of MSA, a high diglossic switching rate, while here they claim that they never use 'AA', or 'rarely'. To escape any dogmatic interpretation, the only hypothesis that rises to the surface is that maybe they were just 'non-concentrating' during their reply to the questionnaire, or they just felt lazy to read and understand the questions. A similar remark was noticed during the analysis of qualitative data; many wrote very short answers, sometime incoherent, maybe because they were lazy to read the questions, or they just 'could not decode

the questions in MSA'. This hypothesis is to be verified later in the coming questions and inquiries using the other research tools.

The secondary school pupils gave a self- evaluation in Arabic. The collected data are exposed in the figure below.
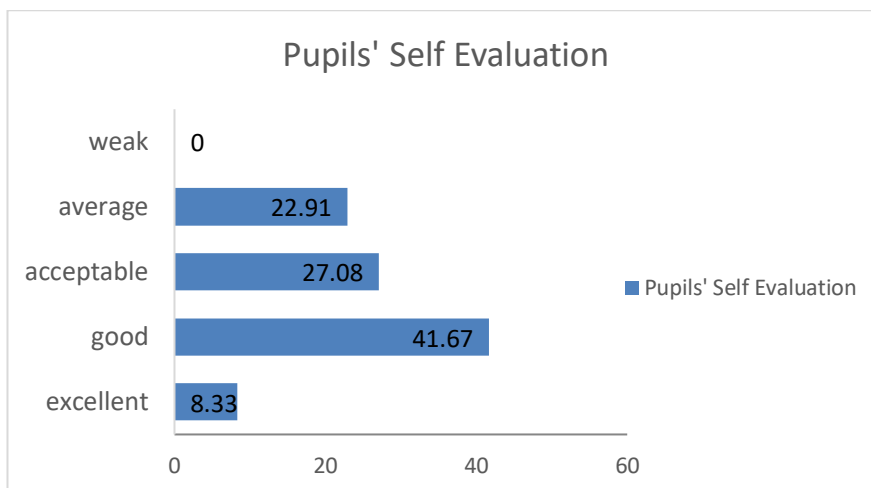
Fig.4.15 Secondary School Pupils' Self- Evaluation in MSA

The majority of pupils evaluated themselves as good, a few have rated themselves as 'excellent', and important proportions of the sample population self-rating are for 'acceptable', and 'average', forming together more than half of the whole population. No pupil rated himself- as 'weak', which makes us reconsider our interpretation concerning MSA attitudes. We have to consider the qualitative results in combination with the fluency test results in order to be able to relate these results to their 'actual' language competence, or to their 'language attitudes.

The pupils' answers, concerning their teachers' use of AA in classroom are as follow.
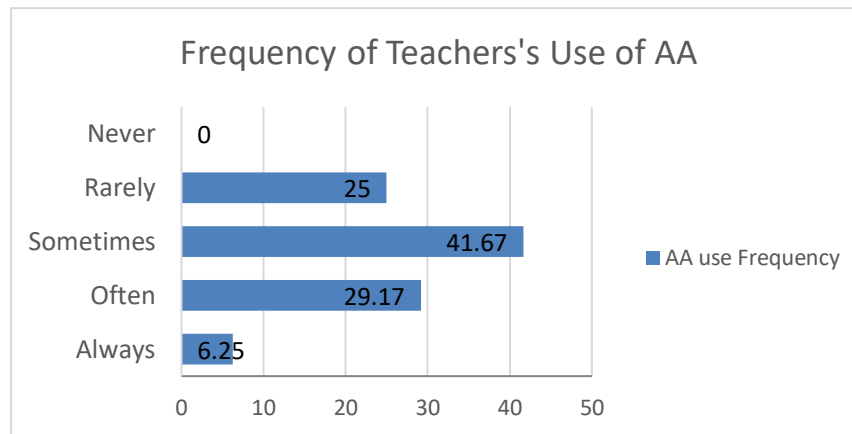
Fig. 4.16 Frequency of Teachers' Use of AA in Secondary School Classroom

No Pupils claim that their teachers never switch to AA in class. The majority checked 'sometimes' as frequency of AA in class for teachers. Good proportions rated their AA use as 'often' and 'always', while a smaller proportion chose 'rarely' as the frequency of their teachers' AA use. This figure results show that AA is present in the teachers' speech and the pupils are aware that their teachers are using it in class. Their perception of this diglossic switching depends on the actual situation, and their teachers, as it may be affected by other supra linguistic features, that need further investigation using other research tools for more objective results.

In order to check the pupils' awareness of the domain of use of AA in classroom in relation to the subject, and their sensitiveness to diglossic switching dynamics in classroom, questions 8, and 9 were posed. They proposed percentages for teachers and pupils, as displayed in the two figures below, respectively.

Percentage of Teachers' Use of AA in Secondary School
Classroom according to Subject
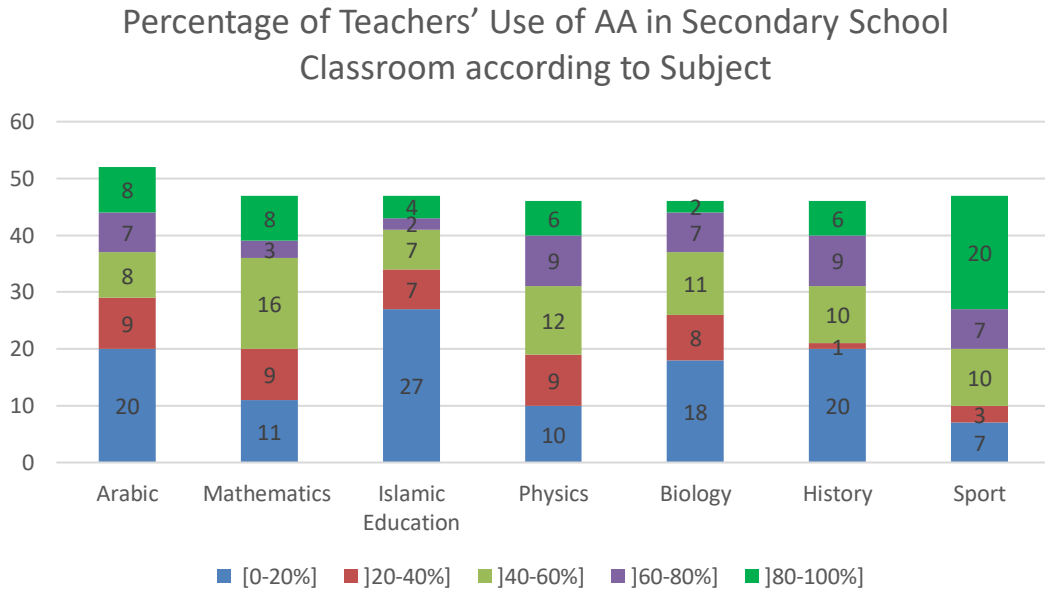
Fig. 4.16 Percentage of Teachers' Use of AA in Secondary School Classroom according to Subject

Percentage of Pupils' Use of AA in Secondary School
Classroom according to Subject
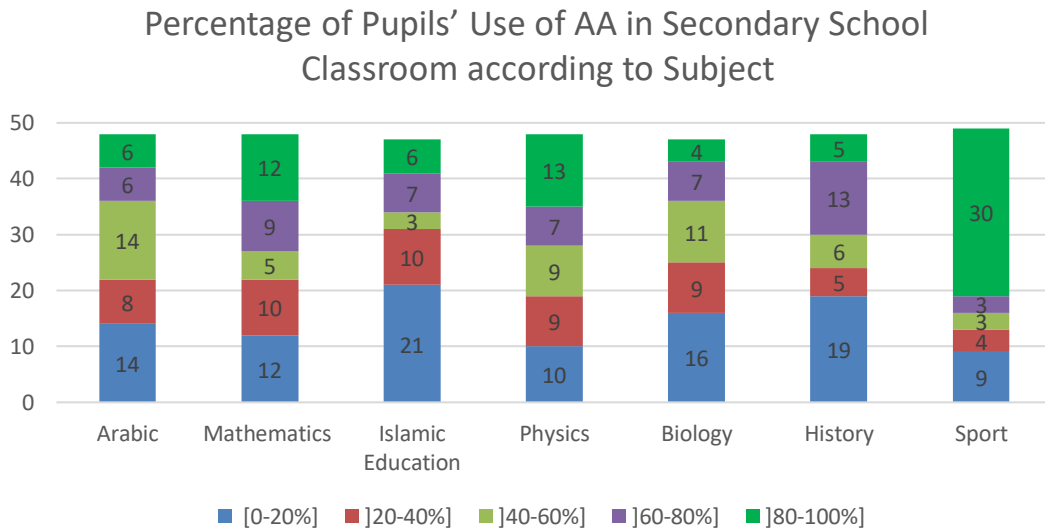
Fig. 4.17 Percentage of Pupils' Use of AA in Secondary School Classroom according to Subject

Considering both figures above, one can capture automatically a similarity between the pupils' claims concerning AA percentage of the lesson for teachers and for pupils. The least use of AA is scored for the subjects of Arabic and Islamic sciences, in addition to history. The three subjects are characterized by being literary subjects, so they are associated with MSA, contrary to scientific subjects like mathematics, physics and biology, which are associated with the use of some Latin script and terminology. Probably, this has led to the belief that MSA is a language that is 'incapable' of serving as a language for science. Sport is the subject in which pupils feel at their nature, so they often choose to use the language they feel most relaxed in, mainly AA.

From the remaining questions of the questionnaire, one could collect the following qualitative data

4.2.3.2   Qualitative Data Interpretation

MSA, AA and their mixing awareness and attitudes are analyzed and interpreted in the present section. The pupils are aware of the two language varieties, and all the informants have revealed to be conscious of the domain that each variety is reserved to. The fact of providing shorter, less developed, and less analytic answers than the ones proposed by the middle school informants implies a decline in the secondary school pupils' level, because of the decrease of practice, and consequently of language mastery.

Pupils could decode the different functions that AA provides; mainly it serves as a better means of communication between the teacher and his pupils. Secondly, it is a good means for expressing spontaneously his feelings, like anger, because the fastest way to express one's impulses is his mother tongue. This justifies the pupils' claims about AA being easier, faster, and more natural. Pupils usually think in AA, which means that its vocabulary is on permanently. Using another code like MSA, demands them to move back and forth between the mental dictionaries of both codes. This makes them tired, and even lazy, which effects use of the readiest mental dictionary, which is AA. This could attract positive attitudes

towards it for being the language of the group. A revolutionary nature is associated with AA, in the sense that MSA is the language of the teacher, and excellent pupils, and any pupil who wants to tease the teacher and 'his party' will choose AA as a challenge to the authority of the teacher and the school. This explains why MSA is associated with hard working pupils while AA is the language of 'trouble makers'.

This reluctance towards MSA use generated a decline in the pupils' fluency and, therefore, an under-esteem view towards it. These negative attitudes extend to the reaction of ridiculing and sarcasm against its users. MSA speakers, though associated with, politeness, commitment, classroom good behaviour, and the Arab Islamic slogans, it remains a source of mockery. Its speakers are cast from the group because they do not express their solidarity with its members through their code choice. Associating MSA with narrow-mindedness, and sarcastic archaic names like *Abou-jahl*, or *Al-mutanabbi*' relates to the stereotypes related to Arabic and the Arab culture, often promoted by western media, and fed by the Arab world socio economic status. Another reason responsible for their negative attitudes is MSA association with cartoons and primary school, which makes it a language 'for children'.

Mixing MSA and AA in class, however, is a normal and ordinary behaviour, according to most pupils. CS is an established mechanism in the Algerian communication, and any single code interaction will be stigmatized. The Algerian register is rich in terms of language varieties, and any typical Algerian conversation should contain several codes, else, it will sound 'odd'. Any Algerian speaker starts a sentence in French, then switches to AA, which itself- is a cocktail of language varieties, such as Arabic, French, Berber, Spanish, and more. At the end, he can even give a 'cool' gesture by including an MSA, or why not an English word. Any Algerian conversation, even in the most formal settings is multilingual, which explains the acceptance of CS as a conversation mechanism.

A more precise vision cannot be approached, unless one considers the situation from the teachers' standpoint. This is realized through the use of an

additional research tool, which is the interview. The obtained results are analyzed and interpreted in the section below.

4.3   The Interview Results Interpretation

We expose analysis and interpretation of the collected data from administering 29 interviews distributed on the three levels

4.3.1   Interpretation of the Primary School Interview Results

The interview could supply the research by both quantitative and qualitative results

4.3.1.1Quantitative Data Interpretation

The following figure displays the frequency of using AA in class, as reported by the teachers.
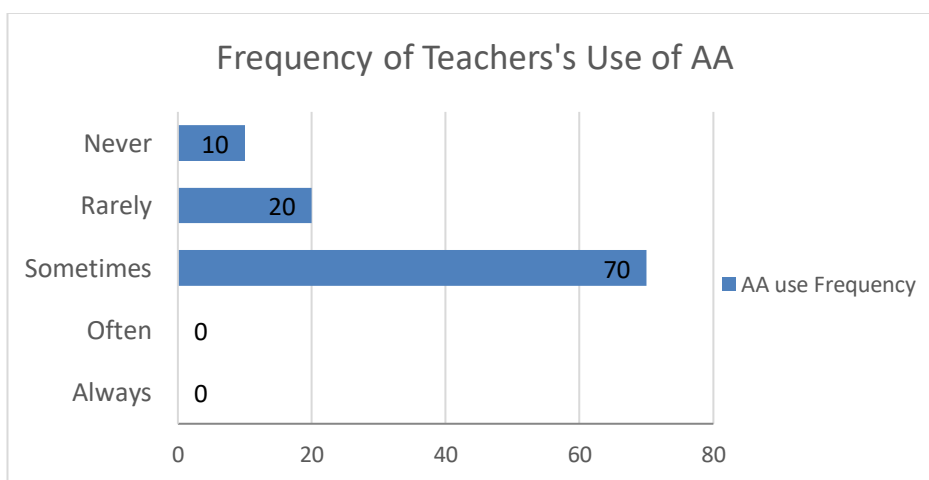
Fig. 4.20 Frequency of Teachers' Use of AA in Primary School

Most of the teachers reported that they 'sometimes' use AA in class, while 20% chose to state that they 'rarely' do. A minority used the option 'never', to state that AA is not part of their speech in class. though this choice might be objective, this proportion claim is to be tested using the other research tools so that we will

confirm that this choice is 'realistic', or the teachers position towards AA has given them the impression that choosing anther frequency will make them judged by the researcher. This impression, thus, reflects the teachers' mental image of AA use in class and 'how a teacher should speak during his classes'.

When asked about their pupils' frequency of use of AA in classroom, primary school teachers ticked the frequencies displayed in figure 4.21.
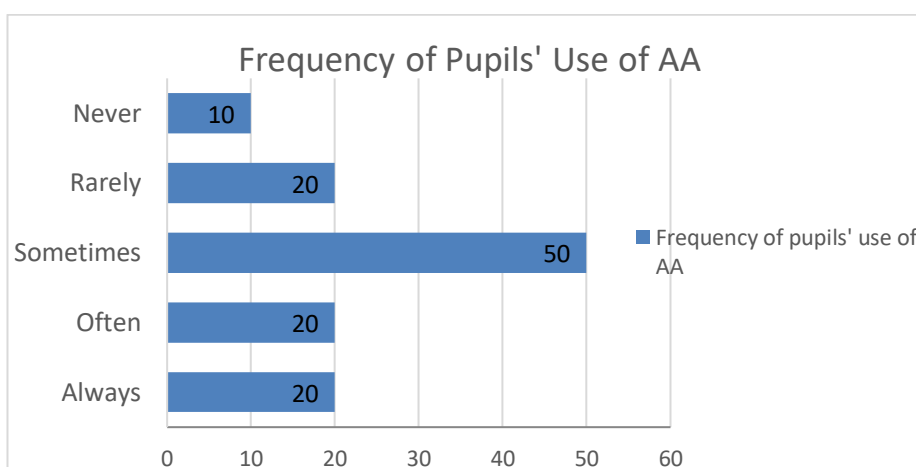
Fig. 4.21 Frequency of Pupils' Use of AA in Primary School

In the same pattern, the majority of interviewed teachers claimed that their pupils 'sometimes' use AA, while a minority said that their pupils 'never' use AA in class. We wonder if these primary school pupils really never use their mother tongue in class, even an out-of-lesson conversation. Our questioning of this claim will be tackled when considering the qualitative analysis of data, as well as the remaining research tools, in order to escape any biased interpretation. The teachers' choice of 'always' is too; to be reconsidered because it may be realistic as it may reflect an overall teacher' attitudes towards their pupils and their general educational performance in class. It might reveal a 'dissatisfaction' concerning the pupils' general performance in class. These assumptions remain hypotheses and we cannot affirm any of them, unless we will consider the qualitative data in a sounder interpretation.

4.3.1.2 QualitativeData Interpretation

There is a general agreement among the interviewed primary school teachers that AA serves a means of enhancement of communication in class. Some teachers have raised the point that AA is the pupils' home language and used in the ministry textbooks, which means that it is needless to put it into competition with MSA. Teachers relate pupils' success in using MSA to the milieu they are raised in and put responsibility on themselves in establishing good classroom manners, especially code choice dynamics. They set culpable the teacher for the pupils' use of AA in class, as a sign of his lack of mastery of his class and disrespect of his pupils. This culpability was manifested in many 'face-saving' expressions conveying the efforts they are doing in order not to be judged.

Yet, they remain understanding concerning the inevitable pupils' AA use because of their young age and lack of language proficiency, in addition to the difficulty of some concepts' definition in MSA. They admitted the dominance of AA over the linguistic register of the pupils because of being used to it. Teachers' estimation of pupils' MSA attitudes is positive. Due to their permanent contact with them, they assumed that the pupil using MSA is the center of admiration and imitation for his peers. They associated him with high educational achievements and good behaviour. They interpreted the reaction of laughter as a manifestation of jealousy.

As far as AA attitudes are concerned, teachers estimated its association with disrespect to teacher from the part of such a pupil. They, also, characterized it a sign of 'unprofessionalism' from the teacher who permits such a behaviour in class. This explains, according to them, the mockery from the part of pupils. However, the teachers' position was more understanding concerning mixing the two codes MSA and AA. Some were, even, approving this linguistic behaviour to be effective in class, because it helps the pupils reach a better decoding of the lessons, 'especially for preparatory and first year primary school classes'. In spite of that, most teachers remain skeptical and insist to reinforce MSA in such situation by correcting the

pupils and assisting them to produce less AA in class. The same interview was handled with middle school teachers, and could yield the data analyzed and interpreted below.

4.3.2 Interpretation of the Middle School Interview Results

The interview conducted with middle school teachers brought quantitative as well as qualitative results

4.3.2.1Quantitative Data Interpretation

The following figure displays the frequency of using AA in class, as reported by the interviewed middle school teachers.
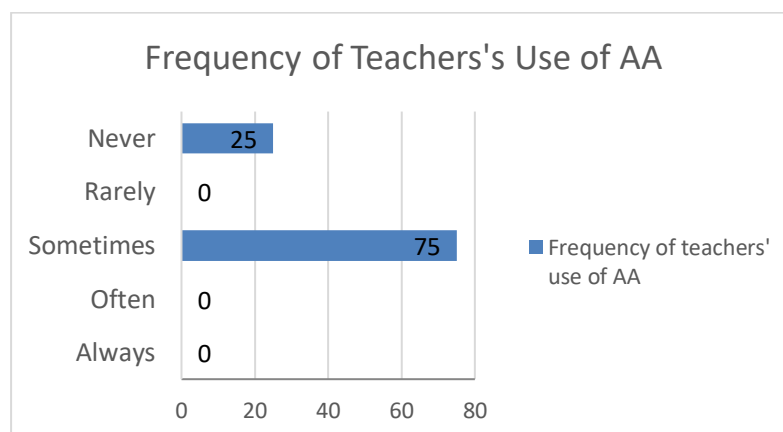
Fig. 4.22 Frequency of Teachers Use of AA in Middle School

The majority of teachers said that they 'sometimes' use AA in class, which sounds a realistic answer. A minority claimed to never use AA in class, which needs to be analyzed carefully, because, though might be realistic; it might reveal how the teacher perceives AA use in class. This teacher may consider any use of AA by him as a confession of failure as a teacher, and he should give a positive impression to the researcher by denying admitting any use of AA in his class.

They were asked about their pupils' frequency of use of AA in classroom, and they reported the answers summarized in figure 4.23
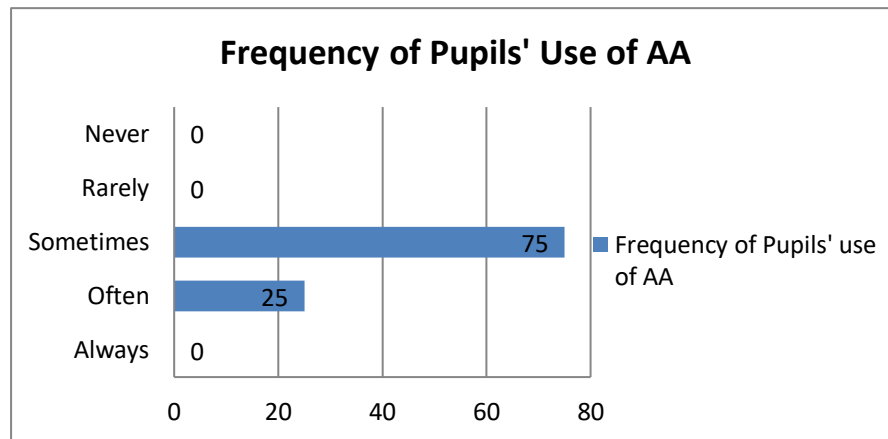
Fig. 4.23 Frequency of Pupils' Use of AA in Middle School

Most of the teachers said that their pupils 'sometimes' use AA in classroom, while a minority said that they do it more often. What is sure is that all of the interviewed teachers admitted that AA is part of the pupils' classroom linguistic practice.

4.3.2.2 Qualitative Data Interpretation

The main reason of using AA by the interviewed middle school teachers is simplification of concepts and a better communication especially that it is the pupils' mother tongue. So, addressing them in their language will ensure a better communication. Thus, AA is considered as a better language variety to MSA, in terms of 'expressiveness' and 'ease for communication'. They even characterized MSA as a language unable to pass the meaning. They are aware that their pupils are using AA because of the teacher who made it a habit to use AA where it should not be.

MSA use among pupils has received positive attitudes from the teachers. Their assumption of the pupils' attitudes is that MSA is the center of their admiration and imitation, unlike AA, which is 'the language of streets'. The teachers' claims, in fact, are biased by their own MSA and AA attitudes. Some could detect feelings of astonishment and denial among the pupils towards MSA; they guessed the pupils' MSA attitudes 'as negative and worthless'. They deduced

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as reasons of their choice: lack of proficiency and lack of practice of MSA in everyday life, which engendered a rejection and a low fluency in the language.

Pupils' use of AA in class, in parallel, was described as ordinary. They continued on judging the teachers, and responsiblizing them for the 'incorrect' establishment of communication dynamics in class. Some, however, were eager to unveil their pupils' AA attitudes by discovering the role AA plays among them as a language of solidarity. Teachers' attitudes towards mixing the two codes MSA and AA range between rejection and acceptance. Being in midway between primary and secondary schools, middle school teachers' attitudes, at this level, are in transition between the classical dictated attitudes that they have to induce to their pupils, and more crystallized attitudes that relate more to reality.

The same interview was handled with secondary school teachers, and could yield the data interpreted below.

4.3.3 Interpretation of the Secondary School Interview Results

The interview could provide the research by both quantitative and qualitative results

4.3.3.1 QuantitativeData Interpretation

The following figure displays the frequency of using AA in class, as reported by the teachers.
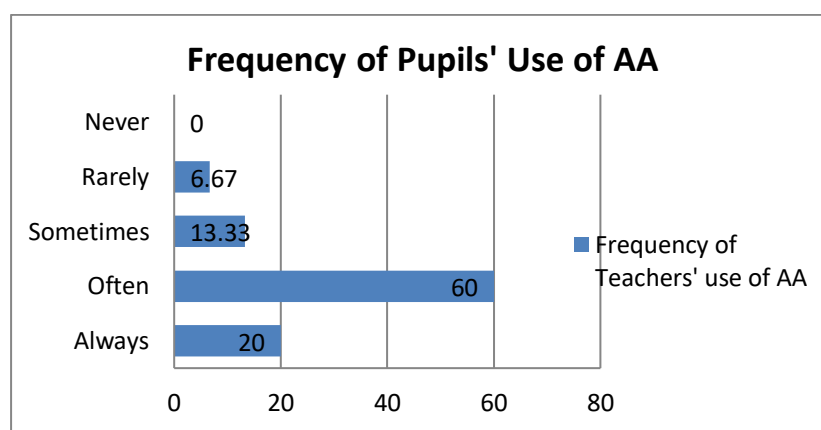
Fig. 4.24 Frequency of Teachers' Use of AA in Secondary School

When asked about their frequency of use of AA in class, most teachers claimed that they 'often' use AA, while an interesting proportion ticked the option 'always', to express their openness to any linguistic code that may serve in passing the message. By these choices, they show that the mission of preserving MSA in school is no more a priority and AA is no longer cast from class. Their mission is purely 'pedagogical' rather than linguistic. Very few teachers, however, said that they rarely use AA in class to show that they are still 'loyal' to the idea of preserving MSA as a school language, and any other variety, including AA, should be excluded.
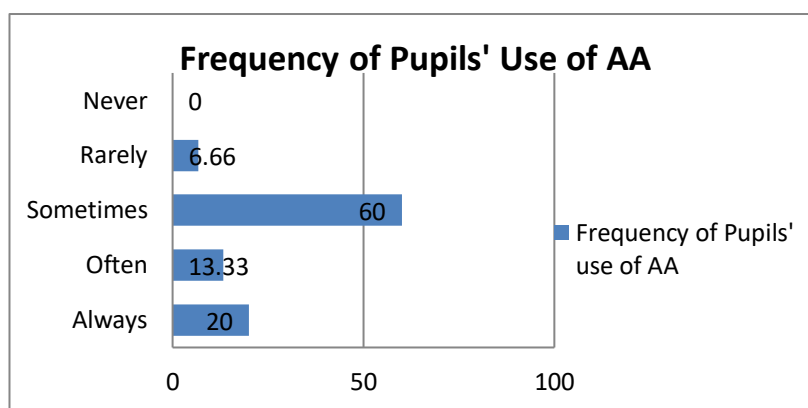
Fig. 4.25 Frequency of Pupils' Use of AA in Secondary School

As far as their pupils' use of AA is concerned, the majority chose 'sometimes' to the frequency of this code choice, while, interesting percentage of teachers chose 'always', and 'often'. Except for a minimum number of teachers, who reported that their pupils 'rarely' switch to AA, there is a general consensus among the teachers about the flagrance of AA use in classroom. Deeper analysis can be diagnosed through considering qualitative data.

4.3.3.2 QualitativeData Interpretation

At the level of secondary school, teachers' presumptions witnessed a shift towards more realistic attitudes. They agreed on that the main reason generating

their use of AA within class is 'simplification of concepts', and 'a better explanation'. They conceive AA as an easier code to adopt for a better 'expressiveness' and 'pupils' approachability'. They believe that their pupils are used to AA since primary school and can express themselves better in their home language. Some teachers pass their attitudes for the pupils' ones, claiming that AA is a source of laughter and mockery among pupils, assuming that these pupils are just 'impolite' and 'naughty pupils' for using AA in classroom

On the contrary, MSA is conceived as a difficult language, and, unable to express one's ideas. They could recognize their pupils' attitudes towards it by noting their feeling of 'shame' to use it. Being in permanent contact with pupils, they could decode their MSA attitudes, by relating them to teenager age challenge, in the sense that their pupils want to prove themselves by rejecting all rules, including MSA. Still, some could detect positive attitudes among pupils, claiming that MSA is admired among pupils. However, these attitudes maybe the translation of the teachers' ones, especially that some stated what should be in class, not what occurs actually, and that one teacher admitted that a pupil using MSA in class 'does not exist'.

Many teachers stressed the fact that code choice is meaningless in classroom, because in secondary school, deeper concepts are highlighted, rather than mere linguistic matters. So, they assumed that using AA or MSA, or even using both in the same sentence does not count to pupils, and probably, this is their own position. Yet, there still are a few teachers who stick to the traditional dictations concerning language use in class, and still repeat the slogans they believe in, instead of describing reality. They still state that their pupils 'usually use MSA', because 'they love it', and 'hate AA', because 'it is the language of the street'.

The following results are extracted from observations within the actual fieldwork, reporting some mini dialogues performed spontaneously within the three educational levels. The collected data are analyzed and interpreted below.

4.4   Interpretation of Observation

The collected mini dialogues in the three educational levels could be summarized in chapter 3, and they will be commented, analyzed and interpreted in relation to their settings.

In the primary school, the three mini dialogues represent the type of interaction teachers handle with their pupils. Though short, they are representative of a typical linguistic behaviour that occurs in classroom settings. Example 1 represents   an interaction between a teacher and a pupil who came late. The teacher asks him to close the door, while he answered that there are still other late pupils coming after him. This type of conversations is a routine conversation occurring very often in primary school classrooms; the teacher usually gives instructions out of the lesson, spontaneously. Usually, teachers choose a type of language in which they sound speaking in MSA, but still include some aspects from AA. They adopt a variety named 'middle variety', which is a hybrid variety between MSA and AA. The pupil's answer was natural, and he has answered his teacher in AA.

In Example 2, however, the teacher handles a normal interaction about a topic which is out of the topic of the lesson. He asks a pupil to distribute classroom copybooks. His code choice here is in MSA without code switching. The pupil, too, chose to speak to his teacher in MSA when complaining about his mate's behaviour. The teachers' reply was in MSA. This is a typical conversation one can come across in primary school classes. This incident can show how primary school teachers are reinforcing the use of MSA in classroom, and how it is a priority for them to assign MSA a high status by imposing it as a language of interaction in class.

In example 3, we have selected a conversation that relates to the content of the lesson. The teacher asks his students about the components of a nucleus family. His question was stated in MSA. In a hurry to answer, the pupil started answering the question, while the teacher interrupted him, in order to encourage him to use a

complete sentence in MSA. The pupil answered the teacher again in a correct sentence, and gained the teachers' approval.

In these three mini dialogues, it is apparent that there is perseverance from the part of the teacher, in order to keep MSA as a language of instruction and communication in class. In the first example, the pupil permitted himself- to use AA when he heard the teacher switching AA at the end of his utterance. In example 2, however, the pupil addressed his teacher in MSA in a way to get her approval, so that she will help him to get rid of his friend's annoyance in class. Example 3 is a good example to show how teachers are striving to maintain MSA use in class. It is crystal clear that one of the main tenets of primary school education is more that instructing pupils and enriching their human knowledge. It aims, also, at establishing MSA as a language of communication by reinforcing its use so that the Algerian pupil identity will be reinforced since his childhood.

Example 4 is an excerpt from the Arabic language lesson. The teacher is giving explanations concerning Arabic grammar. It is apparent that the teacher is using MSA just when reading or speaking about technical terms; most of the explanations and interactions are handled in words in AA. The pupils, on their turn, answer or ask the teacher in AA instead of MSA. At this educational level, one can guess that teachers have moved from the image of the primary school teacher, who focuses on both passing the message and ensuring acquiring a clean language to the status of a middle school teacher, who attempts to explain technical concepts rather than caring of the medium he passes information through. This change of perspective relates, also, to the pupils' age, which is a transition point from childhood to adulthood. Usually pupils try to escape any behaviour, including the linguistic one, which is associated with primary school and childhood to emphasize the idea that they are no more children.

Two conversations were reported from two secondary school classes. The first one was handled by a teacher of. Islamic sciences, while the second is from mathematics lesson. As far as example 5 is concerned, the teacher was focusing.

during giving his lesson using the maximum of MSA as a language of instruction in his lesson. Yet, when he wanted to motivate his pupils, he has switched code towards AA in order to establish a better communication with his pupils. He has even made reference to a technology device which is the 'chronometer', in order to minimize the gap of communication between him and his students.

Example 6 is a typical mathematic lesson conversation. Both the teacher and pupils are involved within the technical content of the lesson, with paying no attention to which language they are using when explaining his lesson. One of the pupils started speaking, and making noise, disturbing her mates and the teacher during giving his lesson. So, he was obliged to address her and ask her to ensure silence. Here, he has used second function special to AA over MSA. It is to get angry in it, as mentioned in many reports in the questionnaires. Teachers, usually, get angry or express their feelings in AA rather than in MSA. This behaviour is natural in every human being; it is faster, easier and more expressive to use one's mother tongue, in expressing his feelings rather than using MSA language, which is viewed as a language of instruction rather than a means of communication.

Though observation is a peripheral tool in the present inquiry, it remains meaningful in collecting data in terms of clarifying and a better understanding of the linguistic phenomena that occur in the three educational levels. One could unveil the status that MSA occupies. In primary school, the pupils are in contact with MSA, which is different from the language of home. Primary school teachers do efforts in order to establish the first milestones in learning this language variety. They insist on using MSA in classroom the maximum. This is very important for the children education. It is proved scientifically that learning in one's mother tongue is more effective than in a different language of instruction. In the case of Arabic, AA remains a dialect, and, MSA is the only available variety capable of pursuing the mission of being a language of instruction. Focusing on its establishment as a language in school will have surely positive impacts on the pupils' learning process.

As soon as the pupils reach middle school, they have been using MSA as a language of instruction since their childhood. Being used for more than five years, makes the pupils taking it for granted. In other terms, they no more focus on acquiring MSA as language or using it as language of instruction. Also, the type of syllabi found in the middle school and secondary school are different in terms of content in comparison to the primary school syllable. In middle school, the elementary education has already been set and teachers need to focus on technical concepts rather than language per se. The more pupils are advancing in the educational level, the more lessons are becoming complex and diverse. For this reason one relates the linguistic behaviour of the teacher of mathematics to the whole educational system. At this level of studies, both teacher and pupils are no more concerned with the type of language they are using, but rather with how fast they pass the message. This is called 'the law of the least effort'. So, pupils are no more concerned with using MSA in class or even outside class, which consequently affected language mastery, in general, and fluency in particular. The section below examines the pupils' fluency test handled with the pupils of the three educational levels.

4.5   Interpretation of Test Results

150 oral tests were conducted with the pupils: 5o tests for each level. This action was taken because the pupils' fluency in MSA was accused to be the first responsible factor for the pupils diglossic switching in classroom. We will display the collected data for each level, then analyze and interpret them to verify the hypotheses of the present research work.

4.5.1   The Primary School Pupils' Test of Fluency

All of the 50 primary school pupils were tested, individually. The revealed quantitative and qualitative results are analyzed and interpreted here after.

4.5.1.1Test Quantitative Data Interpretation

The two figures below expose the informants' self- evaluation of MSA proficiency as well as fluency test results, respectively.

Primary School Pupils' self- evaluation in MSA
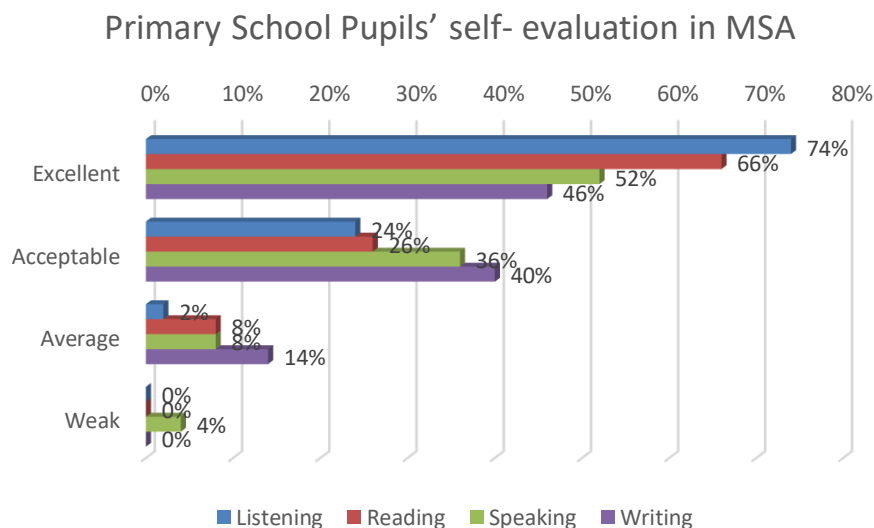
Fig. 4. 24: Primary School Pupils' self- evaluation in MSA

The majority of pupils rate themselves as excellent in all of the four skills, especially in the receptive ones. Important numbers of pupils rated themselves as acceptable in speaking and writing, while only two pupils chose 'weak' in speaking as a self- rating. This self- evaluation cannot be considered, unless the pupils are tested to check the credibility of their statements. If the obtained achievements in the test approach the stated self- evaluation, then we deduce that they are self- conscious of their language proficiency. On the contrary, if the test results are incompatible with their self- evaluation, then we deduce that their statements are alimented by their attitudes rather than their actual language proficiency. One's language self- evaluation usually is a revealing clue to the mental image he perceives of a language. If one's attitudes are positive, then he will conceive it as easy, and over rate himself- in, while, if his attitudes are negative, then, he tends to underrate himself- in, and perceive it as difficult, even if linguistically, he is doing well in.

Primary School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

Level 3 — 44%
Level 2 — 36%
Level 1 — 20%
Level 0 — 0%
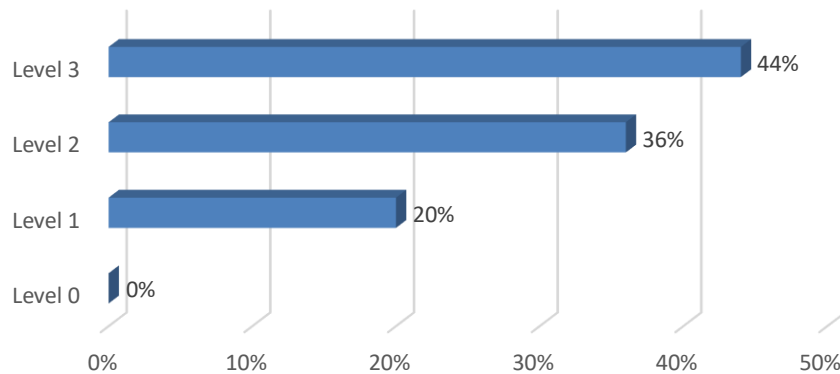
Fig. 4. 21. Primary School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

It is apparent in the test results that most of the primary school pupils could reach level 3, in which, they were able to produce important stretches of speech. We can notice that level 2 is reached by exactly the same number of pupils as those claiming to be acceptable in speaking, which is 36% of the population. This implies certain credibility in their claims. However, the rate for those claiming to be excellent in speaking, over number the level 3 pupils. This may reflect positive attitudes towards MSA among pupils, which motivated them to love it and exhibit willingness to use it properly. Further details can be interpreted within the collected qualitative data.

4.5.1.2Test Qualitative Data Interpretation

The pupils expressed openly their language attitudes, mainly answers like: 'MSA is better than AA', 'I do not love AA', 'MSA is the best language and the favorite variety for classroom'. They exhibited such attitudes because of MSA association with Qur'an and Islam as well as the teachers' programming of such attitudes. They stated: 'the one who uses MSA will make the teacher happy and proud'. To gain the teacher' approval and fall into the mould of 'a typical good pupil', some pupils proposed some strategies to develop their MSA like 'watching

cartoons', 'reading stories' and 'learning Koran', which implies that they do efforts to reach the expected image of a model pupil.

Teachers are not the only reason lying behind the pupils' language attitudes and achievements. Pupils issue of 'educated parents' scored higher levels in MSA fluency test. The same for pupils who are the offspring of families composed of more than four children. This means that the milieu one grows in affect one's language mental representation. It was noticed, too, that there is no correlation between the pupils' high mean grades and their fluency test achievements, while this contradicts with what the pupils stated. Often, the pupil mastering MSA is perceived as 'highly graded', though in reality, it is not always the case. Self-evaluation question answers, too, were not necessarily answered objectively by the pupils. As noticed in the analysis of quantitative results, most primary school pupils rated them as the rating they wish to be in, not the actual one. They can be unaware of their real level, as they might want to give a good impression by upgrading their self- evaluation and be compatible with the mould of 'the good pupil', in relation to their MSA evaluation.

The same fluency test was performed with the two remaining educational levels. Below are exposed the results obtained at the level of middle school.

4.5.2   The Middle School Pupils' Test of Fluency

The test gathered quantitative and qualitative results when administered to 50 middle school pupils.

4.5.2.1Test Quantitative Data Interpretation

They are summarized in two figures. The first exposes the informants' self-evaluation of MSA proficiency while fluency test results administered by the researcher are displayed in the second.
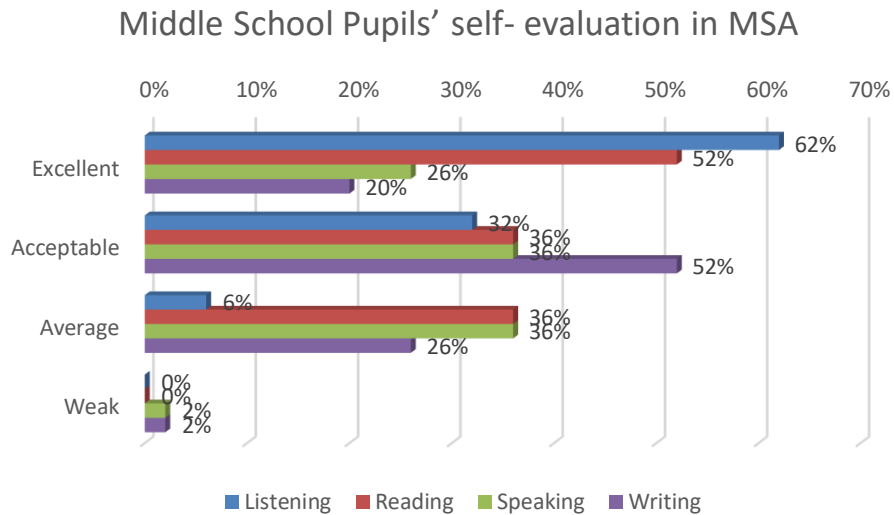
Fig 4. 21: Middle School Pupils' self- evaluation in MSA

Most of middle school pupils checked 'excellent' for their receptive skills, while their writing received top rate on 'acceptable'. As far as speaking skill is concerned, its maximum rate was scored on 'acceptable' and 'average', equally. An important number of pupils rated themselves as 'excellent', whereas very few pupils rated themselves as' weak' in the productive skills.

After evaluating themselves, the informants were evaluated by the researcher. The obtained data are visualized in the figure below
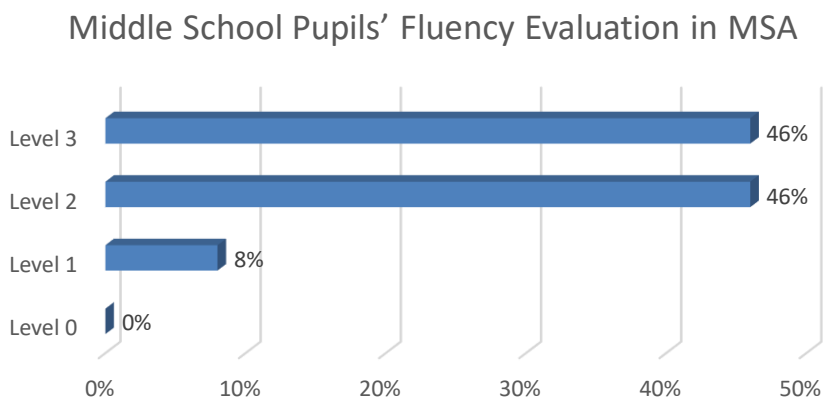
Fig 4. 22: Middle School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

The highest scores reached level 2 and level 3, in which the pupils' fluency ranges from uttering significant sentences to longer stretches of speech. A few could answer with only one word, and are evaluated in level1. When compared with the results of self- evaluation, one can notice that the actual obtained results in fluency test exceed the stated results in self- evaluation. This implies that there are some students that perceive their level in MSA as more inferior than it is in reality. This under esteem of one's level in a language relates to their attitudes towards MSA. They have probably higher expectations from themselves and they perceive MSA as a difficult language; in which 'it is never enough'. Similar supra linguistic features can be explored thoroughly in the next section.

4.5.2.2Test Qualitative Data Interpretation

Qualitatively speaking, middle school pupils' answers were more exact, more fluent, and more expressive, with fewer mistakes. Similar to questionnaire interpretation, they exhibited a certain maturity concerning the available codes awareness. Some of their replies unveiled some of the pupils' attitudes towards both MSA and AA by highlighting MSA as a language of Qur'an' and Islamic faith. AA, on the other hand, gained awareness among them. After all the negative attitudes pupils have been programmed on in primary school, AA became recognized among them as a language of identity, and nationalism. They could recognize that using AA is easier, faster than MSA, and more expressive, because they are used to it which makes it readier in their minds for instant use. The only rejection of AA relies on its inconvenience to classroom settings according to teachers. So, any violation of the teachers' instructions is a sign of 'disrespect', and that 'trouble creation'.

Similar to primary school pupils, middle school pupils mean grades were not meaningful in relation to their fluency test achievements. We found pupils with a high mean grades with very humble MSA fluency as we noticed average-graded pupils with a level 3 fluency test achievement. This contradicts with what has been stated in questionnaire results, and it remains a myth stating that 'good pupils speak

well MSA'. The next section interprets the pupils' fluency test results for secondary school pupils.

4.5.3 The secondary School Pupils' Test of Fluency

22 males and 28 females are the tested secondary school pupils. Their age ranges between 15 and 20 and their mean grades is in the interval of [7 - 15.87]. The quantitative and the qualitative results are displayed here below.

4.5.3.1 Test Quantitative Data Interpretation

They are summarized in two figures below. The first exposes the informants' self- evaluation of MSA proficiency while fluency test results administered by the researcher are displayed in the second.

Secondary School Pupils' self--evaluation in MSA
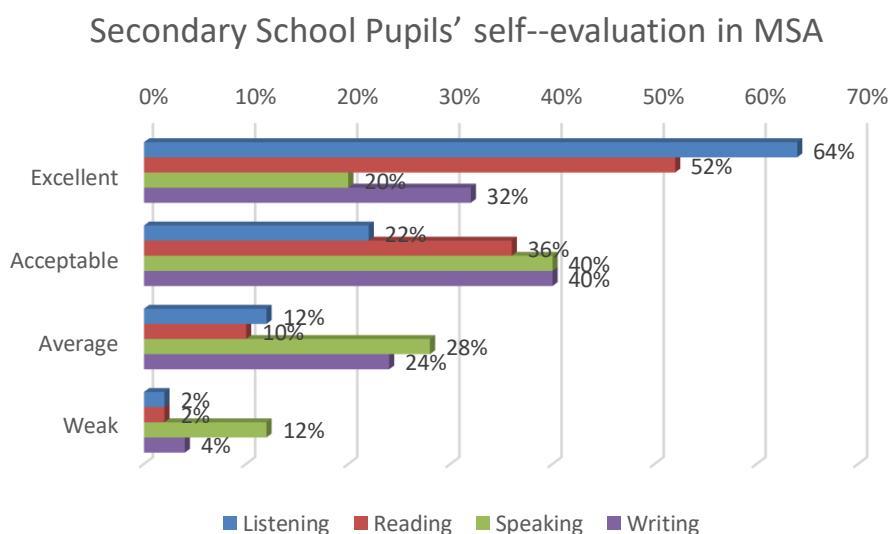
Fig 4. 23: Secondary School Pupils' self--evaluation in MSA

Similar to the two previous educational levels, receptive skills; listening and reading, received higher rates in secondary school pupils' self- evaluation. Yet, a few pupils chose 'weak' as self- evaluation, remarkably for speaking skill. The highest rating for speaking skill was scored on 'acceptable', followed by 'average', in the next rating.
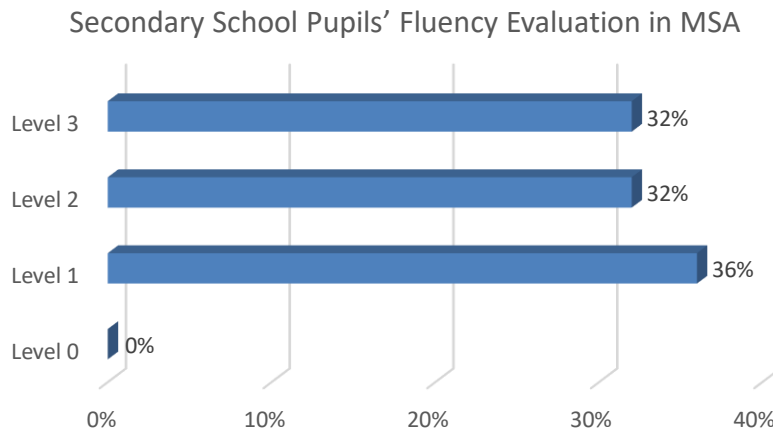
Fig. 4. 24. Secondary School Pupils' Fluency Evaluation in MSA

As fluency test reveals, the majority of pupils could not overcome level 1, which means, they were unable to produce a longer stretch of speech than a single word. This is a level that can be equivalent to 'weak' or optimistically to 'average'. Practically, the sum of pupils rating themselves as weak or average is quite the same as the pupils' number of level 1. Considerable pupils could reach levels 2, and 3. They are pupils capable of producing correct utterances to longer speech. These pupils can be ranked as having a good to excellent levels. For level 2, the number approaches the number of pupils rating themselves as 'acceptable', while level 3 pupils' number exceeds the 'excellent' rated pupils. This means that there is a good number of pupils underrating their level in speaking skill, while, practically, the can reach higher achievements in tests. No exaggeration was captured in the results, but rather modesty in some pupils' self- rating in MSA. This may relate to their self-esteem and sense of accomplishment in relation to MSA, especially that this latter relates to one's educational success. So, any non satisfaction related to studies is over generalized on MSA, too. This may relate, also, to the way they see MSA. It is the sacred language that is 'difficult and it is never enough to reach its mastery'. Further analysis and interpretation will be handled in qualitative data in the next section.

4.5.3.2 Test Qualitative Data Interpretation

Secondary school pupils manifested different practices during the fluency test in comparison to middle school pupils. Diglossic switching was flagrant in their answers, and vocabulary choice was imprecise. The majority used shorter utterances in order to produce the least effort utterances. MSA and AA attitudes changed in relation to age and educational level. No hostility was expressed towards AA. It moved from the image of the 'disrespecting street language' to a mere fast means of communication'. This change is an automatic result of the adopted discourse by teachers. In teachers' interviews, there was a tolerance from the part of teachers, contrary to the teachers of primary and middle school, who were repeating AA hostile sloganeering. Therefore, they are just reproducing the same way of speaking they had been addressed by'. This easy going position towards diglossic switching made pupils use AA all the time because of its 'readiness' in their minds.

This lack, or absence of motivation of using MSA, made pupils find it 'artificial, difficult and unable to pass the message and thus escape its use. This reluctance made them lose their MSA fluency because of lack of practice. Automatically, pupils developed negative attitudes towards it and erected AA to the status of the 'best language for communication' and a symbol of the Algerian identity. A correlation between the pupils parents' educational background, like sons of 'teachers, engineers, doctors', and their score in the test; they could achieve level three in MSA fluency. Self- evaluation question answers, too, were misleading, because many answered that they are 'weak in MSA', while practically, they could reach level 3 in the test. Here, one can deduce the importance of one's family in defining his language practices and attitudes.

4.6 Synthesis and Discussion

Through exposing the main milestone results found throughout the fieldwork of the present research, we can make some assumptions. Direct observation as well

as questionnaires and interviews combined with fluency test have yielded results for the three educational levels; primary, middle, and secondary schools. Obtaining data from the three educational levels is very interesting, in the sense that it permits us to have a panoramic view of the Algerian educational system in relation to language dynamics.

In the primary school, education is rather language biased, which makes its establishment part and parcel of LPP. Teachers, the first representative of the system, are the most influencing agents in language practices and attitudes. As unveiled in the empirical work, they establish classroom rules from the beginning, with focus on assigning MSA the status of official classroom language. They also strive to exclude any other code from class, particularly AA. With these rules, they induce a set of language attitudes to the pupils, in which MSA is glorified and AA is stigmatized. They stress the high status of MSA as a language of Arab Islamic identity, while they underestimate AA and do their best to exclude it from classroom scene.

As a result, primary school pupils exhibit a dictated set of attitudes, in which MSA stands for the protagonist language, which is associated with slogans of Islam and identity, while AA is described as 'a denied vulgar language, which should be hated'. Consequently, AA is avoided and hated, in spite of the fact that it is the pupils' mother tongue. This denial is the first step towards self- denial and self- under esteem. In parallel, pupils are eager to learn and use MSA as much as possible. It is viewed positively and used in classroom at its maximum, in comparison to the two remaining educational levels. Through continuous use of MSA, the pupils' fluency is ameliorated, as proved by fluency test.

As soon as pupils reach middle school, there is less pressure from the part of teachers, and there is more exposure to foreign languages. The more pupils advance in age, the more they develop a certain critical mind, by which they can analyze and evaluate all what is dictated to them. Through time, they learn not to take everything for granted, the way they used to do when they were children. They

revise their language attitudes and many of them start expressing a rejection of MSA use in classroom. Many reasons intervene in forming their attitudes, among which the fact that MSA is often associated with childhood in their minds, and thus rejected as an adolescence manifestation. Middle school is a transition phase in pupils' curriculum in which they start using less MSA, which can affect their fluency negatively in the coming educational level.

By reaching secondary school, pupils' fluency in MSA is at its lowest rate. Pupils at this schooling stage are no more caring about using MSA, and aim just to communicate in the easiest manner with their teachers. Code choice here is governed by the law of least effort. Being at doors of their professional carrier, they give more importance to many scientific subjects in parallel to foreign languages, mainly, English, by the virtue of the fact that they can provide better educational and professional outlets to them.

It is flagrant that the situation of Arabic as a diglossic language situation is so complex. As expected by Ferguson (1959), this situation is stable and will never change. What clouds further the issue and preserves its stability is the fact that MSA is not considered as a language for communication but a mere means of instruction imposed by language planners, and rejected by its supposed to be its users. Negligible efforts are done at the top of the pyramid to establish this language as a language of science and learning, if one pictures language planning in Algeria in a pyramidal model. This has resulted reluctance in its use from the part of teachers and pupils at the bottom of the pyramid. This reluctance is not just a mere rejection or unwillingness to use 'a language variety' but extends to affect the Algerian identity negatively. Language, being part and parcel in defining one's identity, has to be taken care of by promoting it and working on its representation in a given speech community, else, its speakers will suffer from a linguistic schizophrenia characterized by a conflict between self- denial and pride.

4.7 Conclusion

Relying on the remarks cited above, one can put forward some expectations. The majority of pupils have the necessary level needed to communicate effectively in class as soon as they get to their first year in middle school. Pupils have negative attitudes towards MSA; they view it as an old-fashioned and an outdated language. They associate it with primary school and avoid using it even in the classroom. Through time, pupils lose their fluency in MSA, and thus their communicative competence because of lack of practice. MSA receives negative attitudes on the part of the pupils because of not only their age but also because of the way it has been handled in the Algerian language policy. In order to gain positive attitudes among pupils and thus achieve better results in terms of schooling, it should be handled carefully in the educational system and LPP in general.

General Conclusion

The starting point of the present research work was questioning an odd linguistic behavior in classroom settings, encountered by the researcher. Some pupils whom I met during my first teaching experience, when I occupied the position of a teacher in a middle school, were laughing whenever one of them chose to stick to using MSA solely in classroom, in spite of the fact that in a diglossic context, it is the 'right' linguistic code to be adopted in formal settings. This has raised my scientific thirst to discover the reasons lying behind their behaviour, and has encouraged my eagerness to examine this phenomenon in relation to real classroom settings.

A preliminary research was handled as an accomplishment of my *Magistére* degree in sociolinguistics (Benadla 2010). The concern of the research was restricted to middle school level. The outcomes of the research could yield some results, mainly concerning code choice dynamics within a diglossic context. It was proved that pupils, when arriving to middle school, could handle a conversation in MSA, in acceptable to good level of fluency. At the end of their schooling in middle school, they exhibit a certain number of attitudes towards MSA, mainly its being associated with 'childhood' and 'stubbornness'. These negative attitudes, in combination with the pupils' adolescence age made them reluctant in MSA use. This rejection of MSA as a language of communication in class had negative effect on their fluency in it. (Benadla 2012).

Yet, conducting research at the level of middle school was not enough to decode the different language dynamics occurring in education, and a deeper and a more comprehensive research was required. The studied field had to be extended to cover the educational system in Algeria with its three levels. After conducting a scientific introspection in primary, middle, and secondary schools, some results could be deduced. Direct classroom observation as well as

questionnaires and interviews, in addition to an MSA fluency test yielded the following results.

In primary school, pupils are eager to learn and use MSA as much as possible. It is viewed positively and used in classroom at its maximum, in comparison to the two remaining educational levels. Through continuous use of MSA, the pupils' fluency is enriched, as proved by the fluency test. Due to teachers' perseverance concerning establishing an MSA-based communication in class; pupils set their first milestones in acquiring MSA as an active language. Pupils are spoon-fed by special slogans in relation to language attitudes, mainly associating MSA with their Arab Islamic identity and 'idealizing' it. Pupils, therefore, manifest a willingness to use it so that they will fit into the mould of 'the excellent polite pupil' established by teachers. AA, on the other hand, is eliminated from their school register through loading it with a set of 'ready negative attitudes' so that it will not compete with MSA as a language for communication. Consequently, pupils manifest a set of hostile attitudes towards it, and its users in classroom, including themselves.

As soon as pupils reach the middle school, there is less pressure from the part of teachers, and there is more exposure to foreign languages. The more pupils advance in age, the more reluctance they express and tend to reject MSA use in class. Many reasons intervene in forming their attitudes, in addition to the two reasons stated above; MSA is often associated with childhood in the pupils' minds, and rejected as an adolescence manifestation. Middle school is a transition phase in pupils' curriculum in which they start using less MSA till their fluency is reduced at the end of this period. Another assumed reason of rejection is the fact that they have been loaded with negative attitudes towards their mother tongue. In the beginning of their schooling, they were forced to assume that AA is a 'vulgar' language and unworthy to be spoken. So, they started repeating these negative slogans though they knew that this language variety is part of their identity, and is associated with their homes. At their adolescence, they start recognizing that these slogans are unreal, which makes them no longer take their

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teachers' claims for granted. Eventually, they start rejecting any claims from any authority, including their teachers. Some start using AA purposefully to manifest their rejection to instructions, and to tease their teachers.

By reaching secondary school, pupils' fluency in MSA is at its lowest rate. Pupils at this schooling stage no longer care about using MSA, and aim just to communicate in the easiest manner with their teachers. Learning a language is no more a priority to both teachers and pupils. They prioritize acquiring more complex concepts designed in the curriculum to the means in which it has been expressed. So, code choice here is governed by the law of least effort. Being at doors of their professional carrier, they give more importance to many scientific subjects in parallel to foreign languages, mainly, English, by the virtue of the fact that these can provide them with better educational and professional outlets. MSA, thus, is divorced from its communicative nature as a language and is set into a passive pattern. AA, as a competing variety, regains the status of a communication language, and pupils challenge all its rejecters including their teachers, because rejecting it is rejecting part of their identity.

Our investigation of the issue, thus, stands on three points. First, the pupils' code choice within classroom settings, and the flagrancy of diglossic switching are unveiled. Second, the reasons generating pupils' switch to AA in the three educational levels are examined, with focus, finally, on their MSA fluency and attitudes. These points are originally the research sub-questions that could be proved or disproved in the research hypotheses

The first hypothesis which verifies pupils' switch from MSA to AA in classroom but differently in relation with their level was proved and attested. Indeed, in the three educational levels, pupils switch diglossically within classroom, and the rate of their switch increases the more they advance in age and educational level. In other words, primary school pupils switch to AA less than middle school pupils, who, on their turn, switch less than pupils schooled in

secondary school. The more they advance in years; pupils tend to lose their MSA fluency because of decrease of practice of language.

This decrease intervenes directly to the research second hypothesis, which relates to pupils' attitudes towards the available codes, mainly MSA. Throughout fieldwork procedures, we have proved that MSA is conceived as a 'childish' language, devoted to primary school classroom interaction. It is also conceived of as an artificial language unable to serve as a language of communication. These attitudes result of not only from the general status of MSA, but relates strongly to the language policy adopted in Algeria.

Similar MSA attitudes could be found in readings concerning MSA attitudes in several Arabic-speaking countries from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arab Gulf. All of the pupils in those studies manifested negative attitudes towards MSA and a rejection. One could deduce that these attitudes relate to MSA as a language per se, probably, the unstable socio-economic status of most of the Arab world countries. Yet, an investigation conducted by the researcher in a school teaching Arabic as a foreign language in Istanbul, Turkey, disapproved this hypothesis. Teachers in the school, when asked if they could detect any rejection of MSA as a language of communication, were shocked by such a question, because MSA remains glamorous to them in Turkey, and its speakers are assigned a special prestige over other foreign languages in their country. Therefore, logically, any negative attitude encountered in the Arab world relates more to LPP undertaken in that country and to the indirect image MSA is figured in rather than the general status of MSA, because if it was so, it would be a worldwide attitude.

Through exposing the main milestone results found throughout the fieldwork of the present research, one can make some assumptions and expectations. It is flagrant that the situation of Arabic as a diglossic language situation is so complex. This situation is stable and will hardly change. What clouds further the issue and preserves its stability is the fact that MSA is not

considered as a language for communication but a mere means of instruction imposed by language planners, and rejected by the supposed users. Negligible efforts are made at the top of the pyramid to establish this language as a language of science and learning, if one pictures language planning in Algeria in a pyramidal model. This has resulted reluctance in its use from the part of teachers and pupils at the bottom of the pyramid. This reluctance is not just a mere rejection or unwillingness to use 'a language variety' but extends to affect the Algerian identity negatively. Language, being part and parcel in defining one's identity, has to be taken care of by promoting it and working on its representation in a given speech community, else, its speakers will suffer from a linguistic schizophrenia characterized by a conflict between self denial and pride. In more precise terms, the competition created between MSA, and colloquial forms of it, AA in the case of Algeria, clouds further the issue, in the sense that it may affect negatively the Algerian mental image of oneself and one's identity. This self-hatred discourse can lead either to self-denial, or to rejection of the competing variety accused of putting the Algerian speaker in that frame. This explains why some speakers expressed hostile feelings towards MSA.

Indeed, building a sound relationship between one citizen and his self-perception is very important in the sense that it will affect positively all his behaviours, including the linguistic ones. A concrete example encountered by the researcher is the case of language policy in France. In a training handled in the languages department in Paris, France, the researcher noted that all of their language courses are handled in French as a language of instruction. When inquiring about the reason of that teaching method, especially that an apparent failure was flagrant in the students' mastery of the studied foreign languages, the teachers' answers were that they are in the Republic of France and that the only language worth using is French. This reply could clarify the whole French Republic ideology, as it could highlight the dilemma our country is facing. The French ideology plans to induce into its citizens' minds that their language is superior to all languages, is perfect as a language of instruction and able to

convey meaning. Though this has decreased its citizens' sense of recognition of the others, it could reinforce their sense of identity and self-esteem.

Comparatively, if policy makers, starting from language planners, become aware of the importance language plays in building the Algerian identity, they will overcome not only language problems, but also identity recognition ones. For this, Algeria needs to reinforce positive discourse concerning its language varieties and establish reconciling programmes for its Arabic-speaking identity. Importance should be given to MSA as a language of science and communication without necessarily using hostile discourse towards AA, because programming Algerian speakers to perceive AA negatively is programming them to view negatively themselves, which is quite an unhealthy image for the Algerian citizen.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire to the pupils

نحتاج للمعلومات الآتية في بحث علمي. يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية و ضع علامة +
في الخانة المناسبة او الاجابة المباشرة

1. ذكر ☐   أنثى ☐   السـن..........................

2. المعدل الفصلي..............

3. المستوى: الابتدائي☐ المتوسط☐   الثانوي ☐   في السنة.................

4. ما هي اللّغة المستعملة في القسم؟

   العربية الفصحى ☐   الدارجة☐   كلاهما☐

5. هل تستعمل الدّارجة عند إجابتك الأستاذ؟

   دائما ☐   غالبا☐   أحيانا ☐   نادرا☐   أبدا☐

6. ما تقييمك لمستواك في اللغة العربيةالفصحى؟

   ممتاز☐   جيد☐   مستحسن☐   متوسط☐   ضعيف☐

7. هل يستعمل أستاذكأو أستاذتك الدارجة في القسم؟

   دائما ☐   غالبا☐   أحيانا ☐   نادرا☐   أبدا☐

8. في رأيك ما هي النسبة المئوية لاستعمال الأستاذ للدارجة في المواد التالية ؟
   - اللغة العربية
   - الرياضيات
   - التربية الاسلامية
   - الفزياء _ التكنولوجيا
   - العلوم
   - الاجتماعيات
   - الرياضة

9. ما هي النسبة المئوية لاستعمالك للدارجة في المواد التالية ؟
   - اللغة العربية
   - الرياضيات

- التربية الاسلامية
- الفزياء
- العلوم
- الاجتماعيات
- الرياضة

10. ما هي أسباب استعمال الأستاذ الدّارجة في القسم، في رأيك؟

- ....
- ....
- ....

11. ما هي أسباب استعمال زملائك الدّارجة عند إجابتهم الأستاذ، في رأيك؟

- ....
- ....

12. ما موقف التلاميذ من الزميل الذي يتكلّم الفصحى خالصة في القسم ؟

....

....

13. في رايك ما هو السبب وراء موقفهم هذا ؟

....

....

14. ما موقف التلاميذ من الزميل الذي يتكلّم الدارجة خالصة في القسم ؟

....

15.في رايك ما هو السبب وراء سلوكهم هدا ؟

....

....

16. وما موقف التلاميذ من الزميل الذي يمزج الفصحى مع الدارجة في القسم ؟

....

....

شكرا لتعاونكم

Questionnaire translated in English

We need the following information in a scientific study, please answer the questions and put a cross+ when necessary

1. Are you a?   male□   female□   age? ....

2. What is the average of your marks of second term exam? ....

3. educational level   primary□   middle□secondary□year?.........

4. What is the language used in class?   MSA□   AA□

5. Do you use AA when answering the teacher?

   Always□   often□   sometimes□ rarely□   never□

6. Assess your level of MSA

   excellent□   good□   quite good□ medium□   weak□

7. Does your teacher use AA in Class?

   Always□ often□   sometimes□ rarely□   never□

8. According to you, what is the percentage of his/her use of AA in

   - Arabic
   - Mathematics
   - Islamic education
   - Physics; technology
   - Biology
   - Social sciences
   - sport

9. According to you, what is the percentage of your use of AA in

   - Arabic
   - Mathematics
   - Islamic education
   - Physics; technology
   - Biology

- Social sciences
- sport

10. Why does the teacher use AA in class?

…………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………..

11. According to you, why do some pupils use AA in class?
…………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………
………

12. What do pupils think of the pupil who uses only MSA in class?
…………………………………………………………………………………

13. Why do they have this attitude towards this pupil?

…………………………………………………………………………………

14. What do pupils think of the pupil who uses only AA in class?
…………………………………………………………………………………

15. Why do they have this attitude towards this pupil?

…………………………………………………………………………………
…

16. What do pupils think of the pupil who mixes MSA with AA in class?

…………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you for your collaboration

Appendix B: The teacher's interview schedule

<u>نحتاج للمعلومات الآتية في بحث علمي. يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية و ضع علامة + في الخانة المناسبة او الاجابة المباشرة</u>

1. المادة المدرّسة:.........................

2. الخبرة:.........................

3. هل انت ؟   ذكر□   انثى□

4. المستوى: الابتدائي□   المتوسط □   الثانوي □

5. هل تستعمل الدّارجة أثناء الدّرس؟

   دائما □   غالبا □   أحيانا □   نادرا□   أبدا□

6. ما هي اسباب اختيارك هدا؟

   ....

   ....,

7. هل يستعمل تلامدتك الدّارجة أثناء الدّرس؟

   دائما □   غالبا □   أحيانا □   نادرا□   أبدا□

8. في رأيك ما أسباب سلوكهم هذا؟

   - ....

   - ....

   - ....

9. ما هو موقف التلاميذ اتجاه من يستعمل الفصحى في كل إجاباته للأستاذ؟

- ....

- ....

10. في رايك ما هو السبب وراء موقفهم هذا ؟

....

....

11. ما موقف التلاميذ في الزميل الذي يتكلّم الدارجة خالصة في القسم ؟

....

....

....

......

12. في رايك ما هو السبب وراء موقفهم هدا ؟

....

....

....

....

13. وما موقف التلاميذ من الزميل الذي يمزج الفصحى مع الدارجة في القسم ؟

....

....

....

Interview translation into English

1. Which subject do you teach? ………………

2. How many years have you been teaching? …………

3. Are you ? male □   Female □

4. Level ?   primary□   Middle □   Secondary□

5. Do you use AA during the lesson?

    Always□   often□   sometimes□ rarely□   never□

6. Would you justify your choice?

....
....

7. Do your pupils answer you in AA?

Always□   often□   sometimes□ rarely□   never□

8. According to you, why do some pupils behave in this way?
   …………………………………………………………………………………
   ……………………………………………………………………………

9. What are pupils' attitudes towards a pupil using only MSA in class?
   …………………………………………………………………………………
   ……………………………………………………………………………

10. According to you, why do pupils adopt this attitude?
    …………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………
    ……

11. What are pupils' attitudes towards a pupil using only AA in class?
    …………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………
    ……

12. According to you, why do pupils adopt this attitude?
    …………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………
    ………

13. What are pupils' attitudes towards a pupil using only MSA in class?…………………………………………………………………………………
    …

Appendix C: Test of Fluency

الجزء 01: <u>نحتاج للمعلومات الآتية في بحث علمي. يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية و ضع علامة + في الخانة المناسبة او الاجابة المباشرة</u>

الجزء 1:

1. <u>الجنس:</u>   ذكر □   أنثى □

2. <u>المعدل الفصلي:........3 السن:......</u>

3. <u>هل تدرس في الابتدائي□   المتوسط □   الثانوي □</u>

4. <u>في السنة.................</u>

الجزء2:

5. <u>كيف تقييم(ين) مستواك في اللغة العربية:</u>

	ممتاز	مقبول	متوسط	ضعيف
<u>عند الاستماع</u>				
<u>قراءة نصّ</u>				
<u>التعبير الشفهي</u>				
<u>كتابة فقرة</u>				

الجزء 3:

6. <u>تخيّل نفسك مع أستاذ اللغة العربية وأجب على الأسئلة الآتية:</u>

أ) مستوى1:   - أين تسكن؟

- ما مهنة والدك؟   - ما عدد إخوتك؟

- هل يجيب زملاءك الأستاذ بالدارجة؟

ب) مستوى2:

- في رأيك لماذا يجيبزملاءك الأستاذ بالدارجة؟

- وماذا عنك شخصيا؟

ج) مستوى3:

- ما بإمكانكم أن تنصحهم؟

Test translated into English

Part one:

1. Are you a?   male☐   female☐
2. What is the average of your grades of the second term exam? ....
3. How old are you? ....
4. Which educational level are you?

   primary☐   middle   ☐   secondary☐

   5. Which Year?.............

Part two:

	Excellent	Acceptable	Average	Weak
listening				
reading				
speaking				
writing				

Part three:

6. Imagine yourself with the teacher of Arabic. Answer these questions :

a) A: level one:

   Where do you live?

   What is your father's job?

   How many brothers do you have?

   Do your classmates answer the teacher in Dialect?

b) B: level two:

   According to you, why do some pupils use AA in class?

   What about you?

c)   C: level three: What can you advise them?

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Appendix D: Glossary of Pupils' Attitudes

The answers translated into English	Arbic Answers Transliterated	The original words used by the pupils
Active	nashit	نشيط
Cute	latif	لطيف
Accustomed	Muta3awwid	متعود
Annoying	Muz3ij	مزعج
Awesome	Ra2i3 jiddan	رائع جدا
Classy	raqiya	راقية
Distinguished	mumayyaz	مميز
Dumb	Ghabiy jiddan	غبي جدا
Educated	Muta3allim	متعلم
Embarrassing	muhrij	محرج
Excellent	Mumtaz, jayyid jiddan	ممتاز- جيد جدا
Familiar	Ma' louf	مالوف
Funny	Mudh' hik	مضحك
Genius	3abqariy	عبقري
Hard working	mujtahid	مجتهد
Insane	majnoun	مجنون
Intelligent	thakiy	ذكي
Jackass	himaar	حمار
Lazy	kassoul	كسول
Low graded	Mustawahu dha3iif	مستواه ضعيف
Messy	fawdawi	فوضوي
Mockery	maskhara	مسخرة

Modest	Mutawadi3	متواضع
Muslim	muslim	مسلم
Narrow minded	meghendef	مغندف
Naughty	qabiih	قبيح
Negligent	muhmil	مهمل
Odd	ghariib	غريب
Old fashioned	Insane qadiim	انسان قديم
Ordinary	3adi	عادي
Polite	muhaddab	مؤدب- مهدب
Ridiculous	taafih	تافه
Scientist	3alim	عالم
Successful	Yenjah fi ikhtibarat	ينجح في الاختبارات
Unable	La yastaté3	لا يستطيع
Understandable	mafhum	مفهوم
Uncivilized	hamaji	همجي
Weak	Dha3iif	ضعيف

Appendix E: Some of the Pupils' answers in Questionnaire

Primary School

Doesn't speak Arabic because we don't understand it	La yahde bel 3arbiyya li a nnana la nafhamuha	لا يهدر بالعربية لأننا لانفهمها
Polite pupils speak MSA and do not cause problems, they succeed in exams They watch cartoons We should imitate him because he respects school and speaks MSA.	Al mu2addabune yatakallamoun a al3arabiyya wa la yuthir alfawda fi alqism yanjah fi al ikhtibarat Yatafarraj arrussum Taqliduhu, yahtarim al madrassa wa yatakallam allugha	المؤدبين يتكلمون بالعربية ، ،ولا يثير الفوضى ، ينجح في الاختبار ،يتفرج الرسوم ، تقليده يحترم المدرسة ،يتكلم اللغة.
Does not understand, weak or average, naughty and impolite, disorganized and lazy He does not demand permission to speak and does not respect	La yafham, da3if, aw mutawassit, fawdawi, wa ghayr muhaddab, muhmil wa kassoul La yarfa3 USBU3AHU WA LA YAHTARIM ALLUGHA	لا يفهم وضعيف أو متوسط ،فوضوي وغير مهذب ،ومهمل وكسول - لا يرفع أصبعه ،لا يحترم اللغة

language.		

Middle School

They are acquainted to AA like at home They do not master MSA For leisure and enjoyment	Muta3awwidoun ala al kalam addarij kama fi baytihim La yutqin alfus'ha Li attanshit wa attarfih	متعودون على الكلام الدارج كما في بيتهم - لا يتقن الفصحى - للتنشيط والترفيه
When they do not love the teacher, they do not love MSA and they do not know how to translate	3indama la yuhibbouna al oustad, la yuhibbouna al fus'ha wa la ya jidouna attarjama	عندما لا يحبون الأستاذ لا يحبون اللغة الفصحى ولا يجدون الترجمة .
Sometimes they laugh and sometimes they listen and imitate him Some just make fun of him	Ahyanan yadh hakun, wa ahyanan yastami3un wa yuqallidoun Alba3d yaskharun minehu	أحيانا يضحكون وأحيانا يستمعون ويقلدون - البعض يسخرون منه
Excellent pupils	Al mumtazoun tu3jibuhum, wa	الممتازين تعجبهم والمعيدين لا يفهمون لكره الفصحى

like it but repetitive pupils do not understand because they hate MSA	almu3idun la yafehamun li kurehi al fus'ha	
Algerian people speak AA and think that those who speak MSA are strangers to the country They are ridiculous like cartoons	Al jaza2iriyyoun yatakallamun addarija wa ya3taqidun anna man yatakallam alfus'ha gharib 3an al biled Tafih mithela al cartoun	الجزائريون يتكلمون الدارجة ويعتقدون أن من يتكلم الفصحى غريب من البلاد تافه مثل الكرتون .
Attracts attention because of his low level.	Yajdib al intibeh lii du3fi mustawah	يجذب الانتباه لضعف المستوى.
We should not embarrass him, though he must learn MSA because we are in school He answers in AA because	3adam ihrajih yajib 3alayh ta3allum al'fus'ha Yujib bi addarija li2annaha fi nadarihi mafehouma wa ma2loufa 3adamu ihrajihi li anna lughatuhu addarija, wa mustawahu	- عدم إحراجه يجب عليه تعلم الفصحى لأننا في مدرسة - يجيب بالدارجة لأنها في نظره مفهومة ومألوفة. - عدم إحراجه لأن لغته الدارجة فالمستوى ضعيف

for him it is intelligible and usual We should not embarrass him because AA is his language and his level is weak.	da3if	

Secondary School

To disturb the teacher	Li iz3aj al mu3allim	- لازعاج المعلم.
He makes me angry, He sucks, Arrogance and pride, he seems like cartoons, and he is antipathic.	Yuthir al ghadhab, wa al ishemi2zez alghourour wa attakabbur yabdou ka aflam al kartoon, dammuhu thaqil	- يثير الغضب والاشمئزاز،الغرور والتكبر لأنه يبدو كأفلام الكرتون ،دمه ثقيل .
I have not seen worse than a pupil who speaks MSA, ever. We name him al mutanabbi, and aba jahl We don't understand	Lam ara asewa2 mimman yatakallam alfus'ha, nulaqqibuhu al mutanabbi wa aba jahl 3adam fahmih wa addahesha Yuthiru i3jab almu3allim	- لم أر أسوء من الذي يتكلم الفصحى خالصة يلقبنه بالمتنبي وبابا جهل - عدم فهمه الدهشة - يثير إعجاب المعلم. - يحب التعلم ومؤدب.

him		
He pleases the teacher		
Laughter because he is different from them, he is used to AA and MSA is not their language, it is another place language	Addahik, li2annahu mukhtalif 3anehum li nuqssi almumarassa wa muta3awwid 3ala allahja al3ammiyya fa al fus'ha laysat lughatuhum, bal lughat makan akhar	الضحك لأنه مختلف عنهم لنقص الممارسة ،ومتعود على اللهجة العامية فالفصحى ليست لغتهم بل لغة مكان آخر
They laugh to the extent of causing disorder because a very limited proportion speaks MSA	Yadehakuna li darajat attachewich fanisba qalila tatahaddathou al fus'ha	- يضحكون لدرجة التشويش فنسبة قليلة تتحدث القصحى .
They avoid him because of difficulty to communicate with him, we have to do efforts.	Yatajannabouna hu li so3obati attawassoli ma3ahu bal yajibou badl aljuhd	- يتجنبونه لصعوبة التواصل معه بل يجب بذل الجهد .
They do not respect the teacher as if they are in a market or	La yahtarimouna al mu3allim, wa ka2annahu ma3ahum fi souq aw chari3	- لايحترمون المعلم وكأنهم معه في السوق أو الشارع يكونون معه مرحين وعاديين.

in streets, usually they have fun and they are at their nature.	yakunouna ma3ahu marihine wa 3adiyyin	

Appendix F: Some of thecollected answers in interview

Primary school

Question 6

To simplify words meaning and make understanding them easier	Li tabssit ma3na al kalmia wa tashili fahmiha	- لتبسيط معنى الكلمة وتسهيل فهمها
Approach notions meanings to pupils minds	Taqrib al mafahim ila adehan attalamid	- تقريب المفاهيم إلى أذهان التلاميذ.
Because some AA words are included within textbooks	Li ideraj ba3d al mustalahat bi addarija dimna nosos al qira2a	- لإدراج بعض المصطلحات بالدارجة ضمن نصوص القراءة .
Practice makes the teacher use MSA in teaching	Mumarassa taje3al al oustad yasta3mil allugha al 3arabiyya fi attaderiss	- ممارسة تجعل الأستاذ يستعمل اللغة العربية في التدريس.
Love of the profession and children	Hub almihna wa al atefal	- حب المهنة والأطفال
Pass the message to pupils and ensure a better understanding of the lesson	Isal al ma3loumat ila attalamid wa fahm addars ahssan	- إيصال المعلومات إلى التلاميذ وفهم

		الدرس أحسن

Question 8

-the relationship between the teacher and the pupil is like the one between a mother and her child -AA is dominating over the teaching learning process -AA is nearer to MSA	-Al mu3amala bayna al oustad wa attimid touchebih al 3alaqa bayn attifl wa oummih -Saytarat al3ammiya ala lissan al muta3allim fi sayrourat atta3lim wa atta3allum -fa addarija qariba mina alfuseha	- المعاملة بين الأستاذة والتّلميذ تشبه العلاقة بين الطّفل وأمّه . - سيطرة اللّغة العامّية على لسان المتعلّمين في سيرورة التّعليم والتّعلّم . - فالدّارجة قريبة من الفصحى .
Taking habit on using AA in family, with mates and in streets	Atta3awwoud 3ala isti3mali addarija fi al ousra wa bayn azzoumalae wa fi achari3	- التّعوّد على استعمال الدّارجة في الأسرة وبين الزّملاء وفي الشّارع.
Because of their young age Being influenced by society Not acquiring language	Li sighari sinnihim Ta2atturuhum bi almujtama3 al khariji -3adam iktissab allugha	- لصغر سنّهم . - تأثّرهم بالمجتمع الخارجي . - عدم اكتسابهم اللّغة .

Question9

-they like him and try to imitate him -they listen to him and respect him -admiration to the teacher Mocking of pupils, and astonishment	-You3jabouna bihi wa yuhawilouna taqlidah -yuseghouna ila hadithihi wa yahtarimounah -inbihar bil oustad wa i3jab bihi Sukhriya mina attalamid wa atta3ajub	- يعجبون به ويحاولون تقليده . - يصغون إلى حديثه ويحترمونه، - انبهار بالأستاذ وإعجاب. - سخرية من التّلاميذ وتعجّب.

Question10

Taking habit on MSA Pupils couldn't answer in MSA because they do not master it.	-Atta"awwoud ala kalam bi alfus'ha -attalamid 3ajazou an ijaba bi alfus'ha li 3adami tamakunihim mina allugha al3arabiyya.	- التعود على الكلام باللغة الفصحى - التلاميذ عجزوا الإجابة باللغة الفصحى لعدم تمكنهم

		من اللغة العربية

Question 11

I have never witnessed such a behaviour during my class	Lam ata3arrad ila had almawqif athena2a addarss	- لم أتعرض إلى هذا الموقف أثناء الدرس
It is normal, because they are young	Al 2amr 3adi, liannahum sighar assin	الأمر عادي لأنهم صغار السن:
Sarcasm if they are competent in MSA	Sukhriyya ida mutamakkinine mina aalfus'ha	- سخرية إذا متمكنين من الفصحى
Sometimes they do not notice especially if the teacher permitted some chatting during the lesson	Aheyanan ma yulahidona kalamahu, khassatan ida tarakaat almu3allima lahum al majal li al hadith wa law kanaa dalika athena2a addarss	- أحيانا ما يلاحظون كلامه، خاصة إذا تركت المعلمة لهم المجال للحديث ولو كان ذلك أثناء الدرس

Question 12

Because it is the first language acquired from the outer environment	Li2annaha allugha al oula allati iktassabaha mina al muhit al khariji	- لأنّ في اللّغة الأولى التّي اكتسبها من المحيط الخارجي

Question13

A normal attitude if they have the same behaviour	Nadera 3adiyya ida kana lahum nafs attassarrof	- نظرة عادية إذا كان لهم نفس التّصرّف.
Sarcastic view if they have a higher level of MSA	Naderat sukhriyya ida kana lahum mustawa 3ali fi allugha al3arabiyya	- نظرة سخرية إذا كان لهم مستوى عال في اللّغة العربيّة.
Considered a normal pupil, in relation to his social life natture	Yu3tabar tilmid 3adi hassba tabi3at al hayat al ijetima3iyya li attilmid	- يعتبر تلميذ عادي (حسب طبيعة الحياة الاجتماعيّة)
I think mixing MSA and AA makes notions nearer to the pupils' minds, particularly preparatory and primary classes	A3taqidu anna al mazj bayna al fus'ha wa addarija yussa3idu fi taqribi al mafahim khusosan ma3a al 2aqsam attahdiriyya wa attawr al 2awwal	- أعتقد أنّ المرج بين الفصحى والدّارجة يساعد في تقريب المفاهيم إلى أذهان المتعلّمين، خصوصا مع الأقسام التّحضيريّة والطّور الأوّل
It seems normal, but we have to correct pronunciation in case he	Yadehar a 2amr 3adi ma3a attasehih lahu 3inda nuteqihi li	- يظهر الأمر عادي، مع التّصحيح له عند نطقه

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chooses to utter words in AA	alkalimat bi addarija	للكلمات بالدّارجة .

Middle School

Question 6

Approach notions meanings to pupils minds and get nearer to them using their language Pass the message to pupils and ensure a better understanding of the lesson Acquire the bad habit of using the language of home	Taqrib al mafahim ila adehan attalamid wa attaqarrubu minhum bi lughatihim Isal al ma3loumat ila attalamid wa fahm addars ahssan Iktisseb 3ada sayyi2a wa hiya attahaadduth bi lughat al manzil	تقريب المفاهيم إلى أذهان التلاميذ. و التقرب منهم بلغتهم - إيصال المعلومات إلى التلاميذ وفهم الدرس أحسن - اكتساب عادة سيئة وهي التحدث بلغة المنزل

Question 8

The language of society The elanguage of family The language of the teacher	Loughat al mujetama3 Lughat al ousera Loughat almu3allim	ـلغة المجتمع ـ لغة الأسرة - المعلم
AA is for streets and home while at school, we should speak only MSA The teacher's role in class influences a lot his way of speaking	Addarija natakallamou biha biha fi achari3 wa al bayt amma fi almadrassa yajibu 3alayhi attahadduth bi allugha al fus'ha faqat Dawru al oustud fi alqissm yu2athiru kathiran 3ala hadithihi	- الدارجة نتكلم بها في الشارع والبيت أما في المدرسة يجب عليه التحدث باللغة الفصحى فقط - دور الأستاذ في القسم يؤثر كثيرا على حديثه .
Difficulty of explaining MSA words Difficulty to understand mathematic problems	So3obat chareh lmuferadat bi al fus'ha So3obat fahm almatlob fi arriyyadiyyat	- صعوبة شرح المفردات بالفصحى - صعوبة فهم المطلوب في المسائل الرّياضية

Question 9

They concentrate on what he	Yachuddu al intibeh wa	- يشد الانتباه والتركيز

says	attarkiz 3ala ma yaqul	على ما يقول .
They find answers in MSA strange	Atta3ajjub min al ijaba bi al fus'ha	- التعجب من الإجابة بالفصحى.
They reserve for him huge respect	Yakunnouna lahu al haybata wa alwaqar	- يكنون له الهيبة والوقار
A pupil with a very good level, because he masters MSA, due to the milieu he was grown up in.	Tilmid dhu mustawa jayyid li tamakunihi mina allugha wa hada raji3 lil bi2a allati nacha2a biha	- تلميذ ذو مستوى جيد ومتمكن من اللغة العربية راجع للبيئة التي نشأ بها
Their attitude is normal, it even causes jealousy of his mates because of his fluency, and makes them want to imitate him	Mawqafihum minhu 3adi bal yuthir ghayrat rifaqihi fi imsakihi zimem allugha al fus'ha kama yuhawilun muhakatahu fi talaqatihi	- موقفهم منه عادي بل يثير غيرة رفاقه في إمساكه زمام اللغة الفصحى ،كما يحاولون محاكاته في طلاقته .

Question 10

Because the teacher encourages fluent pupils	Liana al oustad yushajji3 man lahu fassaha lughawiyya	- لأن الأستاذ يشجع من له فصاحة لغوية .
The fluent pupil earns love and respect of the teacher and his mates	Yakssib attilmid al fassih hubba wa ihtirama al mu3allim wa azzumalae	- يكسب التلميذ الفصيح حب واحترام المعلم والزملاء.

Question11

To attempt to correct his language	Attanbih li lughatiha wa muhawalat attasehih	- التنبيه للغته محاولة التصحيح
They address him remarks and help him to find the right diction	Yuwajjihuna almulahadhat wa yussa3idunahu fi ijad al kalmia bi alfus'ha	- يوجهون الملاحظات ويساعدونه في إيجاد الكلمة بالفصحى .

Question 12

The social background is MSA free	Al khalfiyya al ijtima3iyya al khaliya mina allugha al3arabiyya	الخلفية الاجتماعية الخالية من اللغة العربية .

Because AA, according to them is reserved for streets and home and not in school	Li2anna al kalam bi addarija yu3taqad fi nadharihim annaha tusta3malu fi achari3 wa albayt wa layssa almadrassa	– لأن الكلام بالدارجة يعتقد في نظرهم أنها تستعمل في الشارع والبيت ليس في المدرسة .
The teacher should encourage learners to give importance to MSA	3ala al oustad tasheji3 almuta3allimin w youlihum al 2ahammiyya albaligha li lugha al 3arabiyya	– على الأستاذ تشجيع المتعلمين ويوليهم الأهمية البالغة للغة العربية.

الأسئلة 13:

They do not show any reaction as if he s speaking MSA, they laugh if he mixes MSA with AA	La yubduna ay mawqif wa ka2annahu yatahaddath bi allugha alfus'ha, yadhehakuna in tahaddatha bi addarija mudemaja bi alfus'ha	– لا يبدون أي موقف وكأنه يتحدث باللغة الفصحى يـضحكون. – وإن تحدث بالدارجة مدمجة بالفصحى .
He is commonly loved and the favourite for them	Ghaliban ma yakun mahbub wa mufaddal ladayehim	– غالبا ما يكون محبوبا ومفضلا لديهم .
Maybe, he just got influenced by the teacher	Qad yakun ta2athara bi al ustad faqat	– قد يكون تأثر بالأستاذ فقط

Secondary school

It creates a sort of anarchy and indifference	Takhliqu naw3 mina fawda wa ella mubalate	– تخلف نوعا من الفوضى واللّامبالاة.
It is a very ordinary incident because simply this is what they got used to	Al amru bi nisba lahum jid 3adi liannahu wa bi kul bassata hada ma ta3awwadu 3alayh	– الأمر بالنسبة لهم جدّعادي. لأنّه وبكل بساطة هذا ما تعودوا عليه.
To pass the idea to all pupils be it a hard working or a lazy pupil, to link the lesson with their everyday life	Li issal al fikra li jami3 attalamidh mujtahiduhum wa kassoulouhum wa li rabt addarss bi hayatihim al yawmiyya	– لإيصال الفكرة 'لى جميع التلاميذ مجتهدهم وكسولهم – لربط الدرس بحياتهم اليومية .
The nearest variety to pupils and to make understanding easier	Allugha almuqarraba li attalamith wa tussahhil alfahm	– اللغة المقربة من التلاميذ وتسهّل الفهم

Their weakness in the language	Do3f mustawahum allughawi	‑ ضعف مستواهم اللغوي .
They feel ashamed to use MSA	Khajaluhum mina attahadduth bi al fus'ha	‑ خجلهم من التحدث بالفصحى .
To shame the pupil using MSA	Al istihzae bi attilmid alladi yatakallam al fus'ha	الاستهزاء بالتلميذ الذي يتكلم الفصحى.
This pupil using MSA in his answers does not exist	La yujad had attilmid alladhi yasta3mil al fus'ha fi ijabatiha	‑لايوجد هذا التلميذ الذي يستعمل الفصحى في إجابة الأستاذ
Unseriousness and to bully their mate	3adam aljiddiyya wa ta3qid zamilihim	عدم الجدية في اللغة وكذا تعقيد زميلهم .
Normally they should use MSA in class	Min almafrod takun al ijaba bi arabiya fi al qism	‑ من المفروض تكون الإجابة داخل القسم باللغة العربية الفصحى .
Normally, AA is their everyday language	Min almafrod lughatehum fi aalhayat al yawmiyya	‑ من المفروض لغتهم في الحياة اليومية .
To lead the pupils towards creating problems in class	Istidraj attilmid ila khalq al fawda dakhil alqism	استدراج التلميذ إلى خلق الفوضى داخل القسم.

They find it strange and they ashame a ny student who could use AA and he did not	Yastaghribun wa yaskharun mina alladi kana bi imkaniha isti3mal addarija wa lam yaf3al	يستغربون ويسخرون من الذي كان بإمكانهم استعمال مفردات من الدارجة ولم يفعل .
Give help from hard working students	Taqdim musa''ada min taraf al mujtahidine	‑ تقديم المساعدة من طرف المجتهدين.

Because some physical and chemical phenomena need some AA words to be explained	Liana ba3d addawahir alfiziyeiyya wa kimyaiyya tahtaj kalimat darija	لأن بعض الظواهر الفيزيائية والكيميائية تحتاج إلى بعض الكلمات الدارجة.

They do not master MSA and they have the habit of using AA from previous studies years.	Adam tamakkunihim mina alfus'ha , "ada muktasaba mina assanawat assabiqa	عدم تمكنهم من اللغة الفصحى . - عادة مكتسبة من السنوات السابقة.

They do not use MSA in their everyday life, for them AA is the correct language	Adam isti3mel allugha fi hayatihim al yawmiyya, binnisba lahum hadihi hiya allugha assahiha addarija	عدم استعمال اللغة الفصحى في حياتهم اليومية . ـ بالنسبة لهم هذه اللغة الصحيحة الدارجة .
Sarcasm and disrespect	Assukhriyya wa adam ihtiram	السخرية وعدم احترام قواعد القسم.
Mocking and laughter of pupils because it is unusual for them	Istihzae attalamid minehu wa addahik liana al amr ghayr mu3tad	استهزاء التّلاميذ منه والضّحك ،لأن الأمر غير معتاد.
Theey feel as if they are in streets	Alihses bi annahum fi achari3	الإحساس بأنهم في الشارع
Don't have the habit to cope with people using MSA	Adam ta3amulihim ma3a ouness yatakallamun allugha al 3arabiyya	عدم تعاملهم مع أناس يتكلمون اللغة العربية.

An admiration attitude sometimes, and sarcasm, other times	Mawqif i3jeb ahyanan wa sukhriyya ahyan ukhra	موقف إعجاب أحيانا وسخرية أحيانا أخرى .
Some notice and others no	Al ba3d yantabih wa al akhar la yantabih	البعض ينتبه والبعض الآخر لا ينتبه.

Appendix G: Some of the Pupils' answers in Fluency Test

Translation into English	Transliteration into Latin script	Some pupils' answers
		Primary school
I advise them to read stories to learn Arabic because it is the language of qur'an and islam They do efforts to appear hard working. I advise them to speak in MSA to enrich their vocabulary and it is better than AA	Ansahuhum bi qira2at alqissas li ta3allum allugha al3arabiya li2annaha lughat alquran wa al islam Yaqumuna bimajehud lieddohor mujetahidine Anesahohum bi an yatakallamu bi allugha al3arabiyya li yaktamila rassidohom allughawi wa hiya afdal min al 3amiyya	- أنصحهم بقراءة القصص لتعلم اللغة العربية، لأنها لغة القرآن والإسلام. - يقومون بمجهود للظهور مجتهدين، أنصحهم بأن يتكلموا باللغة العربية ليكتمل رصيدهم اللغوي وهي أفضل من العامية.
		Middle school
I insist on taking care of MSA because it is the language of qur'an The teacher should guide and correct the pupils answers to make him used to use MSA I love studies because it is easy I advise them to read and work calmly I Sometimes	Attachedid 3ala alI3tinae bi allugha al3arabiyya lughat alqur'an. Al-ijabat youwajihuha al oustad wa yussahhihuha yata3awwad attilmid attilmid atta3bir bilfus'ha. Ouhibbou addirassa li2annaha sahla Ansahohum bi alqira2a wa al3amal wa al hudou2 Marrat marrat	- التشديد على الاعتناء باللغة العربية لغة القرآن، - الإجابات يوجهها الأستاذ ويصححها يتعود التلميذ التعبير بالفصحى - أحب الدراسة لأنها سهلة. - أنصحهم بالقراءة - والعمل والهدوء. مرات مرات.
Because the teacher explains and speaks in AA I advise them to study	 Li2anna aloustad yasherah	لأن الأستاذ يشرح ويتكلمبالدارجة

seriously	wa yatakallam bi addarija	
		Secondary school
I advise them to read in MSA and speak it. Me too, i have a weak level in MSA	Anesahuhum 3adam al muzeh wa addirassa yawmiyyan	- أنصحهم عدم المزاح والدراسة يوميا.
	Ansahuhum an yaqra2u bi allugha al3arabiyya al fus'ha wa alhadith biha , ana aydan mustawaya da3if fi allugha al3arabiyya	- أنصحهم أن يقرأو بالغة العربية الفصحى والحديث بها ،أنا أيضا مستواي ضعيف في اللغة العربية.
It concerns the teacher concerning using MSA or AA. It became a habit since childhood for its ease	Yata3allaq al amr bi al 2oustad fi isti3mel al fus'ha wa addarija asbahat 3ada mundhu assighar li assuhula	- يتعلق الأمر بالأستاذ في استعمال الفصحى والدارجة ،أصبحت عادة منذ الصغر للسهولة .
He answers in AA because it is the special language for pupils	Yujib bi addarija li annaha allugha almumayyaza lada attalamid	- يجيب بالدارجة لأنها اللغة المميزة لدى التلاميذ .
They do not know how to speak	La ya3rifuna an yatahaddathun	- لا يعرفون أن يتحدثون .
So that they will able to pass the message	Li kay yastati3un tawsil al ma3luma	- لكي يستطيعون توصيل المعلومة .
They are unable to translate fromAA to MSA	Li 3adami qudertihim 3la tarjamat allugha addarija ila al fus'ha	- لعدم قدرتهم على ترجمة للغة الدراجة إلى فصحى
Because i took habit on it, and their laughter makes me happiy when i answer in AA	Li annani i3tad tu 3la dhalik wa afrahu bi dahikihim 3ala ijabati bi addarija	- لأنني اعتدت على ذلك وأفرح بضحكهم على إجابتيبالدارجة
I want to achieve high status due to studies	Ouridou an assila fi addirassa	- أريد أن أصل في الدراسة

Summary:

In a diglossic situation, the standard variety is supposed to serve as a language of communication in formal settings, like education, while the colloquial forms areusedin relaxed settings. Being an Arabic-speaking country, Algeriafalls into the pattern of Arabic diglossia. Yet, observing language use in authentic situations does escape the rule. Any observer will agree that in formal settings, speakers switch codes; instead of using MSA solely, they tend to mix it with colloquial Arabic. In education, considering its three levels, primary, middle and secondary schools, the learners are supposed to stick to Modern Standard Arabic in class. However, diglossic switching is far from being a strange practice in class. In the fieldwork of the present research, reasons laying behind this linguistic phenomenon have been explored, mainly the pupils' attitudes towards the available linguistic codes as well as the lack of fluency in MSA.

Keywords: Diglossia- Diglossic Switching- Education- Modern Standard Arabic- Colloquial Arabic-Language Attitudes-Language Fluency

الملخص :

في حالة ازدواجية اللغة، من المفترض أن يكون التنوع القياسي بمثابة لغة اتصال في البيئات الرسمية، مثل التعليم، بينما تُستخدم الأشكال العامية في أماكن مريحة. كونها دولة ناطقة بالعربية، تصنف الجزائر في نمط ازدواجية اللغة العربية. ومع ذلك ، فإن مراقبة استخدام اللغة في المواقف الأصيلة يفلت من القاعدة. سيوافق أي مراقب على أنه في الإعدادات الرسمية، يقوم المتحدثون بالتناوب اللغوي؛ بدلاً من استخدام الفصحى فقط، فإنهم يميلون إلى مزجها مع العامية العربية. في التعليم، مع الأخذ بالاعتبار مستوياته الثلاثة ، المدارس الابتدائية والمتوسطة والثانوية، من المفترض أن يلتزم المتعلمون باستعمالالفصحى في الفصل. ومع ذلك، فإن التناوب اللغوي اللساني بعيد كل البعد عن كونه ممارسة غريبة في الفصل. في العمل الميداني لهذا البحث، تم استكشاف الأسباب الكامنة وراء هذه الظاهرة اللغوية، وخاصة مواقف التلاميذ تجاه الأنماط اللغوية المتاحة وكذلك عدم الإتقان في العربية الفصحى.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الازدواجية اللغوية- التناوب اللغوي- التعليم- الفصحى، اللغة العربية العامية- المواقف اللغوية- إتقان اللغة.

Résumé

Dans une situation diglossique, la variété standard est censée servir de langue de communication dans des contextes formels, comme l'éducation, tandis que les formes familières sont utilisées dans des contextes détendus. Pays arabophone, l'Algérie s'inscrit dans le schéma de la diglossie arabe. Pourtant, observer l'usage de la langue dans des situations authentiques échappe à la règle. Tout observateur conviendra que dans un cadre formel, les locuteurs alternent les codes ; au lieu d'utiliser uniquement la langue arabe standard, ils ont tendance à la mélanger avec l'arabe vernaculaire. Dans l'enseignement, compte tenu de ses trois niveaux, primaire, collège et lycée, les apprenants sont censés s'en tenir au MSA en classe. Cependant, l'alternance diglossique est utilisée en classe. Dans le travail de terrain de la présente recherche, les raisons qui sous-tendent ce phénomène linguistique ont été explorées, principalement les attitudes des élèves envers les codes linguistiques disponibles ainsi que le manque de maîtrise de la langue standard.

MOTS-CLÉS : Diglossie, l'alternance diglossique, éducation, l'arabe standard, l'arabe courant, les représentations langagières, l'éloquence.