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**The Impact of Arabic Diglossia on Children's
School Experience:
An Investigation of the Primary Level in
Tlemcen**

*Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages
as a Partial Fulfilment in Candidacy for the Degree of "Magister" in
Sociolinguistics*

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المخلص

انطلاقاً من وجود نوعين مختلفين من نفس اللغة، اللغة الفصحى و العامية في المجتمع الجزائري، يحاول الباحث دراسة أثر الازدواجية اللغوية على تعلم الفصحى عند تلاميذ السنة الاولى بالمدرسة الابتدائية ابن مسايب مقارنة مع تلاميذ مدرسة مصطفى شيعلي بتلمسان. إن هدف هذا البحث يتمثل في دراسة الصعوبات اللغوية التي يتلقاها التلاميذ اثناء المشاركة في القسم و الاسباب الراجعة لذلك، ثم تحاول الدراسة ايضاً معرفة نوع اللغة المستعملة بين المعلمين و التلاميذ كشركاء في القسم، كما أنها تحاول تسليط الضوء على مواقف التلاميذ تجاه اللغة الفصحى.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الازدواجية اللغوية- العملية التعليمية - الصعوبات اللغوية- نوع اللغة العربية - المواقف تجاه الفصحى.

Summary:

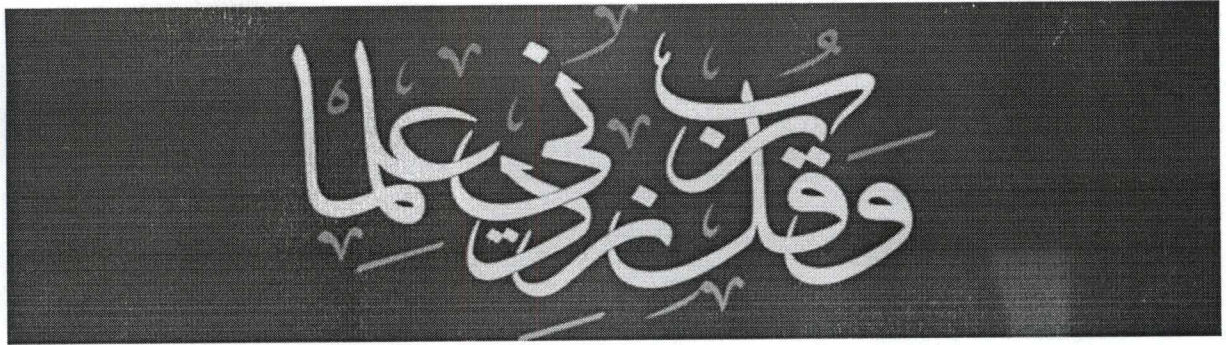
On the basis of the co-existence of two distinct varieties of the same language, MSA and AA, in the Algerian society, the researcher endeavours to investigate the impact of Arabic diglossia on the learning process among first grade pupils of *Ibn Msaib* primary school in comparison with those of *Mustapha Chiali* in Tlemcen. The aim of this research lies in the study of the language difficulties encountered by pupils when interacting with their teachers and the reasons behind these difficulties. It also attempts to explore the variety of Arabic used by teachers and pupils as two partner-parties in classroom interaction, in addition to the pupils' attitudes towards MSA.

Key words: Arabic diglossia- learning process- variety of Arabic- language difficulties- language attitudes.

Résumé:

Sur la base de l'existence de deux variétés différentes d'une même langue, l'arabe standard et l'arabe dialectal, dans la société Algérienne, le chercheur tente d'examiner l'impact de la diglossie arabe sur le processus d'apprentissage parmi les élèves de première année de l'école primaire *Ibn Msaib* en comparaison avec ceux de *Mustapha Chiali* à Tlemcen. L'objectif de cette recherche est d'étudier les difficultés linguistiques que les élèves rencontrent durant l'interaction avec leurs instituteurs ainsi que les raisons de ces difficultés. Cette étude tente aussi d'explorer la variété d'arabe utilisée par les instituteurs et les élèves comme deux partenaires dans l'interaction en classe, ainsi que les attitudes des élèves vis-à-vis de l'arabe standard.

Mots clés: diglossie arabe- processus d'apprentissage- la variété d'arabe - difficultés linguistiques- attitudes langagières.



(...and say: O my Lord! Increase me with knowledge)

The Holy Qur'an, Chapter 2. - Taha: Verse 114

Dedications

First and foremost, this research work is dedicated to my late parents, Kheireddine Hamzaoui and Nouria Benkalfat, who always had confidence in me and offered me love, encouragement and support in all my endeavors; and I want to say

(O my Lord! Have mercy on them both, as they did care for me when I was young)

The Holy Qur'an, Chapter 17-Al Isra': Verse 24

It is also dedicated to my husband Zoheir, for his care, understanding and patience. His constant encouragement has meant to me so much during the pursuit of my degree and the writing of the thesis.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal instruction with special reference to the primary level in Tlemcen schools. It seeks to highlight the sociolinguistic phenomenon 'diglossia' and its effect on pupils' linguistic performance. Recently, clear deficiencies seem to have been noted in pupils' linguistic skills in all Arab schools, particularly in first grade level, since most of them have relatively little or no contact with the official language of instruction before formal schooling.

In the Algerian language policy, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA hereafter) is the language used in classroom settings. However, it is generally agreed among educationists, that the achievement of low levels is mainly linked to the complexities of the literary language used in formal instruction and the various colloquial forms reserved for non-formal contexts. Children acquire Algerian Arabic (AA henceforth) as a mother tongue, while MSA is learned later on through access to formal instruction. The pupils' educational problems and the persistent feelings of linguistic insecurity are directly attributed to diglossia.

Through collecting and analyzing data by means of a number of sociolinguistic tools, we have tried in this study to compare between two school settings to show the extent to which diglossia impacts the learning process among first grade pupils, first by exploring the variety used in classroom interaction, secondly by insisting on the language difficulties encountered by young pupils, in addition to their attitudes towards MSA in classroom interaction.

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List of Acronyms

CA = Classical Arabic

MSA = Modern Standard Arabic

ESA = Educated Spoken Arabic

AA = Algerian Arabic

H = High variety

L = Low variety

CS = Code-switching

LP= Language Planning

PS= Primary School (s)

FLN= Front of National Liberation

List of Phonetic Symbols

These phonetic symbols approximate the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA):

- **Consonants:**

	<u>Tlemcen Arabic</u>	<u>English Gloss</u>
➤ Plosive consonants		
[b]	[bi:r]	'well'
[t]	[tbəssəm]	'he smiled'
[d]	[darwaʔ]	'now'
[k]	[kursi]	'chair'
[g]	[gurgaʔ]	'(wal) nut'
[t]	[tɔmatɪʃ]	'tomatoes'
[d]	[d̪baʔ]	'hyena'
[q]	[qa:l]	'he said'
[ʔ]	[ʔædʒɪ]	'come!'
➤ Flap Consonant		
[r]	[rukba]	'knee'
➤ Nasal Consonants		
[m]	[mlaħ]	'salt'
[n]	[na:m]	'he dreamt'

[ð] [ðɪʔb] 'wolf'

[d] [mawdɪɪ] 'place'

[ð] [ðɑhr] 'back'

- **Vowels:**

- **Vowels of plain consonants**

Short Vowels:

[ɪ] → [xatəm]: 'ring'

[u] → [kursɪ]: 'chair'

[a] → [ħanut]: 'shop'

Long vowels:

[ɪ:] → [sɪ:f]: 'sword'

[u:] → [fu:l]: 'broad beans'

[a:] → [ba:b]: 'door'

- **Vowels of Emphatic Consonants**

Short vowels:

[e] → [ʃejjɑħ]: 'he cried'

[o] → [foɫɑ]: 'towel'

[ɑ] → [ʃɫɑħ]: 'he danced'

Long vowels:

[ee] → [tomaɫeeʃ]: 'tomatoes'

[oo] → [ʒoor]: 'wall'

[ɑɑ] → [ɫɑal]: 'it lasted'

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

General Introduction

Diglossia is that sociolinguistic phenomenon that characterizes the Arab world in general and Algeria in particular. The term refers to the existence of two forms of the same language, the standard and the vernacular. The Arabic language is seen as a typical example that shows clearly this phenomenon which means that it consists of two distinct varieties: Modern Standard Arabic functions as the High variety (H hereafter), as it is used in formal contexts like administration, religious sermons, radio broadcastings, editorials in newspapers and most importantly as a medium of instruction. Algerian Arabic, on the other hand, has no official status, as it functions as the Low variety (L hereafter). It is thus, used in day-to-day conversations and more relaxed settings such as family and friends. In a number of situations, only H is appropriate while in others L is more suitable.

One of the most important issues that characterize Algerian formal education is that the language that is prescribed in the official text as the language of instruction, differs from the pupils' mother tongue namely in vocabulary, phonology, grammar and syntax. In fact, Arabic diglossia has strong impact on the educational sphere since the vernacular seems to be the predominant variety used as a medium of communication between teachers and pupils in the various classroom situations. Some sociolinguists attribute the low quality results of education in the Arab world to the diglossic situation in classrooms and to the linguistic distance between MSA and the different colloquial forms.

In the Algerian speech community, all children are exposed to the low variety at home whereas the High variety is learned through access to formal instruction. Though several scholars claim that Arab children have no contact with MSA until they enter school, some of them have some exposure to Standard Arabic before entering school through television programmes, particularly in cartoons and documentaries, in addition to literary events like stories. However, this exposure might be very limited depending on the environment to which the child belongs.

This dissertation highlights the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal instruction among first grade pupils in Tlemcen primary schools. In parallel, it indicates the impact of such a phenomenon on pupils' linguistic proficiency in MSA use in classroom interaction. In this study, our reference to the term 'diglossia' may be restricted to cases in which H and L are considered as versions of the same language but H is no one's mother tongue.

In an attempt to treat the issue, an overall question is raised: to what extent does the phenomenon of diglossia affect the learning process among first grade pupils in primary schools?

From this general question, it has been thought of the necessity to derive other research questions in order to facilitate our investigation. In a nutshell, our study tries to answer the following questions:

1- Knowing that MSA is the medium implemented in formal instruction in the whole Arab world, we wonder what form of Arabic is *actually* used in classroom interaction.

2- What are the main language difficulties that pupils encounter in classroom interaction?

3- What are the pupils' attitudes towards MSA in classroom interaction?

Trying to answer these questions, the following hypotheses are put forward:

1- Though MSA is the school language, Algerian Arabic is often used supposedly to facilitate the transition from home to school.

2- Pupils are confronted with two varieties of Arabic: MSA and AA, and thus, this certainly creates a feeling of linguistic insecurity among them.

3- Most pupils display positive attitudes towards MSA because of its overall association with Islam.

The present research work is composed of three inter-linked chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the definition of some basic sociolinguistic key-concepts upon which our study is interwoven, namely language and dialect, language planning and language attitudes. The chapter focuses mainly on the phenomenon of diglossia in Arabic and its relation to the field of education. It also gives a brief reflection on the status of MSA in the Arab world, in addition to the exposure of Arab pupils to MSA.

The second chapter provides an overview on today's sociolinguistic situation in Algeria with the aim of showing the language varieties present in the Algerian linguistic scene. The chapter emphasizes on the process of Arabisation, in addition to the various sociolinguistic phenomena that characterize the Algerian state, namely diglossia, bilingualism and code-switching.

The third chapter elucidates the methodology and the research instruments used to gather the valid data which are presented and examined both quantitatively and qualitatively. It also interprets the results and discusses the findings accordingly.



CHAPTER ONE

Chapter One : Some Basic Sociolinguistic Key-Concepts

1.1. Introduction

1.2. Language and Dialect

1.2.1. Language Definition

1.2.2. Dialect Defined

1.3. Language Planning

1.3.1. Kinds of Language Planning

1.3.1.1. Status Planning

1.3.1.2. Corpus Planning

1.3.1.3. Acquisition Planning

1.4. Diglossia and Bilingualism

1.4.1. Diglossia Defined

1.4.1.1. Arabic Diglossia

1.4.1.2. Diglossia and Education

1.4.2. Bilingualism

1.5. Language Contact Dynamics

1.5.1. Borrowings

1.5.2. Code-switching and code-mixing

1.6. MSA and its Status in the Arab World

1.6.1. MSA and Education

1.6.2. Exposure of Arab Pupils to MSA

1.7. Language Attitudes

1.7.1. The concept of 'Attitude'

1.7.2. Attitudes towards Diglossia

1.8. Conclusion

1.1. Introduction

It is well-known that Arab communities are diglossic, i.e. communities in which two varieties, H (MSA) and L (colloquial Arabic) ‘exist side by side’ (Ferguson, 1959) and are used alternatively for different functions. Nevertheless, MSA has a sacred status amongst all Arabs as it is the closest variety of the Classical Arabic, language of the Holy Qur’an and the medium of instruction in all Arab countries.

This chapter tends to clarify a set of sociolinguistic key- concepts that are of crucial importance to our research work. First, a distinction is drawn between language and dialect, two important terms for the study of language policy and diglossia. Secondly, this chapter synthesizes literature about other interesting concepts, notably education, bilingualism and code switching, and ends up with a survey about language attitudes.

1.2. Language and Dialect

The terms ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ have been the concern of many linguists who attempt to draw water-tight definitions. Non-specialists commonly perceive some difference in kind between the two concepts. But, in fact, the question that is often asked is in the following form: ‘is X a dialect or a language?’ This is a question that specialists are unable to answer because of the complexity of language as a whole.

1.2.1. Language Definition

Language originates from the French word ‘langage’, which in turn derives from Latin ‘lingua’. Sapir (1921:8)¹, for instance views language as “a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols”. In the same vein, Hall (1968:158)² defines language as “the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used-oral-auditory arbitrary symbols”.

¹ Quoted in Lyons, J. (1981: 3).

² Quoted in Lyons, J. (1981:4).

In fact, both Sapir and Hall view language as a purely human institution and a system of symbols assigned, as it were, for the purpose of communication. Hall uses the term 'institution' to clarify the fact that the language used by a particular society, is part of the culture of that society.

Admittedly, the terms 'language' and 'dialect' are usually perceived as non-technical notions by scholars because of their ambiguity, and thus, the division between the two is rather fuzzy as the distinction is not linguistic, but most of the time social. In this line of thought, Trudgill (1995:145) tells us: "it is only linguists who fully understand the extent to which these questions are not linguistic questions."

Furthermore, the famous statement proposed by Max Weinreich³ (1945) "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy" underlines the importance of political power and sovereign nations in determining what counts as a language or a dialect. In the same vein, Waurdaugh suggests that the concepts of 'power' and 'solidarity' may be helpful in understanding what is occurring. He (2006: 30-31) says that: "Power requires some kind of asymmetrical relationship between entities", whereas solidarity "is a feeling of equality that people have with one another". Language can, thus, be considered as the powerful dialect which has gained such a privilege because of non-linguistic factors.

It is worth pointing out that users of a language are essentially speakers of dialects and the standard language⁴ itself is formerly a dialect and, thus, from a linguistic stand point, no dialect is in any way 'superior' or 'better' than any other. Baker (2000:63) tells us that: "the person who says 'I ain't done nothin yet' conveys meaning just as effective as the person who says 'I haven't done anything yet'".

It has been noticed by Haugen (1966a), that language and dialect are ambiguous notions and it is possible to assert that "X is a dialect of language Y or Y has the dialects X and Z (never for example, Y is a language of dialect X)". (Haugen, 1966:923). In other words, if X is a dialect of Y, then Y cannot be the dialect of X. Therefore, Haugen

³ Max Weinreich is the father of the famous linguist Uriel Weinreich.

⁴ Romaine (2000 :14) defines a standard language in the following terms :

"A standard language is a variety that has been deliberately codified so that it varies minimally in linguistic form but is maximally elaborated in function".

considers the relationship between 'languages' and 'dialect' as a super-ordinate one, and, thus, dialects, are regarded as subdivisions of a particular language from a linguistic viewpoint.

Another distinction between language and dialects is a question of 'prestige'. RP English, for example, is considered more prestigious than some other regional or social dialects (Cockney English, Yorkshire English, Cardiff English ...). However, any dialect may evolve to a 'standard language', a prestige position that can be reached as a result of cultural and political influences. In this line of thought, Hudson (1996:32) argues:

Whether some variety is called a language or a dialect depends on how much prestige one thinks it has, and for most people this is a clear cut matter, which depends on whether it is used in formal writing.

Most people refer to the standard form of their state as 'language', by contrast to forms of speech which are not written as 'dialects'. This can be noticed, for instance, with most Algerian individuals who perceive MSA as the most 'prestigious', 'correct', and 'pure' variety for religious and literary purposes, while their colloquial and regional dialects are considered as 'non-prestigious', 'general', or 'common' dialects used in daily life activities.

In education, there is much controversy over which language should be used in schools, especially at the lower primary level. In fact, in their educational strategies, all the Arab-speech communities state that MSA is the medium of instruction in schools. In Maamouri's (1998: 11) terms, language is "a means and a carrier of knowledge and learning". He (ibid) continues stating that "language becomes central to the instruction process, and its mastery is an indicator of educational success or failure".

1.2.2. Dialect Defined

In popular usage, the term 'dialect' often denotes a supposed deviation, or 'inferior' speech pattern from the accepted norm. But, thanks to advanced research, dialect is actually perceived as a form of language like any other one characterized by

a vocabulary, a grammar, and a pronunciation. This term originates from Greek 'dialectos' to mean 'way of speaking', and has been defined differently by various specialists. In Trudgill's words (1992:23), a dialect is:

A variety of language which differs grammatically, phonologically and lexically from other varieties and which is associated with a particular geographical area and/or with a particular social class or status group.

More recently, Akmajian (2001: 280) offers a general definition of the term by stating that dialect is:

A distinct form of a language, possibly associated with a recognizable regional, social, or ethnic group, differentiated from other forms of the language by specific linguistic features (e.g., pronunciation, or vocabulary, or grammar or any combination of these).

Additionally, the Free Online Dictionary⁵ defines the term dialect as:

A regional or social variety of a language distinguished by pronunciation, grammar, or vocabulary, especially a variety of speech differing from the standard literary language or speech pattern of the culture in which it exists:
Cockney is a dialect of English.

Dialect, thus, is a sub-category of language which can be either of a regional or social nature differing in some aspects of grammar, vocabulary, as well as pronunciation from other forms of the same language. However, dialects are no more considered as substandard or deviant from the societally accepted norms, because speaking dialects are in fact, dialects of a language.

Hence, every language has its dialects and every speaker of a language speaks at least one dialect and/or accent. This latter is, sometimes confused with dialect, though they are distinguished on the basis of level of analysis: while an accent refers to the speaker's way of pronunciation, a dialect is distinguished from other dialects of the

⁵ <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/dialect> accessed to on January 22nd, 2013 at 16:05.

same language on at least three levels namely: pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary.

Dialects are generally discussed in terms of social or regional varieties: a regional dialect can be simply viewed as a form of language spoken in a particular geographical area, i.e. it is a variety associated with a given geographical location. We can speak, for example, of Parisian French or Yorkshire English. For Waurdaugh (2006:139), defining regional dialects is quite an easy task. He argues:

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

Therefore, regional dialects tend to differ in the words people use for the same object or in the different pronunciations for the same word. In fact, dialect differences are not only geographical; boundaries can be of a social nature. In other words, the term dialect does not refer to geographical differences only, but also, to speech differences associated with various social groups or classes. Moreover, many factors may contribute in the social variation such as age, sex, occupation, religion, cultural background and education. Waurdaugh (2006:49) says in this respect:

Whereas regional dialects are geographically based, social dialects originate among social groups and are related to a variety of factors, the principal ones apparently being social class, religion, and ethnicity.

In the Algerian context, dialect refers to either 'regional' or 'social' variety which may be distributed in geographical lines called 'isoglosses' on maps showing a boundary for each area in order to separate a dialect from another. For example the expression "he said" is pronounced /ʔal/ in Tlemcen, /kal/ in Ghazaouet and /qal/ or /gal/ in other regions. Another example may be given about the word "egg" which is "wlaɣdada" in Tlemcen, "baida" in Oran and "ʔadma" in some other areas.

Dialects of the same language are supposed to be mutually intelligible, i.e. if speakers of dialect 'A' understand those of dialect 'B', they are said to have mutual intelligibility, but, in fact, there might be some counter cases: If we consider Chinese dialects like Cantonese and Mandarin, though they are ethnically related, they are mutually unintelligible.

In order to avoid any negative connotation the dialect engenders, sociolinguists suggest the use of the neutral term 'variety' to refer to any identifiable kind of language. Duranti (1997:70-71) says in this respect:

[...] sociolinguists prefer the term *variety* (also *linguistic variety* or *variety of language*), to be thought of as a set of communicative forms and norms for their use that are restricted to a particular group or community and sometimes even to particular activities. Sociolinguists' varieties might cover what other researchers call languages, dialects, registers, or even styles. The advantage of using the term variety is that it does not carry the usual implications associated with words like "language" and "dialect" and can cover the most diverse situations...

Yet, other problems may be of political nature, i.e., concerned with whether a dialect may become a language or the other way round. This interplay of status allows us to tackle a sociolinguistic issue, worthy of interest, notably that of language planning.

1.3. Language Planning

In its historical perspective, language planning (LP hereafter) is often related to the language unification and purification activities of the "*Académie Française*" that was established in 1635 by Richelieu. Haugen (1959) is considered as the first who employs the term 'language planning' in an introduction of a fourfold planning model in which he depicts the stages of LP as involving respectively: selection, codification, implementation and elaboration, as it is illustrated in the table below:

	<i>Form (policy planning)</i>	<i>Function (language cultivation)</i>
Society (Status planning)	1. Selection (decision procedures) a. problem identification b. allocation of norms	3. Implementation (educational spread) a. correction procedures b. evaluation
Language (Corpus planning)	2. Codification (standardization procedures) a. graphisation b. grammatication c. lexication	4. Elaboration (functional development) a. terminological modernization b. stylistic development c. internationalization

Table 1.1 Haugen's (1983:275) revised language planning model with additions
(in Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997:29)

Generally speaking, 'language planning' refers to the official, government-level activity aiming at establishing which language varieties are used in a particular community and at directing which language varieties are to be used for which purposes in that particular community. Others view it as a dynamic process aiming at changing language functions, language patterns, and language status in a given society. In education, the most important language planning decisions are about the choice of the variety or varieties to be used as the medium of instruction.

LP is a field of sociolinguistics that has been defined in a variety of ways by many scholars. Fishman (1974b:79)⁶, a prominent sociolinguist, defines the term simply as "the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level". Here, the term 'national level' indicates the historical importance in LP of nation building and related processes of national identity formation involving language standardization. However, the beginning of the academic discipline of language planning was related to decolonization and the language problems of the new emergent states.

⁶ Mentioned in Ferguson, G (2006 :1)

Waurdaugh (1992:346) puts it this way: “Language planning is a government authorized long term sustained and conscious effort to offer a language functions in a society for the purpose of solving communication”. In this view, a language that can be used as a common means of communication is in fact a medium of intercommunication that overcomes the diversity of various mother tongues to have smooth functioning of the institutions and regular development of a given nation. Policy makers are, thus, responsible for making courageous decisions and taking into account all the available resources.

A wide variety of goals are involved in LP. Indeed, Nahir (2003) has recognized eleven language planning goals:

1. Language Purification refers to a prescription of usage in order to preserve the “linguistic purity” of language, protect language from foreign influences, and guard against language deviation from within.
2. Language Revival is the attempt to turn a language with few or no surviving native speakers back into a normal means of communication.
3. Language Reform is a deliberate change in specific aspects of language, like orthography, spelling, or grammar, in order to facilitate use.
4. Language Standardization is any attempt to garner prestige for a regional language or dialect, transforming it into one that is accepted as the major language, or standard language, of a region.
5. Language Spread refers to the attempt to increase the number of speakers of one language at the expense of another.
6. Lexical Modernization or word creation or adaptation.
7. Terminology Unification involves the development of unified terminologies, primarily in technical domains.
8. Stylistic Simplification is mainly a simplification of language usage in lexicon, grammar, and style.

9. Interlingual Communication is the facilitation of linguistic communication between members of distinct speech communities.

10. Language Maintenance refers to preservation of the use of a group's native language as a first or second language where pressures threaten or cause a decline in the status of the language.

11. Auxiliary-Code Standardization is the standardization of marginal, auxiliary aspects of language such as signs for the deaf, place names, or rules of transliteration and transcription.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, LP has become subject of criticism and according to Spolsky (1998:66): "In the late 1980s, the regular failure of national planning activities seems to have encouraged the more neutral-seeming term, language policy", sometimes called 'language engineering', 'language development', or 'language management'.

Additionally, Spolsky (2004:217) argues:

Language policy is about choice. It may be the choice of a specific sound, or expression, or of a specific variety of language. It may be the choice regularly made by an individual, or a socially defined group of individuals, or a body with authority over a defined group of individuals.

Moreover, Shiffman (1996), and Kaplan and Baldauf (2003)⁷ noticed that there is a clear difference in denotation between "language policy" and "language planning". Whereas the former refers to decision-making processes and the setting of goals, the latter refers to the implementation of plans for attaining those specific goals.

The field of LP can be divided into two main interesting areas, namely: language planning and language in education planning. In the latter area, language learning should be relatively linked to issues of culture and society. Lomax Trappes (1990:95)⁸ says that, in order for a language to function as a medium of instruction, it should meet

⁷ Quoted in Ferguson, G. (2006 :16).

⁸ In Rubagumya, C. (ed.). (1990). *Language Education in Africa*: Clevedon, Multilingual Methods Ltd.

three criteria; first, it should be accepted by all concerned parents, teachers, students, and society as a whole. Second, it should be teachable to the required standard. At last, the language should be used in at least some domains outside the educational system.

Cooper (1989:45) offers a narrower definition of language planning: “LP refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes”, i.e. as an intervention aiming at influencing language or language use, and the term ‘efforts’ refers to the decisions taken by policy makers to evolve a language and to implement it for specific functions. These actions are referred to as, status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning.

1.3.1. Kinds of Language Planning

Theorists agree to assign LP three major kinds labeled respectively: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. Although all three are interrelated, they address distinct social issues.

1.3.1.1. Status Planning

Status planning refers to deliberate efforts undertaken by policy makers to allocate the functions of languages and literacies within a given society. It involves status choices, making a particular language or variety an ‘official language’, a ‘national language’, etc. In Cooper’s terms (1989: 32), status planning refers “to the allocation of languages or language varieties to given functions, e.g. medium of instruction, official language, vehicle of mass communication”.

Moreover, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 30) argue that: “status planning can be defined as those aspects of language planning which reflect primarily social issues and concerns and hence are external to the language(s) being planned”. The status issues that make up a language plan are: the selection of languages for specific functions and the implementation of those languages for those specific functions.

In this regard, status planning is a purely political activity which refers to those efforts undertaken by policy makers concerning what functions each language should have in a given nation, or nation state. Such a process usually occurs when countries and nations become decolonized. The situation becomes more complicated in independent states with the choice of which variety of a language or language should be used in education and all formal and institutional domains. In Algeria, for instance, after independence, there was an intricate linguistic issue in the existence of a linguistic diversity, MSA and the French language on the one hand, and Tamazight and Algerian Arabic on the other. Lamamra (2006)⁹ mentions that, in Algeria, more than forty years after independence, the importance of these languages is still being deliberated by civil society and politicians alike. She adds that the Algerian language policy raised and continues to raise a number of questions on the identity of the Algerian people.

Language status decision also becomes more complex when such a process produces a situation where some people need to learn a language that they do not normally speak. According to Kloss (1969)¹⁰, language status is linked to four subtypes:

1. The origin of the language used officially with respect to the speech community.
2. The developmental status of a language.
3. The juridical status with respect to the speech community.
4. The ratio of users of a language to total population.

In the Arab world, there seems to be a conflict about the status of Arabic in the educational sphere because of the existence of the well-known phenomenon, 'diglossia' which is the principal concern of our research work. According to Maamouri (1998), the problem lies in the fact that the Arabic language that children learn at school differs from the language spoken at home or in the street.

⁹ Lamamra, N. Amel (2006). Do You Speak Algerian?, IBS Journal of Science | Volume 1 Number 2|July 2006 <http://www.ibscientific.net>

¹⁰ Mentioned in Cobarrubias, J. & Fihman, J.A. (1983: 43).

Once a language has been fixed as appropriate for use in an official situation, its structure needs to be fixed or even modified. This process of modification is known as corpus planning.

1.3.1.2. Corpus Planning

Corpus planning is a fundamental activity in any language planning process referring to the prescriptive intervention in the structure and content of a language. Such a process involves “activities such as coining new terms, reforming spelling, and adopting a new script. It refers, in short, to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code”. Cooper (1989:31).

As opposed to status planning which is political in nature, corpus planning is a purely linguistic activity which attempts to define or reform the standard language by modifying forms in spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. The reforms of languages such as Hebrew and Turkish are perfect examples of corpus planning. In Maamouri’s terms (1998: 12), corpus planning is a process which “seeks to develop a variety of a language or a language, usually to standardize it by providing it with the means and tools for serving as many functions as possible in society”.

Something else worth mentioning is that Kloss (1969)¹¹ is considered as the first to draw a distinction between ‘corpus planning’ and ‘status planning’. Whereas the former refers to modifications in structure, vocabulary, or spelling, or even the adoption of a new script, the latter is concerned with whether the social status of a language should be lowered or raised. Ferguson (1968) employs the concept of ‘language development’ rather than ‘corpus planning’. In a nutshell, he describes its three major stages as graphization, standardization and modernization.

Graphization refers to the process of developing a writing system. It also refers to development, selection, and modification of scripts for a language. An illustrative example would be the use of Latin alphabet as the writing system of some African languages such as ‘Hausa’, ‘Fula’ and ‘Manding’. For purely political reasons, the

¹¹ In Cobarrubias, J. & Fishman, J. A. (1983:42).

writing system of a language can be regraphitized as is the case of Russian which moved from the Roman script to the Cyrillic in order to reinforce Russian identity. Corpus planners have the option of using an existing system or inventing a new one. The Moroccan linguist Ahmad Lakhdar Ghazal¹² proposed an approach for Arabic script reform aiming at simplifying the orthographic variation by using one sole graphic form in all positions. However, his suggestion came to nothing, as, for Arabs, the Arabic script is “a faithful preserver and gatekeeper of their timeless heritage”. (Maamouri, 1998: 56).

Another important process in corpus planning implies standardization which aims either at reducing or eliminating diversity. Wardaugh (2006: 33) defines standardization as: “the process by which a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of such things as grammars, spelling books and dictionaries”.

Indeed, standardization is the process by which a language takes precedence over other social and regional dialects of a language i.e., a variety of a language highly accepted by members of a speech community may be viewed as “a supra-dialectal norm” (Ferguson & Huebner, 1996: 43) and as Wardaugh (2006: 34) reports, “once a language is standardized, it becomes possible to teach it in a deliberate manner”.

Modernization is the last process in corpus planning. It enables language users to speak and write about technical topics especially in academic and scientific domains. Modernization also refers to the creation of new terms for new concepts. In most cases, the process consists of borrowing, and sometimes adapting new technical terms from the language in which they were created and is therefore called *technicalization* (Webb & Kembo-Sure 2000)¹³. The expansion of the lexicon which permits the language to discuss topics in modern domains is one of the most significant forces in modernization. The Arabic language, for instance, has experienced rapid expansion of technical terms in textbooks in schools. Yet, the language in question cannot be used

¹² Idea mentioned in Maamouri (1998: 57).

¹³ <http://eprints.ru.ac.za/16/1/dalvit-ma.pdf> accessed to on February 2nd, 2013

in school without having access through the implementation phase called ‘acquisition planning’.

1.3.1.3. Acquisition Planning

Cooper (1989) states a third activity of LP besides status planning and corpus planning known as ‘acquisition planning’ that follows from this definition: “language policy- making involves decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for the guidance of others”. (Cooper, 1989: 31). In fact, Cooper stresses the need of this category of language planning mainly because planning energy is directed toward language spread and especially through education.

Acquisition planning, also termed ‘Language-in-education planning’ (Kaplan & Bardauf, 1997), is another type of language planning in which a national state or local government system aims at influencing aspects of language, such as language status, distribution, and literacy through education. More recently, Paolo Colluzzi (2007: 138) argues that acquisition planning refers “to any effort leading to the acquisition of the language on the part of the people targeted by the language planning”. Status planning aims at increasing the number of *functions* of the language by contrast to acquisition planning which aims at increasing the number of *users* of the language. Spolsky (2004) enumerates the possible domains for acquisition planning notably, the workplace, religious organizations, the media, and more particularly education.

Education is essential to LP so that acquisition planning is named after it. Spolsky (2004)¹⁴ says in this respect: “of all domains of LP, one of the most important is the school”. Furthermore, Hoffman (1991:214) points out that “the education system is by far the most important tool for implementing a government’s language planning policy”. In other words, education is one of the most important domains of acquisition planning.

¹⁴ www.actfl.Org/files/public/languagepolicykeynote.pdf accessed to on February 3rd, 2013.

The British colonial education system proposed a solution that consists of using the child's mother tongue as a variety for school instruction in the first years. Yet, educationists may be faced with the dilemma as to the choice of the appropriate variety for the medium of instruction, and when to put an end at using the mother tongue. Thus, LP assigns a language to formal domains and leaves the vernaculars for less formal contexts, i.e. to daily speech where the mother tongue is used. Such a distinction of function allows us to consider an interesting aspect of language contact called 'diglossia', (in addition to bilingualism).

1.4. Diglossia and Bilingualism

Some linguists attempt to draw a distinction between diglossia and bilingualism in a very interesting way. Whereas the former refers to a situation where two varieties of the same language occur for variant contexts, the latter refers to the ability of an individual to use two or more languages.

1.4.1. Diglossia Defined

Sociolinguists generally agree that the notion of 'diglossia' refers to a situation where a given speech community employs two or more varieties of a language, a high variety and a low variety, for distinct purposes. In Ferguson's (1959: 338)¹⁵ view point, diglossia is likely to come into being when (1) 'there is a sizable body of literature in a language closely related to (or even identical with) the natural language of the community... [and when (2)] literacy in the community is limited to a small elite, [and]...a suitable period of time, of the order of several centuries, passes from the establishment of (1) and (2)'.

Diglossia, a widespread phenomenon in the world was first introduced by the German linguist Karl Krumbacher (1902), in his book '*Das Problem der Modernen Griechischen Schiftsprache*', and particularly in his study about the nature, the origin, and development of diglossia with special reference to Arabic and Greek cases

¹⁵ Quoted in Wardaugh (2006: 91).

(Zughoul 1980)). More reference goes later on to the writer Psichari (1928)¹⁶ who considers the Greek situation as diglossic because Dimotiki is used as the medium of everyday communication, while Katharevousa is used for writing and reflects Classical Greek more than the popular form. However, the common view is that it was the French linguist and anthropologist William Marçais (1930-1931) who first attempts to describe this sociolinguistic situation in the Arab world as “la concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire parfois exclusivement parlée”¹⁷; i.e., as a competition between the literary language and the vernacular. The diachronic evolution of the concept ‘diglossia’ has been proposed by Serir (2011/2012: 78) as it is illustrated in the table below:

Scholar’s Name	Concerned Languages with Diglossia	Year
Karl Krumbacher	Greek and Arabic	1902
Psichari	Dimotiki and Katharevousa	1928
Marçais	Spoken, Classical and Standard Arabic	1930
Ferguson	Colloquial and Classical Arabic, Dimotiki and Katharevousa in Greek; Standard German and Swiss German; Creole and French in Haiti	1959
Joan Rubin	Guarani and Spanish in Paraguay	1960
Fishman	Sanskrit and Kannada in India	1967

Table 1.2: The Diachronic Evolution of the Concept ‘Diglossia’.

A few decades later, in his famous article ‘Diglossia’ in *word*, the American linguist Ferguson (1959) re-introduced the concept of diglossia into the English literature on sociolinguistics with special reference to four distinct linguistic situations that display a diglossic character: Modern Greek, Swiss German, Haitian Creole and Arabic. In each of these situations, there is a high variety and a low variety, each serving specific functions. In Greece, the two varieties are: Katharevousa (H) and Dimotiki (L). In Switzerland, they are Standard German (H) and Swiss German (L). In

¹⁶ Mentioned in Muhammad Umer Azim. (2007). “Multiple Nested Triglossia in Pakistan”.

¹⁷ My personal translation: “the competition between a learned written language and a dialect sometimes exclusively spoken”.

Haiti, the two varieties are: Standard French (H) and Haitian Creole (L). In Arabic, they are Classical Arabic (H) and the various colloquial dialects. The most frequently quoted definition is Ferguson's (1959: 336) according to which:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more 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.

According to Ferguson, a diglossic situation is characterized by a stable co-existence of two linguistically related language varieties, one high (H) variety that is prestigious and one low (L) variety with no official status which are used for two sets of complementary social functions. In a diglossic context, the high variety is the written code used for formal, public and official functions, contrary to the low variety which is an exclusively spoken code used in ordinary conversation. Thus, in addition to the existence of distinct speech varieties, Ferguson (1959: 336) also emphasized the role of a sizable body of literature and restricted literacy "to a small elite" in diglossic speech communities. He also exemplifies situations which imply the use of one of the varieties to the exclusion of the other as indicated in the following table:

Situations	High Variety	Low Variety
Sermon in church or mosque	x	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		x
Personal letter	x	
Speech in parliament, political speech	x	
University lecture	x	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		x
New broadcast	x	
Radio		x
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	x	
Caption on political cartoon		x
Poetry	x	
Folk literature		x

Table 1.3: Situations for H and L in diglossic communities

(adapted from Ferguson 1959:236).

Ferguson's theory on diglossia is multidimensional since it points out nine separate rubrics in which the high and the low varieties may differ: Function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology.

- a. Function: There are some circumstances where the use of the high variety is appropriate such as university lectures, poetry and sermons, and other contexts where the low variety is more suitable, as, for instance, when conversing with family, colleagues and friends. Ferguson (1959) provides the example of the use of *al-fusḥa*, the high variety of Arabic, in sermons in mosques, contrary to *al 'ammiya*, the low variety which never displaces H and it is used in people's day-to day communication. Therefore, H and L have different functions.

Ferguson (1959: 235) says in this respect: “One of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L”.

- b. Prestige: Speakers regard the high variety as better, aesthetic, more beautiful and more logical than L as far as prestige is concerned. Therefore, speakers show positive attitudes towards H, and L is negatively valued as it is seen as ‘less worthy’, ‘vulgar’ and ‘corrupt’.
- c. Literary heritage: There is a substantial amount of written literature in H which is held in high esteem by the community, while folk literature is written in L.
- d. Acquisition: It is obvious that children acquire L as a mother tongue. Adults, therefore converse with their off spring using the low variety. The high variety is learned later on through formal instruction. Thus, as Hudson (1996: 50) says, “no one acquires H as a mother tongue; H is learned through school”.
- e. Standardization: Native grammarians standardize H since it is the language of literature and official contexts. In addition to the existence of grammars, dictionaries, treatises on pronunciation, styles and so on; there is an established norm for pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary which allows variation only within certain limits in H.
- f. Stability: Diglossia may persist for centuries, and evidence in some diglossic situations seems to show that the two varieties can last well over a thousand years. However, communicative tensions may arise between them because of many factors. Increasing literacy, for instance, may lead intellectuals to switch to H while using L. This phenomenon has been illustrated by Ferguson by the appearance of ‘Greek mikti’, ‘Arabic *al-lugha-al-wusta*’ and ‘Haitian Créole de Salon’.
- g. Grammar: One of the major characteristics of H is the grammar system. Ferguson (1959: 435) calls H “grammatically more complex”. The high variety has grammatical categories that are absent in the low variety and has an inflectional system of nouns and verbs which is much reduced or not present in the latter.
- h. Lexicon: The high variety includes in its lexicon some terms, which have no equivalents in the low variety. In other words, H and L varieties may have

distinct terms for the same object. For example, [ðahaba] in H, and [mʃa] in L meaning 'he has gone'.

- i. Phonology: The phonological systems of H and L are slightly different. There might be sounds present in H and totally absent in L and vice versa. An illustrative example from Arabic would be the phoneme /q/ also pronounced as /g/, /ʔ/, or /k/ depending on the dialect.

These nine areas make up the ground on which differences between H and L are established in diglossic speech communities. Furthermore, according to Ferguson, diglossia phenomenon differs from the standard-with-dialect languages for various reasons, mainly because H is not used in ordinary conversation. In this regard, he (1959: 337) claims that:

Diglossia differs from the more widespread standard-with-dialects in that no segment of the speech community in diglossia regularly uses H (the prestigious variety) as a means of ordinary conversation, and any attempt to do so is felt to be either pedantic or artificial. In the more usual standard-with-dialects situation, the standard is often similar to the variety of a certain region or social group which is used in ordinary conversation more or less naturally by members of the group and as a superposed variety by others.

Ferguson's classical definition of diglossia, however, seems to be a simple suggestion that lacks clarity as well as objectivity. In fact, Ferguson himself has acknowledged his weak points in a more recent article which he has entitled 'Diglossia Revisited' (1991) where although he gave new supports to his original article, he specified that "his definition for diglossia was putative".(Freeman, 1996). Indeed, Ferguson (1991) himself asserts that: "Of the many weaknesses that can be attributed to the original diglossia article, let me mention seven that I have found especially salient and troublesome- things I would certainly treat differently if I were to write the article today"¹⁸.

¹⁸ Mentioned in Elgibali, A. (1996:54).

These seven weaknesses are respectively: Object of description, variety, linguistic distance, larger picture, attitudes, power and interactional dynamics.

Later on, some scholars attempted to 'extend' the definition of the term diglossia which was described by Ferguson (1959) as a situation where two varieties of a language exist side by side in a speech community, with each having a definite role to play. Fishman (1967) is one of those scholars who suggested an extended version of diglossia to characterize other bilingual and multilingual situations where the H and L varieties are genetically unrelated. Indeed, Fishman (1967) extended the concept of diglossia to include "several separate codes, and recognized two types of compartmentalization: functional and social/ political". (Chen, 1997: 4). Fishman provides some examples such as Biblical Hebrew and Yiddish for many Jews, Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay, and Standard English and Caribbean Creole. In each of these situations, the different languages have quite distinct functions.

Wardhaugh (2006) mentions the example of Spanish and Guarani that exists in what Fishman (1967) calls an 'extended diglossic' relationship. Spanish is the high variety used in formal occasions. Guarani, however, is the low variety used in most casual occasions. Fishman (ibid), then discussed the relatedness of the two varieties of the language in the diglossic case and introduced the notion of diglossia with/without bilingualism for the fact that he based his definition on language function rather than on language form.

Many sociolinguists defined the term 'diglossia' in different ways, but a diversity in the terminology has been used to refer to diglossia: Ferguson (1959) proposed the term 'classical', while Fishman (1967) suggested the term 'extended'. Kloss proposed the term 'in-diglossia' for cases where H and L are closely related, while 'out-diglossia' is reserved for situations where two languages are unrelated or at best distantly related. Myers-Scotton (1986) proposed the term 'narrow' to refer to Ferguson's original version and 'broad' to portray Fishman's expansion of the discussion while others prefer using the terms 'endo diglossia' vs 'exo diglossia'.

This terminology variation paved the way to the creation of more complex definitions that include other kinds of diglossia. Abdulaziz Mkilifi (1978) proposed the term 'triglossia' with special reference to contexts where three varieties are involved. He took Tanzania as an example where there are three varieties in practice: Swahili as H, the vernacular as L and English which is higher than Swahili. Romaine (2000), in turn, exemplified this triglossic situation in Tunisia, where the high varieties are MSA and French and the low variety is dialectal Arabic.

Platt (1977) considers situations where more than three varieties exist. Those situations are referred to as 'Polyglossia'. Muller & Ball (2005: 61) gave the example of Malaysia where numerous languages co-exist. Romaine (2000) took Singapore as an example where English, Mandarin, Tamil and Malay share co-official status, but each of these has local low variants. In fact, diverse examples are found, but as it does not fit our principal objectives, there is no need to list all of them. The present study deals with the classical version of diglossia where two varieties of the same language co-exist within the same speech community; H is reserved to formal contexts and L to less formal ones.

1.4.1.1. Arabic Diglossia

According to Ferguson (1959), a diglossic context is defined by two features: The first is a distinction between the written and spoken modes. The second is a rigid complementarity of two sets of functions performed by two distinct, though linguistically related codes.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, diglossia is a typical characteristic of the twenty two countries in which Arabic is an official language. The high variety, MSA also known as '*al-fusḥa*', Standard Arabic or Literary Arabic which is a modern descendant from Classical Arabic (the language of Qur'an, the holy book of Islam) is used in education, administration, literature, and for formal speech functions such as religious sermons and broadcasts. This variety which is shared by all Arab

communities alternates with the low variety, also called 'al 'ammiya' (meaning the common) commonly used for everyday conversation and folk literature.

In diglossic contexts, speakers usually perceive H as the 'real' language, more prestigious, more beautiful and more logical by contrast to L which is commonly viewed as less prestigious, 'impure', or 'incorrect' usage. In Arabic, people talk about the high variety as being 'pure' Arabic and the dialects as being 'corrupt' forms. In Haeri's (2003:43) terms, Classical Arabic (CA hereafter) is perceived as a "language whose aesthetic and musical qualities move its listeners, creating feelings of spirituality, nostalgia and community". To this, he adds that CA "socialized people into rituals of Islam, affirms their identity as Muslims and connects them to the realm of purity, morality and God". (Ibid).

The linguistic distance between MSA and the spoken vernaculars is illustrated by various diglossic variables, or linguistic structures that survived in MSA, but disappeared from spoken Arabic. According to Saiegh –Haddad (2003: 433), these variables include, but are not limited to:

1. Important lexical differences, even in commonplace everyday words and functional terms;
2. Inflections denoting gender, number, and tense, most of which have disappeared from all colloquial Arabic dialects; and
3. Important varying changes in structure with sounds in writing, which have dropped out of everyday usage (Maamouri, 1998: 47–48).

A non- linguistic characteristic of Arabic diglossia is that the high variety is learned through formal education, contrary to the low variety which is acquired naturally from birth. H possesses an established norm for grammar, orthography, pronunciation, and vocabulary by contrast to L which lacks a written grammar. In the Arabic case and in the middle ages, aspects of colloquial Arabic are described negatively in a literary aspect called 'lahn al āmma', that is treatises on the mistakes of language made by ordinary people aiming at preventing the cultivated class from being influenced by dialectal Arabic and making errors when using the standard language.

The earliest work of this kind is 'lahn al awamm' proposed by the Andalusian grammarian al-Zubaydi (928-989) who expresses in the preface of his work, the difference between the literary and the oral language:

It is a question of alterations, owed to our 'āmma' [common people], which has modified the pronunciation (of certain words) or adapted the meaning, and has been followed in this practice by a great many people, to the point where these incorrect usages have infiltrated into the works of poets, and the most eminent scribes and functionaries include them in their correspondence and make use of depraved expressions in their conversations. (Pellat, 1986: 606)¹⁹.

More recently, heated discussions have developed over the use of the term 'Arabic diglossia'. Indeed, Ferguson's classical version that diglossia is "two varieties of a language exist[ing] side by side ... with each having a definite role to play" (1959: 325) should be re-evaluated through the use of the term 'Arabic multiglossia' since more than two varieties of Arabic come at play. The coalescence between CA and colloquial Arabic seems to pave the way to the creation of a new variety of Arabic known as *the middle variety* used in semi-formal situations. This is the main reason why diglossia in the Arab world is suggested to be rather a multiglossia. Mahmoud (1986: 239) says in this respect: "the emergence of a new, intermediate form of Arabic called Educated Spoken Arabic is commonly cited as evidence that the diglossic situation is undergoing a dramatic change (Abdel-Masih, 1975; Bishai, 1966; Mahmoud 1984, 1962)."

Essentially, MSA, Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA henceforth) and colloquial Arabic constitute a continuum from which, native speakers may select the available variety at different times and occasions. In fact, Ferguson himself acknowledges that Arabic diglossic contexts are evolving towards a type of continuum when he (1970) claims that "Intermediate between the two varieties, relatively 'pure' Classical and Colloquial, there are many shadings of 'middle language'".

¹⁹ In Cabo Aseguinolaza, F. (2010). *A Comparative History of Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula*. Vol N°1. Benjamins John. Philadelphia. USA.

Moreover, Badawi (1973) posits five levels of speech when analyzing the situation in Egypt, and it is probably the first investigation in which a scholar speaks of a continuum of different levels. These levels are termed as follows: a) *fushā-at-turāθ*, purely traditional Classical Arabic; b) *fushā-al-āsr*, Modern Standard Arabic; c) *āmmiyat al- mutaqqafīn*, Educated Spoken Arabic; d) *āmmiyat al- mutanawwirīn*, Semi-literate Spoken Arabic and e) *āmmiyat al- ummiyīn*, Illiterate Spoken Arabic (Badawi, 1973: 16).

Ferguson's description of functions in diglossic contexts has been further criticized by El Hassan (1977) who asserts that the functions are not as separate as it may have appeared to Ferguson. Educated speakers and academicians can use elements of MSA in their daily speech. El Hassan (*ibid*) suggests that colloquial Arabic can be used even in a formal setting where MSA is more appropriate, such as a sermon in the mosque.

It is therefore safely claimed that there are various varieties of Arabic: MSA which takes its normative rules from CA, the variety deserved to be the language of Qur'an; ESA also called Formal Standard Arabic meaning the vernacular of the educated people, in addition to the different colloquial forms, i.e. the different dialects spoken differently in the Arabic speaking communities. Diglossia is undergoing a considerable change in the Arab world and ESA is successfully bridging the gap between varieties for the elite²⁰. Mahmoud (1986: 247) says in this respect:

Diglossia is not an unchanging, stable phenomenon as it may have appeared to Ferguson, and ESA is a definite harbinger of change in the Arabic speech community since it seems to be bridging successfully the gap between the two forms of Arabic and increasingly satisfying the communicative needs of its elite.

Therefore, according to Mahmoud (1986), the impact of ESA has been most noticeable in the teaching and learning processes of the Arabic language. The Arab

²⁰ The 'elite' are members of a group or class enjoying high intellectual, social, or economic status.

child, for instance, will be exposed for the first time to a language not too far removed from his mother tongue.

In any case, Arab scholars have to spend remarkable efforts to clarify the concept of diglossia because the Arabic language situation seems to be very complicated as members of the same speech community cross different repertoires. Furthermore, because it is characterized by the use of two varieties in complementary distribution, diglossia has its impact on the field of education.

1.4.1.2. Diglossia and Education

Some Arab educational specialists are fully aware that the low educational achievement and literacy rates in most Arab communities are mostly due to the diglossic situation of the Arabic language. In a diglossic context, there is a co-existence of two language varieties, and in the specific case of Arabic, one variety is used for ordinary conversation and the other is learned by means of formal education and it is generally used for written and educational purposes.

However, many researchers proclaim that this sociolinguistic issue delays literacy acquisition because of a lack of clear relation between speech and literacy (Abu Rabia 2000; Saeigh Haddad 2003). According to Maamouri (1998), the widespread functional illiteracy in the Arab world is due to diglossia which has a negative impact on the ability of Arab children to acquire Arabic reading and writing skills, and consequently on their academic attainment in general.

Generally speaking, Arab pupils are required to suppress most of their habitual speech while trying to acquire a new set of rules once in contact with school. However, the mixture of Arabic linguistic patterns seems to lead to serious pedagogical problems, in addition to a kind of feeling of linguistic insecurity during classroom interaction among a high number of young Arab pupils. Maamouri (1998:40) explains that: "this lack of security comes from a general feeling of low understanding of modern fusha and of low identification of its norms".

The Arabic language represents a perfect model of both cultural and religious diglossia which may include the choice of the prestigious variety for formal settings such as the school. Consequently, this may have various effects on the child's school experience. On one hand, parents expect their child to be taught the prestigious variety at school and teachers set the classwork to accomplish this parental purpose on the other. Hence, in this situation, children are not at all encouraged to make enquiry and discovery, but rather "the learner is forced to emphasize form rather than content; embellishment rather than essence; imitative ability rather than creativity." (Al Rabaa, 1986:74).

Indeed, several approaches have developed in relation to the teaching of Arabic. Al Batal (1992) has cited the most important ones. They are: The classical Arabic approach, the MSA approach which is based on teaching MSA solely, the colloquial approach, the middle language approach and finally, the simultaneous approach which seems to provide an adequate answer to the question of how to deal with Arabic diglossia in the classroom.

Something else worth mentioning is that the exclusive use of the 'official' language of instruction inside Arab classrooms seems to lead to two conflicting practices. First, teachers intentionally try to neglect the colloquial forms used by pupils. Secondly, those teachers are obliged to use the colloquial forms to communicate easier with their pupils. Moreover, Maamouri (1998: 40-41) asserts that:

The intermingling of fushas and colloquial forms in the Arab region and the lack of clear-cut linguistic marking barriers aggravate the insecurity of the young learners who seem confused by what constitutes fusha in the Arabic forms which surround them and what does not.

As a matter of fact, some sociolinguists attribute the low achievements of education in the Arab schools to the diglossic situation inside classrooms and the linguistic distance between MSA and the different forms of colloquial Arabic. MSA is never acquired as a mother tongue from birth, but is generally learned through formal instruction.

Generally, all the colloquial forms of Arabic are linguistically related to MSA. Yet, this linguistic relatedness is 'flexible' and 'changeable' (Kaye, 1972). In a focus on the phonological distance between Standard Arabic and Spoken Arabic, Maamouri (1998) mentions that although Standard Arabic shares most of the phonemes with all Spoken vernaculars, no single Spoken Arabic vernacular has the same set of phonemes as Standard Arabic. For instance, the voiced, voiceless and emphatic consonants present in MSA, /θ/, /ð/ and /ð̣/ do not appear in vernaculars of Algerians. For example, the word /ð̣aheb/ in MSA, meaning 'gold' in English, becomes /dhəb/ in AA.

Arab school children are taught the standard form of Arabic, although their mother tongue is spoken Arabic. MSA is distinct from spoken Arabic in phonology, vocabulary, grammar and syntax, which means that these children are confronted to a variety of Arabic with which they have relatively little contact. Zughoul (1980: 202) concludes that: "The diglossic situation is indeed problematic for a linguistic community. It is considered to be a hindrance to educational and economic development, as well as a national coherence."

1.4.2. Bilingualism

Broadly speaking, bilingualism is a language contact outcome which spreads all over the world. Indeed, studies in different types of communities throughout the world have shown that bilingualism is a pervasive phenomenon, and it is rather monolingualism that is exceptional. Grosjean (1994)²¹ supports this idea by stating that:

Bilingualism is present in practically every country of the world, in all classes of society and in all age groups; in fact, it has been estimated that half the world's population is bilingual.

Due to its complexity, bilingualism is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that has been defined and explored by various scholars from different perspectives. Bloomfield

²¹ In Spolsky, B. (Ed.) *Concise Encyclopedia of Educational Linguistics*. Oxford: Elsevier, 1999.

(1933: 56), for instance, views bilingualism as “a native- like control of two languages”. However, this definition covers only *perfect bilinguals* and excludes other users of two languages. On the other hand, Haugen (1953: 7) defines bilinguals as individuals who are fluent in one language, “but who can produce meaningful utterances in the other language”. In fact, this definition allows even speakers of another language, at an early stage, to be considered as bilinguals.

Accordingly, bilingualism can also be defined in terms of psychological and social states of individuals or groups of people that result from interactions via language in which two or more linguistic codes are used for communication. Hamers & Blanc (2000) distinguish between societal bilingualism and individual bilingualism also known as ‘bilinguality’. They say in this respect:

The concept of bilingualism refers to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual.

Individual bilingualism, or “bilinguality” on the other hand, refers to “...the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication” (ibid: 6). Researchers in the field attempt to classify bilinguals into different categories depending on their degree of proficiency in the two languages. For example, a distinction is drawn between ‘balanced’ and ‘dominant’ or ‘unbalanced’ bilinguals. Balanced bilinguals are individuals who possess an equal competence in both languages, whereas dominant bilinguals are those persons whose proficiency in one language is higher than in the other language(s).

Another distinction between ‘compound’ and ‘coordinate’ bilinguals is based on the dimensions of how two (or more) linguistic codes are organized by individuals. Compound bilingualism usually happens when an individual learns the two languages in the same contexts. In addition, the two sets of linguistic codes are stored in one meaning unit. On the contrary, in coordinate bilingualism, each linguistic code is supposed to be organized separately into two sets of meaning units.

'Additive' bilinguals are those who can enhance their L2 (second language) without losing proficiency in L1 (first language), by contrast to 'subtractive' bilinguals, whose L2 is learned at the expense of losing their L1. Another distinction is made between 'active' and 'passive' bilinguals. The former involves individuals who are able to speak and understand a second language, whereas the latter refers to individuals who understand a second language to a certain degree, but, they are unable to communicate properly. Indeed, the survey of bilingualism paves the way to other interesting aspects of language contact in the next sub-section, namely, borrowings, code-switching and code-mixing.

1.5. Language Contact Dynamics

The language variation that results from language contact situations can be examined on many levels, some of which are code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing phenomena.

1.5.1. Borrowings

Borrowing is a phenomenon that takes place whenever different language communities come into contact with each other. Indeed, whenever two distinct languages get into contact over a certain period of time, they will inevitably influence each other. When words are taken from one language and are adapted to the other, the process is known as 'borrowing'. The words which are borrowed are therefore called 'borrowings' or 'loanwords'. For Trask (1996: 18), the process of borrowing "is one of the most frequent ways of acquiring new words, and speakers of all languages do it."

Many scholars offer various definitions concerning the phenomenon of borrowing. In his pioneered article entitled 'The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing', Haugen (1950: 212)²² defines the term simply as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another." Thomas and Kaufman (1988: 37)²³ proposed a different definition that has been very influential in the past decade. They

²²Quoted in Fried, M, Ostman, J. & Verschueren, J. (2010). *Variation and Change: Pragmatic Perspectives*. Amsterdam. Benjamins John. Co, p20.

²³Idem.

state that: “borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language.”

Speakers may borrow words in their daily speech either consciously or subconsciously. From a linguistic standpoint, these loanwords become adapted both phonologically and morphologically to the recipient language. Lexical borrowing i.e. the borrowing of words is the most common type of transference between languages and, thus, three main types of lexical borrowing are identified:

- a. Importation: is the direct transference of a lexeme, that is, both meaning and form.
- b. Loan blends: also called hybrids have been defined by Haugen as instances of lexical borrowing in which one can find both ‘importation’ and ‘substitution’, or ‘transfer’ and ‘reproduction’.
- c. Substitution or loan translation also known as ‘calque’ is produced by complete morphemic substitution of lexical units of the language model. In other words, in this kind of lexical borrowing, the borrowing is done by translating the vocabulary item or rather its meaning into the receiving language.

As far as the Algerian speech community is concerned, it should be noted that there are a great number of lexical borrowings in Algerian Arabic which are used and understood by most Algerian speakers as a result of the long contact with French. Words like [t̥abla], [kuzina] from French ‘table’ and ‘cuisine’ meaning ‘table’ and ‘kitchen’ respectively are clearly adapted both phonologically and morphologically to fit the Arabic system. In our case, we will focus on borrowed words used by young pupils in an educational setting.

Lexical borrowing can be divided into a simple dichotomy of what Myers-Scotton (1993b) calls *cultural borrowings* and *core borrowings*. Cultural borrowings designate items for objects that are new to the culture of the recipient language. Many of them are lexical elements related to technology and science. They are mostly “words

that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its word store". (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 212). Borrowings of this genre are copious in AA. The word 'internet', for example is frequently used in AA, and is even established in MSA. However, core borrowings are those concepts that are more or less similar to words that already exist in the recipient language. In AA, and actually even in MSA, words like 'chomage', 'reportage', 'voyage', etc ('unemployment, 'report', 'trip', etc) are widely used, though Arabic has viable equivalents (here /biʦa:la/, /taqri:r/, /safar/. Moreover, Myers-Scotton believes that cultural borrowed forms appear unexpectedly, whereas, core borrowings come in gradually in the recipient language through code-switching.

In order to distinguish code-switching and borrowing phenomena, Gumperz (1982) claims that borrowing occurs at word and clause level, while code-switching happens at syntax level. The next sub-section will endeavor a clarification on the concepts of code-switching and code-mixing.

1.5.2. Code-switching and Code-mixing

Code-switching (CS henceforth), also referred to as code-mixing, is a hallmark of multilingual communities world-wide. It is the practice of selecting, alternating, or mixing linguistic elements from two or more codes, so as to contextualize talk in interaction. This sociolinguistic phenomenon had not been of serious interest till the early 1970's when Blom and Gumperz (1972) published the famous article entitled "Social Meanings in Linguistic Structures: code-switching in Norway"²⁴ in which they explained such phenomenon in terms of values linked to each code. Various terminologies have been used to refer to the term; in particular, code-mixing and alternation of codes.

Code-switching is a central aspect of language contact that has been dealt with by many scholars (Gumperz 1982, Poplack 1988, Myers-Scotton 1993, Auer 1995 and many others). Gumperz (1982: 59), an outstanding figure in the field is considered as the first who introduced the notion of 'code-switching'. He describes it simply as "the

²⁴ Mentioned in Dendane (2007: 140).

juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems.” In the same vein, Myers-Scotton (1993a:1) views CS as “alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation”. In fact, in these two definitions, CS is used as an umbrella term to cover alternation between two languages or two dialects of the same language.

Some sociolinguists have studied the functions and reasons for code-switching from a number of different linguistic perspectives. Appel and Muysken (2006) listed six main functions of code-switching: referential, directive, expressive, phatic, metalinguistic and poetic. As for Malik (1996), in an investigation of the sociolinguistic situation in India, he has listed ten reasons for code-switching, namely: lack of facility, lack of registral competence, mood of the speaker, to amplify and emphasize a point, habitual expressions, semantic significance, to show identity with a group, to address different audience, pragmatic reasons and finally to attract attention.

In the social approach to code-switching, the phenomenon is viewed as governed by social situations and social rules. Therefore, Blom and Gumperz (1972) identified two types of CS: situational and metaphorical. *Situational CS* as its name implies is influenced by situation change, i.e. the language used in a formal situation differs from the one used in an informal one. This type of CS is distinct from diglossia. In this view, Wardaugh (2006: 104) claims that: “In diglossia too people are quite aware that they have switched from H to L or L to H. Code-switching, on the other hand, is often quite subconscious...” *Metaphorical CS*, on the other hand occurs with changes in the topic rather than in the social situation. In this type of CS, the speaker switches languages to achieve a special communicative effect. In 1976, Gumperz developed the concept of metaphorical CS and introduced another term *conversational CS* in which the speaker switches within a single sentence.

Generally speaking, CS does not happen accidentally, but under various types of constraints. In an attempt to scrutinize how linguistic constraints operate in CS, Poplack (1980) differentiates between three types of CS namely, extra-sentential CS, inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CS. This phenomenon occurs in all linguistic

situations, be it monolingual or bilingual. According to Trudgill (1992: 16), CS is “the process whereby bilingual or bidialectal speakers switch back and forth between one language or dialect and another within the same conversation”. In a monolingual situation, CS reflects both the diglossic switching and dialectal switching. Indeed, by diglossic CS, we mean the mixture or shift of codes from the high variety to the low variety or vice versa depending upon the demands of psychological and social situations. In diglossic situations, people sometimes switch from one variety to the other one for one reason or another. For instance, we can consider a teacher of Arabic who switches from H to L or the other way round in a class topic discussion. Besides the alternation between H and L varieties, speakers may also switch between the dialects available to them in their community via a process of CS. However, in a bilingual situation, a person may become proficient in the two languages and thereby adopts code-switching during language interaction.

1.6. MSA and its Status in the Arab World

Arabic, a Semitic language that belongs to the Afro-Asiatic family, is the official language of some twenty two countries throughout the world and over two hundred million members speak some dialect of Arabic. These countries are notably: Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Yemen, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Lebanon.



Figure 1.1: Countries of the Arab world.

The Arabic language can be split into three categories; Classical Arabic/ Modern Standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic: Classical Arabic (CA) is principally defined as the language of the holy Qur'an and in the early Islamic literature from the 7th to the 9th century. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is a modernization of CA, in particular at lexical and stylistic levels. It is also the literary standard across the Middle East and North Africa and it is the standardized and literary variety of Arabic used in writing and in most formal speech. Colloquial Arabic refers to the wide range of dialects used spontaneously by native speakers in the whole Arab world and in a number of countries; these dialects are often influenced by colonial languages which interfere with the native varieties.

MSA serves “not only as the vehicle of current forms of literature, but also as a resource language for communication between literate Arabs from geographically distant parts of the Arab world”. (Ryding, 2005: 7). In addition, MSA is no one's native language because individuals do not acquire it naturally from birth. Children acquire the colloquial forms of Arabic early in life through contact with their parents or family members, but MSA is learned later on through access to formal schooling. In the Arab world, MSA is restricted to such fields as education, spoken media, and literary events and thus, it is almost never used in daily life.

Furthermore, it is of vital importance to mention that MSA is the 'formal' and 'prestigious' variety that unifies the Arab world and plays a central role in enhancing the Arab nation 'al Umma l Arabiya'. MSA is highly codified and valued by most Arabs. This natural superiority is linked to some qualities such as beauty, logic and eloquence. On the other hand, Arabs consider what is spoken at home and in common daily life activities simply as 'incorrect' language.

The sociolinguistic situation in the Arab world provides a prime example of the phenomenon of diglossia which refers to the co-existence of two distinct varieties of the same language that are in complementary functional distribution (Ferguson, 1959). On the other hand, Maamouri (1998: 33-34) claims that; " the *fusha* and the sum of all the colloquial in use in the Arab region represent 'the Arabic continuum' known under the ambiguous term commonly referred to as ' the Arabic language'".

The standard form of Arabic differs considerably from colloquial Arabic in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary. According to Lipinski (1997: 75)²⁵, such diglossia started its emergence by the end of the sixth century when oral poets recited their poetry in a proto- Classical Arabic based on archaic dialects which differed greatly from their own (cf. also Vollers 1906; Wehr 1952; Diem 1973;, cited in Fisher 1997: 188).

Some scholars such as Parkinson (1991) are interested in the perception of MSA by people, but not in categorizing levels (Mitchell 1986, Badawi 1973, amongst many). In this view, he writes that: " many of our problems in describing it [Arabic] stem from the fact that it forms a relatively broad but indeterminate section of a much bigger continuum, and while there is a general agreement about the continuum, there is little agreement about where the natural breaks are".(Parkinson, 1991: 60). And in terms of ideology, he (1991b: 48) asserts that MSA is:

²⁵ Mentioned in Watson, J. (2002). *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic*. Oxford University Press. New York. USA.

An imperfectly known, but functional, part of most Arabs' communicative lives, associated with a rather high degree of linguistic insecurity, both respected and revered to the degree that it is viewed as a close relative or descendent of Classical Arabic, and despised and denigrated to the degree that it is taken to be a degeneration of Classical Arabic.

In all the Arab communities, the language of education and particularly in public education is supposed to be MSA, but a number of important barriers do exist, and therefore may lead to a lack of interest in MSA from the part of learners. The most important ones are: teachers' incompetence and the existence of a diglossic situation in all Arab schools.

1.6.1. MSA and Education

There is a growing body of awareness that the area of teaching the Arabic language remains controversial, mainly because of the differences between the two varieties in terms of lexicon, phonology, syntax and grammar. Typically, MSA is first encountered in schools and can be perceived almost as a second language (Ayari, 1996; Ibrahim, 1997). In this sense, Maamouri (1998) argues that MSA is not easy to learn and use for, it is nobody's native language. In addition, he claims that MSA and dialectal Arabic code-switching constitute a major cause of serious pedagogical problems that can result in an inadequate language competence, low linguistic self-confidence and consequent social problems.

Indeed, the state of MSA in Arabic classrooms is very intricate. This intricacy lies in the intermingling of Arabic language patterns. Such a matter may certainly lead to "pedagogical problems and even to linguistic insecurity in formal school communication among high number of young Arab learners" as asserted by Maamouri (1998: 40). Furthermore, the prominent Egyptian writer Taha Hussein (in Maamouri, 1998) indicates that teachers of *fushħa* do not possess enough knowledge to communicate the subject matter to their pupils in an efficient way. One of the major reasons standing

behind poor efficiency of communicating the message to pupils in MSA is said to lie in the lack of fluency and knowledge as well as motivation in teaching it.

Maamouri (ibid) proposed an establishment of training programmes for Arabic teachers by the educational authorities in order to improve the level of their reading standards. He also stresses the importance of this measure because when the Arabic course teachers demonstrate a high fluency in the language of instruction (MSA), the pupils will inevitably follow their example, and will certainly be encouraged to learn from them. Illiterate Arabs and especially Arab school children may probably stop believing that the Arabic language is difficult to be learned.

1.6.2. Exposure of Arab Pupils to MSA

One important issue that characterizes Arab formal education, as already mentioned, is that the language of instruction differs significantly from pupils' mother tongue. It is obvious that all Arab parents use the colloquial forms of Arabic when conversing with their off spring at home, and therefore MSA is no one's mother tongue and it is almost never used in day-to-day communication, while the text books in schools are based on the literary language. Consequently, Arab children first encounter MSA in schools. Outside the school milieu, their exposure to MSA is confined to educational and TV programmes such as cartoons and documentaries, or literary events depending on the environment to which the child belongs. In addition, children hear their parents pray in CA and their siblings do their homework in MSA.

Some researchers like Ayari (1996) and Maamouri (1998) relate the high rate of illiteracy in the Arab speaking countries to the diglossia phenomenon which is believed to have a negative impact on Arab children's academic attainment in general. As a matter of fact, Dakwar (2005: 77-78) claims that: "there is an urgent need for greater understanding of the diglossic situation within the educational context, and its impact on learning, whether school-based or through informal structures".

Abu- Rabia (2000), a prominent Arab scholar proposed that reading complexities in elementary schools are attributed to Arabic diglossia for, the language used as a

medium of instruction differs from the colloquial forms used at home. In his study, Abu- Rabia compared the performance of reading comprehension between first and second grade children who had been experimentally exposed to MSA throughout their preschool period. He found that early exposure of Arab preschool children to MSA may improve their performance in reading comprehension tests two years later. In this view, Abu-Rabia (2000: 149) says that: “reading skills in the early years of a child’s life are essential for the acquisition of knowledge in later schooling.” He (ibid: 155) continued by suggesting that:

- a) policy makers may incorporate this pedagogy in all preschool years as part of the curriculum.
- b) educating elementary school teachers and kindergarten teachers in diglossic issues and,
- c) the recommendation that teachers at all levels use literary Arabic as the language of instruction.

Another investigation concerning the performance of kindergarten and first grade pupils on phonemic awareness tasks was done by Saiegh Haddad (2003) who noticed that when the phoneme was standard and embedded in a standard word syllabic structure, the initial phoneme’s isolation was a hard task mainly for kindergarten children. This is due to limited exposure and practice with standard Arabic phonemes.

The mixture of literary and spoken patterns inside Arab classrooms enhances the insecurity of young pupils who seem confused by what constitutes the standard form of Arabic and what does not. Sometimes, pupils borrow colloquial forms to fill in lexical or grammatical gaps because they lack knowledge in MSA. For Maamouri (1998:41):

The situation is more complex in the Maghreb where the same needs lead to the incursion of local colloquial forms, French-based borrowings, but also interdialectal borrowings coming from the Arabic colloquials which are brought into their learning environment by an important movie presence from Egypt and Syria.

Essentially, the involvement of parents in educating their children is of crucial importance. According to Maamouri (1998), it is important for parents to read to their children early and often in order to improve their reading skill. He also believes that illiterate parents constitute a serious obstacle to the creation of an early literate environment for a young child. In the same vein, Abu-Rabia (2012: 2) asserts that “there is a widespread agreement that joint parent-preschooler reading is a highly beneficial parental practice that promotes the acquisition of literacy-related knowledge and, consequently, paves the way for successful achievement”. He (ibid) also suggests that if parents read to their children at an early stage on purpose and in a pleasurable atmosphere, reading process becomes a more natural effective means of promoting literacy acquisition than are more traditional curricula.

1.7. Language Attitudes

The study of language attitudes was recognized in the branch of sociolinguistics in the mid-1960s and it has its roots in different disciplines including the social psychology of language, sociology of language, anthropological linguistics, communication and discourse analysis. This topic is of central concern in the social psychology of language as it brings a touch of reality in understanding the nature of language use and variation.

1.7.1. The Concept of ‘Attitude’

Broadly speaking, an attitude can be defined as a positive or negative evaluation of individuals, objects, events, ideas and activities. People, in general show their evaluation of situations through their reactions in various ways: identification with the situation, disagreeing with it, liking it or disliking it.

The concept of ‘attitude’ is viewed by Sarnoff (1970: 279)²⁶ as “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects”. This predisposition contains different components that make up attitudes:

²⁶ Quoted in Edwards, J. (1982:20).

- a) A cognitive element which is a mental component that refers to the knowledge of the object in question.
- b) An affective element which is an emotional component representing a feeling towards that object.
- c) A behavioural element which is the action component and a reaction to this specific object.

The concept of 'attitude' occupies a key position in the field of social psychology and means broadly "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties and their speakers". (Ryan & Giles, 1982:7). In fact, research on language attitudes has focused on describing the attitudes of people towards foreign languages in general, or towards the social or regional dialects of a given language, and along with this towards the speakers of these languages.

Many theories have developed to explain the nature of language attitudes, but the most well-known are: the behaviourist view in which attitudes are viewed simply as single units and are found in the responses people make to social situations, i.e., attitudes according to this view can be seen directly in people's responses to social stimuli. A second view of attitudes is called the mentalist view in which attitudes are seen as internal units located in the human mind, i.e., attitudes consist of a three-component model as it is shown in the figure below:

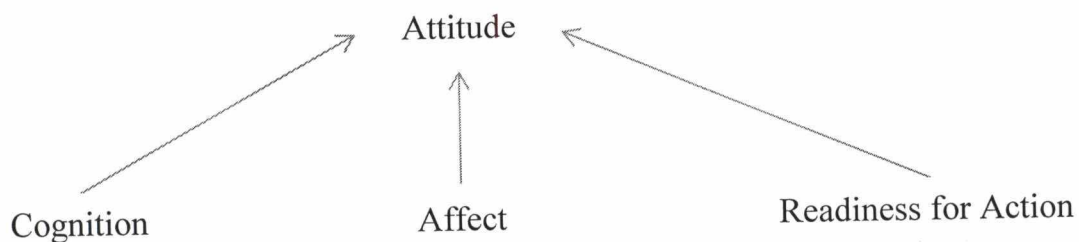


Figure 1.2: A three-component model of attitude. (Baker 1992:13)

In communities where several languages or dialects co-exist, people may have positive or negative attitudes towards the users of these languages or language varieties and, as Trudgill (1992: 44) argues, these attitudes "may range from very favourable to very unfavourable, and may be manifested in subjective judgments about the

‘correctness’, worth, and aesthetic qualities of varieties, as well as about the personal qualities of their speakers”.

Language attitudes have been studied from different perspectives in different disciplines, and that is why, researchers have used different methods and data. There are essentially three main techniques for investigating language attitudes: *the societal treatment method* which does not involve asking respondents for their opinions about things, but rather includes observation. *The direct method* has often been used to study the attitudes of people towards languages or dialects and people are simply asked to report self-analytically about their attitudes. The last method is *the indirect method* meaning that the respondents do not know that their language attitudes are being investigated.

This latter method also known as ‘the matched-guise technique’ is assumed to be the most commonly used technique in the study of language attitudes. It was conducted by Lambert and his associates (1967) in French Canada in an attempt to elicit subjects’ attitudes towards speakers of languages and not the languages in question. In reality, such a technique aims at eliciting information from the subjects by making them listen to a piece of speech produced by the same speaker in various guises while the subjects in question do not guess that the speaker is for all guises the same individual. The informants will certainly have reactions and different attitudes towards ‘each speaker’.

1.7.2. Attitudes towards Diglossia

In the Arab world, researchers have shown little interest in the study of language attitudes towards the varieties of Arabic and foreign languages in comparison with those of the western world. Indeed, Arab researchers seem to agree with Ferguson’s (1959) functional division of H and L, and generally take for granted the prestige value of the high variety.

As opposed to the western world where the standard variety of a language is highly evaluated by most people for its association with power and dominance, in the

Arabic-speaking communities, the evaluation is quite different. People reflect positive attitudes towards the high variety for its undeniable status as the language of the Holy Qur'an and *the ḥadeeth* (traditions) of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him).

As previously mentioned, diglossia is a sociolinguistic phenomenon, where, in a given society, two distinct varieties of the same language are used in different domains to fulfill different functions. One variety has high prestige and is generally used by government, administration, in religion and education, while the low variety lacks prestige and serves as a daily-life communication vehicle.

In the Algerian context, MSA, a quite simplified version of CA is the 'supra-language' due to its association with religion, literature and education and is never used for everyday life interaction. It is therefore evident that children may display different attitudes towards this particular variety once in contact with school because they do not acquire it naturally from birth. Arabs in general, perceive the high variety as the 'real' language, *al Lughā* as it is often referred to by ordinary people, by contrast to their vernaculars which are commonly viewed as 'incorrect', 'vulgar' and 'deficient'. Ennaji (1991: 12) says in this respect; "for most Maghrebins, governments and people alike, Dialectal Arabic is a corrupt or incorrect form of Arabic which is useless in important matters".

While Classic diglossia deals with two varieties of the same language, Fishman (1967) introduces the concept of 'extended diglossia'. In bilingual communities such as Algeria, it is common to find people displaying different attitudes towards the two prestigious competing codes i.e. Arabic and French. Fishman (1967), an outstanding figure in sociolinguistics, proposes the term 'extended diglossia' where in the same speech community two genetically unrelated languages co-exist and are used for specific domains. In the Algerian community, speakers, even uneducated ones show positive attitudes towards MSA because of its tight relation to Islam and its consideration as the language of the Arab nation and mainly that of education. The French language is also considered as prestigious, for its consideration by many, and especially by the youth as a symbol of modernity and global communication.

In another vein and in an investigation on Palestinian children's attitudes in first, second and third grade towards MSA within the formal educational context of the school, Dakwar (2005) finds that children demonstrate a decreased enjoyment in learning MSA as far as their grade level increases. This is mainly due to the diglossic character of the Arabic language. According to her, these children also have a limited exposure to MSA, in comparison to children from the rest of the Arab world. Additionally, and more recently, Abu-Rabia (2012) tested the effect of parental attitudes towards reading behaviour, and the learning environment on their children's reading achievements. He therefore, suggests that parents' supportive attitudes have a significant positive influence on the reading performance of their children in first grade.

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter has emphasized the necessity to describe the phenomenon of diglossia in general and that of Arabic in particular in relation to education. The aim in our case is to show the effects of this sociolinguistic phenomenon on pupils' linguistic performance. Furthermore, the present chapter is also devoted to clarify such basic concepts as LP which touched many fields notably that of education. In fact, one of LP applications is the decision about which language to use in schools as a medium of formal instruction.

The present chapter is also an overview of some aspects of language contact such as bilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing. It has eventually dealt with the status of MSA in the Arab world, in addition to the notion of language attitudes. Yet, examination of the fieldwork results is still needed for more detailed explanation.

The next chapter will provide a touch of reality about the sociolinguistic situation in the Algerian speech community thanks to the helpful survey of the relevant sociolinguistic concepts mentioned above.

CHAPTER TWO

Chapter Two: The Algerian Sociolinguistic Profile

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2.3. Language Repertoires in Algeria

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2.3.3. French

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2.4.1. The Process of Arabisation

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2.6. Conclusion

2.1. Introduction

Until recently, there has been a tendency among politicians, journalists and critics on the explanation and analysis of the current Algerian sociolinguistic profile which appears to be quite intricate. Indeed, this intricacy has not sprung overnight, but rather with evolutions through epochs and ages. Thus, for a better understanding of this complex situation, the present chapter aims at throwing some light on the successive events that Algeria has gone through, and at bringing into focus the well-established phenomenon of diglossia and its effect on the educational sphere.

Our ambition in this chapter is also to invite the reader to have a glimpse at language repertoires in Algeria that appear in their different forms, in addition to the numerous sociolinguistic phenomena that occur when two or more languages get into contact (such as bilingualism and code-switching). We will also deal with the most decisive historical fact that characterizes all the Maghreb countries in North Africa namely, 'Arabisation' with special reference to the Algerian speech community.

2.2. Algeria: A Glance at History

The Algerian history occurred in the fertile coastal plain of North Africa called the Maghreb. It is generally agreed among historians that the original inhabitants of Algeria were the Berbers called at that time the Numidians who used the Tamazight language, which in turn, gave birth to the numerous Berber varieties still spoken today in a few areas of the country. Furthermore, historians of the Middle Ages believed that the Berbers were divided into two branches²⁸ (Botr and Banés), descended from Mawigh ancestors who were themselves divided into tribes and again into sub-tribes. The large Berber tribes are Sanhadja, Houaras, Zenata, Masmouda, Kutama, Awarba, and Berghwata.

However, the fact that provoked an identity problem is that the Berbers' history was written in the language of their colonizers (Greek and Latin under the Roman

²⁸ Cited in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/history_of_Algeria accessed to on March 25th 2013 at 12.10

occupation in particular), but not in their proper language. In this period, the Berber kings wrote a foreign language that showed clearly “their total linguistic and cultural assimilation”. (Dendane 2007:77).

The early inhabitants settled 1000 BC and survived various successive invasions through time: First, the Roman conquest lasted more than six centuries and the Berber opposition to the Roman was nearly constant. The Vandals in 455AD were the next to invade Algeria, but their cultural and linguistic influences were not strong because of the short period they spent in the area. Then the Byzantines put an end to the Vandals domination in around 555 AD after a settlement that lasted more than one century until Arabs' invasion. The decline in trade resulted in a weak control from the part of Romans. Therefore, independent kingdoms soon emerged in desert areas and mountains, and the Berbers who had been previously marginalized by the Romans, returned to their lands.

The arrival of the Arabs in the seventh century AD (1st century in the Islamic calendar, the Hegira) resulted in the expansion of Islam. It was a significant event for the future of all the North African nations, as they went beyond remarkable shifts from the linguistic, religious and socio-cultural viewpoints. The new religion and language paved the way to the dominance of Arabic over the other existing language varieties. At that time, the Berbers of the cities began adopting Arabic gradually, while the Berbers of some isolated and remote areas stick to their ancestral languages. Most Berbers accepted Arabic mainly for its tight association with Islam. However, the newly converted Berber population had to make remarkable efforts to learn Arabic since prayers, sermons and Qur'an were performed in this language which was perceived as sacred. As a result, Algeria became part of the Arab nation 'al 'Umma L 'Arabiyya' because Arabic shortly emanated as a symbol of Arab-Islamic identity. Kh. Taleb Ibrahim (1997:23) describes the first Arabisation and the perception of Arabic by making the assertion that:

Algeria is arab and has proclaimed itself arab and arabophone since the arrival of the successive waves of arab *fātihin* who then, with the Islamisation of the Maghreb, have permitted its arabisation. An arabisation which had been done slowly and over a long period, since the year of Okba Ibn Nafaa in the 7th century to the late one of Hilali tribes.²⁹

Then, in the 11th century with the coming of *Banu Hilal* tribes, the region witnessed a linguistic change. These tribes spoke a kind of rural Arabic and since their arrival in Algeria, two varieties of Arabic co-existed together: the rural variety spoken by *Banu Hilal* and an urban variety used by the first Arab Muslims in the cities. After the emergence of Arab scientists, poets and philosophers from the Maghreb, the Arabic language became definitely the language of science and technology and that of the whole area. Today, Algerians honor famous names such as Imru- al Qais (Arab poet), al-Khawarizmi (mathematician and developer of arithmetic and algorithm), Ibn Khaldoun (father of social science), and Ibn Sina (father of medicine).

Spanish and Turkish invasions too contributed in the linguistic diversity of the region, though to a much lesser extent. Under the regency of *Khair ad Din* called Barbarossa (a Turkish captain of the Ottoman Mediterranean fleet), Algeria was an Ottoman Empire province for a period of 300 years. At that time, Turkish became the official language and Arabs and Berbers were locked out of the government. It was in 1671 that a new leader called a *Dey* took control over Algeria. Nevertheless, these invasions have left weak linguistic traces which can be found particularly in urban speech and contain some borrowed words such as [maʕadnous], from Turkish meaning 'parsley' or [sberdina] from Spanish, meaning 'shoes' respectively.

In 1830, Algeria witnessed the starting of one of the longest and most effective linguistically invasions of its history, the French colonization which lasted more than a century. Soon after the French settlement, the new government attempted several tactics to establish control over the region and one of the major aims of the colonizer was to make Algeria a department of France (department d'outre-mer), and to erase

²⁹ L'Algérie est arabe et se proclame arabe et arabophone depuis l'arrivée des vagues successives arabes qui ont donc, avec l'islamisation permis son arabisation. Une arabisation qui s'est faite lentement et sur une longue période, depuis l'année d'Okba Ibn Nafaa au 7^{ème} siècle à celle plus tardive des tribus hilaliennes. (Translation is mine).

the nation's identity at all levels, namely, cultural, political, religious and linguistic. In 1832, the Duke of Rovigo, as cited in (Berrabah, 1999: 44), pointed out that the most effective way of possessing the country was to destroy the Algerian's language when he declared: "I look at the propagation of instruction and of our language as an effective means to do progress at our domination in this country".³⁰

Therefore, one of the fundamental purposes of the ruler's policy was to erase Arabic cultures and to impose French as the "only language of civilization and advancement" (Bourhis, 1982: 44). At the beginning, it was quite hard to completely de-arabise the Algerian state, due to the existence of Koranic schools and mosques. However, the lack of Arabic educational institutions and the rapid establishment of French schools compelled many Algerian parents to seize the opportunity for their offspring to enter the modern world and to avoid illiteracy through education in French. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a radical change of attitudes among many Algerians towards the French school. Kh. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997: 37) states that:

The beginning of this century will see a change of attitude towards the school; from fierce refusal, Algerians proceed to a vehement claim for the right of schooling.³¹

However, right after the First World War, there was a strong value of nationalism among Algerians. In November 1st, 1954, the National Liberation Front *FLN* launched a military revolution, calling for independence. After a long and brutal war, Algeria got formally its independence on July 5th, 1962. This was a major turning point in the history of Algeria.

The newly independent country was characterized by a linguistic diversity, and thus it was necessary to compose a unified nation with a single religion, a single political party and a single language. Despite the fact that MSA was declared as the

³⁰ Je regarde la propagation de l'instruction et de notre langue comme le moyen le plus efficace de faire des progrès à notre domination dans ce pays. (Translation is mine).

³¹ Le début de ce siècle verra un changement d'attitude vis-à-vis de l'École ; du refus farouche, les Algériens passent à la revendication véhémement du droit à la scolarisation. (Translation is mine).

official and national language of the independent state, French continued to resist in many fields such as education and administration and left its traces in AA and Berber which were the spoken varieties used by the indigenous people.

2.3. Language Repertoires in Algeria

The numerous conquests by peoples from different cultures and identities had a great impact on Algeria's linguistic landscape. In fact, Algeria is one of the Arabic-speaking communities which constitutionally define Arabic as the official language of the country, and thus as the medium of formal instruction. However, Algeria is a complex linguistic state. Its complexity lies in the co-existence of more than one language, each with its different varieties at play:

- Classical Arabic (CA) with its modern form MSA;
- A wide range of Algerian Arabic varieties;
- The indigenous Berber varieties scattered in a number of areas in the country;
- Spanish and Turkish in the form of borrowings, in addition to French.

The sub-sections below attempt to shed some light on today's linguistic repertoires present on the Algerian scene.

2.3.1. The Arabic Language

Arabic, a Semitic language has spread throughout Algeria with the coming of Islam, and thus, Arabic soon emerges as a symbol of Arabo-Islamic identity due to the strong links between the language and religion. The Arabic language has a privileged position, as it is the language of the Holy Qur'an, the *Hadeeth* and the language of refined literature and sciences.

Algeria is part of the Arabic nation since Arabic is spoken by almost all Algerians, even Berbers. All these communities use distinct varieties of Arabic, which Ferguson (1959) distinguishes as High and Low varieties, in different social contexts and each has different functions. In fact, linguists usually consider three major variants

of Arabic which may appear in Classical Arabic (CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and Dialectal Arabic also called Algerian Arabic (AA).

CA is the language of the Qur'an and the language used in pre-Islamic poetry which is still preserved. It is then considered as a living language used in some specific domains that are limited to:

- a) Religious purposes (reading of the Qur'an, Friday Sermons, etc.)
- b) The language of a large body of literature (prose and especially poetry).

MSA has been categorized as a simplified version of CA, though in reality, phonological, morphological and syntactic structures are practically the same. What is referred to as Standard Arabic is indeed, the essential instrument and vehicle of the sacred message of Islamic law 'Share'ah'. MSA is the formal language that is written and spoken in certain contexts in Algeria and it is used in different spheres like government, education and administration. It is also the common variety that serves as a lingua franca³² across the Arabic-speaking world. In the third article of the Algerian constitution, Arabic is designated as the official language of the state and consequently, it is declared as the medium of instruction in all educational institutions.

AA also known as 'al-darija', is the sum total of the various regional dialects found throughout the country. These dialects share a high degree of mutual intelligibility with each other and with other dialects of the Maghreb (Tunisia, Morocco, etc.), particularly with the age of easier communication (TV, telephone, etc). AA incorporates many foreign lexical items, particularly, those French borrowings that are integrated in the everyday practices of all Algerian speakers.

2.3.1.1. MSA as the Official Language

After more than 130 years of colonization, after the departure of the French, a whole nation was formed in an environment saturated by a language of violence and discrimination. Therefore, Algeria as a free nation had an urgent need to regain its

³² A shared language of communication used by people whose main languages are different.

Arab and Muslim identity and hence, it was faced with a dilemma as to the choice of which national and official language was going to represent it. Indeed, "the choice of a 'national' and 'official' language might appear, at first sight, to be a very simple one" (Benmoussat 2003:109), but in Algeria it was quite hard. On the one hand, French was considered as a symbol of 'dark years' and on the other, Arabic is the language of the holy Qur'an and of identity. Therefore, various reasons have contributed to the choice of Arabic. First, Classical Arabic is identified as the language of Qur'an and that of the pre-Islamic poetry before French colonization took place. Secondly, MSA, a modern version of CA is highly codified and consequently, it is perceived as the idealized and highest form. In addition, Arabic was a standard language used in all formal contexts in Algeria before the French invasion and finally, it was the current prestigious language shared by all the other Arabic-speaking communities due to its religious value. All these important reasons have led to the choice of Arabic as the national and official language of what is known today as 'independent Algeria'.

Admittedly, all Algerian constitutions (1963, 1976, 1996) proclaim that "Islam is the religion of the state" and that "Arabic is the national and official language of the state". (Bouamrane 1990: 52). This is clearly stated below:

Constitution de 1963 [abrogée]	
<p>Article 4</p> <p>L'islam est la religion de l'Etat. La République garantit à chacun le respect de ses opinions et de ses croyances, et le libre exercice des cultes.</p> <p>Article 5</p> <p>La langue Arabe est la langue nationale et officielle de l'Etat.</p>	
Constitution de 1976[abrogée]	
<p>Article 2</p> <p>L'islam est la religion de l'Etat.</p> <p>Article 3</p> <p>L'Arabe est la langue nationale et officielle. L'Etat œuvre à généraliser l'utilisation de la langue nationale au plan officiel.</p>	
Constitution de 1996[en vigueur]	
<p>Article 2</p> <p>L'islam est la religion de l'Etat.</p> <p>Article 3</p> <p>L'Arabe est la langue nationale et officielle.</p> <p>Article 178</p> <p>Toute révision constitutionnelle ne peut porter atteinte :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- au caractère républicain de l'Etat ; 2- à l'ordre démocratique, basé sur le multipartisme ; 3- à l'islam, en tant que religion de l'Etat ; 4- à l'arabe, comme langue nationale et officielle ; 5- aux libertés fondamentales, aux droits de l'homme et du citoyen ; 6- à l'intégrité et à l'unité du territoire nationale. 	

#Islam is the state religion; Arabic is the national and official language

(in Dendane, 2010: 53)

In Algeria MSA enjoys high prestige. Indeed, its prestige is derived from CA, the language of the Holy Qur'an. It is the prevailing variety in all religious sermons and used as mentioned before, as the medium of instruction in the different educational institutions such as schools, universities, institutes, etc. In addition to this, it is used as the language of TV news and programmes, newspapers, magazines and books, etc. MSA is not inherent or natural; it is therefore, no one's mother tongue because it is not acquired naturally from birth. Algerian children painlessly acquire their local vernacular (AA) in contact with their parents and their siblings, but MSA is learned later when they have access to the benefits of formal schooling. There is a prevailing

feeling among most Algerian people that it is artificial and not workable to use MSA for daily life.

2.3.1.2. AA as a Mother Tongue

Another form of Arabic called Algerian Arabic (AA) is the mother tongue of the majority of Algerians which displays much variation from one region to another, and though regionally characterized by different accents, the varieties are mutually intelligible among all speakers on the Algerian soil. AA, also known as ‘al-darija’, or ‘al-ammiya’ meaning ‘habitual’ and ‘popular’ respectively, is the basis of oral communication and it is used in a spontaneous way by Algerian speakers to express their feelings and thoughts, and to communicate.

Algerian dialects are considered as variants originating from geographical differences under colonial influences of Spanish, French and Turkish and consequently, significant local variations (in pronunciation, grammar, etc.) exist in AA. Examples of differences can be observed in towns like Jijel where the phoneme /q/ is pronounced [k], while in Oran, it is produced as [g] and in Tlemcen as the glottal stop [ʔ].

Moreover, there is a strong similarity between AA and the colloquial forms used in the other Maghreb countries by contrast to the spoken varieties of Egypt, the Middle East or those of the Arabian Peninsula. Nevertheless, all spoken varieties are described in terms of ‘diglossia relationship’ (Ferguson 1959a) vis-à-vis CA/MSA with clearly distinct functions. AA differs from MSA at all linguistic levels namely: phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical, without mentioning all the details. This can be illustrated by the following instances:

- a. Phonological: under the universal phenomenon called the ‘law of least effort’ (Martinet 1964a), speakers tend to make it easier for them to produce utterances. This can result in a number of phenomena, among which elision and assimilation are central:

1. Elision: as in [k'təb] in AA for CA [kataba] where the vowel/a/ is dropped, meaning 'he wrote'.
 2. Assimilation: as in /'ʕasala/ → [χ'səl] , meaning ' he has washed' in which /ʕ/ → [χ], as a result of regressive assimilation of voicing, i.e./ʕ/ loses its voicing before the voiceless fricative /s/ after the vowel drop.
 3. Diphthong realized as a long vowel: While CA /ʔajna/ is realized [fain] in Tlemcen, it is pronounced [fi:n] and [wi:n] in other varieties.
- b. Morphological: for instance, the inflections referring to the dative and causative cases are not used in daily speech. Speakers can only be conscious of these if they know the rules of *iʕrāb* of CA which are learned at school, and the persons who are familiar with them may use them solely in formal situations. For example the CA utterance / taka'llamtu maʕa lmuʕa'llimi/ is realized as [tklləmt mʕa l'muʕa'llim] even in a 'formal form' of AA. This is simply due to the general phenomenon called 'pause form'.
- c. Syntactic: a high number of syntactic structures are simplified in AA. The basic sentence structure in CA is normally a VSO, while in AA it usually takes the form of SVO, as in /nazāħa ə'ttilmi:ðu fil ʔiχtiba:ri/ in CA, but is realized as [ə-ttlmi:d nzaħ f 'liχtiba:r] in 'semi-formal' AA.
- d. Lexical: a great number of French words and expressions have become part of the Algerian speech, in particular those lexical items related to technical fields or imported articles of which people are at a loss if asked to find the equivalent words such as *tournevis* 'screw-driver' or *mandat* 'mandate'. There are also some borrowed words from CA or MSA in AA as a consequence of the process of Arabisation. The word [dawla] has replaced, though not to a large extent, the French word *l'état*, 'the state'.

In traditional dialectology, AA was viewed as Sedentary vs. Bedouin. The Algerian sedentary dialects are split into inter-linked types: the urban dialects or the

mountain or the village ones. The village dialects are commonly found in the mountains of Msirda and Trara in the department of Oran as well as the department of Constantine which corresponds to Eastern Kabylia, including Djidjelli, Mila and Collo. Urban dialects, on the other hand are implanted in the long established cities of: Tlemcen, Nedroma, Algiers, Cherchell, Tenes, Blida, Meliana, Skikda, Medea and Dellys (Bourdieu, 1961).

However, the Bedouin dialects are used everywhere else in Algeria, except in regions where the Sedentary dialects were implanted long before the arrival of the Arab Nomads *Banu Hilāl* in the mid-eleventh century. Thus, rural speech is commonly spoken in places like Eastern Algeria, the department of Oran, and in the South where sedentary speech is almost absent.

As already mentioned, due to the long occupation by the French, AA is highly influenced by lexical items from French. Indeed, French is “strongly implanted at the lexical level”, as Bouhadiba (1998:162) claims. As a matter of fact, many people show hesitation in identifying AA as the true variety due to the insertion of a significant amount of French words. Moreover, the co-existence of another indigenous variety called ‘Berber’ makes the Algerian linguistic issue more complicated.

2.3.2. Berber

Historians commonly believe that Berber is the indigenous language used by the early inhabitants of Algeria before the Arab conquest. Such variety is part of the Hamitic grouping within the Afro-Asiatic language family. The Berber-speaking population is concentrated mainly in mountainous areas of Kabylia, Aurés, the Mزاب and the Sahara and thus, different Berber varieties are spoken in different regions in Algeria, among which Tamazight constitutes one of the principal components of the Algerian identity (preamble of the 1996 constitution).

Yet, the Algerian government amended the constitution in October 2001 to make Tamazight a ‘national’ language but not an ‘official’ one (the official declaration was made on April 10th, 2002). However, this decision did not seem to satisfy Berbers as

they sought equality between the status of Arabic and Tamazight. In addition, the constitutional amendment did not change any condition in the principles of the Algerian state and no positive action had been undertaken in favour of Berber.

In spite of the widespread Arabisation which accompanied the Muslim settlement that took place mostly during 7th and the 11th century, the Berber varieties scattered in some regions throughout the country have been preserved. Berber is also spoken in Morocco and Tunisia and words³³ like 'afus', 'ixef' and 'ul' meaning 'hand', 'head' and 'heart' respectively are part of the Berbers' verbal repertoire.

Previously, Berber appeared on the national TV for the purpose of delivering daily news in a short time once or twice a day. In 2009, a whole Berber-speaking satellite channel was launched and in addition to TV, Berber also appears in radio stations and some newspapers.

As far as education is concerned, Berber has been introduced as a free subject into the school curriculum, and the basic law specifies that interested learners are free to choose which Berber variety to learn. This remains the main problem facing Kabylia because of the lack of consensus on which form should be held in high esteem. A political decision with an orientation to impose the teaching of Berber varieties is not clear-cut and an attitude of non-refusal and non-reluctance on the part of Arabophones is not guaranteed. Linguists go further when they assert that Algeria is a multilingual country on the basis of the existence of French which is a linguistic inheritance from the colonial period.

2.3.3. French

French, a language worthy of consideration, has been introduced in the Algerian linguistic landscape as a result of the French colonization for more than a century. Under the slogan *l'Algérie française* (French Algeria), France implemented a deliberate, well-organized policy with the ultimate aim of total assimilation. As a matter of fact, during the occupation and afterwards, French was imposed as the

³³ In http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berber_languages accessed to on March 28th 2013 at 19:49.

official language of Algeria, and the Algerian social and cultural structures were violently shaken up by the French policy as Kh. T. Ibrahimi (1997:42-43) argues:

French, language imposed in violence on the Algerian population, has constituted one of the fundamental elements used by France in its policy of depersonalization and acculturation towards Algeria.³⁴

Therefore, the Algerian population was so extensively influenced linguistically during the period of colonization, that today more than fifty years after independence (1962), the host language continues to play an important role in spoken as well as written domains. Hence, French became rooted in Algeria and still enjoys a high status here. Moreover, today, French loanwords are integrated in both the spoken forms of AA and Berber dialects.

Though French is now politically regarded as the first 'foreign' language from a linguistic standpoint, it echoes the function of co-official language alongside Standard Arabic. French is present in a great deal of prestigious domains such as education, administration and government as well as in the mass-media, TV and Radio broadcasting (Alger Chaîne3), newspapers (Le Quotidien, Liberté, Le Soir, etc.) and magazines.

Despite the fact that French is not recognized as an official language in the country, it remains an important language because it is taught as a compulsory subject starting from the third grade in primary education. Today, this language is considered as an important tool everywhere and in all domains. It is present in the street, home, school and participates in the Algerian background. In addition, today's younger generations show positive attitudes towards French for its association with progress and modernism and its consideration as an important means of communication with the external world.

³⁴ Le français, langue imposée au peuple algérien dans la violence, a constitué un des éléments fondamentaux utilisés par la France dans sa politique de dépersonnalisation et d'acculturation à l'égard de l'Algérie. (Translation is mine).

However, in reaction to the French cultural and linguistic imperialism, which attempted to suppress the Algerian identity, the political leaders and successive governments committed themselves to promote MSA, the variety that is learned at school and certainly not much used by Algerian people for everyday communication purposes through a process referred to in the literature as “Arabisation” or “re-Arabisation”.

2.4. The Arabisation Policy

Just after independence, the newly free country was confronted with the critical issue related to the reality that French was imposed during the period of occupation as the only official language. For returning to the Arab-Islamic cultural identity and the national personality, the new political leaders launched a simple and rapid language policy that attempted to reinforce MSA as an official language of the state especially in the field of education through the process of ‘acquisition planning’. Such policy was called “Arabisation policy”, a term referring to the process of restoring and enhancing the use of MSA in many fields like administration, justice, media and education where probably the most significant measures have been taken. ‘Arabisation’, in the light of Kh. T. Ibrahimi’s view point,

is one of our fundamental options. It is not a matter of refusing the dialogue with other people and other civilizations; it is however, a matter of becoming ourselves, in order to root in our soil and our identity, for better assimilating after, what the others can bring of enrichment.³⁵

2.4.1. The Process of Arabisation

French in Algeria was so strongly used in the most important public and private sectors, that the plan which would renew the usage of MSA as the language of the nation was not an easy task. Indeed, the process of Arabisation did not consist only in altering French by Arabic, but also in establishing the requisite alternatives while

³⁵ Est une de nos options fondamentales. Il ne s’agit pas de refuser le dialogue avec les autres peuples et les autres civilisations ; il s’agit de redevenir nous-mêmes, de nous enraciner dans notre sol et dans notre peuple, pour mieux assimiler ensuite ce que les autres peuvent apporter d’enrichissement. (Translation is mine).

taking into consideration the recent functional transformations that the foreign language has exhibited in the whole country. Therefore, the procedure has gone through various stages that can be mirrored through different periods:

- From 1962 to 1965: On October 5th, 1962, the first president of Algeria Ahmed Ben Bella proclaimed his adherence to *al 'Umma l 'Arabiyya*, the Arab nation stating: “Nous sommes des Arabes” (we are Arabs). As previously mentioned, the Algerian constitution endorsed such ideological orientation: while *Article 2* indicates that “Islam is the religion of the state”, *Article 3* states that “Arabic is the national and official language”. Ahmed Ben Bella also claimed that at early schooling (1963), the selected official language (MSA) would be taught in parallel with French in primary school. Then, in accordance with the recommendation of the *F.L.N.* (Front of National Liberation) which focused on the urgent need to speed up Arabisation, MSA gained an important status since it became the variety used in the medium of education for the first years in the primary level at the beginning of the school years 1964-1965. However, the French language continued to be used in many other spheres such as government, law, administration, education, science, technology, etc. In this context, and on May 5th, 1965, Ahmed Benbella announced to *'Alger Républicain'*³⁶ that Arabisation was a necessity, but it did not mean to eradicate completely French as for him, the French language was an essential means to acquire and comprehend modern techniques.
- From 1965 to 1978: during this period, Houari Boumediène (1974), the second president of Algeria initiated the most radical processes and decided upon complete Arabisation as a national aim. According to him, the change of the Algerian citizen and the restoration of his identity should be done by an active continuation of the Arabisation programme, previously started by other political leaders and which is regarded as an essential instrument to bring back the national personality of the Algerian population which must emerge from the use of Arabic in all domains of economic, social and cultural life.

³⁶ *'Alger Républicain'* was a daily newspaper in that period.

In 1968, Houari Boumediène imposed Arabisation on the civil service; much the same occurred in the educational sphere. By the end of 1968, the third, fourth and fifth years of primary schools were partially arabised. In fact Arabisation consisted in a deliberate introduction of Arabic starting with the primary school and then, progressively in the social sciences and humanities subjects. Since 1971, MSA has replaced French as the medium of instruction in primary schools (Benmoussat, 2003) but the use of MSA as a language of instruction in schooling was not welcomed by the French elite. By late 1977 and early 1978, pedagogical and psychological sciences were taught in French. Mr. Lacheraf, minister of universities and scientific research, at that time, agreed on an urgent and total Arabisation, but not at random and in a fierce way.

- From 1979 to 1998: By the 1980's, MSA began to be introduced as the language of education in the entire primary school in some grades and some subjects at the secondary level. The article 15 of the law N91-05 of January 16th, 1991 impules the exclusive teaching of Arabic as it is shown below:

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.³⁷

The 'Fundamental School' was introduced in 1984. Such system gives pupils three years of middle education before entering secondary school. "This has resulted in low-quality education and a high drop-out rate". (Benmoussat 2003: 114). By the mid-1980s, Arabisation had begun to produce some measurable results. In the primary school, instruction was in MSA; however, French is still introduced as a compulsory foreign language starting from the third year of primary school. In secondary schools, Arabisation was conducted on a gradual basis. At the university level, Arabic was also

³⁷ Instruction, education and training in all the sectors, all the cycles and all the specialties are given in the Arabic language, subject to the methods of foreign language teaching. (Translation is mine).

integrated gradually in social sciences, law and economics, but scientific fields like biology, medicine, physics and mathematics were all, and still are, taught in French.

Moreover, this period witnessed some disturbances between Berbers and the Algerian government, particularly when the well-known Berber writer, Mouloud Mammeri was prohibited by the Algerian government from presenting a lecture in ancient Kabyle poetry at the university of Tizi-Ouzou. Consequently, Berber students organized demonstrations in Algiers and throughout Kabylia, calling for freedom of expression and for the recognition of Tamazight as a national and official language.

- From 2001 to 2002: On April 20th, 2001, the 'Cultural Berber Movement' was created as an opposition to the Arabisation of the education system and in response to the actual president Abdel Aziz Bouteflika's refusal to recognize officially the Tamazight language. In fact, the Berbers demanded the recognition of the Kabyle dialect as a primary national language; respect for Berber culture, and greater attention to the economic development of Kabylia and other Berber homelands. Hence, at the beginning of October 2001, president Bouteflika declared that Tamazight would be a national language of Algeria.
- From 2002 until now: In February, 2006, president Bouteflika ordered 40 French-language schools to be closed for causes of 'linguistic deviation' and 'anti-nationalism'. A few days later, the Algerian government granted the schools an exceptional additional time until the end of June 2006 to conform the law which makes them obliged to teach the same programmes as the public schools. The law remains partially applied and most directors of the French private schools posit that the purpose of their schools was to form Arabic-French bilinguals, so that they can follow normally their studies at the university where several streams are conducted in French. Therefore, parents who can afford educating their children in private French schools prefer to enroll them in these schools in order to ensure a bilingual education for them. Paradoxically, MSA is assigned a higher status in Arabisation over the

remaining linguistic varieties present in Algeria, mainly, dialectal Arabic, the different Berber varieties and French.

In another vein, during the school year of 2007-2008, Mr. Benbouzid, the ex-minister of education introduced a system in primary education that gives pupils only five –instead of six- years of primary education before getting access to middle schools. The final exam of primary education which took place in the sixth grade occurs actually in the fifth grade. It is therefore claimed by some head masters, that the omitted grade has been recovered by the so-called ‘preschool’ year. However the three years in the middle school have been displaced by four years of middle instruction, and thus, this system is still applicable by the recent minister of education, Mr. Baba Ahmed.

2.4.2. Issues of the Arabisation Policy

In Algeria, the fundamental aim of the Arabisation process was to move away French as the language of education and instruction and to substitute it by the Arabic language as Dorni (2009:285) puts it:

The selection of Arabic in language planning in Algeria has always been considered as an anti-colonial act against French, which was solely taught at primary, middle, secondary and university levels from 1830 to 1962.

The programme of Arabisation declared by the first president Ben Bella and his successors has encountered many obstacles. These various obstacles do not merely come out on the political and socio-cultural levels, but also on the linguistic level. In an analysis of the language policy in Algeria, Granguillaume (1998: 69) affirms that it has to face two conflicts: the first one lies between the literary language and French and the other is between Arabic and the indigenous varieties. Such conflict will be tackled in more details in section 2.5.1. He (ibid) says in this respect:

La mise en œuvre de la politique linguistique recelait deux conflits: l'un entre la langue arabe (littérale) et la langue française : l'autre masque entre cette langue arabe et les langues de la quotidienneté.³⁸

The Algerian political leaders attempted to resolve the problem by establishing gradually the project of Arabisation policy that would have to pass through a relatively long period of AA/French bilingualism as far as some important establishments were concerned, especially administration and education. For instance, in education, full Arabisation of elementary school was not attained until 1978 with the implementation of the 'Fundamental School'. Ten years later, secondary schools were also arabised and in higher levels, MSA was implemented step by step in spheres like social sciences, law and economics, but French was not cut off from scientific, medical and technological sections.

The shift to Arabic as the only medium of instruction in primary, middle and secondary education has led to serious problems. In fact, teachers at that period were not prepared to this sudden transition. They were known as 'Francophones' because of the French education they had received during the colonial era. The poor linguistic proficiency in Arabic made the task of explaining new concepts in Arabic very hard, mainly in content subjects such as mathematics, natural sciences and physics.

The Arabisation of the administration was also facing serious obstacles, as the institutions were run by a large number of Algerian employees who mastered French both in its written and spoken forms. In 1971³⁹, Arabisation was made compulsory for all grades in the administration. As a result, many functionaries switched to other professions due to their lack of proficiency in Arabic.

Yet, in spite of the efforts spent by decision-makers for the implementation of MSA in the Algerian educational and administrative system, the Arabisation process had been subject to criticism and was accused to have no scientific basis and as

³⁸ The implementation of the linguistic policy contained two conflicts: the one between the Arabic language (Literary Arabic) and the French language: the other, hides between this Arabic language and daily languages. (Translation is mine).

³⁹ The decision of January 20th 1971 stated that the knowledge of the national language would be compulsory.

responsible for the decline in pupils' educational achievements in general. Algerian policy makers themselves have witnessed shortcomings and weaknesses of the Arabisation procedure. Indeed, as Dendane (2007: 91) argues, "one of the important reasons for the malfunction of Arabisation in Algeria [...], is that the process has always been decided by the authorities not on a linguistic basis, but on political and ideological grounds".

Concerning the issue of the linguistic aspect of Arabisation, it is noteworthy that the tardy progress is mainly due to the bad organization of the 'Arabising' structures namely, the feeble pedagogical drilling and the lack of the necessary proficiency from the part of teachers for such a task. Another reason that engendered more difficulties in the implementation of the Arabisation process lies in the discrepancy between everyday speech of the Algerian population and MSA which was imposed by policy makers for Arabisation policy. In addition, the profound influence of French on many Algerians' everyday linguistic practices has led the French language to receive high prestige evaluations until recently. The co-existence of two varieties of Arabic clearly incarnates the phenomenon called 'diglossia' and the pervasive use of French has created a state of bilingualism. Accordingly, we will deal with the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria through these two linguistic phenomena in the next sections.

2.5. The Actual Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

The intricacy mirrored in today's linguistic situation in Algeria is the consequence of the diverse events that the country has gone through. Indeed, several factors have paved the way to such complexity, some being of historical nature, others political and some others socio-cultural. In addition to the co-existence of the Tamazight dialects scattered in a few areas throughout the country, in spite of the introduction of Arabic since the Islamic openings⁴⁰, the French language is still pervading the mother tongues of the majority of Algerians after more than half a century of independence.

⁴⁰ The introduction of Arabic started in the seventh century.

Oddly enough, MSA is recognized to be the official national language of the state, although it is no one's mother tongue. Its uses are almost reserved in particular formal contexts for specific purposes. On the other hand, French plays an essential role for day-to-day interaction and its presence is still observed in domains such as administration, commerce and education. In addition to this, a great number of regional dialects co-exist in parallel with a minority of Berber dialects.

The truth is that, in addition to the Berber varieties which represent the native tongue of a small ratio of today's Algerian population, a large number of Algerian Arabic local varieties co-exist side by side with the higher form called Modern Standard Arabic. This linguistic situation in which two distinct varieties are used in separate domains for different purposes is what Ferguson (1959) has originally termed 'diglossia'. At this level, it is of crucial importance to mention that our field of research is closely bounded to this sociolinguistic phenomenon in relation to the field of education.

In effect, the Algerian speech community not only reflects a diglossic case wherein two varieties of the same language are in a functional distribution (Ferguson 1959a), but also the linguistic phenomena that take place when different languages are in contact, i.e. bilingualism and its inevitable outcomes namely code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing. Dendane (2007: 68) says in this respect:

...the impact of the French language and its culture was so powerful that it started to reflect in many Algerians' speech and soon led to a sort of dual identity. The influence resulted in the usual linguistic phenomena that occur when two or more languages get in contact: the use of bilingualism and consequent code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing pervading the mother tongue in addition to the well-established phenomenon of diglossia.

In the section below, we shall try to highlight the varieties of Arabic that come into play in the Algerian society i.e. MSA and AA and that clearly express the phenomenon called 'diglossia'.

2.5.1 Diglossia in Algeria

Like all the rest of the Arab-speaking countries, diglossia in Algeria occurs through the existence of the H variety (MSA) side by side with the L variety, a daily conversation language. The former takes its normative rules from CA, the most elevated form being the language of the Holy Qur'an. It is the official language used in formal situations for high functions such as religious sermons, media and educational purposes. The latter is a local version of Arabic called Algerian Arabic, the vernacular or colloquial variety that people use in informal contexts such as family talk, market, streets, and cafés and generally for everyday speech.

Ferguson (1959) described the two varieties as compartmentalized, for they are used separately and serving specific functions. What is referred to as H is in Ferguson's terms, the:

Superimposed variety, [...] 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.⁴¹

Thus, MSA is that variety of Arabic which is related to the so-called CA, perceived as the super-standardized language with a huge prestige for its association with the Qur'an and with the language of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him). In addition, CA is considered as logical, beautiful and more aesthetic, and for all Arabs, it is *the language* 'al-lugha'. In this line of thought, Freeman (1996) says:

An important component of diglossia is that the speakers have the personal perception that the High variety is the 'real' language and that the Low variety is 'incorrect' usage. In Arabic, people talk about the High variety as being 'pure' Arabic and the dialects as being corrupt forms.

⁴¹ Cited in Giglioli ed. (1972: 245).

In fact, as mentioned many times in this research work, what is considered H is no one's mother tongue; it is a learned form accessible through schooling. Arabic speakers in particular, are aware of the differences between the High variety, which many call 'al-lugha' and the Low variety which is used in day-to-day communication. Marçais (1931) was among the pioneers who first tried to describe this linguistic dichotomy through the use of the term 'diglossie' stating that: "La langue arabe se présente à nous sur deux aspects sensiblement différents: 1) une langue littéraire...2) des idiomes parlés".⁴²

The Low variety which includes the sum total of regional dialects varying from one region to another and from city to city lacks prestige and in spite of its strong vitality as a mother tongue, it serves simply and mainly as a vehicle of daily communication. In order to write, Algerian people switch either to CA/MSA or French. It is important to note that the linguistic discourse of most Algerians continues to position MSA as the correct language and AA as deviant. This attitude is mainly due for the excessive borrowing and code-switching from other languages in contact (see examples in section 2.5.4.1).

Unlike most Arab communities, diglossia in Algeria is a particular case since the L is not very close to the H; the main factors behind this gap are namely, illiteracy and colonialism. However, a middle variety more or less close to MSA is sometimes used by people in semi-formal contexts, in particular when they lack the available idea to express themselves in the dialect. For instance, today, and as a consequence of the Arabisation process, many Algerian speakers switch to MSA, mostly on the lexical level as in the word [lʔaxba:r] which has been substituted for the French word *les informations* (the news) largely throughout the country. As a matter of fact, there are some factors that have made the diglossic situation in Algeria not as 'stable' as it

⁴² The Arabic language presents itself to us as two sensitive aspects: 1) a literary language...2) spoken idioms. (Translation is mine).

seemed to Ferguson in 1959. Indeed, Ferguson himself spoke about the shortcomings of his original article in 'Diglossia revisited' (1991). (See section 1.4.1).

Though politically French is considered a foreign language, it is a functioning language that fulfills formal and official tasks along with literary Arabic. French is also the medium of instruction in many technical and scientific fields in the Algerian university such as medicine, biology, architecture, physics and computer sciences. According to Fishman, diglossia may also include two or more languages in a community where one of the languages enjoys a higher status than the other, as is the case of Algeria where French enjoys a higher status than AA. Hence, French and the various colloquial forms of Arabic (AA) reflect a case of 'extended diglossia' as it was termed by Fishman (1967).

A synopsis of the characterization of diglossia in Algeria is provided in the following simple diagram:

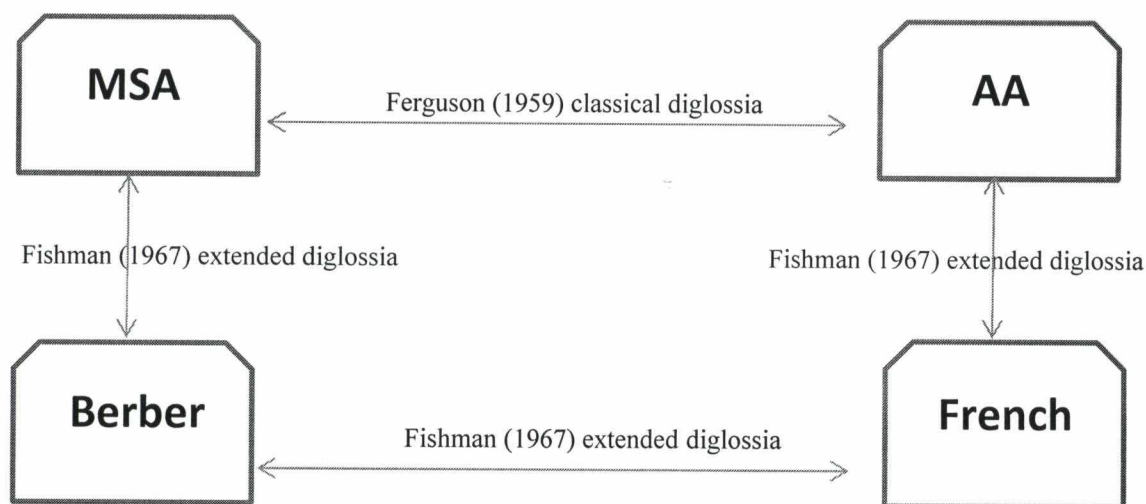


Figure 2.1. Characterization of Diglossia in Algeria.

The complexity of the Algerian speech community lies in the co-existence of four varieties which are used in correspondence of two settings, a formal and an informal one. The varieties in question are: MSA, French, AA, and Berber⁴³.

⁴³ It is worth noting that Berber varieties are not found in most part of the country. They are indeed scattered in a few areas which are themselves distant from each other.

Therefore the Algerian speaker may use MSA as H in formal settings and AA in informal ones; such compartmentalization refers to Ferguson's (1959) original formulation. There exist other possible distributions of H and L; French can be used as H and AA / Berber as L or MSA as H and Berber as L. This distribution refers to Fishman's (1967) 'extended diglossia', a case where two genetically unrelated languages are used for specific domains.

In every speech community, there exist distinct levels ranging from formal, the High variety, to informal/colloquial speech, the low variety, as discussed above. Badawi (1973: 53), an Egyptian linguist says in this respect: "there exists more than one level of speech not only in the speech community of Egypt, but in that of every Arab country". He (1973) proposed a diagram to try to explain how the linguistic system in Arabic operates (as far as diglossia is concerned). It is possible to apply the diagram below not only to the situation in Egyptian Arabic, but also to the Algerian context which is more or less similar.

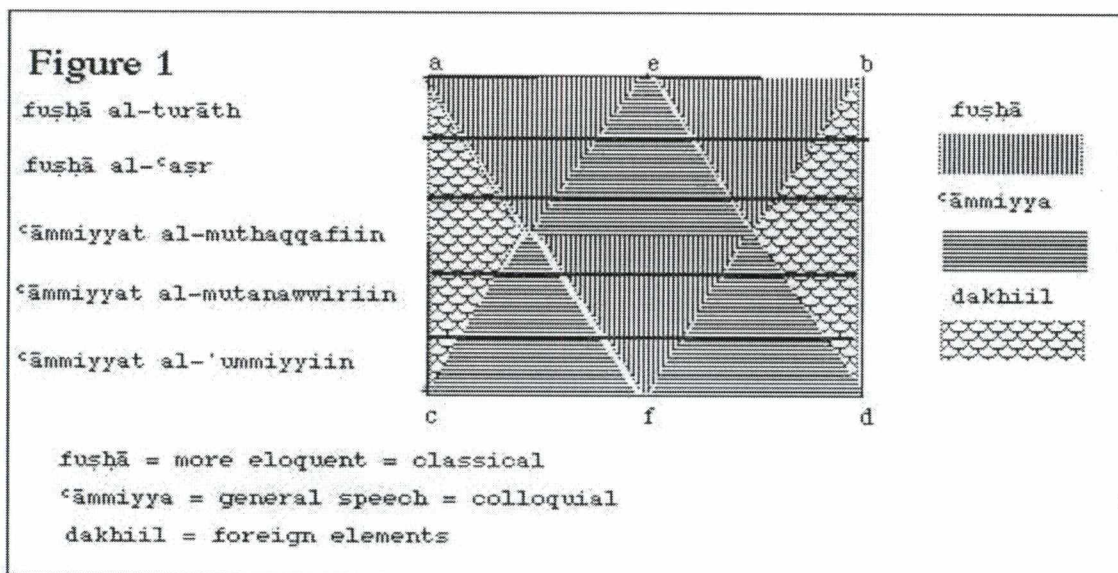


Figure 2.2. Badawi's Diagram (1973): "Levels of Egyptian Arabic"⁴⁴

In effect, two fundamental features characterizing to some extent in the same way the Arabic language context prevailing in today's Arabic-speaking communities

⁴⁴ http://innerbrat.org/Andyf/Articles/Diglossia/digl_96.htm accessed to on April 6th.

are clearly demonstrated in Badawi's model: First, the hierarchical five levels represented as a continuum have been translated into English by Freeman (1996) in the following terms:

- a) The Classical language of Tradition,
- b) The Modern Classical Language,
- c) The Colloquial of the Educated,
- d) The Colloquial of the Enlightened,
- e) The Colloquial of the Illiterate.

In the Algerian context, the five levels may be clearly represented in a continuum that refer to: CA, the language of Qur'an, MSA, the variety used in formal contexts, Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) used in semi-formal situations, then a kind of 'elevated' spoken Arabic, and finally Colloquial Arabic. (Dendane 2007: 71).

The second feature is that, in this hierarchical level model, each level includes mixing from all the other elements of the system, i.e. the varieties are mixed at all five levels with different degrees of interweaving, and with nearly a significant use of foreign elements known as 'dakhil' in Arabic, meaning terms that 'entered' the language. These borrowings result from the contact of Arabic with other languages during the pre-colonial era, Berber, Turkish and Spain, but mostly from French during the colonial period.

The educational sphere is also involved in the diglossic phenomenon. In spite of officially allocating MSA as the medium of education and instruction in all educational institutions, the colloquial forms remain in the forefront competing with the High variety in classroom activities.

2.5.2 Diglossia and Education in the Algerian Context

In Algerian schools, as well as in other Arab communities, many teachers use colloquial Arabic on the one hand to explain the lessons claiming that their pupils understand much better when they receive their lessons in the vernacular and on the

other, some of them mix the two varieties following the middle language which is based on teaching by a variety of Arabic called 'Educated Spoken Arabic', (ESA). (See section 1.4.1.1).

Some linguists like Zughoul (1980) indicate that "Educated Arabic is not a well-defined variety in the sense that it is completely unstructured". ESA is a mixture of MSA and dialect and used by educated Arabic speakers coming from different Arab countries or from the same country to communicate with each other (Zughoul, 1980). Sha'aban (1978)⁴⁵ shows that "Educated Arabic remains strikingly dominated by dialectal features especially in phonology and syntax and that switching to *fusḥa* Arabic depends on the nature of the topic, country of the speaker, and familiarity with other interlocutors and other dialects". (in Zughoul, 1980: 206).

Some other Arabic course teachers use the MSA approach which is based on the exclusive use of MSA as a language of instruction inside the classroom. However, not all linguists call for the use of only MSA in classrooms. Wahba (2006) as cited in Aramouni (2011: 4) writes: "both varieties of the language should be taught together, as occurs in natural speech context".

It is obvious that the kind of Arabic that Algerian children speak in their homes and in neighbourhoods is almost very distinct from literary Arabic. The latter is the language of books and schooling whereas the former is the language of daily life. In addition, the two varieties are different in phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax. According to Ayari (1996), children in a diglossic situation have to cope simultaneously with reading and writing in a second language.

Although Arabic is taught in schools, it is treated as a language whose grammar rules are not practical in real situations. Pupils are expected to memorize and read whole passages in the literary language, sometimes without necessarily understanding them. However, for day-to-day communication, the Low variety plays the chief role.

⁴⁵ Mentioned in Zughoul, M.R. (1980).

Notwithstanding, many Algerian children do have some exposure to the High variety before formal education through cartoons (Toyor-el-Djennah, MBC3, etc) and TV programmes, this does not impede the linguistic difficulties encountered by young pupils in early schooling. Inside the classroom, most pupils show a kind of frustration as well as a feeling of linguistic insecurity due to the lack of necessary lexical items to express themselves in MSA which may result in low academic achievement. Such difficulties will be analyzed in the next chapter.

The difficulties of the literary language used in formal education relate mostly to the diglossic nature of the Arabic language, which makes the task such as reading very difficult. Aramouni (2011:43) says in this respect:

There are serious negative educational and social consequences related to these reading difficulties, including feelings of linguistic insecurity by a large number of youth and young adults when it comes to common acts of social communication and personal expression.

Many linguists attribute pupils' low attainment in Arabic functional skills acquisition to the phenomenon of diglossia since they are used to conversing in the vernacular in their life situations. As a matter of fact, some specialists affirm that early instruction succeeds better if conducted in the child's mother tongue. "Arguably, the most single important decision that might be taken to enhance the educational prospect of children would be for educational institutions to value and use the child's native language as resources in the classroom rather than obstacles to learning (McKay and Wrong, 1988; Murray, 1992; Nichols, 1996/2001)".⁴⁶

Additionally, according to Harrison (1996:9), teachers should be pleased by the basic linguistic competence brought by pupils to schools especially that "a child's background (intelligence, pre-school learning, home circumstances, parents, etc.) contributes approximately 85% to what is achieved in school. The other 15% is contributed by schooling".⁴⁷ The issue of the use of non-standard dialects in education is highly debated in the United States, England and in European countries, but in the rest of the

⁴⁶ Cited in Benmoussat. (2003: 111).

⁴⁷ Mentioned in Serir. (2011:31).

Arab world as well as in our country, it is less resolved, for, many specialists are convinced that dialects are not constructive and that Standard Arabic is highly codified and possesses an unchallenged position as a medium of instruction.

Since independence, Arabic has been recovered slowly to regain its status as the official language of instruction. The teaching of Classical Arabic aims at training both youth and adults to speak and write the language correctly and in an effective way. Kh. Taleb. Ibrahimi (1997: 120) points out the following:

The aim and objectives of teaching the Arabic language defined in the different texts and official notes, being to teach pupils (children and adults) to speak and write well by providing them with a model, that of the text and of the great names of Classical Arabic literature.⁴⁸

In another vein, in the Algerian context, French is a major foreign language still widely used by many Algerians. It appears mainly through the use of heavy borrowings and morphological combinations in informal settings. The mixing of French structures with Arabic is typical in the linguistic behaviour of most Algerian speakers whether they are educated or not. Such a situation is viewed as an inevitable consequence of bilingualism.

2.5.3 Algerian Bilingualism

Any discussion in relation to the Algerian sociolinguistic situation will remain incomplete without reference to the phenomenon of bilingualism. Indeed, Algerian bilingualism is the consequence of the long French settlement during which, French was forced as the official language of the country. Bilingualism in Algeria is in fact not homogeneous since it is common to find people who only use their mother tongue in many parts of the country. French is much more practiced in towns and cities in the North where there is a high level and high style of life.

⁴⁸ Le but et les objectifs de l'enseignement de la langue arabe définie dans différents textes et circulaires officiels, étant d'apprendre aux élèves (enfants et adultes) à bien parler et écrire en leur fournissant comme modèle, celui du Texte et des grands noms de la littérature arabe classique. (Translation is mine).

Bilingualism among Algerians can range from the knowledge of a few fragments in French to a highly native- like mastery of that language among the elite and educated people, especially those who had the opportunity to attend the French school before, and right after the independence. This leads us to say that there are various types and degrees of bilingualism in Algeria, each worthy of consideration.

First, Algerian bilingualism in education can be characterized as ‘subtractive’ because Arabic is progressively substituting French in school and at university level, but also in many domains such as government and administration. Policy makers of independent Algeria had defended Arabic to regain its prestige and value under ‘Arabisation laws’ since it is the native language connected to Islam. However, despite the efforts expended for spreading Arabisation, no one in the community uses this variety in a natural way for its diglossic relation to the colloquial varieties used spontaneously in every day settings.

Algerian people are not all balanced bilinguals; as they do not all possess an equal proficiency in both languages, and they do not all equivalently perform the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing). In this view, we can distinguish between ‘active’ bilinguals who have an active ability in productive and receptive skills even without being able to read and to write, and ‘passive’ bilinguals who are able to understand French, but do not speak it. The bilingual situation in Algeria is summarized in the diagram below:

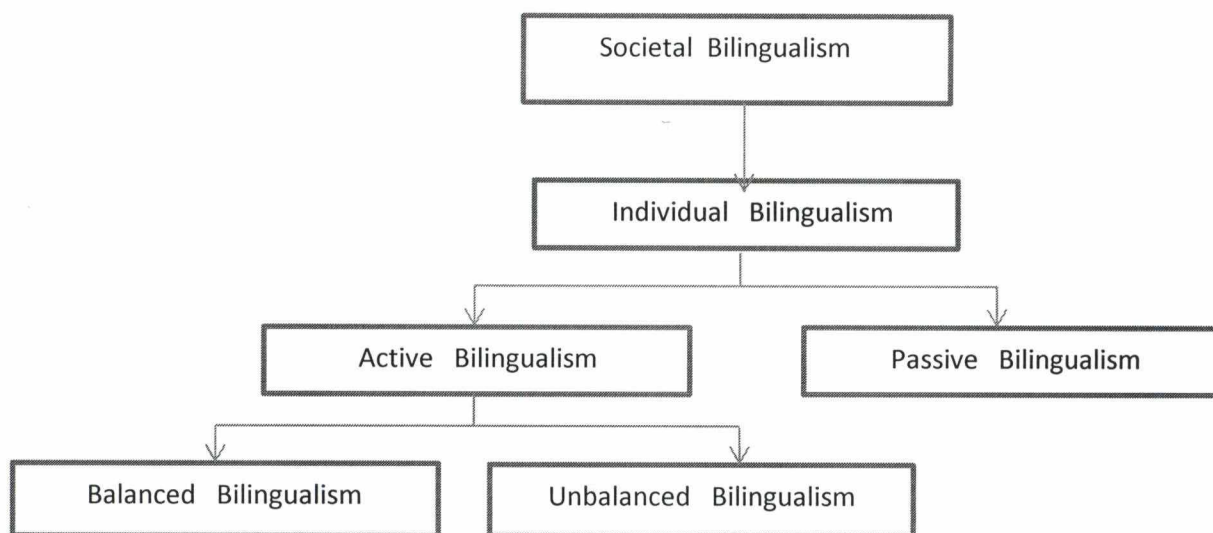


Figure 2.3. Aspects of Bilingualism in Algeria. (in Dorni, 2009: 75).

At the societal level, bilingualism is either compound or co-ordinate. It is a co-ordinate one when children learn both languages in primary schools as it is the case of Arabic and French in Algeria. The emergence of this type of bilingualism in the Algerian state is the result of educational strategy and social specificity. Yet, though the person learns the two languages in separate contexts, words of both languages are kept distinct with each word having its proper meaning, so that the French word 'trousse' and the Arabic word [miqlama] are stored and represented independently in the brain. Spolsky (1998: 48) supports this idea by stating that:

For a number of years, there was an attempt to distinguish between compound bilinguals whose two languages were assumed to be closely connected, because one language has been learned after (and so through) the other, and co-ordinate bilinguals who had learned each language in separate contexts and so kept them distinct.

Not surprisingly, education is one of the most salient factors leading to bilingualism. At an early age, the child acquires the vernacular which he receives and develops at home and then, with the help of school, the child is able to learn a foreign

language and to perform both languages (L1 and L2)⁴⁹. In Algeria, for instance, children acquire their mother tongue (AA) at home, then, they learn Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) starting from the first years of formal schooling and later on, they learn French⁵⁰ as a foreign language along with Arabic. In this sense, individual bilingualism is viewed as an inevitable result of the educational policy.

In their daily interactions, Algerian speakers use different codes depending on the topics discussed, the domains of use, but also on their attitudes towards each code, which may allow the use of a mixture of languages and switching.

2.5.4. The Dynamics of Language Contact in Algeria

The long-term contact between the different autochthonous groups (Berbers, Arabs, and French) has resulted in a community where the dynamics of language contact characterizes the daily speech of Algerian speakers. These phenomena are represented particularly in the relationship between Arabic and French on the one hand, as well as between language varieties raised in the High/Low diglossic relationship and dialectal variation on the other. In fact, in addition to the use of a large amount of French loanwords, many Algerians continually and often without being aware, alternate from one language and/or language variety to the other in different situations and for various goals.

2.5.4.1. Borrowings

Algerian Arabic is characterized as having a great deal of lexical borrowings, especially from French because of the long and profound contact during colonization which, of no doubt, has left many traces in the daily performance of Algerian speakers who use French loans in daily speech, regardless of whether they are educated or not, proficient bilinguals or putative monolinguals.

⁴⁹ L1 and L2 refer to first language and second language respectively.

⁵⁰ French remains an important language recently introduced very early in the school curriculum, 3rd year primary.

As a result of long-term contact with the French, a large number of words slipped into AA to the extent that some people are not aware that very common loans like [fotej], [kurbita] or [frizider] for instance are borrowed from French *fauteuil*, *couverture* and *frigidaire* meaning ‘sofa’, ‘cover’ and ‘refrigerator’ respectively. Such words have no equivalents in AA and they are clearly adapted phonologically to fit the Arabic system. Our case takes into consideration borrowed words used in an educational setting such as the school. It is important to note that borrowings differ from code-switching given that the former refer to the process whereby bilingual speakers introduce words from one language into another, and these loans eventually become accepted as an integral part of the host language.

Let us consider the following conversation between the teacher and a pupil in the classroom:

Teacher: fein ra:h sst̩ilu ntaʕək

(Where is your pen?)

Pupil: maʕəndif sst̩ilu

(I haven’t got a pen.)

Teacher: saħħa maʕli:f ʔəktəb bəlkr̩iju:n

(Okay, never minds, you write with a pencil.)

Pupil: maʕəbtu:f ʕlaχatər nsit keməl ət̩t̩rusa fədda:r

(I haven’t brought it because I forget the pencil-case at home.)

Teacher: ʔiwa lju:m duk nsufri mʕak

(Oh, today, I will suffer with you!)

The words [sst̩ilu], [kr̩iju:n] and [t̩t̩rusa] used by the teacher and the pupil, coming from French *stylo*, *crayon* and *trousse* (‘pen’, ‘pencil’ and ‘pencil-case’ respectively) have no equivalents in AA and they are adapted phonologically, though

today MSA forms are also used. There are many similar examples: the French words *ballon* and *boulon* are replaced by [balun] and [bulun] in AA ('ball' and 'bolt' respectively).

In morphology, Algerians also use French regular and irregular verbs and apply the same form of Arabic conjugation to both French tenses. In the conversation proposed above, the teacher uses the French irregular verb 'souffrir' which becomes 'duk nsufri' -I will suffer- to express the future tense. Phonologically speaking, the French verb 'souffrir' is pronounced with a uvular voiced [R]. Yet, when used as a borrowed word, it is usually pronounced with a flapped r with an Arabic accent saying 'sufra'.

As far as the possessive case is concerned, borrowings receive the same suffixes that are usually added to Arabic items. The word [stɪilu] from French 'stylo' appears as, for instance, [stɪiluja], [stɪiluh], [stɪiluha] and [stɪiluhum]; (this is not the case of all regional dialects since inflections change from one dialect to the other). The bound morpheme {-a}, {-uh}, {-ha}, and {-hum} indicate possession and correspond to English possessive pronouns: *my*, *his*, *her*, *their* respectively.

Today, as a result of the Arabisation process, it is possible to hear people using some borrowed items from MSA, especially in domains such as religion, administration and education. For instance, in the domain of religion, one may hear a man saying 'əṣṣala:t fard ʔəlina kaməl'. The word [əṣṣala:t] in MSA is normally pronounced [əṣṣla] in AA.

In any case, from a structural viewpoint, many scholars spent a lot of efforts in an attempt to differentiate between borrowing and code-switching. In Algeria, it is not evident to separate the two phenomena from each other in view of the intricacy of telling them apart. Moreover, if we evaluate the heavy amount of French words and expressions brought into AA, we may notice that any word can be borrowed and used in various forms along a type of continuum in the level of assimilation into the native

tongue. Thus, it is noteworthy, that with time and the importance of bilingualism in Algeria, people began involving French in their day-to-day interactions not merely by means of borrowings, but also code-switching.

2.5.4.2. Code-switching

Code-switching is a type of discourse that takes place as a natural and an inevitable result of bilingualism. It is the process whereby bilingual or bidialectal speakers switch back and forth between one language and another within the same conversation. (Trudgill, 1992).

In a multilingual country like Algeria, CS predicts the sociolinguistic behaviour of most Algerian speakers. Indeed, a mere observation of a natural and spontaneous conversation between individuals allows us to notice the switching from one code to another. Due to some historical factors, CS is usually between Arabic in its two forms MSA and AA (and/or Berber) and French.

2.5.4.2.1. Algerian Arabic/ French Code-Switching

This type of CS also called ‘external CS’ is the consequence of the deep rootedness of the French language in the Algerian society, which is still pervading the mother tongues of the majority of Algerians after more than half a century of independence. It is nearly impossible to hear a whole conversation between speakers without French words or expressions inserted. Children are by no means an exception, if we consider the fact that French is part of the child’s socialization.

In addition to the incorporation of a huge number of French words in AA, the child may be also exposed to a rich, diverse linguistic environment where his/her parents switch back and forth between Arabic (and/or Berber) and French especially if they are educated. Moreover, as Dendane (2007: 144) argues:

Sometimes children may not be aware of the origin of the words and expressions they use in the first years of their life, but soon, particularly during the first two or three school-years, they learn to distinguish Arabic from French or words taken from French into AA.

Consequently, it is very easy to depict the three grammatical types of CS distinguished by Poplack (1980) as illustrated in the following examples (French italicized):

- a) Extra-sentential: is the insertion of a tag or ready-made expression in one language into a sentence which is otherwise in another language as in the following instance:

sməʔt wəʃ ʃra lbarəħ fəlli:l *n'est-ce pas?*

(You have heard what happened yesterday night, haven't you?)

- b) Inter-sentential CS: where the switch occurs at clause or sentence boundary. This type of switching seems to require greater fluency in both languages in comparison with extra-sentential one, as in:

məʃʃbaħ wana nəħfəd *et finalement, je n'ai rien pu assimiler.*

(I have been revising since this morning and finally, I couldn't assimilate anything).

- c) Intra-sentential CS involves switching within the clause or sentence boundary. Consider the following example

rani məʃia *l'hôpital* baʃ nwasi *les analyses* ntaʔ əddəm.

(I am going to the hospital for doing blood test).

This type of switching has attracted many linguists' attention as it involves interaction of two grammatical systems within a single sentence (code-mixing).

Furthermore, for many, CS has become a linguistic tool in their communicative strategies because they consider French as more prestigious and as the language of modernity. Therefore, they consciously switch to French, on purpose, particularly those who live in cities where there is a high educational level in comparison with people who live in the countryside.

As far as the Algerian context is concerned, it is worth mentioning that in addition to the existence of 'external CS' i.e. switching between Algerian Arabic (and/or Berber) and French, another type of CS known as 'diglossic CS' or 'internal CS' is also an emerging behaviour, though to a much lesser extent than AA/French CS.

2.5.4.2.2. Algerian Diglossic Code-Switching

Since Algeria is a diglossic country, 'diglossic CS' which takes place between two varieties of the same language is a common trait in every day speech. Many individuals switch from AA to MSA or the reverse, particularly when they do not find the expressive word in the variety used. The mixture of H and L in a single conversation is called the middle variety. Indeed, this variety has been recognized by Ferguson when he revised his theory in 1991(see section 1.4.1).

After the Arabisation process, it has become customary to hear people employing words such as [tizara], [qadija] or [maħal] for 'trade', 'business' and 'shop' respectively. It is also common to hear expressions like [hadi muhimma ɣaɣba] or [matastaʔmɔl] lquwa] meaning 'this is a hard mission' or 'do not employ force' respectively. Many intellectuals switch on purpose to MSA and thus teach their children to speak MSA in order not to lose their Arab-Muslim identity. The French words 'cahier', 'cartable' and 'tablier' have been substituted by the Arabic: /kurra:s/, miħfaða/, and /miʔzar/.

This type of CS is noticeable only in certain contexts such as the mosque, the school or a public formal speech in which the speaker usually switches to AA to insist

on things that may not have been understood in MSA (Dendane, 2007). What seems awkward in fact is the use of AA in a situation where Ferguson asserts that only H is appropriate. Consider the following instance where a teacher uses AA in a situation where MSA is more suitable:

[ʔəssəmʔu mli:ħ ləlqiʃʃa lli rani rajħa naħkihalkum, əʃʃəms bʔa:t tuʔlub ərri:ħ] to mean :

‘Listen well to the story I am going to tell you, the sun wanted to win the wind’

When asked about the reason of such linguistic behaviour, the teacher claims that because young pupils come from an environment where MSA is not the native tongue of anybody, she is obliged to use L, in order to facilitate comprehension and to make a smooth transition from home to school.

Very often, one might hear the current president Bouteflika who switches to AA in a political speech in order to attract the audience attention by saying ‘ntuma jaʔb əlmuʔziza:t’ (you are a people of miracles), a typically Algerian expression meaning that the Algerian population is able to do miracles, it is just a matter of will. However, the news can be viewed as the only sphere in which diglossic CS is rare, except when news announcers use expressions like [ʃaħa ʔi:dkum] to wish a happy feast to the Algerians in AA.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to a description of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria which is quite intricate because of historical, political and socio-cultural factors. We have tried to focus on the Arabisation process, after which, MSA, the prestigious variety has been given importance in LP by virtue of being the language of Arab-Islamic identity. On the other hand, the spoken dialects differ substantially from the language of education which results in low linguistic achievements in schools on the part of pupils.

This issue, a sensitive one, relates to the well-known phenomenon of diglossia since children are exposed to the vernacular in their life situations, while they are required to use a different variety once entering school. In addition, some teachers' use of the L variety in classroom interaction reinforces the gap between MSA and the vernacular in favour of the latter.

The third chapter aims at analyzing and interpreting the data collected from both pupils and teachers in order to understand the nature of the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal instruction among little pupils in Tlemcen primary schools.

CHAPTER THREE

Chapter Three: Research Methodology and Data Analysis

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3.1. Introduction

The present chapter is concerned with the practical phase of our study. It deals with the different procedures and methods which were implemented in gathering the data of this research work. It also attempts to make a rapport between the theory mentioned in the two preceding chapters and a concrete situation.

The study is based upon collecting data through the use of a set of research instruments with the aim of finding answers to the research questions. Therefore, the results have been analyzed and interpreted by means of graphs and figures.

3.2. Research Objectives and Motivations

The present study aims at investigating the sociolinguistic phenomenon 'diglossia' and its impact on children's school experience. It endeavors to make a comparison between two different primary schools in Tlemcen. Pupils and teachers are considered as respondents in this work. Though both are participants in classroom interaction, we concentrate particularly on pupils' speech since they have relatively little or no contact with the official language of education before formal schooling.

In order to restrict the field work, both groups (pupils and teachers) were chosen from two primary schools situated in Tlemcen, a town located in the North West of Algeria actually including inhabitants from different regions of the country. Hence, on the one hand, some pupils use an urban variety while, others use a more rural one (see section 2.3.1.2). Therefore, the classroom situation is multi-dialectal and the classroom interaction is apparently a mixture of different dialects, which allows us to tackle the pupils' weaknesses as regards the use of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) when interacting with their teachers. The choice of the sample population is based on two reasons: objective motivations and subjective ones.

It should be mentioned that the objective motivation lies in the fact that Tlemcen is a large city which has long been viewed as a prestigious center whose native inhabitants are characterized not merely by extremely conservative socio-cultural traits, but also by the salient characteristic of the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] which is

absent in other regions of Algeria. However, the current language situation in Tlemcen contains significant variation at all linguistic levels mainly because of the intensive population shift (rural exodus). Therefore, the classroom situation is multi-dialectal and thus, the interaction is apparently a mixture of different dialects which allows us to tackle the impact of Arabic diglossia on the learning process among first grade pupils.

Subjective motivations, on the other hand, lie in the fact that the daughter's researcher which is part of the sample population, studies in one of the selected primary schools which is not very far from the researcher's place of residence. Thus, the familiarity with most of the teachers allows us to observe the situation directly and facilitates the contact with the sample population. Here, the observer's paradox is reduced, as the pupils can be observed directly without any difficulties. What helps more is that in the other primary school, the headmaster is a close friend to the family. This, in fact facilitates the task of visiting the school, distributing the questionnaires and interviewing the respondents at successive times, in order to collect the most valid and reliable data concerning the issue.

3.3. Methodological Concerns

The present research adopts a descriptive approach which aims at investigating the phenomenon of diglossia for the purpose of understanding its implications. This approach is viewed as an analytic method based on accurate and adequate information about such phenomenon (or specific topic) through a defined period of time in order to obtain practical results to be analyzed and interpreted as objectively as possible. Through the use of different sociolinguistic tools, the data were collected in the period from January-March 2012

3.3.1. Sample Population

As the present study aims at investigating the impact of Arabic diglossia on children's school experience, the first grade level is taken as a case in point and the sample population consists of two groups of respondents: First grade pupils as well as teachers of the Arabic course. The sample population has been selected from two different primary schools (PS hereafter) with the aim of demonstrating the difference

between them. The first one is called *Ibn Msaib*. It is located near the 'Zianides' hotel and the second one is *Mustapha Chiali*, an ancient school situated in the district of 'Riat- el-Hammar'. The sample population includes 62 pupils and 6 teachers; 32 pupils and 4 teachers were chosen from *Ibn Msaib* PS, and 30 pupils and 2 teachers from *Mustapha Chiali* PS. The high rate of the pupils' group in comparison to the small rate of teachers relates to the fact that the present research work focuses mainly on the impact of Arabic diglossia on learning rather than on teaching MSA. Apart from this, the teachers' group was chosen on purpose as in *Ibn Msaib* primary school, there are four classes of first grade level and, thus the teachers' group includes four persons, while in *Mustapha Chiali* PS the selected group is composed of solely two teachers for the simple reason that there are only two first grade level classes. One particular issue that relates to the field work is that the pupils require careful attention and consideration on the part of the researcher since their age does not go beyond seven.

In order to check the relevance of the gender factor, we have considered this variable among the respondents: 27 boys vs. 35 girls, rating 43,5% males and 56,5% females.

Gender	Frequency	Rate
Male	27	43,50%
Female	35	56,50%
Total	62	100%

Table 3.1.a. The Gender Variable Rates of Pupils (respondents).

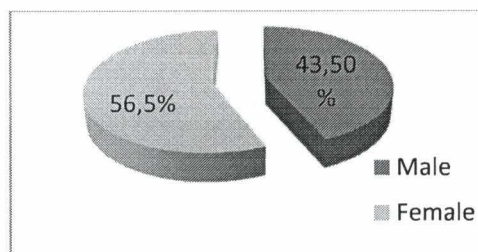


Figure 3.1.b. The Gender Variable Rates of Pupils (respondents).

The teachers' group has been selected from both genders; males and females and from two different schools, in addition to the experience variable of teachers in order to gather the maximum data from them. The selected group is composed of 6 teachers. 2 of them are males with a rate of 33, 30% and 4 are females with a rate of 66, 70%. The educational experience of all teachers ranges from 4 to 30 years of experience.

Gender	Frequency	Rate
Male	2	33,30%
Female	4	66,70%
Total	6	100%

Table 3.2.a. The Gender Variable Rates of Teachers (respondents).

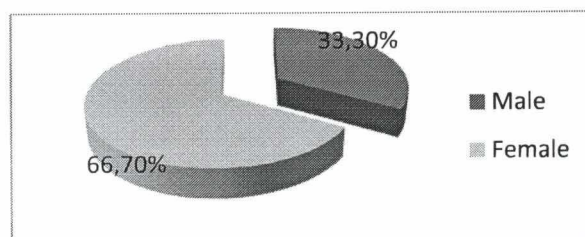


Figure 3.2.b. The Gender Variable Rates of Teachers (respondents).

Therefore, the sample population is mixed in terms of age and gender. The pupils' age ranges from 5-7 years old. The educational level as well as the socio-economic status of their parents is diverse. However, they share the fact of being part of the national programme and they are part of an educational reform that includes a five-year studies period concluded with a national exam at the end of their curriculum in the primary school.

In an attempt to attain the needed information and responses from the respondents, many procedures have been adopted in this research work with the aim of reaching answers to our research questions.

3.3.2. Research Instruments

The data expected in this fieldwork are mainly obtained by means of questionnaires and interviews that have been administered to both groups (pupils and teachers) from the two primary schools with the aim of eliciting data explicitly from the informants. Other research tools involve classroom observation which adopts a direct study of the linguistic setting, in addition to the matched-guise technique to check our hypothesis concerning pupils' attitudes towards MSA in classroom interaction.

3.3.2.1. Questionnaires

Questionnaires are necessary when making research as they supply us with information about people beliefs, attitudes, motivations and preferences. Indeed, the questionnaire has become one of the most used means of collecting information. If

well-constructed, it permits the collection of reliable and reasonably valid data in a simple and 'cheap' manner.

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". Since the present study investigates the impact of the phenomenon 'diglossia' on children's school experience, it was necessary to administer a questionnaire for teachers with the aim of verifying the first hypothesis that posits: though MSA is the school language, AA is often used supposedly to facilitate the transition from home to school.

The questionnaire items were in Standard Arabic and before distributing it to the target population, the questions were first written in English, and then later on translated into MSA. Six copies of the printed questionnaire were distributed to six teachers from both schools. These participants had to report their answers by themselves in order to avoid annoyance and influence. Yet, the researcher had to be present on many occasions to guide the participants through answering the questions provided.

In designing the questionnaire, we took into consideration the easiness and intelligibility of the items in order to avoid the ambiguity expected during the answers. Furthermore, the questionnaire items were designed in accordance with our first research question which consists of exploring the variety of Arabic used in classroom interaction.

The questionnaire administered to the selected group was composed of five questions. A set of multiple choice questions was arranged in two sections. The first one involved information about the variety of Arabic used by teachers and the frequency of AA use in classroom interaction. The second section was devoted to check whether pupils are allowed to use AA and also whether they are encouraged or not to use MSA in classroom interaction, in addition to a question concerning the extent to which pupils use MSA in classroom interaction.

3.3.3.2. Interviews

Interviews are excellent tools for research in which rich detail about the perspectives of participants is expected. Indeed, an interview is considered as an oriented verbal interaction between the researcher and another individual(s) with the aim of attaining available results. Unlike the questionnaire, the interview is “time consuming” (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989: 166). The researcher herself participated through giving questions seeking at reaching the linguistic forms she had fixed as a goal in mind. In an attempt to show the importance of the interview, Cohen *et al.* (2000: 267) affirm that:

Interviews enable participants- be they interviewers or interviewees- to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view. In these senses, the interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself.

For the sake of obtaining natural data for the present study, two different interviews were administered to both groups of the sample population. First, semi-structured interviews were conducted with pupils in order to investigate the language difficulties encountered by pupils in the learning process. The pupils’ interview was therefore based on six questions which were written down in a questionnaire format. However, when close questions were asked to the respondents, we put crosses when necessary in the square blanks and preferred not to ask pupils to do it themselves, as they are too young to accomplish such a task.

Before conducting the interviews, we had to participate in each of the classes from which the informants were selected for the purpose of increasing pupils’ familiarity. The pupils’ interview was in fact, a very sensitive one, since we had to employ several tactics to obtain reliable results. For instance, we used to give them some sweets or some modest toys, or sometimes we had to narrate stories before starting the interview to attract their attention and to collect the maximum data. With an immense help on the part of the headmasters and teachers, the pupils’ interview was

mostly conducted on Tuesday afternoons i.e. during pupils' free time, which allowed us to feel at ease when gathering data from such 'innocent' sample population.

Pupils from both primary schools were divided into three groups of 10 children, to the exception of one group at *Ibn Msaib* primary school which was composed of 12 pupils. The learners were interviewed on the basis of simple questions. Some of them were close-ended questions and others open-ended ones, as question N°5 (see appendix C). The interviews with pupils were oriented to get answers for questions like 'By which variety can you express yourself better?', 'Is it easy to learn MSA?' and 'How well do you speak MSA?'

Unlike the pupils' interview, the one held with teachers was rather unstructured with unpredictable answers with the aim of finding out more information that might not appear from the interviews for pupils. 6 teachers were chosen from both schools. Some of them were interviewed in class, while others during the break time. Pupils' as well as teachers' interviews were conducted for the same purpose. In other words both aimed at seeking the language difficulties encountered by pupils in classroom interaction and the reasons that stand behind such linguistic deficiency, which we hope will confirm our second hypothesis that posits: pupils are confronted with two varieties of Arabic: MSA and AA, and thus, this certainly creates a feeling of linguistic insecurity among them. The questions were written in an open-ended questionnaire format and teachers were interviewed on the basis of more complex questions like: 'What reasons stand behind pupils' linguistic deficiency?' or 'Does the use of AA in classroom interaction affect pupils' linguistic performance?'

The subjects' responses were noted down on a note-book that was used only by us, without rejecting any detail since certain ideas were thought to be very helpful. Moreover, we did not interrupt the respondents, nor did we try to correct them, so as not to create any embarrassment. Right after the interview, we transformed the notes into passages because it was necessary to formulate an interview summary before forgetting its details.

3.3.2.3. The Matched- Guise Technique

This technique is a sociolinguistic experiment test introduced by Lambert and his associates in 1960, then later on, it was developed and pioneered by Lambert 1967, Gardner and Lambert, 1972, Lambert and Tucker 1972⁵¹ to dig out covert attitudes towards English and French in Montreal. The matched-guise technique is viewed as an indirect approach because participants although aware that it is an attitude-rating task do not know what they are exactly rating. (Garrett: 2010: 41).

Simply put, this method is designed to elicit the informants' attitudes towards the language varieties at play by making them listen to a passage or a speech performed by the same person, so as to make them think they are two different individuals. The respondents are then asked to answer series of questions that will reveal 'hopefully' their attitudes in regard to the languages or language varieties tested.

The respondents in our investigation were exposed to two guises, one in MSA and the other in AA, in a form of a short passage from *Little Red Cap's* story performed by the researcher's nephew who happened to be a girl of 16 years old and whose voice was tape-recorded. The passage in AA was characterized by the salient feature [ʔ], specific to Tlemcen speech (see appendix D). The test is 'matched' in that the speaker is the same individual and she is narrating the same passage. Hence, the sample population was asked to listen carefully to this passage and guess about the speaker whose age and gender were not revealed. Our use of this method aimed at testing the third hypothesis concerning pupils' attitudes towards the High variety (MSA).

Apart from this, the matched-guise technique questionnaires were distributed to 62 pupils from both primary schools. With the consent of the headmasters from each school, we had the privilege to be assisted by teachers, who kindly accepted to put off the lessons and help us accomplish this task which seems to come very easily into sight, but in reality, it is not.

⁵¹ Mentioned in Edwards, J. (1982: 22).

The matched-guise technique questionnaire was made up of 4 statements. The first one invited the informants to guess the gender range of pupil 1 and pupil 2. Each gender range is provided with a third option ‘I do not know’. The second question aimed at seeking knowledge about which pupil is younger than the other. In the third question, the respondents had to guess which pupil is more pleasant than the other. The last question aimed at exploring the opinion of the informants concerning the pupils in case they were their classmates. A set of adjectives were proposed in addition to the option ‘I do not know’ (see appendix D).

3.3.3.3. Classroom Observation

It is a practical means of getting information, since it enables us to observe the behaviour of the teacher and the learners. Observation of language behaviour is central in sociolinguistic research, and, as Johnston (2000: 1) declares,

Whatever its focus, sociolinguistic work is based on observations of people using language and analyses of those observations [...], sociolinguists have methods for collecting their data in a systematic way.

The inclusion of ‘classroom observation’ as an additional tool emerged from the fact that it might reinforce and check our triangulation of research tools and might lead to other interesting issues. Hence, in our investigation, the observation included the attendance of two sequenced sessions in each primary school and focused on exploring the variety of Arabic used by teachers and learners as two partner parties in classroom interaction, in addition to the pupils’ language difficulties in classroom interaction.

In a good atmosphere, we sat at the back so as not to disturb the pupils and paid attention to everything that occurred in each session taking into account the learners’ degree of motivation, their interaction and their language difficulties. We also wrote down our observations in a form of notes which allowed us further to notice what was done by teachers and pupils.

3.4. Research Findings

This section insists on presenting a set of both quantitative and qualitative results from each research instrument cited above, in an attempt to approach exactness and objectivity.

3.4.1. Questionnaire Findings: The Variety of Classroom Interaction

Six printed questionnaires were distributed to 6 teachers; 4 from *Ibn Msaib* PS and 2 from *Mustapha Chiali* PS. As mentioned above, the selection of this small sample was done on purpose, since there are four classes of first grade pupils in *Ibn Msaib* PS and only two in *Mustapha Chiali* PS. Another reason is that our study puts an emphasis on the impact of Arabic diglossia on learning rather than on teaching MSA. The teachers' group consisted of 4 females and 2 males. Among the females, one had an experience of thirty years of teaching, while the other female teachers' experience ranged from four to ten years. Concerning males, the first one was more experienced than the other, but this factor has been generally taken for granted as our purpose is to check the variety of Arabic used in classroom interaction. Both quantitative and qualitative data were yielded by the questionnaire. In this line of thought, Johnstone (2000: 37) posits: "The analysis phase of sociolinguistic research is often quantitative as well as qualitative". She (ibid) continues stating that:

This means that analyzing sociolinguistic data often involves some counting, explicit or implicit, in order to answer questions about how often things happen, in addition to the descriptions that help answer qualitative questions about how and why things happen.

The quantitative approach is objective. It is based on testing a theory measured with numbers and analyzed using statistical techniques; the qualitative approach, on the other hand is rather subjective, as it is generally associated with interpretive and critical paradigms. In this research design, we have adopted both quantitative and qualitative approaches in an attempt to validate our first research hypothesis that posits: though MSA is the school language, AA is used supposedly to facilitate the transition from home to school.

3.4.1.1. Quantitative Analysis

The table below exhibits statistics in rapport to the question as to which variety of Arabic is used by the teachers in the two primary schools when explaining the lessons in classroom interaction.

Varieties	MSA	AA	MSA/AA
Number	1	0	5
Percentage	16,67%	0%	83,33%

Table 3.3. Teachers' variety use in the classroom

The graph below shows clearly the variety of Arabic used by teachers from both primary schools when explaining the lessons in the classroom.

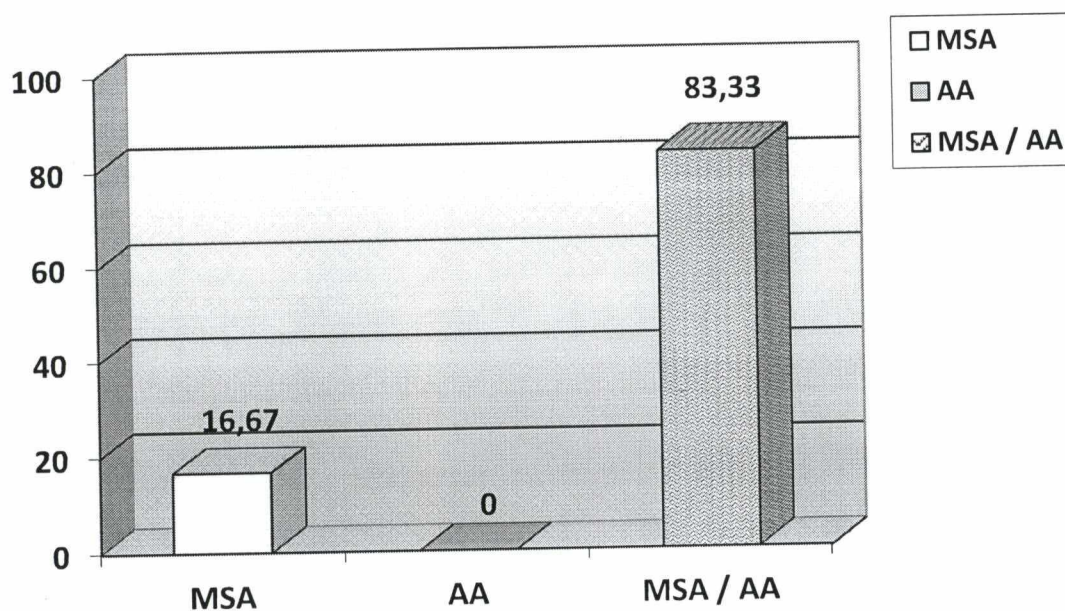


Figure 3.3. MSA vs. AA use by teachers in the classroom

The following table shows the rates of the Arabic course teachers' use of AA in class in *Ibn Msaib PS*.

Response	Teachers' use of AA in the classroom (<i>Ibn Msaib</i>)	
	Frequency	Rate
always	0	0%
often	0	0%
Sometimes	2	50%
Rarely	1	25%
Never	1	25%

Table 3.4. Teachers' use of AA in the classroom in *Ibn Msaib PS*

The table above shows that in *Ibn Msaib PS*, half of the sample population with a rate of 50% sometimes uses AA in class while one respondent with a rate of 25% rarely uses it. The same rate is attributed to those who claimed that they never use it, while a rate of 0% relates to the fact that no one reported to always or often use AA in class.

The results obtained above are illustrated in the following graph:

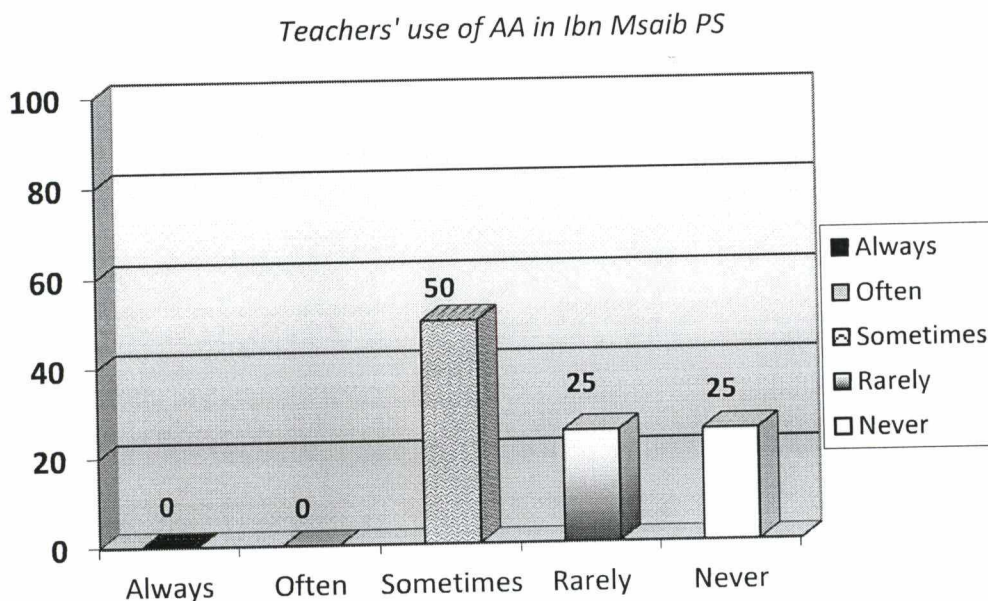


Figure 3.4. Frequency of teachers' use of AA in *Ibn Msaib PS*.

The teachers' responses as to the extent to which they use AA in class in *Mustapha Chiali* PS are clearly expressed in table 3.5.

Response	Teachers' use of AA in the classroom (<i>Mustapha Chiali</i>)	
	Frequency	Rate
Always	0	0%
Often	0	0%
Sometimes	1	50%
Rarely	1	50%
Never	0	0%

Table 3.5. Teachers' use of AA in the classroom in *Mustapha Chiali* PS

The results above are obviously demonstrated in the following graph:

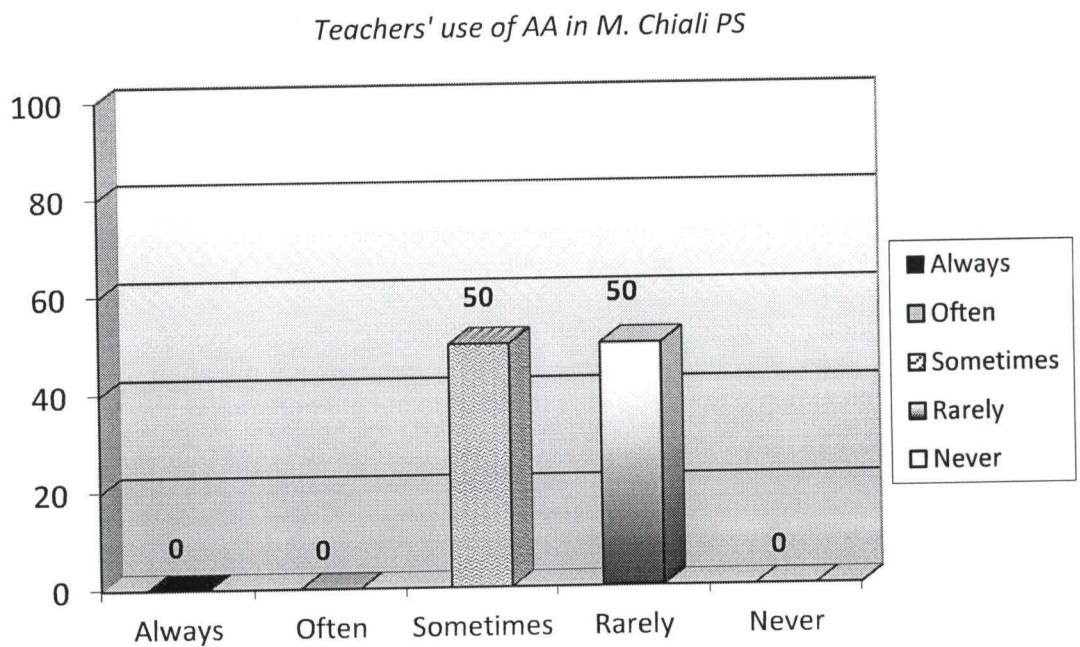
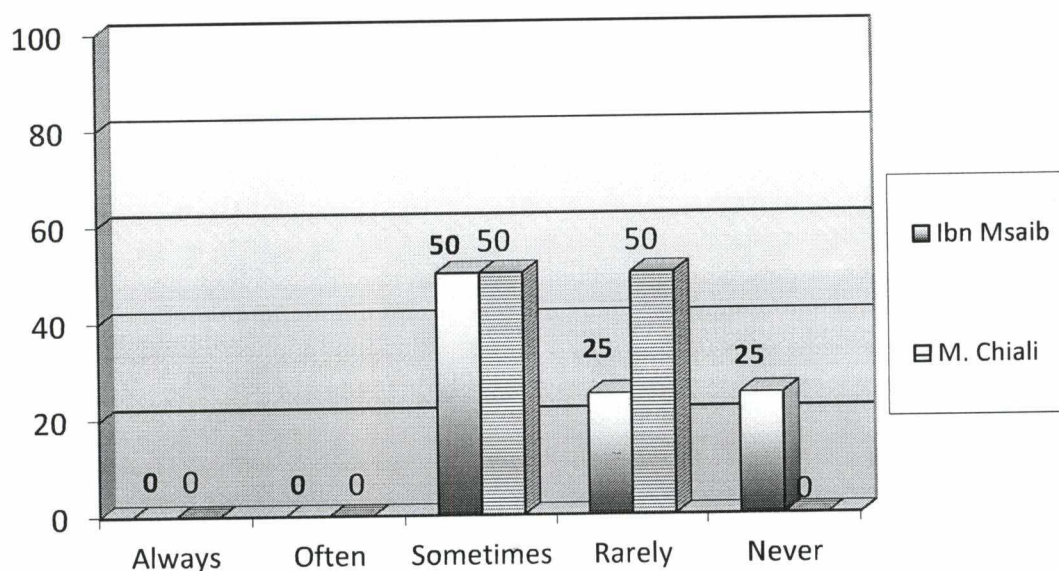


Figure 3.5. Frequency of teachers' use of AA in *Mustapha Chiali* PS.

The following graph clearly shows a comparison between the two PS as regards AA use by the teachers in class.

Teachers' use of AA in *Ibn Msaib PS* vs. *Chiali*Figure 3.6. Teachers' use of AA in *Ibn Msaib PS* vs. *M. Chiali PS*

The table below displays statistics concerning the use of MSA by pupils in classroom interaction in *Ibn Msaib PS* from teachers' perspective.

Response	Pupils' use of MSA in classroom interaction (<i>Ibn Msaib</i>)	
	Frequency	Rate
Always	0	0%
Often	1	25%
Sometimes	2	50%
Rarely	1	25%
Never	0	0%

Table 3.6. Pupils' use of MSA from teachers' perspective in *Ibn Msaib PS*

One respondent with a rate of 25% declared that first grade pupils in *Ibn Msaib PS* often use MSA when interacting with their teacher; 2 respondents with a rate of 50% reported that the pupils sometimes use MSA; one respondent with a rate of 25% claimed that they rarely use it and nobody asserted that the pupils always or never use MSA in classroom interaction.

Similarly, Teachers' replies as to the use of MSA by first grade pupils in classroom interaction in *Mustapha Chiali* PS are clearly illustrated in table 3.7.

Responses	Pupils' use of MSA in classroom interaction (<i>Mustapha Chiali</i>)	
	Frequency	Rate
Always	0	0%
Often	0	0%
Sometimes	1	50%
Rarely	1	50%
Never	0	0%

Table 3.7. Pupils' use of MSA from teachers' perspective in *M. Chiali* PS

Table 3.7 reveals clearly the rates of pupils' use of MSA when interacting with their teachers in *Mustapha Chiali* PS as reported by their teachers. It attempts to show that half of the selected sample population with a rate of 50% reported that pupils sometimes use it, 50% of the sample population stated that MSA is rarely used in classroom interaction and no one argued that they always, often or never use it.

3.4.1.2. Qualitative Analysis

Though there are some exceptions, the results mentioned above do not show a flagrant difference between both schools. The answers about the variety used in the classroom are nearly the same, except for one teacher in *Ibn Msaib* PS who reported using MSA only, when presenting the lessons. Concerning the frequency of AA use, the respondents from both schools reported the same answer to the exception of one teacher in *Ibn Msaib* PS who mentioned that he never uses AA in class. Similarly, the results obtained above as to the pupils' frequency of MSA use in classroom interaction are approximately the same, except one respondent with a rate of 25% who stated that the learners often use MSA when interacting with the teacher.

When informants from both Primary schools were asked if pupils are allowed to use AA in classroom interaction, all the respondents (100%) replied: 'to some extent'. Some statements were expressed by the following instances:

- Pupils have relatively little or no acquaintance with the language of instruction, so they are allowed to use some AA in a class topic discussion.
- We have to make a smooth transition from home to school.
- In order to avoid routine and disgust on the part of learners.
- To give the learners the opportunity to express their ideas, as they lack fluency in MSA.
- Pupils were not accustomed to use MSA when conversing with their parents and siblings.

In question N° 5 (see appendix A), when the researcher asked the informants if pupils are encouraged to use MSA in classroom interaction, all the statements (100%) were positive i.e. all the respondents answered 'Yes'. Positive statements were expressed by such as:

- Children were exposed to AA at home and now, as they are in contact with school, they are confronted to another variety, so they have to learn MSA.
- MSA is the variety used in formal instruction.
- We have to do our best in order to fight AA use in classroom interaction and to increase the use of MSA.
- We are teachers of Arabic, so our aim is to implant MSA to young pupils.
- Since pupils are still young, their memory is still fresh, so they can easily assimilate MSA.
- With regular practice, pupils can become fluent in MSA.
- MSA is the language of Qur'an, so pupils have to learn it correctly.

From *Ibn Msaib* PS, a female teacher having thirty years of experience insists on teachers' encouragement towards the use of MSA by saying a poem in which she reveals the beauty of MSA. She said:

لَعْنَةُ حَوْتِ كُلِّ الْحِكْمِ
 سَادَتِ وَكَانَتْ كَالْعَلَمِ
 جَمَعَتْ لَنَا خَيْرَ الْكَلِمِ
 ظَلَّتْ مَنْاراً لِلْأُمَمِ
 قَرَأْتُ مِنْ بَرِّ النَّهْيِ
 كَمْ فِيهِ مِنْ آيٍ وَكَمْ
 وَبِهَا نُنَاجِي رَبَّنَا
 يَا رَبِّ صُنْهَا يَا حَكْمِ

3.4.2. Interview Findings: Pupils' Linguistic Performance

In our study, the teachers and pupils of first grade level from each primary school were interviewed for the sake of collecting data about the language difficulties encountered by the learners in classroom interaction.

3.4.2.1. Findings from the Questions to Pupils

The first interview (see Appendix C) employed in this sociolinguistic study was conducted with a sample population of sixty two pupils who were selected randomly from both PS. Thirty two respondents were chosen from *Ibn Msaib* PS and thirty others from *Mustapha Chiali* PS with the aim of finding differences in their answers. The interview was composed of six questions and yielded both quantitative and qualitative data. This section starts by presenting the results based on responses to each of the six interview questions. They are as follows:

The following table indicates the scores concerning the variety in which pupils can express themselves better in classroom interaction.

Pupils	MSA	Freq.	AA	Freq.
Ibn Msaib N= 32	18	56,25%	14	43,75%
Mustapha Chiali N=30	8	26,67%	22	73,33%

Table 3.8. Pupils' use of MSA vs AA in class

In the first question, the pupils of each PS were asked about the variety in which they express themselves better in classroom interaction. Surprisingly, 56,25% of pupils from *Ibn Msaib* PS reported that it is MSA, while the majority (73,33%) of pupils from *Mustapha Chiali* PS affirmed that it is AA.

The following graph shows clearly the results obtained above:

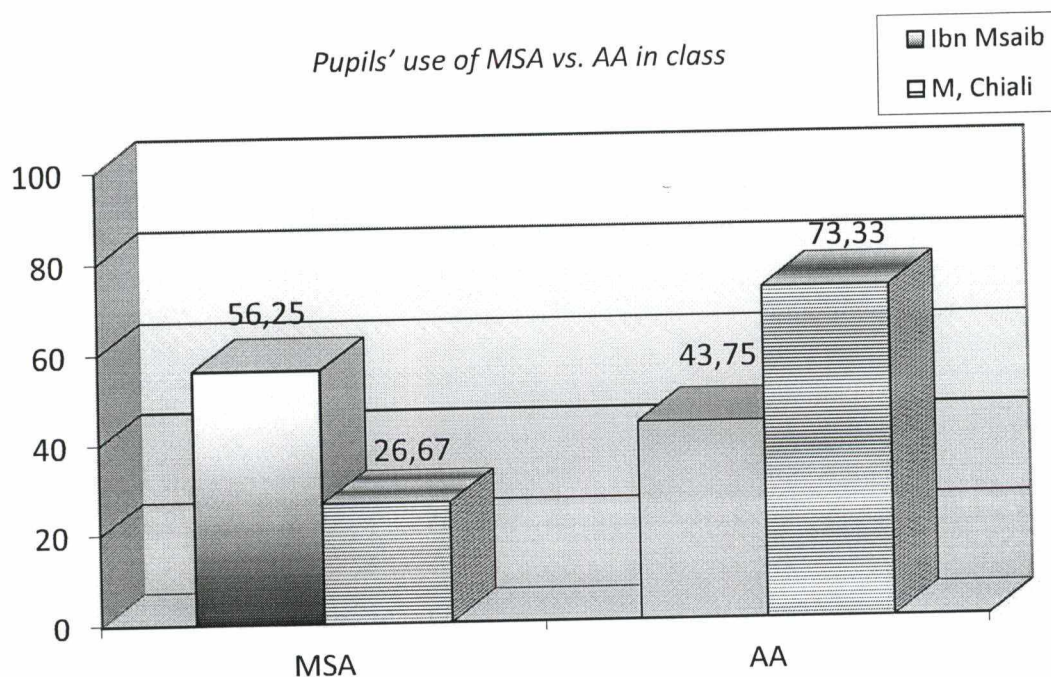


Figure 3.7. Pupils' use of MSA vs AA in class

Here is a table and then a graph showing the results obtained for the second question: 'Do you understand MSA in class?'

	Yes	Freq.	No	Freq.
Ibn Msaib N= 32	18	56,25%	14	43,75%
Mustapha Chiali N=30	12	40%	18	60%

Table 3.9. The understanding skill in MSA in class

Similarly, the scores obtained above show that , the majority of pupils of *Ibn Msaib* PS with a rate of 56,25% said that they understand MSA, while 43,75% affirmed that they do not understand it well. Conversely, in *Mustapha Chiali* 40% claimed that they comprehend MSA, whereas 60% of the respondents confirmed that MSA is not understood accurately.

Consider the following graph which represents the above results

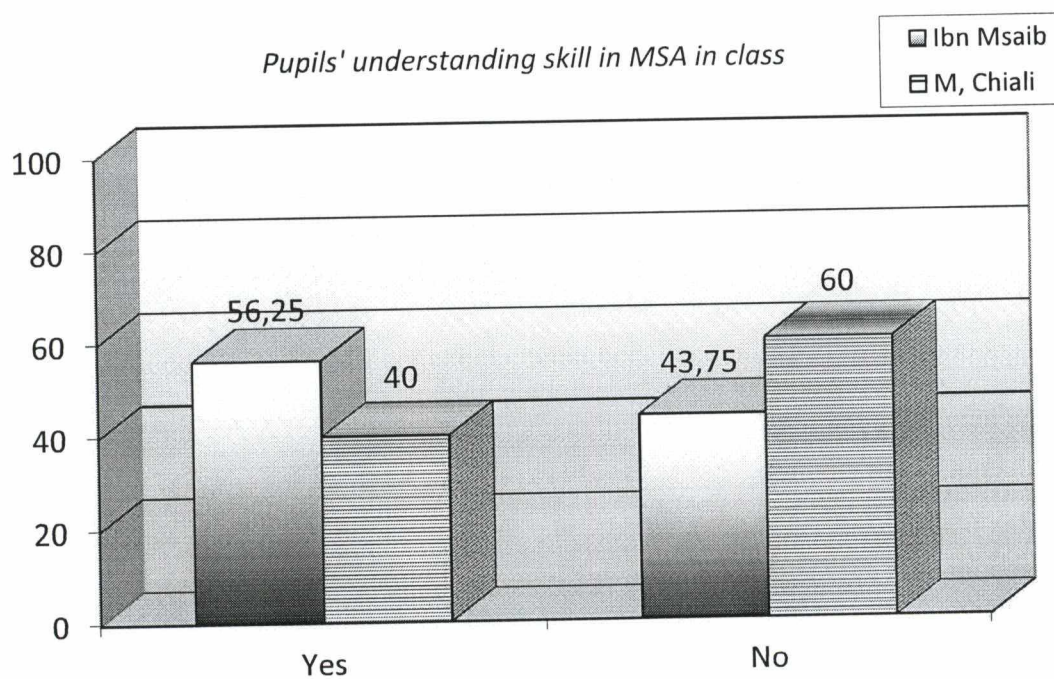


Figure 3.8. Pupils' understanding skill in MSA in class

The table below gives an idea about the third question: 'Is it easy to learn MSA?'

	Yes		No		A little	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Ibn Msaib N= 32	18	56,25%	10	31,25%	4	12,50%
Mustapha Chiali N= 30	10	33,33%	15	50%	5	16,67%

Table 3.10. Pupils' perception about learning MSA

The results are nearly similar to those obtained in the second question. Again, most pupils with a rate of 56, 25% from *Ibn Msaib* PS reported that it is easy to learn Standard Arabic, 31,25% said that it is not easy, while the others claimed that it is a little bit easy to learn it . However, 33,33% solely of the number of pupils from *Mustapha Chiali* PS affirmed that it easy to learn *fusha*, while 50% claimed 'No' and the minority with a rate of 16,67% acknowledged that it is a little bit easy to learn MSA.

The above results are represented in the following graph:

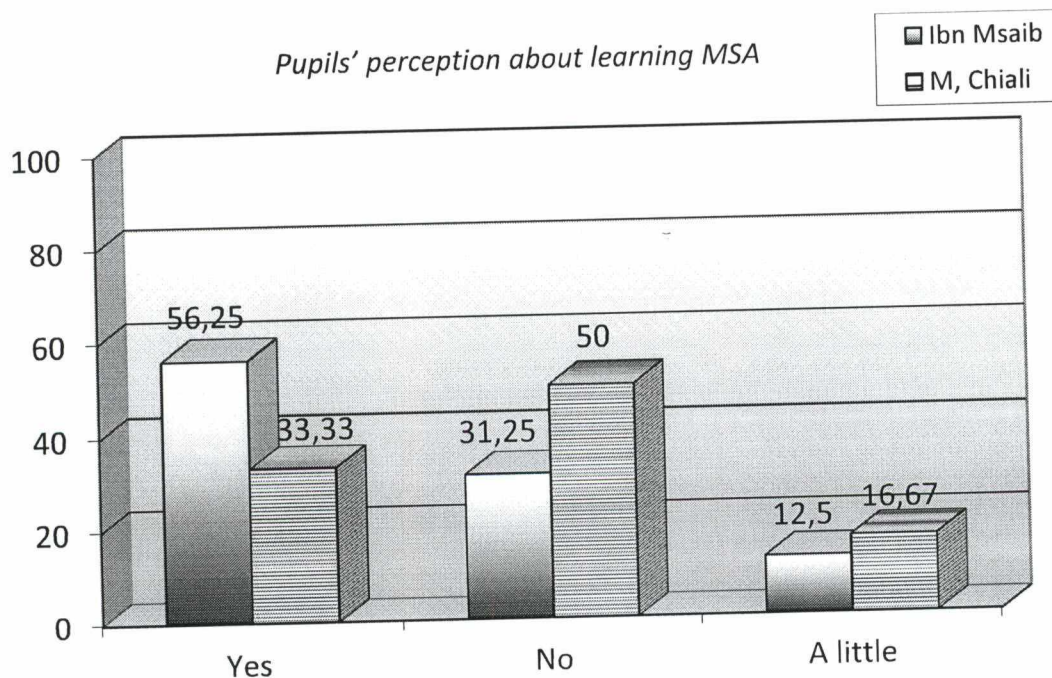


Figure 3.9. Pupils' perception about learning MSA

We see from the following table the degree of MSA production by the learners as mentioned in the fourth question 'How well do you speak MSA?'

	Perfectly		A little bit		Not at all	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Ibn Msaib N= 32	8	25%	20	62,50%	4	12,50%
Mustapha Chiali N=30	2	6,67%	16	53,33%	12	40%

Table 3.11. Pupils' proficiency in speaking MSA

In this section, the informants were asked to determine their degree of proficiency in speaking MSA, thus we found that over 32 respondents in *Ibn Msaib* PS, MSA was said to be spoken perfectly by 25%, a little bit spoken by 62,50% and not at all produced by 12,50%. On the other hand, in *Mustapha Chiali* PS, MSA was affirmed to be produced perfectly by only 6,67%, a little bit spoken by a higher rate of pupils 53,33% and not at all used by 40%.

The obtained results are represented in the graph below:

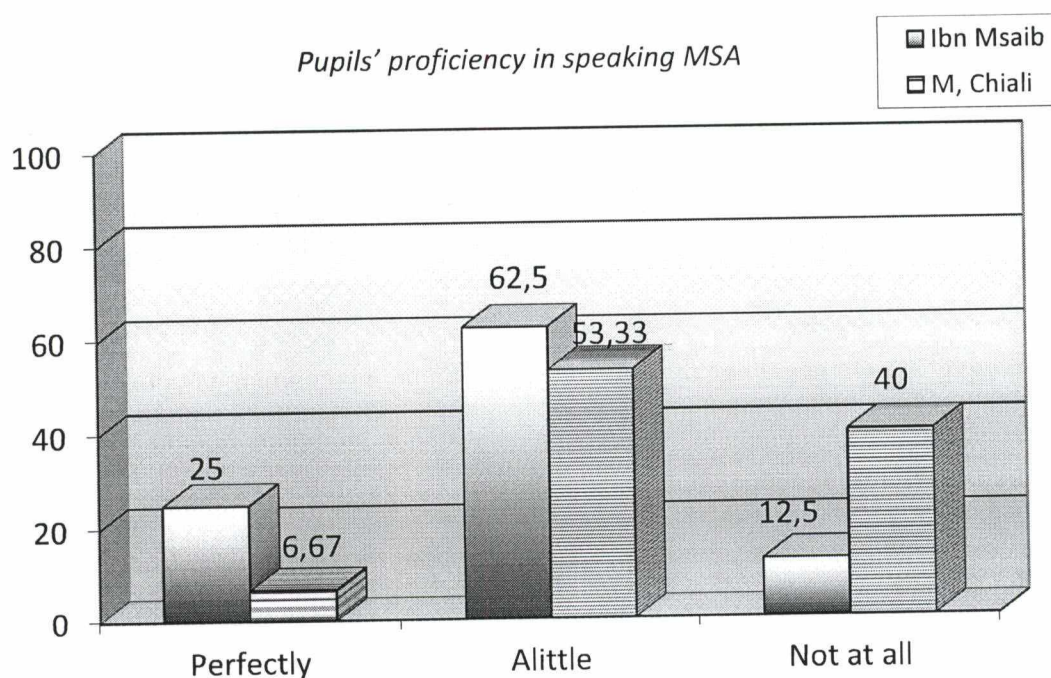


Figure 3.10. Pupils' proficiency in speaking MSA

When pupils from *Ibn Msaib* PS were asked about the variety in which they express themselves better in classroom interaction, the majority affirmed that it is MSA. A girl aged 6 said: *'Mum always reads to me a story in the language of the classroom'⁵² before going to bed, so I have a great deal of vocabulary in this 'language' in mind*. Another girl aged 7 replied: *'Daddy speaks the language of the classroom at home, I never call him 'Papa', but instead, I call him 'abi', so I am accustomed to use the language of the classroom with my parents at home*. However, when the same question was posed to pupils from *Mustapha Chiali* PS, the majority claimed 'AA'. One boy aged 6 answered: *'I spend so much time in the street playing football, so no body speaks the language of the classroom in the neighbourhood*'. Another girl also aged 6 said *'I watch French cartoons like 'Tiji' and 'Piwi' and nobody in my family uses the language of the classroom at home, so I cannot express myself spontaneously in MSA in class.'*

Nearly similar responses were obtained for the second and third question. When asked: "Do you understand MSA?" and 'Is it easy to learn MSA?', most pupils from *Ibn Msaib* PS reported 'yes' for the first question as well as for the second one. For instance, a young girl aged 7 said: *'when I go home, I do my homework, and then I watch 'Toyor-el- Djennah'; in this channel, all the cartoons are broadcasted in the language of the classroom, so it is very easy to understand and learn it at school*. Another boy from the same PS claimed: *'I always go to the mosque with abi on Fridays, the Imam speaks the language of the classroom and abi also, reads the Qur'an in this language. This is the language of God and personally, I find it easy to learn and to understand the language of the classroom'*. Still others claimed that it is easy to learn and to understand MSA as they had already studied this variety in pre-school grade. By contrast, a boy aged 7 from *Mustapha Chiali* PS said: *'I don't understand the language of the classroom, it is very difficult, and it is all about pronunciation. Why the home language'⁵³ is not taught instead?; this is the language we use everywhere, with our parents as well as with our friends'*. Another boy from

⁵² By 'the language of the classroom', the pupils meant obviously MSA.

⁵³ What is meant by 'the home language' is obviously AA and pupils are accustomed to call it this way in the classroom.

the same PS answered 'It is not easy at all; I find it hard when I speak the language of the classroom and even the teacher uses the home language when explaining the lessons.' When the question 'How well do you speak MSA?' was posed, the majority of respondents from both PS reply 'a little bit'. The majority of first grade pupils in *Mustapha chiali* PS did not have the chance to have access to pre-schooling, as affirmed by their teachers because of some unknown reasons.

Therefore, when asked 'Why is it difficult to express yourself in MSA in classroom interaction?' (See Appendix C), the majority of respondents from both PS said that they lack vocabulary in MSA and that it is difficult to pronounce some words. They generally focused on lexical and phonological differences between MSA and AA, and mainly on case-ending differences. In addition, they all claimed that reading in MSA is quite a hard task.

Finally, when we asked pupils to find the equivalent words in MSA for the words we suggested (see Appendix C), various answers were proposed by informants from both PS. For instance for the word /muʃwara/ meaning 'handkerchief', the majority said /muʃwaratun/ or /sarbi:tʃatun/. Very few said 'mindilun', while others remained silent. The words /fʃən/, /lamba/, /boʃʃa/ and /sɣæna/ meaning 'he woke up', 'lamp', 'post-office' and 'heat' respectively were mostly realized as /faʃana/, /lambatun/, /boʃʃatun/, /saɣa:natun/ instead of 'ʔistaiqaða', 'miɣba:ħun', 'bæri:dun' and 'ħara:raturun' respectively. A remark worth pointing out here is that we noticed that pupils from *Ibn Msaib* PS showed to some extent higher fluency in finding the right words in MSA, in comparison with those from *Mustapha Chiali* PS, probably because these pupils have already benefited from a year in pre-schooling.

3.4.2.2. Findings from the Interview with Teachers

Six teachers were interviewed on the basis of 5 open-ended questions used to gather more reliable data about the language difficulties that pupils face in classroom interaction.

- **Teachers from *Ibn Msaib* PS**

The first question is considered as introductory in form, it was posed purposely to carry on our inquiry.

Qu. 1: How do you introduce the pupils to this reality of the co-existence of two varieties of Arabic: 'al-fuṣḥa' and 'al-daridja'?

All teachers claimed that they tell to their pupils 'we are no more at home or in the street. Now that we are in school, we are going to learn a 'new language''. A female teacher having had thirty years of experience acknowledged: *'I tell them, we are going to learn together a beautiful language which is the language of Qur'an. Who loves Allah? Come on, raise your hands. Those who love God must learn this 'language'!*

Qu. 2: What are the main language difficulties that pupils encounter when using MSA in classroom interaction?

All the teachers insist on lexical as well as phonological difficulties. A male teacher who had an experience of twenty years affirmed: *'pupils in general feel a kind of linguistic insecurity as they lack vocabulary in MSA and do not pronounce correctly some words, especially those phonemes which appear to be the same as /t/ and /θ/; /q/ and /k/; /s/ and /ṣ/; /d/ and /ð/, and many others. For example words like /θala:θa/, /ðala:mun/ or /ṣa:ra/ are realized by the majority of pupils like /tala:ta/, /dala:mun/, or /sa:ra/. I always insist on the right pronunciation of these consonants.'*

Qu. 3: What reasons stand behind pupils' linguistic deficiency?

The first teacher claimed: *'Because of lack of practice at home, pupils have great difficulties when interacting with their teachers'*. Another one said: *'this is mainly due to the syllabus which emphasizes on reading and writing skills rather than on practicing the language.'* Still another one affirmed that: *'Most teachers use their*

dialects when explaining the lessons and they are doing a disservice to pupils. The teacher sets an example; if he uses solely MSA in class, the pupils will inevitably follow and learn from him, since their memory is still fresh.' A female teacher who had an experience of ten years said: *'it is not the fault of pupils since they are still young; we, as Arabic course teachers, should spend remarkable efforts to teach them this beautiful language and try to avoid using AA when explaining the lessons. In addition, we need the help of the society as a whole including parents, educationists, etc.'*

Qu. 4: Does the use of the vernacular in classroom affect pupils' linguistic attainment?

All teachers said: *'of course'*. A female teacher reported: *'the use of the vernacular is limited to some situations outside the school. I am a teacher of Arabic, so I have to use MSA when explaining the lessons. We have to root this 'language' in pupils' minds since it is the real language, the language of Qur'an and I hope that one day everyone will use it as a mother tongue'*.

Qu. 5: Is it easy for pupils to use MSA in classroom interaction?

All teachers affirmed that at the beginning, it is always quite a hard task, especially for those who did not have access to pre-schooling, but with practice and all the efforts spent on the part of teachers and parents, pupils show a clear amelioration by the end of the school-year. A female teacher said: *'at the beginning, it is very hard, and the teacher is obliged to use AA when explaining the lessons. If in the beginning, the teacher uses MSA only, the pupils will show some disgust, but as the proverb says practice makes perfect.'*

- **Teachers from *Mustapha Chiali***

Concerning the first question, the teachers' responses were similar to those of *Ibn Msaib* PS. Both teachers said *'We tell them at the beginning of the school-year that the language spoken at home is no more used at school, we are going to learn a beautiful language which is the language of Qur'an'*.

For Question n° 2, the same responses as with teachers from *Ibn Msaib* were obtained. Teachers stressed the point that the majority of their pupils feel embarrassment and insecurity in classroom interaction because they lack the necessary words when expressing themselves in MSA and they also insist on phonological problems, in particular with emphatic consonants.

In the third question, one teacher said that: *'teachers are responsible for such linguistic deficiency as they use the vernacular when explaining the lessons, so, personally, I urge all the teachers of Arabic to drop this bad linguistic behaviour.'* The other said: *'parents are responsible for this linguistic deficiency. Even if they do not have time to converse with their children in MSA, or to tell them a story, they should at least expose them to TV programmes in MSA such as cartoons and documentaries before formal instruction.'*

Concerning the fourth question, the answers were the same as those obtained above. Both teachers gave positive requests. They said that their aim is to spread the use of MSA much more.

When the last question was posed, both teachers confirmed that it is very difficult and that, there is an urgent need for the creation of a pre-school class as in the other primary schools. One of the teachers reported: *'first grade pupils in Mustapha Chiali prefer to use AA in classroom interaction. In this school, pupils do not benefit from pre-schooling; our head master is still trying hard for the creation of a pre-school class.'*

3.4.3. Matched-Guise Technique Findings: MSA and Pupils' Attitudes

The aim behind the use of this method was to unveil pupils' attitudes towards MSA and to show if there are differences between the two selected groups. Though some qualitative remarks are mentioned, the questionnaire administered to each group insists on quantitative data in order to approach exactness. The passage from '*Little Red Cap*' story was first narrated in MSA then later on in AA.

3.4.3.1. Quantitative Findings

The table below highlights data related to the respondents' assumption about the gender of the first guise (G1).

	Boy		Girl		I do not know	
Ibn Msaib N= 32	8	25%	20	62,50%	4	12,50%
Mustapha Chiali N= 30	10	33,33%	18	60% -	2	6,67%

Table 3.12. Percentages of the respondents' assumption of G1 gender

The graph below shows the obtained results

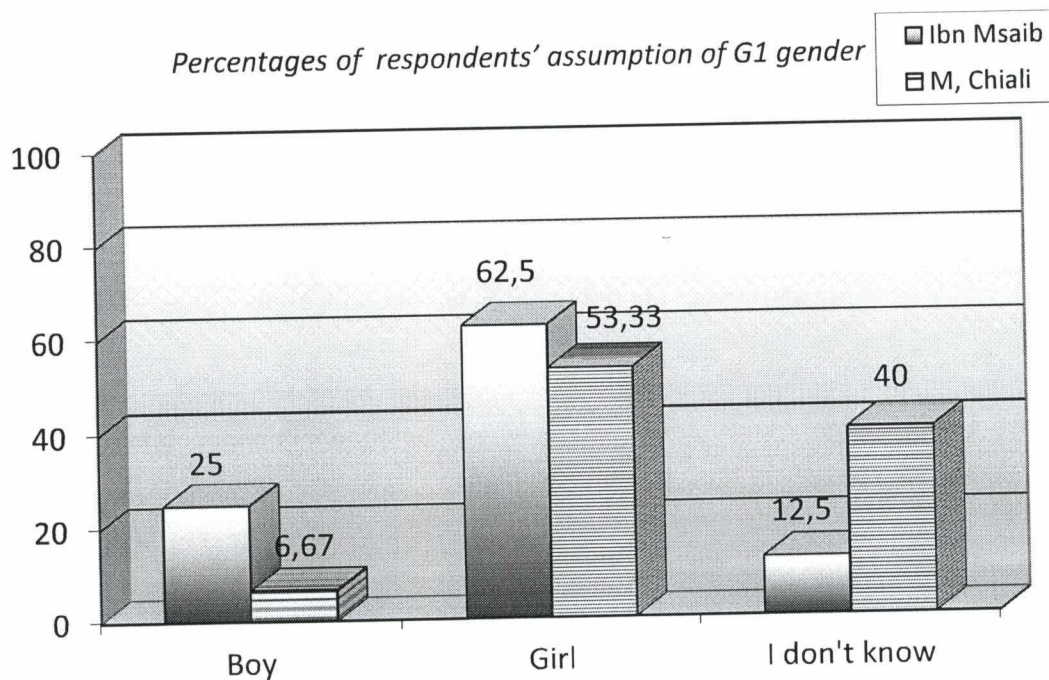


Figure 3.11. Percentages of the respondents' assumption of G1 gender

The following table displays pupils' assumption about the gender's second guise.

	Boy		Girl		I do not know	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Ibn Msaib N= 32	16	50%	8	25%	8	25%
Mustapha Chiali N=30	20	66,66%	6	20%	4	13,34%

Table 3.13. Percentages of the respondents' assumption of G2 gender

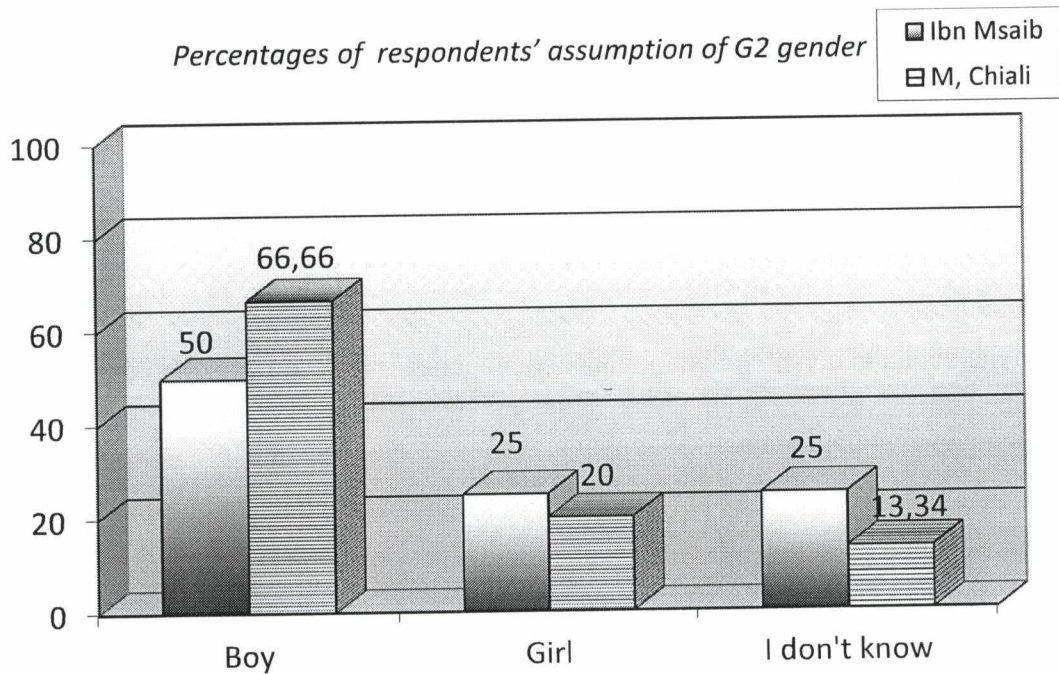


Figure 3.12. Percentages of the respondents' assumption of G2 gender

When asked which one is younger, pupil 1, or pupil 2, the respondents from each PS gave the following data:

	Reporting pupil 1 (MSA)		Reporting pupil 2 (AA)	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Ibn Msaib N= 32	10	31,25%	22	68,75%
Mustapha Chiali N=30	18	60%	12	40%

Table 3.14. Pupils' selection of the younger guise

The results obtained above are illustrated in the following graph.

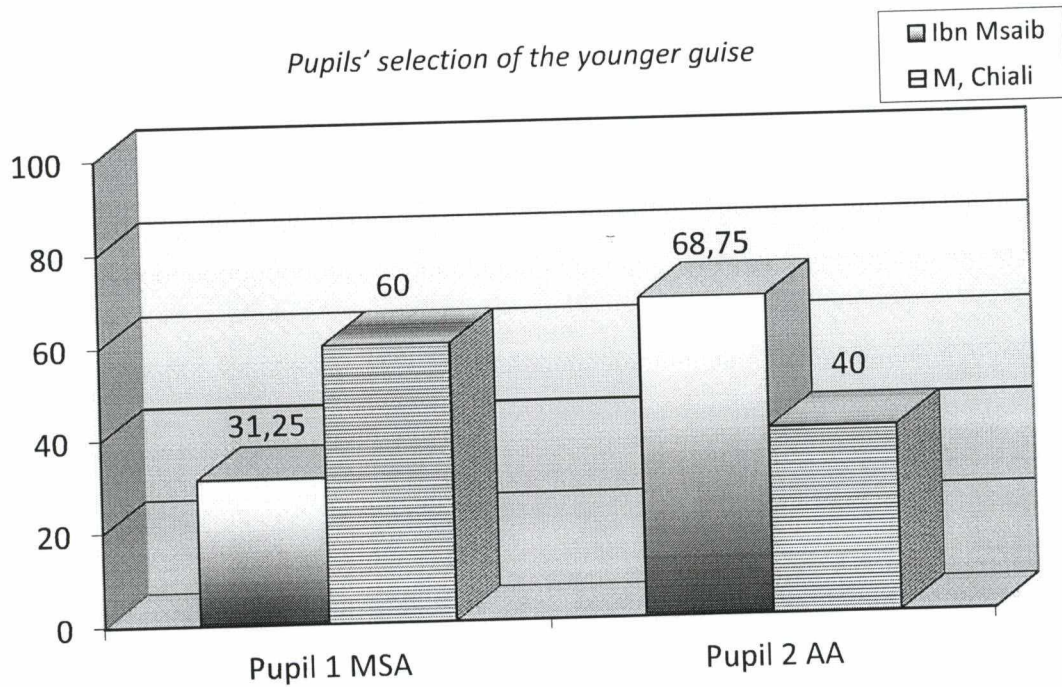


Figure 3.13. Pupils' selection of the younger guise

When asked who is more pleasant, pupil1, or pupil2, informants provided data as in table 16:

	Pupil 1		Pupil 2	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Ibn Msaib N= 32	21	65,63%	11	34,37%
Mustapha Chiali N= 30	11	36,66%	19	63,34%

Table 3.15. Pupils' affirmation of guises' pleasantness

The graph below confirms the above results.

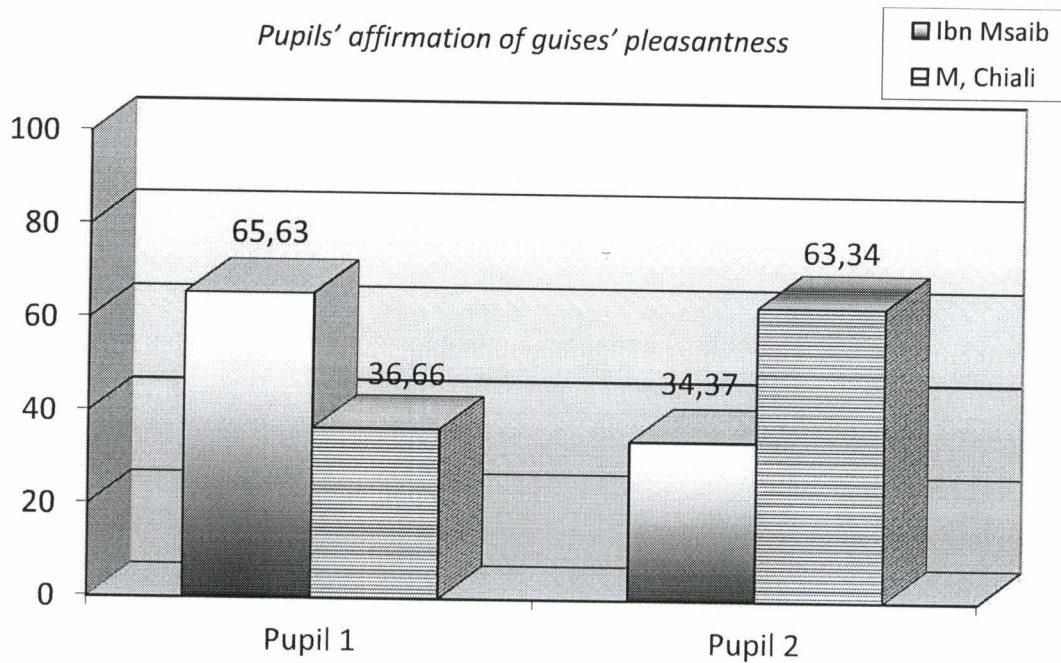


Figure 3.14. Pupils' affirmation of guises' pleasantness

The respondents expressed their attitudes towards G1 by putting a cross in the square blanks they think appropriate. The table below shows clearly the rates in relation to their reactions towards G1.

	Normal		Stupid		Clever		I don't know	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Ibn Msaib N= 32	3	9,38%	12	37,50%	16	50%	1	3,12%
Mustapha Chiali N= 30	6	20%	14	46,67%	4	13,33%	6	20%

Table 3.16. Pupils' attitudes towards G1(MSA)

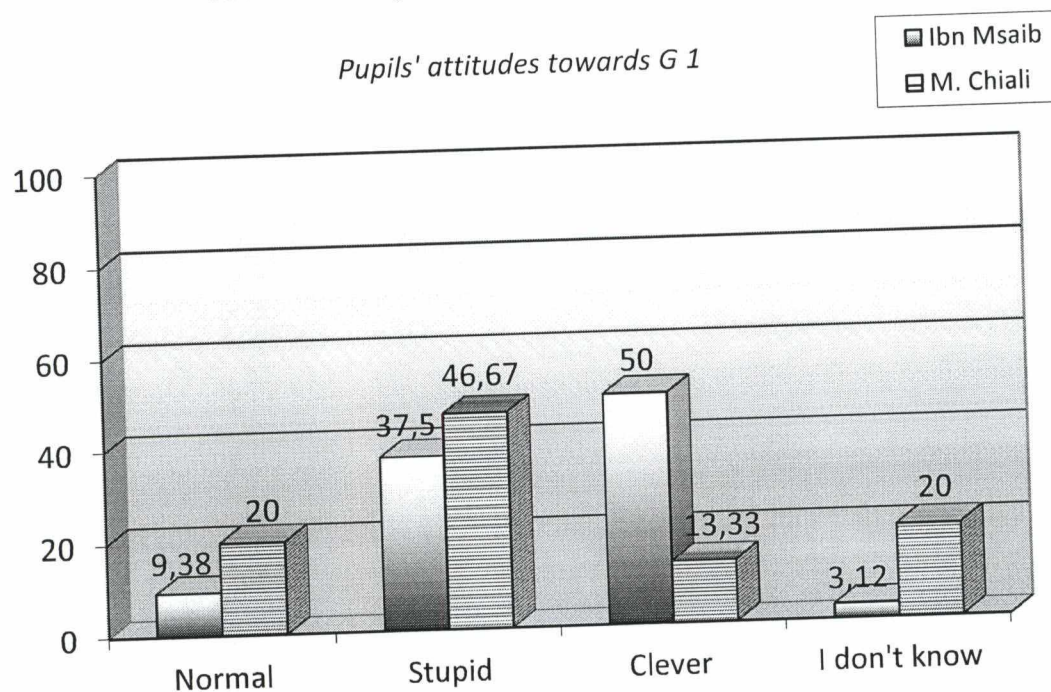


Figure 3.15. Pupils' attitudes towards G1 (MSA)

On the other hand, the table below reveals pupils' attitudes towards G2.

	Normal		Stupid		Clever		I don't know	
Ibn Msaib N= 32	7	21,87%	18	56,2%	4	12,5%	3	9,37%
Mustapha Chiali N= 30	8	26,66%	3	10%	14	46,66%	5	16,66%

Table 3.17. Pupils' attitudes towards G2 (AA)

Consider the corresponding graph:

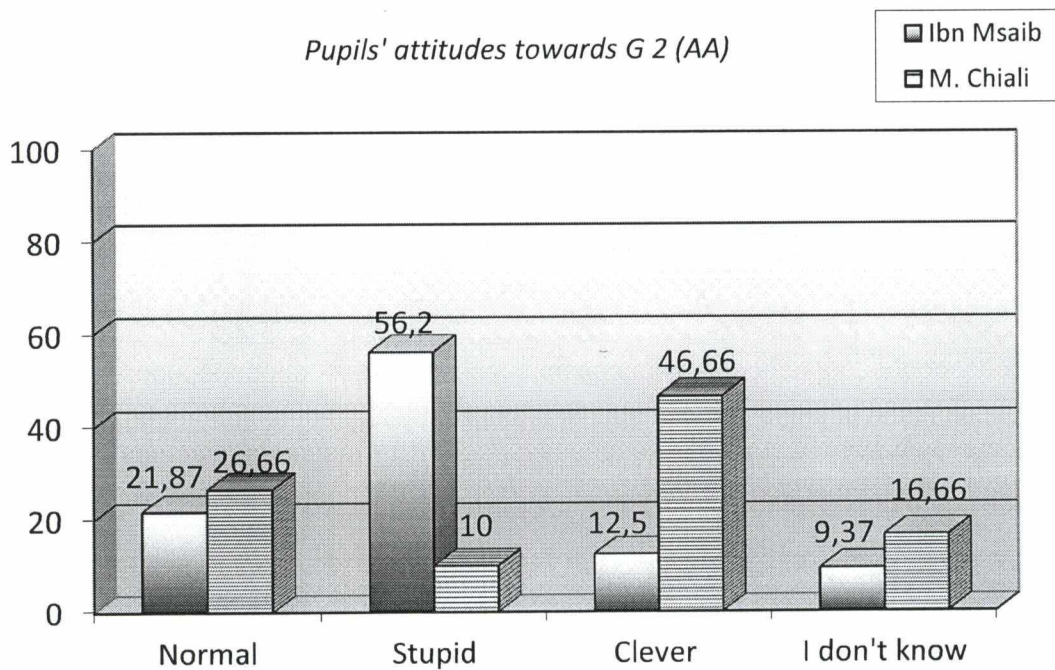


Figure.3.16. Pupils' attitudes towards G2 (AA)

3.4.3.2. Qualitative Findings

Something worth mentioning is that, when pupils from *Ibn Msaib* PS listened to the first guise in MSA, they had no reaction. However, when they listened to the second guise, all the class laughed out loudly. All the pupils were looking at one another curiously and joking about the guise. In *Mustapha Chiali* PS, the reverse occurred, probably because these pupils are accustomed to listen to stories in AA at home. Another possibility relates to their perception that MSA is quite difficult to learn and to understand.

3.4.4. Classroom Observation Findings

Two sequential observation sessions were organized in each primary school. Two of them were held in two distinct classes in *Ibn Msaib* PS and two others in two different classes in *Mustapha Chiali*. Therefore the data were gathered from four different classes in a direct and natural manner.

- **Results from *Ibn Msaib* PS:**

Example 1:

Consider the following conversation between the teacher and pupils in a lesson of reading comprehension. The topic discussed was about 'A Visit to the Farm'.

Teacher: ?ija s̄ənto mli:ħ ja ?at̄ fa:l ?aina ōahaba rida:
(Come on children, where did Reda go?).

Pupil1: ōahaba rida: ?ila: lmazraʔati li jazu:ra ʔammahu
(Reda went to the farm to call on his uncle).

Teacher: ?aħsant wa ma: ōa: faʔalat muna
(Good, and what did Mouna do?)

Pupil 2: ħallət lɓab wə lkəlb ʒra moraha
(She opened the door, and the dog ran after her).

Teacher: ʔawədha ja bən ta:ʒ bəluyat əl qism
(Bentadj, say it again in MSA).

Pupil 3: fataħat lba:b tumma maʔa: lkalbu wara: ʔaha
(She opened the door, after that, the dog followed her).

Teacher: wa kaifa ʔaʒbaħa lʔiʒlu
(And how did the calf become?).

Pupil 4: laqad ʒa:ra tawran
(Actually, he is a bull).

Example 2: The teacher stuck up a picture on the board and asked the pupils to describe what they see in this picture.

Teacher: ʔæsəm rakum tʃufu min χila:l ha:ðihi ʒʒura lʒami:la
(What do you see through this beautiful picture?).

Pupil 1: ʔalʔarnabu ja ʔkulu lʒazar
(The rabbit is eating carrots).

Teacher: naʔam zi:d
(Yes, continue).

Pupil 1: ʔalwaladu jaʔa:du ʔassamaka
(The boy is catching a fish).

Teacher: ʔaħsant rʒaʔ lbla:stək
(Good, come back to your place).

Interactions out of the topic of discussion like showing the teacher their homework or asking for permission or when playing with each other in the school-yard were all performed in AA. Consider the following examples:

Example 1:

Teacher: ʔəffəθu lkajja:t ʔasəm ha:da: t̪labtkum baj təkəkətbu ħarf /s̪/ meʃi ħarf /s/

(Open your copy-books; what's that? I asked you to write the phoneme /s̪/ not /s/).

Pupil: huma qri:b kif-kif

(They are nearly the same).

Example 2:

Pupil: muʔallima nfasi t̪ablo

(Teacher, can I clean the board?).

Teacher: əlla ɣalli ħatta jkəmmlu kaməl lkita:ba

(No, wait until they finish writing).

- **Results from *Mustapha Chiali* PS:**

Consider the following example in which the teacher asked the pupils to remind her about the story of 'the wolf and the goat'.

Example 1:

Teacher: man juðakkiruna: qiʃʃat əddi:b wəl maʔza

(Who can remind us about the story of the wolf and the goat?).

Many pupils raise their hands and the teacher designated some of them randomly.

Pupil 1: əddi:b kla gaʔ wladəlməʔza wki ʔat maʔabratʃ wladha

(The wolf ate all the little ones and when the goat came, she didn't find them).

Pupil 2: ʔindama nahada ddiʔb ʔatəʃ famaʃa: jəʃrəb lmaʔ fasaqat̪a fəlbi:r

(When the wolf woke up, he was thirsty. Later on, he drunk water and then he fell in the well).

Teacher: ḥəkiwhali bəluʁat əlqism

(Narrate it to me in MSA).

The third pupil remained silent, and when the teacher insists on listening to him, he said: manaʁ ərafʃ nʔulha bluʁat əlqism

(I don't know how to tell it in MSA).

Example 2: In a session of mathematics, we noted the following discussion between the teacher and pupils:

Teacher: naḥsəb ʁala: θala:θa jkunu lʔalwa:ḥ marfoʁI:n ʁindana θala:θ quraiʁa:t kam nudi:f baʃ nḥaʁʁlu ʁla ʁafara

(I count to three, the slates should be raised. We have three counters. How many others should we add to obtain ten?).

Pupil 1: muʁallima, nzidu səbʁa liʔanna talata zaʔid səbʁa tusa:wi ʁafara
(We add seven because three plus seven equals ten).

Teacher: dʒajjid marwa qulinna kam nudi:f lilʁadad sitta linataḥaʁʁal ʁala:
tisʁa

(Very good, Marwa! tell us, how many should we add to the number six in order to get the number nine?).

Pupil 2: nḥammam mli:ḥ nzidu klata
(I remember well, we add three).

Teacher: matquli:f klata ʁawdiha wquli θala:θa
(Don't say klata, repeat and say θala:θa).

Apart from this all the other interactions out of class topic discussions were in AA as shown below:

Example 1:

Teacher: racim ma ʒəbtʃ luħa ljum tani
(Racim, again you don't bring your slate today!).

Pupil: papa mazal maʃraliʃ ʔəstɪlu ntaʕlluħa.
(Daddy didn't buy me the pen-slate yet).

Teacher: lazəmə tquļu jəχəffəf
(Tell him to hurry).

Example 2:

Teacher: sami ʕla:ʃ ma ʒitʃ lbarəħ taqra
(Sami, why didn't you come to school yesterday?).

Pupil: ʕla χatər kunt məre:d
(Because I was ill).

Teacher: lχatʃra ʒajja qul ləbbak jʒi mʕak
(Next time, tell your father to come with you).

The phenomenon of diglossia is clearly stated in the examples presented below. Though MSA is the appropriate variety that should be used in a formal setting (see section 2.4), it is noticed that teachers use a kind of 'middle variety' in their teaching strategies, in addition, most pupils use AA in classroom interaction, certainly because they lack the necessary lexical items in MSA. Some phonological difficulties are also worthy of consideration; for instance in *Mustapha Chiali* PS, particularly in the session of Mathematics, some pupils committed some pronunciation mistakes. The phoneme /θ/ was realized as /t/ in [θumma] or /k/ in [θalaθa]. We have also noticed that the majority of pupils from both PS have great difficulties in reading and writing skills. More details will be given in our data interpretation.

3.5. Data Interpretation

At this level, the data of this assignment are to be carefully analyzed and interpreted.

3.5.1. Questionnaire Findings and Interpretation

The variety used in classroom interaction has been reported to be a mixture of MSA and AA by the majority, except one teacher from *Ibn Msaib* PS who acknowledged using MSA solely when presenting the lessons i.e., his teaching method is based on what is known as the 'MSA approach' (see section 2.5.2). However, the majority claimed to use what is called by some sociolinguists 'middle language', which is a mixture of a standard variety and the vernacular, (Al Batal, 1992). In terms of using the 'middle language' also called ESA⁻ (see section 1.4.1.1), most teachers believe that mixing MSA and the vernacular in learning the Arabic course sometimes enhances pupils' comprehension. Actually, some sociolinguists consider that mixing of language patterns in the classrooms (*fusḥa* and dialectal Arabic code-switching) triggers serious pedagogical problems and sometimes leads to a lack of adequate language competence, low linguistic self-confidence and even to feelings of linguistic insecurity (Maamouri, 1998), while others think that the classroom should be a place in which multiple registers co-exist, as they do in real life (Al-Batal & Benlap 2006).

When asked about AA frequency use when explaining their lessons, over half of the teachers from each PS said that they sometimes use it, while a minority affirmed that they rarely or never use it. AA is sometimes integrated in explanations, mainly because the majority of informants said that they should use AA to make a smooth transition from home to school and that pupils are still young to receive all the lessons exclusively in MSA.

As reported by their teachers, the majority of pupils in both PS sometimes use MSA in classroom interaction, but this claim will be checked further in our interpretation of the classroom observation (see section 3.5.4 below). Thus, when asked if they allow their pupils to use AA in classroom interaction, all informants

claimed 'to some extent', as they all agreed that the exclusive use of AA in classroom interaction contributes in hindering MSA learning.

Therefore, all respondents declared their encouragement as to the use of MSA by their pupils in classroom interaction, regardless of the pedagogical reality which, unfortunately contradicts with this perspective. Teachers realize the importance of using MSA in their teaching strategies and this is reflected in the statements they revealed previously (see section 3.4.1.2).

3.5.2. Interview Findings and Interpretation

In this part, interview results obtained from each PS are to be interpreted and compared to have a clearer view concerning the pupils' language difficulties in classroom interaction.

3.5 2.1. Interpretation of the Pupils' Answers

When asked about the variety in which they express themselves better in classroom interaction, pupils' responses were in contradiction with their teachers' arguments, as 18 informants with a rate of 56, 25% from *Ibn Msaib* PS affirmed having a better command of MSA use, while the number of pupils reporting to speak AA better is slightly lower. On the other hand, pupils from *Mustapha Chiali* PS reported to have better proficiency in AA use when interacting with teachers and a remarkable deficiency in MSA use in classroom interaction, which could be interpreted thus: most of the times these pupils use their dialects in the classroom interaction due to their disability in MSA communicative skills, but when we consider some pupils' claims, we can deduce that parents' contribution is of paramount importance in motivating and helping their children to use MSA.

Again, the majority of informants in *Ibn Msaib* PS acknowledged comprehending MSA and for them, *fusha*, is quite easy to learn. The other group of respondents from *Mustapha Chiali* affirmed the opposite. Thus, for the majority, MSA is not at all easy to learn, nor is it easy to understand. This idea is clearly supported by some pupils' answers and the reason is that, most pupils did not have the privilege to benefit from

pre-schooling. Another reason relates to the fact that most parents neglect the importance of exposing their children to MSA at home. In addition, most pupils from both PS reported that MSA is spoken a little bit well in classroom interaction and by no means in a spontaneous manner.

Moreover, the majority pointed out that they find it difficult to express themselves in MSA in classroom interaction due to their disability in finding the accurate lexical words to express themselves, in addition to the difficulties in pronouncing words correctly in MSA. Indeed, the scarce use of MSA in classroom interaction by some pupils seems to make them feel when talking in MSA, as if they were speaking a foreign unfamiliar language and consequently, they feel embarrassment and insecurity. This behaviour definitely supports the diglossic situation in the classrooms and impedes the achievement of the desired objectives of the learning process.

When respondents were asked to transform words from AA to MSA, most pupils, especially those from *Mustapha Chiali* PS, showed a kind of frustration as well as a feeling of linguistic insecurity, mainly because the proposed words seemed to be unfamiliar to them. Indeed, “this lack of security comes from a general feeling of low understanding of modern fusha and of low identification of its norms”, as stated by (Maamouri 1998: 40). However, the task became easier when they tried to convert words in MSA, simply by keeping words in AA and trying to change case endings only. This can be explained by the fact that pupils are obviously more familiar with the dialect than MSA. However, it is worth mentioning that respondents from *Ibn Msaiib* PS showed slightly higher linguistic proficiency in the realization of this exercise.

3.5.2.2. Interpretation of the Interview with Teachers

As the informants are in direct contact with the pupils, they could assert realistic remarks on their linguistic behaviour in classroom interaction. The teachers' claims concerning the way of introducing the child to this reality of Arabic as a diglossic language, reflects their high awareness of MSA significance as a medium of instruction and their perception of its tight association with Islam.

Pedagogically, teachers from both schools did not mention the morpho-syntactic differences between MSA and AA which may eventually cause problems. Hence, they focused mainly on the lexical problems as well as on the phonological difficulties encountered by most pupils in classroom interaction. This can be explained by the fact that most pupils have relatively little or no acquaintance with MSA outside the school environment.

Undoubtedly, the classroom interaction variety has great effect on teaching quality, and thus on the pupils' linguistic behaviour in general. Most teachers from both PS attributed the pupils' linguistic deficiency to AA use when presenting the lessons, but this revelation seems to contradict their assertion as to the simultaneous use of MSA and AA in class (see section 3.4.1.1). Other teachers reported various reasons. According to a male teacher from *Ibn Msaib* PS, this is due to the pupils' lack of practicing the language with their family members, while another teacher from *Mustapha Chiali* PS affirmed that parents are faulty; still another from the same PS, accused the syllabus which, according to him, does not give great importance to the speaking skill, but rather, focuses on reading and writing skills.

Again, when asked if the vernacular use in the classroom affects pupils' linguistic attainment, the answers obtained from the majority of informants contrast with their claims when asked to report about the variety used in classroom interaction (see question 1, Appendix A). Teachers from *Ibn Msaib* PS also affirmed that it is quite hard for pupils to use MSA in classroom interaction, but they stressed the fact that it is mainly difficult in the beginning of the school-year. It is obvious that the language used by pupils at home or in the neighbourhood differs to a large extent from literary Arabic. On the other hand, teachers from *Mustapha Chiali* PS declared that it is not an easy task because of the non-existence of pre-school grade in this school. From this, one may deduce that pre-schooling is very important to pupils before moving to the first grade, as it enhances their linguistic proficiency in MSA.

3.5.3. Interpretation of the Matched-Guise Technique Findings

This method could generate data that could be analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively which will be interpreted as objectively as possible.

3.5.3.1. Quantitative Findings

- **Gender and Attitudes**

In an attempt to check the respondents' assumption of the gender of the performers in the two guises, the pupils listened carefully to the taped recorded speech of a person playing the role of all the speakers in the guises without changing the voice pitch, so as not to affect the informants' answers. In *Ibn Msaib* PS, the majority with a rate of 62,50% considered guise1 using MSA as a girl. There was an absolute agreement among them that performer1 was a girl. In other words, as the great majority of the selected group from this PS consisted of girls, they attempted to say that they always behave in this manner. On the other hand, in *Mustapha Chiali* PS, the great majority of respondents consisted of boys. Therefore, there was a general agreement among informants that guise1 was of no doubt a girl. This means that pupils attempt to say that they never behave this way.

The results for the second guise using AA are quite different. Here, again, in *Ibn Msaib*, a percentage of 50% is attributed to those who affirmed that performer 2 using AA is a boy, while a minority with a rate of 25% said that she is a girl and the percentage of 25% chose the option 'I do not know'. This means that informants from *Ibn Msaib* PS use less AA in class and more MSA in comparison with pupils from the other school. However, informants with a rate of 66, 66% from *Mustapha Chiali* PS asserted that the speaker using AA is a boy. In spite of the fact that the researcher told the informants that the gender of the speakers in the two guises is unknown, the Arabic word *tilmid* for 'pupil' might have influenced their answers. In other words, pupils from *Mustapha Chiali* use more AA and less MSA in their learning strategies. These findings relate to our previous results using the other research tools.

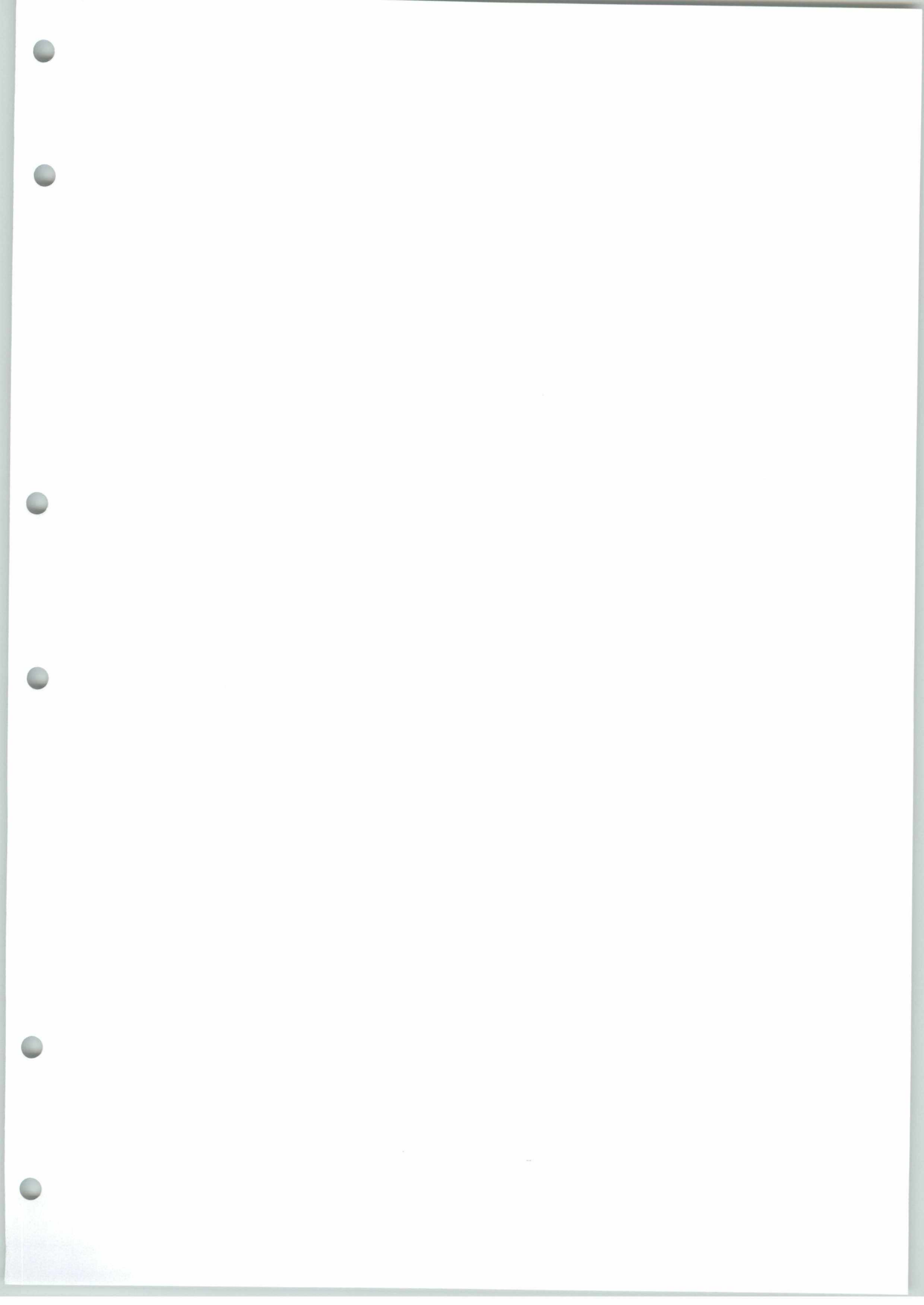
- **Age and Attitudes**

When asked whether performer 1 is younger than performer 2, or the other way round, most pupils from *Ibn Msaib* PS with a rate of 68, 75% reported that it is speaker 2, i.e., the one using AA, a case usually encountered in pre-school grade. However, we found in this portion that only 31, 25% of the informants who claimed that the pupil using MSA is speaker1. In reality, due to their small age, we are not sure whether pupils are aware of the difference between the linguistic behaviour of the speakers in the two guises or they simply tried to report answers that pleased the teacher.

However, at first glance, the majority of informants with a rate of 60% from *Mustapha Chiali* PS, assumed that the speaker using MSA is the younger and this, in spite of the fact that the speech in the second guise was characterized by the glottal stop [ʔ], while a rate of 40% is attributed to those who affirmed the reverse. This assertion might be interpreted that, as the majority of pupils in this PS are boys, they usually associate MSA with pre-school grade, in case they are aware of the linguistic behaviour of the speakers in the two guises. In order to avoid obtaining random data concerning age and linguistic varieties, we posed a more direct and precise question which demands checking which speaker is more pleasant than the other.

- **Pleasantness and Attitude**

Table 3.16 above demonstrates that, informants from *Ibn Msaib* PS highly appreciate MSA. 21pupils with a rate of 65, 63% considered the first pupil as more pleasant than the second one, whereas pupils from *Mustapha Chiali* PS with a rate of 36, 66% perceived the first speaker as less pleasant than the second one. This means that pupils from this school favour AA speech and view the speaker using MSA as quite unpleasant. What seems surprising is that despite the fact that the speech characterized by the glottal stop is seen as effeminate, boys who represent the majority of respondents consider the speaker using MSA as less pleasant.



- **MSA/ AA Attitudes**

It is important to emphasize again that in the application of the ‘matched-guise technique’, it is not the speech itself which is evaluated, but the user of the speech variety. In *Ibn Msaib* PS for the MSA guise, 50% of the respondents checked the option ‘clever’ and then the next percentage was obtained in the option ‘stupid’. A slim minority opted for the option ‘normal’ and a very few were uninterested and checked the option ‘I do not know’. On the other hand, for the second guise, the majority of the pupils considered the speaker using AA as stupid. This controversy may relate to the fact that these pupils are usually read to in MSA and they are not accustomed listening to stories in AA. This fact reinforces our third hypothesis that posits: pupils have positive attitudes towards MSA because of its overall association with Islam.

Ironically, negative attitudes are crystal clear in the data collected about the speaker using MSA in *Mustapha Chiali* PS, where the majority of first grade pupils with a percentage of 46, 67% conceived the speaker in the first guise as stupid. Similar rates were found for those who considered the one using AA as ‘clever’. This might be explained that these pupils have relatively no contact with MSA outside the school milieu. Therefore, this fact contradicts our third hypothesis and we might have assumed some negative attitudes towards MSA on the part of some pupils.

3.5.3.2. Qualitative Findings

In *Ibn Msaib* PS, the behaviour of laughing out loudly clearly shows the extent to which using AA in classroom interaction seems surprising to the informants. For them, the learner who uses AA in class is breaking the rule of conversation. However, for pupils in *Mustapha Chiali* PS, the opposite is true. This means that, for these pupils the use of AA in classroom interaction is a quite normal behaviour. These assertions might be reinforced by our interpretation of the classroom observation.

3.5.4. Interpretation of the Classroom Observation Findings

The striking result obtained from classroom observation is the difference between the two primary schools involved in this study. One can witness that the pupils from *Ibn Msaib PS* had spent efforts to communicate in MSA accurately. In example1, the teacher congratulated pupil1 for her correct answer. In addition, example1 as well as example2 reflected pupils' willingness to use MSA, except pupil 2 (in example1) who answered the teacher in AA because of his inaccuracy in this variety. Apart from this, all the teachers' speech was a mixture of MSA and AA. In the first example (see section 3.4.4), the teacher asked pupil 3 to repeat his classmate's answer in MSA and did not pay attention to her AA use when interacting with pupils. Moreover, the teacher took for granted the verbal errors made by pupil1 who said 'lɣazar' and 'ʔassamaka' instead of 'lɣazara' and 'ʔassamakata' for 'carrots' and 'fish' respectively and she did not correct the structure of the two sentences given by the same pupil which is normally in MSA, verb-subject-object (VSO). Some slight lexical and phonological mistakes were made by some pupils in example1, especially by pupil 3 who realized /θ/ as /t/, and instead of saying /ðahaba/, he says 'mafa:', which means 'he went (away)' but in AA.

As opposed to the pupils from *Ibn Msaib PS*, those from *Mustapha Chiali PS* showed more eagerness to use AA in classroom interaction because these pupils seem to have less exposure to MSA outside the classroom setting in comparison to pupils from the other school. They also felt a kind of frustration and linguistic insecurity when answering the teacher. Pupil 3 remained silent because he lacked the accurate words to express himself in MSA, while the other pupils' answers were mostly in AA. Similarly, some phonological mistakes were noticed on the part of some pupils, and teachers constantly switched to AA in their teaching strategies believing that this may facilitate comprehension. Any interaction that is outside the lesson frame and having a communicative value occurred in AA in both schools. Furthermore, pupils who claimed that they are read to in MSA at home showed higher proficiency in using

MSA in classroom interaction. Here, the role of parents is of paramount importance in enhancing their children's communicative skills.

3.6. General Findings: Interpretation and Integration

This empirical research work unveils the concrete diglossic situation of the Arabic classrooms in Tlemcen primary schools. The results of this assignment reveal the variety used by both teachers and pupils in the teaching/ learning process in classroom interaction. The study analysis reveals that teachers shift back and forth between MSA and their dialects. In their teaching strategies, they use an intermediate form (ESA) in which inflectional endings are dropped. Some experienced educationists believe that the use of a familiar language to teach facilitates understanding the lessons and may help in better knowledge acquisition. Al-Batal (1992) affirms that "a colloquial and MSA should be taught in the classroom to reflect the linguistic reality in the Arab world today". Palmer (2008) comments on Al-Batal's suggestion by stating that, "his approach calls for lower levels of proficiency to be exposed to a more colloquial component with higher levels focusing more on MSA".

Moreover, pupils make great efforts to use MSA in classroom interaction for various reasons such as their linguistic deficiency in MSA and their lack of exposure to the standard variety before formal schooling, in addition MSA is not acquired naturally from birth and its structure is complex. Pupils from *Mustapha Chiali PS*, in particular, when they find it difficult to express some idea in MSA, they automatically switch to their dialects which they find much easier to communicate with their teachers. The pupils' deficiency in MSA communicative skills is a result of the paucity use of this variety in classroom interaction and lack of exposure to MSA before formal education. Parents generally assume that children do not understand MSA and do not like being read to in this variety. Here, the importance of children's experience of language interaction in the home as well as in the school is paramount. In fact, the recurring use of the dialect makes pupils' tongues more familiar with the dialect than MSA. The learners use the vernacular in classroom interaction because they are not proficient enough to communicate in MSA and, they find it disconnected from the reality of the verbal expressions used in every-day life. Furthermore, as asserted in the

findings, the linguistic distance between colloquial Arabic and literary Arabic affects mainly vocabulary and phonology. The educational problems and the persistent feelings of linguistic insecurity are directly related to the diglossic nature of Arabic.

Another important finding of this study is that pupils from *Mustapha Chiali* PS demonstrate stronger proficiency in AA use when interacting with their teachers, whereas, pupils from *Ibn Msaib* show to a somewhat higher extent, better proficiency in MSA use in classroom interaction. This may be interpreted that such proficiency relates to the fact that these pupils have already benefited from pre-schooling, while pupils from the other PS have been deprived from this advantage.

In their responses about their attitudes towards MSA, pupils from *Ibn Msaib* PS revealed a high appreciation towards MSA and felt proud of it, due to its sacred status and relation to Classical Arabic, the language of the Holy Qur'an. This feeling emerges from the Arab society perspective to MSA and the conservative nature of the Algerian society in which they live. Maamouri (1998: 37) says in this respect: "there is a prevailing feeling among Arabs that their language is imbued with a natural superiority". In spite of this high value, pupils from *Mustapha Chiali* revealed less appreciation towards MSA and favoured AA use. Because of their young age, we cannot deduce that pupils show negative attitudes towards MSA because they do not find it beautiful and expressive, but the reasons range from their perception that MSA is not easy to learn and that it is not their mother tongue, and from their fear of deficiency in MSA to their feeling with embarrassment and linguistic insecurity when using it. This lack of security comes from a general feeling of low understanding of MSA and of low identification of its norms (Maamouri, *ibid*).

The present research work proposes that teachers focus more on providing the pupils' knowledge about the language rather than developing their linguistic skills and consequently pupils cannot interact adequately with their teachers in MSA. Pupils have usually recourse to their dialects due to their weaknesses in practicing the functions of the language. Therefore, in first grade level, teachers should concentrate more on teaching pupils the language skills instead of knowledge about the language system. Moreover, the role of parents is of paramount importance in making their

children more familiar with a language that seems quite difficult to learn and understand. Abu-Rabia (2000) stresses the importance of reading skills in MSA at an early stage in order to develop the child's acquisition knowledge some years later (see section 1.6.2).

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to analyze the data gathered from the tools adopted, namely questionnaires, interviews and the matched-guise technique. In addition, the classroom observation has allowed a direct observation of the situation. Based both on a quantitative and a qualitative approach, this study has conducted an empirical study concerning the impact of Arabic diglossia on pupils' learning process at the lower primary level in Tlemcen in two different educational settings, namely *Ibn Msaib* and *Mustapha Chiali* primary schools.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

The present study is based on the revisited version (1991) of Ferguson's classical diglossia in which two varieties of the same language co-exist within the same speech community, each fulfilling different functions. In the frame of the Algerian language planning, MSA is mostly used for 'high' functions such as media, government, and administration, and mainly as a medium of instruction. AA on the other hand is usually used for 'low' functions like home and family discourse, or trade and market conversations. Diglossia has long been conceived as one of the most important challenges which confront the educational institutions in the whole Arab world, and some go beyond to consider it as an impediment to development in diglossic communities and a destruction instrument of linguistic proficiency. Indeed, there are many factors which make this sociolinguistic phenomenon an inevitable issue such as the linguistic context in which pupils live whether at home since children do not grow up speaking MSA, or in school, as almost all teachers explain the lessons using the vernacular.

Children come to the formal school setting with a natural knowledge about their oral language (AA), while the textbooks are based on literary Arabic. From this, it can be asserted that learning MSA comes about mainly as a result of formal instruction. Furthermore, children are not aware of Arabic diglossia and its impact on their learning. This assignment is significant as it shows the impact of Arabic diglossia on pupils' learning achievement at the lower primary level. Therefore, the language difficulties that first grade pupils face in learning the standard form of Arabic and the reasons behind their linguistic deficiency have been the concern of the present research work. To achieve the objectives of the study and attain answers to the research questions, a set of research tools were administered to the sample consisting of 6 teachers and 62 pupils who were selected from two primary schools in Tlemcen, with the aim of showing differences between them. The study has been based on the teachers' questionnaire and interviews conducted with both teachers and pupils, in addition to the matched-guise technique to elicit pupils' attitudes towards the standard variety. Another additional elicitation procedure has been based on classroom

observation to check our triangulation of research tools. The data collected from the sample population have been analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively, and the results have been discussed accordingly.

The results of this inquiry reveal that the Arabic course teachers from both PS use the so-called middle language (or ESA), a mixture of MSA and the vernacular in their teaching strategies believing that the introduction of ESA would benefit the pupils and be a solution to diglossia in the classroom. They argue that teaching in such a way helps in assimilation and transmitting the message to pupils who are thought to be still young to receive the lessons exclusively in MSA. The teachers' recourse to the use of the vernacular when explaining the lessons makes pupils feel confused about what constitutes formal Arabic and what does not.

The findings of this empirical work also reveal that strenuous efforts are made by the majority of pupils when using MSA in classroom interaction because of their deficiency in communicative skills in the standard variety; frustration and low linguistic self-confidence felt by young pupils are due to their inability to find the adequate words to express their ideas effectively in MSA. However, the results also show that pupils from *Ibn Msaib* PS slightly outperform pupils from *Mustapha Chiali* for, the former have benefited from pre-schooling, whereas the latter have been deprived from this privilege. Another important reason relating to better proficiency is that pupils who were exposed early to literary Arabic have more chance for success than pupils whose exposure to the standard variety is reduced or totally absent before formal instruction.

Furthermore, the study reveals significant differences between the pupils from *Ibn Msaib PS* and those from *Mustapha Chiali PS* in terms of attitudes towards the standard variety. The former have shown positive attitudes towards MSA, for they perceive it as the 'real' and 'correct' variety used in formal education, and as the language of Qur'an. However, negative attitudes displayed by the second group are mainly due to the pupils' perception that learning formal Arabic is an arduous process. This can be related to the fact that most pupils have relatively little or no acquaintance with the official language of instruction outside the school environment.

Therefore, educators should be aware of the effect of diglossia on pupils' learning process as they should be trained to explain the linguistic differences between colloquial and standard Arabic to their pupils (in terms of vocabulary, phonology and grammar). They should also recognize that there needs to be an educational reform in the teaching of Arabic in the school system. In addition, parents' awareness-raising would be an essential first step. On the basis of our findings in this study, some strategies can be highly recommended. They are as follows:

- It will be beneficial if all the teachers abandon the use of the dialect in teaching their lessons and place more emphasis on the standard variety.
- Enhancing positive pupils' attitudes towards MSA and constantly encouraging them to be much closer to this variety in classroom interaction.
- Parents' awareness about the drawbacks of limiting their children's exposure to MSA during early childhood should be raised.
- Encouraging parents to read to their children in MSA, especially before formal instruction.
- Giving pupils adequate and equal opportunities of practicing reading aloud which certainly enhances their fluency by paying attention to correcting their verbal errors through their reading. Al-Rabaa (1986:75) argues that: "reading has an important place for the Arabic-speaking child's early learning" and this is one of the best ways of developing pupils' fluency in MSA.
- The creation of interesting resources (current topics, visually appealing) and role models who communicate in MSA (cartoon characters, clowns, funny characters, action heroes, etc.) in all schools.
- Interest in teaching Arabic functionally i.e., in making pupils acquire the linguistic skills rather than teaching them grammar; or getting them to know the language instead of knowing about the language.

Finally, helping young pupils to learn a pure form of Arabic is a shared responsibility between all members involved in education, starting from the ministry of education to the pupils' social context, and it should be worth mentioning again that

the role of parents remains an important key for a good linguistic level in primary education.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Teachers' Questionnaire

الجنس: ذكر أنثى

مستوى التعليم:

مدة التعليم:

نرجو منكم الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة في مجال بحث علمي و هذا بوضع علامة (x) أمام الإجابة الصحيحة أو أخرى إذا تطلب ذلك:

1. ماهي اللغة المستعملة في القسم؟

اللغة العربية الفصحى الدارجة كلاهما

2. هل تستعملون الدارجة في القسم؟

دائما غالبا أحيانا نادرا أبدا

3. هل تسمحون للتلاميذ استعمال الدارجة أثناء الدرس؟

نعم لا إلى حد ما

لماذا.....

4. هل تشجعون تلاميذكم استعمال اللغة الفصحى في القسم؟

نعم لا أحيانا

..... لماذا

5. إلى أي مدى يستعمل التلاميذ اللغة العربية الفصحى أثناء الدرس؟

دائما غالبا أحيانا نادرا أبدا

شكرا جزيلاً على تعاونكم

The Teachers' Interview

نرجو منكم الإجابة على هذه الأسئلة من فضلكم :

1- كيف تعرضون للتلاميذ حقيقة الازدواجية اللغوية؟

.....
.....

2- ماهي أهم الصعوبات اللغوية التي يتلقاها التلاميذ عندما يستعملون الفصحى في القسم؟

.....
.....
.....
.....

3- ماهي الأسباب التي ترجع للخلل اللغوي للتلاميذ؟

.....
.....
.....
.....

4- هل استعمالكم للدارجة في القسم يؤثر على الأداء اللغوي للتلاميذ؟

.....

.....

.....

.....

5- هل التكلم باللغة العربية الفصحى أثناء الدرس مهمة سهلة بالنسبة للتلاميذ؟

لا

نعم

لماذا؟

.....

.....

.....

.....

شكرا جزيلاً على مشاركتكم

The Pupils' Interview

الاسم.....

اللقب.....

أنثى

ذكر

الجنس :

1- ماهي اللغة التي يمكنك التكلم بها بطريقة أفضل ؟

الدارجة

اللغة العربية الفصحى

2- هل تفهم اللغة العربية الفصحى؟

لا

نعم

3- هل تعلم اللغة العربية الفصحى مهمة سهلة؟

إلى حد ما

لا

نعم

لماذا؟.....

4- هل تتكلم اللغة العربية الفصحى؟

ضعيفا

متوسطا

جيда

5- لماذا التكلم بالفصحى أثناء الدرس يعتبر مهمة صعبة بالنسبة لك ؟

.....

6- ماهي الكلمات المناسبة في اللغة العربية الفصحى للكلمات الآتية؟

موشوارا فطن لامبا بوشطا سخان

شكرا جزيلآ على تعاونكم

The Matched Guise Technique

املأ في الأسئلة المقدمة إليك بعد استماعك لهذا المقطع من قصة ذات الرداء الحمراء :

التلميذ 1: في يوم من الأيام كانت هناك بنت صغيرة اسمها ذات الرداء الحمراء. كانت جدتها تسكن بعيدا في الغابة. عندما وصلت إلى الغابة التقت بذئب و لم تخف منه.

قال الذئب : صباح الخير

قالت ذات الرداء الحمراء : شكرا أيها الذئب

قال الذئب : أين أنت ذاهبة في هذا الصباح الباكر؟

قالت ذات الرداء الحمراء : عند جدتي.

التلميذ 2 حنهارات حالبينيت صغير كيسمها مولاة البالطو لحرر كانت حناها تسكن بعيد ف الجبل . كي وصلت مولاة البالطو لحرر للجبل ثلاثا الديب و ماخافتش من

ألها الديب : صبح الخير.

أتل مولاة البالطو لحرر : صحيت يا الديب.

ألها الديب : فاين ريك ماشي هاكد بكري؟

أتل مولاة البالطو لحرر : عند حنا.

أجب على الأسئلة التالية

1-ماهو جنس المتكلم ؟

التلميذ 1 : ولد بنت لا أعرف

التلميذ 2 : ولد بنت لا أعرف

2- من أصغرهما سنا ؟

التلميذ 1 التلميذ 2

3- من هو الأطف ؟

التلميذ 1 التلميذ 2

4

4- ما رأيك في سلوك التلميذين إذا كانا زميليك في القسم

<input type="checkbox"/>	عادي	: التلميذ 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	عادي	: التلميذ 1
<input type="checkbox"/>	غبي		<input type="checkbox"/>	غبي	
<input type="checkbox"/>	ذكي		<input type="checkbox"/>	ذكي	
<input type="checkbox"/>	لا اعرف		<input type="checkbox"/>	لا اعرف	

شكرا جزيلاً على تعاونكم

The teachers' questionnaire translated in English

You are kindly invited to participate in the project by completing the following questionnaire:

1-Which variety of Arabic do you use in the classroom?

MSA AA Both

2-How often do you use AA in the classroom?

always often sometimes rarely never

3-Do you allow your pupils to use AA in classroom interaction?

yes no a little

Why?.....

4-Do you encourage them to use MSA in classroom interaction?

yes no a little

Why?.....

5- How often do pupils use MSA in classroom interaction?

always often sometimes rarely never

Thank you for your co-operation.

The teachers' interview translated in English

1-How do you introduce the pupils to this reality of the co-existence of two varieties of Arabic: 'al-fuṣḥa' and 'al-daridja'?

.....
.....

2-What are the main language difficulties that pupils encounter when using MSA in classroom interaction?

.....
.....

3-What reasons stand behind pupils' linguistic deficiency?

.....
.....

4-Does the use of the vernacular in the classroom affect pupils' linguistic attainment?

.....
.....

5- Is it easy for pupils to use MSA in classroom interaction?

yes no

Why.....

Thank you very much.

The pupils' interview translated in English

1-By which variety can you express yourself better in classroom interaction?

MSA

AA

2-Do you understand MSA?

Yes

No

3-Is it easy to learn MSA?

yes

no

A little

Why?.....
.....

4-How well do you speak MSA?

perfectly

a little

not at all

5-Why is it difficult to express yourself in MSA in classroom interaction?

.....
.....

6- What are the equivalent words in MSA for the following?

/mufwara/ /ft̪ən/ /lamba/ /boʃta/ /sxæna/

Thank you very much.

The matched- guise technique translated in English

Listen to this tape-recorded passage from the "Little Red Cap" story performed by two pupils, then fill in the questionnaire:

Pupil 1: Once upon a time, there was a sweet little girl called "Little Red Cap». Her grandmother lived out in the woods. When she entered the woods, a wolf came up to her but she was not afraid.

The wolf said: "Good morning, Little Red Cap"

Little Red Cap said: "Thank you Wolf".

The wolf said: "Where are you going so early Little Red Cap?"

Little Red Cap answered: "To see my grandmother". (In MSA).

Pupil 2: Once upon a time, there was a sweet little girl called "Little Red Cap». Her grandmother lived out in the woods. When she entered the woods, a wolf came up to her but she wasn't afraid.

The wolf said: "Good day to you, Little Red Cap"

Little Red Cap said: "Thanks wolf"

The wolf said: "Where are you going so early Little Red Cap"?

Little Red Cap replied: "To grandmother's."(In AA).

Please, answer the following questions:

1- Can you guess the gender of the two pupils?

boy girl I don't know

2-Who is the younger according to you?

pupil1 pupil2

3-Who is more pleasant?

pupil1

pupil2

4-What is your opinion about these two pupils if they were your classmates?

pupil1:

- Normal

Stupid

Clever

I don't know

pupil2:

- Normal

Stupid

Clever

I don't know

Thank you very much.

الملخص

انطلاقاً من وجود نوعين مختلفين من نفس اللغة، اللغة الفصحى و العامية في المجتمع الجزائري، يحاول الباحث دراسة أثر الازدواجية اللغوية على تعلم الفصحى عند تلاميذ السنة الاولى بالمدرسة الابتدائية ابن مسايب مقارنة مع تلاميذ مدرسة مصطفى شيعلي بتلمسان. إنَّ هدف هذا البحث يتمثل في دراسة الصعوبات اللغوية التي يتلقاها التلاميذ اثناء المشاركة في القسم و الاسباب الراجعة لذلك، ثم تحاول الدراسة ايضاً معرفة نوع اللغة المستعملة بين المعلمين و التلاميذ كشركاء في القسم، كما أنها تحاول تسليط الضوء على مواقف التلاميذ تجاه اللغة الفصحى.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الازدواجية اللغوية- العملية التعليمية - الصعوبات اللغوية- نوع اللغة العربية - المواقف تجاه الفصحى.

Summary:

On the basis of the co-existence of two distinct varieties of the same language, MSA and AA, in the Algerian society, the researcher endeavours to investigate the impact of Arabic diglossia on the learning process among first grade pupils of *Ibn Msaib* primary school in comparison with those of *Mustapha Chiali* in Tlemcen. The aim of this research lies in the study of the language difficulties encountered by pupils when interacting with their teachers and the reasons behind these difficulties. It also attempts to explore the variety of Arabic used by teachers and pupils as two partner-parties in classroom interaction, in addition to the pupils' attitudes towards MSA.

Key words: Arabic diglossia- learning process- variety of Arabic- language difficulties- language attitudes.

Résumé:

Sur la base de l'existence de deux variétés différentes d'une même langue, l'arabe standard et l'arabe dialectal, dans la société Algérienne, le chercheur tente d'examiner l'impact de la diglossie arabe sur le processus d'apprentissage parmi les élèves de première année de l'école primaire *Ibn Msaib* en comparaison avec ceux de *Mustapha Chiali* à Tlemcen. L'objectif de cette recherche est d'étudier les difficultés linguistiques que les élèves rencontrent durant l'interaction avec leurs instituteurs ainsi que les raisons de ces difficultés. Cette étude tente aussi d'explorer la variété d'arabe utilisée par les instituteurs et les élèves comme deux partenaires dans l'interaction en classe, ainsi que les attitudes des élèves vis-à-vis de l'arabe standard.

Mots clés: diglossie arabe- processus d'apprentissage- la variété d'arabe - difficultés linguistiques- attitudes langagières.

