

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
ABOU BAKR BELKAID UNIVERSITY, TLEMCEM
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE



Modern Standard Arabic in Algerian Newspapers:
Shuruq and El Khabar

Thesis Submitted to the Department of English Language in Candidacy for the
Degree of Doctorate in Sociolinguistics

Presented by:

Mrs Fatima Nor El Houda DAHOU

Supervised by:

Pr. Ilhem SERIR

Board of Examiners:

Pr. Zoubir DENDANE

Pr. Ilhem SERIR

Pr. Noureddine GUERROUJ

Dr. Mohamed DIB

Dr. Ghania OUAHMICHE

Dr. Nassim NEGADI

University of Tlemcen

University of Tlemcen

University of Sidi Bel Abbès

University of Mascara

University of Oran

University of Tlemcen

Chairman

Supervisor

Examiner

Examiner

Examiner

Examiner

Academic Year: 2017

Declaration of Originality

I, the undersigned, am the author of this doctoral thesis entitled “**Modern Standard Arabic in Algerian Newspapers: Shuruq and El Khabar**”. I hereby declare that I am the only responsible for the research work submitted in this thesis, that the original work is my own except as specified in citations, footnotes or references, and that it does not contain any form of plagiarism.

Mrs. Dahou Fatima Nor El Houda

Dedication

- To my parents, who have been the best experts in raising our intellect, and who must be very proud of the four doctors they have made.
- To everyone who reaches this thesis for the sake of scientific research.

Acknowledgements

Foremost, I would like to sincerely thank my supervisor, Pr. Ilhem Serir, for her motivation, support, patience and enormous help. With her great experience at scientific research, her mastery of MSA topics, her modesty and her devotion to work, she offered me so much inspiration when writing this thesis.

I am also much grateful to the board of examiners, Pr. Zoubir Dendane, Pr. Noureddine Guerrouj, Dr. Mohamed Dib, Dr. Ghania Ouahmiche, and Dr. Nassim Negadi, who have kindly accepted to read this thesis, and who will surely add to its value through their precious remarks and insightful arguments.

To the many people who have participated in the realisation of this thesis, I should say thank you very much. Among them I insist to cite:

- Pr. Mohammad Ali Salmani Nodoushan, from the University of Iran, who taught me how to be professional at research.
- Pr. Gloria Maguire, from Paris 8 University, who broadened my knowledge about media language and who generously helped me with bibliographical references.
- Dr. Malika Dahou, from the department of Communication at Abd El Hamid Ibn Badis University, who helped me a lot in collecting data, obtaining precious bibliographical references, and reaching journalists.
- Mr. Farouk Beghdadi, my partner and colleague at research and work, who generously supported me with his precious advice and assistance.
- The west regional directors of El Khabar and Echorouk, Mr. Lahcen Bourbia and Dr. Mohammed Hammadi, who did not hesitate to answer my research inquiries.
- All the journalists and newspaper readers who sincerely completed the questionnaires.

Thank you very much

Abstract

The present research work addresses the reality of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) in the Algerian newspaper. Its objective's emphasis is on the benefits and drawbacks that journalistic texts bring about to this language which remains a fundamental marker of Arabs and Algerians' identity and position in the world. The work's initial hypothesis suggests that in spite of the post independence journalists' encouraging contribution to the policy of Arabisation, and despite their nationalist endeavour to spread MSA's correct use, the linguistic interests of present-day journalists are narrow and show secondary if compared to other economic and socio-political ambitions. Nonetheless, it lies required to detect ways through which newspaper language becomes a reliable enhancement to the advance and prosperity of MSA in Algeria and the Arab world. In pursuance of attaining the sought objective, the research work is realized on the basis of both qualitative and quantitative methods to respectively: expose the present situation of MSA in the Arab world and Algeria, for the sake of identifying its sociolinguistic reality and problems; underline the service newspapers render to standard language in general; depict the qualities of their language, besides problems and difficulties facing it; and end with suggested recommendations to foster journalists' commitment to the service of MSA. Results of the research work essentially demonstrate that the Algerian sociolinguistic scene, like the global Arab one, reflects intense problems of identity and linguistic insecurity coming under the effect of Arabs' erroneous assimilation of the concepts "globalization" and "modernization", in addition to language errors historically multiplied in language use. And although the renowned responsibility worldwide newspapers are attributed towards the standard language, the hypothesis is proved valid, considering the examined situation of MSA in the samples of Echorouk and El Khabar daily newspapers.

Keywords: MSA, Arabic-language newspapers, identity, linguistic insecurity, language errors.

Table of Contents

Declaration of Originality	I
Dedication	II
Acknowledgements	III
Abstract	IV
Table of Contents.....	V
List of Phonetic Symbols of Arabic Sounds.....	XI
List of Tables	XII
List of Figures and Charts.....	XV
General Introduction	1
Chapter One: The Present Situation of MSA in the Arab World and Algeria	8
1.1.Introduction	9
1.2. Arabic Language throughout the History of Arabs	9
1.2.1. The Situation of Arabic in its Earliest Stages	10
1.2.1.1. The Deep-rooted Origin of Arabic Language.....	10
1.2.1.2. The Pre-Islamic period: The Era of Arabic Purity and Isolation.....	12
1.2.2. The Arabo-Islamic World Expansion: The Era of Spread and Standardisation of Classical Arabic	14
1.2.3. Language Contact, the Birth of New Dialects and the Emergence of Middle Arabic: a First Threat to Arabic Language.....	17
1.2.3.1. The Appearance of New Dialects: Important Effects on Classical Arabic Pronunciation, Grammar and Vocabulary	18

1.2.3.2. Middle Arabic: an Enrichment or a Disadvantage to the Situation of Classical Arabic?	19
1.2.4. The Emergence and Development of MSA.....	22
1.3. Contemporary Arabic Language: Reality, Problems and Challenges	25
1.3.1. Diglossia and Multilingualism in Contemporary Arab World	25
1.3.2. Contemporary Dialects of Arabic	28
1.3.3. Arabs' Ambivalent Attitudes towards MSA and Dialectal Arabic.....	30
1.3.4. The Colonizer's Linguistic Imperialism and Arab Language Policies.....	31
1.3.5. Globalization and Technology: a Real Challenge to Arabic	34
1.3.5.1. The Influence of Global English over Arabic	35
1.3.5.1.1. English as the First World Language	35
1.3.5.1.2. Arabic and Modern Technology	39
1.3.5.1.3. Arabic, English and Contemporary Arab Culture and Identity	40
1.4. MSA in the Grand Maghreb and Algeria Today	42
1.4.1. Multilingualism in the Grand Maghreb	42
1.4.1.1. Berber and Arabic in the Grand Maghreb	43
1.4.1.2. French in the Grand Maghreb	45
1.4.2. Arabised Grand Maghreb	47
1.4.3. Problems of MSA in Contemporary Algerian Society	49
1.4.3.1. Linguistic and Cultural Influence of French	51
1.4.3.2. The Policy of Arabisation in Algeria	53
1.4.3.3. The Case of Algerian Arabic	58
1.5. Conclusion	63
 Chapter Two: Newspaper Language and its Effects on Sociolinguistic Realities: Generalities and the Case of the Arab World	 66
2.1. Introduction	67

2.2. Language in News and Newspapers	68
2.3. Newspaper Language and its Status in Mass Media	70
2.4. Newspaper Language and its Communicative Power in Society	73
2.4.1. Language Power at the Source's (Journalist's) Level	76
2.4.2. Language Power at the Receiver's (Reader's) Level	77
2.4.3. Language Role in Newspaper Message	78
2.4.4. Conditions of Success for Language as a Channel of Newspaper Communication	80
2.4.5. Newspaper Language and its Effects on Readers' Feedback	82
2.4.6. Newspaper Language and its Communicative Noise in Society	83
2.5. Newspaper Language in Human History	84
2.5.1. Language in the Early Stages of News Transmission	84
2.5.2. The Development of Newspaper's Social Position: from the Discovery of Printing to the Present.....	86
2.5.3. The Evolution of Freedom of Speech and its Impact on Newspaper Language	89
2.5.4. The Progress of Newspaper Language to its Present-day Style	91
2.6. Functions of Newspaper Language in Present- day Society	94
2.6.1. Language as a Social Power	95
2.6.2. Newspaper Language Power in Society	97
2.6.2.1. Newspaper Language Role in Answering Readers' Expectations and Shaping their Opinions	98
2.6.2. 2. Newspaper Language Role in Constructing Social Identities	100
2.6.2.3. Newspaper Language Direct Effect on the Standard Language Maintenance and Purity	101
2.7. MSA in Arab Newspapers: Functional Roles and Social Realities	102
2.7.1. The Position of Arabic- Language Newspaper in the Arab Society	102
2.7.2. Arab Journalists: "Custodians" of MSA and Preservers of the Pan-Arab Identity....	105

2.7.3. Defects in the Language of Arabic Newspapers	110
2.7.3.1. Linguistic Errors and their Impact on MSA	110
2.7.3.2. The Use of Foreign Words and their Impact on MSA	113
2.7.3.3. The Use of the Colloquial and its Impact on MSA	115
2.7.4. Levels of MSA Use in the Arab Newspaper	118
2.8. MSA in the Algerian Newspaper	120
2.9. Conclusion	122

Chapter Three: Textual Analysis of Language Defects in the Algerian Newspaper: the Case of Echorouk and El Khabar

Chapter Three: Textual Analysis of Language Defects in the Algerian Newspaper: the Case of Echorouk and El Khabar	124
3.1. Introduction	125
3.2. Methodology	126
3.3. Sample One: Echorouk Daily Newspaper	128
3.3.1. Language Errors	129
3.3.1.1. Grammatical Errors	130
3.3.1.1.1. The Voweling of Words Endings	130
3.3.1.1.2. Errors Related to Verbs	134
3.3.1.1.3. Errors Related to the Singular, Dual and Plural Forms	136
3.3.1.1.4. Masculine and Feminine Gender	138
3.3.1.1.5. The Use of the Prefix (Definite Article) "el"	139
3.3.1.1.6. Errors in the Use of Prepositions and Particles	142
3.3.1.1.6.1. Errors in the Use of Prepositions (<i>huru: f el-jar</i>)	142
3.3.1.1.6.2. Errors in the Use of the Particles "inna" and "anna" (that).....	147
3.3.1.2. Stylistic Errors: Incorrect Use of Vocabulary and Punctuation	149
3.3.1.2.1. Wrong Choice of Words	149
3.3.1.2.2. Wrong sentence's Word Order	155

3.3.1.2.3. Repetition of Words	156
3.3.1.2.4. Missing Words	156
3.3.1.2.5. Errors in Punctuation	158
3.3.1.3. Spelling Mistakes	158
3.3.2. The Use of the Colloquial in the Newspaper Sample	163
3.3.3. The Use of Foreign Words in the Newspaper Sample	164
3.3.4. A Statistic Representation of Language Defects in Echorouk Sample	168
3.3.4.1. A Statistic Representation of Language Errors	169
3.3.4.1.2. A Statistic Representation of Grammar Errors	169
3.3.4.1.3. A Statistic Representation of Stylistic Errors	170
3.3.4.1.4. A Statistic Representation of Spelling Mistakes	170
3.3.4.2. A Statistic Representation of the Use of Dialectal Arabic	171
3.3.4.3. A Statistic Representation of Foreign Language Use	171
3.4. Sample Two: El Khabar Daily Newspaper	172
3.4.1. Language Errors	173
3.4.1.1. Grammatical Errors	173
3.4.1.1.1. The Voweling of Words Endings	173
3.4.1.1.2. Errors Related to Verbs	176
3.4.1.1.3. Errors Related to the Singular, Dual and Plural Forms	177
3.4.1.1.4. Masculine and Feminine Gender	178
3.4.1.1.5. The Use of the Prefix (Definite Article) "el"	179
3.4.1.1.6. Errors in the Use of Prepositions and Particles	180
3.4.1.1.6.1. Errors in the Use of Prepositions (<i>huru: fel-jar</i>)	180
3.4.1.1.6.2. Errors in the Use of the Particles "inna" and "anna" (that)	182
3.4.1.2. Stylistic Errors: Incorrect Use of Vocabulary and Punctuation	182
3.4.1.2.1. Wrong Choice of Words	183

3.4.1.2.2. Wrong Sentences Word Order	185
3.4.1.2.3. Repetition of Words	187
3.4.1.2.4. Missing Words	187
3.4.1.2.5. Errors in Punctuation	189
3.4.1.3. Spelling Mistakes	189
3.4.2. The Use of the Colloquial in the Newspaper Sample	190
3.4.3. The Use of Foreign Words in the Newspaper Sample	191
3.4.4. A Statistic Representation of Language Defects in El Khabar's Sample	194
3.4.4.1. A Statistic Representation of Language Errors	194
3.4.4.2. A Statistic Representation of Grammar Errors	195
3.4.4.3. A Statistic Representation of Stylistic Errors	196
3.4.4.4. A Statistic Representation of Spelling Mistakes	196
3.4.4.5. A Statistic Representation of the Use of Dialectal Arabic	197
3.4.4.6. A Statistic Representation of Foreign Language Use	197
3.5. Comparative Analysis of the Textual Study of Echorouk and El Khabar Newspaper Samples	198
3.6. Conclusion	202
Chapter Four: MSA at the Producer and Receivers Level in Echorouk and El Khabar..	205
4.1. Introduction.....	206
4.2. MSA at the Producers' Level: Newspaper Journalists' Views about its Present Situation and their Roles towards it	207
4.2.1. Methodology of Data Collection and Analysis	209
4.2.2. MSA in the journalists' Professional Orientations	210
4.2.3. Journalists' Visions about the Position of Arabic Newspaper in the Algerian Society Compared to the Arab World	212
4.2.4. Journalists' Assumed Roles towards MSA	216

4.2.5. Journalists' Points of View about Middle Arabic	220
4.2.6. Journalists' Views about the Benefits and Drawbacks of Using the Colloquial	222
4.2.7. Journalists' Views about the Importance of the Foreign Word in Newspaper Texts	227
4.2.8. Factors of Language Defects in MSA of the Algerian Newspaper	229
4.2.9. Findings and Recommendations	236
4.3. MSA at the Receivers Level: Readers' Views and Reactions towards its Contemporary Situation in the Algerian Newspaper	237
4.3.1. Methodology of Data Collection and Analysis	238
4.3.2. Readers' Familiarity with Newspaper Reading	241
4.3.3. Readers' Degree of Attachment to Arabic Language Newspapers and its Reasons	245
4.3.4. A Comparative Approach to the Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers	247
4.3.5. Readers' Views towards Algerian Newspaper's Linguistic Roles	250
4.3.6. Readers' Reactions towards Newspaper Language Errors	254
4.3.7. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Colloquial in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts	257
4.3.8. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Foreign Language in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts	258
4.3.9. Readers' Global Views towards MSA	260
4.3.10. Findings and Recommendations	263
4.4. Conclusion	265
 General Conclusion	 266
 Bibliography	 272

Appendices	280
Appendix A: The Original Texts of Arabic Quotations	281
Appendix B: Samples of the Newspapers' Headlines	283
Appendix C: Samples of the Newspapers' Texts	285
Appendix D: The Questionnaires	287

Phonetic Symbols of Arabic Sounds

Arabic Alphabet	<i>I.P.A</i>
ء	ʔ
ب	b
ت	t
ث	θ
ج	ʒ
ح	ħ
خ	χ
د	d
ذ	ð
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	ʃ
ص	ʂ
ض	dʰ
ط	t̤
ظ	ʒ̤
ع	ʕ
غ	ɣ
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
هـ	h
و	w
ي	y

Source: **Journal of Arabic Linguistics Tradition** (<http://www.jalt.net/jIpa.aspx>)

List of Tables

Table 1.1. Presence of the Former Colonizers' Languages in Arabs' Usage According to Bassiouney (2009, p. 211)	33
Table 3.1. A Detailed Enumeration of Echorouk Sample's Texts	127
Table 3.2. A Detailed Enumeration of El Khabar Sample's texts	128
Table 3.3. Wrong Sentence's Word Order in Echorouk Sample.....	155
Table 3.4. Repetition of Words in in Echorouk Sample.....	156
Table 3.5. Missing Words in Echorouk Sample.....	157
Table 3.6. Spelling Mistakes in the Opening "alif" (<i>hamzat el-wasl</i> and <i>hamzat el-qatʕ</i>) in Echorouk Sample.....	159
Table 3.7. Spelling Mistakes in the Opening "alif" (<i>hamzat el-wasl</i> and <i>hamzat el-qatʕ</i>), Deforming the Intended Meaning in Echorouk Sample.....	160
Table 3.8. Different Spelling Mistakes in the Sample of Echorouk Newspaper.....	161
Table 3.9. Spelling Mistakes that Form Correct Words in Arabic in Echorouk Sample.....	162
Table 3.10. Algerian Arabic in Echorouk Sample.....	163
Table 3.11. Foreign Words Borrowed by Direct Translation in Echorouk Sample.....	164
Table 3.12. Transliterated Foreign Words in Echorouk Sample.....	165
Table 3.13. Transliterated Foreign Abbreviations in Echorouk Sample.....	166
Table 3.14. A Statistic Representation of Language Defects in Echorouk Sample.....	168
Table 3.15. A Statistic Representation of Language Errors in Echorouk Sample.....	169
Table 3.16. A Statistic Representation of Grammar Errors in Echorouk Sample.....	169
Table 3.17. A Statistic Representation of Stylistic Errors in Echorouk Sample	170
Table 3.18. A Statistic Representation of Spelling Mistakes in Echorouk Sample.....	170

Table 3.19. A Statistic Representation of the Use of Dialectal Arabic in Echorouk Sample.....	171
Table 3.20. A Statistic Representation of Foreign Words Use in Echorouk Sample.....	171
Table 3.21. Wrong Sentence's Word Order in El Khabar Sample.....	186
Table 3.22. Repetition of Words in El Khabar Sample.....	187
Table 3.23. Missing Words in El Khabar Sample.....	188
Table 3.24. Spelling Mistakes in the Opening "alif" (hamzat <i>el-wasl</i> and <i>hamzat el-qatf</i>) in El Khabar Sample.....	189
Table 3.25. Different Spelling Mistakes in the Sample of El Khabar Newspaper.....	190
Table 3.26. Algerian Arabic in El Khabar Newspaper Sample.....	191
Table 3.27. Foreign Words Borrowed by Direct Translation in El Khabar Sample.....	191
Table 3.28. Transliterated Foreign Words in El Khabar Sample.....	192
Table 3.29. Transliterated Foreign Abbreviations in El Khabar Sample.....	193
Table3.30. A Statistic Representation of Language Defects in El Khabar Sample.....	194
Table 3.31. A Statistic Representation of Language Errors in El Khabar Sample.....	195
Table 3.32. A Statistic Representation of Grammar Errors in El Khabar Sample.....	195
Table 3.33. A Statistic Representation of Stylistic Errors in El Khabar Sample	196
Table 3.34. A Statistic Representation of Spelling Mistakes in El Khabar Sample	196
Table 3.35. A Statistic Representation of the Use of Dialectal Arabic in El Khabar Sample.....	197
Table 3.36. A Statistic Representation of Foreign Words in El Khabar Sample	197
Table 4.1. The Newspaper Affiliation of Journalists' Sample.....	209
Table 4.2. The Journalists' Experience in the Field of Journalism.....	210
Table 4.3. The Main Interests of Respondents in the Profession of Journalism.....	211

Table 4. 4. Journalists' Views about the Present-day Situation of the Arabic-Language Newspapers in the Arab World.....	213
Table 4. 5. Journalists' Views about the Present-day Situation of the Arabic-Language Newspapers in the Algerian Society.....	214
Table 4. 6. Journalists' Assumed Roles towards MSA.....	217
Table.4.7. Journalists' Comments about their Assumed Roles toward MSA.....	218
Table 4. 8 Journalists' Points of View about Middle Arabic.....	220
Table 4.9. Journalists' Views about the Relation between Algerian Arabic and MSA.....	222
Table 4.10. Journalists' Views about the Benefits from Using the Colloquial in Journalistic Texts.....	225
Table 4.11. Journalists' Views about the Drawbacks from Using the Colloquial in Journalistic Texts.....	226
Table 4.12. Journalists' Views about the Use of the Foreign Word in the Newspaper Texts.....	228
Table 4.13. Journalists' Views about the Degree of Focus on MSA during their Professional Formation.....	230
Table 4.14. Journalists' Formation in MSA, for Linguistic Purposes, during their Professional Careers.....	231
Table 4.15. Initiatives in Journalists' Language Formation in MSA	233
Table 4.16. Journalists' Rate of Extra Works Practice.....	234
Table 4.17. Speciality of Journalists' Second Profession.....	235
Table 4.18. Age Categories of the Sample of Readers.....	239
Table 4.19. Readers' Sample Intellectual Levels.....	240
Table. 4.20. Readers' Sample Regional Localisation.....	241
Table.4.21. Readers' Familiarity with Newspaper Reading.....	242
Table.4.22. Readers' Preferred Newspaper Version.....	243
Table.4.23. Readers' Degree of Attachment to Arabic-Language Newspapers.....	245
Table. 4. 24. Readers' Preferred Newspaper Language.....	246

Table. 4.25. Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers in Readers' Sample.....	248
Table. 4.26. Reasons for the Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers in Readers' Sample.....	249
Table.4.27. Readers' Linguistic Expectations from the Algerian Newspaper	250
Table.4.28. Readers' Views about the Arabic-Language Newspapers' Service to MSA.....	251
Table.4. 29. Readers' Noticing of Newspaper Language Errors.....	254
Table.4.30. Errors' Factors According to the Readers.....	255
Table. 4.31. Acceptance of Newspaper Language Errors by Readers	256
Table.4.32. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Colloquial in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts.....	257
Table.4.33. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Foreign Language in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts.....	259
Table.4.34. Readers' Global Views towards the Current Situation of MSA	260
Table.4.35. Readers' Global Views about the Role of Newspaper Language towards MSA.....	262

List of Figures and Charts

Figure 1.1. The Genealogic Tree of Arabic According to Abd El-Tawab (1999, p.39).....	11
Pie Chart 4.1. The Main Interests of Respondents in the Profession of Journalism.....	211
Pie Chart 4.2. Journalists' Views about the Present-day situation of the Arabic-Language newspapers in the Arab World.....	213
Pie Chart 4.3: Journalists' Views about the Present-day Situation of the Arabic-Language Newspapers in the Algerian Society.....	215
Pie Chart 4.4. Journalists' Assumed Roles towards MSA.....	217
Pie Chart 4.5. Journalists' Comments about their Assumed Roles toward MSA.....	219
Pie Chart 4.6. Journalists' Points of View about Middle Arabic.....	221
Pie Chart 4.7. Journalists' Views about the Relation between Algerian Arabic and MSA.....	223
Pie Chart 4.8. Journalists' Views about the Benefits from Using the Colloquial in Journalistic Texts.....	225
Pie Chart 4.9. Journalists' Views about the Drawbacks from Using the Colloquial in Journalistic Texts.....	226
Pie Chart 4.10. Journalists' Views about the Use of the Foreign Word in the Newspaper Texts...228	
Pie Chart 4.11. Journalists' Views about the Degree of Focus on MSA during their Professional Formation.....	230
Pie Chart 4.12. Journalists' Formation in MSA, for Linguistic purposes, during their Professional Careers.....	232
Pie Chart 4.13. Journalists' Rate of Extra Works Practice	234
Pie Chart 4.14. Speciality of Journalists' Second Profession.....	235
Pie Chart 4.15. Readers' Familiarity with Newspaper Reading.....	242
Pie Chart 4.16. Readers' Preferred Newspaper Version.....	243
Pie Chart 4.17. Readers' Degree of Attachment to Arabic-Language Newspapers.....	245
Pie Chart 4.18. Readers' Preferred Newspaper Language.....	246

Pie Chart 4.19. Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers in Readers' Sample.....	248
Pie Chart 4.20. Reasons for the Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers in Readers' Sample.....	249
Pie Chart 4.21. Readers' Linguistic Expectations from the Algerian Newspaper.....	251
Pie Chart 4.22. Readers' Views about the Arabic-Language Newspapers' Service to MSA.....	252
Pie Chart 4.23. Readers' Noticing of Newspaper Language Errors.....	254
Pie Chart 4.24. Errors' Factors According to the Readers.....	255
Pie Chart 4.25. Acceptance of Newspaper Language Errors by Readers.....	256
Pie Chart 4.26. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Colloquial in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts.....	258
Pie Chart 4.27. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Foreign Language in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts.....	259
Pie Chart 4.28. Readers' Global Views towards the Current Situation of MSA.....	261
Pie Chart 4.29. Readers' Global Views about the Role of Newspaper Language towards MSA.....	262

General Introduction

General Introduction

Language has always been fundamental to human existence, relationships and positions in the world. The language of one's ethnic group, of one's people, of one's nation, and of one's religion has particularly a profound significance for individuals and societies; suffice it to say that these individuals and societies habitually use expressions like "our language", "our mother language", "our national language" and other related concepts which have, in fact, become adages about the deep-rooted ideological correlation between this "our" and "language", between "self being" and "one's language". In other words, language and identity, as strongly related concepts are profoundly embedded in human spirits, and however it may be identified, this exists everywhere and in every person. Language, the vital indicator of its people's identity, their possession and the symbolic marker of their existence and their being different from the other, has always received a special care from the part of societies' members, especially governmental organizations and nationalist spirits who undertake the defense of their language position and the maintenance of its power seriously, bearing in mind that if they fail in this struggle, their existence among civilizations will be exposed to danger.

The history of humanity asserts the extent to which language has been a crucial parameter of populations' identities, existence and power in the world. The ancient Greek language, for example, dwells till the present time, a key resource of scientific terms and technical vocabulary as it supplies the foundational texts in different sciences. Thus, even if today, it could only be heard about a past Greek civilization, the Greek language is still alive, and is still powerful as it receives so much care from people who desire to attain a prestigious intellectual level, especially in Europe and the most developed countries; the reason for this is that Greek people have known how to make from their language an eternally powerful communicator of their strong identity and contribution to the world civilization. The Maltese language gives another example of the fact. Contemporary Maltese language draws its origin from the Arabic language which was introduced to Malta in early 11th century. However, right with the expulsion of Muslims in the 13th century, Maltese people started to mobilise language in the process of a total independence from Arabs and their civilization. Their language which had been an Arabic vernacular for two centuries, witnessed a thorough process of change at the level of vocabulary and

General Introduction

grammar. And the result was a European Maltese language declared official in 1934. The case of the Maltese language presents a good model for peoples' need of their respective official and national languages for the sake of being independent, sovereign and of distinctive identities.

Arabs and their language, during their golden era with the Islamic conquests, supply another important illustration of how people can raise their position in the world through the raise and expansion of their language. Since the coming of Islam and for centuries, Arabs' civilization had thrived and spread to various parts in the world. It was the Arab-Islamic globalization with Arabic as an international language. Undoubtedly, the basic dimension for this civilization growth was Arabic language; there was a compulsory need to develop, standardise and spread this language as a secure measure for the expansion and growth of Islam in addition to the Arab culture and scientific input. At that time, people seeking scientific knowledge and high social positions, from all over the world, were precipitating to learn Arabic. However, that reality seems too superior and far reaching if one compares it with the present-day situation of Arabs and their language. Today, it has become common sense to describe Arabs as being dependent on the Western culture and consumers of the Western technology. Their language, Arabic, is seen as an inactive language, dependent in itself on the Western languages, simply because these people do not a lot for it, in terms of scientific and civilization development. The case of the Algerian society, as an Arab nation, is definitely of no exception as it can tell too much about the insecure situation of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), its official and national language that is part and parcel of its people's identity.

In the Algerian republic, Arabs usually show no hesitancy in expressing their being proud of their Arabness and of having "Arabic" as a mother tongue. In this society, it has become very usual to hear people say: "We love Arabic ... It is our language and the one of our ancestors. It is our mother tongue... We are proud of our language... it is the most beautiful language, the richest one and the greatest one... It is the language of Islam and the holy Qur'an..." However, these declared feelings frequently repeated by the people, especially the younger generations, stand controversial to a number of sociolinguistic realities, among them, two are outstanding and much visible in different contexts of language use. The first reality has to do with the notion "mother tongue". It is definitely undeniable that Arabic is the mother tongue of the Algerian majority, but this variety of

General Introduction

Arabic is surely not MSA, not the modern version of Classical Arabic, the language of Qur'an; it is rather one of the Algerian Arabic dialects. This precision alone stands as a key to proficiency problems in MSA ubiquitous in the Algerian scene, as in the entire Arab world. On its part, the second reality has to do with the use of "Arabic language" in different social contexts. It is well-known that MSA, Arabs' standard language, is recommended in official usage; however, in various situations, it is being hustled by French, the language of the former colonizer; not to mention the phenomenon of code switching, constantly present in most conversations with foreigners or even socio-politically high-ranking Arabs, in which there is always a preference to use another language than Arabic, or at least to code-mix between this foreign language and Arabic, standard and colloquial. This form of code switching has become the most comfortable way of interaction, resulting from the effects of language choice and language attitudes in a multilingual society and composing a serious ground to undermine the status and power of MSA in society. These facts and reflections about the status of MSA with regards to the issues of identity and the degree of language security drives a question to be asked: what are the actual problems facing MSA in Algeria and what solutions can be proposed to rescue it and enable it face the modern era's challenges? In fact, the aim of this research sets off with this question.

When seeking solutions to language problems, many scholars orient their attention to mass media, being active mass communicators that permanently address populations of different social categories through the constant mobilisation of language. The language of any nation is thus treated and oriented by mass media to a large degree, for predefined social, political and even economic purposes. Under such circumstances, the national language can either be looked after and protected or neglected and torn down by them. And, apart from the new media that are invading the world, the newspaper preserves its powerful position in societies, especially in the Arab ones, where the habit of reading it by individuals of both genders, and of different age categories, intellectual levels and socio-economic positions, has become inseparable from their culture. The uniqueness of newspaper language is in its being written, therefore checked and corrected, while the one of Arabic-language newspaper is in its being written essentially in MSA, knowing that the audio-visual media are more open to code-switching, hence less concerned with the purity and correctness of MSA. Connecting these views to the case of the Arabic newspaper in Algeria has led to the development of the following research questions:

General Introduction

- 1- What is the situation of MSA in the Algerian newspaper?
- 2- To what extent is the newspaper employed in the service of MSA?
- 3- What is the linguistic impact of the newspaper on the Algerian readers and what are their reactions to its language?
- 4- What can be done to enhance Arabic newspaper service to MSA in Algeria?

With regards to the influential role it has played in the re-establishment and consolidation of MSA social position and correct use in post-independent Algeria, and in consideration of the way it was decisively mobilised to the enhancement of the policy of Arabisation in the 1960's and 1970's, this research work begins with the hypothesis that Arabic-language newspaper carries on its mission of maintaining and protecting the language, since, in the manner they endeavour to attract readers' interest, journalists must be conscious of rightfully undertaking a language which directly addresses readers' sociolinguistic identity. Nevertheless, this mission profitability is being in decrease in the recent period, under the effects of contemporary professional goals adjusted to the newspaper political and economic orientations. Therefore, there is a compulsory need to urge some language-related measures to enhance the crucial responsibility of the newspaper towards MSA.

For the purpose of examining the validity of the above mentioned hypothesis, the present research work puts forward a sociolinguistic study of the situation of MSA in contemporary Algerian newspaper, with a focus on the case of Echorouk and El Khabar daily tabloids. The choice has been on these two newspapers, being among the most popular ones at present and having succeeded to gain the turnout of the largest numbers of readers, of different intellectual levels, socio-economic positions and age categories. The research work includes four chapters, the titles and contents of which can be cited as follows:

The first chapter is entitled **“The Present Situation of MSA in the Arab World and Algeria”**. It exhibits and scrutinises the contemporary realities of MSA in the Arab world as such, particularly in Algeria. The aim of this chapter is to identify the actual problems that are facing this language in the Algerian society and to discover the factors that have led to their appearance and extension.

General Introduction

For this reason, this part of the research work opens with a historical view on Arabs and their language since the earliest ages. Then, it extends to an examination of realities and problems of contemporary Arabic in the Arab world, with the intention of underlining the global context of the situation, to finally conclude with a study of today's state of MSA in Algeria.

The second chapter is entitled **“Newspaper Language and its Effects on Sociolinguistic Realities: Generalities and the Case of the Arab World”**. As its title reveals, this chapter focuses on newspaper language and its sociolinguistic functions, particularly in the Arab world. Its first objective is to provide ideas about ways in which newspapers can serve the language it employs, namely the standard language. Its second objective is to highlight the social power of newspaper language and the functions it has in constructing social identities, answering readers' linguistic expectations, and shaping their attitudes towards the standard language. Finally, the chapter's last objective is to relate all the findings to the Arabic-language newspaper, with an emphasis on benefits and drawbacks it brings about to MSA.

The third chapter, entitled **“Textual Analysis of Language Defects in the Algerian Newspaper: the Case of Echorouk and El Khabar”**, directly approaches the target newspapers, by means of a textual analysis of one issue each. The goal is to quantitatively detect the presence and recurrence of language defects for further qualitative assessment of the amount to which these newspapers' language influences positively or negatively the case of MSA. Language defects, identified as the occurrence of language errors (in grammar, spelling and style), the interference of the foreign language (usually French), and the use of the colloquial (Algerian Arabic), are statistically interpreted and sociolinguistically analysed as valid proofs of the chapter conclusions.

The Fourth Chapter, **“MSA at the Producer and Receiver's Level in Echorouk and El Khabar”**, is a continuation to the third chapter. It directly addresses journalists and readers' developed views about the Arabic-language newspapers, namely Echorouk and El Khabar. Concerning journalists, the text producers, the focus is centred on the reasons behind and conditions surrounding

General Introduction

their linguistic performance as well as the opinions they have developed about the mission they should fulfil towards MSA. As regards readers, the discourse receivers, the centre of attention is directed to sketch out any potential linguistic impact the language of these newspapers has on them, in addition to the feedback(s) they have built up about the journalists' use of and behaviour towards MSA. Findings and conclusions of this chapter are exploited to conclude the research work by recommendations seen compulsory to foster the journalists' commitment to the protection, enrichment and spread of correct use of MSA in society.

Chapter One:
**The Present Situation of MSA in the Arab
World and Algeria**

Chapter One: The Present Situation of MSA in the Arab World and Algeria

1.1. Introduction:

Since the bulk of this research work is centred on the Arabic language, and because its main issue tackles ways in which this language affects and is affected by its social environment, this first chapter suggests an introduction to the sociolinguistic situation of Arabic, as a world language, as an identity of its people, Arabs, and as a living social activity in the Arab world on the whole and the Algerian society in particular. Besides, the work seeks possible solutions to reinforce the maintenance of this language in a world of speedily shifting notions, philosophies, cultures and civilizations. Therefore the major questions are: How have ups and downs of Arabs' history influenced their language positively or negatively? And what is the actual situation of Arabic in today's globalized world?

Many references afford different views on the history of Arabic. Some of them do really yield to subjectivity, talking about some Arab linguists steered by love of the mother language and pride of its historical origin. Their belief in the superiority of Arabic over the other languages has even led some of them to declare it "the mother of languages"¹ (Beyoumi, 2002, p. 21). For this reason, one could only trust comparative readings of some linguists, Arabs and non-Arabs, with the aim of obtaining a scrutinised, objective study of the issue. Results are sketched out into three parts, respectively outlined under the headings: Arabic Language throughout the History of Arabs, Contemporary Arabic Language: Reality, Problems and Challenges, and MSA in the Grand Maghreb and Algeria Today.

1.2. Arabic Language throughout the History of Arabs

This point goes under the scope of historical sociolinguistics. It examines the diachronic changes of Arabic in relation to the varying social conditions of its people. In

¹ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p.281)

this research work, a number of concepts are employed: names like Proto Arabic, Old Arabic, Classical Arabic, Middle Arabic, dialectal Arabic and Standard Arabic are used to assist an adequate sociolinguistic perspective on Arabic through ages. The focus is not a study of literary Arabic as developed in the golden ages such as the Abbasid era; it is rather an attempt to crystallise the social role of this language and how cultural mixture and language contact have affected it through time.

1.2.1. Arabic Language in its Earliest Stages

The Arabic language is of a Semitic origin. Its earliest stages epitomize its isolation, conservatism and association with desert life. These major ideas in addition to others will be highlighted in the subsequent lines.

1.2.1.1. The Deep-rooted Origin of Arabic Language

Linguists agree upon the fact that early Arabic (proto-Arabic) belongs to the Semitic language family, a common name that Schlözer², a German philologist, conferred to languages of Aramaic people, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Arabs, Hebrew and Yemenites; and the sum of languages and varieties that may derive from them. Kinship relationship and linguistic resemblance at different levels, vocabulary, grammar and even phonology, are conspicuous:

For instance, the word *salem* in Arabic is *salem* in Ethiopian, *shalom* in Hebrew, *shlamo* in Acadian and *shelama* in Aramaic. And the word *beit* in Arabic is *beitou* in Acadian, *beit* in Hebrew, *beita* in Aramaic and *bet* in Ethiopian (Beyoumi, 2002).

Before Schlözer of about seven centuries, the Arab scholar Ibn Hazm El-Andalousi wrote in his book, *El-Ihkam fi Osol El-Ahkam*:

And if one meditates Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac languages, they will recognize that the difference between them is but what we have already referred to,

² In late eighteenth century, the German historian and philologist August Ludwig von Schlözer did his research on the Semitic language family.

as the change in peoples' vocabulary through ages and according to the difference between countries and neighbouring nations, and that they form one language in origin.³ (Beyoumi, 2002, p. 17)

This evidence but confirms that people, particularly Arabs, had been aware of the origin of Arabic since an early age in the history of human kind. In an early period, the second century of Hidjra, El-Khalil Ibn Ahmed El-Farahidi had discovered and exposed similarities between Arabic and Canaanite language. Later in the eighth century of Hidjra, Abou Hayen El-Andaloussi underlined the relation between Arabic and Ethiopian (Beyoumi, 2002).

In 1999, the Egyptian linguist Abd El-Tawab presented a genealogic tree of Arabic, which classes it as a South-Western Semitic language with Ethiopian (see figure1). The centre of this classification is based on morpho-lexical similarities and innovations.

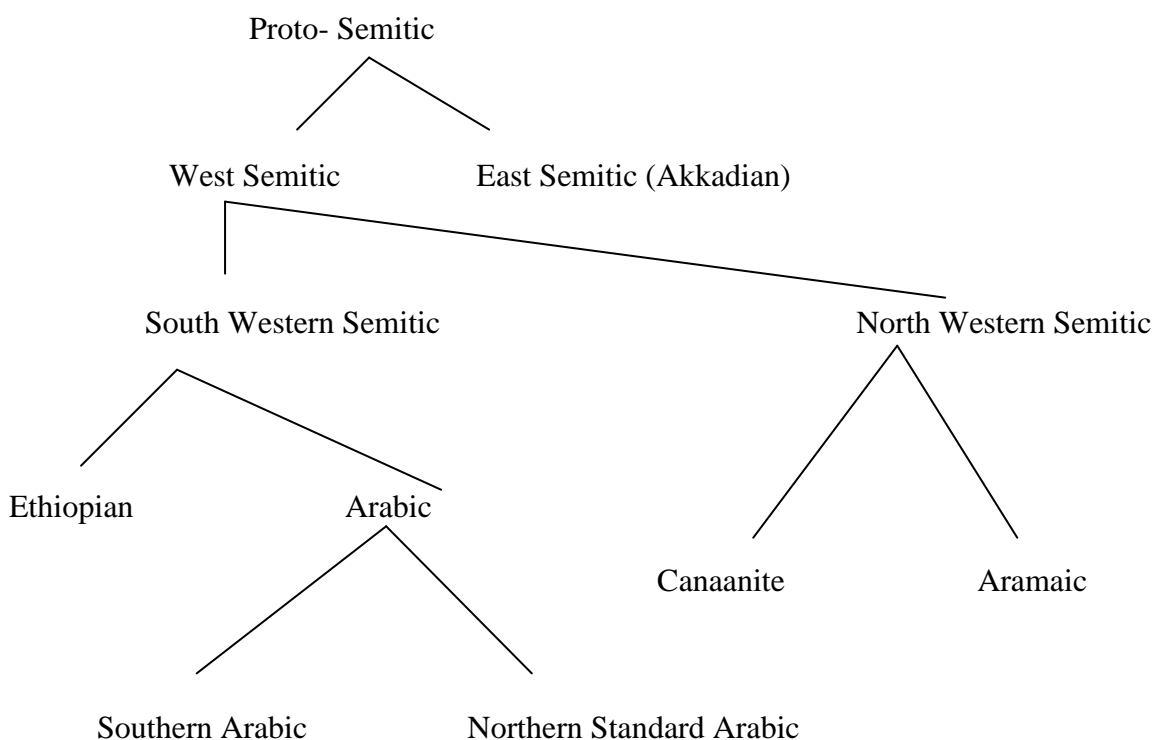


Figure 1.1. The Genealogic Tree of Arabic According to Abd El-Tawab (1999, p.39)

³ See the original text in Arabic script (Apendix A, p 281)

Philologists' research in the second half of the 20th century have proven that the Hamitic language, that covers five major languages in Africa: Berber, Old Egyptian, Old Libyan, Cushitic languages and Chadic languages, represent common links with the Semitic languages; and since then, the name for this broadened language family is known as *the Hamito-Semitic Languages* or the *Afro-Asiatic Languages*. Today, the Semitic language family represents about 4% of the world's population, an estimate which remains very feeble if compared to the Indo European (48%) or the Chinese Tibetan (22%) (El-Mawsua El-ʕArabia El-ʕAlamia, 1999), however it is pertinently coupled with the world's major religions and holy books: Qur'an, Gospel and Torah. In addition, present-day linguistic and sociolinguistic studies assign conspicuous consideration to its major languages, namely Arabic and Hebrew.

1.2.1.2. The Pre-Islamic Period: The Era of Arabic Purity and Isolation

Most of the historical studies view that Arabic emerged in the Arabic peninsula (Abd El-Tawab, 1999). It is the language of nomads who settled there in the second millennium BCE, and built up an advanced civilization in the South. Their earliest inscriptions demonstrate a relationship with Arabic; and it is estimated that the earliest script in this language is the Alnamarh inscription which dates from the fourth century BC. South Arabian civilization developed the existence of Arabs as an Ethno-cultural group whose position in the history of humanity rests on a Bedouin life known for camel breeding. The development of Arabic during that period was hooked up with desert life, a distinctive geographical situation which strengthened its isolation rather than its independence. Thus any influence of the neighbouring languages, Persian in the East, Aramaic in the North and Ethiopian in the South, was relatively far-reached. In this respect, it is estimated that words of non-Arab origins could only constitute 2.5% of pre-Islamic Arabic (El-Mawsuʕa El-ʕArabia El-ʕAlamia, 1999). This factor has privileged Arabic with some two distinguishing qualities: Today it encompasses all the sounds that can be part of any other Semitic language, but the sounds: /θ/, /ð/, /d/, /ð/, /ʕ/, cannot be assembled in any of them. In addition, Arabic stands broader and more comprehensive in its lexical riches of Semitic origin.

In the pre-Islamic era, El-jahilia, Arabic had already existed with two varieties. The first variety is that of the North. It is the language of Adnan to Ismail's descendants and it fuses Tammim, Keis, Hudayl, Rabia and Kuraish tribes and some others. The second variety is centred in the Southern region, the language of Qahtan's to Hymiar's offspring. People of the South were known as *Arab El-Beyda?* (Arabs of Desert). Historically speaking, they are considered as the real original Arabs, whereas people of the North were introduced to Arabic just later, and this fact is behind their naming *El-Arab El-Mustaʿriba* (arabised Arabs). The importation of Arabic to the northern part of the peninsula happened gradually, namely through the process of immigration and trade relations: Aws and Khadzredj, for example, are northern tribes but of southern origin.

In that period, the variety of Kuraish surfaced as the language of the most eloquent Arabs, "*Afsah El-Arab*" (Rahmoun, 2007, p. 36), and the purest version of Arabic. Three factors stand behind the progress of this variety, as agreed upon in the works of Rahmoun (2007), Abd El-Tawab (1999), and Versteegh (2001; 2011):

- The presence of sacred Kaʿba in their country and the annual pilgrimage of different tribes promoted the fertilization of different dialects.
- Winter and summer trips that they organised annually favoured language contact.
- On their part, the famous commercial markets, *Okadh* and *Dhou El-Madjaz*, which they organised, drew the interest and flow of numerous merchants and contributed to the promotion of language contact.

These factors engendered the transfer of the finest and purest Arabic lexicon, idioms, structures and even accents to Kuraish dialect. At that time, a common language had already developed: *El-Arabia El-Fusha*, eloquent Arabic. This variety was the finest version of Arabic, not specific to one tribal accent but a binding power of Arabs. Each tribe had to own at least some people who could excel in that variety: It needed *Khati:b* (an orator), and *chouʿaraa* (poets). Orators were required for defending rather than protecting tribal status and confidentiality. The well-known *khotabaa el-jahilya* (pre-Islamic orators) were strong and defensive enough just because of their eloquence in that sacred variety. On its part, pre-Islamic poetry, *el-chiʿr El-djahili*, was of an extreme importance: "Poetry for

Arabs was the office of their culture and the summit of their rule. It was their model and their refuge.”⁴ (Eljamhi, 1998, p. 25).

Since the pre-Islamic era, Classical Arabic has not ceased to stand for Arab culture, traditions and values. All told, in that period there was already an existence of dialectal differences that characterised the different regions of the peninsula, in addition to a high prestigious variety, a unifying factor of all the dialects, which is Classical Arabic. Diglossia has by then already emerged in the Arab society.

1.2.2. The Arabo-Islamic World Expansion: The Era of Spread and Standardisation of Classical Arabic

Islam came to light when Arabic reached its utmost prosperity and complete maturity. In this language, the Qur’an was revealed to an Arab prophet, *Muhammed* (peace be upon him). And though writing had existed in El-jahilia society, poetic *Muṣallaqa:t* and treaties were written down and conserved in Kaṣba, the prophet was an *ummi*, he was not able to read and write, hence Quranic revelations, *el-ayet el-qurʿa:nia*, were just told by him and memorised, then later written down by his companions, *essahaba*, in order to guarantee their preservation. During the prophet’s life span, revelations were not assembled in one document; only separate messages, recorded on a number of pieces of different materials, could be found. However after his death (14/ 632)⁵, and with the beginning of the Arabo-Islamic expansion in the 7th century, conversion to Islam spread out hastily in conquered territories. Therefore, there was an urging need to collect revelations in one book, later called El-Mus’haf El-sharif. Khalif Othman, who ruled from 25/644 to 35/656, was a pioneer in encouraging the collection of full Qur’an. Thanks to the authoritative codex he established, the Qur’an was saved in one book and by the end of the second century of Hijra, the Othmani text was provided and outspread in almost all the Arabo-Muslim Empire. The collection and codification of Qur’an was a crucial step in the evolution of the orthography of standards of Arabic (Owens, 2004).

⁴ See the original text in Arabic script (Apendix A, p. 281)

⁵ In this research work, there may be references to some dates in (Hijri/calendar)

In parallel with the spread of Islam, Arabic, was outstretched drastically around the world: First it extended to the Middle East, starting with Kufa (16/ 636) and Basra (17/638); then to North Africa where Fustat, now Cairo, was the first to be conquered (646); and finally to Andalusia (711) and Uzbekistan (750). The language became suddenly known and used along a territory stretching from West Europe to the western borders of China (Owens, 2004, p. 2). Arab settlement in the regions developed in different periods until the 17th century with an extensive Arabisation of populations and their conversion to Islam. The Arab Empire grew broader and the cultural and linguistic mixture between Arabs and a diversity of foreign speakers occurred at a large scale. Therefore, jeopardy began to threaten Arabic, especially with the increase of grammatical, spelling and phonological mistakes and the gradual loss of linguistic values. This fact evoked the concentration of grammarians, “*el-nuhat el-mukafʿidu:n*” (Rahmoun, 2007, p. 38), and orthographers to embark upon a process of correction and standardisation:

The most important prerequisite for the written codification of the language was the invention of orthography, or rather the adaptation of existing scribal practices to the new situation. Then a standardised norm for the language was elaborated, and the lexicon was inventoried and expanded. Subsequently, when these requirements had been met, a linguistic standard was developed. (Versteegh, 2011, p. 53)

According to Versteegh (2011), Beyoumi (2002) and El-Maatouk (2005), the standardisation of Classical Arabic went through three central processes which are respectively explained in the following lines as: the development of orthography, the codification of canonical grammar, and the expansion of vocabulary.

- The development of orthography: During the first century of Hijra, governmental decisions concerning alterations and adaptations of the languages' orthography had been elaborated. Chief among the orthographers was Abu El-Aswad ad-Du'ali who pioneered “the introduction of a system of (coloured) dots below and above the letters to indicate the three short vowels” (Versteegh, 2011, p. 56).
- The codification of canonical grammar: Having orthography was not enough for the protection and strengthening of the language of such a huge and powerful

empire. Up to that period, Arabic had existed in written texts but with an uneven grammar promoted by the increasing rate of mistakes in the language of the growing, non- native Arab population (ʕajem). Ali, the fourth caliph (35/656 to 40/661) was the first to call forth the grammarians to intervene and deter the danger of language loss. Grammarians had immediately been involved in the codification of Arabic grammar and the insurance of correctness standards. In doing so, they fell back to Qur'an and Islamic poems as referential texts. Besides, they trusted Bedouin speech and organised trips to *Badia* (desert) in order to collect pure texts since Bedouins were regarded as arbitrators of proper language.

- The expansion of vocabulary: One of the foremost aspects of Arabic standardisation was its modernisation and adaptation to the newly adopted cultures. Hence, linguists' work was chiefly focused on neologism, vocabulary coining and extension of semantics of already existing Arabic terms. The aim was to encompass scientific and civilized terminology. Different processes were implemented. The linguist Chaouki Daif (2006, p.141) has explained these processes in a way that can be summarised as follows:

-Borrowing, essentially of technical terminology of Greek origin such as *hayula*, *bulghum*, and Persian derivation in botany like *narjis*, *banafsedj*, *babunedj* and *badinjan*.

-Translation and Arabisation, and within this process, some new words were coined using Arabic roots as in the standardised terms *mahmu:l* and *qadiya* used as translations of Greek words .

In this context, vocabulary enrichment, a number of books were published. Chief among them was *Mafateeh El-ulu:m* (keys of sciences) of El-Khawarizmi (Daif, 2006, p. 141). And by the end of the Abbasside era, Arabic had already enriched its linguistic dictionary and expanded borrowing from Persian, Indian and Greek. Arabic became thus a rich language, a language of highest reference to modernity and scientific development and the most reliable source of the time's technical terminology.

During the era of the Arabo-Islamic Empire, Arab linguists, grammarians and orthographers endeavoured to fortify Arabic, enrich its vocabulary and canonise its grammar. Accordingly, governors succeeded in the standardization of this language. Consequently, Classical Arabic developed and attained its uppermost level of strength and prestige. It grew to become a linguistic force and to support the eminent world position of its people. It became without doubt a world language, a language of science and openness. This situation had lasted for centuries. It attained its peak during the Abbasside era. Unfortunately this *golden* situation ended in a dramatic way when it was shaken by the decline of Arabs' power with the fall of Andalusia in the 15th century. In addition to its decline as a world language, its openness to the world was a viaduct to some inevitable manifestations of language contact such as the birth of new dialects and the spread of mistakes.

1.2.3. Language Contact, the Birth of New Dialects and the Emergence of Middle Arabic: a First Threat to Arabic Language

The drastic expansion of Arabic in the Arabs' golden era was behind its imposition as the unique official language in the conquered territories. Here are some examples provided by Versteegh (2011):

In Iraq, the first conquered territory, Arabic replaced Middle Persian and Aramaic. The former had been the language of administration whereas the latter had been the *lingua franca* of the area and the mostly spoken language there.

In Syria, Greek, the language of administration was replaced by Arabic in the first century of hijra. But Syriac remained the literary language of the region until the 14th century when replaced by Arabic.

In Khurasan, and by the beginning of the 2nd century of Hijra, Middle Persian was completely replaced with Arabic as a supreme language for all official, administrative and literary works. And up to the 9th century, it had represented the Iranian culture and intellectual life.

The introduction of Arabic to North Africa was accomplished in two distant periods. In the 7th century, the language could only be concentrated on the region of

Qayrawan, the military camp of the Arab army. The penetration of Arabic in that area could hardly be talked about since the population still used Berber. However, in the 11th century, and with the second invasion of Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaiman, it began to gain a steady position. Tunisia for example was conquered and arabised two years after the invasion. The Arabisation of Algiers happened as late as the 12th century, and Oran and Morocco were conquered 8 years earlier. Unlike Syria or Egypt, the native language of some North African populations, Berber, has survived the supremacy of Arabic and validated its existence until the present day.

1.2.3.1. The Appearance of New Dialects: Important Effects on Classical Arabic Pronunciation, Grammar and Vocabulary

Language contact that occurred between Classical Arabic and the local dialects triggered a course of reciprocal influence. As aforementioned, Arabic became the major language in most conquered territories. It had also been of a great influence in Europe until the 15th century when it completely left Malta, Sicily and Spain. Today, Portuguese and Spanish count in their dictionaries about 1800 words of Arabic origin. For instance, words like *alfarez*, *alberca*, *alcaida* are Spanish words borrowed from Arabic (Abd El-Badi'a, 1969, p. 112). On the other hand, interference of local native colloquial varieties in Classical Arabic enhanced the generation of new spoken varieties, today known as Arabic dialects. These dialects stretch out from the Arabian Peninsula to North Africa, and the distance between them usually results in a gradual mutual unintelligibility so that a Saudi can hardly understand the Algerian variety.

Moreover, and though they have kept their Arab origin, 90% of their linguistic characteristics are of Classical Arabic origin (Nouirat, 2005), Arabic dialects are characterized by some linguistic differences: "The colloquial language is characterized by its ease and freedom from the constraints of grammar and discordant pronunciations. For this reason, people bias to this type of language."⁶ (Laouisat, 2007, p. 97). Communicative needs of the newly arabised populations have brought about numerous alterations of Arabic at different linguistic levels, namely the semantic, phonological and grammatical

⁶ See the original text in Arabic script (Apendix A, p. 281)

ones. In the following, there is an aim to briefly justify and exemplify this fact with some examples from the Algerian urban dialects:

At the level of semantics, many words have either extended or changed their meanings. In the Algerian dialect, the word *bez ε:f*, meaning *a lot*, is an extension of *bi el-juzε:f* or *beiε el-juzε:f*, a kind of whole sale (Nouirat, 2005, p. 10). The word *hrisa*, a sort of spicy food, has acquired an altered meaning of *hariset ettaṣa:m* or mashed food (Laouisat, 2007, p. 199).

At the phonological level, the pronunciation of certain sounds have been either deleted or replaced. The inter-dentals θ and δ usually disappear in words like *ḏε:k* (that), and *ḥaṣlāb* (fox), and are replaced respectively by /d/ and /t/, so that *dε:k* and *taṣlāb* result. It is noteworthy, here, to say that in rural areas the pronunciation of θ and δ still occurs when required, surely because as commonly known by dialectologists, these areas are less open to language contact thus more conservative in what concerns the original pronunciation and even vocabulary of the language. And in *nisba* adjectives, for instance, the sound /iun/ is replaced by /i/ in words like *saḥra:wiun*, which turned into *saḥra:wi* and *sam ε:wiun* which became *samε:wi*. The glottal stop has in its turn disappeared in words like *raʔs* and *baʔs*.

In grammar, simplified Arabic is depicted: Gender difference is rather absent in the plural form which stands also for the dual form in all the cases, like in *qa:lu:* (*they said*) and *j ε:bu* (*they brought*). In its turn, *nu:n el-jamaʕa* is absent in all plural verbs, that is why there is a general levelling in the end of the present tense verbs like /*yəkətbu:*/ and /*yəfəhmu:*/.

1.2.3.2. Middle Arabic: an Enrichment or a Disadvantage to the Situation of Classical Arabic?

The development of dialects has its drawbacks on the Arabic language. Linguistic interference and the spread of colloquialism have generated errors originating from the divergent vernaculars. Since the appearance of these dialects, people began to make mistakes that can be located in today's Arabic in use:

- Mistakes in pronunciation, as in the substitution of \ð\ by \d\ in words like \ðahaba\ and \ðira\ (go and arm).
- Mistakes in grammar, like in the confusion between the subjunctive and indicative verb moods, “*errijalu yadkhulu:*” instead of “*errijalu yadkhulu:na*” (the men enter); or like in the substitution of the dual form by a plural one, *yadkhulu:* instead of *yadkhula:ni*, in diverse instances.
- Mistakes in spelling, like in the replacement of \s\ by \š\ in \su:ra\, or the substitution of d’ by z in /ibad’i/ (one of the four Muslim schools).

Being aware of the mistakes they make and having a deficient mastery of the standard variety, people usually overcorrect themselves; but in doing so, they, most of the time, fall in other mistakes named by Versteegh “*pseudo-corrections*” (2011, p. 115). Henceforth, Classical Arabic grammar, phonology and original syntactic structures have been gnawed gradually. This phenomenon outspread everywhere, in the country’s cultural and intellectual centres, among the sedentary population, Mestizos (*el-moualladin*) and even Bedouins.

Subsequently, a discrete variety of Arabic came to light. It is situated between Classical Arabic and dialectal Arabic and named Middle Arabic, *el’lughha el-wusta*, or the Third Language, *el-lughha e-thalitha*. This variety does not correspond to any particular period in the history of Arabic. It emerged as early as the 7th century of Hijra and has existed until the present day. Thanks to a group of scholars, *haraket el-naqdh el-lughhaoui* (Movement of Linguistic Review), of the Abbasside era, dangers faced by the language began to be restrained. Chief among the leaders of this movement were Abu Hilal El-Askari, El-Kacim Ben Ali and Abdoullah Ibn Bar (El-Maatouk, 2005).

In the following, the Saoudi linguist El-Maatouk explains the aim of Middle Arabic advocators:

Linguists' attempts have been incessant since the beginning of the codification era, without giving up or being despaired, in search for solutions to settle the conflict between Arabic, their language, and other foreign languages. Their aim was to turn this conflict in favour of their language, the language of Qur'an; so that the language remains fixed in its origin but supple, flexible and open to the other languages with which it can interact in order to achieve enhanced growth, expansion, effectiveness and influence.⁷ (El-Maatouk, 2005, p. 48)

Linguists have multiplied their efforts to protect their language from the threat of errors and unsystematic intrusive elements. To bring together Arabic originality with development factors has always been their main principle. And the most prominent plan they have can be sketched out in three poles:

- The simplification of Arabic grammar to facilitate its learning, teaching and use.
- The production of effective dictionaries which compile the upshot of new vocabulary and linguistic structures.
- The creation of new ways of borrowing and translation in order to conduct a regular procedure of adopting necessary foreign vocabulary and purify the language from intrusive elements.

Through this method, traditional Arab linguists succeeded to put forward a Middle Arabic, for secure use, easy contact and openness to the civilized world. Whereas Middle Arabic, of the 19th, 20th and 21st century, has become an issue in itself, towards which linguists' views vary from optimism to suspicion and mistrust. Advocates of Middle Arabic have multiplied in number, and accordingly, their ambitions regarding the shaping of this variety's situation have split into a number of contradictory views, torn between endeavours to preserve the purity of Classical Arabic, or its present version Modern Standard Arabic, and attempts to mix it with the colloquial or/and the foreign language; as there are even contemporary challenges to replace it completely with the colloquial for the latter's easiness and nearness to Arabs' thought.

⁷ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 281)

1.2.4. The Emergence and Development of MSA

In the 19th century, the Arab society witnessed a series of European expeditions and colonisations, hence, an inundation of new ideas and new technologies, in addition to a prompt openness to the European culture(s), namely the British and French ones. In such conditions, the Arabic Language had to be acclimatized to new positions and its compatibility to translate and express these new notions was brought forward. Throughout the century, Arab translators and writers actively undertook the making of new ways of translation and the creation of neologisms, especially to express ideas and concepts of foreign cultures in their language. Thus, Classical Arabic became exposed to changes and new horizons appeared for what is now labelled Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

The 19th century Arab world was particularly typified by the spread of new political notions, mainly inspired from the French enlightenment, and the rise of liberalism and nationalism⁸. Therefore, the political terminology took the lion's share in the process of the Arabic modernisation. And by the end of the century, Arabic language dictionaries had collected an important range of new political terminology (Versteegh, 2011, p. 174). Some of them can be cited as follows:

- The term *shaʿb* (*people*) replaced the former *raʿiyya*, which can be its synonym today but with other religious and social connotations. The new term is obviously employed in political expressions: *majlis el-shaʿb* (*the people's council*), *mina el-shaʿb waʿila el-shaʿb* (*from people and to people*).
- Earlier, one could only hear *qawani:n* (*laws*) or the religious term *shari:ʿa* but since the end of the 19th century, the term *dustu:r* has become a regular translation for *constitution*, but *tashri:ʿa:t* (an extension from *shari:ʿa*) is used today to mean legislations.
- Some other words were derived from already existing Arabic words and replaced, through analogy, a number of Western political terms such as: *ishtirakia*

⁸ The French revolution of late 18th century (1789-1799) was an upheaval in the world populations' political ideologies. Consequently, Liberalism developed as a new ideology that defends individual liberties and political freedom; and nationalism emerged accordingly as an ideology of belonging and being both unified in and devoted to one's nation.

(*socialism*), *shuyufia*(*communism*). Other existing words as *huku:ma*, *jumho:riya*, *mabʕu:θ* were loaded with political meanings.

As exemplified above, language reforms, translations and borrowings packed Classical Arabic with a renewed political role; yet the language was also mobilised as a vehicle of modernization in different fields, specifically the social and cultural ones. These reforms were further intensified during the 20th century.

Arab academies have played a central role in the process of Arabic modernization since the beginning of the 20th century, especially after the two World Wars when colonized countries multiplied their efforts in the reconsideration of both their language and identity. In 1919, *el-majmaʕ el-ilmi el-arabi*, today *majmaʕ el-lugha el-arabiya bidimashk* (*the Academy of the Arabic Language in Damascus*) was founded. Its basic goal is to maintain the Arabic language, preserve it from errors related to foreign and dialectal influence, and guarantee its adaptation to the needs of modernity. So far, the academy has played a major role in the generation and expansion of thousands of scientific and cultural terms and their use as alternatives to the foreign ones. In 1932, the second academy emerged in Cairo, *majmaʕ el-lugha el-arabiya* (*the Academy of the Arabic Language*). Since its beginnings, it has focused on the creation of new Arabic terminology through Arabisation of foreign words, deriving, trope and translation. The Egyptian academy has always been considered as the most dynamic Arab linguistic institution (Akli, 2007), and is known for its active role in the writing of modern dictionaries, *el-maʕjam el-kabir*, *el-maʕjam el-wasit*, *el-maʕjam el-wajiz*, in addition to other dictionaries of Qur'anic terms and scientific concepts. Other important academies were created later, and the most acknowledged ones can be the Iraqi Academy, *el-majmaʕ el-ʕilmi el-iraqi* (1947), and the Jordanian Academy, *majmaʕ el-lugha el-ʕarabiya el-ordoni* (1976). The two academies have played a major role in the translation and Arabisation of scientific books besides the development of specialized dictionary projects (Belaïd, 1995, p. 38). In Algeria, a number of linguistic institutions have existed, but the most important one is *el-majlis el-aʕla: li el-lugha el-ʕarabiya*. The latter organises different seminars, conferences and panels to deal with the different problems of Arabic language. Besides, it regularly publishes *majallet el-lugha el-ʕarabiya*, the Arabic Language Journal, concerned with the care for the situation of Modern Arabic in Algeria and the Arab world.

As explained by Belaïd (2004, p. 80), in the modern era, all Arab academies' goals revolve around four major poles that can be summarised as follows:

- The revival of the Arab-Islamic patrimony.
- The care about the correctness of Arabic, its safety and its adaptation to requirements of the modern era.
- The proliferation of Arabic technical terminology and translations.
- The encouragement of research and authoring about the Arabic language and linguistics.

Vocabulary creation, neologism in all its forms, and grammatical reforms, all these novelties have partaken in the gradual modification of Classical Arabic into a modern variety, known today as MSA. Ideologically, the latter is conceived as identical to the classical version of Arabic, known as the language of Qur'an; however, de facto, the difference is palpable since the language has deeply changed, especially in its vocabulary, but has remained a powerful symbol of Arab unified identity. Nonetheless, despite the unifying efforts of the academies, texts in MSA vary in accordance with the regional variations of Arab countries. Reasons behind this vary between the dissimilar colonial histories of the regions and the different local practices, of each academy, in creating new vocabulary and modernizing the language. In North Africa, for example, the influence of French can be touched in sentences like:

- *tahaddata maṣa* (*he spoke to*) in the model of *s'entretenir avec*.
- *biṣounwan* (*entitled*) in the model of *sous titre de*.
- *wadāṣa fi el-istiṣmal* (*put in use*) in the model of *mettre en usage*.

The uncommon and uncoordinated efforts of the Arab councils only form a facet of the different factors that shape the present-day situation of Arabic. The forceful interference of powerful foreign languages, namely English and French, the languages of former colonizers is one of its historical backgrounds too. However the decaying position of Arabs in a continuously developing world of science and technology, it is worth to be recalled, can stand as a summary and starting point to every condition of the present situation of MSA.

1.3. Contemporary Arabic Language: Reality, Problems and Challenges

Today, and with the number of its native speakers, Arabic occupies the fifth position in twenty languages that constitute the summit of the worldwide languages order. Arabic is the mother tongue of more than 250 million people. It is hence preceded by Chinese with more than a billion people, English with 350 million people, Spanish, and Indian (Fayed Kamil, 2003). As a world language, the Arabic language use is not restricted to Arab communities but overtly spread in some twenty countries Arab or not. For example, it is the first language in Mauritania and the second language in all of Somalia, Israel and Djibouti. Besides, it is an official language of the United Nations and its sub-organizations. It is also recognised as an official and professional language in the UN Security Council and the Economic and Social Council (UNIDO), as it is a national language in the Organization of African Unity. Furthermore, in the USA, Arabic language is seen as one among 169 languages significantly appraised to be known for ethnic and economic security and even scientific interests (Fayed Kamil, 2003).

At a rough guess, the situation seems ensuring to all native speakers, Arab linguists and language politicians and even nationalists. If so, why do curious people and researchers on Arabic hear a lot about its instability and the problems its “*people*” (Cristal: 2000) face at numerous levels? And why do unprofessional comments describe it as a *weak, ruined* language and even a *dying* language? The prosperity of today’s Arabic is unfortunately undermined by certain historical, social and cultural realities, in addition to the Western world’s technological advance and its consequences on Arabs and their language. Diglossia, multilingualism, dialects plurality and traces of the former colonizing policies have imposed the instability of Arabic; and the awkward conceptualization and adaptation of globalization, as an ideology, has nourished incertitude about its correctness and accuracy.

1.3.1. Diglossia and Multilingualism in Contemporary Arab World

At the societal level, multilingualism refers to the presence and use of two languages or more in one society. It is a sociolinguistic phenomenon resulting from language contact and manifest in the present-day language and dialect coexistence and

interference. Diglossia, on its part, is a concept referred to in the description of the sociolinguistic situation of multilingual speech communities in which specific functions are attributed to language varieties in accordance to their social and political statuses.

The term diglossia was introduced by Charles Ferguson in 1959, as an attempt to describe the sociolinguistic situation in some countries where two varieties having separate functions exist: A high variety (H) which is known for its formal use, and a low variety (L) which is commonly used in the normal everyday circumstances. Ferguson mainly focused his studies on the diglossic situation in the Arabic speaking countries in general. His definition of diglossia is quoted by Hudson in the following:

Diglossia is a relatively stable situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard), there is a very divergent, highly codified (even grammatically more complex) superposed variety. (Hudson, 1996, p. 49)

And about functions of the high variety, Ferguson adds:

The vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or 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.
(Hudson, 1996, pp. 49-50)

Ferguson stresses the condition that the high and low varieties belong to the same original language. He views diglossia as the linguistic situation of a particular speech community that uses its '*primary dialect*', i.e. mother tongue for ordinary interactions. This variety is phonologically and semantically divergent and grammatically more simplified than the high variety which could only be spoken in formal situations, and to which the written function is reserved.

Ferguson's theoretical model for diglossia has shown an apparent ambiguity and lack of precision. Therefore, his framework triggered the interest of many other linguists

who have taken part in the refinement and extension of the theory with respect to three realities:

First, the idea that the low variety is genetically dependent on the high variety made the study of diglossia a very restricted concept. In many speech communities, L and H do not belong to the same language. In Alsace, for example, Alsatian is L and French is H (Serir, 2012, p. 81). In other communities, like in Belgium, a number of languages share the high, prestigious status. Therefore some scholars “have extended the term to cover situations which do not strictly count as diglossic according to this definition” (Hudson, 1996, p. 50). Gumpers (1962) followed by Fishman (1971), for example, have expanded diglossia to cover all the linguistic varieties that show functional differences, including languages and dialects of the same or different genetic origin. Adopting this theory in the study of languages’ functional distribution in the Arab society would render the vision rather more complicated with the interference of different languages and dialects in a mosaic, distinguishing each Arab country apart due to different sociolinguistic histories; starting from pre-Islamic local varieties (like Berber in Algeria, Aramaic in Syria and Coptic in Egypt) to Arabic and its dialects, in addition to French in some countries and English in others, as languages of imperial colonizers.

Second, the functional distribution of varieties cannot be as limited as Ferguson suggests, at least with respect to the speakers’ uneven degree of competence and proficiency in the target varieties, namely the high variety. In many cases, the majority of language users easily use one variety, most of time, the one they use in everyday speech. The result may be reflected through errors and overlap of the functions of L to that of H. Therefore, many linguists pioneered by Gumpers (1962) and Fishman (1967-1972) “proposed to distinguish between the sociolinguistic approach and the psycholinguistic approach” (Versteegh, 2011, p. 190). The sociolinguistic approach undertakes the functional differences of language varieties whereas the psychological approach takes into consideration the degree of control and command of society’s members.

Third, mutual exclusivity that characterises the functions of the two varieties makes Ferguson’s view of diglossia a general and incomplete one. For him, language choice and diglossic code switching is very limited and depends on the situation. However “the speaker never opts for one variety or the other, but moves along a continuum of speech, of

which the two varieties are only the extreme” (Versteegh, 2011, p. 191). Therefore code switching in diglossic situations posits speakers’ choice along a scale of graded varieties. This choice is determined by extra-linguistic factors such as the educational level, the socio-economic situation, the addressee and the discourse topic and context. In the case of Arabic, many linguists have made efforts in the subdivision of functional roles accredited to the two extremes, taking into account other varieties. Middle Arabic or the language of intellectuals (luyat almuṡaqqafi:n), known also as formal spoken Arabic or Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) (Serir, 2012) is gaining ground in Arab linguists’ interest. It is a rather simplified version of MSA, characterised by the interference of dialectal terms and pronunciation(s). The Egyptian linguist Badawi (1973) even adds other varieties. His suggestion concerns the Egyptian case mainly but also the Arab world. These varieties cover:

- Classical Arabic
- Modern Standard Arabic
- Colloquial of the Intellectuals
- Colloquial of the Literate
- Colloquial of the Illiterate

Arab scholars agree upon the fact that Ferguson’s framework stands inadequate for the study of diglossia in contemporary Arab societies. Their arguments, following the European perspective, seem convincing to the point that leads to wonder which Arabic variety (ies) should be trusted in the study of the actual situation of Arabic. If diversity of colloquial pronunciations and terminology is tolerated and encouraged in ‘*the Language of Intellectuals*’, so what can be the future of Arabic as a unifying force of Arabs’ identity? What can be considered in the study of grammatical, lexical or even spelling errors in different texts, as in the language of press and newspapers? With respect to these issues, the following point suggests a contemplation of the current presence of dialects (L) as opposed to MSA (H).

1.3.2. Contemporary Dialects of Arabic

Arabic dialects are numerous and the disparity between them is essentially regional, since as aforementioned, the Arabo- Muslim conquests introduced Arabic to regions of

different mother languages. Scholars commonly classify five dialect areas of Arabic (Versteegh, 2011).

- 1- Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, which cover four groups (Palva, 1991):
 - North-east Arabian dialects or the dialects of Najd.
 - North-west Arabian dialects, mainly composed of the dialect of Najef, Sinai and South Jordan.
 - South Arabian dialects, specifically located in Yemen and Bahrain.
 - West Arabian Dialects or Hijaz dialects
- 2- Mesopotamian dialects, which cover Iraqi dialects and the Arabic linguistic enclave in Khuzestan.
- 3- Egyptian dialects, subdivided in their turn into four groups:
 - The Dialect of Cairo
 - The Middle Egyptian dialects
 - The Upper Egyptian dialects
 - The dialects of Delta
- 4- Syro-Lebanese dialects, representing dialects of Syria and Lebanon.
- 5- Maghreb Dialects, which include dialects of Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Mauritania (known as Hassaniya).

The above dialects distribution is subdivided, in its turn, into a number of regional dialects. But scholars usually consider the differences characterising countries in general, so that people can hear about the Algerian dialect, Moroccan dialect, Lebanese dialect, Syrian dialect, Egyptian dialect and so on. Actually, the dialect indicating each country is represented by the one of its capital, normally viewed as the most prestigious and esteemed one.

In the pre-Islamic era, Arabs, with their dialects, were able to communicate easily. But with the expansion of their geographical map, this easiness was abridged. Currently,

mutual intelligibility between the dialects can hardly be ensured in so much as distance separates them. This can be judged as the result of two central factors: the historical imprint of different foreign languages attained through language contact and modern-day (urban) dialects' everlasting openness to multilingualism, neologism and change which mark some typical characteristics separating each dialect apart. Dialectal differences are chiefly phonological (different accents and pronunciation) but also grammatical and lexical. Discussing these differences is so profound and may need an entire doctorate thesis, yet what matters again is the complexity of the mission of analysing Arabic discourse (newspaper discourse in this concern) when considering the *highly divergent varieties* as opposed to the Standard (MSA).

1.3.3. Arabs' Ambivalent Attitudes towards MSA and Dialectal Arabic

Dialects of Arabic avow their dissimilarity both to the social position and functions of the standard. At the first scene, two varieties distribute among themselves the social functions and statuses:

The high variety is MSA, known in Arab literature as al-fushja. What distinguishes this language from others in the Western world or other societies is its holiness and godliness. Being the current version of Classical Arabic, the language of Allah in Sacred Qur'an, endows it with special soaring respect and admiration that reigns over its people. Marrow and Castleton describe the fact in this passage: "Through the Allah lexicon, those who are directly connected to Arabic have absorbed a repertoire of divine sentiment into their daily assigning Allah's influence over every area of their lives" (2007, p. 203).

It is commonly known that the majority of Arabs are Muslims, but even Christians and members of other religions have their speech fused with the group because of this strong connectedness between Arabic and Islam. And expressions like *machaa Allah*, *essalamou alaikoum*, *yarhamouka Allah* prevail in their speech. Moreover, MSA is the language of official contexts and most written discourses. However, problems in selecting terms and employing correct grammatical forms increase, depending on language users' degree of proficiency decrease. These linguistic problems are also related to the writers', most of the time ideological, intention to use a version close to the informal, colloquial

style. This results in a discourse involving linguistic errors at different levels or (an) adapted variety (ies), yielding to language interference and code switching between H and L. In the spoken form, things are even more confusing. A fair example of this may be the discourse of Arab presidents or leaders of political parties, normally considered official. When broadcasted or quoted in Arab news, the latter usually involves code switching (interference between MSA, dialectal Arabic, and even French or English due to bilingualism).

Arabic dialect has a low value. It occupies a modest position since it concerns everyday speech. In most of the cases, it is judged the vulgar version of Arabic, the general language (al- ʕammiya), the market language (assouqia). In spite of that, it is the mother tongue, thus the nearest language to speakers' thoughts, feelings and expressions. This truth has imposed "tension and ambivalent feelings towards the two varieties" (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 9) among Arabs. This problem touches all Arab societies; members of each interact in a different dialect but learn MSA at school, the thing which encumbers learning difficulties and lack of proficiency. Yet, Arabs, all of them, "are aware of a larger entity that somehow unites them" (Bassiouney 2009, p. 26). When an Arab says: "*My mother tongue is Arabic*", they partly refer to MSA as a unifying force and a symbol of their same identity. Moreover, their attitude towards dialects diversity varies between two views. Some are quite pessimistic and consider this phenomenon "a symbol of fragmentation" (Versteegh, 2011, p. 132) and a menace to the purity and correctness of Arabic. On the other hand, others' view is rather positive and considers it "a wealth of information" (Serir, 2012, p. 85) about Arabic for scholars and a riches for Arabic and its people.

1.3.4. The Colonizer's Linguistic Imperialism and Arab Language Policies

Language has always been used as a symbol of identity and governmental authorities expend unceasing efforts to impose national identity. Arabs, forming a nation, agree upon the fact that they share the same culture (values and beliefs), historical heritage, and essentially the same language MSA. Al-Ansari and Al-Ansari (2002), quoted in Bassiouney, explain the situation in the following:

What differentiates the Arab world or the Arab nation from all other nations and states in the world is language. Statistics show that Arabic is the third biggest language, not in terms of its speakers, but in terms of the countries that adopt it as its official language. Arabic comes after English and French.

(2009, p. 208)

This passage is sufficient enough to describe how much language politicians endeavour to answer the ideology of “*one language, one nation*”.

Al-Ansari and Al-Ansari (2002), quoted in Bassiouney (2009) continue:

However, countries that use French or English as their official language are scattered all over the world, while countries that adopt Arabic as their official language comprise one geographical entity that stretches from the ocean to the gulf. (p. 208)

This is what distinguishes the Arab *umma (nation)* from other nations. What unites its members, as opposed to the European Union for instance, is language before any other politico- economic interest. The underlying notion of “*one language, one nation*” constitutes thus a profound ideology that shakes the nationalists’ jealousy and determination to defend MSA. This determination was boosted in the beginning of mid-twentieth century, a period of independence of Arab countries from the British and French imperialist colonization. One of the aims of the colonizers was to eradicate Islam, and Arabic has always stood as a key to achieve this aim, due to the strong ties between Arabic and Islam (Marrow and Castleton, 2007). France strove to wipe out Standard Arabic in its North-African colonies, hence French was established the sole official language and the use of Arabic dialects was promoted in the area. The British policy was different. It did not change the status of Standard Arabic which remained the official language along with English; however its power was undermined by a policy of dialect promotion. In Egypt, Sudan and Palestine, imperialist language politicians insisted that children should be taught at schools the languages they use at home (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 237).

Outcomes of the former imperialist policies cannot pass unnoticed. In the following table, Bassiouney suggests a vision on languages used in Arab countries and others using Arabic as their official language:

Country	Official language	Language used
Algeria	Arabic	Arabic, French , Berber
Bahrain	Arabic	Arabic, English , Farsi, Urdu
Chad	French, Arabic	Arabic, Daza, French , Gulay, Kanuri, Maba, Sara, Zaghawa
Comoros	Shikomor, Arabic, French	Arabic, French , Shikomor
Djibouti	Arabic, French	Afar, Arabic, French , Somali
Egypt	Arabic	Arabic, Armenian, Domari, Greek, Nubian
Iraq	Arabic	Arabic, Azeri, Farsi, Kurdish, Turkmen
Jordan	Arabic	Arabic, Armenian, Chechen, Circassian
Kuwait	Arabic	Arabic, English
Lebanon	Arabic	Arabic, Armenian, English , French , Kurdish
Libya	Arabic	Arabic, Nefusi, Tamashek, Zuara
Mauritania	Arabic	Arabic, Fulfulde, Soninke, Tamashek, Wolof
Morocco	Arabic	Arabic, Draa, French , Spanish, Tachelhit, Tamazight, Tarifit
Oman	Arabic	Arabic, Baluchi, English , Farsi, Swahili
Palestinian Territories	Arabic	Arabic, Domari
Qatar	Arabic	Arabic, English , Farsi
Saudi Arabia	Arabic	Arabic, English
Somalia	Somali, Arabic	Arabic, Gabre, Jiddu, Maay, Mushungulu, Somali, Swahili
Sudan	Arabic	Arabic, Bedawi, Beja, Dinka, English , Fur, Nuer
Syria	Arabic	Arabic, Armenian, Assyrian, Azeri, Kurdish
Tunisia	Arabic	Arabic, Berber languages/dialects, French
United Arab Emirates	Arabic	Arabic, Baluchi, English , Farsi, Pashto, Somali
Yemen	Arabic	Arabic, Mehri, Somali

Table 1.1. Presence of the Former Colonizers' Languages in Arabs' Usage According to Bassiouney (2009, p. 211)

Arabic is declared the sole official language in all Arab countries. It is even one of the official languages in some non-Arab African countries. However, the column about the languages used in all these countries display another truth than the officially declared one. When a language is declared the official language of any nation, it functions as a central image of its people's identity. But de facto, this image is partly artificial since the sociolinguistic scenery reflects the presence of other languages in everyday use, mainly French and English (in addition to Spanish in Morocco). What is remarkable in Bassiouney's table is the absence of English as a "language used" in Egypt, Syria and

Yemen; whereas it is well-known that in these countries this language is omnipresent, especially when being former British colonies.

Both the British and French policies have succeeded, in a way or another, to deteriorate the status of Arabic and create instability among its people. After independence, Arab governments adopted the Arabisation policy in order to restore the Arab language and identity. However attempts of Arabisation of all sectors have not succeeded to accomplish the aim, partly because English and French are among the few languages controlling the world's technological and economic exchanges and partly because the former colonizers' policy was sketched out and implemented in a manner that ensured its target results. Today, ideologically, English and French are considered foreign languages but they outstand as the languages of science and high education .Their important involvement in shaping contemporary Arab identity cannot be avoided.

1.3. 5.Globalization and Technology: a Real Challenge to Arabic

Modern life has reaped a range of triumphalist transformations in science and technology. Language, as a fundamental communicative activity, has been mobilised to guarantee the continuation and advance of these accomplishments, namely through the proliferation of technical terminology and the transmission of information. Thus, the technological competition among developed countries hangs on a precipitation to position and reposition their languages in the world order. Thereby, there is a great deal to be said about world languages and their pursuit of technological and linguistic international recognition.

The present-day new world system has imposed the philosophy of globalization, an ideology which posits worldwide populations under the control of Americanisation. Cultures, ideologies, thoughts and even languages in use are concerned. Civilisations are in an endless contact in which only the strong benefits and the weak surrenders to dependence. Language as a cultural component of any civilisation is directly influenced by globalization. The latter can do no harm unless it interferes in its originality as a marker of people's identity. For this reason, languages need renewal, especially at the level of terminology, openness to new thoughts and world views and real presence.

Globalization does not only have a negative meaning to identity. It can be very beneficial if people know what to take from it and what to reject. Hence any language can be involved in it in a positive way, through being a productive language, a different one that contributes to science and technology. And at this time globalization would not necessarily mean Americanization (Belaid, 2003) but international development, creativity and realizations.

1. 3.5.1. The Influence of Global English over Arabic

Today, English has become the first world language par excellence. It has adopted a plurality of titles: the International Language, the Global Language, the Common Language, the Continental Language, and the World's Lingua Franca. English exists everywhere, all over the world. It is the language of globalization, or more explicitly Americanization, since its overpowering position is upholding the spread of American culture around the globe, including Arab societies. On the other hand, challenges posed by technology have caused alarming repercussions on the Arabic language since Arab countries remain disadvantaged technologically. Accordingly, though recognised a world language and despite the assiduous efforts of language managers, Arabic remains far behind the reach of the overwhelming advanced situation of developed languages.

International dimensions have privileged English with the linguistic dominance of modern technological world. There is a necessary need to learn it since it pilots the universe of knowledge. Furthermore, English, particularly with an American accent, is being increasingly used among Arabs especially young ones while Arabic is receiving an inundation of borrowed foreign terminology. The fact, again, raises a distressing anxiety about the Arab identity, nourished by the problem of diglossia and the plurality of regional dialects.

1.3.5.1.1. English as the First World Language

It has become common sense that English is the global language and the world's lingua-franca; and it has become so conspicuous to find people from the world wide

dealing with English everywhere and at any time. Each one of them can say and understand at least one word in English. Words like *OK*, *Hi*, *internet*, *web*, *software*, *hardware* and *made in*, are commonly used around the globe. This can be translated in three facets:

First, English is the mother tongue of an enormous number of people in countries like Britain, Ireland, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and many Caribbean countries in addition to some other territories.

Second, it is the official language (used in domains like government, law, education and media) in an important number of countries namely the former British colonies such as Ghana, Nigeria and India. In these countries and though it is not being a mother tongue of their populations, English is learned at an early age. It should be mastered for official use and for learning.

Third, in any country, English is acquiring an ultimate priority to be taught as a foreign language. It is always crucially present in some 100 countries' foreign language teaching though no one of them has been a British colony but all of them recognise its being an international language. In Algerian schools and universities for example, English has already displaced German and Russian. It is even in competition with French considered as the country's second language.

With respect to the growth of English in the modern world and to verify its overpowering position, it is worth citing some recent statistics, exposed by Crystal (2003, pp.67-68):

- People in nonstop exposure to the English language form about 2,236 million of the world's population.
- Around 400 million people represent those who have English as the first language, including even some West African populations.
- According to the accessible statistics, which cannot cover every part of the world, English is a second language of about 430 million people.
- Approximately, according to the British Councils' estimates, a billion of the world's population is learning English. Three quarters of this total speaks English as a foreign language.

English has become the first world language and this is not an outcome of its being the mother tongue of the majority of the world's population. If so then why does not Chinese, with its eight varieties and 1.1 billion native speakers (Fayed Kamil, 2003), occupy the same position? The linguistic dominance of the language has a great deal to do with the economic, cultural, political and technological power of its people, namely the British and Americans.

Throughout history, English has always been at the centre of international movements. It witnessed a colonial opening out, which initiated with the British pioneering expeditions to America, Asia and Antipodes, and developed during the nineteenth century colonial expansion in Africa and the South Pacific. It earned a momentous further step in the twentieth century when becoming an official or semi-official language in several independent countries (Momma and Matto, 2008). Today, English owes its presence, in the five continents and different islands, to the spread of its representation in British former colonies.

Furthermore, economic realities proper to native speakers of English have a significant role in the worldwide evolution of English. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the language became that of the chief industrial and trading country, Britain. And by the end of the same century, the flourishing economy of the United States of America began to supply a new driving force to the world presence of English, and during the twentieth century to early twenty-first century, the economic pre-eminence of this country has remained a crucial aspect of its international position. People from the worldwide depend on English for their economic dealings and financial welfare.

English is the basic linguistic standard of the world's science and information, especially in the different fields of technology. This can be traced back to early nineteenth century, when the British industrial and technological supremacy loaded English with thousands of new technical terms that are in a continuous increase in response to the overwhelming American technology. And since access to knowledge is the task of education, it is the official language or the main foreign language in schools and universities around the globe.

In addition, ELT has become a growing cultural and economic business. British and American colleges and universities, where foreign students with mixed languages are welcomed, are progressively established far and wide. In worldwide council teaching centres, vital efforts are devoted to English language teaching. The British council, sustained by its project “*English 2000*”, estimates that in this millennium, over 1000 million people will be engaged in learning English (Crystal, 2003).

Media that have roughly developed in the USA have a fundamental part in sponsoring the spread of the English language in addition to the American culture, ideology and worldview. The American film and popular music are amusingly recommended by the worldwide populations. Besides, technological materials and industrial broadcasting, radio and press ensure the presence of English universally. Hence, popular cultures are alarmingly affected especially through young generations who consider English as a symbol of modernism and accurate life style.

Additionally, the leading role of the USA in promoting and marketing computational technology has a well-built relation to contemporary international strength of English. A commonly known statistic states that three quarters of the world emails and 80 per cent of the world’s electronically stored data are in English. It does not seem to be surprising information given the American origin of internet with ARPANET (the Advanced Research Project Agency Network), created in late 1960’s. Nowadays, English is the lingua- Franca of data processing and internet (Barhouma and El Anati, 2007).

To recapitulate the analysis of the international supremacy of English, it could be said that the powerful spread of English is an exceptional cultural and intellectual colonialism. When incessantly developing technologies have supplied continuous linguistic opportunities, English has emerged as the leading language in manufacturing and business that affect all parts of modern life. Therefore, it is undeniable that global English has a declared power in reconstituting and globalizing cultures and popular identities of nations and ethnic groups as it can influence the structure and vocabulary of their languages, namely by providing a vital source of loan words.

1.3.5.1.2. Arabic and Modern Technology

As seen earlier in the point about the history of Arabic, the growth of Arabic and its extension to different parts of the world is by no means a result of contemporary technological and cultural development. It is mostly the effect of past scientific, cultural and religious backgrounds. The spread of Arabic is the spread of Islam and all the scientific development it viewed during its early ages.

Today, Arabic is facing alarming challenges posed by more technological languages, particularly English. The latter is widely recommended as the first foreign language in Arab countries, counting former French colonies which have French as a second language:

- It is taught to children since their early age.
- It is a principal language in higher education, especially in natural sciences, computing, medicines, administration and economy. It is important to notice, here, that in the Maghreb, French and not English is the language of teaching university scientific domains.
- In private schools, almost all the subjects are taught in it; except in the Maghreb where French is recommended in the few existing number of these schools.
- There is a compulsory need to learn it, since it is the chief official language in commercial transactions and legal international affairs executed by states and public or private firms and enterprises.
- Even published scientific papers in Arabic or French are usually translated to English.

In brief, Modern Arabic is distant from being a technological language. In Arab societies, it is visibly replaced by English as a linguistic tool for access to knowledge. The obvious reason for this fact is that Arabs or people of Arabic have not scored much contribution to modern scientific and technological development.

1.3.5.1.3. Arabic, English and Contemporary Arab Culture and Identity

Apart from its being a means of communication, language has been a symbol of popular identity and cultural heritage in the history of humanity. In modern life, Arabic represents the Arab culture and identity of course; but this fact lingers an ideology or rather a nationalist belief. In practice, reality gives another image and reflects the deteriorating situation of this language. It is increasingly neglected by its people, and replaced by English in different contexts. Causes of this distressing reality can be demonstrated in the subsequent lines:

Arabs prefer to switch to English in their everyday conversations, especially in talks among friends and when greeting (except for Maghreb people and Lebanese who rather use French in this situation). Even when speaking to a teacher, students try hard to sound competent in English in order to assert their high intellectual level. The Jordanian everyday speech would provide vital examples:

- Expressions fully in English: “Welcome any time”, “I am very serious of course” (Barhouma and El Anati, 2007, p. 98)
- Expressions which contain code switching between Arabic and English, and this is the most common situation: “*Ana adros computer science*”(*I study computer science*), “*Sorry, nesit ahot el message ʕa silence*”(*Sorry, I forgot to make message notifications silent*), “*Please, ʕendi suʔal*”(*please, I have a question*) (Barhouma and El Anati, 2007,p. 98).

Moreover, and in the hope to cope with requirements of the era of information and communication, people draw on English when writing messages through mobiles or through the internet, and most of the time, they prefer to write Arabic in Latin letters. This phenomenon has become active today, basically as an outcome of media practices. They serve as an eminent model of modern way of communication.

Another factor is socio-economic, which is sometimes related to the heavy presence of British and American colleges and universities in Arab societies but mainly linked to people's perception of "globalization". Thus, some use English as an assertion of their high intellectual and economic level while others use it as a symbol of prestige and attractiveness. This can be exemplified in the next two paragraphs:

In the Near East, modern shops are named in English and this can be written in English, Arabic script for English words and meanings (transliteration), or Arabic and English together, like in *Time Circle*, *Universal: Shoes and Fashion*, *Stars Music*, *Forever Stores*, *Free times*, *Big Bear*, which are some shops' names in the Jordanian society (Barhouma and El Anati, 2007, p. 79). In the Algerian society (though its being a former French, not British, colony), things are not different with the opening out to the use of English in shops' signboards, such as in *She is Beautiful*, *She Shop* (for clothes shops) and *Fast food* (for the majority of small fast food shops). The reason behind this phenomenon is socio-economic in essence, since English in modern Arab culture has the prestige of being the language of high ranking social class; thus it raises the shops' value, affirms the superiority of their products, attracts more customers, and ensures more benefits. Even local products are intentionally named in English because of the belief in the superiority of the foreign, especially the American, products.

Names of foods and different dishes in modern restaurants are usually offered in foreign languages, particularly English. Sometimes, it becomes difficult for an ordinary person to know them: *tenders*, *roast beef*, *hot dog*, *big burger*, *chicken burger* and *nuggets* are some well-known examples. This is an actual facet of the spread of the American consuming culture, known for its reliance on fast food.

In sum, the current situation of MSA may be satisfactory with respect to some criteria but it is primarily alarming. Things seem reinsuring with respect to the spread of speakers of Arabic in many parts of the world; and mainly because despite all the problems facing it, Arabic remain the core of Arabs' unified identity. On the other hand, distressing repercussions of the complex diglossic situation, the former colonizers' policy and the incorrect perception and adaptation of globalization constitute a risk to the status, correctness and adequacy of MSA in a world that is constantly changing. Suggested

solutions to Arabic language case call for an Arab scientific revolution, with MSA as a language of productivity. Gaining reconciliation and people's trust of their language can never be attained merely with their ideological belief in how Arabic should be. It is high time to move on to what is concrete and practical. And Arab media discourse, newspapers' discourse as a written one, can have a distinguished role in revitalising, promoting and reflecting an image of healthy, proper Arabic.

1.4. MSA in the Grand Maghreb and Algeria Today

In this research work, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia are designed when referring to the Grand Maghreb. The choice has been limited to these three countries because of two reasons. The first is related to the available references which generally provide generous information about these three countries. The second is that it is important to have a glance at the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria's nearest neighbouring areas, with an emphasis on the shared historical background as well as the different experiences that the three countries have in developing and implementing their language policies since their independence. All of the three were under the French rule for different periods that have been enough to allocate the French language an undisputable position and value that have a paramount effect on present-day situation of MSA in the area. Many questions have been arisen about the status and reality of MSA in Algeria as a Maghreb country: What is its position amidst other vital varieties, namely Algerian Arabic, French and Berber? And what is the degree of influence of these varieties over it? Can its relation with French be seen as that of rivalry or co-existence? What is the degree of its relation to the Algerians' identity? In general, how can realities and potential problems of MSA in Algeria, as an Arabian Maghreb country, be evaluated sociolinguistically?

1.4.1. Multilingualism in the Grand Maghreb

Multilingualism prevails in the area as such. Three languages exist but with different density according to each country's population and historical particularity: Arabic, French and Berber, with the exception of Morocco where Spanish cannot be unnoticed.

1.4.1.1. Berber and Arabic in the Grand Maghreb

Berber is the most ancient language in the Grand Maghreb, but there is no exact historical evidence about the original land of its speakers. Like Arabic, it belongs to the Hamito-Semitic language family; however only a roughly slight intelligibility between speakers of the two languages can be remarked. Estimates about the exact number of Berber speakers in the region are not unanimous but approximate percentages can give an idea about the density of their presence in each of the three countries. Versteegh (2011) estimates that 40% to 45% of the Moroccan population are Berbers, 30% of Algerians and 5% of Tunisians; this, in comparison to Bassiouney (2009) who posits that 25% of Algerians, 45% of Moroccan, and just 1% of Tunisians are Berbers. In general, the two estimates concur that Berbers' most significant presence is in Morocco; their density is less important in Algeria and can hardly be noticeable in Tunisia. This indication confirms that Berber has uncommon effects on the sociolinguistic situations of the three countries.

Despite the fact that Berber usually refers to one language, actually it enfolds a number of varieties. In this regards, Bentahila describes Berber varieties in Morocco in the following passage:

Those spoken in Morocco can be divided into three groups. Tashlehait is spoken in the south-west of Morocco, from Ifni to the area of Agadir; Tamazight is spoken in an area of the Atlas Mountains, stretching as far east as Taza; and the largest homogeneous group of Berber speakers is located in the north, in the Rif Mountains, from which the Tarifit dialect gets its name. (1983, p. 1)

In Algeria, more than a quarter of Algerians speak Berber or one of its varieties. The Berber language forms diverse speech communities, concentrated in different regions of the country. Four varieties are the most known:

- Kabyle variety which is used in Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia.
- Chaouia which is based around Batna.
- Tamachaq or tamahaq which is spoken in the regions of Touareg and Hoggar.
- Mozabi which is the variety of Mzabs focused in Ghardaia.

Among the other varieties, Chenoua around Cherchel, Techelhit and Tarifit in the western region of Algeria can be cited.

Tunisian Berbers constitute a real minority that can hardly be noticed, to the extent that Faiq (1999), quoted in Bassiouney (2009) considers that: “They in fact do not have any political representation” (p. 227). Shilha or Tachelhit is their unique Berber variety.

Arabic was introduced to the Maghreb through two steps. In the first period, that took place in the sixth - seventh century, “it was the urban dialects of Medina, Syria and Palestine that were implanted by the first conquerors” (Bouamrane, 1983, p. 54). A small group of Arabs invaded the region and took control of its sedentary quarters. During that period, Quayrawan developed as the centre of Arab culture in the area (Versteegh, 2011). Among the Algerian cities arabised that period, Tlemcen, Nedroma, Algiers, Cherchel can be cited (Bouamrane, 1983). During that time, Berber remained the major spoken language until the eleventh century when Banu Hilal realised the largest wave of Arabisation. Their “Bedouin Arabic is the source of most of the rural Arab dialects in North Africa today” (Bouamrane, 1983, p. 54). Arabs’ conquests lasted about 150 years and contributed to the bulky spread of Arabic. Gradually Arabic became the first language in the Grand Maghreb, with the exception of some limited mountainous regions where Berber is, till the present day, the foremost language of communication.

Today, the relation between Arabic and Berber is that of power and existence. Topics about the Berber cause chiefly compose a sequence of backlashes against the process of Arabisation in the region, namely Algeria and Morocco. Being a minority, Berbers are in an open-ended struggle for their language official recognition, their separate identity and their right in the freedom of expression. It may appear unprofitable to prompt an assessment of Berber situation in a work concerned with the case of Arabic; yet it is significant to cite a number of socio-historical events which stand in a direct opposition to the position of Arabic, its development and its status:

In Algeria, the worth to be mentioned events can be the armed struggles of the 1962’s–1963’s burst by the Socialist Forces Front (FFS), opposing the complete Arabisation and asking for linguistic rights of Berbers. The events of 1988 too, replicate a sturdy Berber demand for linguistic recognition and freedom of expression. In 2003, President Bouteflika declared Berber a national language but plainly stated in 2005 that

Algeria has Arabic as the sole official language, and that it is impossible to have a second official language.

Compared to Algeria, the situation is very similar in Morocco. However, even today, Berber has neither an official nor a national status in the Moroccan constitution; but, unlike in Algeria, this does not pilot any important social unrest in the area. Bassiouney, citing Faiq (1999) explains reasons of the situation:

This is in fact because the allegiance of some Berbers is to the tribe and Islam before the state. The king of Morocco cleverly manipulates this allegiance. By calling himself *ami:r al-mu?mini:n*, ‘the commander of the faithful’, which is a classical Islamic title, he derives his legitimacy from Islam and from being a *shari:f* (i.e. a descendent of the Prophet). He refers to a large community that surpasses ethnicity. (2009, p. 226)

Even if linguistic and political harmony and agreement between Maghreb Berbers and Arabs could hardly be achieved, the two ethnic groups have coexisted for ages and merged in many cases, since the early Arab conquests. Arabic reigns in the region as a unifying force of, first and foremost, Muslims before its being the language of the majority of the area’s population.

1.4.1.2. French in the Grand Maghreb

The position of French in the Maghreb has always been of great importance. The long lasting French imperialist colonization was actually sufficient to imprint the French language and culture in the linguistic mosaic of multilingual North Africa. However, periods of the French occupation differ from one country to another, noting that Algeria witnessed the longest period, i.e. 132 years (1830- 1962), followed by Tunisia, 75 years (1881-1965), then Morocco, 56 years (1912-1956). This reality resulted in methodically dissimilar post- independence upshots.

The French colonial policy was declared to be a policy of assimilation with a “mission civilisatrice” (Versteegh, 2011, p. 198) as described by the colonial government. The aim was to spread French language and culture at the expense of the Arab one. The

beliefs that Maghrebis, including Algerians, share about French “*the language of civilization*” hastily established its roots in the area. Gordon summarises both the aim and way it was pursued: "When the Portuguese colonized, they built churches; when the British colonized, they built trading stations; and when the French colonize, they build schools" (1962, p. 7).

However, reality has illustrated a contradictory image. In practice, the policy was very selective. Only colons in addition to a small number of fortunate natives (called by colonists: *the indigenous*) were able to benefit from the French schooling policy. Results were enormously disastrous and answered the colonizer’s quest in a perfect manner. Illiteracy prevailed in the region. In Algeria, the country which witnessed the longest period of French suppression, 90% of the population was illiterate the day of independence, while it reached 40% to 50% before colonization (Holt, 1994). Though methods and contents of teaching were rather limited, that proportion of literate pre-colonized people was able to write and read and had an idea about their real identity, religion culture and history. Things were not different in Morocco, though it underwent the shortest period under colonization and hosted a small number of colons, estimated at 350,000 (Bassiouney, 2009). In 1945, for example, the number of French pupils in government schools was 45,000 compared to 1,150 of Moroccans (Versteegh, 2011). In 1960, three years after independence, “only 6 per cent were literate in French and twice as many were literate in Arabic” (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 222).

Besides illiteracy, the French sought and succeeded to implant in thoughts and feelings of Arab-Muslim Maghrebis all sorts of identity incertitude, wrecked values and even self-hatred (Memmi, 1973). Bentahila exhibits this reality in the mouth of the colonizers:

The memory that we constitute for him is certainly not that of his people. History that we teach him is not his. . . We declared to the colonized that his music is cat meowing, his painting is sugar syrup. He repeats that his music is vulgar and that his painting is disgusting.⁹ (Bentahila, 1983, p. 7)

⁹ La mémoire qu'on lui constitue n'est sûrement pas celle de son peuple. L'histoire qu'on lui apprend n'est pas la sienne . . . On a déclaré au colonisé que sa musique c'est des miaulements de chat, sa peinture du sirop de sucre. Il répète que sa musique est vulgaire et sa peinture écœurante."⁹ (Bentahila, 1983, p.7)

Moreover, the most important success scored by the French policy was the subjugation and oppression of Standard Arabic. Calvet (1974, p.77) as quoted by Bentahila summarises the situation:

The dominant language [French] occupies the domain of the secular, i.e. everything related to everyday life, administration... technical devices, politics, studies etc., while the dominated language [Arabic] is driven back to the sacred domain. Thus the dominated language- dominating language opposition is converted into an opposition between old and new.¹⁰ (Bentahila, 1983, p. 9)

Dire repercussions persist in independent Arab North African societies. Now, French monopolises the privileged leadership as the language of science, technology and international relations. In a survey carried out by Ennaji in 2002, attitudes of Moroccan teachers and students, resulted in his conclusion that: “For them French could be used as a tool for meeting the needs of the modern age and might enable them to move forward economically and socially” (Bassiouny, 2009, p. 225). In Morocco as in Tunisia and Algeria, the use of French is still widespread even more than the time of French colonization. Moreover, attitudes about French as the language of high literacy, i.e. the language of the elite, development and refinement, have grown stronger. The best example of that concerns universities in which scientific courses are still in French whereas lectures in Arabic are reserved to literature, religion, history and social sciences. This truth directs inquests to one issue commonly raised by linguists interested in North African case: So, has French ultimately elbowed out Standard Arabic from modern, technological sphere? If historical French has succeeded to create a certain disillusion among Arab Maghrebis, what has been done so far by governments and individuals to rescue the situation?

1.4.2. Arabised Grand Maghreb

To enshrine the Arabic language has always been associated with the protection of Arab Muslim identity, since as Stewart Desmond (1968), quoted in Marrow and Castleton (2007), explains:

¹⁰ La langue dominante occupe le domaine profane, c'est à dire tout ce qui concerne la vie quotidienne, l'administration . . . les techniques, la politique, les études etc., tandis que la langue dominée est refoulée vers le domaine sacré. Ainsi l'opposition langue dominée langue dominante se trouve convertie en opposition entre ancien et nouveau. (Bentahila, 1983, p. 9)

The Arabic language is more than a unifying bound of the Arab world; it also shapes and moulds that world. (Since Arabic is the language of the Qur'an and Muhammed, the messenger of God, it has an even greater effect on its speakers than other languages have on their speakers. (pp. 202-203)

Thus, natives “in the midst of the ‘Nahda’ (the renaissance of the Arab world) of the 1920’s, clustered around the belief that language issue should stand at the core of their claim” (Bensafi, 2002, p. 836). Restoring and strengthening the position of Arabic was nourished as early as the beginning of the years of Arab renaissance, but could have been boosted up only in post- independence era. Once independent, all the three countries (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco) embarked on a thorough and urgent policy of Arabisation. The aim was to decolonize the populations linguistically, culturally and historically. Since then, the generalisation of Arabic in all sectors has been sought. It was seen the pillar of building the nation. Obvious differences characterise both the course and steps of Arabisation, due to a number of socio-political reasons. Chief among them is the degree of colonizer’s influence and the length of its occupation, in addition to the size of ethnic groups, namely Berbers and Arabs. However, the focal point was one and cohesive. It was concentrated on how to introduce Arabic in administration, schools and all the domains occupied by French.

At an early time, there was a need to quickly arabise the education system, to burgeon Arabic, properly MSA, with the growing young generation. The aim was uniformity of the language of teaching marked by a cooperative work of the three countries’ ministries of education. Three meetings took place, in 1966, 1967 and 1969, and concluded in a decision of elaborating fundamental lexis of MSA, designated for Maghrebi children in primary schools (Benmayouf, 2009). The task was not easy. On the one hand, it was a question of adopting a language which is not foreign but which has been marginalised; though a variety of it, the vernacular (colloquial variety) and the mother tongue of Arabs, kept really vital but was exposed to change and important adoption of French words. On the other hand, the severe lack of competent teachers prompted the employment of Egyptians and Syrians who played an important role in restoring Arabic but who taught MSA in the area with their native accents and their owns nationalist

ideologies. This justifies the reason why some scholars judge and confirm the “exteriority” of MSA to the post-independence Maghrebi children.

Results of the policy, which stands mostly political, are rather optimistic and the new generations are more and more arabised. Today, all subjects in schools are arabised at all levels. The language is strongly related to Islam and stands as a factor that mostly relates the Grand Maghreb to the Arab umma (nation). French is taught as a second language at this level. Nonetheless, once at university, contradiction imposes itself in the image and French becomes the language of knowledge in the technical and scientific fields. This reflects a key handicap to MSA. Therefore the present concern of language politicians, like in other parts of the Arab world, is weighing the possibility of developing MSA into a scientific language. It is a matter of competition and reassertion of strength in a multicultural society, part of a globalized world. Drawbacks of such a reality are common in the three societies. Already arabised university students face serious difficulties in the learning and research process, what limits both the level and scientific productivity of the new generations. Besides and most importantly, the population’s attitudes towards MSA are divided among advocates of Arabic and their jealous pride of it, and advocates of bilingualism, if not French, and their search of maintaining the official status of French as the language of science and prestige. And with the opening to globalization, English entered the scene to become a raising challenge to the sought ‘pure’ Arab identity and MSA’s supremacy.

1.4.3. Problems of MSA in Contemporary Algerian Society

The study of MSA in the Grand Maghreb has already provided an idea about the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. So now, speaking about the position of Arabic in this country may seem an easier task. But the mission has taken a long time of contemplation and analyses of different views. To arrive at a conclusion about the topic is not that evident, especially when it inevitably comes to consider MSA interaction with French and Algerian Arabic.

What really cannot go unnoticed are the different labels, attributed to Arabic, the norm, by scholars interested in it. A category of them call it ‘Classical Arabic’. Even

though it is the language of today, it is openly defined as an old language, the one which still relates to the ancient ages of Arabs. This ‘definition’ of the language noticeably shows in the literature of some Algerian francophone scholars. The sociolinguist Chafia Yamina Benmayouf went even further in her book *La Question Linguistique en Algérie* (2009) (The Linguistic Question in Algeria). The book repeatedly replaces the label MSA by *l’arabe classique classique* (Classical Classical Arabic), with a repetition of the word “classical” to stress an effect of archaism and inappropriateness to modern life, messaged to the readership, chiefly to Algerians. Deepened confusing and disingenuous attitudes about the language are unfortunately spread by such authors, models of the Algerian identity. Is this view destabilizing MSA position in Algeria? The second category, basically represented by Algerian arabophone scholars, and they are many, chief among them are members of the Higher Council of the Arabic Language, like Mokhtar Nouiret, Abd Eldjalil Mortad, Saleh Belaid and Taher Mila, all sociolinguists and professors at the Algerian university. In their literature (see the bibliography as a sample), the labels *ellugha elfusha* (the eloquent language) and *El-Arabia El-Muʿasera* (Modern Arabic) prevail. In their contributions, there is always a stress on the high status of MSA in Algeria and on the importance of protecting and developing it. Is it purely a loyal attitude cultivated by nationalist spirits vs. an antagonist one, nourished by the French colonizing residues? Or, are they ambivalent and hesitant attitudes residing in the Algerian thought about French and MSA?

Related to the same topic is the Algerian dialect or the Algerian variety of Arabic. Speaking about MSA in Algeria can never be exhaustive without reference to this variety which, in turn, has two contradictory labels. It is known as Algerian Arabic, the language of Algerians, typical to them and part of their identity. Algerian Arabic is also a more theoretical name to be used in research works about it as a precise variety of Arabic. But it is also named *el- ʕamia* (colloquial or general Arabic), *lughat echariʕ* (the language of the street); it is even known as *el-lugha elmunḥarifa* (the divergent language). This variety has specific functions in the Algerian society, as a mother tongue and as a component of the Algerian identity. It is, in many respects, different from MSA. Can this divergence be considered a threat to the correctness and stability of MSA in Algeria? Or can the two varieties of Arabic co-exist and cooperate further to the promotion of Arabic in society and modern world?

The suggested study of MSA in Algeria targets three main poles: the influence of French, the process of Arabisation and its outcomes in domains like education, administration and social life, and the position and effects of Algerian Arabic.

1.4.3.1. Linguistic and Cultural Influence of French

The situation of MSA in Algeria is rather a delicate one, largely because of its interaction with French. Today, after more than 52 years of independence, Algeria is considered as one of the first francophone countries in the world in spite of its refusal to join the International Organisation of La Francophonie. As already mentioned, Algeria endured the longest period of French occupation and “harboured the greatest number of colons” (Versteegh, 2011, p. 200). During that period, Algerians dwelled in a nonstop contact with French. Anyone, of whatever literacy degree, should have needed the use the colonists’ language under a certain context. It was a question of necessity to communicate which helped the spread of French in the different Algerian regions. Thus, proficiency and “degree of knowledge of French depended on the amount of exposure and the nature of the contacts with the French authorities and colonists” (Versteegh, 2011, p. 203). Soon Algerian-Arabic-French bilingualism was developed. Undoubtedly, the spread of French was enhanced but literacy was extinguished. The policy of the colonizer’s government was clear: to devise a population subordinate to the French culture, the one that shifts from Arabic, the language of Islam, to French, but with a vigilant endeavour to keep it illiterate and marginalised. In 1847, Alexis De Tocqueville, as quoted by Bassiouney, summarised the dilemma caused by the French colonisers that time:

Around us, knowledge has been extinguished, and recruitment of men of religion and men of law has ceased. That is to say we have made Muslim society much more miserable, more disorganised, more ignorant, and more barbarous than it had been before knowing us. (2009, p. 215)

In addition to illiteracy, the target was Islam; and since Arabic is the language of this religion, more pressure was exercised on it. All religious schools, *zaouias*, the only traditional schools were closed gradually, until the edict of the 1930’s, declared Arabic a foreign language. The exact year of that event is not unanimous in the literature, however in Tigzi’s (2004), it is in 1938. In addition, any effort which could guarantee the aim was

employed. Resistance, military and intellectual, was put under control and reputed families were marginalised and broken up. Even racial struggle, between Berbers and Arabs, was enhanced to increase social unrest and disorganisation.

In the 1950's, the policy had changed. The French government became engaged into a gradual contribution to the teaching and learning of Arabic (Sbaā, 2002). In 1950, they created *madersas*, directed to the formation of teachers of Arabic, executives in justice (*cadi* or *adel*) and cults (*imam* and *mufti*). In 1951, *Medersas* were transformed to "*Lycées de l'enseignement Franco-musulman*" (*Secondary School of French- Muslim teaching*). In 1961, learning Arabic became obligatory in the Algerian primary schools (*écoles du premier degree*). However, it was too late for Algerians to heal their linguistic situation. The French authorities cleverly endeavoured to keep it in remoteness from coping with the wide-reaching cultural development. It was taught as a school subject per se. The other subjects were strictly instructed in French. In other words, literal Arabic was retained a passive language.

Meanwhile, very few efforts were devoted to the generalization and population of French through schools. Only 3% of the Algerian population was provided with schooling in 1890 and it could hardly reach 20% the day of independence (Sbaā, 2002); however, the socio-economic necessities, especially the administrative requirements led the Algerian population to keep in touch with the language. French was generalized in all the social sectors. This reality promoted not only its familiarity to the Algerian population but also enhanced the process of lexical borrowing from French to the Algerian dialect(s).

The result of the long lasting French colonising policy is a post-independence generation which literate members assembled mastery and fluency in French and possession of French cultural aspects while the population in general was bilingual to different extents. However, the supreme position of French got weakened as early as the 1970's with the generalised arabising policy taken on by independent Algeria. The next generations lost proficiency in the language soon considered a foreign language by government; but Arabic-French bilingualism reigns till today. The lost proficiency is further interpreted by the Algerian linguist Abderrazak Dourari in an interview realised by Akram El Kébir in *El Watan* newspaper:

There exist less and less French-Algerian bilinguals perfect or even relative. Mixing rarely reflects the intentional choices of the speakers. It further reflects a lack of linguistic knowledge. To sprinkle one's Algerian expressions with French shows at least that the person knows something but [...] This mixing also shows the absence of coherent thinking in all issues. This is the gravest thing ¹¹(El Watan, 2014, December 25, p.17)

Absolutely, the independent Algerian governmental efforts, to cast out the French language and culture, remain impossible. The want to eradicate that language from the Algerian thoughts and language usage has finished in a contradictory situation which covers an increasing rate of ignorance in French accompanied with a need to use it not in daily speech as much as in domains of science and urbanisation. Officially, French is a foreign language but de facto, it is a co-official language that still accompanies MSA in many administrative documents and that still governs as a language of scientific and technological highest education and research in the country, despite the effect of globalising English on the world languages. In sum, contemporary situation and effects of the French language on the Algerian sociolinguistic reality is, to a large extent, a pure result of the language policy of Arabisation which history turns back to 1962, the day of independence.

1.4.3.2. The Policy of Arabisation in Algeria

During the pre-colonial period, Classical Arabic was the language of literature and culture. It could only be accessed to in schools. Nevertheless, teaching was limited to mosques and Zaouias. Besides, school programs were poorly based on the teaching of grammar, leaning Qur'an and commentaries about it while the superior studies were confined to law, theology and Hadith. In some cases, they exceeded to include some primary notions about geography and history. These pretty feeble foundations to the teaching of Arabic caused easiness in the realisation of colonists' projects. However, Algerians' nationalist sentiment was stimulated in the 1930's with the founding of the Algerian Association of Muslim Scientists. The people's struggle to restore the position of

¹¹ Il existe de moins en moins de bilingues français-algériens parfaits ou même relatifs...Le mixage reflète rarement des choix intentionnels des locuteurs. Il reflète plus un manque de connaissances linguistiques. Parsemer son expression algériennes de mots français montre au plus que la personne sait quelque chose [...] Ce mixage montre aussi l'absence d'une pensée cohérente en toute matière, ce qui est plus grave. (El Watan , 2014, December 25, p.17)

Islam and Arabic had already existed before independence. In 1931, Ahmed Tawfiq El-Madani published his book *Kitab el-jazair*, the Book of Algeria, in which he wrote: “*Islam is our religion, Arabic our language and Algeria our fatherland*” (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 215). The day of independence, the Algerian government proceeded to a tough policy to restore the position of MSA as a response to the urgent need to join the Arab world and build national identity, the case of all Maghreb independent nations. However, the policy has faced, up to the present, much hindrance and many troubles and resulted in an important deficiency at different levels.

The spread of MSA has education as a first target, but administration is broadly essential to the plan. In 1963, the National Assembly, which members could hardly express themselves in Arabic, initiated with a proposal “to translate the proceedings of the meetings in Arabic” (Versteegh, 2011, p. 200). Still, there were no competent and well-trained translators and French remained the language of administration till 1968, when the government passed a law stating that civil servants had to study Arabic for three years and “demonstrate ability in SA” in a final exam (Bassiouney, 2009, pp. 216-217). Yet the measure remained unfruitful. In 1980, the law was restated and underlined seriously that the result attained the spread of literacy in Arabic among state employees by late 1980’s in a record judged to be the first in the Maghreb. Nevertheless, the spread of MSA in administration has not produced high graded administrators relatively competent in the language. Vital examples are their discourses, transmitted through different media programmes (especially radio and television) which prove incompetency most of the time.

In education, the question was how to generalise the use of Arabic among the new generations; how to quickly fix MSA in them, as a force of sovereignty, national belonging and Arab-Muslim identity. At first, as seen about the Maghreb in general, the task was difficult with the lack of pedagogical elements and teachers of Arabic, since in line with Benrabah’s estimates, the day of independence, literacy in MSA could only cover 300,000 out of 10 million Algerians (2007). Nevertheless, an agenda of complete Arabisation was urged. And to reduce the gap of teachers’ scarcity, about 1,000 Egyptian and other Middle East teachers were employed. Scholars agree upon the fact that these teachers helped to give a first push to MSA, but in a way that increased an attitude of exteriority of the language to thoughts and use of both pupils and parents; since these teachers, attached to their nationalism taught Arabic in their local accents and proposed texts external to

Algerian reality and used traditional methods of teaching (Benrabah, 2007; Benmayouf, 2009). In fact, this evidence represents an initial failure in MSA reintroduction. Anyhow, progress proceeded and MSA continued to gain ground on the Algerian sociolinguistic scene, with the support and intervention of governmental edicts and media mobilisation. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that since 1962, ART (the Algerian radio and television) and Arabic press played an important role in the spread of MSA, in addition to a nationalist information and arabised education of the popular mass (Benmayouf, 2009). The idea will be further discussed in the second chapter. Gradually, French lost ground in schools. Starting from 1979, all subjects, from primary education to secondary schools were arabised. MSA became present everywhere: in public signboards, in media broadcast, in the written press. It was even generalised in law and in the teaching of humanities at universities (Bassiouney, 2009). Accordingly, French withdrew more and more till 1988, the year of graduation of the last bilingual promotion in middle school (Benmayouf, 2009).

Officially, Arabic is the language of teaching in schools at all levels, and only a position of a foreign language is reserved to French taught starting from third year primary school. Whereas the linguistic performance in classes varies depending on the different communicative needs:

The linguistic element varies inside the school, in classes and in communication among students. The share of each code (French, classical Arabic, dialectal (Arabic) is variable, according to whether it is about a scientific discipline or a literary discipline¹²

(Benmayouf, 2009, p. 63)

Very critical is that image which may appear an acceptable behaviour in a multilingual society. This detail poses important problems due to the lack of objectivity in the spread and promotion of MSA through schools:

First, there is a problem of expression established within the new generations (it is the case in the entire Arab world). Evidence that no one can deny is that Algerians can hardly express themselves adequately in MSA (the same case for French). At any moment,

¹² L'élément linguistique varie à l'intérieur de l'école, dans les classes et dans la communication entre élèves. La part de chaque code (français, arabe classique, dialectal) est variable, selon qu'il s'agisse d'une discipline scientifique ou d'une discipline littéraire (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 63)

there is a need to code switch; this in addition to errors in MSA discourses, at the grammatical, phonological and even lexical level. On the one hand, there is a strong quest of purifying MSA and eliminating the role of French as a language of instruction. On the other hand, there is a serious setback in the elaboration of a MSA really “modern”, a MSA that could answer the needs of scientific transmission. Arabic in schools carries the problem of deficient terminology and inadequate teaching programmes. The journalist Said Rabia underlines the fact, quoting an ex-minister’s declaration:

The gravest is not the fact of the reform itself nor the appliance of Arabisation principle[...] (but) the acceleration of the decrease of the level of teaching contents, of the evolution of pedagogy towards passive learning and of the politicisation or the ideologisation of some, such as literature and history¹³

(El Watan, 2014, July19, p. 5)

The result is the worsening of both scientific and linguistic level due to “a manifest contradiction with the ideological and cultural line defined in the reform’s text itself”¹⁴ as seen by Dr. Djebbar, cited by the journalist Said Rabia (El Watan, 2014, July 19, p.5). The Algerian linguist Mortad joins the same idea when tackling the linguistic problem of the Algerian child: “[...]but the problem is that the child soon feels the use strangeness ,the linguistic ill-treatment and the educational abuse and its role lies in how to remove these three psychological obstacles in the child”¹⁵ (Mortad, 2005, p. 35). Complicated methods of teaching based on memorisation and idealization of the pedagogical topics are at the heart of the problem. Again, the drawbacks can be summarised in three points:

- Pupils lose motivation
- Mastery, fluency and correct use of MSA is reduced not only in pupils but roughly in generations who have received different levels of education in the language.

¹³ “ Plus grave n’est pas le fait de la réforme elle même ni de l’application du principe de l’arabization [...] l’accélération de la baisse du niveau des contenus des enseignements, de l’évolution de la pédagogie vers l’apprentissage passif et de la politisation ou l’idéologisation de certaines, comme la littérature et l’histoire. (El Watan, 2014, July19, p. 5)

¹⁴ “... en une flagrante contradiction avec la ligne idéologique et culturelle définie dans le texte de la réforme lui-même (El Watan, 2014, July19, p. 5)

¹⁵ See the Original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 281)

- Instability even touches other languages (seen foreign languages), thus individuals lose proficiency in French, the marginalised colonizers' language.

Related to the same standpoint is language and science in Algeria. At the university level, the already completely arabised pupils reach the level of high research and scientific contribution to the country. The problem, the case of the entire Arab world, is that apart from law, trade and humanities, all courses and references in science and technology are out of the control of Arabic, an outcome of a lack of scientific terminology in MSA. In Algeria, scientific research relies on foreign languages, predominantly French then global English that is gaining ground in the field. The chief trouble does not stop in reasons that posit MSA in such a situation but in the consequent poor acquisition and worrying lateness in scientific contribution. In exhibiting the situation, the journalist Akram El-Kébir summarises the opinion of Pr. Mounia:

According to her, students are in the impossibility of communicating with professors. Worst, some of them have all the world's pains to take notes when the professor presents the lecture, or at least to take notes in Arabic, while the professor speaks in French, this causes stoppage of the access to understanding in the student of the scientific stream.¹⁶ (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 17)

The scientific dependence to "difficult" French has contributed to the technological, industrial and economic dependence to the others. Aissa Kadri, a professor in Paris 8 University, depicts the situation in an interview with Hassan Maoli:

The result is that they are the multinationals who work in Algeria. Automobile is Renault, water is Suez, airport and metro management are ADP and Alston, in telephone (technology) there are foreigners, in freeway and civil engineering there are Chinese.¹⁷

(El Watan, 2014, November 29, p.2)

¹⁶ Selon elle, de nos jours, les étudiants se retrouvent dans l'impossibilité de communiquer avec les professeurs. Pire, certains éprouvent toutes les peines du monde « à prendre des notes » quand le professeur dispense le cours, ou tout au monde prendre des notes en arabe, quand le Pr parle en français, ce qui a pour effet de freiner l'accès à la compréhension chez l'étudiant de la filière scientifique. (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 17)

¹⁷ Le résultat en est que ce sont les multinationales qui travaillent en Algérie. L'automobile c'est Renault, l'eau c'est Suez, la gestion de l'aéroport et du métro ce sont ADP and Alston, la téléphonie ce sont des étrangers, l'autoroute et les travaux publics ce sont les Chinois. (El Watan, 2014, November 29, p. 2)

Ultimately, in addition to the above mentioned issues, there is a big problem of identity and lack of self- confidence, properly lack in confidence in MSA, shared by the Algerian population. Its linguistic experience has actually led to an undecided attitude towards the language. To a degree, people believe in their sovereignty, Arabness (*ġoro:ba*) and distinctiveness. They also share the pride of the glorious past of their language (the language of Islam). However, linguistic insecurity has nourished in them the belief in the superiority of the other, namely the French language. That is why the majority of Algerian intellectuals (arabophones or not) endeavour to carve a niche for themselves among eloquent Francophones. This “semi-adoption and semi-rejection”¹⁸ (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 45) of MSA has placed Algerians in an ever-lasting quest of identity. The question now is how to establish confidence and reconciliation between Algerians, their identity, and MSA. In other words, how to personify this declared pride of Arabic in their actual speech behaviour and how to place MSA in such a society, a society required to welcome language diversity, openness to technology and globalization but not at the expense of an implicit underestimation of one’s language.

1.4.3.3. The Case of Algerian Arabic

An ample examination of MSA’s sociolinguistic situation in Algeria will not be complete without the consideration of the diglossic situation it forms with Algerian Arabic. Diglossia existed farther before the French arrival to the area. Marçais describes the sociolinguistic environment in Algeria before 1832:

The Arabic language is presented to us under two sensitively different aspects: a literary language, known as written, the only in which until today, the literary and scientific books are written, the language which as presented to us, have perhaps never been spoken anywhere in Algeria.¹⁹ (Marçais, 1930, p. 401)

¹⁸ “semi-adoption et semi-rejection” (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 45)

¹⁹La langue Arabe se présente à nous sous deux aspects sensiblement différents: une langue littéraire dite arabe écrit, dans laquelle seule aujourd’hui encore, sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, qui exactement telle qu’elle se présente à nous, n’a peut-être jamais été parlée nulle part en Algérie. (Marçais, 1930, p. 401)

Marçais's observation asserts the divided aspects of the two Arabic varieties in pre-colonial Algeria. He describes Classical Arabic (CA), the old version of MSA, as a literal language whose use was restricted to the written function aimed at recording literary and scientific works. Its role was thus basically written, cultural and educational.

Marçais continues:

And dialects which none of which has ever been written, but which, everywhere and maybe for a long time, have constitute the only language of conversation in all the milieus, popular or intellectual.²⁰

(Marçais, 1930, p. 401)

Contrariwise, according to Marçais , the Algerian Arabic variety, including its different regional dialects that he calls '*idiomes*', was the language of everyday interactions among the whole population ,however their intellectual level was.

Algerian Arabic succeeded to resist the French linguistic colonization. France achieved the spread ignorance and was able to wipe out literacy in MSA from the Algerian scene but it helped the preservation of a variety of it: "A society which continues to express itself naturally in Algerian Arabic, the Arabic of the daily life, of the sensitiveness, of pains and of emotionalism"²¹ (Sbaā, 2002, p. 43). Algerian Arabic, the language product and marker of the Algerian culture is eloquent, *fasih*, in essence. Scholars agree that 90 per cent of the Algerian varieties of Arabic is pure (Nouirat, 2005, p. 5), yet its vitality and exposure to language contact (especially with the loads of borrowed French words it contains) has led to deformity, as explained by Mortad: "and purity is found in the root, whereas the deformity is noticed in prefixes and suffixes grammar rules and phonology"²² (Mortad 2005, p. 37) This deformity, *tafawuh*, has reduced trust in ways Algerian Arabic could serve the position of MSA. Thus, common attitudes about the weakness, inadequacy and incorrectness of the variety render it an "unorganised code, an impure language"²³ (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 22), vulgar, popular, with no exact grammar and no

²⁰Et des idiomes dont aucun n'a jamais été écrit, mais qui partout et peut être depuis longtemps, constituent la seule langue de la conversation dans tout les milieux populaires ou cultivés. (Marçais, 1930, p. 401)

²¹ "Une société qui continue à s'exprimer naturellement en arabe Algérien, L'arabe de la quotidienneté et de la sensibilité des peines et de l'émotivité, (Sbaā, 2002, p. 43)

²² See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 281)

²³ « un code nonorganisé, un idiome impur » (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 22)

written form, a language which can be neither literary nor scientific. It is further viewed by some thinkers and linguists, described by Benmayouf “*extremistes*”, extremists, and “*arabisants*” (2009, p. 22), defenders of the case of MSA, as a hindrance to linguistic unity both in Algeria and the Arab world. This view is strongly opposed by others who have embarked on a tough defence of value and position of AA. Two major pioneers of this trend are Mammeri and Kateb Yacine who share the belief in the importance of reevaluating and developing languages of everyday speech, “the languages that have served humans”²⁴ (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 23). Sbaa joins the same idea and explains:

The Algerian society feels and thinks in the interior of norms exterior to the ‘*surnorme*’. It means exterior to Conventional Arabic, that some of the entire sides of its collective imaginary are depreciated and overshadowed.²⁵
(Sbaā, 2002, p. 90)

Sbaā views MSA, which he calls ‘*conventional Arabic*’ or ‘*surnorme*’ as exterior to the Algerian collective thoughts and feelings, all determined by their mother tongue, Algerian Arabic. For him, MSA proves its remoteness from the community’s collective imaginary. Thus, the consideration of their mother tongue as a low variety is to be firstly thought of as a reduction of the value of their thoughts and beliefs.

Tremendous debates arise when it comes to consider some scholars’ call for the re-evaluation of the status of Algerian Arabic. The situation is even more dramatized when related to schools, the cradle of future generations. A number of Algerian linguists speak about the shock or even traumatism of the Arab Algerian child on his first day at school. The journalist Amel Bliidi, sharing the view of some scholars writes:

Since the age of six, the Algerian child is soaked in a linguistic bath that casts out his mother languages. At a glance, he finds himself obliged to never pronounce the “language of the street”, that of “the market”, or “el-

²⁴ « les langues dont les hommes se servent ou se sont servis» (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 23)

²⁵ La société algérienne sent et pense à l’intérieur des normes extérieures à la *surnorme*. C’est- à- dire extérieures à l’arabe conventionnel, que certains des pans entiers de son imaginaire collectif se trouvent dévalorisés voire occultés. (Sbaā, 2002,p. 90)

âamyâ”. Though it is in that language that he has been developing his imagination.²⁶

(El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 16)

The author points at MSA, the language of the Algerian school, and describes it as a hindrance to the development of generations’ “imagination”, thus thinking and conception of the world. Unfortunately, this view lacks objectivity; it has a declared destructive aim to both the position and values of *el-fusha* in the thoughts and feelings of Algerians. One should remember the fact that Algerian Arabic, in spite of the pejorative names ascribed to it, is intrinsically a vital but divergent spoken form of MSA. And if the child has to adapt his speech to the official, in the classroom, they have just to readjust some pronunciations and grammatical forms while using their mother tongue; since Algerian Arabic is not only near to MSA, but it is its providence and fortune (Mortad, 2005) and the child comes to school with a stock of vocabulary and structures (Nouiret, 2005) that he has the habit to use at home, in “the street” and at “the market”. Actually the child enters school with “an overwhelming linguistic account”²⁷ (Mortad, 2005, p. 35) that if invested properly will help produce generations proficient in MSA. Once again, the problem of deficient programmes of Arabisation is evoked. The problem lies on how MSA is taught. Shared views of linguists confirm that “the language of teaching is artificial and has nothing to do with the Algerian locutor’s sociolinguistic reality”²⁸, explains the sociolinguist Zoulikha Merrad in El-Watan newspaper (2014, December 25, p.16). Manifestly, the “artificial” language is present in school programmes which suggest texts, mostly strange to the Algerian real, current life; thus texts which cannot transmit the information efficiently.

The linguist Cherifa Gettas went further in her opposition to the role of MSA in the up-bringing of generations. She explains:

The classroom which is the place of dialogue and of communication becomes the place of censorship. This suffocating climate characterised by prohibitions and sanctions, hostile to the child’s familiar language, will dig

²⁶Dés l’âge de six ans, l’enfant algérien est immergé dans un bain linguistique écartant ses langues maternelles. D’un coup il s’entend ordonner de ne plus prononcer « la langue de la rue », celle « du souk » ou « elâamyâ ». C’est pourtant dans cette langue qu’il a appris à développer son imaginaire. (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 16)

²⁷ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 281)

²⁸ « La langue d’enseignement est artificielle et n’a rien à voir avec la réalité socio-linguistique du locuteur algérien » (El-Watan, 2014, December 25, p.16).

a gap between the child's spoken language and the language of school.²⁹

(El Watan, 2014, December 25, p.16)

The passage, a model to a widespread erroneous view, represents misleading information, expressed through harsh words. *Suffocating, prohibitions and sanctions* and *hostility* are in fact improper to describe neither the classroom atmosphere nor any other context of MSA use among Arab Algerians. With a modest experience of more than 30 years life in Algeria, and more than 26 years as a learner in the Algerian school and university, and more than 10 years as a teacher, nothing of such a cruelty has been noticed. On the contrary, the Arabic course is the most preferable and the most beloved course to the eyes of children. And, most of the time, pupils' highest scores are those of Arabic language and religious education. An obvious reason is that MSA is their language, the origin of their mother tongue, the vehicle of their thought and feelings, and above all, people's attachment to MSA is a result of its being the contemporary version of the holy Qur'an's language. Furthermore, *hostility* and *prohibition* towards Algerian Arabic, commonly known as *Derija*, are never present in the Algerian classroom, especially in recent times. Code switching reigns and the use of simple MSA and Algerian Arabic prevails on the part of both teachers and learners. The only problem, yet again, is that these "*high scores*" are outcomes of passive learning, out of practice and based on memorising. This is the deceitful defect of the teaching of and in Arabic in Algeria and the Arab world. Programmes are incapable to construct generations able to express themselves correctly and fluently in MSA (in whatever context).

Zoulikha Merrad joins the same idea of Guettas and concludes that this atmosphere "has finished by consuming what remained from the Algerian identity"³⁰ (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 16). How is this identity consumed? The sociolinguist Ibtissam Chachou explains: "Complexes result, like the feeling of culpability, linguistic insecurity and the self-hatred which is manifested in the epilinguistic discourse of the Algerian locutor"³¹ (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 16)

²⁹ La classe qui est le lieu du dialogue et de la communication, devient le lieu de la censure. Ce climat étouffant caractérisé par les interdits et les sanctions, hostile à la langue familière de l'enfant, va creuser d'avantage le fossé entre le parler de l'enfant et la langue de l'école. (El-Watan, 2014, December 25, p.16)

³⁰ « a fini par consommer ce qui restait de l'identité algérienne » (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 16)

³¹ « Il en résulte des complexes, tel que le sentiment de culpabilité, l'insécurité linguistique et la haine de soi qui se manifeste dans le discours épilinguistique du locuteur algérien » (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 16)

How can identity be destroyed by its pillar? Throughout this chapter, it has been repeated that MSA is the chief linguistic component of Arabs' including Algerians' identity. What is only needed is to generate complete satisfaction with this existing identity. Of course, linguistic insecurity, disappointment about one's identity and even self-hatred are developed in the majority of Algerians under the effect of the social environment which has spread the belief in others' (the occidentals') superiority. Some scholars, supporters of dialectal Arabic, "ansa:r elʕamiya" (Mila, 2005, p. 19) call for its re-evaluation and rehabilitation in order to reconcile people with their identity. They even suggest introducing it as a language of teaching in schools. Others suggest a Middle language which loads up MSA with colloquial vocabulary. Here is a question of tearing down a powerful language, "manufacturing a language from odds and ends the colloquial"³² (Bakri, 1999, p. 89). Then, which colloquial can be used to replace or 'enrich' MSA, knowing that Algerian Arabic alone counts loads of varieties or dialects, regional and social (the case for other dialects of Arabic in the Arab world). In this case, the Arabic language becomes not a unifying force but a dividing force.

There is the phenomenon of diglossia in the Arab world which should be respected. Confusing views should be worth avoided since there is only one scientific and academic language in Arabic, MSA. Dialectal Arabic is related to it and never independent from it. It is an instrument of expression of specific topics. Certainly, there is a need to take care of dialectal Arabic in general, but in the sense of approaching it to MSA, not approaching MSA to it. As previously mentioned, even the diglossic functions of the two varieties overlap; while MSA is gaining ground in the Algerian and Arabs everyday speech, due to the increase of literacy and the role of arabised mass media, dialectal Arabic intervenes in many official situation as a normal consequence of its closeness to people's thought. Hence levelling of the dialectal is recommended since, eventually, it lingers a marker of Arab culture and identity besides MSA.

1.5. Conclusion

Contemporary Arabic or MSA is well-positioned in the world languages order. Its strength is inspired from the holy Qur'an. Its spread over the world and the continuous

³² See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 281)

increase of its speakers' number owe too much gratefulness to the expansion of Islam. People of Arabic adore their language and defend it mainly because of its being the language of Islam. In fact, this truth interprets the uniqueness of Arabic but alas it cannot avoid troubles challenging it. On the whole, problems of MSA in Algeria, the Maghreb and the Arab world as such are the same with relatively different degrees of seriousness: Arabs endure problems of identity, linguistic insecurity and poor scientific terminology, in addition to prevailing errors and lack of proficiency in the language.

Algerians, as Arabs, cherish MSA which represents the pride of glorious Islamic past. But in itself, this nostalgic pride undermines future horizons of the language in the era of globalization. The people believe in others' (technologically advanced nations and their languages) superiority but do nothing concrete for their own advance; whereas benefiting from globalization should not cease at the level of consuming others' latest technological products. In this era, Arabs are wrongly fascinated by the occidental culture and gradually detached from their own culture and identity. However globalization should be adopted through the understanding of technological languages and translation of scientific terminology in the same way as Arabs ancestors did in their golden era. The result will be a modern advanced competitive language that can impose itself within the ranking of international languages, mainly English and French which are also languages of the former colonizers. A modern advanced language means a modern thriving society with members who share confidence in their own identity. Unfortunately, this confidence remains loose with the increase of linguistic insecurity. Language policies of Arabisation, namely in Algeria, have helped the broadening of this phenomenon, since they are erected around nationalist ideals of Arabic restoration and "foreign" languages exclusion. However that happened at the expense of an organised and well- studied re-introduction of MSA. The result is present-day hesitancy and lack of proficiency in both MSA and French, while there would have been no harm if French had been accepted as part and parcel of the Algerian identity, even a beneficial wealth seized from the former colonizer that can serve Arabic positively. Errors, masked with code switching and the use of dialectal Arabic, prevail in individuals' speech and writings. The fact which has pressed ahead some scholars claim to re-evaluate the colloquial status and worsen the attitudes about MSA.

Ultimately, what is really required for MSA in the Algerian society is to be correctly and fluently used by its members. People should discard dependency on the others, especially in science and technology. They should also get rid of being obsessed by other languages superiority. When suggesting solutions to problems of MSA in Algeria, this research work does not assume an intervention in language policy or an assessment of the work of the Highest Council of the Arabic Language. Undoubtedly, the latter has played an important role in the defence, maintenance and evolution of Arabic both at the national and international levels. Besides, its contributions in the coining and unification of recent technical terminology have prompted the expectancy of better future for MSA. Yet, boosting the advancement of the language is not the task of the council unaided. Therefore, the target is media language, precisely the written press. Knowing its recognised role in the spread of an advanced correct language and being aware of its role in orienting readers' attitudes and knowledge, Arabic newspapers are seen as key factors to the conditioning of MSA situation, especially with the recent increase of Arabic literacy and the augmentation of readers' number.

Chapter Two:

Newspaper Language and its Effects on
Sociolinguistic Realities: Generalities
and the Case of the Arab World

Chapter Two: Newspaper Language and its Effects on Sociolinguistic Realities: Generalities and the Case of the Arab World

2.1. Introduction

Conclusions of the first chapter have shown that problems of correctness of use, linguistic insecurity and cultural identity are constantly present and constitute distressing challenges to the power and even continuity of MSA. The present chapter will relate these findings to the language of newspapers, i.e. the scope of interest will be concentrated on strengths and limitations of this language and the impact it has on societies, their languages and their opinions.

The question that is asked now is why has the choice been on newspaper language particularly? The point is that since antiquity, news language has always accompanied humans in their lives. Not only does it satisfy their curiosity to be informed, oriented and warned but it records their histories, shapes their identities, orients their thoughts and protects their languages. With the emergence of writing, the implementation of news functions has been reinforced since: First, all what is written can be profoundly understood with the opportunity to read it as many times as desired, hence the intended effect acts more efficiently. Second, unlike spoken discourses, written texts, namely those of newspapers, are usually revised; therefore the absence of spontaneous or unplanned discourse is guaranteed. Thus, newspaper language provides a reliable ground to the study of the situation of Standard Language and the exploration of possible ways provided to orient its use and to protect it.

This chapter is a transitional stage which aims at establishing a bridge between the first chapter and the next two chapters. It has been seen necessary to explore realities, developments and social functions of newspaper language as a way to facilitate a profound analysis of the situation of MSA in the Algerian newspaper. All within a sociolinguistic perspective, the contents of this chapter treats newspaper language as being a continuously developing language and a vital social activity, having a share in establishing human communication, and an important place in mass media. Hence it is essentially divided into

four parts: the first part gives some preliminary definitions and reflections about news, newspapers, journalism and mass media. It is an introductory part meant to enable further readings about newspapers and their languages. The second part examines newspaper language as a mass communication power. It therefore discusses its position among other communication processes and describes its social roles accordingly. The third part examines the development of newspaper language throughout the history of humanity with a special focus on its roles as a socially powerful language in influencing opinions, identities and linguistic realities. The fourth part is centred on the Arabic-language newspaper, in the Arab world and Algeria, and its functional roles in the use and treatment of MSA.

2. 2. Language in News and Newspapers

News is something new, revealed for the first time. A number of definitions of the word *news* have been presented by linguists and news language researchers. Berry, basing his argument on the Oxford English Dictionary (1989), argues that “The word news is seen to represent ‘the new’, therefore the emphasis is upon ‘current events’ with the additional ‘important, or recent interesting happenings’ tagged alongside” (2008, p. 8). Thus, news production must be “*a responsible action*” that provides information about current events with the selection of what can be important and interesting for the news message receiver(s).

Berry continues:

Who decides what is both important and interesting, and is very much a key part of the discussion on ethics because, as stated earlier, it evokes a discussion on responsible actions. To complicate matters further, the word ‘new’ is an adjective and, in English at least, rarely do adjectives have plural forms as the word ‘news’ obviously implies. (2008, p. 8)

A very important idea about news is that one current event is expressed and communicated in a multitude of versions depending on *who* writes about such an event. People like journalists propose news (in plural), although these news turn around the same event or happening.

News, being singular or plural, have accompanied humans in all their history. With regard to this matter, Berry, quoting Burns (2002), defines news: “The word “news” to describe the things journalists write about has been in use for at least 500 years, well before newspapers were about” (2008, p. 5). Before being the job of journalists, it was first the concern travellers, as seen by Hastings (2000), quoted in Berry (2008):

Human beings have always been curious about the world around them, and anxious to know about events that will have an impact on their lives. For most of human existence, this curiosity and anxiety were fulfilled by travellers’ tales and gossip (...). Early forms of transmitting news began with word of mouth; news was limited to what someone told and retold. (p. 6)

At this preliminary level of study, it is worth being satisfied with this indication about the consistent presence of news in human life and their intuitive need to discover and know more about the world.

The word *news* is strongly related to newspapers, their social roles and their languages. Newspapers are “news carrying texts” (Martin and Copeland, 2003, p. 3). They carry news messages and communicate them through language. However, they are special communicators of news; they “are authentic, reliable and trustworthy organs of communication” (Berry, 2008, p. 17). In fact, they are organs, or more appropriately, institutions of communication which rely on trustworthy sources of information and strive to obtain readers’ confidence in their contents.

The newspaper is essential for news transmission and spread, it fills “a social role. And the modern newspaper is an evolving artefact of a social need to learn and distribute news” (Martin and Copeland, 2003, p. 4). Then even with the present-day news media modernity and development, it preserves its position as the most reliable source of information. Rutland goes even further to state that: “News isn’t news until it’s printed. Print turned rumour into fact, created a visible record of that fact, and became a sealable item in a society” (1973, p. 45). In fact, news even rumours, are believed; and sometimes even taken for granted to be true. The reason behind this is that the newspaper has

traditionally been referred to as the most ethical source of news through its written (printed) language, the *visible record* which stands the key of its power.

2.3. Newspaper Language and its Status in the Mass Media

Mass media are sources and ways of mass communication and means of extensive influence over populations. “Most citizens have formed for themselves a clear idea about what is meant by media” (Van-Mol, 2010, p. 65). They have formed an “unconscious consensus” (Van-Mol, 2010, p. 65) that media discourse is traditionally a written one. They also agree upon the fact that “media” is an umbrella term for newspapers and magazines and the audio-visual (television and radio). However, in the present day, people are mostly attracted by the new media, the internet and smart phones, the result of the most modern technologies.

The mass media, or simply media, are robustly present in human life. Today, life without television and mobile phones, for instance, is but impossible. Branston and Stafford express the same idea in the following passage:

We have all grown up in environments saturated with media experiences. In countries with reliable and widespread electricity supplies, these experiences are interfused with everyday life itself, especially through television, radio and technology such as mobile phones or internet. (2006, p. 1)

Being interlinked with individuals’ identity, media have formed for themselves a special and powerful position in conditioning individuals’ lives. They have gradually become the inspiration for better understanding of the world and accurate life style since:

The media compete for your attention, and perhaps your sense of what knowledge is, and how it is to be presented. Television, from children’s programmes, through educational television, to the vast range of broadcast material, has probably taught you a great deal, in vivid ways which books cannot hope to emulate. (Branston and Stafford, 2006, p. 1)

Unquestionably, media have a crucial role in forming, educating and shaping thoughts and intelligence. Of course, many families assert the role of television in forming their children's intelligence and many people confirm the role of reading newspapers in shaping their linguistic competences, either in their native language or in a foreign one. People also confess that their general knowledge about the world news and technological novelties in all domains is daily enriched through media. Media offer a multidisciplinary source of knowledge that can exceed the position of books. Therefore, they are not only sources of communication, but they also represent the messages and aims of these communications:

The term 'media' refers to the organizations that produce communication devices such as the press, cinema, broadcasting, publishing and so on and so forth. However, it is also used to denote the cultural and material products of these organizations and entities. (Bassiouney, 2010, p. 1)

The goals and effects of media are what can be implied by "*the cultural and material products*". Media are products in themselves, products which emerge, flourish, develop and act within society. Partly, their communicated messages are created under the effect of particular societies and their aims and intended results are grown up inside societies; and partly, they act on producing and reproducing socio-cultural realities within societies.

Language is the medium through which media meet their positions and roles in society. There is even "a near relationship in meaning between the concepts of media and language. Both concern an instrument to convey a message to an individual or to a group of people" (Van-Mol, 2010, p. 65). Language conveys any kind of messages and when it comes to media messages, it becomes just equated to the power of all mass media in societies. It encodes the messages and hence becomes a key to the attainment of their goals. Whereas, while language serves media social positions and goals; media, in turn, are permanently in the service of language. Therefore, when defining the concept *media*, Van-Mol views that "The easiest definition might clearly be, the means by which the language is conveyed" (2010, p. 66). Language *is conveyed* by media; and information about its state, power, position and problems in society are defused in media messages.

This is realised either directly, through news about it for instance, or indirectly, through media practitioners' language itself. The latter gives a real image of the linguistic reality of society as such. And usually, media language teaches people how language should be, in terms of structures and functions, and how it should work in society.

Media, in general are incessantly developing. Today, it is the era of internet, of far-reaching transmission and speedy communication. It is also an era of open opportunities to receivers' feedback and direct interaction with mass media specialists and message producers. Bassiouney, referring to Aitchison and Lewis, asserts this fact and states that: "the media has witnessed an 'unprecedented' amount of change, in terms of quantity, technology and modes. The spread of transmission has increased, and many more readers/viewers participate both passively and actively" (2010, p.1). The internet is earning more ground in peoples' interests. "The internet has been touted, like many earlier technologies, as a kind of utopian space where information about the 'universe and everything' is readily available as all questions can be answered" (Branston and Stafford, 2006, p. 2). The internet has become the ultimate source of interactive learning through computers use, problem-solving games and intelligence quizzes. In a word, the internet has been established as a wonderful world of answers to all questions. However and despite these facilities brought about by technology, new media count a number of disadvantages; chief among them is internet unreliability as a heavy source of knowledge and information. "The internet is not always reliable. Certainly print publishers face more legal scrutiny (in the possible use of libel laws for example) than some websites" (Branston and Stafford, 2006, p. 3). Additionally, new media is not totally available for consumers at any corner of the world since "technologies are not equally distributed, nor are they accessible or affordable for everyone- not even bloggers or game players" (Branston and Stafford, 2006, p. 3). However, newspapers , being the earliest mass media, can be obtained by any individual interested in them, the poor like the rich and the old like the young with a certain extent of literacy as a condition for correct assimilation of their contents.

In such circumstances, newspaper language, as a mass medium in itself, has asserted its singularity among other media. The secret of such a reality is its being written. In the following passage, Van Moll explains this detail:

It is clear that not everybody has the capacity to write in an acceptable manner. It demands quite a long time of study and practice. We can even say that only a limited group of persons in the society has the capacity to write in a decent way. On the contrary everybody, except handicapped people, has the capacity to speak. (Van-Mol, 2010, p. 67)

And unlike participants in oral media, writers of newspaper articles shape a rather “homogeneous group”, a “limited group of language producers” (Van-Mol, 2010, p. 67), formed by professional journalists and intellectual people. Their language is therefore said to be carefully written and rigorously revised. Once more, Van- Mol explains this same idea about newspaper language in the next passage:

A newspaper is written by a limited number of authors. On the one hand there are journalists who execute their specific job, but on the other hand there are also some people who write opinion articles. In both cases, however, we have to do with intellectuals, who not only have completed higher education, but also of whom we might suppose that they also possess a kind of natural and serious competence to write.
(2010, p. 66)

Writing correctly and adequately is a capacity that not every one has. It is a communicative quality in itself. And journalists, writing for newspapers must belong to those who have studied and practised acceptable language use. In this way, they contribute to the trustworthiness of newspapers’ messages. This reality makes of newspapers “the typical substratum of written media which is easier to define” (Van-Mol, 2010, p. 66). And more than being a foundation to written media, the newspaper becomes thus a reference for researchers and linguists through the language it communicates.

2.4. Newspaper Language and its Communicative Power in Society

Communication is the means of establishing social relationships par excellence. It is also involved in human everyday activities and practised by every individual without exception:

Communication is always the search of relationship, and of sharing with others. It crosses all activities: hobbies, work, education, politics, concerns all the social places, and social classes, all ages, continents, the rich like the poor.³³

(Wolton, 2005, p. 13)

Communication is thus a condition for the continuation of humanity. And in this regard, Wolton summarises its possible definitions in a word: “Communication, it is like life”³⁴ (Wolton, 2005, p. 13). For him, it is likely to be a synonym of life simply because human beings cannot survive without being in interaction with society and this interaction is essentially communicative. Moreover, communication is the spirit of civilizations and a “symbol” of “modernity” (Wolton, 2005, p. 13) since undoubtedly, technologies, new inventions and discoveries are transmitted, exchanged and discussed for further advance in civilizations.

Communication as a social activity interweaves with peoples’ identities. Each communicative act bears an act of negotiating identity. Wolton (2005) explains: “That is why communication carries a double challenge: accepting the other and defending one’s own identity”³⁵(p.14). Definitely, communication is such a challenge since when in a verbal communication, the more suitable example in this research work’s context, language operates its “clue bearing role” (Trudgill, 1995, p.2) to exhibit facts about the speaker’s/writer’s identity; but, on the other hand, it is used as a medium to discover the other. Hence, all parts involved in communication are discovering the other as a way to a potential acceptance of the other and as a medium of imposition and defence of one’s existing identity. In sum, the presence of these two conditions: the powerful presence of one’s identity and the acceptance of others’ identities are crucial for the continuation and success of human communication. In other words, communication is “to be” (être), “to do” (faire) and “to act” (agir) (Wolton, 2005, p. 13). It is to prove the existence of one’s identity and to address other identities and act on their behaviours.

³³ La communication, c’est toujours la recherche de la relation, et du partage avec autrui. Elle traverse toutes les activités : loisirs, travail, éducation, politique, concerne tous les milieux sociaux, les classes sociales, tous les âges, les continents, les riches comme les pauvres (Wolton, 2005, p. 13)

³⁴ “La communication, c’est comme la vie” (Wolton, 2005, p. 13)

³⁵ “C’est pourquoi la communication porte en elle un défi double: accepter l’autre et défendre son identité propre” (Wolton, 2005, p. 14)

Taking into account these reflective ideas, it becomes impossible to discuss the roles of newspaper language in society without considering its being first a practice of communication. The key for this practice is language which symbolizes communicative acts as essential elements for the survival of all human existence, relation with others, and language itself. Since through communication, namely the verbal communication, individuals interact, establish relationships, exchange ideas, preserving the continuity of human social nature and the development of peoples' thoughts, cultures and technologies and even languages. Berry explains the same idea in the following:

Newspapers developed initially as extensions of other forms of communication, such as verbal exchange, and were indeed necessities to fulfil appetites for news; perhaps the only real difference that emerged with the development of newspapers and journalism was specialisation and power.
(2008, p. 5)

“Specialisation and power” are the fundamental aspects of newspaper communication. Its discourse is specialised largely in news communication but its power does not cease at this level. It goes beyond informing a mass readership and targets broader social effects.

Rogers (1971), as cited by Talaat, indicates that “communication is the process of transmitting ideas, information, attitudes (images which we have formulated for ourselves) from the source (who is the originator of the message) to a receiver, for the purpose of influencing with intent” (2001, p. 27). The major purpose of communication is not merely to transmit *ideas, information and attitudes* but to properly employ them to activate the intended effects at the level of the receiver(s). Furthermore, and as Roger notes, the most important is that communication is a whole *process*, actually a progressive course of mental and linguistic activities that occur at the level of both source and receiver.

Seven elements should be understood for an accurate analysis of any form of communication; they are respectively: the source, the receiver, the message, the channel, the effect and the feedback and noise. In the subsequent lines, these elements are referred to on the basis of Talaat's explanation (2001). The aim is to understand the process of communication and the way its goals are achieved with the intent to enlighten the

procedure whereby newspapers attain their social effects. The emphasis is on language and its position in each element of this process.

2.4.1. Language Power at the Source (Journalists) Level

The source stands for the individual or group of people who engage in communication with predefined intentions, the intention to communicate news, thoughts, opinions, requests, emotions and other messages, and a further sought purpose which relates to target reactions of the receiver. All these motives of communication require first to be expressed through language; the source is thus an “encoder” who “translates” messages into “a code” (Talaat, 2001, p. 38). In the process of “*encoding*” the message, three key factors connect to each other to influence the source’s choice of the topic, what to be said about it and how. This ‘how’ relates first to language and can be answered in two interrelated facts: since on the one hand, language is the vehicle that orients individuals’ thoughts and conceptions of the world³⁶, it can properly be said that in it, ideas of communication appear in the source’s brain before even being encoded. On the other hand, and as a means of communication, an appropriate language should be used to encode the message; so language skills, writing or speaking and reading or listening are required, since each source is a receiver too of communications that may be the background of their own messages. The second factor relates to the source’s attitudes towards themselves, “self-attitude” (Talaat, 2001, p. 40), and towards the receiver and the topic of communication. This is called by Talaat the “knowledge level” (2001, p. 40); the degree of knowledge and attitudes towards the three (one’s personality, the receiver’s identity and the issue of communication) deeply affect the quality, type and contents of each source’s communicative act. The third factor is the “socio-cultural system influence” (Talaat, 2001, pp. 40-41). Since human beings are social, the language they communicate through is social as well, and each message they produce is too much influenced by the socio-cultural environment. Consequently, all of the source’s identity, views about the receiver(s), the message subject, and communicative aims are controlled to a large extent by the socio-cultural background. Talaat further explains this fact in the subsequent passage:

³⁶ This idea is based on the Sapire- whorf theory: “*Linguistic Relativity and Linguistic Determinism*”.

People from different cultural backgrounds communicate differently. Social and cultural systems determine the words and purposes they use for communicating, the meanings they attach to certain words and the channels they select for the message. (2001, p. 41)

The target of each communication is partly shaped by its socio-cultural context. People of different backgrounds choose what and how to communicate differently; and even the same topic is tackled, analysed and presented differently by people of different cultures. In addition, vocabulary, meanings and even grammatical structures of the message are determined by the socio-cultural realities of both source and receiver.

Evidence in these reflections about the source of any communicative act has set out the present research work's first insights concerning the Arabic newspaper in Algeria, since everything in its language (MSA) is interwoven with society, it is formulated under its influence then, reciprocally, it is designed to influence it.

2.4.2. Language Power at the Receiver (Readers) Level

The receiver is the second element in communication process. It is essential simply because without a receiver, or message "decoder" (Talaat, 2001, p. 41), there is no effect, no feedback and therefore no future for the source's message. In other words, there is no successful communication. Receivers, or language decoders, in newspaper '*communication*' are the target readers. And concerning Arabic newspapers, receivers are people who have commonly chosen to read news (to receive news messages) in MSA. So the first target is the language itself, and then comes all what interests readers' common concerns about reality, identity and world views. Therefore the journalists and newspaper editors must know how to maintain the attention of this readership; otherwise, the intended goals cannot be attained and communication is accordingly lost. Additionally, all the three factors of a successful communication involvement at the level of the source are shared by the receiver. The receiver needs communicative skills. As regards verbal communication, at least reading and (or) listening skills are required. Besides, attitudes towards the source, "*subject matter*" (Talaat, 2001, p. 40), and oneself are required too. The receiver always develops a certain idea about the source's identity and communicative intentions, the fact

which affects the process of decoding the message and reacting to it positively or negatively. The receiver's attitude towards the message's topic as well plays an important role in decoding and reacting to the message. In this respect, the degree of interest in the subject matter counts a lot for the achievement of communicative goals. And finally, the socio-cultural context of message reception has its significant impact on the process. Hence, sharing the same context with the source leads to a better deciphering of the message's intended meaning and therefore becomes an essential element in effective communicative relations.

On the basis of these ideas about the receiver as a major element in communication, a second insight about newspapers' language is activated; the latter's responsibility to accommodate its vocabulary, style, ideas, and contents to the readers' shared identity, realities and expectations is essential for the fulfilment of its social aims. This also fits Arabic newspapers in Algeria and the way their language (MSA) is partly controlled by the target readers.

2.4.3. Language Role in Newspaper Message

The third important communicative element is the message of communication. It is the moulding of the communicated meanings into a code, "the translation of ideas, purposes and intentions into a code" (Talaat, 2001, p. 42), but also "a stimulus that the source transmits to the receiver" ((Talaat, 2001, p. 42). Undeniably, the message is the *stimulus*, the holder of the source's purposes. Therefore both its language and contents must be well-built. At this level, a third insight about the newspaper language is developed. It is rather a direct question about MSA situation in Arabic newspapers: Is it accurately and powerfully used to fulfil the messages' purposes? Moreover, meanings in the message are of a considerable value for both the source and receiver; and while decoding messages lies on linguistic, conceptual and ideological backgrounds, it is useful to recall, once more, the importance of shared knowledge between the two, but here the shared knowledge concerns the intended meanings. This is explained by Talaat as follows:

For communication to occur at all, the source and the receiver must have at least some minimum degree of prior

experience, some level of similarity and some level of shared meanings. At the other extreme, no two individuals have exactly the same experience. Hence, the symbols in the message have somewhat different meanings for the source and the receiver. (2001, p. 43)

Prerequisites about overt and covert meanings of words and discourses in general are essential in decoding the message; however this does not suffice for a perfect understanding of the intended meanings. The reason is not merely in the difference of prior linguistic background, even slight, as seen by Talaat, but mainly in the fact that human beings have never been alike and that each individual, to some extent, is unique in their thoughts and language use. Therefore, a careful selection of vocabulary and language structures is required with the hope of ensuring the maximum understanding of the intended meanings at the level of the receiver.

When constructing the message, not only attitudes about the receivers are required but, most importantly, their cultures, beliefs and values must be respected. Talaat highlights this in the following passage:

A message that challenges these beliefs or values may be firmly rejected, distorted or misinterpreted. In cases where beliefs are firmly fixed, the communicator finds it is often more effective to try to redirect existing attitudes slightly than to attack them. (2001, p. 45)

Of course, in any communication, culture, an essential element in social interactions, added to Talaat's emphasis, *beliefs* and *values*, control the course communicative acts take. All the parts of communication have these three elements that form the norms of communicative behaviour. It is of a paramount importance to respect them in the receiver's being since disrespect is a real *challenge*, a dare to lay a hand on their identity and position in the world as such. With respect to these reflective ideas, a fourth assumption about newspaper language is evoked; journalists, editors or any newspaper articles' writers should bear in mind the (target) readers shared identity. Of course, at this level, it can be only spoken about 'a shared identity', since the emphasis is on a mass communication directed to a mass audience (readership). Thus, any direct 'harassment' of readers' identity equals an explicit attack on their being and therefore

troublesome reactions will result. And for a newspaper to strive to solve identity problems in readers and society as such, as in the case of Arabs and Algerians exposed in the first chapter, the task is of the same delicateness: a direct confrontation or criticism of readers is to be carefully avoided.

2.4.4. Conditions of Success for Language as a Channel of Newspaper Communication

The communicative “*channel*” is the fourth element defined by Talaat as “a medium” of communication (2001, p. 48). There is of course a number of channels such as sounds and body gestures; but in this context, the concern is about language as a channel of communication. The style and quality of this language is deeply connected with the other elements of communication, namely the sources and receivers’ identities and attitudes, and the message nature and context. Definitely, language as a channel of mass media communication is different from the interpersonal one. It is rigorously controlled by some well-established dimensions crucial to the efficiency of the process. With respect to this, Talaat (2001, pp. 48-54), referring to Blake and Haroldsen (1975), suggests some dimensions. In the subsequent lines, these dimensions are cited and interpreted only in what concerns mass communication, specifically newspapers:

- **Channel Credibility:** Refers to the reliability and consistency of the communication channel. Views on newspapers’ channel vary. While some people view that the written language form is the most trustworthy ‘channel of communication’, tending to formality and being revised before transmitted to receivers; others see that the oral form deserves more trust, since more lively and less exposed to embellishment of style and therefore to alteration of the message’s meanings and facts. Nevertheless, it can be objectively stated that any channel of communication can be fairly credible. And for a newspaper language to be credible, a constant form must be there and four factors unite to accomplish its credibility: correct grammatical structures, correct words spelling, choice of appropriate vocabulary, and disambiguation and clarity of meanings.

- Channel Involvement: “This refers to the perceptual effort required by all the senses in order to understand the information presented to the communication channel” (Talaat, 2001, p. 49). For a receiver to be involved in the source’s communicative act, they must have the capacity to understand the message as presented by the channel. Talaat (2001) sees that unlike face to face communication, mass communication offers the least possibility of involvement. This assumption is accurate in a way that considers the inability of receivers to be in a real involvement to negotiate the message’s meanings as interpreted through the channel. Considering this fact denotes that the case of newspaper language even hardens the process of readers’ involvement in its language’s messages as such; since being written, it does not offer any direct communication between the participants. Readers only receive the message and should therefore decode its meanings alone. Nevertheless, the circumstances are actually not that critical. Recalling the last points’ conclusions indicates that writing for a newspaper, whether by a professional or by an opinion writer, needs respecting receivers’ realities (social, cultural and intellectual). Thus, the supply of the most reliable language style and clarity of meaning is compulsory to ensure readers’ involvement.
- Channel Feedback: It denotes the receiver’s feedback to the source’s message. It is obvious that the newspaper as a written mass medium never receives direct feedback, because on the one hand, a mass audience means an uncontrollable amount of feedbacks, and on the other hand, newspapers’ language as a written language is just like letters destined to far-away readers. Therefore, newspapers’ channel of communication only guarantees indirect feedbacks.
- Channel Availability and Channel Permanency: Though the two concepts are referred to separately by Talaat (2001), it is seen more appropriate to demonstrate them jointly, because the availability of newspaper language is in the regularity of its appearance and in the permanence of its existence. Newspaper messages are long living ones since first the written language has preserved human communications throughout history, and second newspapers’ volumes and issues are traditionally archived, preserving the long-lasting availability of news messages.

- Channel Multiplicative Power: By “multiplicative power”, Talaat means “the channel potential for covering large geographical areas with speed and timeliness” (2001, p. 50). Of course here, what is implied is the ability of mass communication to reach large audiences located in various geographical areas and the key for this is essentially language. Language is the means by which newspaper messages can be heard by those readers in the different (target) areas. It earns its extreme power, then, when being enabled to reach and affect a multiplicity of thoughts and views.

Being the issue at stake of this research work, language as the channel of mass communication has taken the lion’s share of discussion about communication elements. But this debate has revealed that unquestionably language must be believed to be the pillar of any journalistic work, especially the newspaper. Language of newspapers, if reliable as a channel, has a singular prestige and a valuable power over readers and societies as such. This is the fifth developed assumption about newspapers as a medium of communication.

2.4.5. Newspaper Language and its Effects on Readers’ Feedback

Talaat (2001) refers to effects and feedback separately, since they are two different concepts. But at this level of analysis, it is worth examining the two together since any feedback in communication is a result of certain effects engendered at the level of receiving the message.

Communication aims are based on the realisation of effects on the receivers’ social actions in general. “There are many levels of effects- from attention to inner change to overt behaviour- and degrees of effect at each level”(Talaat,2001, p. 53). An effect is a kind of reaction or an indirect answer to the source’s message, embodied in some changes in the receiver’s behaviour. Concerning mass communication, including newspapers, target effects can normally be either a consolidation of existing behaviours, or a moderate change in them or else a total transformation of their nature. So, a realised effect is in itself an indirect feedback to the source’s message.

For Talaat, “feedback is a special kind of message, in that it concerns the effect of a previous message (from source to receiver). From the source’s perspective, feedback may be thought of as a message conveying knowledge of communication effectiveness” (2001, p. 54). A feedback is an image of fulfilled effects that is transmitted to the source. Through it, results and degree of the communicative act’s effectiveness is measured. As regards newspapers, the receivers’ feedbacks are generally indirect and personified, recalling it, through their reaction to the message; but sometimes, they become direct especially when one of the receivers, for instance, addresses a journalist, author of a news article, in a letter published in the same newspaper few days later; this feedback is a “purposive” one (Talaat, 2001, p. 55), and may be positive or negative, depending on its being supportive of the journalist’s news story and opinions or critical to them.

2.4.6. Newspaper Language and its Communicative Noise in Society

Noise is the last element in the communicative process in Talaat’s illustration. “Channel noise includes all disturbances between source and receivers”, explains Talaat (2001, p. 58). In mass communication, these *disturbances* touch the language of the message itself or the way of its transmission to the receiver. Talaat distinguishes between two kinds of noise: *channel noise* and *semantic noise*. He says that the concept channel noise “is used to describe anything which interferes with the fidelity of the physical transmission of the message” (2001, pp. 57-58); defects in typing, printing, the quality of newspaper sheets and things related to that form a real hindrance to the correct reception and understanding of the message. This is *noise* in itself and it causes negative effects and reactions at the level of receivers. The semantic noise, on its part, “occurs when a message is misunderstood even though it is received exactly as it was transmitted” (Talaat, 2001, p. 58). Difficult words, meaning ambiguity, strange subject speciality or complicated ideas, all create noise and disturbance of the correct transmission and reception of the message; thus a real difficulty in communicating with others and a little chance in generating the sought effects and reactions. It is therefore an opportunity to recall the importance of respecting: first cultural differences (especially if the source is of another culture from their receiver), second cultural realities that govern people’s conception and understanding of

different notions (even if the source and receiver belong to the same culture), and finally, topical interests and intellectual level of the receiver.

To summarise this discussion about newspaper language and communication, it has been demonstrated that before dealing with any detail concerning language, especially language of newspapers or language of the news, it is of a central importance to view it as a communicative device. Newspapers texts become communications in themselves, from source to receiver. Thus, it can be properly stated that news language is a way to satisfy peoples' everyday communicative needs. It is all about human need to know, let know, and influence the other, and to accept or desire to be influenced. Many functions of newspaper language, in the history of humanity and in the modern era, can be discovered in the subsequent parts of this chapter, all based on the assumption that the language of newspaper is first a human activity, i.e. a process of communication.

2.5. Newspaper Language in Human History

The history of newspaper language began with the emergence of the first newspapers, but backgrounds to this truth go back to the early ages of human history. It is at the heart of human natural need to know (get the information) and let the other know (diffuse the information). Since antiquity, information has been exchanged in societies. It concerns all the domains and touches all human activities, thus it covers directly all individuals and societies' realities and evolutions through history.

2.5.1. Language in the Early Stages of News Transmission

Prehistoric human drawings on mountains' rocks and caverns' walls do confirm man's hereditary striving to diffuse information. At that time, signals, whether body gestures, drawings or uttered sounds, formed the first means of transmitting messages. Prehistoric drawings, which have resisted long ages, could only serve today as precious resources to the study of human history. Historical rocks that still display these drawings are even referred to as "newspaper rocks" (Martin and Copeland, 2003, p. 5) simply because of the role they accomplish in recording histories of the earliest times.

In early civilizations, speech and memorisation were central to the transmission of news. Messengers had to memorise the news texts and circulate them in different places. Before the domestication of animals, these messengers completed their job running up long distances. In his book *Une Histoire des Média (a Media History)* (1996), Jeanneney provides two impressive examples that have marked the history of media as such. The first one is the famous event of “*le coureur de Marathon*” (marathon runner) (Jeanneney, 1996, p. 21), in the year 490 B.C. At that time and after the victory of Greeks on Persians, a Greek messenger crossed 42,195 kilometres to Athena. When he arrived, he announced the event and died immediately. The other example concerns Incas Empire in Peru which, before the Spanish conquest, discovered neither writing nor animal domestication, but was able to ensure a rapid circulation of news thanks to an organised tradition of oral transmission. A straight road was constructed along 2,400 kilometres, from Quito to Cuzco, the two extremes of the empire. Even mountains became easier to cross through the monumental stairs devoted to messengers. The latter permanently ran across this line, 20 kilometres each. The message had to be learned by heart and recited to the letter to the next runner who should do the same. In this way, the news finished by being spread throughout the empire (Jeanneney, 1996). Abou Zeid names this stage in the history of press and media ‘*the audio stage*’ (1999, p. 10), the stage when people relied only on oral transmission, careful listening and strong memorisation of every news detail.

Not counting the audio stage, Abou Zeid (1999) adds three other phases in the history of mass media and communication in general: the writing stage, the printing stage, and the electronic stage. The prehistoric engravings that human used to make on rocks, tombs and temples can properly be considered the original precursors of newspapers. In the year 4000 B.C., the Egyptians recorded “on stone the names of kings, accounts of wars, political events and the religious doctrines of the great power of mighty people or gods” (Talaat, 2001, pp. 20-21). In these early ages, Pharaohs were able to record events, write (though developed writing did not exist yet) their history and spread the information. “They also extended pictorial writing out of which Hieroglyphic writing developed” (Talaat, 2001, p. 21). Hieroglyphic writings, the most ancient in the history of writing, are considered a revolutionary move towards human inventions of means that can facilitate

texts' transit and transport. Writing on rocks can resist over time but cannot be moved or, at least, easily carried to distant places. In the year 2500 B.C, Egyptians invented papyrus³⁷ which became largely used to record different texts and pass on written instructions to the population (Talaat, 2001). Papyrus was also used in schools where writing blossomed as a means of communication and transmission of knowledge and information. In other civilizations, namely of the Greeks and Romans, written texts were used to circulate news in specific places known as *agoras* (the marketplaces), from around 600 B.C, where news of the day were usually displayed. In Rome, during the Cezarian period, *acta publica* (Talaat, 2001, p. 23) served as a sort of "newspaper" through which news related to rulers' orders, trade, and people's concerns; *acta senatus* (Jeanneney, 1996, p. 24) was another "newspaper" through which senates' decisions were published. Manuscripts were either displayed or read openly to the audience in what is known as the *Roman forum*.

In the eighth century, paper, which was invented earlier in China, was exploited by Arabs in the enhancement of communication and scientific records. Arabs also introduced paper to Europe where hand-written news became widespread. In the European affaire centres, especially in Germany and Italy, writers were appointed to produce from 100 to 300 copies a day (Jeanneney, 1996, p. 24). The aim was to provide summaries about the political and economic situation. The development of writing, though it proceeded differently in various world quarters, plays a major role in the creation of what is now known as journalism and news production and transmission which fundamentally lie on the written language. Paper, on its part was a further step to facilitate record, storage and circulation of news.

2.5.2. The Development of Newspaper's Social Position: from the Discovery of Printing to the Present

Printing machine was invented in Strasbourg, France in 1438³⁸. It was a real success in the history of newspaper language. In the 1470's, the first printed news began to

³⁷ Papyrus is a kind of paper, made of a plant carrying the same name.

³⁸ Printing was first developed in China much earlier. It had been widely used since the seventh century, under the dynasty of Tang who reigned China for about three centuries. During that period, there was even a circulating printed official newspaper named "*Tipao*" (Jeanneney, 1996, p. 25).

appear in Europe. First, their appearance was not regular. In France, for example, *les occasionnels* appeared. They were booklets of 16 to 18 pages which cover different recent news (Jeanneney, 1996). In the 16th century, attention paid to news writing augmented and printing news was enlarged. In the 1530', for instance, the Italian government started selling small printed "*newssheets*" (Talaat, 2001, p. 23), known as "*gazettes*" (Martin and Copeland, 2003, p. 7) that people could buy for a *gazetta*, a coin that has offered its name to the Italian newspaper which is still called *gazette* in the Italian language. In France, "*les canards*" appeared in 1529, they were developed as newssheets which try to inform people about the largest amount of news possible, real or imaginary and related to all domains: politics, economy, crimes and social life, natural catastrophes and so on (Jeanneney, 1996, p. 25) . In England, and though printing was introduced as early as the 15th century, it was until 1621 "that the early forerunners of the newspaper began to appear" (Talaat, 2010, p.23). In that era, newspapers' first target was the imagination and thought of the readers. The readership was enlarged since printing promoted literacy rates in Europe. Consequently, the power and position of newspapers in society expanded rapidly.

Early 17th century was marked by the regularity of publication of newspapers. In Europe, first, weekly newspapers appeared and spread all over Europe (Jeanneney, 1996, p. 25). In that century, the qualities of present-day newspapers appeared: regularity, target readership and specific language style. Journalism as a profession began to earn its strength as a well-built social power. In England, for example, *news books*, the forerunners of newspapers began to be published every 4 days, whereas the first daily newspaper, *the Daily Courant* was published in early 18th century, precisely in 1702 (Aitchison, 2010, p. 13). During that century and due to the augmentation of the number of newspapers and their respective published copies and also because of the increase of literacy rates in different societies, newspapers readership got larger and wide awake about the social, economic as well as political goings on. Peoples' both opinions and reactions to the political situations of their countries were swayed. Therefore authorities urged enacting a number of restrictive laws to deter any attempt to disseminate political awareness; and limitations of the news contents and taxes began to be strictly imposed on newspapers (Aitchison, 2010). This resulted in the appearance of what Aitchison called the "so-called news with a high percentage of gossip" (2010, p. 13). Gossip can more objectively be

considered as openly declared opinions about the socio-political realities and as an ongoing endeavour to trace the path of what is known as *the freedom of speech*. Actually, it was the opening step towards the flourishing situation of newspapers in the 19th century since pressures exercised by the nature of that time's news writing led to the gradual lift of governmental restrictions by the end of the 18th century. In the 19th century, the popularity and demands on newspapers increased significantly thanks to the development of printing techniques and the increasing literacy rates. This century was marked by the "proliferation of newspapers mornings and evenings" (Aitchison, 2010, p. 14), and by an enlarged readership comprising different social categories, unlike in the earlier times when readership was directed to the elite and middle classes with the exclusion of women and labour classes (Conboy, 2007); hence newspaper power and position in society was at its peak given its uniqueness as the most reliable mass medium.

By the beginning of the 20th century, new challenges appeared to shake the social power of newspapers. Technology provided new horizons to the multiplicity of media types. Radio broadcasting began in the 1920's (Talaat, 2010) and television programmes began to be diffused in 1948, in USA. New options started to be proposed to populations who were looking forward to these innovative and developed sources of information, knowledge, entertainment and advertisement. As a result, the numbers of produced copies decreased significantly (Jeanneney, 1996). The new media or the telematic media, which appeared by the 1980's and are extensively developed today, have intensified pressure on the newspaper's persistence in society. New technologies are developing incessantly, furnishing new media with the latest designs and applications and appealing the fullest interest of people. The advantage of new media, which remains absent in newspaper, is the supplied free choice of any of the various sources of information, in addition to the possible direct feedback between source and receiver (Talaat, 2010). Presently, internet is but indispensable for social networking, direct communication and speedy exchange of knowledge and information. In such circumstances, many people foresee the forceful disappearance of newspapers in the future, due to their archaic tradition in recording the news and printing them day to day. However this view cannot stand believable, considering the newspaper's social power that has established its roots so deep in peoples' cultures. Even with this entire advance in technology, this mass medium is there at any

corner around the world; it is impossible not to meet a reader browsing a newspaper in a bus station, a metro, an office, a clinic or any other place. People trust print media, especially newspapers, and many times, suspect news diffused through internet since most of the time, their sources are unknown and multiple. In addition, and in contradiction to what is commonly reputed, internet and data processing have served a lot in facilitating all the production, saving and publishing of news. Data processing is used in the writing and storage of newspapers' texts; it also supplies more facilities to ensure a final layout that goes in line with the modern society's expectations. Internet, on its part plays a paramount role in the enhancement of reading newspapers. Paperless versions of newspapers are always online (the number of online newspapers is in an incessant increase). Authentic texts of the most popular newspapers around the world are daily read by internet users, the fact which stands positive to the judgement of both the position and effects of newspapers on society.

As a summary, the newspaper is a social institution per say. It is a tradition in communication in journalism and in conditioning individual's world views. Its place in history is sturdily embedded. Human prehistory served as the very first background to its appearance; the development of writing pushed forward its archetypes (as the news written on papyrus and news-books); and printing boosted its existence. The newspaper is a social power and this power is first and utmost the one of its language which is being exercised through ages.

2.5.3. The Evolution of Freedom of Speech and its Impact on Newspaper Language

When the newspaper appeared in the 16th to early 17th century, the socio-political scenery was rather a complicated one. For a news writer or journalist to practise their job efficiently, there is a need of a trustworthy environment: freedom should be there. Individual freedom of expression and opinion is necessary; whereas restrictions, limitations and persecutions of opponent views just hinder newspapers' mission. In that era, Western Europe, the cradle of newspapers' history, was sinking under authorities' tyranny. Europe, in general, was under the control of monarchs. Despotism was

prevailing. Power and authority was monopolised by kings either alone or with their loyal parliaments. This authoritarian regime posed its control on the published news since their early days. Devotion and dedication to the ruler's will and own desires and benefits were the ultimate conditions for a newspaper to survive (Abou Zeid, 1999). First, to work in press necessitated an authorization granted by the ruler (Jeanneney, 1996). It was a privilege that could hardly be snatched by lucky journalists. Censorship and harsh punishment was there to deter any opposition, disloyalty or lawbreaking publications. The Feudal System of Middle Ages was still practised and considerable taxes were imposed on newspapers (Aitchison, 2010). Support, advocacy and devotion to the ruler were the characteristics of newspaper discourse. The text appeared as a storytelling one. Its role was confined to the narration of stories about different events whereas journalists' opinions and criticism of government or any ruling authority was absent. News were suspicious and untrusted by the population, namely the elite. Thinkers and intellectuals, like the French thinkers Russo and Voltaire and Diderot highly criticized the situation. In sum, the press in its early stages and till the first half of the 18th century was an informative one, but it informs only about what is decided by the authorities to be circulated. Its being yielding to the authoritarian system's will made of it "an authoritarian press" (Abou Zeid, 2009), which means in the service of the time's political system. Its role in analyzing facts and spreading awareness in society was out of reach.

In mid- 18th to early 19th century, the social functions of newspapers witnessed gradual changes. During that period, European societies viewed important developments in the social life and political system. Bourgeois class outstood as a socio-political power and overtook hegemony in all domains, politics, social life and economy. This social class was famous with its appeal for democracy, freedom of commercial activities and freedom of speech. Its ideological movement was the first lead to the French Revolution (1789–99), and the American War of Independence (1775–83) (Held and Hill, 1996). In such circumstances, newspaper social role changed progressively. It moved from an authoritarian service to a press of news and opinions. It was the beginning of opinion journalism (Abou Zeid, 2009, p. 30). Newspapers became the first path to the spread of democratic ideologies and the fighting of the Middle Ages' despotism. After the French revolution and the American independence, personal freedoms were enhanced and the

philosophy of liberalism was enhanced. Consequently, the 19th century outstood as the era of intellectual development, public awareness and modernized way of life. States' control over individuals' liberties was forcefully reduced because of peoples' raise against it. Individuals began enjoying their freedom to express their thoughts, to meet and discuss opinions with the person they wish, and, to be more to the point, to read what they want most. It was the rise of the liberal press (Abou Zeid, 1999, p. 24), free to inform about any event, and to describe it according to different points of view, and most importantly to comment about it. This summarizes the roles and aims of contemporary journalistic works; intended only to tell stories about different events but more importantly to have social effects, to influence readers' opinions and spread critical spirits among society's members and to initiate social reactions to different social, political, economic or cultural realities. At this level, language embraces the entire responsibility to accomplish this goal since the power of the newspaper is first and foremost the power of its language. The evolution of newspapers' roles in society as influenced by the liberal ideology can be noticed in the worldwide contemporary press, however and in spite of this fact, the authoritarian press has never been eclipsed. Samples of loyalty to the regime can be noticed in a number of existing newspapers, at least in the African countries and Arab world, the parts which closely relate to the scope of this research work. Therefore, it is worth mentioning that the focus of the subsequent parts of this chapter is neither on the liberal press in particular nor about journalists' freedom of speech or views disagreeing with governments' policies; but it is precisely directed towards the functions of newspaper's language, style and discourse, on social realities in general, and on society's language itself in particular.

2.5.4. The Progress of Newspaper Language to its Present-day Style

Since its beginnings, newspaper language has changed enormously, adapting itself to social realities and readers' demands. Since the 17th century, news writers have "endeavoured to be as accurate as the technologies and communications of the time would be" (Conboy, 2007, p. 5). They have also endeavoured to be the most consistent and trustworthy source of information. Language therefore has been manipulated by socio-

political as well as economic conditions of societies' history. But it has reciprocally played a role in shaping the latter.

In early 17th to mid-18th century, newspaper language style was a strictly informative one, given the social conditions containing the authoritarian press. Information was written in a clear language that focuses on giving accounts about different facts. The newspaper contents included a storytelling style, a rather literary style which provides detailed and gradual narration of events' development. Thus the reader should patiently read the entire text in order to understand the news. This, of course suited the period's social reality and life style in which the modest technological attainments developed in a rather slow rhythm. Moreover, the target readership was considered a unanimous one and the newspaper "was a bourgeois and a male domain and both women and labouring classes were excluded from it" (Conboy, 2007, p. 6). Language style was accordingly adapted to fit these social categories', male and middle class's, expectations. Gradually, this changed, answering social classes' evolution, technological development, gender positions and roles changes and even economic realities. In late 19th century, journalistic works "shifted from records to interpretations" (Conboy, 2007, p.7), opinions began to side storytelling. Yet, until early 20th century, newspapers, "like their predecessors, the newsbooks, recounted events in the order they occurred" (Aitchison, 2010, p. 17).

In the 20th century, the "pedestrian order of events" (Aitchison, 2010, p. 17) became easier to read since destined to a broader readership. The language used became less literary and more colloquial expressions began to be used and the produced language style started to focus on "brevity and clarity" (Conboy, 2007, p. 7) because the development of mass market press, the evolution of technology and the extension of the readership patterned a language style that assembles rapidity and easiness in communicating any type of news, comments or viewpoint. This helped in the creation of a language style particular to newspaper texts "the practical- social level"³⁹ (El-Cherif and Nada, 2006, p. 25), a language style which gathers straightforwardness and clarity and which conforms to society's realities and needs. This *level* of style is neither literal nor colloquial, but it is the language of contemporary newspaper and journalistic work which aim is to secure a

³⁹ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 281)

maximum impact over the reader, “to hit the reader straight between the eyes” (O Connor, in Conboy, 2007, p. 7), and to keep pace with the technological development like what Conboy explains in the following:

With accelerating speed of information delivery and improving technologies of reproduction and distribution, it literally paid to be brief, and so newspapers developed a series of patterns which allowed for their language to be composed in the main of short, condensed sentences which presented the news in the sharpest and in the same time liveliest manner (2007, p. 7)

Short sentences compose recent newspaper texts and each sentence has a message to transmit; repetition of ideas and aesthetic embellishment of meanings are not part of professional journalistic works. In brief, “precise, readable and compact paragraphs” are the characteristics of current “good journalism” (Aitchison, 2010, p. 18). This is partly due to the present enlarged newspapers competition. Their urge to ensure the best and maximum coverage collides with space constraints and a limited number of pages, hence, concise news articles are required.

In the following passage, Aitchison explains the language style of contemporary newspaper articles:

Beneath this informative initial summary (the first sentence), the rest of the report is carefully organised. The commonest type of structure in modern newspapers may be the ‘inverted pyramid’, basically an upside down triangle. After the summary, surrounding events are then fitted in, in a way which progressively explains the situation [...]. Finally, an evaluation (sometimes optional) is added. (2010, p. 18)

The inverted pyramid is the current naming of the news story shape. Information elements are arranged in the form of an upside-down triangle which consists of a gradual explanation of any event(s). It progresses from citing the more general to the more detailed information. The essential information is condensed in the first sentence which, in addition to the headline, gives a general idea about the news topic and contents. It

generally answers “the so-called 6 WHs questions” (Aitchison, 2010, p. 18) about the news story and, thus, summarises the utmost amount of information. This fact is advantageous and comfortable for present-day newspapers readers whose speedy life style does not offer opportunities to spend too much time reading every detail. So the reader can have a general idea about daily news through a rapid glance at the first sentence or the leading paragraph of different newspaper articles; and, having an idea about the content of each news text, they can come back to previously selected articles for further details.

Apart from the inverted pyramid, the present-day newspaper language has developed definite norms that concern style. Particular language strategies are conventionally developed for journalistic works. In the news story text, emotional or controversial vocabulary are avoided to the maximum and the absence of the personal pronoun “I” is strictly recommended in order to guarantee objectivity and reliability (Conboy, 2007). In headlines, the syntactic structure does not usually offer complete sentences. It basically appears in short phrases with few attentively selected words which emplacement is central to the main objectives of headlines: to attract readership attention and to present a general idea about the news texts’ contents. Readers are conventionally conscious about headlines’ language and accept the way how ideas are expressed in it, though it usually does not match with languages’ predictably correct grammatical structures. However in what concerns the text of the story, attention is vitally paid to the language itself as much as is the case of the news story. Criticism that concern correctness and adequacy of news texts is of no newness since newspaper language has always been subject to linguists’ analysis, merely because it is believed to satisfy their curiosity about what is supposed to be a correct and trustworthy language that informs about different human concerns, reveals a lot about peoples’ identities and counts too much in shaping individuals’ thoughts.

2.6. Functions of Newspaper Language in Present-day Society

In this point, there is an aim to cover all the persistent functions of newspaper language on the target readership who act as a bridge for further effects of this language on social realities. Results are then filtered and examined in relation to society’s language

situation. The fact which enables the analysis of MSA situation in the Algerian newspaper, its role, as the language of news and its position as a social reality being influenced by Arabic newspaper language.

2.6.1. Language as a Social Power

Language is social and the social nature of language can be interpreted in a multitude of interrelated facts about language and society. First, language is created and developed within society. It is the society's members who form it and implement its use, and it is society which strives for its development, maintenance or loss. On the other hand, it is through language that social relations are established, shaped, controlled, maintained or ended up. This is fulfilled through communication.

Language use exists in a kind of dialogue with society: language is produced by society and (through the effect of language use on people) it goes on to help recreate it. Language first represents social realities and second contributes to the production and reproduction of social reality or social life. (Richardson, 2007, p. 10)

Social realities are mediated through language. As a social activity, the latter communicates many ideas and realities about individuals and societies because a single expression stands for some hints about these identities (Trudgill, 1995). In their turn, these realities can be maintained or gradually changed only through language, by means of the circulation of renewed ideas and ideologies. Language develops thus to be a norm that shapes individuals' views and world conception. It becomes a social power by means of its involvement in the shaping and reshaping of individuals' identities. Joseph joins this idea in the passage below:

People's choice of languages, and the way of speaking do not simply reflect who they are, but make them who they are- or more precisely, allow them to make themselves. In turn, the languages they use are made and re-made in the process. If communication were the only function of language, we would expect all mother-tongue speakers of

English or any other language to sound more or less the same. (2010, p. 9)

Language reflects identities, but chiefly it conditions their beings since it acts under the control of social norms, a range of tacit conventions that control society and social activities.

Being a social norm, language is powerful and its power is not only embodied in the way people gain social positions. It is further demonstrated in its authority to influence, orient and shape individuals' thoughts. Richardson discusses ideas about the power of language and says:

Clearly, some people's speech is more powerful than others; the opinion of certain people is taken to be more credible and authoritative than the opinion of others; why and how this is achieved is a matter of keen academic and social interest. Equally, some ways of speaking or communicating have more power than others; certain genres of communication have more potential effects on social life than other forms of communication do.

(2007, p. 13)

People's speech is commonly characterised in terms of power. Some discourses are more powerful than the others. This is determined by the way language is used and the degree to which it is mastered, in addition to language users' social position and power. And as a genre of communication, news media language enjoys an enormous power to influence the audience's reactions; for this reason it is seriously considered by society members as well as academicians and linguists.

Until now, the power of language has been spoken about with respect to the resulting effects of its use in discourse production. However, in some cases, this power exceeds this level and is employed as a tool of imposing control and powerful position in society: "Language does not merely reflect the world as it is, it interprets, organises and classifies that world. It therefore embodies theories of how the world is arranged from an ideological perspective" (Fowler, 1986, p. 27). Hence people, language users, become

social participants, namely social actors who develop certain views, interact with others to show them and participate in the continuation of civilizations.

However, not everyone is happy with the state of society, particularly those who perceive its power relationships to be unjust or unequal. To them a functionalist view of language is merely proof of the attempt which some institutions make to exercise control of social reality through language. (Conboy, 2007, pp. 4-5)

This passage usefully asserts individuals' and organizations' exploitation of language in power practice. But it is also very reflective about discourse receivers and their reaction to its contents. This reaction is sometimes negative and may result in the refusal of existing power relations as such.

In general, it can be accurately said that language has a powerful role in human existence. It is just impossible to live without language; through its use, individuals and societies communicate, establish social relations and understand social meanings, explicit or implicit. Moreover, language is a social activity. Its activities are various and are all determined by the social context of its use. One aspect of the social functions of language is demonstrated in the following terms: "For instance, journalists may use language to inform us of an event, or to expose wrongdoing, or to argue for or against something" (Richardson, 2007, p.12). Journalists use of language in informing, exposing and arguing has an implicit power in it. This power is personified in its well- established functions in society.

2.6.2. Newspaper Language Power in Society

As aforementioned in the chapter, newspaper language has particular social roles. These roles are divided in aims and meanings between overt ones and covert ones. The overt roles of this language are basically information, entertainment and advertisement. And in the developing countries, there is an explicit implication of newspapers in the governmental attempts to develop them, their people and their civilizations (Abou Zeid, 1999). The covert roles on their part directly constitute the real aims of newspapers and their language(s). These aims can be summarised in three separate but interrelated issues: a role in shaping readers' thoughts and opinions, as a way to creating social changes and

establishing certain socio-cultural beliefs; a role in constructing individual and social identities; and a role in preserving and protecting the language itself. In what follows, newspaper language is referred to as the language of news since the issue at stake, to make it easy, is the language of news articles with the exclusion of entertaining and advertisement contents.

2.6.2.1. Newspaper Language Role in Answering Readers' Expectations and Shaping their Opinions

Newspaper social goals as estimated throughout the chapter are based on mediating certain news messages, usually with the aim to influence readers' opinions and receive a feedback that is wished to be positive in the way it exhibits the intended social effects.

Journalism is precisely such a powerful genre of communication. The power of journalistic language to do things and the way that social power is indexed and represented in journalistic language are particularly important to bear in mind when studying the discourse of journalism. Journalism has social effects: through its power to shape issue agendas and public discourse, it can reinforce beliefs. (Richardson, 2007, p. 13)

The influence over readers' opinions is therefore a key to exercise any journalistic social power. In this way, the journalistic language:

can shape people's opinions not only of the world but also of their place and role in the world; or if not shape your opinions on a particular matter, it can at the very least influence what you have opinions on; in sum, it can help shape social reality by shaping our views of social reality.
(Richardson, 2007, p. 13)

Among readers' opinions about society, language resides. In other words, readers, as any other members of society have already developed certain assumptions about their languages or about the languages active in their lives and in their social environment. Then, newspaper language has the power to influence these opinions about the society's standard language, its members' mother tongue(s), as well as the existing foreign languages.

Newspaper reports, news and opinion text have the power to orient and shape any social reality, including language. And newspaper language can effectively: “address populations to do something or to think about something and the most important thing in this function is the reaction made by the receivers”⁴⁰ (El-Cherif and Nada, 2006, p. 20). In this reflection, the two authors consider the discursive role of newspaper language. This language addresses the society member by mediation of a sample of readers and invites them to do something, to change some realities and maintain others or at least to rethink certain existing facts.

Being addressed to a sample of readers, means that newspaper language addresses a predefined readership. Yet, it seems quite easy to choose one’s readership but really difficult and effort consuming to attract their attention and interest in reading a newspaper. Therefore both language and news contents of the newspaper must be adapted to this target readership’s interests and desires to the maximum. News consist of conventions which create communities of readers through their use of language and “the language style of each news is, in fact, an exercise in audience design” (Conboy, 2007, p. 10). And when having its language designed in the audience way, the newspaper has developed for itself precise kinds and various contents’ sections.

What is meant by newspaper kinds here is the difference between tabloids and broadsheets and the intentionally distinct social powers they exercise. Kitis and Milapedes, as referred to by Conboy (2007) speak about the contrast between “the neutral language of broadsheets” and “the emotionally charged language of tabloids” (p. 10). It is the exhibition of gathered and recorded news against a newspaper *model* of entertainment. But “both produce ideological perspectives for their audiences” (Conboy, 2007, p. 10). Therefore, social inequalities of thoughts, interests and ambitions of journalists and newspaper opinion writers in addition to readers and all society members are represented in the languages of these two kinds of newspapers.

The newspapers sections represent the designed division of the texts into fields or types of interest. News are therefore conventionally divided into two categories, commonly

⁴⁰ See the original text in Arabic script (AppendixA, p. 281)

known as *hard news* and *soft news*. The hard news focus on the news themselves, on reporting and informing about day to day events in politics, economy, culture, science and social life. Their language is “the most institutionalized” (Conboy, 2007, p. 9) form of news language in the way it “should be factual, reliable, well-informed and without overt comment of the journalist” (Conboy, 2007, p. 9). On the other hand, the soft news or “the specialised news” (Conboy, 2007, p. 8) cover opinion letters and editorials that focus on writers’ opinions rather than on the news itself. In these specialised opinion sections about sports, fashion, religion, language, and other fields that concern social realities, the communicated opinions are first meant to stimulate reactions, feedbacks, discussions and questionings about each subject matter.

In sum, it is important to conclude that newspapers’ intended social control, and aimed at ideological and ideational orientation of individuals is basically the task of language as adapted to the requirements and realities of the target readers.

2.6.2. 2. Newspaper Language Role in Constructing Social Identities

As aforementioned, about the social power of language, newspaper language plays a pertinent role in constructing social identities rather than merely reflecting them. Newspaper language, as a social power, enjoys a decisive involvement in shaping the identity of society and its members. It helps people to discover who they are and how they should exist in the world. Richardson summarises this idea so convincingly when considering it the essential foundation of the ideas, scope and aims of his book “*Analysing Newspapers*”:

Each of these critiques of journalism, I think misses the bigger picture. This book is founded on the assumption that journalism exists to enable citizens to better understand their lives and their position(s) in the world. Journalism success or failure- in other words, the degree to which it is doing what it should or is letting us down- rests on the extent to which it achieves this fiduciary role: does journalism help you to better understand the world and your position within it?

(2007, p. 7)

Definitely, “to enable citizens to better understand their lives and their position(s) in the world” is the real success of journalists’ and newspapers’ mission. Hence if they fail to complete this mission, their social power is questioned. Language and its realities exist to mould society members’ forming, acceptance and degree of trust in their real identity. A stable and uncritical situation of any people’s language generates a certain conviction about their real identity and how it should be, whereas awkward and uncomfortable linguistic scenery results in difficult, or in some cases impossible, reconciliation between these people and their actual identity. It is worth remembering at this stage how language realities in Algeria create confusion and instability in Algerians’ choice and identification of their real identity in the world. It is therefore time to state without hesitation that Arabic language in Algerian newspaper must have a relevant role in the installation of this needed trust.

2.6.2.3. Newspaper Language Direct Effect on the Standard Language Maintenance and Purity

It is of an enormous importance in this research work to reveal and insist on the effects that newspaper language must have on the standard language. Being basically written in the standard language, it acts in return to influence it. The newspaper language has the power to preserve the status and correct form of the standard language, innovate it along with current needs of society, and influence its speakers’/writers’ use. The newspaper’s language acts then directly on the standard language and peoples’ correct use of its vocabulary, structures and styles as well as the attitudes they develop towards it. In the next lines, explanations and exemplifications of this idea are meant to be provided.

At the level of vocabulary, newspaper language is, or at least must be, creative. Its incessant work on describing and developing opinions about new thoughts and meanings generates journalists’ endeavour to innovation through the use, and why not creation, of specialised vocabulary that first enters their register’s word inventory and finishes by being introduced as new words in the standard language. In this way, newspaper language takes an essential part in the enrichment and modernisation of the language.

Furthermore, another newspaper language vital target is to preserve the standard language. It strives to perpetuate its maintenance as a lively language of the world and it works to spread the correct usage of its structures and meanings. Berry underlines the fact that “the news media in fact have a fairly prescriptive and conservative, rather than innovative and laissez- faire, attitude toward language use standards of society” (2008, p. 187). Written press journalists’ devotion to standard language service has developed prescriptive and conservative attitudes which contribute to the language’s power and continuance. Even more than grammar books, since more vital and communicative, the newspaper language can be a very effective channel of teaching accurate language use and of correcting existing errors in society’s current language use. This language interferes in all aspects of individuals and societies’ language use. It, assumingly, provides the correct grammatical forms and syntactic structures, as it uses words, their meanings and their spellings in the most conventional line.

In sum, newspaper language has a pertinent role in “influencing language styles and accommodating them to standard language ideologies” (Berry, 2008, p.187). Accommodation of society members’ language style to the standard language norms is highly relevant to the process of its protection and preservation.

2.7. MSA in Arab Newspapers: Functional Roles and Social Realities

When the newspaper has established its renowned status among mass media, its language has proved its power and importance in worldwide societies’ mass communication. And as written press journalists have assumed the role of standard language protectors, they have been communicators of profound ideas and ideologies about this language as related to popular and national identities. Then, when the Arab world has embraced newspaper writing and publication, it has made of it a potent social institution.

2.7.1. The Position of Arabic- Language Newspaper in the Arab Society

The mass media were introduced to the Arab world in the eighteenth century. The introduction of newspaper was initiated in the region with the French invasion of Egypt in

1789. The first published titles were “*Courrier de l’Égypte*” and “*Ladica Egyptienne*” (Ouhaybia, 2014, p. 251). However this beginning of newspapers in Arab societies excluded Arabic and was not in the service of Arabs. On the contrary, it was mobilised to reinforce the colonizers’ occupation of the area and communicate the authorities’ instructions and selected news to the populations. On its part, Arab ownership of newspapers had been prohibited and the use of Arabic had been hindered till early nineteenth century when the first journalism in Arabic came to existence. The first newspaper in Arabic originated in Iraq in 1816, as explained by the Iraqi historian Razouk Aissa; though in other sources, the Arabic newspaper’s appearance has been retracted some years, to 1827 when “*Journal El-Khediwi*” appeared (Ouhaybia, 2014, p. 251). Anyway, in both cases the ownership of these two early newspapers was under the Ottoman administration. Therefore, it could not be said that these early newspapers are of Arabs and for Arabs, they were written in Arabic to the people for colonial reasons. But thanks to this, sharp nationalist efforts were heartened to create the real Arab journalism by mid nineteenth century. In 1858, the first “*indigenous newspaper*” (Ihaddaden, 1983) appeared in Lebanon, and was consecutively followed by others in different Arab counties.

Since mid- nineteenth century, the Arab newspaper has powerfully installed its principles and concentrations in Arab countries, and has thus earned a distinguished powerful position in society that seems unique among the worlds’ newspapers since “the Arab world has a more thriving print media than any other regions in the world” (Hammond, 2005, p. 83). Undoubtedly, the newspaper’s prosperous situation in Arab societies has persisted since its appearance as the first mass medium and till the present time, the time when highly developed technologies have inundated these societies with internet and other hi-tech media of easily attained information and updated news. The number of new newspapers in Arabic has enormously increased, and having a daily newspaper in hands has become a tradition inherited from father to son. It is true that the number of newspaper sales is in decrease worldwide; but it is not that alarming in the Arab societies nor is the newspaper deserted by Arabs. Print versions sales are abundant if compared to other regions of the world, and if the hard copies are gradually quit by the new generations, the PDF and electronic versions are solicited; this asserts that technology has even encouraged reading Arabic newspapers online. With respect to this, Rodolpho

Estimo, a member of the online *Arab News Network*, cited a survey conducted by an online Saudi Arabic publication and quoted its editor in chief as follows: “We conducted a survey last December with 30,000 Saudis. About 12,000 participants aged between 15 and 35 or 40 percent of the sample said that they prefer to read news online” (2015, January 28, para. 1). The same author adds that “A Saudi scholar noted that advertisers still announce their products and services in the print media instead of online editions because there is a strong reader base for newspapers” (2015, January 28, para. 4). This sample from the Arab reality can but assert the enormous attachment of contemporary Arabs to newspaper language. Be it printed in hard copies or communicated through websites; no fear, the tradition is preserved and the newspaper is omnipresent. Reasons for the thriving situation of Arabic newspaper are various, but they are not bound only to the people’s thirst to information. The reasons are rather cultural and historical.

What is exceptional in the Arab culture is the unique value of the written word. “The written word in the Arabic language has power and influence over Arabs, perhaps beyond that of other cultural groups around the world” (Hammond, 2005, p. 83). Since the early history of Arabic, writing and reading was connected to literacy, power and influence. In *El-jahilia* period, for instance, poets were so influential and enjoyed a powerful rank in society because of their eloquence (*fasaḥa*) and their pendants (el-muḥallaqa:t), written texts displayed on *El-kaṣba*. With the coming of Islam, reading became more sacred. The first word revealed to Prophet Mohamed, peace be upon him, was “read” (*iqra?*), and since Classical Arabic is the language of Islam, its high value among Arabs is related to its being written. Today, MSA is written by literate Arabs and read by all of them and here again, it stands as a unifying force to them.

Moreover, and historically speaking, the context of newspaper emergence in the Arab region was very tense in the sense of colonial domination and oppression. Arabic newspaper began its journey as a struggle journalism which defends the political and territorial independence of Arabs and which endeavours to protect their civil rights. In the Great Arab Maghreb, for example, Arabic was employed in the newspaper to confront the French cultural, political and religious abuse and to address the native populations, and enlighten their path towards the recovery of their ethnic and religious principles and

independence. Certainly, Arabic newspapers helped very much in the achievement of Arabs' independence which was fully obtained by mid-twentieth century. At that time, MSA was invested to increase literacy rates in the entire region. Then, "large numbers of people have been coming into literacy since mid-twentieth century (Lebanon has the highest rate, with 85 percent literacy; Egypt and Morocco have around 50 percent; and Mauritania has a regional low of 40 percent)" (Hammond, 2005, p. 83). Today, literacy is in a continuous increase. It has exceeded 90% in Lebanon, 80% in Algeria, and it is more than 70% in Morocco and Egypt; whereas in Mauritania, it has increased to over 50% (UNESCO, 2015). The language of Arabic newspapers has contributed a lot in the literacy of Arabs and their mastery of MSA, the language of their common identity and the force of their unity, long persecuted by the Western colonizers. It has also had a say in shaping their world views and nationalist spirits. Today, it is maintaining this mission among literate as well as illiterate groups; because it is true that only literates and intellectuals can read the newspaper but it is wrong to argue that they are the only receivers of its messages, including its language. In this respect, Booth (1992), cited in Mellor (2005) "argues that the actual circulation of newspapers is in fact greater than the paid circulation, since there is a tradition of reading the newspaper content aloud to friends and families" (p.126). For such a reason, it can be properly said that in the Arab world, the newspaper addresses all social categories, young people and adults, intellectuals, literates and illiterates; as it is accessible to rich and poor people because of its affordable price.

2.7.2. Arab Journalists: "Custodians" of MSA and Preservers of the Pan-Arab Identity

Besides the transmission of information, Arabic-language newspaper is engaged in the delicate missions of fixing the people's awareness of their common interests and spreading the feeling of a unified ethnic identity (Ali El-Hadj, 2006). In the Arab world, "media is still perceived as a powerful tool through which students learn about their identity and culture and about the world in which they live" (Abdella, 2006, p. 255). So, it can be said that every newspaper reader is *a student*, a learner who is given more opportunities to discover their own culture and identity amidst which language is fundamental.

There is “a taken-for granted definition of the Arabs as one folk, speaking one language, sharing the same cultural background, the same interests and the same goals” (Mellor, 2007, p. 77). In spite of the dissimilarities in their histories and their social and political conditions, and even with their dialectal diversity, people of the different Arab countries consider themselves ‘brothers and sisters’ ” (Mellor, 2007, p. 81); and preserving this sacred sense of pan-Arab identity counts very much to all Arab governments and nationalists. And since MSA is a key to that, so much trust is ascribed to media. Therefore, journalists are expected to carry the heavy and noble mission of language custodians and protectors. “The code of journalistic ethics approved by the Council of Arab Information Ministries addressed this matter, calling for Arab journalists to act as guardians of the classical language and the literary heritage of the Arab nation” (Mellor, 2007, p. 89). Amidst this site, written media journalists are at the base of this responsibility; and this is due to two main reasons: Firstly, and as founders of the Arab media, they have done very much to the Pan-Arab case and Classical Arabic since the nineteenth century. And secondly, relying on the written form, their language must be receiving more trust and credibility on the part of readers, because the written media, especially in hard news and commentaries, act upon formality and can be corrected by journalists and editors before being communicated, unlike in radio and television programmes when the discourse is usually on-air with fewer opportunities to be reviewed before its reception by the audience.

The Algerian linguist Mila (1999), reminds his readers about the major role journalists have played in the revival of the Arabic language since the nineteenth century, the start of Arabic newspaper. Manifestly, the Arabic language quit its role of a civilized and a world language for centuries, but it powerfully returned to the scene as a language of administration, politics and knowledge (Mila, 1999). After the liberation of Arab countries, journalists joined translators, literary men and educators to restore the position of Arabic and develop its Standard form (MSA) , and it is thanks to them “that we have a language of more than seventeen centuries”⁴¹ (Mila, 1999, p. 117). In this regard, the newspaper, the product of journalists “language custodians” becomes a linguistic institution in itself.

⁴¹ See the original text in Arabic script, (Appendix A, p. 281)

In its early beginning, the nineteenth century, Arab newspaper language was literary in essence. “It was quite close to the language used in the literary genre” (Mellor, 2005, p. 118), because “Al Azhar graduates”, who were the major first Arab journalists, and their “formal education” (Mellor, 2005, p. 118) played an enormous role in the writing and production of newspaper texts. This created an ambiguity and unintelligibility of the communicated meanings among readers, namely those of average level in Classical Arabic. Much criticism began to be expressed, even among editors themselves (Mellor, 2005, p. 118). Therefore, journalists were urged to create a special style, simpler and more intelligible than the literary type, known as “the practical genre” (*el-uslub el-ṣamali*). The latter assembles the characteristics of easiness, simplicity, and flexibility, but is also said to be correct (Ali El-Hadj, 2006, p. 120). MSA, the language of journalism, has acquired its easiness and simplicity through the uncomplicated, concise style that avoids exaggerated expressions and difficult poetic terms like assonance and counterpoint (*el-sedjḥwa el-ṭībaq*) (Ali El-Hadj, 2006, p. 120). It has earned its flexibility through its openness to neologism and the endless introduction of new terms, mainly through translation; thus journalists are said to be instant translators who do not hesitate to add new terms and expressions to the language when their duty to inform the mass population obliges them. As a result, the journalistic style and linguistic efforts were very positive for the existence of MSA; and today, advocates of the present-day case of this language confirm their gratitude to journalists, like when Kennoun notes:

I think that the greatest development that our Arabic language witnessed in the present time was through the journalists and newspaper editors’ hands. This class of pens holders is facing a work that demands daily and varied production which fills in the newspaper’s lines.⁴² (2006, p. 437)

Arab journalists’ language is expected to be of a great help to the Arabic language councils’ roles in the innovation and expansion of MSA (Akli, 2007), especially when the question is about keeping up with the complex era of globalization and incessant technological and ideological progress. However, in this modern life, the many changes that are taking place in Arab societies highly affect the newspaper’s mission. “Crucial here is the fact that modern citizens are in constant movement between the local and the global,

⁴² See the original text in Arabic script, (Appendix A, p. 281)

and across their self-, group and regional or perhaps global identities, hence they express multiple loyalties” (Mellor, 2005, p. 78). The major problems that may be facing journalists, as explained in the first chapter, is the undecided feeling of Arabs, especially the young generations, about their identity. Hence, the linguistic insecurity that is persistent adds a further task to language custodians: it is to re-establish the trust in MSA, the national language of all Arabs, in the time when the Arab citizen “feels a linguistic alienation in his country”⁴³ (Belaid, 2010, p. 17) due to their thirst to embrace the Western culture: “the cultural and intellectual invasion is when the foreign languages challenge the country’s language or attack it through the interest in the dialects, or the call to the search for a lost language, in the name of the revival of local dialects”⁴⁴ (Belaid, 2010, p. 15). This very sensitive situation of MSA, which echoes the lost confidence of Arabs in their entire civilization (Belaid, 2010), puts the journalist in a dilemma: what to do? In which style, and using which words should contemporary readers be addressed?

In describing the same reality about contemporary journalists, Mila quotes Mahmud Taymur in the following passage:

And the writer faces difficulties when describing a place or a table or things like that, till he chooses one of the bitter choices; either he uses the foreign words or the colloquial, or uses hollow eloquent words that people do not feel comfortable to listen to.⁴⁵ (1999, p. 119)

It is noticed that MSA of Arab mass media, including newspapers, is at the mercy of the alarming changes induced by the demands of globalization. On the one hand, it is relied on to be “a force when it conveys the colours of civilization in pure words, and a clean Arabic style, so that no one can deny the role it plays, and the great impact it engenders among the peoples”⁴⁶ (Kessas, 2007, p. 81). Easiness, correctness and enrichment of the language, and the development and protection of its status, are still ensured by the work of different media services, especially in hard news programmes and articles (Khelloufi, 2007). On the other hand, linguistic and stylistic defects are

⁴³ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 281)

⁴⁴ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 281)

⁴⁵ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 281)

⁴⁶ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

increasingly noticed in the journalistic works; and the use of the colloquial and foreign words is progressively present in their discourses, under the pretext of the need to answer the expectation of a varied audience in a world supervised by the Western supremacy. This reality is seriously revealed through Arab televisions and radio programmes, but is less important in newspapers. In Egypt, for example, Haeri (2003) studied the language of the TV channel “*the First*” (*el-oula*); and her results have shown that 85% of the language used in its programmes is in the colloquial. However, Mellor notes that in the same country, newspapers “use the classical language, reserving the vernacular for humorous or sarcastic commentaries and caricatures” (2007, p. 124). This sustains one of the very first ideas of this research work that sees newspaper language the most reliable media product to serve the case of MSA. In this context, Mila explains that the written press “has other conditions to prepare the media texts, so that the journalist is able to revise what he writes and to choose the styles and words that he sees appropriate to the kind of his newspaper readers, and this is what happens most of the time.”⁴⁷ (1999, pp. 124- 125)

Nevertheless, these opportunities of revised and pre- studied texts do not prevent the newspaper articles from enfolding a number of defects; Mila continues:

In spite of that, some journalists resort every now and then to use expressions and words that are intrusive (not in Arabic) and others used in the colloquial, which use has no justification, in our view, except that revealing power which characterises this kind of words and expressions because of its deep implantation in society.⁴⁸ (1999, p. 125)

Though it is written essentially in MSA, the language of contemporary Arabic newspapers occasionally, sometimes recurrently, switches to dialectal Arabic or to a foreign language, namely English and French. Besides, it is not mistake free; some scholars even see that it suffers from weakness and bad style, *errakaka* (El-Khoury, 2005, p. 153). So, isn't it a threat to MSA rather than its being a support?

⁴⁷ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

⁴⁸ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

2.7.3. Defects in the Language of Arabic Newspapers

Actually, this question has been asked recurrently by scholars who tackle the issue of MSA in the Arab media in general. Their views about the present-day situation of MSA in such a vital social institution fluctuate between tolerance and suspicion:

The former is a realization of the need for adjusting to the new communication environment while the latter expresses a fear of losing one's identity by "spoiling/destroying" one's own language. For some, Arab mass media is to be blamed for the "deterioration" in the level of proficiency of Modern Standard Arabic by native speakers. (Abdella, 2006, p. 271)

Therefore, it seems very contradictory to consider Arab journalists, especially in the written press, partly as *guardians, custodians* of MSA and partly as devastators, destroyers of this language, symbol of the Arab unity, nationalism and culture. For this reason, it is worth examining the presence of errors, the colloquial and foreign languages in the journalistic works. This can enable the measurement of the seriousness of problems facing MSA.

2.7.3.1. Linguistic Errors and their Impact on MSA

Being attributed the role of language protection and progress, writing correctly is one of the central concerns of Arab journalists. Thus, "the role of the news language, or MSA, comes to the fore as part of the symbolic power assigned to each journalist" (Mellor, 2007, p. 91). Besides, because MSA is not the mother tongue of any, Arab journalists' care about writing it correctly increases for the sake of transmitting its correct forms (Mellor, 2005) and also to maintain this *symbolic power*. And to consolidate the effectiveness of this heavy task, editors and language correctors join them. Therefore, normally, the newspaper articles go under the process of review and correction before being printed. However, this rigorous course did not safeguard MSA, the language of Arabic newspaper, from linguistic errors in their various types: morphological, grammatical, spelling and repetition mistakes are remarkably noticed by language specialists but also by the newspapers ordinary readers. A considerable number of books and scholarly dissertations

have been written about this contemporary problem. In his book “*el-iṣlam el-ṣarabi wa-nhiar essuluṭat el-lughawia (the Arab Media and the Collapse of the Linguistic Authorities)*”, for example, the Lebanese doctor Nassim El-khourī (2005) warns about a progressive destruction of MSA by the Arab media in general; and the Jordanian doctors Abd El-Halim and Abou El-Aynein (2002) have written a book about the Arabic newspapers’ common mistakes, and have clearly defined the correct morphological, grammatical and spelling rules inspired from the Qur’an and famous grammar books. It is a struggle of such nationalist scholars who have reckoned how much harm can be done to MSA by people who are used to be considered its guardians.

El-Khourī (2005) attributes the fact to the spread of Middle Arabic, which is gaining ground in different fields among users of MSA. According to him, under the pretext of hardness and difficulty of MSA, “the simplification movements” (*haraka:t etteisir*) (2005, p. 152), which emerged in the twentieth century, developed in different Arab countries the middle language, known as the third language and considered also as the language of intellectuals (see Chapter One, pp. 16-21, 27-28). The latter is in fact a number of languages, because suggested solutions have propagated and resulted in “contemporary outcomes that made of the Arabic language a language that is hard to master and maintain its grammatical authorities because it is in a continuous decline”⁴⁹ (El-Khourī, 2005, p. 152). These results can be noticed in the various and contradictory so-called simplifying rules which made “every correctness able to be an error, and every error able to be correct”⁵⁰ (El-Khourī, 2005, p.152).

As Arab journalists are considered major participants in this simplification movement, they are partly responsible for this *collapse* of MSA. In part, in their process of approaching the language to average readers, they have made many changes in MSA, which are fairly positive but, to a certain degree, negative too. And in part, their use of contemporary simplified MSA, or Middle Arabic, has led to the spread of common mistakes as “many people think that the deterioration of Arabic language and the spread of

⁴⁹ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

⁵⁰ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

mistakes come from mass media that have grown and spread and that have earned popularity”⁵¹ (Khelloufi, 2007, p. 112)

Ali El-Hadj (2006) describes the situation of MSA in the contemporary newspaper less dramatically. He sees that “media language, in general, is considered a large complex which includes correctness and mistakes that are assembled through the media tool”⁵² (p. 136). However, he insists on the common mistakes that “perhaps cannot be counted”⁵³ (p.138), as he devotes too much attention to the dangers engendered by “the new journalists”. For him, “there are new journalists in today’s world of journalism who have not only destroyed the lofty construction that Arab journalism pioneers put, but also started to spread indecency”⁵⁴ (p. 132). The result is a poor language, full of mistakes and influenced by foreign languages and the colloquial. And the errors are in a continuous increase, that the contemporary journalists and editors “do not even know the meaning of punctuation. And you find sentences of ten lines that are not separated by any punctuation mark, and you find questions that do not end with a question mark”⁵⁵ (p. 132). Yes, sometimes, punctuation is absent in parts of some newspaper articles, and this can only assert the present-day journalists’ decreased care about their role towards MSA.

Reasons behind the spread of errors in the MSA of newspapers are many. Ali El-Hadj (205, pp. 140-141) cites some of them that can be summarised under three headings:

- 1- The weakness of some journalists at the level of grammar and morphology: And here, it can be added that this weakness may be a result of the little importance given to MSA in the process of these journalists’ professional formation.
- 2- The impact of the colloquial: And here, it is important to recall that MSA is not the mother tongue of any Arab journalist, and because dialectal Arabic is very near to it (see chapter one), they usually use grammatical forms or

⁵¹ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

⁵² See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

⁵³ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

⁵⁴ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

⁵⁵ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

morphological structures that are in fact colloquial but not standard in use. The outstanding example for this is the extensive use of the nominal sentence (el-jumla el-ismia), which is in fact nearer to the colloquial, inspired from the foreign languages' influence over this variety of Arabic; however what is more accurate for an MSA style is the verbal sentence (el-jumla el-fi'ilia).

- 3- The generalisation of the rule: this defect is much related to some journalists' inability to master and apply the different grammar and morphological rules of the language.

In addition to these reasons, suggested by Ali El-Hadj, other very important ones can be added. First, it is crucial to recall that newspaper journalists are bilinguals like most Arab citizens. Their sociolinguistic history has fabricated in them a hybrid linguistic stock, made of the standard, colloquial and foreign languages. Inter-influence between these different varieties usually occur and sometimes result in the overlap of the foreign language grammar or rules over MSA. Second, there is the impact of the growing new media which constitute today an increasing risk to the prosperity and continuance of the newspaper. Consequently, the latter is directing too much care towards finding new ways to resist this critical situation, like the focus on rapid and most updated information, and the rush after advertising as a source of incomes; all this has partly turned away their concern with language itself. A third reason can be related to globalization and contemporary Arab society's needs which has prompted a thorough process of linguistic adaptation and modernisation that has some negative impacts on MSA, as can be seen in the next point.

2.7.3.2. The Use of Foreign Words and their Impact on MSA

To better examine the idea of foreign languages' impact over MSA, it is important to recall that among the basic roles of early Arabic-language newspapers are the enrichment and renovation of the Arabic language. Mellor explains this idea in the following passage:

The emergence of the Arabic-language newspapers during the nineteenth century was an important contribution to MSA, as the intellectuals who ran those newspapers sought to introduce new terms and syntactic structures to the language. Due to their bilingualism, and sometimes even multilingualism, those western-oriented intellectuals transferred a great number of words and phrases into Arabic. (2005, p. 111)

This incessant need to modernise the language has resulted in a continuous process of borrowing and translation of foreign words. However, this has developed in a fearful way to present a real worry about the safety of MSA among nationalist scholars; because the dependence to the Western culture and the fascination of Arabs by the others is becoming clearer today, especially through media language. Mellor explains this situation by quoting Holes (1995): “Today, more than ever, it is in the language of the press, television and radio that external influences on Arabic are most obvious” (2005, p. 118). Evidently, in the present-day, loads of new words and expressions enter the Arabic language dictionaries. This neologism originates from foreign languages, namely English, the language of globalization, advance and technology. Every day, new notions, ideas and information regarding different fields of contemporary life need to be introduced, explained and spread in the Arab societies through their media. Therefore, journalists coin new words in MSA, sometimes instantly, without any wait for the specialised language institutions. The result is translation in different forms (Kessas, 2007, pp. 63-81):

- Through calque or loan translation (*iqtirad'*), like in *iθnia* for *ethnic*, and *dibluma:sia* for *diplomacy*.
- Through coinage or paraphrasing (*iqtibas*), like in: *natihat essaheb* for *skyscraper*;
- Through the word-for-word (literal) translation of entire expressions; like in: “*essayida el-oula*” for *the first lady*, “*idaret bush*” for *Bush administration*, and “*nasib el-ased*” for *the lion’s share* (Mellor, 2005, p. 119).
- Or sometimes, even through the transliteration of foreign words as they are in their original language, like in *بريستيج* (*pristi:j*) for *prestige*, and أفامي (*afami*) for FMI.

Borrowing is viewed a very positive process to the enrichment and modernisation of any existing language. However a number of fearful defects are noticed in the work of Arab journalists, since sometimes, foreign words are used when their Arabic equivalents already exist in the language. For example, the word *internet* is recurrently used in the Arabic language newspapers instead of the “more Arabic” expression *ṣabakat ettawasul el-ijtimaʿi*; and the word *el-ithnia* (*ethnic*) instead of *el-ṣirqia* which is purely Arabic. What sounds most alarming regarding this point is the transliteration of foreign words in Arabic alphabet. In this case, the effort of journalists sounds not in the service of MSA, but for the sake of degrading its position as a powerful and respected language. The fact can rather be assumed as the Arab journalists’ belief in the Western language superiority, therefore the Western culture superiority. The intentional use of written press journalists of foreign words when they already have equivalents in MSA is, to a great extent, a way to establish and deepen the spread of linguistic insecurity in society. Instead of providing ways to reconcile the people with their national and united identity’s language, they are inviting their readers, in a way or another, to question the latter’s validity.

Upon this reflection on borrowing and the use of foreign words in the Arabic-language newspapers, it is important to recall the fact that journalists’ work is in the same time beneficial and disadvantageous. Effectively, it is beneficial because history has recorded these creators’ contribution to the enrichment and modernisation of MSA. Conversely, it is disadvantageous and damaging when this language becomes a threat to its purity and accurate development.

2.7.3.3. The Use of the Colloquial and its Impact on MSA

In fact, questions about the position of Arabic dialects in contemporary Arab society have raised an endless opposition and struggle between linguists, literary men and thinkers, who split between advocates of the dialectal, or colloquial variety of Arabic, and advocates of MSA. Earlier in history, in young independent Arab nations, it could only be heard about the case of *El-fusha* (MSA) and, recalling it again, both people and authorities’ efforts to rise it as a powerful symbol of pan-Arab identity; and media, newspapers, radio and television, were energetically dedicated to such a sacred mission. However, these same

media presently implement their social mission under the impact of the recent opposing views, therefore, their language fluctuate between MSA and the colloquial. In recent days, it has become common and even normal for the Arab audience to receive journalistic works loaded with code switching and full of colloquial expressions. The phenomenon is widespread in television programmes and radio broadcasts, even in news and journalistic topics. Some scholars have developed very negative opinions towards the fact; but others' views are rather optimistic. In fact, despite its drawbacks on the purity of MSA, it is, on the other hand, addressing the receivers' minds and everyday language use which is affected in a way or another by this "mixed Arabic". Their "language of everyday" (the colloquial) is therefore lifted to be nearer to MSA. This hypothesis becomes very rational if one contemplates MSA break into the colloquial varieties' social functions, due to the increase of literacy and also thanks to *the language of intellectuals* that the audience has become acquainted with via mass media.

Nevertheless, the interference of the colloquial in the newspaper discourse is not important if compared to radio and television. The first reason for that is its being written, and the written is more devoted to standard language, especially when the question is about Arabic. In spite of that, El-Khoury (2005) warns about the increasing presence of the colloquial in recent newspaper articles. He relates reasons for that to the competitive situation which imposes the use of colloquial words and expressions on written journalism. The use of the colloquial becomes thus a way to draw the interest of more readers.

In addition to competitive needs, the use of the colloquial depends on the news genre (hard or soft), the nature of the topic, and the target addressees (readers), Abdella explains the same idea as follows: "The use of particular language variety depends on the nature of the topics being handled, the author's ability to effectively employ the varieties to serve his/her themes and the recipients of the message" (2006, p. 265). In fact, the effective use of the two varieties is required in the same way as social norms have divided the social functions of each variety. With respect to this, Abdella resumes his view as follows:

In general, the news reports and analytical articles tend to tackle sophisticated concepts which use specialized

terminology and therefore lend themselves to the standard form. It is different with other topics such as social and cultural commentaries, where the use of dialect and informal language may be justifiable, since these topics tend to address issues that are closely related to people's interests and daily events. (Abdella, 2006, p. 265)

In this point, there is an assumption that in hard news, the use of MSA is recommended because of their seriousness when compared to soft news in which journalists communicate their comments and opinions about the society's everyday happenings and their readers' life concerns. Journalists may also use the colloquial to quote some people's sayings and hence be more expressive about facts and nearer to the readers. Up to this level, the occasional use of the colloquial is acceptable for the sake of being more informative about facts related to the social functions of dialectal Arabic. However, if this exceeds this limit, there will be no good reason for newspapers except the contribution to the dismantlement of MSA.

A third reason for the use of the colloquial in Arabic- language newspapers, is their being a mirror to the sociolinguistic reality of Arab societies already mentioned in the first chapter. In sum, their endless instability related to identity, Arabness, and national independence comes to the fore in an explicit linguistic insecurity. In Arab countries, the clash between the colloquial and MSA is displayed at different degrees. The case of Lebanon and Egypt stands as the most important scene. "Lebanon is a unique case in the region where the question of whether Lebanon is an Arab country or not is still debatable" (Abdella, 2006, p. 266). Many Lebanese citizens, intellectuals or not, do not consider themselves Arabs, and therefore reject MSA as being their official language (El-Khoury, 2005). They, therefore, claim the supremacy of the Lebanese (Arabic) dialect and French, which is a contradiction in itself, simply because of their dialect's being of an Arabic origin. The Lebanese people linguistic insecurity is underlined and is being enhanced by their mass media, including newspapers, which can be considered the first Arab ones advocating the case of the colloquial supremacy over MSA.

In Egypt, the situation is quite different. "Compared with the Lebanese case, Egyptians strongly believe in the "Arabness" of Egypt and for them the use of fushā

(MSA) is a natural fit since Egypt is considered a major centre for contemporary Arab and Islamic culture” (Abdella, 2006, pp. 266-267). Evidently, no one can deny the role Egyptian governments and mass media did for the promotion and prosperity of MSA. However, their strong attachment to their Arabness largely contradicts with the efforts they spend to the spread of the Egyptian dialect. Many Egyptian thinkers and writers claim the dialect to be the official language of the country. “Salama Musa and Louis Awad are among the writers who encourage the use of the vernacular in media and other political, educational and cultural settings” (Abdella, 2006, p. 267). Egyptian people, on their part, largely encourage the idea, because as Abdella underlines: “undoubtedly the accumulated historical and cultural experience of the Egyptian people made them proud of their heritage and obviously the dialect is one way to show this pride” (2006, p. 267). In fact, Egyptian pride about their historical pharaonic civilization has shaped in them a remarkable feeling of uniqueness and superiority, and therefore the superiority of their own dialect. For this reason, their media is mobilised to sustain this pride through MSA- Egyptian Arabic code switching, or the Egyptian simple but refined language of intellectuals as they think. In his article, entitled “*the Place of Media in the Arabic Curriculum*”, Abdella (2006, pp. 253-285) exemplifies the fact, through excerpts of a number of Egyptian newspaper articles loaded with the colloquial.

Nevertheless, the case of Egyptian and Lebanese newspapers, as influenced by their societies’ search for difference, uniqueness and linguistic security, is neither to be generalised nor to be thought of as being of similar characteristics in other Arab regions. In Syria, for example, media, especially newspapers, are rigorously arabised. In this country, thought to be among the leading Arab nations, if not the first one, defenders of Pan-Arab unity and Arab nationalism, government besides its Arabic Language Academy play a major role in the promotion and modernisation of MSA (Bassiouney, 2011).

2.7.4. Levels of MSA Use in the Arab Newspaper

After measuring the situation of MSA in the Arab newspaper, and examining its pros and cons to present-day Arabs’ sociolinguistic reality, it is crucial to underline the fact that this language is neither perfectly pure, secure and correct, nor definitely erroneous,

dependent on foreign languages and affected by the colloquial. Amidst the various works about the Arabic- language newspapers, there is a division between appraising views that show appreciation to journalists' endless contribution to the spread, progress and enrichment of MSA, and suspicious feelings of thinkers who radically view the language of this mass medium as "a plague that contaminates the language of today" (Samarrai, 1979, in Mellor, 2005, p. 118). Nevertheless, it is very realistic to say that this language is reciprocally influencing the situation of MSA and being under the influence of the broader conditions that shape the use and social position of the latter among its people and along with other languages.

In line with the above argument, Ali El-Hadj speaks about "levels of Arabic in the language of Arab mass media"⁵⁶ (2008, p. 143). In his work (2008, pp. 143- 145), he distinguishes between six levels that can be summarised as follows:

1. *The proper MSA level* which is widespread in hard news and religious sections and programmes.
2. *The defective MSA level* that he attributes to the third language, known as the middle language or the language of intellectuals, which is generally too lenient with grammar simplification and interference of the colloquial.
3. *The general colloquial level* which encourages the use of a colloquial variety that can unite the sum of all varieties present in the country.
4. *The local colloquial level* which addresses a precise social category or region, for the purpose of being nearer to their thoughts and interests.
5. *The MSA tinged with the foreign language level* which characterises a standard language, in essence, but mixed with some foreign words.
6. *The colloquial tinged with the foreign language level* that he considers the most disadvantageous and destructive to the situation of the Arabic language.

Considering the newspaper language alone, and because it is MSA in essence, three levels can be selected as representative of its situation. Thus, there is respectively: *the proper MSA level, the defective MSA level, and the MSA tinged with the foreign language*

⁵⁶See the original text in Arabic script, (Appendix A, p. 282)

level. In addition to that, there are mistakes at different levels, essentially grammatical, morphological, semantic, and spelling mistakes that properly add two other essential categories: *the mistake-free MSA level* and *the erroneous MSA level*.

2.8. MSA in the Algerian Newspaper

As an undivided part of the Arab world, the situation of MSA in the Algerian newspaper is of no exception. It has undergone almost the same history and has witnessed therefore the same sociolinguistic conditions. Nevertheless, there are always some particularities that characterise it, as despite the sense of pan-Arabism, there are Arab nations with a plural “s”.

In a conference about the Arabic Language in Algerian Journalism, organised by the Algerian Highest Council of Arabic, on 23 March 2010, Belaid spoke long about the major role that the Algerian journalism, in general, has played in the service of the Algerian people. This role was all informational, educational and linguistic. He confirms that the written press aside has succeeded to fulfil this role, and to keep pace with the newest developments in the worldwide journalistic scene. In this respect, he proudly addresses the audience:

Didn't you get the news about Algerian journalism which occupied the first recognised world ranks, and the first ranks in the African journalism? It was the second (2) and the fifth (5) and the seventh (7) and the tenth (10), and this ranking is issued by a trusted Australian institution.⁵⁷

(Belaid, 2010, p. 245)

According to him, this success in the work of journalists is strongly related to their language (MSA). Definitely, since their early beginnings, during the colonial era, Algerian journalists have focused on language, not only being the key to communicate what they have successfully, but mainly to be professionally engaged in the emancipation of Arabic from the critical situation it was undergoing under the pressure of the French colonizer. Their nationalist spirits engaged them in laborious efforts to improve their capacities in

⁵⁷ See the original text in Arabic script, (Appendix A, p. 282)

MSA. In fact, they succeeded in this mission with the help of their formation in the period's greatest Arab universities *El-Azhar* in Egypt and *EL-zeitouna* in Tunisia. The result was a pure MSA, used in their nation-devoted messages to the Algerian population. In this way, the arabised Algerian newspapers, joined by post- independence national radio and television, have sincerely helped in the Arabic- literacy "mahw el-umia" of many illiterate people, and has joined school to teach generations how to be attached to Arabic as a key element of their cultural independence. In this respect, Belaid remembers well the role Algerian journalists played in his linguistic formation in Arabic, when he writes:

And I witness that the language which is stamped and fixed in my thought is the one released by the brilliant journalists whose tongues were pronouncing their feelings, and this is in the seventies of last century, especially during the transmission of sports' matches, thus, they were the language doctors.⁵⁸
(2010, pp. 249-250)

Belaid gives precision about the fact that in post-independent Algeria (the seventies), the Algerian mass media, including the newspaper, succeeded in printing Standard Arabic in the thoughts of generations, as it guaranteed the spread of its use among them. In fact, it played a strong role in the generalisation of Arabisation policy. Moreover, and always for the sake of serving MSA, Algerian journalists focused on the simplification of their language, in order to secure its intelligibility by readers of different intellectual levels. They have thus contributed to the construction of a middle language, all of an eloquent origin, without causing any negative influence on the status and purity of MSA. Their language, therefore, has never replaced the standard with the colloquial (Algerian Arabic) or the foreign term; but it has enriched it through the investment of these *other* languages in the enrichment of MSA (Belaid, 2010). This occurred, for instance, through the instant adaptation of foreign words loaded with new concepts to Arabic vocabulary.

Nevertheless, despite scholars' claim and assertion of the positive contribution of Arabic-language newspapers to the maintenance and progress of MSA in Algeria, a contradictory reality exists. In present days, these newspapers present numerous language defects, many common mistakes, many language errors, sometimes, even poor styles; the

⁵⁸ See the original text in Arabic script, (Appendix A, p. 282)

fact which triggered the urge of some researchers to tackle language errors in newspapers. Naima Hammou, for instance, has dealt with grammar divergence in Echorouk daily newspaper (2011), and Saliha Khelloufi (2011) has questioned common mistakes in MSA, as present in the Algerian Radio, television and newspaper.

Facts about the situation of MSA in the Algerian newspaper, as already discussed, have asserted its being a sample of the situation of this language in Arab newspapers as such. It is hard, then, to take one position to judge it; since partly, Algerian newspapers have contributed in the spread and maintenance of MSA, in a society long been under the influence of the foreign language (French) and the colloquial (Algerian Arabic); and partly, it has been under the influence of the society's sociolinguistic situation, where MSA dwells in sensitive circumstances, challenged by all globalisation, advocates of French and supporters of the colloquial interference in the standard's social functions.

2.9. Conclusion

Reflections about realities, characteristics and social functions of newspaper language have demonstrated a multitude of ideas about newspapers' position and exercised power on society. These ideas can be arranged in four main notes: First, the newspaper and its language have accompanied humans in their history. Second, the newspaper has managed to establish its prestigious and valuable position among other mass media. Third, newspaper language shapes individuals and societies' opinions and world views. Finally, the newspaper acts directly on the existence and functioning of the standard language.

Newspaper language is profoundly embedded within human history and existence. Since antiquity language has earned an active role in society; it has been vigorously active in transmitting news. Communicating the news was first oral. There was an oral tradition of news telling that resisted ages until the appearance of writing. On such backgrounds, newspaper language spread more and more and its effects on societies grew broader because of a number of historical events, namely the invention of printing and the emergence of liberal ideologies.

Newspaper language has always played a paramount role in constructing and reconstructing identities of individuals and societies. To readers' views, it has broadly developed and conditioned strong ideas about the world as such, and helped thus to position their beings in the world. The identification, but also the acceptance and imposition of one's identity are built around the accurate and successful involvement of this language in the task. Therefore, it can be openly stated that an accurate and reliable newspaper language is and must be in an unending service of the standard language. It is a double work of journalists and copy- editors. It is a must for this language to be carefully written and presented. Therefore journalist' professionalism and copy-editors' rigorous revision of the news articles' linguistic and discursive contents is of a principal weight in directing newspaper language and getting it involved in the most effective influence over the standard language.

As regards the role of the Arabic-language newspaper in the Arab world, it can be briefly said that asserting its role in the establishment of language security, the protection of MSA purity and the spread of its correct use, is a debate in itself. Evidence has shown that while it served a lot in re-establishing the powerful weight of the language in post-independent societies, and in shaping Arabs' nationalist identities, all erected around MSA, it is presently demonstrating numerous language defects that undermine the noble mission long attributed to it, at least by nationalist linguists. The case of the Algerian newspaper language is of no exception. Presently, contradictory views about its use and treatment of MSA are presented by scholars, the fact which leads to wonder if one can even continue to claim that one key for the evolution of MSA in Algeria, and the solving of its problems lies in the hands of newspaper discourse. For this reason, the research carries on with a third chapter, devoted to a study of language defects and realities of two samples from the Arabic-language Algerian newspapers.

Chapter Three

Textual Analysis of Language Defects in the Language of the Algerian Newspaper: the Case of Echorouk and El Khabar

Chapter Three: Textual Analysis of Language Defects in the Algerian Newspaper: the Case of Echorouk and El Khabar

3.1. Introduction

Problems of MSA in contemporary Algerian society are not purely related to the weakness of the language if compared to other advanced languages, as it is not strictly correspondent to its remoteness from the Algerian thoughts if compared to Algerian Arabic. The real problem rests on the defective results of irrelevant methods in the attempt to make it a flexible and easy language that copes with modernity and present-day population needs. These results are reflected in MSA use, which has become crippled by the spread of language errors, foreign language interference, and the intrusion of the colloquial in the so-called *language of intellectuals* or *Middle Language*. All these aspects have contributed to the spread of linguistic insecurity in society.

When seeking ways to rectify this situation, newspaper language comes to the fore. As seen in the second chapter, Arab newspaper journalists are considered MSA's saviors and protectors. But in the same time, they are seen, by many linguists as destroyers, of MSA; and this is due to language errors they make, to the contribution of some of them in the spread of colloquial use through a manufactured Middle Arabic, and to their purposeful use of foreign words and expressions in a context which must be purely Arabic. Under these circumstances and contradictory views about the language of newspapers, the question that imposes itself now is related to the actual situation of MSA, the language of Algerian newspaper: Is it acting positively to its own progress in society and use; or is it contributing negatively to the extension of the already stated language defects? In other words, can MSA in the Algerian newspaper be considered a model to be invested in the service of the prosperity of Arabic in the Algerian society? Key to this sought prosperity is the reconciliation between Arabs and their standard language, the linguistic marker of their identity, through the gradual establishment of linguistic security.

Being a newspaper reader, I have already developed a hypothesis about the topic: Arabic language Algerian newspaper suffers itself from a weakening language defect that, if profoundly treated, would open effective opportunities to get it answer the sought need;

it is the defect of language errors. To prove the validity or the inaccuracy of this hypothesis, the contents of this chapter are consecrated to a textual analysis of two samples, one number from each of the two popular newspapers, Echorouk and El Khabar. The analysis will focus on language defects present in the two samples, including language errors, the use of the colloquial and the interference of the foreign language. The choice has been on two newspapers, not only one, to verify whether the quality of journalistic language and quantity of its defects are the same for all newspapers, and so to avoid generalizing conclusions to the maximum.

3.2. Methodology

The chapter offers a quantitative study of language in use. It is based on data collection from the texts of the two newspaper samples, El Khabar and Echorouk. The date of their edition is Wednesday, 13 May 2015. The choice of this specific number was not done for any purpose, but was rather decided at random, through a haphazard selection of one Echorouk newspaper from a collection of 30 editions of the year 2015. Then, the choice of the second newspaper sample, El Khabar, followed the same date. The emphasis on the same date of edition is based on the presupposition that the two samples would provide reports tackling the same events; and this would give more opportunities to deal with the way their languages channel, more or less, the same events linguistically speaking.

Data collection was realized through the strategy of careful and profound reading of all the reports and columns present in the two samples, with the exclusion of interviews, besides advertisement and leisure sections, because these three forms present specific styles; the interviews report journalists and their interviewees' oral conversations while advertisements and leisure sections use specific vocabulary and grammar forms which usually, but acceptably, do not conform to the norms of MSA. Both newspapers are tabloids of 24 pages, yet the target texts exist on only 14 of them in Echorouk and 13 in El Khabar. The tackled sections of the two newspapers and the number of reports they contain are presented in the next two tables:

The following table shows the number of target texts per page in Echorouk sample. In a total of 92 texts, there are 90 reports and 2 columns. The term "report" rather than

“article” is used, because the journalistic works present in the sample are based on the narration and description of events rather than the journalists’ own analyses of facts.

page	section	number of reports
2	(miscellaneous)	7 (including 1 column)
3	The event	8
4	The event	9
5	The event	5
6	The event	1
7	The event	1
9	The event	1
10	Local	9
11	Local	11
12-13	Sport	18
15	Correspondents	10
17	Society	6
24	(miscellaneous)	7 (including 1 column)
all	/	92

Table 3.1. A Detailed Enumeration of Echorouk Sample Texts

The second table below shows the number of target texts per page in El Khabar sample. In this sample too, there is a total of 92 texts, including 91 reports and 1 column. In it also, the naming “reports” rather than “articles” is present.

page	section	number of reports
2	The Nation	6
3	The Nation	3
4	The Nation	6
5	The Nation	8
9	Economy	5
10	Deep Algeria	10
11	International	5
12-13	Sport	19
15	People's News	9
22	Culture	2
23	The Talk Market	10
24	/ (miscellaneous)	9 (including 1 column)
all	/	92

Table 3.2. A Detailed Enumeration of El Khabar Sample texts

In the textual study of these two samples, the method pursues three stages. First, language defects are listed and scrutinized; then, they are statistically presented; and finally results are tackled in a comparative analysis.

3.3. Sample One: Echorouk Daily Newspaper

Before dealing with language defects in Echorouk sample, it is worth giving a summary about the newspaper itself and the social position it has in Algeria. The newspaper is an independent (non-governmental) tabloid, founded in 1990. According to Hammadi Mohammed, the editor in Chief of the West regional office of Echorouk, interviewed on 19 April 2016, the newspaper employs 70 permanent journalists in Algiers and many others in the 48 wilayas of Algeria. In Oran (the western regional centre of the newspaper), for example, there are 6 journalists; in Constantine (the eastern regional centre of the newspaper) there are 3, in Ouargla 3; and in the remaining wilayas, there are from 1 to 3 correspondents. The newspaper's circulation numbers vary from 400,000 to 500,000

daily, with a very reasonable average percentage of unsold copies of 20% to 30% (Hammadi, 2016, April 19). This fact ranks it in the first position preceding other commercialized newspapers, as it leads to assume that the daily Echorouk enjoys the turnout of the largest readership of the Algerian newspaper. In this respect, Hammadi adds the precision that: “it is possible for one purchased newspaper to be read by more than 20 readers. Just imagine the habitual circulation of one newspaper in a university lecture theatre or in any public place” (Hammadi, 2016, April 19). Evidently, the number of newspaper readers is never exact as it logically far exceeds the number of sold copies. When tackling the point about reasons of the newspaper success in attracting that large readership, Hammadi answered that this is the result of a number of historical achievements of the newspapers’ journalists; starting for instance with the event of 2006, when the former Libyan president El-Kaddafi took to court one of the newspaper’s female journalists, who was imprisoned for six months. The case resulted in much noise in the Algerian society which drew the interest of public opinion to the newspaper itself. A second vital example is explained by Dubai price of the best journalistic work, recently attributed to Echorouk journalist Kada Benammar. And maybe, for Hammadi, the most important success of the newspaper goes back to 2009, with the events of Oum Derman, when the newspaper reached a total ceiling of sold copies that exceeded 2 million copies a day. These pieces of information just assert that Echorouk achievement in being the first popular and largest read newspaper in Algeria does not rest on its treatment of MSA position in the country as much as it is the case for the opportunities seized by its editors and journalists to influence the public opinion.

3.3.1. Language Errors

Today, in the era of speed and rapid information, newspaper journalists cannot evade rapidity in writing articles concerned with competing communication strategies. For this reason, their language cannot steer clear of slips and mistakes that can be acceptable as far as they are moderate and not excessive. However, these mistakes can develop to an alarming menace to language if their seriousness augments and their number increases. Therefore, this part of the research work suggests an assessment of different language errors present in the sample, related to grammar (morphology and syntax), style, and meaning; as it puts forward explanations and corrections of these errors. It essentially

stresses the latter's eventual outcomes of and effects on MSA situation in the newspaper and in the Algerian society as such.

3.3.1.1. Grammatical Errors

This section's aim is centered on the detection of different grammar errors, present in the newspaper sample (Echorouk, 2015, Mai 13). The focus is on words' morphological formation and the way they affect both the texts' syntactic structure and the messages' meanings. In what follows, errors related to verbs, to vowelings and parsing (*iṣra:b*) of words' endings, to the use of singular and plural forms, and to the feminine and masculine gender are examined in the first four points; while mistakes related to the use of the Arabic language definite articles, prepositions, and particles are tackled in the last four points. Some of these errors are considered common mistakes, as described by Abdelhalim and Abou El-Aynein (2002); others are not, they can only be seen as mistakes of inattentiveness.

3.3.1.1.1. The Voweling of Word Endings

In the Arabic language grammar, parsing (*el-iṣra:b*) is of an enormous importance, because the vowelings (*tachki:l*) of word endings determines the functions of words in the sentence and facilitates the understanding of their meanings. Nevertheless, in current MSA use, errors happen recurrently in speech as well as in writing. However, because the phonetic realizations of vowels (*el-haraket*) is unavailable in the written form, potentials to detect parsing defects are reduced, except if the vowels (*haraket*) are written in their turn (the case which generally does not exist in newspaper texts), or in cases of doubling the vowel /a/ (*tanwi:n el-fetha*), or in the different duality morphemes “*ein*” and “*e:n*””, or in the use of plural morphemes “*u:*”, “*u:n*”, “*i:*”, “*i:n*”, as can be noticed in the following errors :

In the first instance that follows, when a number from 11 to 99, is added to a noun (which becomes “*tamyi:z*” in Arabic), the latter must be singular and voweled with doubled /a/ (*nakira mufrad manso:b*) (Abdelhalim & Abou El-Aynein, 2002, p. 169):

بحوزتهم 1980 قرص مهلوس (4)

The two words in “*qors muhalwis*” (drug pill), need their endings to have a doubled /a/ (*fatha munawana*), as mentioned in the following correction:

بحوزتهم 1980 قرصا مهلوسا

In this example, the word “*ṭoroq*” and its adjective (*sifa*) “*d’ayyiqā*” are not preceded by the equivalent of the definite article “*el*”.

جعلت من مسالك الحي طرق ضيقة (10)

Therefore as “*nakira*”, they must be voweled with a doubled /a/, “*ṭoroqan d’ayyiqatan*”, and written as follows:

جعلت من مسالك الحي طرقا ضيقة

The same rule applies to the following examples:

Here “*kursi mutaḥḥarrik*” and “*sarir ṭibbi*” in:

حتى يمنحوه كرسي متحرك أو سرير طبي (11)

become “*kursian mutaḥḥarrikan*” and “*sariran ṭibbian*” :

حتى يمنحوه كرسيًا متحركًا أو سريرًا طبيًا

In this example, “*umu:r ṭibbiya*” becomes “*umu:ran ṭibbiyatan*”. Therefore, the sentence:

لا يزالون يجهلون أمور طبية (11)

is correctly written as follows:

لا يزالون يجهلون أمورا طبية

In this sentence, the object (*maḥḥu:l bih*) “*mi:ka:ni:ki*” has a wrongly voweled ending:

المير اختار ميكانيكي لتولي مهمة إصلاح عتاد البلدية (11)

As an object, it should have a final /a/ (*fathā*), and the word becomes “*mi:ka:ni:kian*”:

المير اختار ميكانيكيا لتولي مهمة إصلاح عتاد البلدية

In the next case, “*ḥata:d kahraba:ʔi*” is coordinated (*maḥḥtu:f*) to “*ajhizatan*”, which is an object ending with a doubled (*munawwan*) /a/:

رفض نائب رئيس المجلس (...) أجهزة وعتاد كهربائي (11)

“*ḥata:dan kahraba:ʔian*” is the correct form to be written in MSA as follows:

رفض نائب رئيس المجلس (...) أجهزة وعتادا كهربائيا

It is basic in Arabic parsing that the adjective (*sifa*) should follow its noun in its singular, dual or plural form, as in its voweled (*techki:l*). The mistake in the following case goes under this rubric:

اصطدام سيارتين مختلفتا النوع (10)

The adjective's duality morpheme "a:" in "*muḫtalifata:*" is, therefore, to be replaced by "ei", because it is in the dual form (*muḥanna*), voweled with /a/ (*mansu:b*):

اصطدام سيارتين مختلفتي النوع

The next example concerns the Arabic nominal sentence when preceded by "*ka:na wa aḫawa:tuha*". The nominal sentence in Arabic is composed of a starting word (*mubtadaʔ*), and a second word, known as *eḫabar*. In isolation, both *elmubtadaʔ* and *eḫabar* end with /o/ (*d'amma*). *ka:na*, the equivalent of *was*, and other auxiliaries which have its same functions, turn *eḫabar*'s ending vowel from an /u/ to an /a/ and it becomes "*ḫabar ka:na*".

In the example shown below, *ḫabar ka:na*, "*kahl*" (an average-aged man) does not end with the vowel /a/. It is clear from the absence of the letter "ا" that should be added to the word to mark the doubling of /a/ (*tanwi:n elfathḥa*):

كان الضحية كهل ... (11)

ḫabar ka:na is thus, not preceded by "el" (therefore *nakira*), ending with /en/:

كان الضحية كهلا ...

The next case concerns the addition (*el-id'afa*) in Arabic grammar. In this case, when a noun is joined to another noun, to add to its meaning, the first becomes "*mod'af*" and the second becomes "*mod'af ileih*". The noun "*el-mod'af ileih*" always ends with an /i/ (*majru:r bilkasra*).

In this expression, the mistake relates to the noun ("*el-mod'af ileih*") "*na:qilu:n*", which ends with /u:n/ that replaces /u/ in the plural:

لا تزال معاناة ناقلون تتركوك... (11)

The correct form is that it ends with /i:/, and the sentence should become:

لا تزال معاناة ناقلي تتركوك...

The letter "n" is deleted from "i:n", that replaces /i/ in the plural form, because "*naqili:*" is "*mod'af*" on its part.

Related to word endings, Abdelhalim and Abou El-Aynein (2002), point at a common mistake that is widespread among users of MSA. It is about *el-ism el-manqu:s*, a noun that ends with “*yaʔ*” (ي) preceded by an /i/ vowel (*kasra*). If this noun has not an affixed “*el*” (*nakira*), and should be voweled with an /u/ (*d’amma*) or an /i/ (*kasra*), the ending “*yaʔ*” (ي) letter is omitted. If *el-ism el-manqu:s* has “*el*”, as a prefix, its word ending remains the same and “*yaʔ*” (ي) is kept in all parsing situations.

It has been discovered that this common mistake touches the language of the newspaper sample at hands, since in the few instances of the use of this type of *el-ism el-manqu:s*, the same error appears:

The word in bold should have an ending /i/:

وكان افتتاح الجلسة بتقديم محامي المتهم (6)

The ending “*yaʔ*” (ي), must therefore be omitted:

وكان افتتاح الجلسة بتقديم محام المتهم

The same situation occurs in this example :

أول استدعاء وصله من قاضي التحقيق للشراقة... (7)

With the omission of the ending “*yaʔ*” (ي):

أول استدعاء وصله من قاض التحقيق للشراقة...

In the next three examples, the nouns in bold have an ending with /u/ vowel, therefore:

اعتبر محامي المتهم... (9)

Is to be corrected to:

اعتبر محام المتهم...

And:

الثاني محاذي لمسجد (10)

corrected to:

الثاني محاذ لمسجد

And:

بعدهما وضع قاضي التحقيق... (24)

becomes:

بعدهما وضع قاض التحقيق..

3.3.1.1.2. Errors Related to Verbs

Related to verb formation, two important problems are identified: the first has to do with the correspondence between subjects and their verbs, whereas the second is related to transitive and intransitive verbs.

Concerning subject-verb correspondence, it is known in the basic Arabic-language grammar principles that, apart from tenses, the verb and its subject must agree in their singular, dual and plural forms, as in their masculine and feminine gender. If this rule is broken, then it becomes a matter of defect in the use of MSA. In the newspaper sample, four cases have been identified:

The first case appears as follows:

وحتى اتحاد العاصمة، إن خسرت ... (13)

The verb “*χasira*” (*lost*) in the feminine (*χasirat*) does not correspond to the subject “*ittihad el ḥasima*” (*the capital’s union*), which is masculine. The correct form is therefore « *χ asira* », as shown in the following correction:

وحتى اتحاد العاصمة، إن خسر ...

The same thing occurs in the second case:

قد ينجم عنها عودة التوتر بالمنطقة (11)

The verb “*yanjumu*” (*result*), in the masculine, does not match with “*ḥawdati*” (*return*).

And the correct form is:

قد تنجم عنها عودة التوتر بالمنطقة (11)

In the third instance, *yanjaru* (*result*) is in the masculine gender, that cannot agree with the plural subject “*a:θa:r*” (*traces*) which is considered as feminine:

... التي ينجر عنها آثار وخيمة (17)

The correction is:

... التي تنجر عنها آثار وخيمة

This example concerns the personal pronoun attached to the verb “*ra:wada*” (*haunted*):

وبعد أن راودها الشك في مكان توقفها اقترب منها أعوان الجمارك (15)

The pronoun is in the feminine singular “*ha*” while it should be in the plural “*hum*”:

وبعد أن راودهم الشك في مكان توقفها اقترب منها أعوان الجمارك

As regards verbs transition, there is a common mistake, used even among intellectuals and journalists, as Abdelhalim and Abou El-Aynein explain. The grammatical rule says that “the intransitive verb transits to an object if one of its letters is doubled (d’oʃʃifa) or if the letter “ʔ” is added to it”⁵⁹ (2002, p. 114). The obtained object becomes voweled with /a/. And the transitive verb obtains a second object if it undergoes the same process. Nevertheless, people commonly make the mistake when adding an object to these verbs: they generally compose the transition with the use of prepositions (*horu:f el-jar*). Three instances about this common error can be identified in the sample:

The intransitive verb “*ʃajila*” (hurried) becomes transitive when the “*j*” is doubled. Therefore, the addition of the object “*i:fa:d*” (sending) through the preposition “*bi*” is wrong:

مما عجل بإيفاد لجنة للتفتيش (10)

The correct form is therefore “*ʃajjala i:fa:da*” :

مما عجل إيفاد لجنة للتفتيش

The same mistake is present in the next example:

أدخلوه مباشرة لغرفة الإنعاش (11)

The correct form is :

أدخلوه مباشرة غرفة الإنعاش (11)

In the last case, the same error happens but with the root (*masdar*) “*infa:q*” of the verb “*anfaqa*” (spent), which is originally transitive and needs an object voweled with /a/ :

The following is wrong:

إنفاق الجزائري لنصف راتبه... (4)

And the correction is:

إنفاق الجزائري نصف راتبه

⁵⁹ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

There is also a common mistake that concerns the verb *za:la* (زال), which when negated in the future, *la yazalu* (لا يزال), means “*is still*”. There is a widespread common mistake when the adverb “*la*” is added to the past *za:la* (زال), knowing that, in MSA, this negating adverb cannot be added to verbs in the past.

Despite the grammarians’ assertion of the persistence of this error among users of MSA, only one case related to this issue is identified:

مؤكدين أن أكبر طريق في الجزائر وفي شمال القارة الإفريقية لا زال غير آمن (2)

And the correct form must be:

مؤكدين أن أكبر طريق في الجزائر وفي شمال القارة الإفريقية لا يزال غير آمن

Nevertheless, the sample contains a number of other occasions in which “*la*” is added correctly to the verb “*yazalu*”, as in:

لا يزال حاملو الشهادات الجامعية... (15)

كان ولا يزال يشتغل على إفقار الدول الإفريقية (24)

ما يزال مرتبطا معه (12)

This fact affects positively this newspaper’s language, as it helps readers discover the correct form of one of the common mistakes in MSA.

3.3.1.1.3. Errors Related to the Singular, Dual and Plural Forms

In the Arabic language, in addition to verbs, nouns, their pronouns, adjectives and determiners should also cohere in their singular, dual and plural forms. Nevertheless, a number of errors that concern this grammatical point are detected in the newspaper sample.

In this first example, the *mudaf ilaih*, “*mawta:*” (deads) in plural, does not cohere with the *mudaf* “*ahl*” (relatives) in singular; whereas in Arabic grammar, the two nouns should correspond in their singular, dual or plural form:

حيث ضيع الكثير من أهل الموتى أشياء ذويهم (2)

Mawta (deads) have “*ahali*” (relatives) in the plural form as mentioned in the following correction:

حيث ضيع الكثير من أهالي الموتى أشياء ذويهم

In this second example, the singular pronoun “*hi*” (*d’amir muttasil*), affixed to “*maha:mi*” (*missions*), does not correspond to the noun “*asatiḏa*” (*teachers*), which is in the plural form:

خاصة وأن العديد من الأساتذة اشتكوا في التقارير من مشاكل تعيق أداء مهامهم (4)

Therefore, it should be replaced by the plural pronoun “*him*” (*maha:mihim*), and the sentence is to be corrected to:

خاصة وأن العديد من الأساتذة اشتكوا في التقارير من مشاكل تعيق أداء مهامهم

In the following case, the singular determiner “*ellaḏi*” (that) does not correspond to the noun it refers to, “*elmud’a:ribi:n*” which is in the plural form.

... كبح المضاربين الذي يستغلون شهر رمضان... (4)

The plural determiner “*ellaḏina*” (that) is the proper word:

كبح المضاربين الذين يستغلون شهر رمضان

The feminine singular adjective (*sifa*) “*elmutakarrira*” (the repeated) does not match with the masculine singular noun “*el-inqitaṣ*” (the cut):

الانقطاع المتكررة (10)

The author intended to speak about “*el-inqitaṣ:a:t*” (cuts), as in the following correction:

الانقطاعات المتكررة

In the next case, one boy, “*ṭifl*”, cannot be carried to the hospital by more than one ambulance, “*sayyara:t elisṣa:f*”:

سيارات الإسعاف التي وصلت على التو حاملة طفلا (11)

The correct word is the singular “*sayyarat elisṣa:f*”:

سيارة الإسعاف التي وصلت للتو حاملة طفلا

In this expression:

بمشاركاتها أربع مرات في المونديال (13)

The participation (*mucha:raka*), which is the root (*masdar*) of the verb “*cha:raka*” happened four times. Therefore, the correct form is to write this word in the singular, as follows:

بمشاركتها أربع مرات في المونديال

In the following example, the noun “*ṣaha:da*” (a diploma) does not correspond to “*ha:milu:*” (holders):

حاملو شهادة الدراسات الجامعية (15)

“*ha:milu: ṣaha:da:t*” (holders of diplomas) is the more appropriate expression:

حاملو شهادات الدراسات الجامعية

3.3.1.1.4. Masculine and Feminine Gender

As in the case of the singular, dual and plural forms, nouns should cohere in gender, with their corresponding adjectives, pronouns, determiners and related nouns, for the construction of coherent syntactic structures. Seven mistakes related to this issue are noticed in the newspaper sample.

In the first example, “*erramia*” (aimed at) is in the feminine gender, while it is supposed to be an adjective (*sifa*) of “*el-ittifa:q*” (the agreement), which is masculine:

...حسب الاتفاق مع وزارة التجارة منذ 25 أبريل 2012 الرامية إلى العودة للتسمية القديمة (4)

Here, punctuation also plays an important role in fixing the gender of the noun and its *sifa*. The masculine “*errami*” replaces “*erramia*”, and punctuation is added for better understanding of the message’s meaning:

...حسب الاتفاق، مع وزارة التجارة منذ 25 أبريل 2012، الرامي إلى العودة للتسمية القديمة

In the second example, “*tawḥi:diha*” (its unification) is feminine, while it is coordinated (*maṣṭu:f*) to the preceding noun and pronoun “*naja:ṣatihi*” (its efficiency), in the masculine, which are preceded in their turn by a masculine “*taṭwi:rihi*” (its development):

...إعادة النظر في منهجية العمل الرقابي لتطويره و نجاعته وتوحيدها (4)

As a correction, “*tawḥi:diha*” is changed to the masculine (*tawḥidihi*):

...إعادة النظر في منهجية العمل الرقابي لتطويره و نجاعته وتوحيده

In the next three cases, the word in bold is an adjective (*sifa*) that opposes the gender of its noun (*el-mawsu:f*):

The masculine “*elχa:š*” (specialised) does not correspond to the feminine “*χia:da:t*” (clinics) in:

...أغلقوا عياداتهم الخاص (4)

Therefore, “*elχa:šša*” must replace it:

...أغلقوا عياداتهم الخاصة

In this example, the word “*eθθa:ni*” (the second) in masculine, does not correspond to “*eθθabχa*” (edition) in the feminine:

الطبعة الثاني للفيلم القصير (11)

The feminine “*eθθa:nia*” replaces it:

الطبعة الثانية للفيلم القصير

In this sentence, “*kabi:ratan*” replaces “*kabi:ran*”, as in the following:

... سيجلب لهم أضرارا كبيرا مستقبلا (12)

corrected to :

... سيجلب لهم أضرارا كبيرة مستقبلا

In the last two cases, gender rules in MSA, concern the determiners “*ellaði*” in masculine, and “*ellati*” in feminine.

Here, the masculine noun “*el-iħtijaj*” (the protest) needs a masculine determiner “*ellaði*”, not the employed feminine one “*ellati*”:

بيان الاحتجاج التي تسلمت الجريدة نسخة منه (11)

And the correction is:

بيان الاحتجاج الذي تسلمت الجريدة نسخة منه

In this sentence, “*ellati*” does not cohere with the expression in masculine “*el-χated el-kadi:m*” (the old materials):

أصدر الوزير تعليمات للشروع في جرد العتاد القديم التي وجد أن بقاءه بمختلف المؤسسات الصحية أصبح يشوه منظرها (4)

The correction is:

أصدر الوزير تعليمات للشروع في جرد العتاد القديم الذي وجد أن بقاءه بمختلف المؤسسات الصحية أصبح يشوه منظرها

The masculine determiner “*ellaði*” replaces the mistake.

3.3.1.1.5. The Use of the Prefix (Definite Article) “el”

In MSA, the prefix “el”, plays the role of the definite article “the”. When added to the noun, the latter is *muṣarraḥ* (which means already identified and defined) and when “el” is absent, the noun becomes “*nakira*” (indefinite).

With regards to the use of “el”, the confusion between the descriptive case (*essifa and elmawsu:f*) and the addition (*el- mudhaf and el- mudhaf ileih*) are two main problems that face users of MSA; and ,seemingly, journalists are of no exception, given the cases exposed below.

Briefly “*el-mudʿaf*” (the added-to noun) is *nakira and is defined (muṣarraḥ)* through the addition (*idʿafa*) of a second word (*el-mudʿaf ileih*). The next four cases do not conform to this rule. And the word in bold in each situation is a “*mudhaf*” that does not need “el”:

“el” in “*el- ṣa:m*” (*the year*) is wrongly employed in this sentence:

كان قد أدين بسنتين سجن غير نافذة العام 2007 (7)

“el” deleted, and the sentence corrected:

كان قد أدين بسنتين سجن غير نافذة عام 2007

The same case with “el” in “*el-qaru:ra:t*” (the bottles):

وحدة تعبئة القارورات غاز البوتان (10)

“el” deleted, and the phrase corrected:

وحدة تعبئة قارورات غاز البوتان

The same situation happens in “*el-mutaṣaddidati*” (the diverse), which should be *nakira* :

للعيادة المتعددة الخدمات (11)

“el” deleted, and the phrase corrected:

للعيادة متعددة الخدمات

“el” is wrongly used in this expression too:

أمام اللجنة المتساوية الأعضاء (15)

“el” in “*el-mutasawiati*”(the equal) is omitted:

أمام اللجنة متساوية الأعضاء

The next two examples concern the descriptive case (*essifa wa el-mawsu:f*). The adjective (*essifa*), follows the described noun (*el-mawsu:f*) in its number (singular, dual or plural), in its gender, and also in its being defined (*muṣarrraf*) or not (*nakira*). The next two examples concern this case (*essifa wa el-mawsu:f*):

In the first phrase, the word “*el-baqariyi*” (the bovine) is *sifa* (adjective) to the noun “*nawf*” (kind) which is wrongly used as *nakira*:

أما بالنسبة للحوم المجمدة من نوع البقري... (10)

Both words should have an affixed “*el*”, since there is one definite (*muṣarrraf*) kind of bovin meat (*ennawfi el-baqariyi*):

أما بالنسبة للحوم المجمدة من النوع البقري...

In this example, the *sifa* (adjective), “*mukallaf*”, appears *nakira* (undefined), while *el-mawsu:f* (the defined word), “*erraʔi:s*” is *muṣarrraf* (defined):

نائب الرئيس مكلف بالإدارة (11)

Then, “*mukallaf*” necessitates the affixation of “*el*” (*el-mukallaf*):

نائب الرئيس المكلف بالإدارة

Another problem in the use of “*el*” concerns its attachment to numbers. It has been noticed in the newspaper sample that the numbers are rarely written in letters. Reasons behind this can be related to the nature of newspaper language style which necessitates rapidity and conciseness (see more details in chapter two); but they can also be the result of journalists’ need of easiness in writing and in being read, when avoiding errors in writing numbers in Arabic letters. Earlier researches’ attention has been drawn to these errors related to the correct writing of numbers in letters (Abdelhalim & Abou El-Aynein, 2002; Belaid, 2010; Hammou, 2011). They have been considered as common mistakes. But, at present, no mistake related to that has been noticed, since the few instances are correct while the largest part of them is written in numerals. If the case is so, can it be considered a progress in the MSA of newspaper?

Nonetheless, writing the number in numerals has called my attention to the absence of “*el*”, attached to the number, when required. This is illustrated in the two examples below:

Here, the two words in bold are read “*famina sitta*”:

فمن 6 الذين قضي عليهم (6)

While they have to be correctly read “*famina ‘sitta*” (stress on /s/), with the presence of “el”, as written here:

فمن الـ6 (الستة) الذين قضي عليهم

In this case, the first number (12) is correctly preceded by “el”, while the second (22) is not. “*eθθani- ṣafar wa iθnan wa ṣifru :n*” is a wrong phrase:

مصالح الأمن الحضري الـ12 و 22 (11)

The prefix “el” has to precede 22, being “*maṣṭuf ṣalaih*” (coordinated) to “*el12*”:

مصالح الأمن الحضري الـ12 والـ22

The correct phrase is: “*eθθani- ṣafar wa eθθani wa ṣifru:n*”.

3.3.1.1.6. Errors in the Use of Prepositions and Particles

Among MSA users, grammar errors related to the correct choice and use of prepositions and particles are widespread. They are considered as common mistakes that are present in the speech and writing of people, even intellectuals and journalists (Abdelhalim & Abou El-Aynein, 2002). In this section, there is an emphasis on the presence of these mistakes in the newspaper sample.

3.3.1.1.6.1. Errors in the Use of Prepositions (*huru: f el-jar*)

Arabic prepositions (*huru:f eljar*) are words like *ṣala, ila, fi:, bi, li, mina, ṣan*, and many others. These prepositions have different functions to determine the place, time, source, reason and many other situations. For the reason of their diversity in meanings and functions, the use of Arabic prepositions shows different errors. The newspaper sample contains an important number of these errors. And, to facilitate their examination in the following, the range of detected mistakes is divided and demonstrated with respect to three main categories, respectively described as: the use of prepositions in situations where they are not needed, the absence of prepositions when needed, and errors in the use of the right preposition.

The next nine detected cases exhibit the use of prepositions in situations where they are not needed:

In the first example, "*fi*" (in) is not needed for the addition of an object to the transitive verb "*ḥasama*" (decided):

اسم أويحيى كخليفة لبن صالح صنع الفارق و حسم في عملية التوقيعات (3)

The correct sentence is:

اسم أويحيى كخليفة لبن صالح صنع الفارق و حسم عملية التوقيعات

In the second example, the same error occurs with the root (*masdar*) of the transitive verb "*stankara*" (denounce):

كما عبرت عن استنكارها من الانحراف (4)

The verb "*stankara*" needs an object with the ending vowel /a/. Therefore, the preposition "*mina*" is to be deleted before "*el-inhiraf*" (the aberration), as in the following:

كما عبرت عن استنكارها الانحراف

In the third instance, it is also the same error. The preposition "*bi*" is not needed. It is correct to say "*qara:r manḥ*" not "*qara:r bi manḥ*" (the decision to give):

جراء قرار الوالي زوخ بمنحها مجانيا (4)

Here is the grammatical correction of the expression:

جراء قرار الوالي زوخ منحها مجانيا

In the next case, the word "*ma:*" (*that*) introduces the result of "*intifa:r el-ammra:d*":

انتشار الأمراض (...) في الدول المصدرة للحوم الحمراء، بما قلص من حجم استيرادها (10)

It is wrong to precede it with the preposition "*bi*". Here is the correction:

انتشار الأمراض (...) في الدول المصدرة للحوم الحمراء، ما قلص من حجم استيرادها

The preposition "*ʕala*" is wrongly preceding the noun "*masa:fa*" (distance), in this clause:

... التي تبعد عن الولاية على مسافة 98 كلم (10)

In the correct use of MSA, "*tabʕudu masafata*", not "*tabʕudu ʕala masafati*", is acceptable:

... التي تبعد عن الولاية مسافة 98 كلم

In the following case, the noun "*tasli:ti*" is mud'af that adds to the mud'af ilayh "*imkaniati*"

(possibility):

مع إمكانية لتسليط عقوبة قاسية في حقها (12)

In the addition (*el-idafa*), there is no need of a preposition; therefore "li" must be omitted as shown in the following correction:

مع إمكانية تسليط عقوبة قاسية في حقها

To indicate the complement of time, there is no need to add a preposition in cases like the following:

تبدأ في نهاية شهر ماي (24)

The preposition "fi" is wrongly added to the clause; and the phrase "*tabda?u nihayata*" (*starts in the beginning of*) is the correct form, as shown below:

تبدأ نهاية شهر ماي

The verb "yod'tarru" (*are obliged*) has *el-mard'a* (*the ill people*) as a subject. The preposition "bi" is therefore wrongly attached to it in the next clause:

...يضطر بالمرضى الوقوف لساعات (11)

However, another preposition "li" is required to identify what the ill people are obliged to do (*lilwuku :fi*):

...يضطر المرضى للوقوف لساعات (11)

In other cases from the sample, prepositions are absent in situations when they are needed, like in:

رئيس المجلس الشعبي الولائي وهران (3)

; "li" (*of*) is needed to determine the possessive case "*li wahra:n*" (*of Oran*):

رئيس المجلس الشعبي الولائي لوهرا

The preposition "li" is also missing in the next two examples:

...ما يفتح الباب على مصراعيه مشاكل لا تنتهي (10)

"*ma fa:kil*" (*problems*) corrected to "*li ma fa:kil*" (*to problems*):

...ما يفتح الباب على مصراعيه لمشاكل لا تنتهي

And in :

الطريق الرابط مدينة سعيدة ببلدية الحسانة (10)

"*madi:nata*" corrected to "*limadi:nati*":

الطريق الرابط لمدينة سعيدة ببلدية الحساسنة

In this case :

وقع، يوم أمس الأول، طريق رأس العين (10)

The preposition “*bi*” (*in*) is needed to introduce the complement of time “*bi țari:ki*” (*in the road of*).

وقع، يوم أمس الأول، بطريق رأس العين

In this last case:

حيث تمكن الأخصائيون تسليط الضوء على أشكال العنف (17)

The preposition “*min*” is missing, since the correct form is to say “*min tasliti d'daw?i*” (*to shed light*) :

حيث تمكن الأخصائيون من تسليط الضوء على أشكال العنف

“*min*” here means “to”.

Errors in the use of the right preposition have been detected in sixteen (16) occurrences. Some of these errors are explained in the following, while the others are just listed, with their corrections emphasized in bold type.

In the first case:

أما في أعضاء الأمانة الوطنية... (3)

“*min*” instead of “*fi*” is to be used to refer to “*min a?d'a:ʔi*” (*among the members of*), as in the following :

أما من أعضاء الأمانة الوطنية...

In this example :

رد مساهل، على دعوة رئيس الحكومة المغربية عبد الإله بن كيران، للمجتمع الدولي بالقيام بوساطة بين بلاده والجزائر(3)

The mistake does not concern only the preposition “*bi*”, but there is also a problem of punctuation that affects the form and meaning of the passage. Commas (shown in bold type) have to change their positions for a complete correction, as shown in the following:

رد مساهل على دعوة رئيس الحكومة المغربية، عبد الإله بن كيران، للمجتمع الدولي إلى القيام بوساطة بين بلاده والجزائر

The other cases about the choice of prepositions are:

حيث أحيل المدير الولائي للأشغال العمومية للتقاعد (10)

“*uḥi:la (...)*littetaka: *ʕodi*” corrected to “*uḥi:la (...)* *ila etaka: ʕodi*” (brought to retirement):

حيث أحيل المدير الولائي للأشغال العمومية إلى التقاعد

...التي يروج لتكسيروها الأسعار بما يصل بها إلى 600 دج أو أقل (10)

“*bima: yašilu biha ila*” corrected to “*ila: ma: yašilu biha ila*” (to what leads it to...)

...التي يروج لتكسيروها الأسعار إلى ما يصل بها إلى 600 دج أو أقل

تؤدي في المستقبل لما لا يحمد عقباه (10)

“*lima*” corrected to “*ila: ma:*” (to):

تؤدي في المستقبل إلى ما لا يحمد عقباه

تنقلنا لمديرية البناء والتعمير (10)

“*tanakalna: limudi:riyati*” corrected to “*tanakalna: ila: mudi:riyati*” (we moved to the directorate):

تنقلنا إلى مديرية البناء والتعمير

صرح رئيس ماستر السمعي البصري غمري بن عمر في كلمته على أن الهدف من هذا المهرجان ... (11)

“*ʕala: anna*” corrected to “*bi anna*” (that):

صرح رئيس ماستر السمعي البصري غمري بن عمر في كلمته بأن الهدف من هذا المهرجان ...

فإنهم يوجهون رسالة لجميع السلطات المعنية بالقطاع بالتدخل العاجل (11)

“*bi ettadaḥuli*” corrected to “*littada ḥuli*” (to intervene):

فإنهم يوجهون رسالة لجميع السلطات المعنية بالقطاع للتدخل العاجل

هذا ما وقفت عليه الشروق (11)

“*ʕalaihi*” corrected to “*ʕindahu*” (at it):

هذا ما وقفت عنده الشروق

...للوقوف على الأوضاع المتردية هناك (11)

“*ʕala: elawd'a:ʕ*” corrected to “*ʕinda elawd'a:ʕ*” (at the states):

...للوقوف عند الأوضاع المتردية هناك

تجرؤ أحد أقارب المريض بافتحام حجرات المرضى (11)

“*biqtiḥa:mi*” corrected to “*ʕala: qtiḥa:mi*” (to break into):

تجرؤ أحد أقارب المريض على اقتحام حجرات المرضى

التأكد بأن غربي غير معاقب (12)

“*ettaʔakud biʔanna*” corrected to “*ettaʔakud min ʔanna*” (make sure that):

التأكد من أن غربي غير معاقب

مطالبة البنوك العمومية إلى التعاون مع البنك المركزي (17)

“*ila: etta:wuni*” corrected to “*bitta ʕa:wuni*” (with the help) :

مطالبة البنوك العمومية بالتعاون مع البنك المركزي

المباراة التي جمعت شباب قسنطينة أمام نصر حسين داي (13)

“*jamaʕat (...):ama:ma*” corrected to “*jamaʕat (...):bi*” (joined with) :

المباراة التي جمعت شباب قسنطينة بنصر حسين داي

وقد عجز الأطباء لإعادة النظر لها (17)

“*li iʕa:dati*” corrected to “*ʕan iʕa:dati*” (to return):

وقد عجز الأطباء عن إعادة النظر لها

In this last case, the sentence needs corrections at four levels: the verb “*ad'a:fa*” (added) does not cohere with the semantic meaning of the passage, since “*ʕala:*” is used in the wrong place, and “*li*” needs to be added to “*takwi:ni*”:

وأضاف المخرج الكبير على هامش حفل الافتتاح على ضرورة العمل لتكوين وتأهيل مخرجين جدد (11)

This, in addition to punctuation which is reviewed in the suggested correction:

وأشار المخرج الكبير، على هامش حفل الافتتاح، إلى ضرورة العمل لتكوين وتأهيل مخرجين جدد

The verb “*afa:ra*” (pointed) has replaced “*ad'a:fa*” (added), the preposition “*ila:*” has replaced “*ʕala:*”, and the preposition “*li*” is added in “*litakwi :ni*” (to form).

3.3.1.1.6.2. Errors in the Use of the Particles "inna" and "anna" (that)

One of the widespread common mistakes in the contemporary MSA usage is related to the use of “*anna*” and “*inna*” in the right place. The grammar rule says that

there are specific situations when “*inna*” is used at the exclusion of “*anna*”; and the three most important situations are: in the beginning of the sentence, after the verb “*qa:la*” (*said*) and after “*haiθu*” (Abdelhalim & Abou El-Aynein, 2002).

In the newspaper sample, the rule is respected in many instances, while in seven cases, “*bi anna*” replaces “*inna*” like in:

قال بأن التحاقه ببنك خليفة ... (6)

It is acceptable to replace “*inna*” with “*bi?anna*” after the verb “*qa:la*”; however to replace it with “*anna*” is an error. There is only one case in which this common error occurs:

قال أن الزبائن طلبوا العملة الصعبة (6)

“*qa:la anna ezzaba:ʔina*” is an error that has to be replaced by “*qa:la inna ezzaba:ʔina*” (*said that the customers*):

قال إن الزبائن طلبوا العملة الصعبة

In what concerns “*haiθu*”, two cases are detected in which the error “*haiθu anna*” occurs:

حيث أنه يعيش في بيت أهله (17)

corrected to:

حيث إنه يعيش في بيت أهله

and:

حيث أنه يعاني من البطالة (17)

corrected to:

حيث إنه يعاني من البطالة

In the following example:

وحسب مدير التربية بأن هذه الخلية تعتبر بمثابة النواة الرئيسية... (10)

the words “*bi?anna*” (that) replace the required ones “*fa inna*” (a stress on “*ha:ðihi*”) (*this*). Therefore, it is corrected as in the following:

وحسب مدير التربية فإن هذه الخلية تعتبر بمثابة النواة الرئيسية...

In the following reported speech, “*anna*” is wrongly employed:

وأضاف متحدثنا " أن الطلابي الحر..." (17)

Here, “*inna*” is required, and the correction is:

وأضاف متحدثنا: " إن الطلابي الحر..."

“inna” is the correct particle here, being the first word in the reported expression.

3.3.1.2. Stylistic Errors: Incorrect Use of Vocabulary and Punctuation

An Important range of stylistic errors have been noticed in Echorouk newspaper. And for more clarity in their representation, they have been divided into five categories, displayed in the following lines:

3.3.1.2.1. Wrong Choice of Words

There are twenty-eight (28) cases in which the wrong words are used for the communication of particular meanings. And they are listed in the following:

In this case, the verb “*aʕa:ba*” and the preposition “*ʕala:*” are wrongly used. “*aʕa:ba*” means “to weaken” something or “to distort it”. However, what is needed for this case is to express the meaning of “criticism” and negative impression:

فقد أعابوا صراحة على الوضعية (3)

The right word for this case is “*ʕa:bu:*” (expressed the imperfections):

فقد عابوا صراحة الوضعية

In this case, the expression “*sayaku:nu*” (*will be*) is the mistake.

نظرا أن المنتج سيكون مباشرة من المنتج إلى المستهلك ... (4)

The problem can be viewed as an instance of the influence of the colloquial on the journalist’s writing in MSA. “*elmantu:j yuʕrad*” (the product is exhibited), not “*yaku:n*” (*will be*) which is used to mean the same idea in Algerian Arabic.

نظرا أن المنتج سيعرض مباشرة من المنتج إلى المستهلك

In a court session, the judge does not claim, but he orders:

و بمطالبة القاضي نقل المعني صاحب ال 86 سنة إلى القاعة المجاورة... (6)

The word “*muṭa:labati*” (the claim) is to be replaced by “*ṭalabi*” (*order*), for the correct meaning in the sentence:

و بطلب من القاضي نقل المعني صاحب ال86 سنة إلى القاعة المجاورة...

In the next sentence, “*daffana wa ṣa.yana elwaziro*” (*the minister inaugurated and inspected*) with two verbs, does not cohere with their coordinated word (*elmaṣtu:f*) “*ziyaratī*” (*the visit*), which is a noun.

دشن وعاین الوزير مقر مديرية الطاقة و المناجم بحی السرسور وزيارة مركز المحول الكهربائي (10)

Therefore, the verb “*zara*” (*visited*) replaces “*ziyaratī*” as corrected in:

دشن وعاین الوزير مقر مديرية الطاقة و المناجم بحی السرسور و زار مركز المحول الكهربائي

The same error that concerns coherence of coordinated words is present in the next two examples:

من دون تجسيده في الميدان و التطبيق الفعلي على مستوى الوظيف العمومي (15)

“*ettaṭbi:q elfiṣli*” is corrected to “*taṭbi:qihi fiṣlian*” (*its factual application*):

من دون تجسيده في الميدان و تطبيقه فعليا على مستوى الوظيف العمومي

Here *elmaṣtu:f ṣalaih* (*the coordinated to*) is a noun, whereas *el-maṣtu:f* (*the coordinated*) is a verb:

إما أن تغرق في مؤخرة الترتيب في حالة الخسارة و إما الطمع في لعب كأس الاتحاد الإفريقي (13)

“*imma eṭṭamaṣ*” is corrected to “*imma an taṭmaṣ*” (*either it lust for*):

إما أن تغرق في مؤخرة الترتيب في حالة الخسارة و إما أن تطمع في لعب كأس الاتحاد الإفريقي

In the following example, the words “*bimuṣaddal*” (*with the average of*) are replacing “*ma yuṣadil*” (*that equals*):

50 مليون أورو أي بمعدل 480 مليون (10)

A sum in Euro equals another sum in Dinar, and it is not said to be its average. Hence, the correction is:

50 مليون أورو أي ما يعادل 480 مليون

“*ḥufar*” (holes) exist under (*taḥta*) the district, not above it (*fawqa*):

مجموع الحفر التي تنام فوق الحي (10)

The word “*taḥta*” is the correct word in the sentence, as shown in the correction:

مجموع الحفر التي تنام تحت الحي

The words “*kafafathu ṣanhu*” are wrongly combined in the following sentence:

هو ما كشفته عنه بعض المصادر (10)

To mean that “some resources have revealed”, either “*kafafathu*” or “*kafafat ṣanhu*” is used, as in the correction:

هو ما كشفته/كشفت عنه بعض المصادر

Other cases are:

صفقة انجاز موزع هاتفي لمصالح البلدية الذي قدرت تكلفة المشروع بنحو 97 مليون سنتيم. (11)

In which “*elmafru:ṣ*” is corrected to “*mafru:ṣihi*” (*its project*):

صفقة انجاز موزع هاتفي لمصالح البلدية الذي قدرت تكلفه مشروعه بنحو 97 مليون سنتيم.

وكثيرا ما يتعرضون لاعتداءات جسدية ولفظية من طرف مرضى وأهاليهم وغيرها (11)

“*wayairiha*” is corrected to “*wayairi ḍa:lik*” (*and so on*):

وكثيرا ما يتعرضون لاعتداءات جسدية ولفظية من طرف مرضى وأهاليهم وغير ذلك

الحالة التي هو عليها من حفر وتشققات، أين بات يورق كل من الناقلين والمتنقلين (11)

In this example, “*?aina*” (*where*) is corrected to “*effaiṛu ellaḍi*” (*the thing that*):

الحالة التي هو عليها من حفر وتشققات، الشيء الذي بات يورق كلا من الناقلين والمتنقلين

... التي من شأنها أن تراقب المركبات عبر الطريق، ورصد أي حركة غير عادية (15)

Here, “*warašdu*” is corrected to “*wataršuda*” (*detect*):

... التي من شأنها أن تراقب المركبات عبر الطريق، وترصد أي حركة غير عادية

... لإخضاعها للتحاليل المخبرية للتثبيت إن كانت هي سبب التسمم (15)

In this example, “*littaḥabbuti mimma iḍa: (not “in”)*” (*to confirm that*) is correct as in:

... لإخضاعها للتحاليل المخبرية للتثبيت مما إذا كانت هي سبب التسمم

كما أن بعض اللافتات (...) يدون عليها سعر و عند الاقتراب من التاجر يطلعه على سعر آخر (17)

In this one, “*yuṭliṣohu ṣala: (shows)*” is corrected to “*yazhiru (appearss)*”:

كما أن بعض اللافتات (...) يدون عليها سعر و عند الاقتراب من التاجر يظهر سعر آخر

In the last example, “*elḥay elmaḍku:r*” (*the already mentioned district*) is irrelevant to the sentence’s intelligibility:

مواجهات بين شباب الحي المذكور و قاطني السكنات الاجتماعية (15)

In the lines preceding the inappropriately used words, “*elhay elmaðku:r*”, the name of the district is not mentioned. Therefore, its name remains obscure and no correction can be suggested.

In the next two examples, words in bold are detected as intrusive vocabulary, put in situations where their presence only hinders the correct understanding of the passage. These words are only deleted from the sentences:

... ما جعلها تصنف ضمن ثالث مستورد عالمي للقمح (4)

Corrected to:

... ما جعلها تصنف ثالث مستورد عالمي للقمح

... استغل فيه أشخاص عملية تهيئة الأرصفة و إغلاق الطريق؟ **شغال التهيئة**، من أجل وضع الرمل و الحصى (10)

Corrected to:

... استغل فيه أشخاص عملية تهيئة الأرصفة و إغلاق الطريق من أجل وضع الرمل و الحصى

And:

فإن الشاحنة كانت مركونة على جانب الطريق محملة بالخشب **المخصص لوضعه كأعمدة بناء** (15)

Corrected to:

فإن الشاحنة كانت مركونة على جانب الطريق محملة بالخشب **المخصص لأعمدة البناء**

The next six examples relate to the conjunction of coordination “*wa*” (*and*). Sometimes, it needs to be deleted and sometimes, it needs to replace other wrongly placed words:

In some cases, it is used when not needed, like in the next two examples, in which the comma alone can join the two clauses:

ناهيك عن إحباط العديد من السرقات التي طالت أشياء المرضى والطاقم الطبي، **وحتى** في مصلحة حفظ الجثث... (2)

Corrected to:

ناهيك عن إحباط العديد من السرقات التي طالت أشياء المرضى والطاقم الطبي، **حتى** في مصلحة حفظ الجثث...

And:

حيث التقى المدعو مير احمد الذي منحه وثيقة، **وتوجه** بها إلى أقرب بنك (7)

If “*wa*” is kept in this sentence, the meaning will be “*Mir Ahmed took it to the nearest bank*”, while it is the second person, who was given the sum and who did the action. The conjunction “*wa*” is therefore deleted in the correction:

حيث التقى المدعو مير احمد الذي منحه وثيقة، توجه بها إلى أقرب بنك

In this case, a common mistake appears. “*ʕilman wa anna*” is usually replacing the correct phrase “*ʕilman anna*” (*knowing that*) in sentences like:

علما وأن مشاركة الحارس... (12)

Therefore, the correct sentence is:

علما أن مشاركة الحارس...

The formulation “*ma: beina (...)* *wa*” (between (...) and) is needed for the three last cases when:

The word “*ama:ma*” (in front of) replaces “*wa*” in the first instance:

مباراة أخرى جمعت ما بين شباب القبة أمام اتحاد بني دوالة (13)

And the correction is:

مباراة أخرى جمعت ما بين شباب القبة و اتحاد بني دوالة

The word “*ila:*” (to) replaces “*wa*” in the next example:

يعرض عند بعض القصابات ما بين 300 دج إلى 320 دج (10)

And the correction is:

يعرض عند بعض القصابات ما بين 300 دج و 320 دج

The same error occurs in the last example:

ما بين 1300 دج إلى 1400 دج (10)

Corrected to:

...ما بين 1300 دج و 1400 دج

To give an estimation of a sum of money, like in the two examples above, people often wrongly employ “*ma:beyna (...)* *ila*”, while the correct structure is “*ma:beyna (...)* *wa*”.

The next three examples are left to the end of this point, being definitely weak styles that really misinform the reader.

In this first passage, the intended information is that Ben Saleh will first finish the mission of representing the president in Mali next Friday; then, he will submit his resignation next week. But the words in bold deform the meaning:

على اعتبار أن بن صالح سيرحل عن الأمانة فور عودته من تمثيل رئيس الجمهورية بمالي، هذه المهمة المقررة يوم
الجمعة القادم، فيما سيودع الاستقالة الأسبوع القادم... (3)

“*el-muqarrara yawm el-jumuʿa el-kadim*” (which is decided next week) means, in a way or another, that the decision is planned to be decided next Friday; while in reality there is a mission already decided for next Friday.

على اعتبار أن بن صالح سيرحل عن الأمانة فور عودته من تمثيل رئيس الجمهورية بمالي، هذه المهمة مقررة ليوم
الجمعة القادم، فيما ستودع الاستقالة الأسبوع القادم...

In the correction above, “*muqarrara liyawmi el-jumuʿa el-kadim*” replaces the error.

In the second case, the clause in bold, “*wa elliḍi ka:na d'ayfa farafi haḍa elmihrajan*” (who was the guest of honor of this festival) is totally in the wrong place. Except confusing the reader’s understanding, it cannot add anything intelligible to its preceding passage:

المخرج الكبير موسى حداد (...) وغيرها من الأعمال السينمائية التي قدمها و الذي كان ضيف شرف هذا المهرجان (11)
If needed, this clause could be added to the beginning of the paragraph when the “*great producer*” (*el-muxrij el-kabi:r*) was introduced.

The third case reports a lawyer who narrates a conversation he had with his client. The errors in bold relate to both vocabulary and punctuation. Their wrong use affects the meaning of the passage:

وذكر على سبيل المثال المتهم "توجان مولود"، الذي لم يذكر أبدا مومن وعندما طرحت عليه سوألا تعلق حول إذا كان
مومن خليفة مسؤولا ولو بطريقة غير مباشرة عن هذه الثغرات بالقول إنه ليس خبيراً، و السؤال الثاني كان عما لو كان
مسؤول بنك "هل كان سيعمل على إفشاء سحب الأموال دون كتابة" ... (9)

“*ʕara ḥtu*” (I asked) is corrected to “*ʕaraḥa*” (he asked), because the journalist is reporting the lawyer’s speech with the absence of inverted commas (it is indirect speech); “*ʕaʕallaqa ḥawla*”, which is not acceptable in correct MSA, is corrected to “*ʕaʕallaqa bima*” (concerns); “*bi el-qawli*” cannot supply the meaning of the verb “*qa:la*” (he said);

and the inverted commas in the last marked clause are deleted, because the expression they include does not form a direct speech. The corrected passage shows as follows:

وذكر، على سبيل المثال، المتهم "توجان مولود" الذي لم يذكر أبدا مومن، وعندما طرح عليه سوؤالا تعلق بما إذا كان مومن خليفة مسؤولا ولو بطريقة غير مباشرة عن هذه الثغرات، قال إنه ليس خبيرا. و السؤال الثاني كان عما لو كان مسؤول بنك هل كان سيعمل على إفشاء سحب الأموال دون كتابة...

3.3.1.2.2. Wrong sentence's Word Order

It has also been noticed that in some cases related to style, the word order in sentences stands irrelevant, as shown in the following table where the word or phrase in the wrong emplacement is mentioned in bold.

passage including a defective word order	suggested correction	English translation	page
... ومحاكمة أيضا المتسببين في تأخر تسليم هذا المشروع	وأيضا محاكمة المتسببين في تأخر تسليم هذا المشروع	and also the trial of those who are the cause of the delay of this project's delivery	2
هذا وعرف المهرجان حضور أيضا عدد من الممثلين	هذا وعرف المهرجان أيضا حضور عدد من الممثلين	and the festival has also witnessed the presence of a number of actors	11
أطباء يعرضون على المرضى واقفين	مرضى يعرضون على الأطباء واقفين	patients presented to doctors, standing	11
يتيح للسناقر تذوق مرة أخرى طعم المنافسة الإفريقية	يتيح للسناقر تذوق طعم المنافسة الإفريقية مرة أخرى Or: يتيح للسناقر، مرة أخرى، تذوق طعم المنافسة الإفريقية	enables the smurfs to taste the African competition another time	12
ضربت لعنة الإصابات بقوة لازمو هذه المرة	ضربت لعنة الإصابات لازمو بقوة هذه المرة	The curse of injuries violently hit "lazmo" this time	12
... ضرورة تجهيز الطرف المغربي لدفاع الرد	... ضرورة تجهيز طرف الدفاع المغربي للرد	the necessity to prepare the defence to answer	13

Table 3.3. Wrong Sentence's Word Order in Echorouk Sample

3.3.1.2.3. Repetition of Words

In some other cases, words or ideas are repeated. In the table that follows, the first word (or same idea) and its repetitions are written in bold type:

Passage including repetition	Suggested correction	English translation	page
ثم بعدها دخلت في مشاورات	ثم دخلت في مشاورات or: بعدها دخلت في مشاورات	After that, it started consultations	3
ركز الدفاع (... مركزين على أن جنحة إهانة الوالي زوخ غير قائمة	ركز الدفاع (... مشددا على أن جنحة إهانة الوالي زوخ غير قائمة	The defence focused (...) insisting on the fact that the misdemeanour of insulting Wali Zukh has no basis...	4
... عن طريق السرقة عن طريق الكسر والسرقة باستعمال سلاح ظاهر	عن طريق السرقة عبر الكسر وباستعمال سلاح ظاهر	By stealing through breaking and with the use of an apparent weapon	4
... بأن ذلك يعني بأن صاحب البنك لا يمكن أن يأمر بسحب الأموال دون تسجيلها.	... بأن صاحب البنك لا يمكن أن يأمر بسحب الأموال دون تسجيلها.	That the bank's owner cannot order to retreat the capital without its registration	9
مثلما ما هو مبين	مثلما هو مبين	As it is shown	10
طالب السكان من السلطات المحلية التدخل العاجل لإنقاذ السكان	طالب السكان من السلطات المحلية التدخل العاجل لإنقاذهم	The inhabitants claimed from the authorities an urgent interference to rescue them	10
في نفس السياق ذاته	في نفس السياق or: في السياق ذاته	In the same context	11
أرضية الشاحنة تحتوي على درج مموه مباشرة تحت أرضية الشاحنة	الشاحنة تحتوي على درج مموه مباشرة تحت أرضيتها	The lorry contains a camouflaged drawer directly under its base	15

Table 3.4. Repetition of Words in Echorouk Sample

3.3.1.2.4. Missing Words

In the remaining cases, there are words missing to complete the information. In the following table, the bold type is used to highlight the incomplete phrase, in the first column; and to identify the added correction in the second and third columns:

Passage including missing words	suggested correction	the added word(s)	English translation	page
...فتحجج بعدم وجود قطع نقود في جيبه، ولا يمتلك سوى الورقية	...فتحجج بعدم وجود قطع نقود في جيبه، و بأنه لا يمتلك سوى الورقية	بأنه (bi?annahu)	He said that he had no coins in his pocket, and that he had only bills	2
أكد مساهل، أن لا يوجد خلاف بين هذه الأخيرة فيما يتعلق بوحدة واستقرار مالي	أكد مساهل، أن لا يوجد خلاف بين هذه الأخيرة و.. فيما يتعلق بوحدة واستقرار مالي	(wa) و.. (there are missing words in this passage)	Msahel has emphasized that there is no dispute between the latter and ... in what concerns stability in Mali	3
بحيث أكدت الكلا بخصوص أخلاقيات المهنة بأنه لا بد من احترام الالتزامات الثنائية الممضاة بين الطرفين و ليس مجرد سيناريو لوضع الشركاء الاجتماعيين في تنافس	بحيث أكدت الكلا بخصوص أخلاقيات المهنة بأنه لا بد من احترام الالتزامات الثنائية الممضاة بين الطرفين وبأن ذلك ليس مجرد سيناريو لوضع الشركاء الاجتماعيين في تنافس	بأن ذلك (bi?anna ḏa:lika)	That CLA has stressed , concerning the professional ethics, that it I is necessary to respect the bilateral commitments, signed by the two parties and that it is not only a scenario to put the socialist partners in competition	4
... في الفترة 16 أوت و 17 أوت	... في الفترة ما بين 16 أوت و 17 أوت	ما بين (ma: baina)	In the period between 16 August and 17 August	6
التحاقه ببنك خليفة تم بعد أن سمع بوجوده من صديق	التحاقه ببنك خليفة تم بعد أن سمع بوجوده من صديق	ه (h)	His enrollment in Khalipha bank happened after he heard about it from a friend	6
فحرم أبناؤهم من متابعة الشاشة والمكوث تحت أضواء الإنارة العمومية	فحرم أبناؤهم من متابعة الشاشة و أرغموا على المكوث تحت أضواء الإنارة العمومية	أرغموا على (ur yimu: ḡala:)	and their children were deprived from watching TV as they were compelled to use the general lighting	10
ويبدو جليا أن نية مسؤولي "سوناطراك" لم تتغير، ويواصلون رحلة البحث ...	ويبدو جليا أن نية مسؤولي "سوناطراك" لم تتغير، وهم يواصلون رحلة البحث ...	هم (hum)	And it is plainly evident that the intention of SONATRAC responsables has not changed, as they continue their seach...	12
وقع المهاجم السابق لنصر حسين داي، التشادي ايزيتشال لصفوف نادي المريخ السوداني	وقع المهاجم السابق لنصر حسين داي، التشادي ايزيتشال، انضمامه لصفوف نادي المريخ السوداني	انضمامه (in d'ima:mihi)	The former attacker of “the Victory of Hussein Dey”, the Chadian Izichel, his joining to the Sudanese Club Mars	13

Table 3.5. Missing Words in Echorouk Sample

3.3.1.2.5. Errors in Punctuation

In the sample of Echorouk newspaper, problems of punctuation are various and multiple, to the extent that they could not be listed in this research work. Some of them can be cited in this point. However, because the process of exhibiting them and correcting them requires the writing of full paragraphs in Arabic, an attached appendix provides a sample of reports and invites to the consideration of punctuation errors present in them (see Appendix C, p. 285).

Reality of punctuation errors in the sample of Echorouk is that it is has been impossible to come across one text among the 89 that does not contain punctuation errors. In these texts, sentences in paragraphs are most of the time separated with commas; while in many cases, the full-stop is required. Besides, sometimes, punctuation remains incomplete and commas or stops are absent when needed. In other cases, the question mark “?” is used in the wrong place, and the inverted commas (“...”) are either present or absent in relevant situations.

3.3.1.5. Spelling Mistakes

In the sample of Echorouk newspaper at hands, an important number of spelling mistakes have been noticed. Thus, the following four tables are devoted to their exhibition, and correction with explanatory comments. Some of these errors are considered common mistakes, while others are related to the addresser’s (journalist’s) own proficiency in MSA, and others are typing mistakes.

In the following table, spelling mistakes related to the opening “alif” /ʔ/ are listed:

Wrongly written /ʔ/ (hamza)	correction	English translation	page	comment
اسعار	أسعار	prices	4	In writing the MSA words starting with the letter “alif” /ʔ/, there is a defined rule: This letter is written “أ” (<i>hamzat wasl</i>) in cases when the verb or its source (masdar) is of five or six letters; and when the verb of three letters, with a second voiceless letter in its “mod’ariʕ” form is in the imperative; and in ten other words, like “ism” (name), “ibn” (son) and “imraʔa” (woman). In the other cases, “إ” (<i>hamzat el-qatʕ</i>) is used (Abdelhalim& Abou El-Aynin, 2002). However many “common” spelling errors related to this case, usually happen.
إيطالية	إيطالية	Italian	4	
اثناء	أثناء	during	6	
إنتشار	انتشار	spread	10	
إنعدام	انعدام	absence	10	
إجراء	إجراء	procedure	10	
إطارات	إطارات	cadres	10	
أفريل	أفريل	April	11	
إقتحام	اقتحام	breaking in	11	
الامر	الأمر	the fact	11	
الإبتدائي	الابتدائي	the primary	15	
للإختطاف	للإختطاف	to the kidnapping	15	
الإطلاق	الإطلاق	Absolutely	15	
اثر	إثر	after	15	
اقليم	إقليم	territory	24	
أفريقيا	إفريقيا	Africa	24	Thess errors occurred in one same article. The journalist uses different spelling of starting /ʔ/in the word “ <i>ifri:qia</i> ” (Africa).
افريقيا	إفريقيا	Africa	24	
افريقية	إفريقيا	Africa	24	
الأفريقي	الإفريقي	African	24	

Table 3.6. Spelling Mistakes in the Opening “alif” (*hamzat el-wasl* and *hamzat el-qatʕ*) in Echorouk Sample

Spelling mistakes related to the opening “alif” /ʔ/ are also shown in the next table; but this time, the error forms an Arabic word in itself, and hence, deforms the intended meaning:

passage including wrong spelling of /ʔ/	corrected word	page	comment
ولم يفهم هواة البن وعشاقه سبب اختلاف السعر بين مقهى وآخر في المدينة الواحدة	آخر	2	آخر (uɣar) means “others” آخر (a:ɣar) means “another”
معاناتهم اكبر	أكبر	11	اكبر (əkbur) is a verb in the imperative which means “grow up” أكبر (akbar) means “greater”
صنفت على انها خطأ	أنها	15	There is a difference between أنها (innaha) and إنها (annaha) (both meaning « it is ») as two possible writings of the word.
حي الأخوة صديق	الإخوة	10	الأخوة (el-uɣuwa) “ means “fraternity” الإخوة (el-iɣwa) means “brothers”
الوضعية التي آل إليها الحزب	آل	3	آل (e:la) is the correct spelling for “turned into”
التي آلات إليها الطرق الرئيسية	آلت	11	آلات (e:le:t) means “engines” آلت (e:let) means “turned to”
قاما بمراسلة والي ولاية مستغانم قصد اطلاعه	إطلاعه	11	اطلاعه (iɥɥila:ɣihi) means « his being informed » إطلاعه (iɥɥla:ɣihi) means « informing him »
ووضعه فوق رافعة وادخلوه مباشرة...	أدخلوه	11	ادخلوه “dɣulu:hu” is a verb in the imperative which means “enter it” أدخلوه “adɣualu:hu” means “took him to”
أخترق سمعنا دوي سيارات الإسعاف	اخترق	11	أخترق “aɣtariqo” means “I burst through” اخترق “ɣtaraqa” means “it burst through”

Table 3.7. Spelling Mistakes in the Opening “alif” (hamzat *el-wasl* and *hamzat el-qatʕ*), Deforming the Intended Meaning in Echorouk Sample.

The next table shows other spelling mistakes present in Echorouk sample. It has been discovered that some of them are common mistakes, others are made as a result of the Algerian Arabic's influence over the journalists' thought and language use, while the remaining errors are just typing mistakes.

Wrongly spelled word	correction	page	English translation	comment
استيلاام	استلام	3	reception	These are common mistakes. Many people spell these words, among others, wrongly.
الماضيّة	الماضية	4	the last	
بعد ما	بعدها	4	after	
بعد ما	بعدها	15	after	
الشكاوي	الشكاوى	10	The complaints	شكاوى (jaka :wa) is the plural of شكوى (jakwa:).
بهده	بهذه	4	by this	In these examples, /ð/ is written /d/. This can be considered a mistake due to the effect of the colloquial pronunciation (phonetics). In many Algerian urban regions, the sound /ð/ is pronounced /d/ in words like these.
ذلك	ذلك	11	that	
الذي	الذي	11	that	
هدا	هذا	11	this	
كدا	كذا	11	also	
استنفد	استنفذ	11	exhausted	
تسريح	تسريح	3	demobilization	
الدبلوماسية	الدبلوماسية	3	diplomacy	These can be considered typing mistakes
لساشروق	للسروق	11	to Echorouk	
ال15 سنة	ال15 سنة	11	The 15 years	
سكاناتهم	سكناتهم	10	Their houses	
38 لإست شفائي	الاستشفائي	11	hospital	
سالشروق	الشروق	15	Echorouk	

Table 3.8. Different Spelling Mistakes in the Sample of Echorouk Newspaper.

In the following table, the spelling mistake itself, except “*el-madḫa*.” (fifth example in the table), is a correct word in MSA that changes the meaning of the sentence where it occurs:

expression including wrongly spelled word(s)	corrected spelling	page	English translation of the corrected spelling	comment
في الوقت الراهن سيم الاكتفاء..	سيتم	6	there will be	In this case of typing mistakes, the error distorts the intended meaning of the sentence where it occurs.
وأنه منحته مهلة أسبوعين للقيام بذلك	منحه	7	give him	
أشغال الخفر و البناء	الحفر	10	the digging	
تسهيل عملة ربطهم بالتيار الكهربائي	عملية	10	process	
أين أكد سكان المدخا أنهم سيرفتون دعوى قضائية	المدخل سيرفون	10	the entrance they will raise	
لأنه بكل بسطة	بسطة	11	simplicity	
من أجل مواصلة حصد النتائج الإيجابية	من أجل	12	in order	
اتحاد العصمة	العاصمة	12	the capital	
شبيبة القبائل	شبيبة	12	youth	
نقل عيمات من مياه	عينات	15	samples	
حملات أخرى كالتى تعنى بالمساعدات المالية للمرضى و المفقودين	تعنى	24	Is concerned with	
استيطان مجاميع تنتسب إلى داعش	مجامع	24	conclaves	
وزير الطاقم و المناجم	الطاقة		The energy	
أما الجولة الأخيرة فقط تكون حالة نادرة	فقد	13	may	
و قال وكيل أعمل اللاعب	أعمال	13	works	
دور المجموعات	دوري	-12 13	league	
قاموا بتفتيشها، تم نقلها إلى حظيرة	ثم	15	then	
نادي ريا مدريد	ريال	12	Real (royal)	
وما هي إلا لحظات حتى تفاجنا بحضور سيارة إسعاف أخرى	تفاجنا	11	We were surprise	

Table 3.9. Spelling Mistakes that Form Correct Words in Arabic in Echorouk Sample.

3.3.2. The Use of the Colloquial in the Newspaper Sample

There is an aim of measuring the degree to which dialectal Arabic, namely Algerian Arabic, is present in Echorouk newspaper sample. Therefore, table 3.10. exhibits the sum of detected Algerian Arabic words, as present in the number of articles it contains:

Dialectal Arabic word	Equivalent in MSA	English translation	comment	page
الحقار	الظالم	the oppressor	The words “el- ḥaggar”, “ <i>el- ḥaggar wkilek rabbi</i> ”, are reported speeches of ordinary Algerian people.	4
"يا الحقار وكيلك ربي"	"يا ظالم ربي وكيلك"	"Oh oppressor, God will punish you"		
الزوالية	الفقراء	the poor people	" <i>ezzawalia</i> " is a typical Algerian Arabic word which gathers a number of meanings related to poverty, loneliness, and miserable life.	7
المير	رئيس البلدية	the mayor	" <i>el-mi:r</i> " is a loan word of a French origin (<i>le maire</i>)	11

Table 3.10. Algerian Arabic in Echorouk Sample.

In addition, the impact of the colloquial on the language of journalists has been noticed in two already mentioned phrases:

- In “من نوع البقري” (p.4) “*min nawṣ elbaqari*” (of a bovin kind), the author employs “*elbaqari*” as a noun, the same as in “*el-bagri*” in Algerian Arabic. However in the case of MSA, the same word is employed as an adjective.
- In “المنتوج سيكون مباشرة من المنتج إلى المستهلك” (p.4) “*el-mantu:ju sayaku:nu muba:jaratan mina lmuntij ila elmustahlik*” (the product will be directly from the producer to the consumer), the word “*sayaku:nu*” is an obvious interference of the colloquial “*ya:di yku:n*”, employed by the author under the influence of his mother tongue.

Another noticed error is related to the pronunciation of /ð/, apparently pronounced /d/ by journalists authors of the spelling mistakes in words like “ha: ða”, “ella ði” and “ða:lika” (see table 3.8, p.161).

3.3.3. The Use of Foreign Words in the Newspaper Sample

On the subject of the presence of foreign words in the newspaper sample, four cases have been observed: foreign words borrowed to MSA by direct translation, transliterated foreign words, transliterated foreign abbreviations, and the use of nominal sentences, on the model of foreign languages. The first mentioned kind of foreign terminology is borrowed to MSA, and therefore has become part of it.

The set of foreign words borrowed by direct importation form a special kind of newly introduced vocabulary. In spite of the partial adaptation of these words to Arabic morphology and phonetics, they have always been regarded as holders foreign concepts. The next table demonstrates this kind of borrowed words, as present in Echorouk sample:

Word borrowed by direct translation	synonym in English	comment	page
فيديو هات	videos	Through translation, and efforts of borrowing by direct importation, these words are Arabic words that positively contribute to the enrichment and modernisation of MSA.	4
استراتيجية	strategic		14
البيداغوجية	pedagogical		14
الأيدولوجية	Ideological		2
الأنفوغرافية	info graphic		4
الديموقراطية	democratic		2
الديبلوماسية	diplomatic		13
الديبلوماسيان	two diplomats		13
فيدرالية	federal		17
ميليشيات	militias		24

Table 3.11. Foreign Words Borrowed by Direct Translation in Echorouk Sample.

However, the newspaper texts include a number of foreign words, transliterated in the Arabic alphabet, as presented in the table below. It is noteworthy that these transliterated words have been chosen for use though the equivalents of their majority are present in MSA language.

Transliterated word	Equivalent in MSA	English equivalent	page	comment
سيناتور	عضو مجلس النواب	senator	2	It is better to use the already existing equivalents in Arabic rather than using foreign words commonly used in Arabic communications.
فيتو	حق النقض	veto	24	
حلف النيتو	حلف الشمال الأطلسي	Nato	24	
سيناريو	مشهد	scenario	2	
كاميرا	آلة التصوير	camera	2	
الكاميرات	آلات التصوير	cameras	15	
دينامو	منشط	dynamo	3	
الفرملة	المكابح/ الكبح	braking	11	
السوسبانس	التشويق	suspense	12	
طالكي والكي	راديو لاسلكي	talky walky	8	
فايسبوك	/	facebook	24	These new terms (technical, except tsunami) don't have equivalents in Arabic. However, they are integrated in Arabic language use.
فايسبوكية		facebook	24	
الترامواي		tramway	4	
تسونامي		tsunami	24	
الداربي	/	the derby	12	These terms appear in sports reports.
الميركاتو	موسم الانتقالات	The Mercato	12	
المونديال	كأس العالم	The world cup	12-13	

Table 3.12. Transliterated Foreign Words in Echorouk Sample.

In addition to the words mentioned in the table above, the presence of the word “HD” (p.17), written in Latin script, has been noticed. However, the word was there to

report the exact image of the merchants' publicity to their goods, using new technological words, commonly known and used in society. There is also another instance of the transliteration of foreign words, "بونتاكور" (p.1) (pantacourt in French), but here the Arabic translation is supplied (السرراويل القصيرة) in the same text.

Another important fact about the presence of foreign language effects on Echorouk sample can be touched in the number of abbreviations of names of different associations, organisations and sports clubs. Actually, these abbreviations are transliterations of foreign letters, as arranged in their original languages (usually French).

transliterated foreign abbreviations	Abbreviation in Latin (the original script)	meaning in Arabic	suggested Arabic abbreviation	page	comment
الأرندي	RND	التجمع الوطني الديموقراطي	ت و د	3	Since all these names have their equivalents in Arabic, there is a suggestion that Arabic newspaper introduces their abbreviations in Arabic language, as a contribution to the enhancement of MSA's position in situations where people got the habit to replace it by the transliterations of foreign words.
كنايست	CNAPEST	المجلس الوطني لمستخدمي التدريس للقطاع الثلاثي	م و م ت ق ث	4	
كلا- الكلا	CLA	مجلس ثانويات الجزائر	م ث ج	4	
كابا	CAPA	شهادة الكفاءة المهنية	ش ك م	17	
الكاف	CAF	الكونفيدرالية الإفريقية لكرة القدم	ك إ ك ق	12	
الفيفا	FIFA	الاتحاد الدولي لكرة القدم	إ د ك ق	12	
لازمو	ASMO	الجمعية الرياضية لمدينة وهران	ج ر م و	12	

Table 3.13. Transliterated Foreign Abbreviations in Echorouk Sample.

At the syntactic level, the use of nominal sentences has also been detected in Echorouk newspaper sample. As it is well known, the nominal sentence is typical to foreign languages and Arabic is based on verbal sentences in essence. Nevertheless, the Arabic language enjoys a flexible word order; hence, verbs, subjects and objects, for example, can be identified in the sentence however their place in it is. This is due to the vowel system (*ettafki:l*). As underlined by Ezzerkchi, quoted in Hammou (2011), the nominal sentence is acceptable in MSA use, when the focus is on the subject, the doer of the action; whereas in the verbal sentence, which is more solicited in MSA, the emphasis is on the action itself.

Reports in Echorouk sample essentially rely on the use of verbal sentences. Yet, the nominal sentences are also employed for the purpose of emphasizing the subject and, sometimes, the object or the complement. Here are some examples:

فالإسلام جاء لتحقيق مجموعة من المقاصد (24)

In the above example, “*El-Islam*” (*Islam*) is the subject advanced to the position of the verb. It appears in the beginning of the sentence to emphasize its value and holiness in all the qualities it brings to Muslims.

فإن العجوز تقطن بمفردها بمسكنها،... (11)

In the second example above, “*el-ʕaju:z*” (*the old lady*), who lives alone, is the essential information of the sentence.

وفي معرض أسئلته، استفسر النائب العام عما إذا كان قدم طلب القرض... (7)

In the last example, the complement “*fi maʕradī asʕilatīhi*” (in his questions) is moved forward to the beginning of the sentence, for the reason of emphasizing the context of the reported action.

Instances like these when other parts of speech, then the verb, start the sentence are very acceptable in MSA grammar, on the condition that they have semantic purposes. They even represent pure Arabic expressions. However, in some other cases, the phenomenon exceeds this aim and appears as direct imitations of foreign languages’ syntactic structures, namely French and English (Hammou, 2011). In fact, this reality is noticed in Echorouk sample; but in the articles’ headlines. Among the 89 headlines of the studied texts, only four (4) appear as verbal sentences, while the others are mostly nominal sentences (see

Appendix B, p. 283). Hammou sees that the only aim of journalists from this excessive use of nominal sentences is imitation of the Western languages to sound more appealing to readers' interest (2010). In her view, there is an implication of journalists' fascination by the Western superiority. However, the situation can be more objectively regarded as a positive factor, if assessed from the angle of inter-cultural influence and its impact on language flexibility. Therefore, it is a richness of MSA, when showing its flexibility through newspaper language. And when the nominal sentence enjoys the lion's share in newspaper headlines, the case of the current sample, it becomes a stylistic strategy, specific to these headlines which are supposed to make a balance between conciseness, coverage of the article's general idea, and most importantly, attraction of readers' attention. Therefore, to start a sentence with the subject, the main component of the reported event, for instance, sounds the most appropriate way to accomplish this task successfully.

3.3.4. A Statistic Representation of Language Defects in Echorouk Sample

After presenting language defects in MSA as used in Echorouk sample, the present part of the research work suggests some statistics seen important to the analysis of the language's current situation in the newspaper.

language defects	number	percentage
language errors	185	84.09%
colloquial Arabic forms	12	5.45%
the foreign language interference	23	10.45%
total	220	100%

Table.3.14. A Statistic Representation of Language Defects in Echorouk Sample

In a total of 89 articles, 220 language defects are detected. Their majority represents language errors, with 84.09%. Far behind, ranks the problem of transliterated foreign words, with the percentage of 10.45%, and then finally comes the rate of dialectal Arabic presence with 5.45%.

3.3.4.1. A Statistic Representation of Language Errors

Language errors are present in different kinds. The following table represents them:

kind of errors	number of errors	percentage
grammar errors	70	37.83%
stylistic errors (except pronunciation)	50	27.02%
spelling mistakes	65	35.13%
total	185	100%

Table 3.15. A Statistic Representation of Language Errors in Echorouk Sample

The average percentages of language errors are not too distant. Spelling mistakes and grammar errors are rather equal in number, with the percentage of 35.13% and 37.83%; while the rate of stylistic errors is estimated to 27.02%. As such, the number of language errors (185) is high, for one number of a newspaper directed to the greatest number of Algerian readers.

3.3.4.1.2. A Statistic Representation of Grammar Errors

Out of the number of 70 grammar errors, numbers and percentages of their kinds vary. This is shown in the following table:

grammar errors	number	percentage
verbs	8	11.42%
voweling of words ending	14	20%
singular and plural forms	7	10%
masculine and feminine gender	7	10%
prepositions	29	41.42%
particles: inna/anna	5	7.14%
the definite article "el"	6	8.57%
total	70	100%

Table 3.16. A Statistic Representation of Grammar Errors in Echorouk Sample

Nearly half of grammar errors are about the use of prepositions, with a percentage of 41.42%. Voweling problems and errors in verbs use come after, with the rate of 20% and 11.42% respectively.

3.3.4.1.3. A Statistic Representation of Stylistic Errors

Statistics about the 50 stylistic errors are presented as follows:

stylistic errors	number	percentage
wrongly selected words	28	56%
word order	6	12%
missing words	8	16%
repetitions	8	16%
total	50	100%

Table 3.17. A Statistic Representation of Stylistic Errors in Echorouk Sample

Half of the reasons for the texts' errors of style are related to the wrong selection of words for the representation of specific meanings (56%). Other numbers remain feeble in comparison to the first. However, together, they form a real stylistic problem for the language of Echorouk sample.

3.3.4.1.4. A Statistic Representation of Spelling Mistakes

The important number of spelling mistakes in Echorouk sample (65) is divided in two very near percentages.

spelling mistakes	number	Percentage
errors related to the starting /ʔ/ "hamzat el-wasl and hamzat elqatf"	28	43.07%
others	37	56.92%
total	65	100%

Table 3.18. A Statistic Representation of Spelling Mistakes in Echorouk Sample

Errors about “hamzat el-wasl and hamzat elqatʿ” are estimated at 43.07% and those related to other spelling mistakes at 56.92%, including typing mistakes.

3.3.4.2. A Statistic Representation of the Use of Dialectal Arabic

The number of cases where Algerian Arabic is present in journalists’ language is estimated at 12 occurrences. Details about that are represented in the following table:

Dialectal Arabic forms	number	percentage
reported speech	2	16.66%
journalist’s own words	2	16.66%
dialect’s influence on journalists’ thoughts	2	16.66%
influence of dialectal pronunciation	6	50%
total	12	100%

Table 3.19. A Statistic Representation of the Use of Dialectal Arabic in Echorouk Sample

What has been unexpected for the case of the colloquial influence on newspaper language is the impact of (Urban) Algerian Arabic pronunciation on journalists’ writing. 50% or 6 of the colloquial forms relate to this fact.

3.3.4.3. A Statistic Representation of Foreign Language Use

Though the presence of the foreign language is minor in the newspaper sample, transliterated foreign words and abbreviations exist in some of the texts. The table represents the situation:

presence of foreign language	number	percentage
transliterated foreign words	16	68.56%
transliterated foreign abbreviations	7	30.43%
total	23	100%

Table 3.20. A Statistic Representation of Foreign Words Use in Echorouk Sample

Out of 23 cases, 16 (68.56%) are transliterated foreign words and 7 (30.43%) are transliterated abbreviations.

3.4. Sample Two: El Khabar Daily Newspaper

El Khabar is an independent tabloid founded in 1990 by a number of journalists, and recently, has undergone a process of transition since its former owners decided to sell it to Cevital group. The newspaper employs about 72 permanent journalists and more than 100 correspondents of the 48 wilayas, in addition to offices in foreign countries.

In its early years, El Khabar was the first sold newspaper in Algeria; however, this position is in decline. The newspaper western region editor in chief, Lahcen Bourbia, explains that the decrease in the newspaper circulation goes back to the year 2004, with the second mandate of president Bouteflika when important governmental pressures began to be exercised on the newspaper, restricting its incomes, reducing to the maximum its advertising manna, and giving more opportunities to other newspapers' competition. In 2015, and for economic reasons, the newspaper editors decided to focus on the printed version of the newspaper, and limit the electronic version to the presentation of daily headlines and main information; since making commercial profits from the electronic version lingers impossible with governmental pressure added to the basic communication technology in Algeria, which does not enable the newspaper to have online customers or subscribers (Bourbia, 2016, Mai 17). Nevertheless, the newspaper ranks in the third position with a circulation estimated at an average of 250,000 copies a day. Besides, as it is the case for Echorouk daily, El Khabar's readers exceeds the number of sold copies; since according to a study at the University of Mostaganem published in 2006, the readers of one copy constitute an average of 5 persons when it is estimated that "a newspaper is read by at least two members of one family" (Bourbia, 2016, Mai 17). Therefore, El Khabar resides a popular tabloid which, despite the financial and political troubles it undergoes, is still required for reading by an important Algerian population. Till now, ups and downs of the newspaper are explained in terms of commercial and political factors.

3.4.1. Language Errors

The same language errors focused on, in the analysis of the first newspaper sample (Echorouk), are taken into consideration for the analysis of the second one (El Khabar). Grammatical and stylistic errors, in addition to spelling mistakes are presented, with a special care about their influence on the communicated meanings. Corrections are suggested too.

3.4.1.1. Grammatical Errors

The same categories of grammar errors, examined in the sample of Echorouk, are detected in El Khabar sample. Therefore the same procedure of analysis is pursued. Errors related to verbs, to pointing and parsing (*ifra:b*) of words' endings, to the use of singular and plural forms, and to the feminine and masculine gender, are listed and examined in the first four points; while mistakes related to the use of the Arabic language definite articles, preposition, and particle, are tackled in the last four points.

3.4.1.1.1. The Voweling of Words Endings

As seen in the first sample (Echorouk), voweling (*tachki:l*) of word endings can be examined just in cases of doubling the vowel /a/ (*tanwi:n el-fetha*), in the different duality morphemes “*ein*” and “*a:n*”, or in the use of plural morphemes “*u:*”, “*u:n*”, “*i:*”, “*i:n*”.

In the first instance that follows, when a number from 11 to 99, is added to a noun (which becomes “*tamyi:z*” in Arabic), the latter must be singular and voweled with doubled /a/ (*nakira mufrad manso:b*) (Abdelhalim & Abou El-Aynin, 2002, p. 169).

214 موظف ومنتخب محلي توبعوا... (5)

Being coordinated “*maʃtu:f wamaʃtu:f ʃaleih*”, the two nouns “*muwazzaf*” and “*muntaxab*” need their endings to be voweled with a doubled “a”, and their adjective “*maḥalli*” follows suit. Therefore, the correction is as follows:

214 موظفا ومنتخبا محليا توبعوا...

The same situation appears in the next two instances:

يتجاوز عدد الزوار 20 ألف (9)

in which “*alf*” is corrected to “*alfan*” (*thousand*):

يتجاوز عدد الزوار 20 ألفا

And :

قرر أمس، 167 عضو من اللجنة المركزية (23)

In which “*ʕodʷ*” is corrected to “*ʕodʷan*” (*a member*):

قرر أمس، 167 عضوا من اللجنة المركزية

However, in the next example, “*maliu:nan*” (*million*) does not need a double “*a*”, since it follows “*arbaʕi:na*” (*fourteen*) *voweled with /i/, being preceded by the preposition “bi”*:

... الأول ب40 مليوناً (3)

The word “*maliu:nan*” has to be corrected to “*maliu:nin*” as in the following:

... الأول ب40 مليون

In the next three cases, the problem in vowelizing concerns “*essifa*” (*the adjective*), which should have the same ending vowel as its preceding word.

In the first example, the word “*fiʕlin*” (*action*) ends with a doubled “*i*” vowel, and so should be its “*sifa*”, wrongly voweled with a doubled “*a*”: “*qawiyian*” (*strong*):

تستدعي رد فعل قويا (3)

“*qawiyin*” replaces the mistake , as shown here :

تستدعي رد فعل قوي

The same situation appears in the next case:

لمسابقة توظيف الأساتذة المنحدرين من ولاية بومرداس (4)

“*elmunħadiru:n*” corrected to “*elmunħadiri:n*” :

لمسابقة توظيف الأساتذة المنحدرين من ولاية بومرداس

In the example that follows, the word “*tija:ri*” (*commercial*) is supposed to be the “*sifa*” that relates to “*sakanan*” (*house*) and “*ʕamu:diyan*” (*vertical*):

سكنا عموديا تجاري (10)

Therefore “*tija:riyan*” replaces “*tija:ri*” as follows :

سكنا عموديا تجاريا

In this case, the word “*ha:su:b*” (*computer*) is coordinated (*maʕtu:f*) to “*ʕa:biʕatan*” (*printing machine*) :

أحرقوا الوثائق والمستندات (...) وطابعة و حاسوب (24)

Therefore, it becomes “*ha: su:ban*”:

أحرقوا الوثائق والمستندات (...) وطابعة و حاسوبا

In the next three cases, the language error concerns the ending vowel of the “*fa:ʕil*” (the subject). “*elʕa:ʕil*” is all the time “*marfu:ʕ*”, and ends with the /u/ vowel if singular, “a:n” if dual, “u:n” if plural masculine and “a:tun” if feminine plural. Therefore:

The “*fa:ʕil*” in this first example :

وقد غادر الضحيتين مصلحة الكسور (15)

“*ed'daḥiyatain*” (the two victims) is to be corrected to “*ed'daḥiyata:n*” :

وقد غادر الضحيتان مصلحة الكسور

And in this one :

احتج أمس، ممثلو عن المجلس الوطني المستقل (4)

“*mumaθθilu:*” becomes “*mumaθθilu:n*” (representatives) :

احتج أمس، ممثلون عن المجلس الوطني المستقل

And the one in this last case:

تحضر الممثلتين (15)

“*elmumaθθilatain*” is corrected to “*elmumaθθilata:n*” (the two representatives) :

تحضر الممثلتان

In the following case, “*el-iʕra:b*” error relates to the ending of the verb and the affixed pronoun “*yarfod'o:hu*” (rejected it). In “*elmud'a:riʕ*” (the present), the verb is voweled with /u/ (marfu:ʕ).

وهو الطرح الذي يرفضوه (4)

The verb “*yarfod'o:*” is to be corrected into “*yarfod'o:na*” (refused), being plural

“*marfu:ʕ*”:

وهو الطرح الذي يرفضونه

The last case, the error is about *el-ism el-manqu:s*:

... بعدما أمر قاضي التحقيق... (15)

The word “*qa:di*” is a subject “*fa: ʕil marfu:ʕ*” with the omission of “ي” (y):

... بعدما أمر قاض التحقيق...

3.4.1.1.2. Errors Related to Verbs

Related to verb formation, two important problems are identified: the first has to do with the correspondence between subjects and their verbs, whereas the second is related to transitive and intransitive verbs.

In the first three cases, the verb appears in the masculine gender, whereas its subject is in the feminine. The verb's morphology should therefore be adapted to match with the subject.

In the first sentence, the verb “*tamma*” (*finished*) in the past, needs the affixed pronoun “t” (ت) to mark the feminine gender:

...تم إزالة كل المظلات الشمسية والكراسي (5)

Thus, “*tamma*” is corrected to “*tammat*”:

...تمت إزالة كل المظلات الشمسية والكراسي

In the next sentence, the same error occurs:

كل شيء تم فرنسته (15)

corrected to :

كل شيء تمت فرنسته

In the following sentence, the verb “*yatimmu*” (present and future tense of “*tamma*”) is marked in the masculine through its starting “y” (ي).

سيتم مراقبة فضاءات الاستجمام (5)

However, the starting “y” needs to be replaced with “t” (feminine) to match with the *broken plural* subject “*fad'a:ʔa:t*”:

ستتم مراقبة فضاءات الاستجمام

In the next two examples, the opposite situation happens. The verb is in the feminine while it must be in the masculine to match with the corresponding subject. Therefore, the starting “t” is to be replaced by “y” in both sentences.

In the first sentence:

موسم الاصطياف الذي تتضاعف فيه عدد السيارات (10)

“*tata d'a: ʕafu*” is to be corrected to “*yata d'a: ʕafu*” (*doubled*):

موسم الاصطياف الذي يتضاعف فيه عدد السيارات (10)

And in the second sentence:

قد تؤدي إلى ما لا **تحمد** عقباه (22)

“*tuḥmadu*” is to be corrected to “*yuhmadu*” (*thanked*):

قد تؤدي إلى ما لا **يحمد** عقباه

In the next situation, the verb “*aḥraqu:*” (*have burned*) is in the plural, while it normally corresponds to the feminine singular subject “*ʕisa:ba*” (*a gang*):

عصابة مجهولة (...) اقتحمت (...), وحطمت (...) وأحرقوا الوثائق (24)

The verb “*aḥraqu:*” is therefore turned to “*aḥraqat:*”:

عصابة مجهولة (...) اقتحمت (...), وحطمت (...) وأحرق**ت** الوثائق

The last case about grammar errors related to verbs, concerns the intransitive verbs becoming transitive through the addition of a starting “?”. These verbs add objects without the need to be preceded by prepositions (*huru:f eljar*). Three cases related to this error, considered a common mistake, have been detected in the newspaper sample. The mistakes and their corrections are demonstrated in bold in what follows:

كما أقرت بمنحه لبعض الحريات المكبلة (11)

“*bimanḥihi libaʕd*” becomes “*manḥahu baʕd*” (*assign him some*):

كما أقرت **منحه** لبعض الحريات المكبلة (11)

And in:

ألزمت المجلس التأسيسي بسن دستور 2014 (11)

“*bisanni*” becomes “*sanna*” (*enacting*):

ألزمت المجلس التأسيسي **سن** دستور 2014

And in the last one:

أنا أم أدخلت ابنها للسجن بيديها (15)

“*lissijn*” (*to the prison*) is corrected to “*essijn*” (*the prison*):

أنا أم أدخلت ابنها **السجن** بيديها

3.4.1.1.3. Errors Related to the Singular, Dual and Plural Forms

In the same way as done with the first newspaper sample (Echorouk), the coherence of nouns with their pronouns, adjectives and determiners in their singular, dual and plural forms is examined in this point.

In this example, the noun “*ja:miʕatay*” (*two universities*) is in the dual form, while it refers to the name of only one of two universities (Echeikh El-Arbi Etbessi university):

الخطوة التي تمت بين جامعتي الشيخ العربي التبسي وجامعة قفصة... (9)

The singular “*ja:miʕati*” (*university*) is the correction of the error:

الخطوة التي تمت بين جامعة الشيخ العربي التبسي وجامعة قفصة...

In the second and last case that follows, the noun “*maha:m*” in “*maha:mmuha:*” in the feminine (*its roles*) is in the plural form, while it refers to one role only, “*ettanaqqul*” (*the movement*):

سكنون مهامها التنقل إلى كافة المناطق (5)

The singular “*muhimmatuha*” (*its role*) replaces the mistake:

سكنون مهمتها التنقل إلى كافة المناطق

3.4.1.1.4. Errors Related to the Masculine and Feminine Gender

How much nouns match with their corresponding adjectives, pronouns, determiners and related nouns, is the focus of this point which identifies errors related to the masculine and feminine gender. Only two errors are identified in this case.

In the first case, the error relates to the pronoun “*huwa*” (literally meaning “*he*”) which refers to “*nisbatu elbiṭa:lai*” (*unemployment average*), a singular noun and its “*mud’a:f*”:

نسبة البطالة لدى الشباب وخريجي الجامعات هو الأعلى (9)

Therefore, the feminine pronoun “*hiya*” replaces the error:

نسبة البطالة لدى الشباب وخريجي الجامعات هي الأعلى

In the second case, the word “*elmuqarrarati*” (*the decided*) wrongly corresponds to its following noun “*el-istiyna?*” (*the dispensing*), which is masculine:

القائمة الرسمية للاعبين المقررة الاستغناء عن أسمائهم (13)

The masculine “*elmuqarrari*” is the correction:

القائمة الرسمية للاعبين المقرر الاستغناء عن أسمائهم

3.4.1.1.5. Errors Related to the The Use of the Prefix (Definite Article) “el”

As noticed in some cases of the first newspaper sample (Echorouk), the confusion between the descriptive case (*essifa and elmawsu:f*) and the addition (*el- mudhaf and el- mudhaf ileih*) are the major problems that appear in grammar errors related to the use of “el”.

To recall the rule, “*el-mud’af ileih*” (the added-to noun) is *nakira and is defined (muḥarraf)* through the addition (*id’afa*) of a second word (*el-mud’af*). The next four cases do not conform to this rule. And the word in bold, as demonstrated, is in each situation a “*mudhaf ileih*” that does not need “el”:

Therefore, “*elqasri*” (the castle) in:

مدخل القصر العروض (15)

becomes “*qasri*” in :

مدخل قصر العروض

The word “*el-jaza:ʔiriyi*” (the Algerian) in:

النجم الفرنسي الجزائري الأصل (15)

is corrected to “*jaza:ʔiriyi*” (Algerian):

النجم الفرنسي جزائري الأصل

The same thing with “*elhazzi*” (the chance)in:

ولحسن الحظ الفتاة (24)

corrected to « *hazzi*” :

ولحسن حظ الفتاة

And finally “*lilharakati*” (of the movement) in:

دعمه للحركة التحرير (24)

is corrected to “*li harakati*”:

دعمه لحركة التحرير

The following case concerns “*essifa and elmawsu:f*” situation:

التدخين بالأماكن المخصصة لاستعمال جماعي (4)

The phrase “*elistisma:l eljama:ʕi*”, *muḥarraf*, replaces “*istiʕma:l jama:ʕi*” (public use):

التدخين بالأماكن المخصصة للاستعمال الجماعي

In the last case about “el”, the word “*elmuṭa:laba*” (*the demand*) does not need identification (*taṣri:f*) with “el”, since it is coordinated (*maṣtu:f*) to “*ihtija:jan*” (protest) which is “*nakira*”:

احتجاجا على البطالة والمطالبة بنصيب المدينة (11)

As a correction, “*muṭa:labatan*” replaces “*elmuṭa:laba*”:

احتجاجا على البطالة ومطالبة بنصيب المدينة

As in Echorouk sample, it has been noticed in El Khabar sample that numbers are rarely written in letters. Reasons behind this are seen to be the same as the ones argued for the first sample. However, the problem related to the use of “*el*” as attached to numbers appears in one situation:

الاقتراب من المصالح ذاتها قبل 20 من الشهر القادم (5)

corrected, through the addition of “*el*”, to:

الاقتراب من المصالح ذاتها قبل الـ 20 من الشهر القادم

3.4.1.1.6. Errors in the Use of Prepositions and Particles

Errors in the use of prepositions appear recurrently in El Khabar sample; however, those which concern the particles can hardly be noticed.

3.4.1.1.6.1. Errors in the Use of Prepositions (*huru: f el-jar*)

As in Echorouk sample, three sorts of errors in prepositions are noticed.

The first situation indicates the inappropriate choice of the needed preposition in 11 cases:

In the first example, “*tensahibu ṣala*” is wrong:

وتنسحب المقاربة الجزائرية لتسوية النزاع في ليبيا على النزاع في مالي (2)

It is corrected to “*tensahibu ṣan*” (*withdraw from*):

وتنسحب المقاربة الجزائرية لتسوية النزاع في ليبيا من النزاع في مالي

In the next example, the error concerns “*ṣala*” too:

... بغرامة تصل على 5 آلاف دينار (4)

The phrase “*tasilu ġala*” is corrected to “*tasilu ila*”(reaches):

... بگرامة تصل إلى 5 آلاف دينار

The grammar problem in “*min qoffati ramad'a:n*” is that the preposition “*min*” does not contribute to the correct meaning of the expression:

إعداد قوائم المحتاجين من قفة رمضان (5)

Therefore, the preposition “*li*” corrects the mistake, to get “*li qoffati ramad'a:n*”(of *Ramadhan's scuttle*) in the correction below:

إعداد قوائم المحتاجين لقفّة رمضان

The next five cases contain the same kind of errors:

يعود الفضل بذلك إلى أليغري (13)

“*bið:lika*” is corrected to “*fi: ða:lika*”(in it) :

يعود الفضل في ذلك إلى أليغري (13)

سبق له أن اشتكى بهم، على أن أراضيه تضررت لعدم مقدرته الوصول إليها (24)

“*ġala: anna*” corrected to “*li?anna*” (because):

سبق له أن اشتكى بهم، لأن أراضيه تضررت لعدم مقدرته الوصول إليها

إقناع سفيان فيغولي في التجديد للفريق... (12)

“*fi: ettajdi:di*” corrected to “*bittajdi:di*” (to renew):

إقناع سفيان فيغولي بالتجديد للفريق...

متحدثين عن غياب احترام للدستور وإلى وجود "ثقافة العصب" (5)

“*ila:*”(to) corrected to “*ġan*”(about) :

متحدثين عن غياب احترام للدستور وعن وجود "ثقافة العصب"

التنسيق في إقامة الملتقيات الدولية... (9)

“*fi: iqamati*” corrected to “*li?iqamati*” (to organise):

التنسيق لإقامة الملتقيات الدولية...

In this last example, the preposition “*ila*” is used in the wrong place where a conjunction of coordination, rather than a preposition, is required:

... و"سنة الجزائر في فرنسا"، إلى تظاهرة "الجزائر عاصمة الثقافة العربية 2007" (15)

The conjunction “*wa*” (and) is therefore employed for correction, to obtain the following passage:

... و"سنة الجزائر في فرنسا"، وتظاهرة "الجزائر عاصمة الثقافة العربية 2007"

The newspaper sample contains one case where a preposition is used in a situation that does not require it:

مضيفا أن هناك 56 حالة للتعدي على الأملاك العقارية (10)

The nouns "*ḥa:lat taṣaddi*" are "*sifa and mawsu:f*", joined without the need of a preposition:

على الأملاك العقارية مضيفا أن هناك 56 حالة تعدّ

And here is the one case where the preposition "*li*" is absent when needed:

والأمانة ليست سوى كيس (...) يسلمهما المسؤول بالخبزينة المركزية (3)

corrected to:

والأمانة ليست سوى كيس (...) يسلمهما للمسؤول بالخبزينة المركزية

The preposition "*li*" (*to*) precedes "*el-masʔu:l*" (*the responsible*) for the meaning "*given to the responsible*".

3.4.1.1.6.2. Errors in the Use of the Particles "*inna*" and "*anna*" (that)

The common mistakes in the contemporary MSA usage, related to the use of "*anna*" and "*inna*" in the right place is almost absent in the sample of El Khabar, except in one case when "*ḥaiṯu*" is employed with "*anna*":

حيث أنه من بين الآليات الجديدة (5)

The error "*ḥaiṯu anna*" (*so that*), is corrected to "*ḥaiṯu inna*":

حيث إنه من بين الآليات الجديدة

The scarcity of common mistakes related to the use of "*inna*" and "*anna*" particles, is a positive aspect in the language of El Khabar newspaper sample.

3.4.1.2. Stylistic Errors: Incorrect Use of Vocabulary and Punctuation

The "weak style" (*el-uslu:b erraki:k*) appears in a number of cases about the MSA used in El Khabar sample. Aspects of the fact are arranged, as done with Echorouk sample, into five categories: wrong choice of words, wrong word order, word repetition, and missing words, in addition to problems in punctuation.

3.4.1.2.1. Wrong Choice of Words

In the newspaper sample, there are 14 cases where, for certain meanings, the wrong words are used.

In the first example, the expression “*fa id'a:fatan ila*” (in addition to) does not contribute to the right meaning of the sentence:

فإضافة إلى "جيش الفتح" (...) يحاربهم جيش الله اللبناني... (11)

The phrase “*fahuna:ka*” (so there is) replaces the error to mean that Fateh army fights the Lebanon Allah army. The correction is shown in the next sentence:

فهناك "جيش الفتح" (...) يحاربهم جيش الله اللبناني ...

In the second case, the word “*ħammala*” (*charged*) is wrongly employed to communicate the real meaning of the message:

حمل البلديات على الابتعاد عن تراكم مديونية ثقيلة (5)

Therefore, it is replaced by “*ħaθθa*” (*urged*) to mean that the municipals were urged to avoid accumulating debts:

حث البلديات على الابتعاد عن تراكم مديونية ثقيلة

In this case, the error is related to the word “*ellaði*”, wrongly used in the sentence:

شاطئ كتامة وسط المدينة الذي تم إزالة كل المظلات الشمسية والكراسي (5)

As a correction, the word “*ayna*” (*where*) replaces it as shown in the sentence below:

شاطئ كتامة وسط المدينة أين تمت إزالة كل المظلات الشمسية والكراسي

In the next sentence, the mistake is in the phrase “*el-akθar nisba*” (*the biggest in rate*) which does not match with the sentence’s meaning:

تمثل شريحة الشباب ما بين 16 و20 سنة الأكثر نسبة للبطالة (9)

As a correction, it should be replaced by the phrase “*el-akbar nisba*” (*the biggest rate*), to mean that the ages of 16 to 20 represent the largest rate of unemployment:

تمثل شريحة الشباب ما بين 16 و20 سنة النسبة الأكبر للبطالة

Other examples are:

وصف تداولها بغير السلمي ويحمل عنفا بنوع آخر(5)

“*yaħmilu ħunfan*” corrected to “*ħa:mili ħunfin*” (*carrying violence*):

وصف تداولها بغير السلمي وحامل عنف من نوع آخر(5)

9782 مترشحا يجتازون امتحان إثبات المستوى (10)

“yajta:zu:na mtiħa:na” (pass the exam) corrected to “yuħad’d’iru:na limtiħa:ni” (prepare for the exam):

9782 مترشحا يحضرون لامتحان إثبات المستوى (10)

تغيب الجزائر الرسمية مع كل هذا عن مهرجان "كان" (15)

“errasmiya” corrected to “rasmiyan” (officially):

تغيب الجزائر رسميا، مع كل هذا، عن مهرجان "كان" (15)

يتأمل المشاهد الجزائري و المتتبع لمهرجان "كان"، من أن يعود الفيلم الجزائري للواجهة (15)

“yata?ammalu” (contemplates) corrected to “ya?malu” (hopes):

يأمل المشاهد الجزائري، المتتبع لمهرجان "كان"، أن يعود الفيلم الجزائري للواجهة (15)

And :

ووصف عناصره بالمفسدين، إضافة إلى أنهم يستولون على السلاح ثم يبيعونه... (11)

“i d’a:fatan ila:” (in addition to) corrected to “iħ” (since):

ووصف عناصره بالمفسدين، إذ أنهم يستولون على السلاح ثم يبيعونه... (11)

The next example represents a common mistake made by MSA users and extended to media language:

وذلك بين 14 إلى 17 ماي المقبل (9)

The expression “between ... and...” is wrongly expressed in Arabic as “bayna ... ila...”, while it should be correctly expressed as “bayna ... wa”, as shown in this corrected sentence:

وذلك بين 14 و17 ماي المقبل (9)

In this last case, the stylistic errors gather wrongly selected words and punctuation:

لكنه رد على أسئلة الصحفيين (...) بأن الإدارة اختارت الأفلام التي ستحبونها أفلام الشغف... (15)

The correction is :

لكنه رد على أسئلة الصحفيين (...): "إن الإدارة اختارت الأفلام التي ستحبونها، أفلام الشغف، .."

As can be noticed in the correction, “*biʔanna*” (that) is replaced by “*inna*” (to stress the importance of the action). In addition, the inverted commas are added to underline the reported speech and a comma is added before “*afla:m*” (*films*).

In the last four cases, serious style problems are noticed:

In the first case, the year 2015 is added without any precise meaning. It leads the reader to wonder what it is used for:

تتصيب عميد الشرطة محمد شلبي 2015... (10)

In the next example, the author adds the expression “*in ka:net rabbata beyt*”, which makes the sentence’s style an awkward one:

...للتغيب عن عمله أو ترك أولاده دون غداء إن كانت ربة بيت. (23)

While expressing problems faced by workers, the author gives the example of mothers who are compelled to leave their children unfed because of some obligation. Therefore, the right expression, “*ʔa:ssatan in taʔallaqa elʔamr birabba:tielbuyu:ti*” (*especially if this concerns the housewives*), is shown in bold in the following:

...للتغيب عن عمله أو ترك أولاده دون غداء، خاصة إن تعلق الأمر بربات البيوت. (23)

In the two remaining examples, the expressions in bold are really unintelligible if related to the sentence in which they appear:

الذي كان يمول أحد أحياء المدينة وكذا المسجد المذكور بالماء الشروب وكذا المستعملة لأغراض أخرى (10)

And :

مؤكد أن المدير العام لمؤسسة "أونجوا" متهم في عدة قضايا فساد منها إبرام صفقات عمومية وتبديد المال العام، والتي كان من المنتظر أن تعقد الجلسة الأولى أول أمس الإثنين (9)

Suggested corrections for these sentences are left open since the errors do not leave certain hints for their intended meanings.

3.4.1.2.2. Wrong Sentence’s Word Order

It has also been noticed that in some cases related to style, the word order in sentences stands irrelevant, as will be shown in the following table where the word or phrase in the wrong emplacement is mentioned in bold:

passage including a defective word order	suggested correction	English translation	page
من الجانب التونسي، (...) والي مدينة توزر من الجانب التونسي، ...	من الجانب التونسي، (...) والي مدينة توزر، ...	from the Tunisian side, (...) the wali of Touzer city, ...	9
دون أن نخضع للحجم الساعي للدراسة القانوني	دون أن نخضع للحجم الساعي القانوني للدراسة	without being conform to the legal studies' timing.	4
يحتاجونها خلال هذا شهر رمضان (5)	يحتاجونها خلال شهر رمضان هذا...	they need it for this month of Ramadhan, ...	4
موازة مع تسجيل بصورة دورية حوالي 20 ألف من السير الذاتية، ...	موازة مع تسجيل حوالي 20 ألف من السير الذاتية بصورة دورية، ...	in line with the registration of about 20 thousand (...)of autobiographies regularly, ...	9
حيث لاذ بالفرار بعد مداهمة الأمن رفقة شريكه، ...	حيث لاذ بالفرار، رفقة شريكه، بعد مداهمة الأمن، ...	so that he escaped, with his friend, after the roid of gendarmes, ...	15
وأشار صاحب فكرة المسيرة في تصريح للخبر سندباد طه:	وأشار صاحب فكرة المسيرة، سندباد طه، في تصريح للخبر:	and the walk idea's presenter, Sindibad Taha, pointed in a declaration to El Khabar:	11
القاسم المشترك أصبح لبعض هذه القوى هو جمع المال، ...	أصبح القاسم المشترك لهذه القوى هو جمع المال، ...	the common denominator of some of these forces became the collection of money, ...	2

Table 3.21. Wrong Sentence's Word Order in El Khabar Sample

3.4.1.2.3. Repetition of Words

In some other cases, words or ideas are repeated. In the following table, the first word (or same idea) and its repetitions are written in bold type:

Passage including repetition	Suggested correction	English translation	page
نصيب المدينة من عائدات حقول الغاز القريبة من المدينة	نصيب المدينة من عائدات حقول الغاز القريبة منها.	The city's share of the revenues of the nearby gas fields.	11
حيث قدم سائقها لعناصر الدرك وصل بين بأن الحمولة عبارة عن رمل من أجل تضليل عناصر الدرك الوطني،	... حيث قدم سائقها لعناصر الدرك وصلا يبين بأن الحمولة عبارة عن رمل من أجل تضليلهم.	... when its driver has given to the gendarmes a receipt showing that it is loaded with sand, to mislead them.	15
كما كثفت مصالح الأمن (...) كما علمت "الخبر" ...	كما كثفت مصالح الأمن (...) و علمت "الخبر" ...	As the security services have intensified (...) and "El Khabar has known that...	2
... تحولت إلى مفرغة عشوائية لرمي النفايات وبقايا الأشغال وتحولت إلى مصدر حقيقي للخطر	... تحولت إلى مفرغة عشوائية لرمي النفايات وبقايا الأشغال وأصبحت مصدرا حقيقيا للخطر	... has turned to a random deposit to throw waste and works' residues and it became a real source of danger	9

Table 3.22. Repetition of Words in in El Khabar Sample

3.4.1.2.4. Missing Words

In the remaining cases, there are words missing to complete the message's information. In the following table, the bold type is used to highlight the incomplete phrase in the first column; and to identify the added correction in the second and third column:

Passage including missing words	suggested correction	the added word(s)	English translation	page
وحضر الجلسة كل من زين الدين طبال وفاروق تفور...	وحضر الجلسة كل من زين الدين طبال وفاروق تفور...	من (min)	And all of Zin Eddine Toubal and Garouk Tefour (...) have attended the session	2
غير أن مساهل لفت إلى صعوبة التعامل مع ...	غير أن مساهل لفت الانتباه إلى صعوبة التعامل مع ...	الانتباه (el -intiba:h)	but Msahel has drawn attention to the difficulty in dealing with...	2
وتعد قضية بلدية بن سكران السابق ...	وتعد قضية رئيس بلدية بن سكران السابق...	بلدية (baladiyat)	And the case of the mayor of Bensakran is considered ...	5
فاجأ محققون (...) في انتظار أن تشمل باقي بلديات الولاية	فاجأ محققون (...) في انتظار أن تشمل باقي بلديات الولاية	التحقيقات (ettaḥqi:qat)	inspectors have surprised (...) before the inspections cover the other towns	5
على غرار ترشح الرئيس للمهدة الرابعة رغم عدم وجود بند في الدستور.	على غرار ترشح الرئيس للمهدة الرابعة رغم عدم وجود بند في الدستور يجيز ذلك.	يجيز ذلك (Yuji :zu ð a :lika)	like when the president is nominated for a fourth mandate in spite of the absence of an act in the constitution that authorise this	5
تقرير مفصل مكون 45 صفحة	تقرير مفصل مكون من 45 صفحة	من (min)	a detailed account composed of 45 pages	9
سيطالبون عن الأضرار التي لحقت بهم	سيطالبون بالتعويض عن الأضرار التي لحقت بهم	بالتعويض (bi tta ſwi : d')	They will demand compensation of the damage that touched them	24
عملية التخليص تكون إلا بثبوت الشخص الشرعي	عملية التخليص لا تكون إلا بثبوت الشخص الشرعي	لا (la :)	the process of payment will not take place until the legal person is proven	5
نجد أولا الممثلة المدللة "روسي دوبالما" من إسبانيا، سوفي مارسو من فرنسا، ... (15)	نجد أولا الممثلة المدللة "روسي دوبالما" من إسبانيا، ثم سوفي مارسو من فرنسا، ...	ثم (θumma)	We find first, the pampered actress "Russi Dupalma" from Spain, then Sophie Marso from France, ...	10

Table 3.23. Missing Words in El Khabar Sample

3.4.1.2.5. Errors in Punctuation

In the sample of El Khabar newspaper, problems of punctuation are noticed on every page, though, unlike in Echorouk sample, proper and correct punctuation is prevalent. However, defects in punctuation become more apparent as they negatively influence the newspaper style. In this respect, it is worth representing both correctness and errors in punctuation as present in some passages. But to avoid loading the chapter with Arabic passages, samples of this newspaper reports are exposed in Appendix C (p.286).

3.4.1.3. Spelling Mistakes

A few number of spelling mistakes have been noticed. The next two tables are devoted to their exhibition, correction and explanation. Some of these errors are considered common mistakes, others are related to the addresser's (journalist's) own proficiency in MSA, and others are typing mistakes.

The first table exhibits mistakes related to the opening "alif" (hamzat *el-wasl* and *hamzat el-qatʕ*):

Wrongly written /ʔ/ (hamza)	correction	English translation	page	comment
الارهابية	الإرهابية	the terrorist	11	In writing the MSA words starting with the letter "alif" /ʔ/, there is a defined rule: This letter is written "i" (<i>hamzat wasl</i>) in cases when the verb or its source (masdar) is of five or six letters; and when the verb of three letters, with a second voiceless letter in its "mod'ariʕ" form is in the imperative; and in ten other words, like "ism" (name), "ibn" (son) and "imraʔa" (woman). In the other cases, "i" (<i>hamzat el-qatʕ</i>) is used. (Abdelhalim& Abou El-Aynin, 2002). However many "common" spelling errors related to this case, usually happen.
الإعتداء	الاعتداء	the offence	15	
ايطاليا	إيطاليا	Italy	13	
الابطالي	الإيطالي	Italian	13	
اسبانيا	إسبانيا	Spain	12	

Table 3.24. Spelling Mistakes in the Opening "alif" (hamzat *el-wasl* and *hamzat el-qatʕ*) in El Khabar Sample

The second table shows other spelling mistakes:

passage including wrong spelling	corrected word	page	comment
وان كان بهدف وحيد	وان	12	“wa:n” means “weak” “wa ?in” means “even if”
بتنا الان	الآن	13	“ala:na” means “make something soft” “al?a :na” means “now”
زحما كبيرا	زحما	2	“zaχman” is “pushing violently” “zahman” means “crowd”
نند فيه بالحادثة الخطيرة	ندد	3	“naddada” (denounce) is the correct spelling
يعتبر هذا في حد ذات	ذاته	11	“ḏa:tih” needs the pronoun “hi” (the same)
مديني الجلفة والإدريسية (15)	مدينتي	15	“madi:nei” means “debtors to” “madi:natai” means “ he two towns of”

Table 3.25. Different Spelling Mistakes in the Sample of El Khabar Newspaper

3.4.2. The Use of the Colloquial in the Newspaper Sample

The Algerian Arabic presence in El Khabar newspaper sample is rare, that in the texts of the 92 articles, only three (3) instances are noticed. They are explained in the next table:

Algerian Arabic word	Equivalent in MSA	English translation	comment	page
"حقارة"	ظالمون	tyrants	The two words are written with inverted commas, quoted to be nearer to the Algerian thought and closer to report vital facts.	4
"حراقا"	مهاجرا غير شرعي	illegal immigrants		5
طاق على من طاق (idiomatic expression)	القوي يغلب الضعيف	The strong defeats the weak (a dog-eats-dog)	Though it is not reported in speech, the journalist employs it for its closeness to the Algerian thought and social reality.	23

Table 3.26. Algerian Arabic in El Khabar Newspaper Sample

3.4.3. The Use of Foreign Words in the Newspaper Sample

Some of the foreign words, adapted to MSA grammar, morphology, spelling and pronunciation, are present in El Khabar sample:

Word borrowed by direct translation	synonym in English	comment	page
ديموقراطي	democratic	Through translation, and efforts of borrowing by direct importation, these words are Arabic words that positively contribute to the enrichment and modernisation of MSA.	2
الديبلوماسية	diplomacy		2
أكاديمي-أكاديمية	academic		2
الفدرالية	federation		3
بيداغوجيا	pedagogical		4
دكتاتورية	dictatorship		4

Table 3.27. Foreign Words Borrowed by Direct Translation in El Khabar Sample.

However, the newspaper texts include a number of foreign words, transliterated in the Arabic alphabet, as presented in the following table. It is noteworthy that these transliterated words have been chosen for use though the equivalents of their majority are present in MSA language.

Transliterated word	Equivalent in MSA	English equivalent	page	comment
ترامواي-الترامواي	/	tramway	2	These two words do not have exact equivalents in Arabic. They always appear as transliterations, adopted by MSA users.
ميٹرو-الميترو	/	metro	2	
الباتريوت	أعضاء الدفاع الذاتي	Patriots	2	There is a suggestion to use the already existing Arabic equivalents for foreign words which are strongly present in Arabic discourse.
كاميرات	آلات التصوير	cameras	24	
"لوبيات"	جماعات الضغط	lobies	3	
إسلاموفوبيا	رهاب الإسلام	islamophobia	11, 22	
فوروم (22)	منتدى	forum	22	
بلاطو (11)	أرضية	plateau	11	
الداربي (12)	/	derby	12	
تيفو (12)	/	tifo	12	These two words, typical to football jargon, do not have equivalents in Arabic.
الليغا (13)	الدوري	league	13	Though these words belong to the football jargon, there is a suggestion to use their equivalents in Arabic.
سبونسورينغ (13)	التبني	sponsoring	13	
الميركاتو (13)	موسم الانتقالات	the Mercato	13	

Table 3.28. Transliterated Foreign Words in El Khabar Sample

Another important fact about the presence of foreign language effects on El Khabar sample can be touched in the number of abbreviations of names of different associations and organisations. Actually, these abbreviations are transliterations of foreign letters, as arranged in their original languages (usually French).

transliterated foreign abbreviations	Abbreviation in Latin (the original script)	meaning in Arabic	suggested Arabic abbreviation	page	comment
الكلا	CLA	مجلس ثانويات الجزائر	م ث ج	4	Since all these names have their equivalents in Arabic, there is a suggestion that Arabic newspaper introduces their abbreviations in Arabic language, as a contribution to the enhancement of MSA's position in situations where people got the habit to replace it by the transliterations of foreign words.
الكتاباست	CNAPEST	المجلس الوطني لمستخدمي التدريس للقطاع الثلاثي	م و م ت ق ت	4	
الأنياف	ANPFAF	الاتحاد الوطني لعمال التربية والتكوين	إ و ع ت ت	4	
سناباب	SNAPEP	النقابة الوطنية المستقلة لمستخدمي الإدارة العمومية	ن و م م إ ع	4	
سنتيو	SANTIO	النقابة الوطنية لعمال التربية	ن و ع ت	4	
أف.أن.تي.أو	FNTO	(not found)	/	4	
إيني	ENIE	المؤسسة الوطنية للصناعات الإلكترونية	م و ص إ	5	
كتاب إيمو	CNEP IMMO	الصندوق الوطني للتوفير والاحتياط- عقار	ص و ت إ عقار	10	

Table 3.29. Transliterated Foreign Abbreviations in El Khabar Sample

In the newspaper, there is a contribution in providing one abbreviation in Arabic letters:

ج ع ع ! (p. 4).

As in the case of Echorouk newspaper, the nominal sentences are present in El Khabar too, but the fact is, recalling it again, by no means a hint at imitation of foreign languages. It is in fact, an assertion of flexibility of Arabic language. The majority of sentences in the newspaper are verbal ones, except few. Yet, all the headlines of the 92 reports are nominal sentences. The purpose of this language structure is to back the headline's functions in attracting readers' attention to the topic or hero of the story (usually the subject), and in supplying the report's general idea in a concise way.

3.4.4. A Statistic Representation of Language Defects in El Khabar Sample

After the qualitative presentation of language defects in El Khabar sample, the present section of the research work suggests their quantitative representation.

The following table gives a global idea about the four detected language defects:

language defects	number	percentage
language errors	90	78.94%
colloquial Arabic forms	3	2.63%
presence of the foreign language	21	18.42%
total	114	100%

Table3.30. A Statistic Representation of Language Defects in El Khabar Sample

Though their number is smaller if compared to Echorouk, there is an important rate of language defects in El Khabar sample (114 cases for 92 articles). Most of them are language errors, representing 78.94% (90).

3.4.4.1. A Statistic Representation of Language Errors

Language errors stand the major problem of MSA in El Khabar newspaper. The next table exhibits their numbers as present in the sample:

kind of errors	number of errors	percentage
grammar errors	45	50.00%
stylistic errors (except pronunciation)	34	38.88%
spelling mistakes	11	12.22%
total	90	100%

Table 3.31. A Statistic Representation of Language Errors in El Khabar Sample

Half of the errors are grammatical ones (50%). The second rate concerns stylistic errors with 38.88%. However, spelling mistakes appear fewer (only 12.22%).

3.4.4.2. A Statistic Representation of Grammar Errors

Grammar errors, half of language errors present in El Khabar sample, are serious language problems. They are depicted in statistic details in the following table:

grammar errors	number	percentage
verbs	9	20%
voweling of words endings	13	28.88%
singular and plural forms	2	4.44%
masculine and feminine gender	2	4.44%
prepositions	11	24.44%
particls: inna/anna	1	2.22%
the definite article "el"	7	15.55%
total	45	100%

Table 3.32. A Statistic Representation of Grammar Errors in El Khabar Sample

Voweling and the use of prepositions constitute the major grammar problems, respectively with 28.88% and 24.44%. Common mistakes related to the use of particles, remain, on their part, of a minor percentage with only 2.22%.

3.4.4.3. A Statistic Representation of Stylistic Errors

The different stylistic errors, present in El Khabar sample, are quantitatively presented in the following table:

stylistic errors	number	percentage
wrongly selected words	14	41.17%
word order	7	20.58%
missing words	4	11.76%
repetition	9	26.47%
total	34	100%

Table 3.33. A Statistic Representation of Stylistic Errors in El Khabar Sample

The problem in stylistic errors in El Khabar sample is mostly in the choice of correct words for the communication of meanings. Nearly, half of the errors relate to the latter (41.17%).

3.4.4.4. A Statistic Representation of Spelling Mistakes

The number of spelling mistakes in El Khabar sample is eleven (11) in total. Statistic details about it are shown in this table:

spelling mistakes	number	Percentage
errors related to the starting /ʔ/ “hamzat el-wasl and hamzat elqatʕ”	7	63.63%
others	4	36.36%
total	11	100%

Table 3.34. A Statistic Representation of Spelling Mistakes in El Khabar Sample

Though they are few, if compared to the total estimate of language errors, and the number of reports in which they appear, more than half of the spelling mistakes have to do with the starting /ʔ/ “hamzat el-wasl and hamzat elqatʕ”.

3.4.4.5. A Statistic Representation of the Use of Dialectal Arabic

The next table gives an idea about the use of dialectal Arabic, in El Khabar sample, in numbers. Only three cases are noticed:

Dialectal Arabic forms	number	percentage
reported speech	2	66.66%
journalist’s own words	1	33.33%
influence of dialectal concepts	0	0%
influence of dialectal pronunciation	0	0%
total	3	100%

Table 3.35. A Statistic Representation of the Use of Dialectal Arabic in El Khabar Sample

It is noticed that most of the cases represent reported speech. They are two out of three cases (66.66%). However, no case of the colloquial’s influence is detected (0%).

3.4.4.6. A Statistic Representation of Foreign Language Use

The foreign language is present in the sample through journalists’ use of transliterations and abbreviations:

present of foreign language	number	percentage
transliteration of foreign words	13	61.90%
transliteration of foreign abbreviations	8	38.08%
total	21	100%

Table 3.36. A Statistic Representation of Foreign Words in El Khabar Sample

The numbers show that more than the half of the percentage of transliterated foreign terms relates to full words (61.90%). However, it is important to note that abbreviations are used only occasionally in different contexts; they hence, represent 38.08% of the total.

3.5. Comparative Analysis of the Textual Study of Echorouk and El Khabar Newspaper Samples

According to the textual analysis of language defects in the two newspaper samples, it can be clearly said that MSA in the Algerian newspaper is defective. The defects touching this language are highly related to language errors at different levels. However, they can hardly be attributed to the interference of the colloquial, Algerian Arabic, or to the intervention of foreign languages. Language errors represent the lion's share of language defects in both Echorouk and El Khabar. However, the 78.94% of these errors in El Khabar sample count 90 mistakes for 92 texts; while the 84% of the same errors in Echorouk represent 185 mistakes for the same number of texts (92); which means that language errors in Echorouk correspond to more than double the ones in El Khabar.

Grammar errors compose the highest number of noticed errors in both newspaper samples. In Echorouk, they are 70, and in El Khabar, they are 45. They constitute respectively 37.83% and 49.45% of language errors' totality. These numbers show that the first language problem that Algerian journalists suffer from remains grammatical. Grammar problems are different and concern mainly the vowelizing of word endings, the use of prepositions, and verbs. Yet, what is noticed in Echorouk sample is the important number of errors in the use of prepositions (*huru:f eljar*), which amount to 41.42% of its grammar errors. Therefore, it can be frankly declared that efforts are required from Algerian journalists to devote more care to develop their mastery and proficiency in MSA grammar.

Among the major mistakes that have the worst influence over MSA are the spelling mistakes. In writing, it is tremendous to pay attention to spelling mistakes, for the purpose of clarity and correctness of the communicated message. And newspaper language,

securing a mistake-free spelling, has to be underlined for three main reasons. The first one has to do with the clarity and intelligibility of the set of ideas, opinions and news, communicated to a mass audience. The second is related to the identity and social power of journalists and their works. Spelling mistakes, among other language-related errors, have a great impact on the attitude readers develop towards the newspaper, its journalists and its contents. The more these errors are present, the more negative attitudes are developed. The third and main reason has a relation with the sociolinguistic situation of MSA in its broader sense. Being considered a social institution, the newspaper language can be at the origin of common spelling mistakes extension in society; and this is very contributive to the weakening and deterioration of the language status in society. Unfortunately, the number of spelling mistakes in Echorouk sample is enormous, since to say that 65 mistakes are detected in 13 pages is alarming. In comparison, these mistakes appear less important in El Khabar sample (11 in total). At this level, I can remember a detail that justifies the reason of this reality. In the interviews I have had with the west regional editors of the two newspapers, I have received two different answers to the question concerning their care about language correctness. The West regional editor in charge of El Khabar, Mr Bourbia explained that producing a correct language is very important for the newspaper, since, any proposed reports or other journalistic works undergo a process of correction of three steps. He said: “First, as an editor, I read the work sent by email, I realise my first corrections, then I submit it to the ‘regional’ corrector for profound correction; and the final correction takes place at the level of Algiers, El Khabar’s central residence, before its publication” (2016, April 19). Mr Bourbia even introduced me to the corrector, who was, at that same time, examining a report. On his part, Dr. Hammadi, the West regional editor in charge of Echorouk, who is also a university doctor in journalism, explained that the regional office does not have any language corrector, and that only the central office in Algiers employs correctors. He convincingly underlined: “when correcting, the corrector, specialised in Arabic language not journalism, usually executes changes in the report’s basic contents, thus distorts the information. Therefore I assume the task of revising and correcting each regional report. I am an editor and a corrector” (2016, April 19). These two declarations plainly exhibit the unequal care of the two newspapers about language correctness.

As far as style is concerned, the “weak style” (*el-uslu:b erraki:k*) is what makes from whoever addressers’ language a frail one. This weak style is manifest in texts where

vocabulary and punctuation do not contribute to the correct and intelligible communication of ideas. Sometimes, there is an error in the choice of the correct word for a particular meaning; some other times, there is repetition of words, therefore the same idea, in one sentence; in some cases, there are missing words; and in others, there are intrusive words that distort the message coherence. All these instances of “weak style” have been noticed in the newspaper samples at hand. In Echorouk newspaper, apart from punctuation errors, a number of 50 stylistic mistakes have been noticed, while in El Khabar, there have been 34 mistakes. Though the difference is apparent, both numbers do not optimise a positive assessment of their contribution to MSA in the Algerian society.

One of the most risky language errors in a newspaper report or article, and even in any human written communication, is punctuation. Everyone knows that by using these stops and commas, the writer, or the producer of the message, is helping their readers or receivers to understand it, and guiding them to identify related ideas and separate ones. Punctuation and the mastery of its use are, thus, obligatory in the writing of any message, especially when it is a task of addressing a mass audience, a large readership, with diverse intellectual levels and understanding capacities. Here, punctuation becomes a channel to establish a relationship of trust between readers and journalists, since a well-punctuated newspaper text means coherent ideas which contribute to its successful reception, and therefore, correct understanding, reaction and feedback. However, if this punctuation is absent, wrong or incomplete, the message is wrongly transmitted since its text lacks coherence as it is understood with difficulty and as it may often become incorrectly understood. A certain result of this fact is that with the recurrence of punctuation errors, readers lose trust in journalists, the information or news they suggest, and even their language. Unfortunately, incorrect and incomplete punctuation is present in the Algerian newspaper samples under study. In Echorouk sample, the problem is very tense with the prevalent errors. Then while seeking ways to employ newspaper language as an effective channel of establishing linguistic security in the Algerian society, this fact stands as a discouraging factor and a real hindrance to realise such an achievement. In El Khabar sample, punctuation problems are significantly less in number and severity though they still need more care of journalists, correctors and editors.

With consideration of stylistic problems in the two newspaper samples, the first conclusion which concerns language errors is : when suggesting newspaper language to be of good benefits to the spread of linguistic security, and Arabs' reconciliation with their national language, errors of style, added to the previously triggered grammar errors and spelling mistakes, can conversely be good reasons for the people's raised doubt about their ability to master or, at least, secure easy and correct usage of MSA, on the model of newspaper language viewed by scholars, as seen in chapter two, the one of "*MSA guardians*".

As seen in the first and second chapters, the use of the colloquial constitutes a veritable danger to the stability, purity and maintenance of MSA. And under the spread of Middle Arabic (the language of intellectuals), in addition to the developing movement of the colloquial advocates in the Arab world as such, the media have become a vital scene of MSA- dialectal Arabic code switching. Hence, it has become common sense to often see journalists openly employ their Arabic dialect in reports and even in news programmes, especially in the huge number of Arabic TV channels and radio stations. Scholars (El-khori, 2005 & Mellor, 2010) even assert the extension of this phenomenon to the language of newspapers. Hopefully reinsuring for this case, the two newspaper samples have presented no serious occurrences of code switching to Algerian Arabic. The presence of the latter can hardly be touched in the newspapers' contents, except for the few instances of reporting everyday speech, or in communicating purely Algerian concepts. Thus, a second conclusion related to Algerian newspapers language defects is:

Unlike the audio-visual media, or even newspaper language in few other Arab regions, Lebanon and Egypt for instance, the Algerian newspapers El Khabar and Echorouk, are excellent examples for the preservation of MSA from the colloquial's interference in its forms and syntactic structures, the thing which ensures the fact that Middle Arabic and MSA simplification for journalists, are not at the mercy of the colloquial spread.

In the first and second chapters, some reflections have been made about the contact between Arabic and other languages. On the one hand, the phenomenon has positively contributed to the enrichment of MSA with new terminology and updated expressions, but, on the other hand, it has negatively had an impact on the weakening of the language, through the random introduction and use of an important number of foreign words at a

rapid pace. Within this atmosphere, and just like translators and linguists, journalists have contributed a lot to the enrichment of MSA. However, they have also a major role in the extension of foreign words' use in contexts normally reserved to MSA. The journalists' language in this case, becomes an image of the Algerian sociolinguistic situation, in addition to its being principally a professional treatment of this language situation. For this reason, the third and last conclusion in this analysis is about the degree of purity of the newspapers' Arabic with regards to the degree of foreign language presence in the newspaper samples: What is optimistic for the case of foreign language interference in the language of Algerian Arabic- newspapers, both Echorouk and El Khabar, is the absence of declared code switching such as the use of full foreign sentences or recurrent presence of other languages' vocabulary in MSA's texts. Yet, there must be a goal from the transliteration of foreign words in newspaper texts directed to a mass audience (it is worth recalling here that Echorouk sample counts 23 cases of transliterated foreign words and abbreviations and El Khabar counts 21). If the journalists' goal resides in attempts to keep pace with modernity, globalization and readers' expectations about an updated language and newest words; these journalists are in the same time, and in a way or another, harming MSA. If they use transliterated foreign words, having their equivalents in MSA or not, then they are stressing their impure use of this language, and confirming its weakness and incompleteness. They are also demonstrating their belief in the superiority of other foreign languages over MSA, and therefore contributing to the spread of the same belief in society.

3.6. Conclusion

The effects of Arabic newspaper language, namely that of El Khabar and Echorouk, can never be judged strictly negative or completely positive. The reasons for this conclusion are diverse and can be summarised in the subsequent lines:

The positive factor of these newspapers' language can be touched in their being written and communicated essentially in MSA. Thus, they provide readers with reliable and easily reached grounds to be familiar with reading in Arabic; therefore, familiar with Arabic vocabulary and expressions, in a manner that does not leave concrete opportunities for the foreign or the colloquial interference in the purity and stability of MSA. However, this quality can be further developed, and more beneficial if the transliteration of foreign

words is avoided and the use of transliterated foreign abbreviations is replaced, as a suggestion, by Arabic ones. This manner of language use has and will surely have a hand in the protection of MSA status, and the preservation of its purity and security in this era of controversial views on language roles in society.

Nevertheless, the problem of MSA is immense in what concerns language errors present in the two samples. Mistakes in the language directed to a mass audience remain unacceptable, especially when this language regarded as a crucial partaker in the shaping of the Algerian sociolinguistic situation, besides its being a forthright mirror to its pros and cons. Therefore, the conclusions about these language errors can be summarised as follows:

- Both Echorouk and El Khabar supply defective sources of language correctness, therefore the hypothesis of having them as boosters of correctness and purity of MSA language use is a debate in itself.
- Echorouk exhibits alarming conditions for MSA grammar, style and spelling with a number of errors that reaches 185. On the other hand, counting less than half of language errors in Echorouk sample, El Khabar's language with its 90 errors, stands in a more positive situation, regarding the degree of its correctness.
- The important amount of spelling mistakes in Echorouk newspaper (more than 65% of the errors) raises doubt about journalists, correctors and editors' interest in "*guarding*" MSA and preserving its purity. On the opposite, El Khabar's few spelling mistakes (12.22% of errors' totality), hint at the journalists, correctors and editors' interest in producing correct language, thus contributing, in a way or another, to the good of MSA situation.
- Stylistic problems are also of a high rate for both newspapers. Of course, their number is less in El Khabar sample (35 compared to 50 in Echorouk sample), but still, both numbers remain unacceptable since they are noticed in only 13 to 14 pages. Weak style means weak language. And a weak language can never be regarded as a contributor to the progress of MSA situation and the solving of its problems.

As a final point, on the light of the aforementioned conclusions about the language of the two scrutinized samples, it is worth of importance to briefly describe the advantages

and disadvantages of MSA situation in the Algerian newspaper. The first fact to be stressed is the nationalist mission these newspapers are preserving with a vigilant care to avoid the foreign language interference to the maximum, except in few instances of transliterated new concepts and commonly used abbreviations, this input presents the Algerian readership with easily reached texts in Arabic, supporting thus the policy of Arabisation and contributing to the enhancement of the Arab identity in readers and society. The second positive fact relates to the seldom used colloquial (Algerian Arabic). This can justify the newspapers' success in the development of a healthy middle language that could address the different intellectual categories of society and approach them to the standard, without having to use the colloquial which remains unsafe for the present situation of MSA. The third fact, however, is negative and concerns language correctness in grammar, style and spelling. Actually, the degree of language correctness varies from a newspaper to another and this offers heterogeneous contributions to the weakening of MSA, and the degradation of its position to the eyes of readers. Consequently, in this way, it becomes hard or almost impossible for these newspapers to have a hand in establishing linguistic security; since on the contrary, readers, noticing this amount of language errors, cannot trust a language defectively communicated to them by the so-called "*language guardians*". Nevertheless, to be precisely fixed, this conclusion needs further objective justifications and factual realities. For this reason, the next chapter is devoted to the examination of factors and results of MSA situation in the Algerian newspaper, through the approach of two major communicative elements in newspaper discourse, journalists as language sources and readers as language receivers.

Chapter Four

MSA at the Producers and
Receivers' Level in Echorouk
and El Khabar

Chapter Four: MSA at the Producers and Receivers Level in Echorouk and El Khabar

4.1. Introduction

Conclusions of the previous chapter have demonstrated that the Algerian newspaper, as reflected by Echorouk and El Khabar samples, acts both positively and negatively towards MSA and its sociolinguistic situation in contemporary Algerian scene. However its linguistic drawbacks, very numerous in Echorouk and relatively moderate in El Khabar, project important defects in their commitment to the mission attributed to them (at least by MSA advocates) towards the language and its people. In general, these newspapers contain language errors while they are required to help people overcome this language problem and change the vision they have long had about the difficulty of using correct MSA. They also use the foreign word transliterations, and this is not supportive to the progress of MSA in this era when it is being challenged by more developed languages by which Algerians, especially the young generation, are being fascinated. Till this point, it has been proven that the Algerian newspaper is not enabled yet to participate in the effective establishment of linguistic security in country.

In the light of these conclusions, the present chapter suggests further analyses of MSA situation in the Algerian newspaper. But this time the emphasis is on journalists (language producers) and readers (language receivers). The aim is to find out evidence about reasons of MSA situation in the Arabic-language Algerian newspaper, as well as its actual results in society, depicted through the investigation of readers' reactions or feedback. For this reason, the chapter progresses in the form of data collection and analysis attained with the help of two questionnaires, the first one directed to journalists and the second to readers. The focus is always on El Khabar and Echorouk dailies.

Target goals of the first part of this chapter focus on five focal issues:

- The idea(s) newspaper journalists have about the importance of Arabic-language newspaper in society.
- The vision(s) they have concerning their role towards MSA in society.
- Reasons behind their language problems

- Their point(s) of view regarding the use of Algerian Arabic in the journalistic work.
- Their reasons and aims from using foreign transliterations.

Whereas, the second part objective turns around other four main issues:

- The opinion(s) developed by readers of the Algerian Arabic newspaper, a sample of the Algerian people, towards MSA in relation to Algerian Arabic, French and globalization.
- The degree of their attachment to this newspaper.
- Their vision(s) and expectations regarding the role of this newspaper towards MSA
- Their degree of awareness about and reaction(s) towards the newspapers' language errors.

4.2. MSA at the Producers Level: Newspaper Journalists' Views about its Present Situation and their Roles towards it

Considered as the one of mass communication, language of the Algerian newspaper is manipulated by journalists for the purpose of realizing a certain number of effects on the Algerian opinions and thoughts. Is the protection and progress of MSA in the Algerian society central to these purposes?

To have a preliminary idea about this question, it is significant to cite the statements of the west region's editors in chief of the two newspapers under focus. In the two interviews which took place on 19 April 2016, the newspaper editors were asked an open question about the role of their respective newspapers towards Arabic. Their answers were very similar since both of them focused on the importance of this language "*elfusha*" in their journalistic mission, especially when being the first responsables in journalists' recruitment.

Mr. Bourbia, the regional editor of El Khabar declared: "the founders of El Khabar, including me, always care a lot about the prosperity of Arabic". He added that for any journalist to be recruited, they must pass through a training period, during which their language is carefully tested; then if weakness in their written Arabic is noticed, a consequent rejection takes place. Language is, therefore, an essential parameter in

journalists' recruitment in El Khabar newspaper. And about the case of edited journalistic works, Mr. Bourbia said that the balance between the stylistic forms of the articles and reports of different rubrics must be respected with a special care; since, as he sees, journalists' levels in Arabic are different while the contribution of each of them participates to the "collective work and eventual challenges" of the newspaper. But in his contribution, the editor openly adds that language is by no means the first preoccupation of all contemporary newspapers, and that the main interest of these mass media is financial, i.e. in ways of ensuring more incomes, especially through competition to publish the most attractive topics to readers and secure more sales, and through advertisement.

On his part, the west regional editor of Echorouk, Dr. Hammadi Mohammed focused in his answer on the relation between MSA and Islam as he declared that:

Protecting Arabic, the language of Islam is one of our first preoccupations. The crucial reason for this can be understood from our editorial line, which is in itself a famous saying of El-imam El-Chafi'i: "Our opinion is a correct one which tolerates the mistake and your opinion is a wrong one which tolerates the correctness"⁶⁰.

(2016, April 19)

About the firmness regarding journalists' proficiency in MSA, Mr. Hammadi adds that in recruitment examinations, attention is highly focused on language as an essential quality in skilled candidates. Then, he exemplified this detail by referring to the latest examination realized at the level of Adrar to recruit journalistic correspondents, in which he was engaged, and during which all candidates were asked to write samples of newspaper articles. Their language, he said, "was a real massacre of MSA"⁶¹, and for this reason, all of them were refused. In comparison to all these details concerning Echorouk care about MSA, the journalist did not add any detail about the financial or advertising interests of the newspaper.

Bearing in mind the above details offered by the two editors, the present analysis starts with the hypothesis that MSA really receives care from the part of the Algerian newspapers. But if this care stops at the level of journalists' selected appointment and if it

⁶⁰ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

⁶¹ See the original text in Arabic script (Appendix A, p. 282)

stands minor if compared to financial preoccupations, it can be viewed as an incomplete and defective maintenance of the language.

4.2.1. Methodology of Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection and analysis is based on a questionnaire of 15 main questions, three of them are joined by an additional question. Thus, in total there are 18 questions, most of them are either open-ended questions (9 in total) or close-ended ones (8 in number), and only one is a semi-close-ended question. The choice has been focused on these kinds of questions to collect as much information as possible from the source of MSA newspaper language (journalists). However, the questions are formulated with a special care about their conciseness and easiness, to address journalists' thoughts comfortably, being aware of the busy life these people have.

The informants are 16 journalists. Most of them (12) are of El Khabar and Echorouk. In addition to them, four (4) journalists of other newspapers have been purposely counted to have the opportunity to check and see whether the variety of supplied answers can be rightfully judged the same for all Arabic- language newspaper journalists. Actually, reaching journalists or newspaper correspondents was not an easy task. It took more than one month and a half to obtain the answers of these 16 informants. Just an example of this difficulty is the 20 emails sent, either to journalists or the editorial boards in Algiers, which did not receive any answer. Nonetheless, the met ones were very interested and frank when answering the proposed questions. Their newspaper affiliation is shown in the table:

daily newspaper	number of journalists
Echorouk	7
El Khabar	5
El-Chaab	1
Wakalet El-Anbaa EL-jazairia	1
El-fajr	1
El-Hayet	1
total	16

Table 4.1. The Newspaper Affiliation of Journalists' Sample

With the spread of liberal journalism and private newspapers, it can be noticed that 14 of the journalists are employees of private newspapers and only two are employed by governmental ones (El-Chaab and Wakalet El-Anbaa).

The experience of informants in the field of journalism varies from 2 years to 30 years as demonstrated in the following table:

Years of experience	number of journalists	percentage
2-5	6	37.50%
6-10	3	18.75%
11-15	2	12.50%
16-20	4	25%
30	1	6.25%

Table 4.2. The Journalists' Experience in the Field of Journalism

Relatively more than half of the questionnaire's respondents belong to the young generation of journalists (56.25% of less than 10 years experience). This feature offers more chances to tackle the situation of MSA as treated by journalists of different length of careers in the field, with more emphasis on the novel visions of young journalists.

In dealing with answers of the respondents, three steps are followed. First, the answers are quantitatively arranged by category and estimated by percentages. Second, the results are qualitatively analyzed and measured in so far as to supply the needed information for research work's section. Finally, conclusions are listed and recommendations are suggested.

4.2.2. MSA in the journalists' Professional Orientations

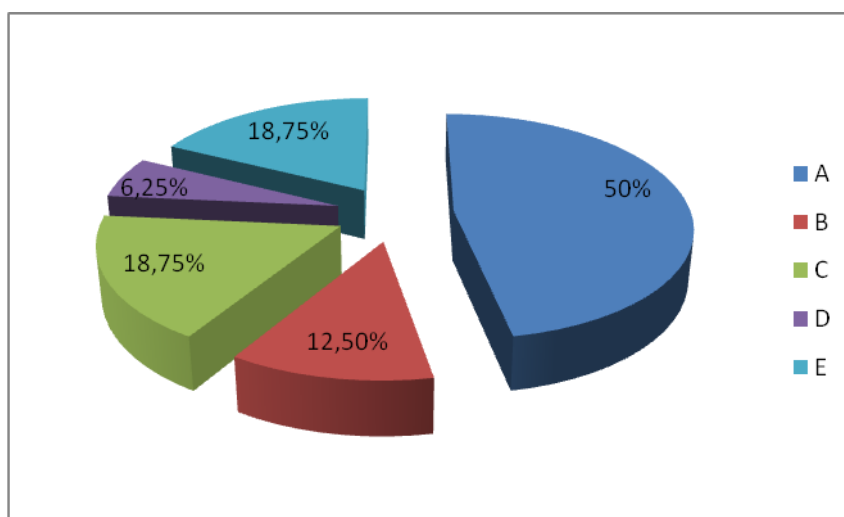
The first question in the questionnaire is formulated to check whether serving the Arabic language exists as one of the main interests of journalists. It is an open-ended question:

What is the first factor that made you choose the profession of journalism?

Collected answers are arranged as follows:

answer	Number of informants	percentage
a Mastery of Arabic language (MSA)	8	50%
b Love of Arabic (MSA)	2	12.50%
c Specialization in Arabic-language journalism	3	18.75%
d Answering the demands of an arabised society	1	6.25%
e Other answers	3	18.75%

Table 4. 3. The Main Interests of Respondents in the Profession of Journalism



Pie Chart 4.1. The Main Interests of Respondents in the Profession of Journalism

Among the collected answers, 81.25% directly relate to the Arabic language. This estimate plainly exhibits that MSA plays the main role in determining the professional orientation of Arabic newspaper journalists before any other factor. However, the manner in which this role is manifest varies: 50% of the total number of informants say that they master MSA (described by them as “*the Arabic language*”) more than any other language. This evidence reflects the effects of Arabisation policy on all sectors, knowing that the written press is becoming more and more arabised to the extent that the majority of newspapers having the largest rates of readership are Arabic ones. Other 18.75% relate their professional choice to their specialization in Arabic language written press, the fact which stands an obvious reason. But regarding this point, four informants did not hesitate

to say that their university diploma is not in journalism but in Arabic language. This important number (25%) only underlines the heavy weight and importance of Arabic in the views of these newspapers' responsables; since the mastery of Arabic and specialization in it is an essential criterion for recruiting journalists. Moreover, 2 of the informants (12.50%) just express their love to Arabic, while one (6.25%) gives priority to their commitment to answer the demands of an arabised society. This fact, again, underscores the effect of Arabisation policy on the professional orientations of Algerian journalists which favour MSA in mass communication.

The other three reasons, represented in 18.75% of the answers, relate the professional choices primarily and respectively to the love of journalism, the desire to serve society and the interest in national and international political activities.

4.2.3. Journalists' Visions about the Status of Arabic Newspaper in the Algerian Society Compared to the Arab World

For any human being, to accomplish their duties and endeavour to succeed in them, there must be motivation. This strongly applies to the target journalists. Thus, it can be suggested that for journalists to fulfil their social roles effectively and responsibly, there must be attention reserved by society to their works and contributions. For this reason, 2 questions have been directed to them, aiming at examining their degree of motivation. The questions test their vision about the interest of contemporary society in reading Arabic newspapers.

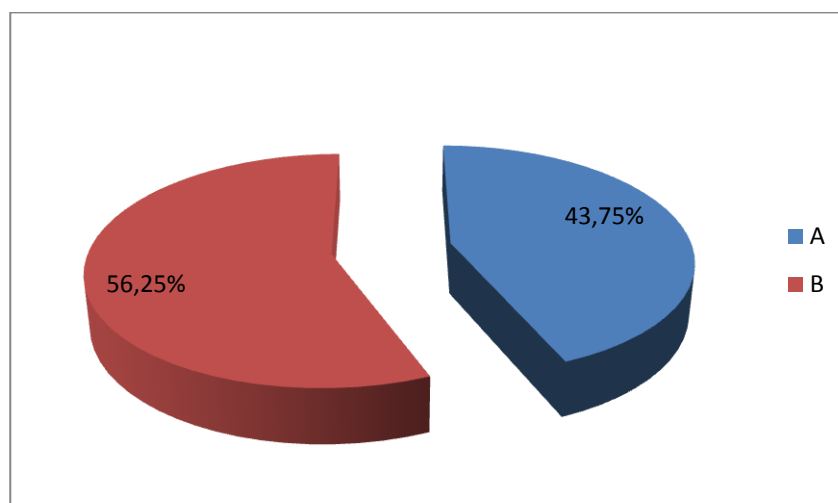
The first question targets the Arab world in general:

According to your information and professional experience, what is the present-day situation of the Arabic-language written press in the Arab world?

The answers are displayed in the following table:

answer	number of informants	percentage
a It receives an important turnout of the people	7	43.75%
b It receives a decreasing turnout of the people	9	56.25%
c It is abandoned	0	0%

Table 4. 4. Journalists' Views about the Present-day Situation of the Arabic-language Newspapers in the Arab world



Pie Chart 4.2. Journalists' Views about the Present-day Situation of the Arabic-language Newspapers in the Arab world

According to the obtained estimates, it can hardly be said that the journalists believe in the extinction of newspapers in the Arab scene. 100% of them see that they are receiving certain interest on the part of the Arab population; and all of them eliminate the fact that the newspaper is abandoned, despite the contemporary invasion of new media which offer the newest and speediest information resources. 43.75% of them view that the Arabic language written press still receives important interest. And this can be enough for journalists to guard their optimism concerning the social position they preserve in the Arab society as such.

To have an idea about the reasons which led informants to develop these views, a further question is added: Why according to you?

One (1) of the informants who see that the newspaper receives an important readership responded that it is the result of the Arab societies' socio-political unrest which charges newspapers heavy responsibilities to influence the public opinion; while the others, six (6), agree that it is a matter of trust developed in the Arab citizen towards the Arabic-language newspaper, which made of reading a newspaper an inherited behaviour that marks the population's culture. On the other hand, all of the informants who are convinced about the decreasing interest towards reading Arabic newspaper relate their conviction to the strong presence of more technological media. Two (2) of them limit the fact to the Arabs' attachment to radio and television, while the others insist on the new media, which are gradually replacing print newspapers. These answers highlight the fact that in the Arab society, two contradictory realities collide; the first posits the newspaper against the difficult challenge of more technologically advanced media, while the second surround it with passionate attachment of society members to the tradition of reading newspapers. Consequently, it is becoming imperative for newspaper journalists to seek ways to preserve this tradition by stressing their presence in mass communication competition.

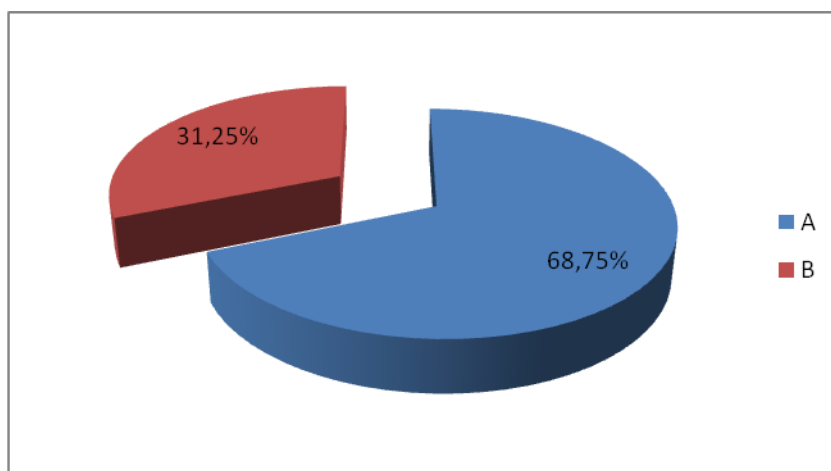
The second question targets the Algerian society specifically:

What is the present-day situation of the Arabic-language written press in the Algerian society?

The answers are displayed in the following table:

answer	number of informants	percentage
a It receives an important turnout of the people	11	68.75%
b It receives a decreasing turnout of the people	5	31.25%
c It is abandoned	0	0%

Table 4. 5. Journalists' Views about the Present-day Situation of the Arabic-Language Newspapers in the Algerian Society



Pie Chart 4.3: Journalists' Views about the Present-day Situation of the Arabic-Language Newspapers in the Algerian Society

Unexpectedly, the informants' answers concerning the Algerian case are different from the ones about the Arab society as such. Their majority (68.75%) view that the Arabic language newspaper receives a considerable turnout of readers; whereas 31.25% see that their number is in decrease, and no one of them (0%) sees that the newspapers are abandoned. Probably these estimations give evidence about the fact that Algerians are ranked among the first populations in the Arab world with whom the newspaper enjoys a considerable social power. Consequently, having a considerable number of readers is certainly too optimistic for journalists who believe in accomplishing their missions in society. The journalists' estimation about the social situation of Arabic newspaper in the Algerian society is therefore very encouraging to declare that this newspaper is powerfully established as a social institution. However, a total balance of this situation cannot be easily ensured with the challenge of the present era's technological changes in media. To be sure about these realities and challenges, an additional question adds in the questionnaire:

Why according to you?

In their answers, among the 11 journalists who think positively about the social situation of the Arabic newspaper, 6 see that despite the spread of technologically more advanced media, the newspaper enjoys special care and taste in society, since as in the other Arab regions, it has become part of the Algerian traditional behaviour. And, consequently, there is an important social category who habitually reads newspapers. One

of these journalists returns this fact to the technological lateness of society which hinders the easy access to new media. And finally, 4 informants attribute the reasons of this social success to the policy of Arabisation which has very much encouraged reading in Arabic at the expense of French. On their part, 4 out of the 5 journalists who view the decreasing social situation of the newspaper, relate their answer to technology, and the way it offers more opportunities to TV, radio and the electronic press; while one of them sees that the declining situation is a result of competition between newspapers which has become financial, based on the focus on advertisement. Considering these answers, it is concluded that conditions of Arabic-language newspaper in the Algerian society undergo almost the same situation of other regions in the Arab world, despite the fact that the Algerian reader is precisely exceptionally attached to this newspaper.

4.2.4. Journalists' Assumed Roles towards MSA

One of the key inquiries of this research work is about the role journalists attribute to themselves towards MSA. It has been explained in the second chapter that scholars and advocates of MSA insist on the protective mission of journalism regarding this language. To check the degree of conviction of journalists about "*their*" sociolinguistic role, a question listing all the presupposed roles is suggested to them:

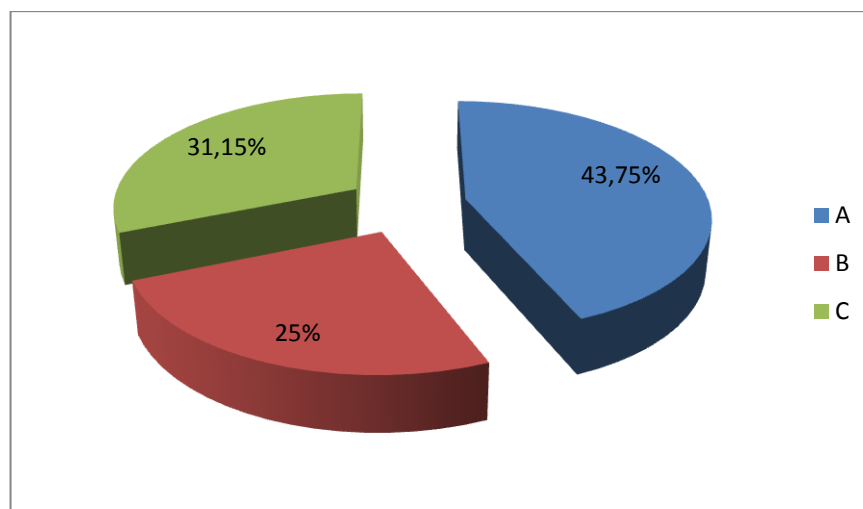
In addition to news listing and the influence of public opinion, do you agree that among the other goals of the Algerian press written in Arabic are:

- The spread of the correct use of MSA?
- The preservation of MSA vitality in society?
- The enrichment of this language with new terminology?
- The approximation between the colloquial and the standard in Arabic language?
- The realisation of linguistic security for the protection of national identity?

Collected answers are represented in the following table:

answer	number of informants	percentage
a Yes	7	43.75%
b To a certain extent	4	25%
c No	5	31.15%

Table 4. 6. Journalists' Assumed Roles towards MSA



Pie Chart 4.4. Journalists' Assumed Roles towards MSA

Informants' answers are different concerning their roles towards MSA. 43.75%, the largest percentage, totally agree with the suggested propositions; and 25% of them partially agree with them. Nevertheless, 31.15% completely disagree about the idea that one of their functions as journalists is to serve MSA. This number (31.15%) remains important as it proves that a considerable number of Algerian newspaper journalists are not preoccupied by the improvement and enhancement of the language they daily use to address the population, and as it justifies one of the reasons of newspaper language defects tackled in the previous chapter. In spite of that, the estimate of informants who assume certain roles towards MSA, even narrow ones, reaches 68%; and this enhances optimism about possibilities to encourage and increase these journalists' care about MSA.

To discover which roles are really assumed by these journalists and which ones are not, they have been asked to delete the irrelevant expressions, but no one has deleted any. This deed is very reflective in itself. It can convincingly be interpreted in the fact that all

these journalists thoroughly believe that the suggested five roles are really theirs, but though central and decisive, they are not totally assumed by all of them.

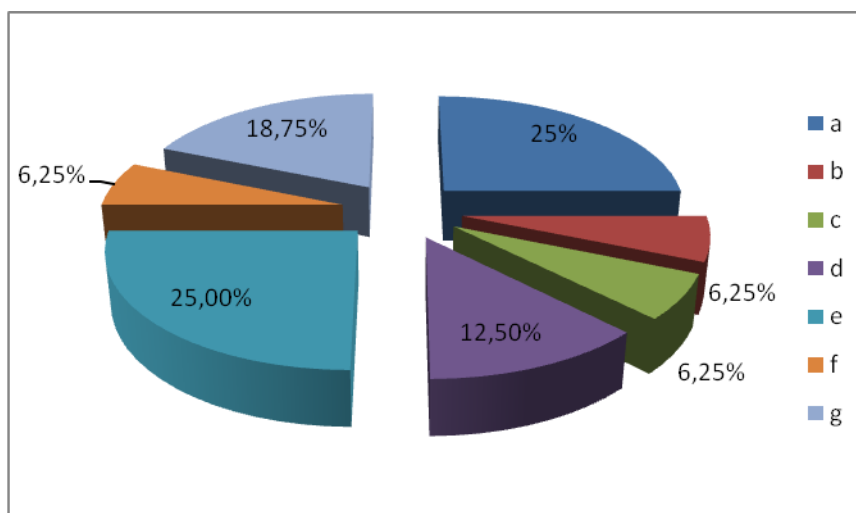
This frankness of journalists is further tested by asking them another question:

What is your comment about that?

Three (3) of the informants have preferred not to answer, while the 13 others have provided different reasons for their choices. The provided answers can be arranged into seven categories as shown in the following table:

	answer	number of informants	percentage
a	The duty to protect the Arab national language and the marker of Arab identity	4	25%
b	these services are done indirectly	1	6.25%
c	The absence of creativity in the journalistic work	1	6.25%
d	The newspaper language is not MSA, but Middle Arabic	2	12.50%
e	The first mission of journalists is providing correct and intelligible information	4	25%
f	The major interest of newspapers is commercial then political	1	6.25%
g	no answer	3	18.75%

Table.4.7. Journalists' Comments about their Assumed Roles toward MSA



Pie Chart 4.5. Journalists' Comments about their Assumed Roles toward MSA

Seven different viewpoints explain the journalists' unequal assumptions of their roles towards MSA:

25% of them, presenting 4 of the 7 who totally agree with the suggested points in the previous question, are oriented by their nationalist spirits very attached to "Arabic" (MSA) the language of national identity. The remaining ones (18.75%) preferred not to express their comments; and this fact can be interpreted into two different views: either these people see it too obvious for any written press journalist to be devoted to the service of MSA and thus join the nationalistic vision of the first category; or they see from their competence in the language, in addition to the incessant need to creativity in journalistic writings, involuntary or indirect inducers of MSA correctness, enrichment and protection.

On their part, journalists forming the largest number of the remaining informants (25% of the total), think that the suggested roles towards MSA are not figured among their high priority missions. They see that the real role of journalists is essentially informational, and that language in this case is employed just as a channel of simple and understandable communication of news. One (1) of the informants (6.25%) sees that journalists can do something to MSA, but in an indirect manner, in the same way as one of them becomes the first to add a new word introduced just to describe a new event, without knowing that this word will be so commonly used in the domain and, later, in society as such. Another informant (6.25%) sees that newspaper journalists do not have any positive role towards the language, simply because their present goals are first commercial then political. There

is another answer intentionally left to the end: two informants, presenting 12.50% of the total, warn that there could not be any interest towards the service of MSA in newspaper language simply because, in itself, it is not MSA but a “*middle language*”. For them, Middle Arabic “*ellugha elwusta*” has nothing to do with “*elfusha*”, being a mixture between very simple words and Algerian Arabic. This view is both grave and contradictory. It is grave because it excludes MSA from the work of Arabic newspapers and because it reflects a wrong meaning of Middle Arabic, alas believed to be the right one by advocates of the spread of the colloquial in MSA domains (as seen in Chapter One). And it is contradictory because these “*very simple words*” are MSA in themselves. In relation to this point, the next question proposes more understanding of the journalists' views about Middle Arabic; it thus offers more opportunities to discuss the status of this variety of Arabic in the Algerian newspaper.

4.2.5. Journalists' Point of View about Middle Arabic

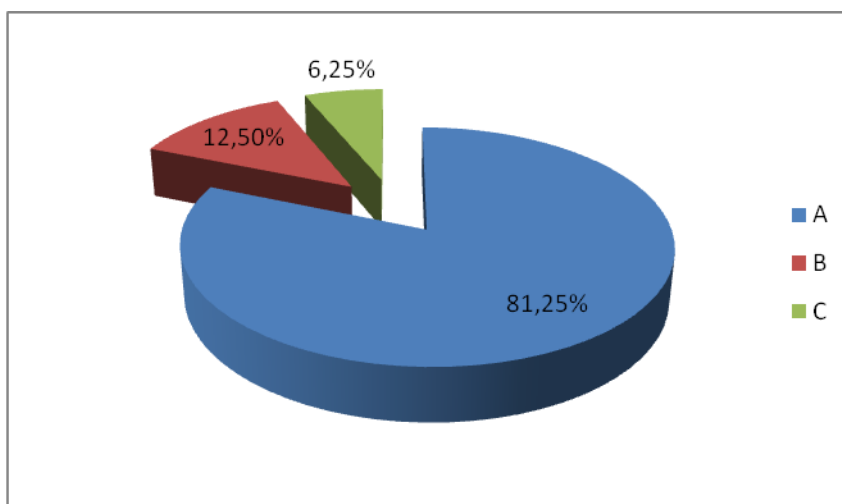
The information seen necessary to elicit in this part of the research work is related to Middle Arabic. How is it in the views of Arabic newspaper journalists in Algeria? And how does it treat MSA? For this reason, a sixth question is added in the questionnaire. The question is semi-close and does not employ the term Middle Arabic, for the simple reason that, many journalists, not being sociolinguistic specialists, are not familiar with it. Therefore the question says:

How can MSA be approached to the Algerian reader? (You can choose more than one answer)

The informants' answers are exhibited in the following table:

	answers	number of informants	percentage
a	with the use of simple words of an eloquent origin	13	81.25%
b	with the use of colloquial terms	2	12.50%
c	other answers	1	6.25%

Table 4. 8 Journalists' Points of View about Middle Arabic



Pie Chart 4.6. Journalists' Points of View about Middle Arabic

The informants' majority view that approaching MSA to readers' thoughts can be personified solely with the help of a simplified eloquent (*fasiḥa*) language. Thus, simple texts, composed of simple vocabulary are the key for the creation of a middle language. On the other hand, 12.50% of them confirm that ensuring the nearness of newspaper MSA texts to all readers can only happen with the colloquial interference. This opinion stands for the belief of a minority of Algerian journalists in the need of the colloquial (Algerian Arabic) to address society efficiently; besides, it proves an erroneous interpretation of Middle Arabic meaning by some journalists. Unfortunately, this interpretation is indirectly undermining the purity and correctness of MSA. Finally, one informant, presenting 6.25% of the total, states that no answer can be valid since the newspaper language is not MSA, hence nothing can be said about the approach of MSA to readers in newspaper context. Though this answer may stand for a minority of journalists, it warns once more about the danger undermining MSA, with the contribution of individuals like these, in the spread of wrong ideas about "difficult and irrelevant *fushḥa*" that should be replaced by a hybrid Arabic variety, nearer to the colloquial than to the standard. Yet, amidst all these estimates and interpretations, it should be very hopeful to reassess the evidence that 81.25% of target journalists' sample symbolize a wider range of messages producers in the discourse of Arabic-language Algerian newspapers. The latter are totally with the protection of MSA purity and against the interference of the colloquial or any other possible language. They actually join the belief that the construction and use of Middle Arabic cannot take place at the expense of the standard' loss, but by everybody's contribution to securing this

language's intelligibility and nearness to all social categories, with a special care about preserving the original in it.

4.2.6. Journalists' Views about the Benefits and Drawbacks of Using the Colloquial

In the third chapter, it has been noticed that the use of the colloquial (Algerian Arabic) remains relatively minor in the context of the two Algerian newspaper samples. This has induced further research about the position of journalists towards the relation of this Arabic variety, in fact the mother tongue of the Algerians' majority, to MSA, and towards the potential positive as well as negative inputs this variety can bring effects on MSA. For this purpose, three questions are put forward.

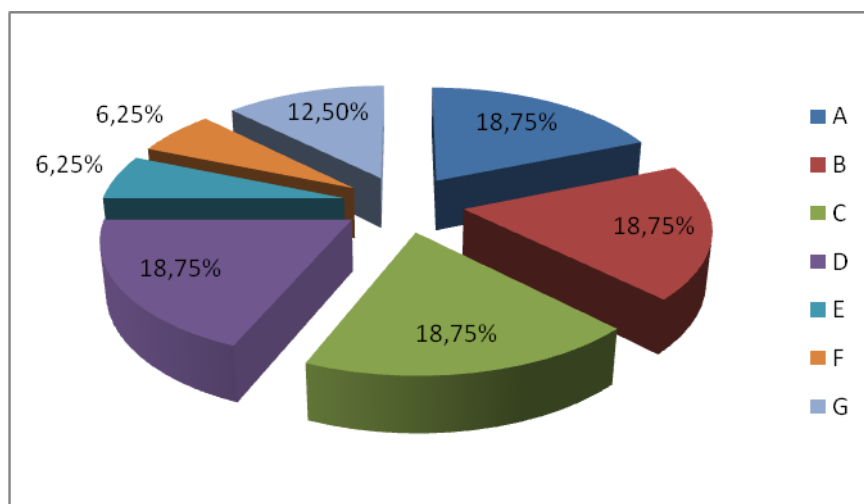
The first question targets the relation between the two varieties. It is posed as a direct open-ended question, aiming to obtain the most precise view of each informant:

According to you, what is the relation between the colloquial language and MSA?

Provided answers are arranged by category as exhibited in the following table:

	answer	number of informants	percentage
a	They have the same origin	3	18.75%
b	They complete each other if properly used	3	18.75%.
c	Despite their differences, they are very near to each other	3	18.75%
d	Ties in their relation are being reduced	3	18.75%
e	They are in a competitive relation	1	6.25%
f	MSA can reach the thought of any Arabic reader, while Algerian Arabic addresses Algerians alone	1	6.25%
g	There is no relation	2	12.50%

Table 4.9. Journalists' Views about the Relation between Algerian Arabic and MSA



Pie Chart 4.7. Journalists' Views about the Relation between Algerian Arabic and MSA

Seven different ideas are deduced from the answers of the 16 informants. 18.75% of them focus on the two Arabic varieties' same origin. The same number of informants (18.75%) notice that currently, these kin varieties are still very near to each other despite the changes that are continuously occurring in the form and use of both, especially the colloquial which is today loaded with foreign words. Other 18.75% see that they can complete each other if they are properly used and their nearness is rightfully invested. Actually, these first three answers are much related to each other, and if combined (56.25%), the result will offer a key solution to settle a powerful agreement between the two varieties in the Algerian sociolinguistic scene. Truly enough, the colloquial and the standard have the same origin; both of them are "Arabic". And in spite of the vitality and exposure of Algerian Arabic to changes at most linguistic levels (vocabulary, grammatical, phonological, stylistic and semantic), it has reserved many qualities of Classical Arabic, such as vocabulary and expressions of an eloquent origin (see Chapter One). Therefore, the ambivalent feelings towards the two varieties in society can be gradually rubbed out with the work of newspaper journalists to approach them, just by projecting this "treasure". Key to that is the focus on the use of this eloquent (*fasiḥ*) word in the colloquial, in the journalistic text, as a first step to establish a positive vision about the position of the two varieties in contemporary society and mainly to reconcile people with their national language.

On their part, the other four answers agree to stress the difference between the two Arabic varieties. 18.75% see that the previously existing ties between MSA and the colloquial are decreasing because of the openness of the latter to foreign languages' interference, especially with its exposure to the present-day globalized world which leads the new generation to drift away more and more from the origin. One informant (6.25%) draws attention towards the competitive relation between the two. Effectively, with the influx of contemporary ideologies and calls to assign more social power to the colloquial, this competition is presently at its peak. Another one (6.25%) focuses on the limitation of the colloquial to local communication. And finally 12.50% assert that this relation is already extinguished because of the "hybrid" nature of the colloquial "*which is in fact thoroughly submerging in corruption*", as described by one of them, and becoming an image of excessive code switching that leads to wonder which language the speaker is using. This last view is in fact a very dramatic image, which is actually proved true, in a way or another, in the Algerian society. However, partly, it cannot be that pessimistic considering the vigorous nature of spoken language, especially in the current globalized world which strongly encourages multilingualism and code switching; and partly, it can be very alarming when the gradual departure of people towards intense linguistic insecurity and refuge to the foreign language is taken into account.

About the relationship between MSA and Algerian Arabic, it can be concluded that Arabic newspaper journalists are sufficiently aware about the advantages and disadvantages of this relation, which is in itself a double-edged sword that needs cautious maintenance for the good of the people's sociolinguistic reality, namely, their linguistic identity. To examine these journalists' dealing with the issue, two further questions are suggested. They are open-ended questions which investigate the benefits and drawbacks of the colloquial according to journalists' opinions.

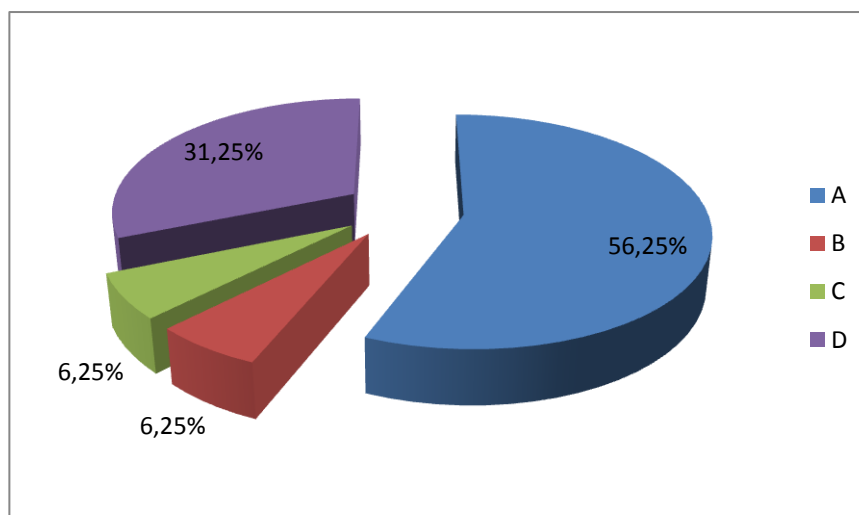
The first question in this respect is:

According to you, what is positive about using the colloquial in the journalistic text (if any)?

The general ideas of collected answers are arranged by category in the following table:

answers		Number of informants	percentage	
a	To attract the reader and reach all social categories	9	56.25%	68.75%
b	To express concepts that MSA cannot express	1	6.25%	
c	To be easy and not to open the door to wrong interpretations	1	6.25%	
d	There is no benefit	5	31.25%	31.25%

Table 4.10. Journalists' Views about the Benefits from Using the Colloquial in Journalistic Texts



Pie Chart 4.8. Journalists' Views about the Benefits from Using the Colloquial in Journalistic Texts

In general, almost 69% of the informants are convinced that there are some benefits from the use of the colloquial in written press texts, while 31.25% are persuaded that there is no benefit in it. In the first category, 56.25% of the informants see that the use of the colloquial is positive in the way it enables the attraction of readers' interest when addressing them occasionally in their mother tongue. One informant (6.25%) relies on Algerian Arabic to express concepts particular to the Algerian culture which cannot be expressed properly in another language, even in MSA. One other informant (6.25%)

underlines the same idea, focusing on the fact that the replacement of the colloquial word in this case, opens the door to wrong interpretations of newspaper messages. Conversely, respondents of the second category, forming 5 (31.25%) of the total, find no positive outcome from the use of the colloquial in newspaper discourse. These journalists are but a sample of a category of Arabs jealously endeavouring to defend the purity of MSA. However at this point, it is significant to recall the truth that purity and progress of MSA can be efficiently maintained even through its openness to the colloquial interference, provided that it happens with an aim to approach the colloquial to the standard not the opposite.

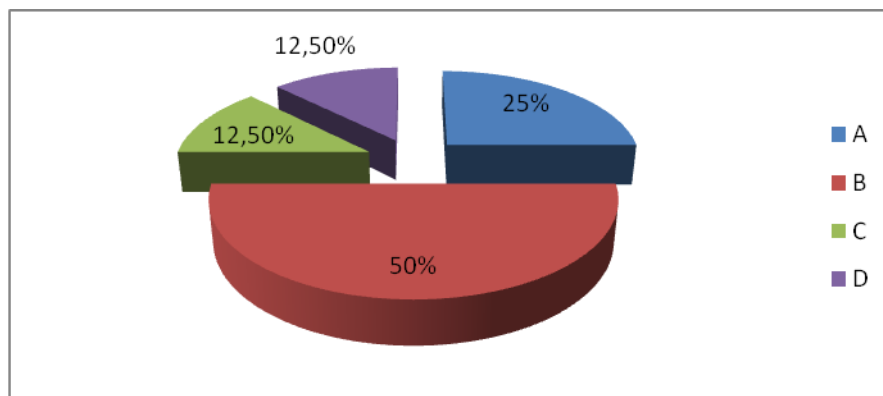
As a completion to the first question, the second one says:

What are its negative impacts (if any)?

The general ideas of collected answers are arranged by category in the next table:

answers		number of informants	percentage	
a	Language weakness and breaking of the stylistic form of the text	4	25%	87.50%
b	The deterioration of MSA to the colloquial level	8	50%	
c	The elimination of MSA and its replacement by the colloquial	2	12.50%	
d	There is no drawback	2	12.50%	12.50%

Table 4.11. Journalists' Views about the Drawbacks from Using the Colloquial in Journalistic Texts



Pie Chart 4.9. Journalists' Views about the Drawbacks from Using the Colloquial in Journalistic Texts

87.50% of the informants view that there are negative aspects in the use of the colloquial in general. But, it is crucial to note here that this majority judge with respect to the flagrant use of this variety in journalistic works, like in repeated instances of code switching. For more details, 50% of the informants explain the case by its consequent deterioration of MSA level to the colloquial, the fact which underlines the strong existence of individuals' belief in the inferior sociolinguistic status of this variety. Moreover, 25% see in this phenomenon a declared weakening of MSA and breaking of the normative rules of Arabic newspaper style. This view stands very convincing with respect to the deviant nature of the colloquial which favours grammar errors and foreign word interference. On their part, 12.50% of these journalists speak about the integral elimination of MSA and its replacement by Algerian Arabic if people insist on the gradual transformation of newspaper language to a colloquial one. Fortunately enough, and as proved in chapter three, the Arabic newspaper in contemporary Algeria is essentially written in MSA language, while the colloquial appears rarely that it can hardly be noticed in very specific contexts, especially when reporting Algerian speech; and this alone justifies the validity of 87.50% of informants' opinions. Nevertheless, 2 journalists, presenting 12.50% of the total, confirm that no drawback can be cited about the use of the colloquial in newspaper texts. These two informants are the ones who see from the use of the Algerian Arabic word, the best solution to approach MSA to the Algerian reader, and in this point too, their confusing view about proper Middle Arabic is repeated.

4.2.7. Journalists' Views about the Importance of the Foreign Word in Newspaper Texts

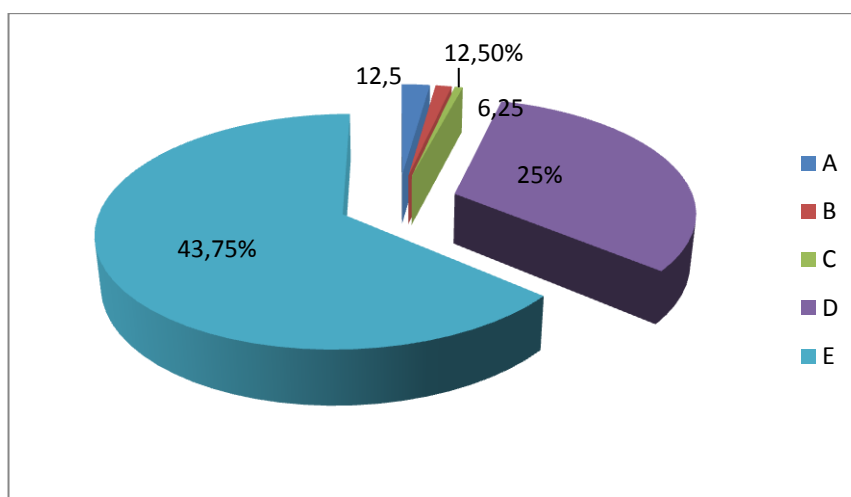
After measuring the journalists' views about the use of the colloquial in newspaper texts, the present focus is on the foreign word and the transliterated foreign abbreviation. The issue is exposed directly to the informants in the form of an open-ended question. In it, foreign words' transliterations (detected in the samples studied in the third chapter) are referred to in the expression "*words of a foreign origin*", while transliterated foreign abbreviations are expressed in "*other namings like "FMI"*":

What is the importance of using words of a foreign origin and other namings, like “FMI”, in the newspaper text?

The general ideas of collected answers are arranged by category in the next table:

answer	number of informants	percentage
a To answer the Algerian readers' demands by respecting their sociolinguistic reality	7	43.75%
b These items do not have equivalents in MSA	4	25%
c These items add life to the journalistic work	2	12.50%
d Their presence as universal concepts is needed	1	6.25%
e This is not acceptable	2	12.50%

Table 4.12. Journalists' Views about the Use of the Foreign Word in the Newspaper Texts



Pie Chart 4.10. Journalists' Views about the Use of the Foreign Word in the Newspaper Texts

Five ideas are reflected through the informants' answers. However, nearly their half (43.75%) refer to the Algerian sociolinguistic reality, marked by the presence of the foreign word, namely French, in the population's everyday language use. This view is much convincing, viewing the fact that most, if not all, the commonly used abbreviations are in French; and that many of the newly, even older, introduced concepts are embedded in society in the foreign word, let alone the effect of globalization, referred to by one

informant (6.25%) when recalling that universal concepts are commonly shared by the worlds' populations. Besides, 25% of the informants think that the use of these foreign language forms is unavoidable, simply because they have no equivalent in MSA. But here, it is crucial to note that any word can be translated to the host language; and this can be completed by journalists themselves. Furthermore, 12.50% of the journalists believe that the interference of the foreign language in newspaper MSA discourse, adds life to it. This view may be the most dangerous expectation of journalists who address people in MSA, but who believe in the same time that the latter lacks vitality. The declaration strongly confirms that among journalists, there are some who believe in the foreign language superiority and who contribute thus in the increase of the mass audience's doubt about capacity and relevance of MSA to answer the modern life requirements. Opposite to them, the same percentage of 12.50%, 2 informants, say that the presence of foreign transliterations is by no means acceptable. They alternatively propose the investment of the rich stock of Arabic vocabulary which can prevent it from relying on the foreign. One of them goes further to comment that journalists are becoming inactive and lack creativity in their work. This view is very convincing as it seems very realistic, regarding the truth that most contemporary journalists solely rely on the easily attained expressions and namings without making any effort to enrich MSA with new vocabulary, or even to search for already existing Arabic translations of the commonly used transliterations.

4.2.8. Factors of Language Defects in MSA of the Algerian Newspaper

When the preceding ten questions focus on the examination of journalists' own viewpoints about MSA and their roles towards it, this part of the investigation targets reasons that may have direct influences on language quality of the Arabic newspaper in Algeria. In fact, the next questions are inspired from a survey on the work of journalists in Jordan, carried out by Abou Arja (2006) to investigate the problems of journalism in that country, and reasons that decrease their work's efficiency in general. Abou Arja views that among the main reasons of this problem reside the lack of professional formation and the low salaries that lead many journalists to occupy other professions for additional incomes. These two inconveniences kill the feeling of motivation, therefore devotion to the required mission of journalists.

The already reflected arguments of Abou Arja sound crucial to develop the hypothesis that language defects in the Algerian newspaper can be effectively due to the insufficient focus on language-related formation and to the financial side of the matter. To verify the relevance of this hypothesis, five questions, four closed-ended and one semi-closed-ended, are asked.

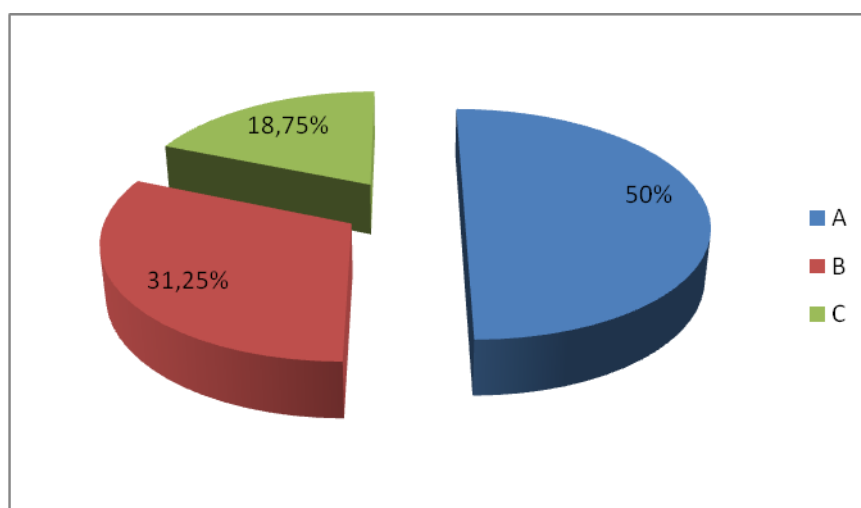
The first question in this respect appears as follows:

During your formation in journalism, was there a focus on language element (the Arabic language) as a fundamental subject?

The selected answer of each informant is shown in the next table:

	answer	number of informants	percentage
a	yes, to a great extent	8	50%
b	in some way	5	31.25%
c	no	3	18.75%

Table4.13. Journalists' Views about the Degree of Focus on MSA during their Professional Formation



Pie Chart 4.11. Journalists' Views about the Degree of Focus on MSA during their Professional Formation

The results' percentages prove that half of the informants (50%) judge their formation in MSA very effective as they see that it has been focused on to a great extent. Moreover, 31.25% of them see that although this formation happened it was not sufficient. Whereas, 18.75% (the least percentage) confirm that there was no focus on MSA as a fundamental subject in their professional formation. These results can be interpreted in one way: the focus on MSA exists in the university formation of journalists since 50% confirm its being a fundamental subject in their curriculum. However, it is worth recalling that not all newspaper employees, occupying the function of journalists, hold diplomas in journalism, as it is the case of four of the present questionnaire's respondents who are themselves specialised in Arabic. In all cases, journalists and correspondents' recruitment in newspapers focuses on language as a key element, but sometimes proficiency in this language is defective in these newly appointed journalists among whom many, represented by 31.25% of the informants, prove their inefficient level in MSA.

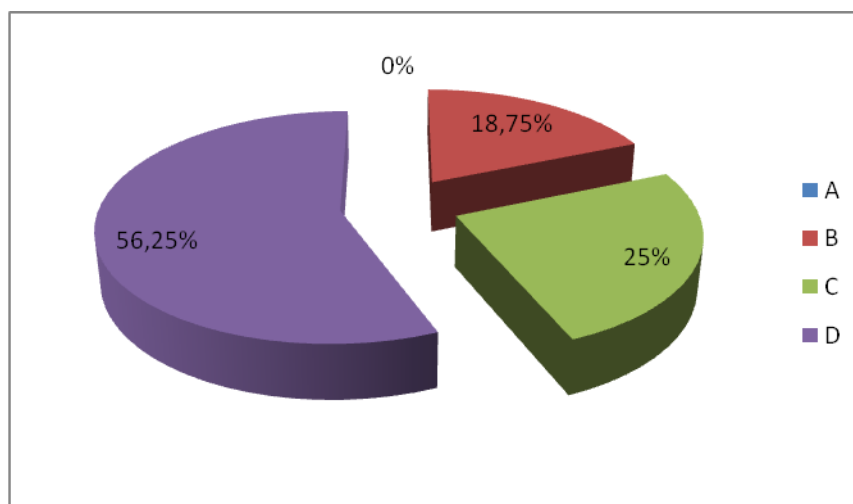
The second question verifies the reality of language-based training of journalists in practice, and is asked as follows:

During your professional career, have you benefited from training sessions about language?

Provided answers are displayed in the next table:

answer		number of informants	percentage
a	yes, regularly	0	0%
b	yes, in a limited way	3	18.75%
c	rarely	4	25%
d	no	9	56.25%

Table 4.14. Journalists' Formation in MSA, for Linguistic purposes, during their Professional Careers



Pie Chart 4.12. Journalists' Formation in MSA, for Linguistic purposes, during their Professional Careers

What is sure according to journalists' information is that no regular training in MSA takes place once the newspaper is joined. Besides, no language-based training session is received by 9 of the respondents or 56.25% of the total. These two facts prove the reality that language, or MSA, is not one of the priorities of contemporary newspaper, as already declared by many of the informants when asked about their assumed roles towards MSA. Moreover, when 25% of the respondents say that they rarely receive skill building sessions in MSA, an additional proof can be added to the same conclusion: rare is the care about the progress of journalists' proficiency in MSA.

To check evidence about who really cares about language progress in the newspaper institution, the question continues:

If your answer was "yes", was it:

- your own initiative?
- the initiative of the newspaper that you belong to?
- the initiative of another body (please precise it)

Only three informants of the seven who answered positively responded to this question, as presented in the following table:

answer		number of informants	percentage	
			out of 3	out of 7
a	The informant's own initiative	3	100%	42.85%
b	The newspaper initiative	0	0%	0%
c	The initiative of another body	0	0%	0%

Table 4.15. Initiatives in Journalists' Language Formation in MSA

All of the few efforts in improving journalists' proficiency in MSA are made by journalists themselves. It is true that only 42.85% of the informants provided this truth, but the others' abstention to answer the question can be understood in the fact that being too rare, the initiators of these training sessions do not matter. With respect to this, one of the journalists has uncovered a crucial reality in a conversation I had with him. Echorouk correspondent in Mascara, Kada Mzila, said:

In fact, many training sessions are organised by the newspaper administration, but no priority is given to language. In these sessions and meetings, the editor in chief may occasionally give you some remarks about language defects in your work but this is not enough to say that we are really receiving language-based training sessions. (2016, April 10)

The considerable lack of training sessions about MSA in the newspaper journalists' agenda can be considered a negative factor that encourages the increase of language defects in the journalistic text.

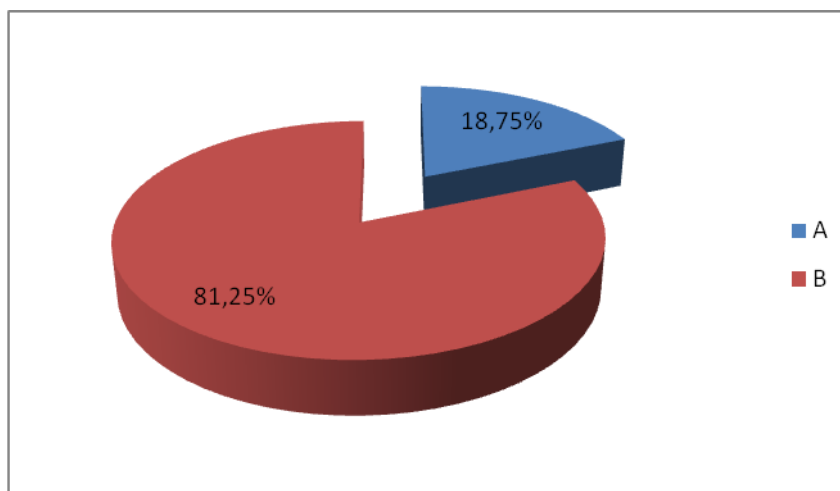
Taking into account the possibility that journalists have more than one profession, the fourth question is suggested:

Do you practise another profession besides journalism?

Answers are reflected in the next table:

answer		number of informants	percentage
a	Yes	3	18.75%
b	No	13	81.25%

Table 4.16. Journalists' Rate of Extra Works Practice



Pie Chart 4.13. Journalists' Rate of Extra Works Practice

Only 3 informants, 18.75%, practise another activity than their work for the newspaper. These journalists were not asked about reasons of this choice in order to avoid sensitivities. However, no matter what the reason is, the most important fact is that, contrasting to the expected situation, a minority of newspaper journalists (sampled by these informants) practise another function. This estimate can be very positive as it reveals that the majority of these journalists have the opportunity to devote themselves to their profession. Therefore, the question now relates to these individuals' degree of devotion to MSA service as located amidst their other missions.

To get more information about the possible opportunities offered to newspaper journalists to fulfil their required tasks toward MSA, the last question in this questionnaire is asked. It continues with the three informants who practise a second profession:

Does this profession have a relation with?

-journalism

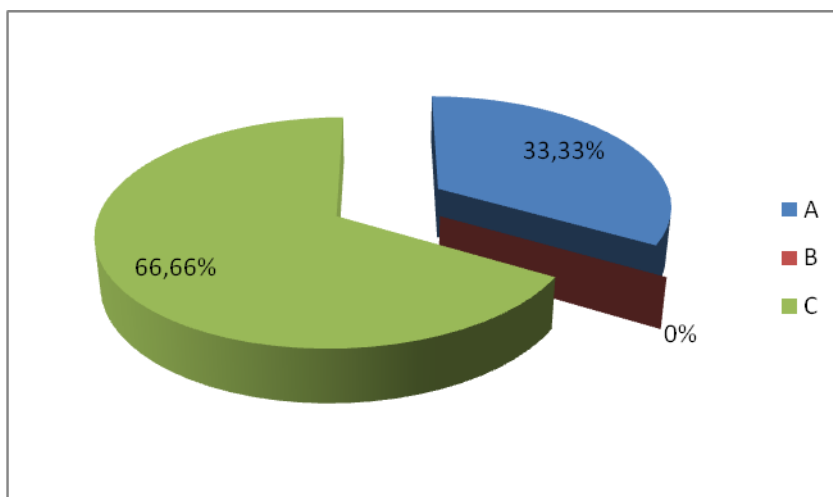
- the Arabic language

-another speciality

Answers are shown in this table:

	answer	Number of informants	percentage
a	with journalism	1	33.33%
b	with the Arabic language	0	0%
c	with another speciality	2	66.66%

Table 4.17. Speciality of Journalists' Second Profession



Pie Chart 4.14. Speciality of Journalists' Second Profession

The hypothesis is that if this profession relates to Arabic (teaching Arabic language for example) or at least to journalism, this group of journalists are enjoying more chances to deal properly with MSA, therefore to improve their relationship with it. But results have shown that two of them (66.66%) practise a totally different activity. One of them is El Khabar journalist and the second is a correspondent of El-Fajr newspaper. On his part, one participant, journalist and editor in chief of the west centre of Echorouk, is a doctor in journalistic editing arts (funu:n el-taḥrīr). These proofs reveal the fact that though the financial situation of Algerian newspaper journalists matters a lot in their professional proficiency, the second professions practised by some of them contribute differently to their roles towards MSA, knowing that, among them, there are university teachers of

journalism, others have university graduations in MSA, while another category joins professions of other fields.

4.2.9. Findings and Recommendations

In the light of the conclusions about the journalists' treatment of MSA and their views towards it, there is a confirmation of the idea that currently, "to guard" MSA and be in its service, is not really one of the priorities of their work. Nevertheless, three positive aspects remain very promising in what concerns possibilities of enhancing the full assumption of their professional roles towards this language: their consideration of Arabic-newspaper social position in Algeria, their being (an) arabised generation(s) of journalists, and the awareness of their majority about how Middle Arabic should work in newspaper texts.

Seen important for the increase of journalists' concern with MSA service, four major recommendations are suggested:

- First, creativity spirits in these journalists must be enhanced by them as by their superiors, in order to open more opportunities for their required involvement in the progress and enrichment of MSA in the era of rapid scientific growth and competitive challenges of more developed languages. Therefore, if the society is not technologically active, its language can alternatively be activated with the help of cooperative efforts of translators, linguists and also journalists.

-Second, newspaper journalists are warmly invited to have a hand in reviving the kinship relationship that exists between MSA and Algerian Arabic. This aspect alone can be very encouraging in reconciling the Algerian people with both MSA and their mother tongue. This can be brought into effect only with the investment of use of eloquent "*fasīḥ*" colloquial words and expressions in their texts. This deed can bring the colloquial to the MSA level gradually, and accordingly bring society's members closer and closer to their national language. Thus, the encouraged position of MSA in society can be intelligently maintained even with the use of the colloquial.

-Third, a number of journalists dangerously believe in the exteriority of their language to MSA, and its nearness to the colloquial. These erroneous views about the conception and realisation of Middle Arabic should be reviewed and corrected by Arabic advocating thinkers and MSA language specialists, under the supervision of government. For this purpose it is strongly recommended that more emphasis is devoted to the organisation of rigorous training that concern the Arabic language.

-Ultimately, the financial situation of newspaper journalists should be taken into account when requiring their care about the protective mission they are assigned towards MSA. Of course, earning respectful wages, necessary for them to afford all life expenses, is a key to increase their satisfaction with their job, and their consequent serious focus on their professional mission, through which they are considered "*language guardians and doctors*".

4.3. MSA at the Receivers Level: Readers' Views and Reactions towards its Contemporary Situation in the Algerian Newspaper

In the common sense, what is expected from a study about the audience reaction towards mass media product, especially in news, is their feedback and potential effects of news on them and on society as such. Therefore, the way newspaper language is manipulated, for the reason of realising these effects, has become the prominent interest in academic studies concerned with the journalistic style. However, the present investigation spotlights newspaper readers' reaction, to newspaper discourse, from a different angle. The focus is exclusively on language, i.e. MSA language itself. So, what kind of MSA image are Echorouk and El Khabar daily newspapers reflecting to their readers? And what can the effects of this be on them? Of course, before conducting the questionnaire, some initial ideas have been developed, on the basis of the previous results of this research work, expecting their confirmation by the sample of readers who have voluntarily and cheerfully accepted to answer the suggested questions. The first assumption is that Arabic newspaper readers have developed a particular relationship with their newspaper language, being the language of their Arab-Islamic identity. However, their reactions towards this newspaper use and treatment of MSA, including language defects it exposes, vary with the variety of feelings and attitudes they have already developed about their national language.

4.3.1. Methodology of Data Collection and Analysis

For the purpose of achieving the aims of the section already stated in this chapter's introduction, the present data collection and analysis are based on a questionnaire addressed to a number of informants composed of 100 readers of El Khabar and Echorouk newspapers. Eight detailed objectives are traced in the formation of the 15 questions. They are as follows:

- Readers' familiarity with newspaper reading.
- Readers' degree of attachment to Arabic Language newspapers.
- Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk newspapers.
- Readers' views about Algerian newspapers' Linguistic roles towards them and towards MSA.
- Readers' reactions towards newspaper language errors.
- Readers' reactions towards the use of the colloquial in Arabic newspaper journalistic texts.
- Readers' reactions towards the use of the foreign language in Arabic newspaper journalistic texts.
- Readers' global views about the current situation of MSA and the role of newspaper language towards it.

To achieve these objectives, the questions are stated in a very simple manner with the use of easy vocabulary in order to ensure their intelligibility to all the informants, of different ages and unequal intellectual levels. Besides, and in order to enable an effective and comprehensive analysis of all informants' answers, the focus is on close-ended questions which are fourteen in number, while there is also one semi-close-ended question, in addition to 3 open-ended questions.

As regards the contact and selection of the survey's participants, no problem has been faced. 300 copies of the questionnaire have been distributed on and accepted by people of different social categories (ages, genders, intellectual levels and social classes), without any difficulty, especially when these people perceived that its focus is on Arabic in

the newspaper. Before being given the questionnaire, these people were asked if they are readers of Arabic newspapers. And it was really rare to hear the answer “no”. This fact was very motivating to the research work. However, the returned completed answers were 271, an expected happening because of the impossibility to get back every copy, especially when the matter is about hundreds of people. The next step concerned the selection of the 100 informants, which was in itself a very easy task since it happened very occasionally to come across answers of a reader of another newspaper than El Khabar and Echorouk. The emphasis in the selection of the questionnaire’s informants was on readers of El Khabar and Echorouk newspapers, of different age categories and intellectual levels, divided equally into 50 males and 50 females.

The different age categories of the selected informants are reflected in the next table:

age	females	males	total
20-25	15	11	26
26-30	10	5	15
31-35	8	7	15
36-40	7	9	16
41-50	7	10	17
51 and more	3	8	11
total	50	50	100

Table 4.18. Age Categories of the Sample of Readers

There is an attempt to cover all age categories starting from 20 years old. The aim is to collect data from people of a certain experience in life. And opposite to all expectations, it has been noticed that young people too have a significant interest in newspaper reading, despite their sizeable exposure to new media. This reality then has nourished the confidence in the significance of the present research work’s topic. Therefore, 26%, the largest rate of all age categories of the selected informants is between 20 and 25 years old; this offers more opportunities to tackle the newest generations’ reactions amidst other age categories.

To collect data from people of different intellectual levels is also a key feature in this research section. Therefore the participants were asked to confirm their schooling level as a preliminary step. The next table shows the different schooling levels of the informants:

level	males	females	total
primary school	2	0	2
middle school	4	1	5
secondary school	20	8	28
university	24	41	65
other	0	0	0

Table 4.19. Readers' Sample Intellectual Levels

Informants' majority (65%) are of a university level, a result of the remarkable increase in literacy rate in society, accompanied with governmental offered facilities of free university studies to all citizens. The next relatively important rate relates to the secondary school level (28%), while the number of informants of other levels is much reduced, 5% for middle school and 2% for primary school. Hence, the common sense that newspaper readers are generally of an average intellectual level is therefore proved erroneous by these estimations; since, recalling it, the majority of the survey's informants are of a university level.

Another emphasis in data collection is to reach informants of different regions in Algeria. Yet, the obtained opportunity enabled the distribution of the questionnaire form in seven West Algerian wilayas, as presented in the next table:

wilaya	number of informants
Mostaganem	25
Mascara	25
Relizane	10
Sidi Belabbes	10
Tlemcen	10
Oran	10
Tiaret	10
total	100

Table. 4.20. Readers' Sample Regional Localisation

25% of the informants are from Mostaganem, 25% are from Mascara, and the other five cities share half of the participants, with the estimate of 10% each.

In the following research sections, collected data are quantitatively presented through statistics, which are further qualitatively analysed. Results' conclusions are ultimately presented and a number of recommendations is accordingly suggested.

4.3.2. Readers' Familiarity with Newspaper Reading

To examine readers' familiarity with newspaper reading, the following question is asked:

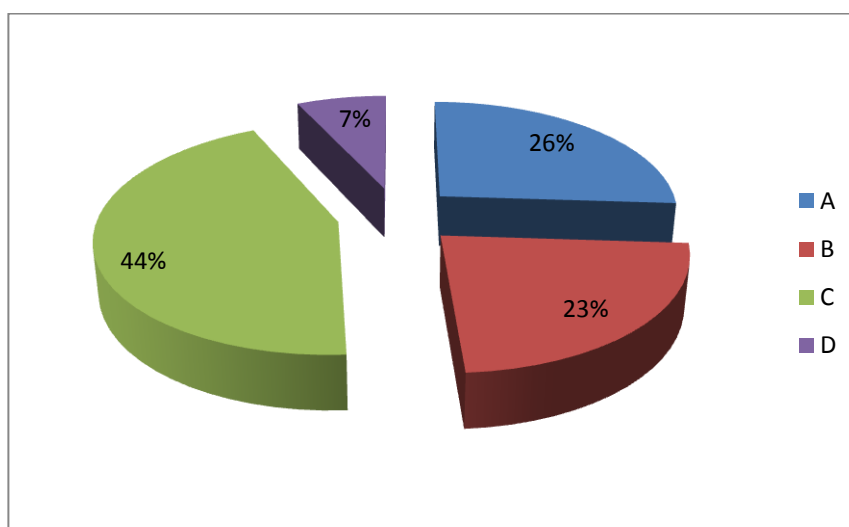
Do you read newspapers?

- regularly everyday
- usually
- sometimes
- rarely

The following table exhibits the collected answers:

regularity	females	males	total	percentage
a regularly everyday	3	23	26	26%
b usually	10	13	23	23%
c sometimes	30	14	44	44%
d rarely	7	0	7	7%

Table.4.21. Readers' Familiarity with Newspaper Reading



Pie Chart 4.15. Readers' Familiarity with Newspaper Reading

Respondents who read the newspaper just sometimes represent the largest rate with 44%, followed by regular readers with 26%. But, it is important to notice that the majority of the first number (reading sometimes) are females (30), while the majority of the second one (usual reading) are males (23). This is a social reality, part of the contemporary Algerian life style when, more than often, the modern Algerian man has more time for reading the newspaper, unlike the woman who has become very preoccupied in accomplishing other tasks at home and at work. Moreover, 23% of the respondents usually read the newspaper. Thus, people who have a regular habit to read the newspaper, everyday or usually, form about half of the informants with the average of 49%. Nevertheless, even the contributions of people who rarely read the newspaper, whose rate stands very minor (7%), are taken into consideration in this survey.

On the basis of the already mentioned estimates about informants, there is an assertion that in spite of the spread of the new media in modern Algerian society, the tradition of reading newspapers is conserved. And whatever the reasons are, these estimates validate the adequacy of journalists' positive evaluation of the population's turnout towards newspaper reading.

The question now is about the channel through which reading takes place; since with the development of the electronic version of newspapers, different reading possibilities are offered to answer readers' unequal objectives from newspaper reading:

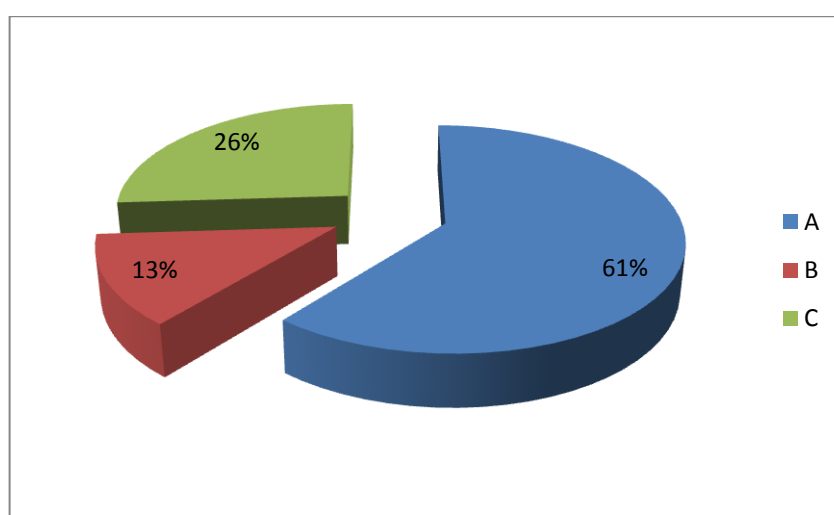
Do you rely in your reading on:

- The print copy? - the electronic version? -both of them?

Informants' answers are arranged in the next table:

newspaper version		number of readers	percentage
a	print	61	61%
b	electronic	13	13%
c	both	26	26%

Table.4.22. Readers' Preferred Newspaper Version



Pie Chart 4.16. Readers' Preferred Newspaper Version

The greatest number of Algerian readers prefers the traditional way of newspaper reading: 61% read the print version exclusively, and 26% prefer to read the daily newspaper in the two versions, print and electronic; while only 13% use the newspaper websites offered by the current days' technology. In general, the addition of "a" and "c" percentages shown in the preceding table results in 87% of readers habitually in touch with printed newspaper texts, compared to 13% who exclusively rely on the electronic version. To discover the reasons of this social reality, a related open-ended question is added:

Why (concisely)?

The majority of respondents, who rely on the print version, justify their choice through the use of four adjectives: "custom", "tradition", "habit" and "pleasure". For them, leafing through newspaper pages is an inherited tradition, and a source of pleasure and enjoyment of reading. Thus, these individuals' declaration further justifies the deeply rooted exposure of the Algerian people to the print newspaper language; then it can be properly said that this well-established relation is part and parcel of the Algerian culture, especially when the majority of asked young people confirm the fact, despite their openness to more technological and sophisticated mass media. Other informants of the same group add more to the point by referring to the availability of newspaper print copies everywhere, at work, in public places and even at home. Finally, just few of them relate their dependence on the print copy to the unavailability of internet. This detail would underline another reality which contributes to the continuation of print media in Algeria; it is the incomplete and weak openness to technology. On their part, most of the readers who proved their reliance on both versions speak about opportunities and availability of one version or the other. The most important for them is to read the newspaper. As for the minority of informants who choose the electronic version, the emphasis is on rapidity of reach, newness and availability of newspaper information offered by this option⁶².

⁶² For more information about the role of electronic newspapers in the strengthening of print newspaper social situation, please refer to Khador (2003)

4.3.3. Readers' Degree of Attachment to Arabic Language Newspapers and its Reasons

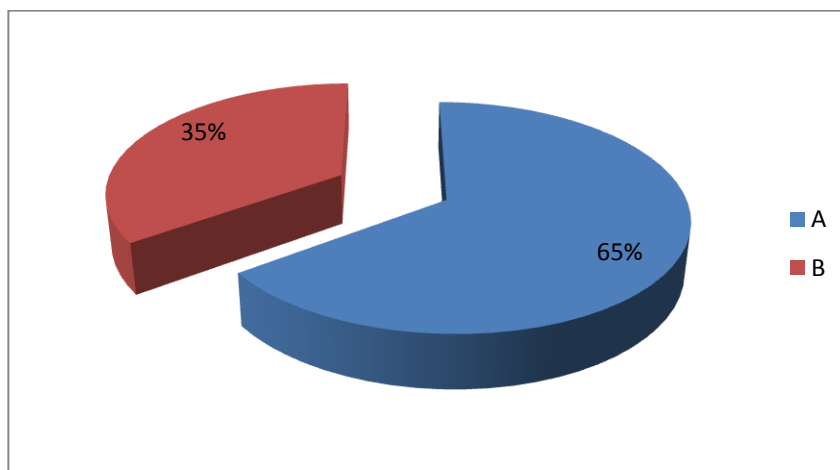
The familiarity and attachment of an important proportion of the Algerian population to reading newspapers has been proved to be mainly associated with the embedment of this social behaviour in the society's culture; but, what about their attachment to its language? Therefore, the next question directed to the survey's participants is:

Do you read Algerian newspapers written in: - Arabic only? - in French too?

The informants' answers are shown in the following table:

answer		number of informants	percentage
a	in Arabic only	65	65%
b	in French too	35	35%

Table.4.23. Readers' Degree of Attachment to Arabic- Language Newspapers



Pie Chart 4.17. Readers' Degree of Attachment to Arabic -Language Newspapers

Most of the informants (65%) prefer reading in Arabic only, whereas 35% of them read in French too.

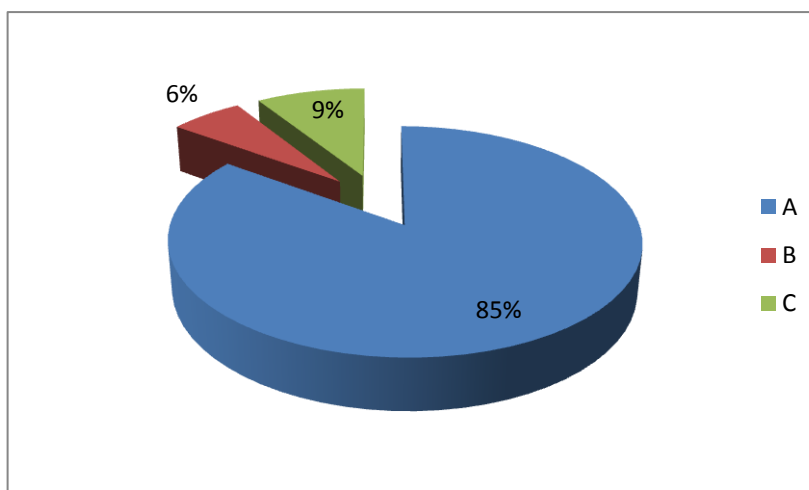
To get nearer to the target information, the following question is added:

What do you prefer?

The informants' answers are presented in the following table:

	answer	number of informants	percentage
a	Arabic-language newspapers	85	85%
b	French language newspapers	6	6%
c	both	9	9%

Table. 4. 24. Readers' Preferred Newspaper Language



Pie Chart 4.18. Readers' Preferred Newspaper Language

In their answers, the greatest majority of informants (85%) confirm their preference of Arabic language newspapers, while only 6% say that they prefer the French language ones and 9% state that they prefer to read newspapers of both languages. This result is a logical one with regards to the first chapter's findings about the effect of Arabisation policy on language capacities and preferences of post-independence generations. This can be discussed through the following open question which crucially targets the readers' direct opinions:

Why (concisely)?

In this measure, 13 informants (13%) preferred not to answer the question. This is an expected result, being very usual for some respondents not to answer open questions. However, this can also be interpreted in the very natural love of many society members to Arabic language. As a proof for that, the majority of respondents' answers are associated with the outcomes of Arabisation policy in the Algerian society. Some of them express their love to MSA "elfushja", the language of Arabness and Muslims' identity; others state that they master Arabic and cannot understand French; while the rest relate the fact to their specialisation in Arabic language. There is also a minority of informants who did not hesitate to express their "hatred" of French, the language of the colonizer. On their part, some of the informants who prefer to read in both languages, Arabic and French, see it essential for the purpose of enriching their language capacities in both languages, while the others associate their choice with their need to get the largest possible varieties of information. Finally, the minority group who prefer reading in French rather than in Arabic, attest three realities, as some of them do this to learn more about the French language, and others resort to it looking for more credibility, while few of them find that French language newspapers contain much fewer language errors.

Considering the above discussion about readers' language preferences, it can be concluded that the reason for readers' turnout to Arabic newspapers at the expense of French-language ones is predominantly related on the social effects of the Arabisation process on the development of nationalist feelings towards MSA among the newest generations who are becoming less and less competent in French, and more proficient in Arabic than in any other language.

4.3.4. A Comparative Approach to the Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers

Amidst the preferable Arabic newspapers, Echorouk and El Khabar dailies outstand as the most powerful ones. The aim now is directed towards the discovery of potential reasons for that and whether these reasons relate directly to language or not. Therefore, two questions are proposed.

The first one is a semi-close-ended question:

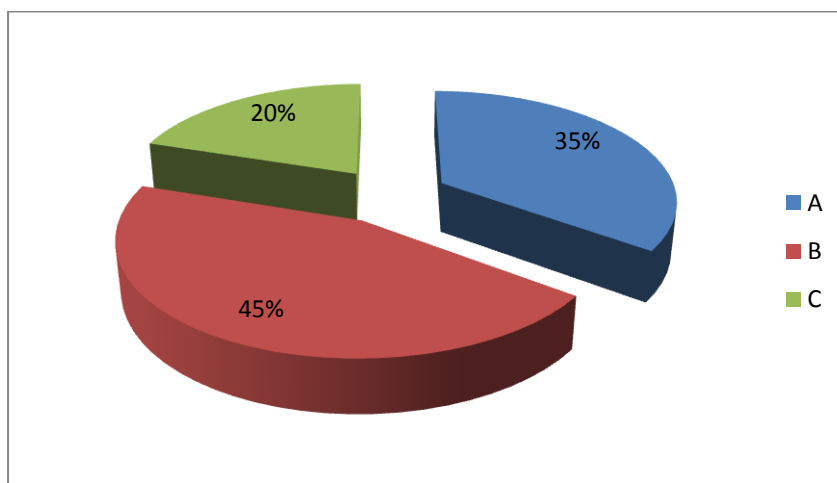
Which daily newspaper do you read?

-El Khabar -Echorouk -both -other (define it please)

Answers are presented in the table below:

	newspaper	number of readers	percentage
a	El Khabar	35	35%
b	Echorouk	45	45%
c	both	20	20%

Table. 4.25. Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers in Readers' Sample



Pie Chart 4.19. Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers in Readers' Sample

As expected according to the circulation numbers of both newspapers, Echorouk readers compose 45% of the informants' total, and El Khabar readers constitute 35% of them; while those who read both form 20% of the same total. In the same time, among these informants, there are 28 respondents (28%) who add other titles to their newspapers list. Among them, there are 14 readers of El-Nahar and 8 readers of El-haddaf, other two currently popular newspapers.

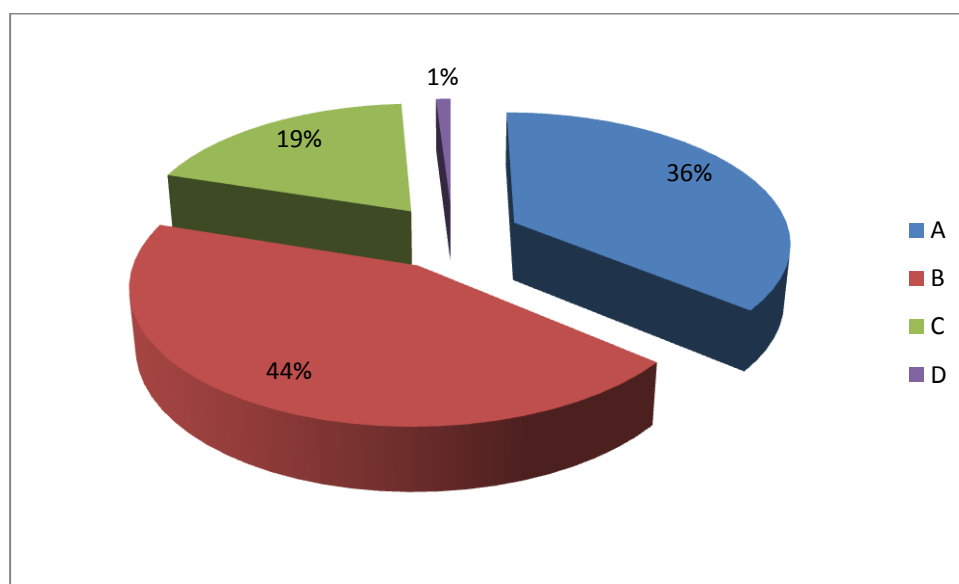
After being sure about the important readability of the two target daily newspapers, the question now is about whether language, Arabic, stands as one of the most important parameters of readers' choices or not. For this reason, the next question in the questionnaire is:

Why do you choose it (or them) out of other newspapers?

The provided answers are classified in the following table:

answer	number of informants	percentage
a It enjoys a large readability	36	36%
b Its topics answer your expectations	44	44%
c Its journalistic style is convincing	19	19%
d a and b	1	1%

Table. 4.26. Reasons for the Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers in Readers' Sample



Pie Chart 4.20. Reasons for the Readability of El Khabar and Echorouk Newspapers in Readers' Sample

36% of the readers associate their choice with the large readability of their selected newspaper(s). This proves the fact that an important number of Algerian newspaper readers just follow the stream to receive the same mass media products as members of the

same society. Besides, 44% say that their newspaper's topics answer their expectations. However, a minority of informants (19%) relate their choice to the journalistic language itself. These estimates prove that Algerian readers' expectations from a newspaper are more informational than linguistic. In other words, their reference to newspaper language is more focused on the loads of news it carries.

4.3.5. Readers' Views towards the Algerian Newspaper's Linguistic Roles

Even if linguistic purposes are not among readers' priorities from reading newspapers, there must be some indirect effects on their degree of proficiency in MSA, expected and received from newspaper language. Therefore, the next two questions investigate the informants' opinions about the expected as well as the embodied roles of Arabic newspapers on the present situation of MSA.

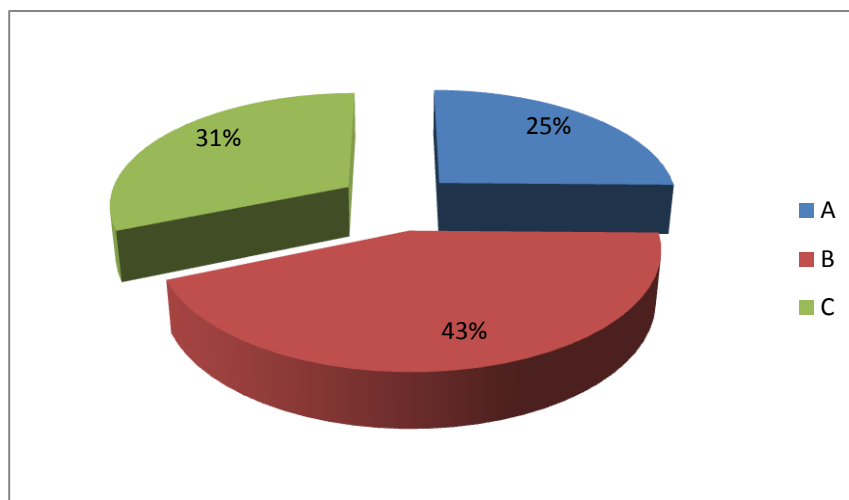
The first question is thus stated as follows:

Among your goals from reading these newspapers, is there a focus on the enrichment of your Arabic language and the improvement of your level in it?

Answers are exhibited in the next table:

answer		number of informants	percentage
a	yes, to a great extent	25	25%
b	not to a great extent	43	43%
c	no	31	31%

Table.4.27. Readers' Linguistic Expectations from the Algerian Newspaper



Pie Chart 4.21. Readers' Linguistic Expectations from the Algerian Newspaper

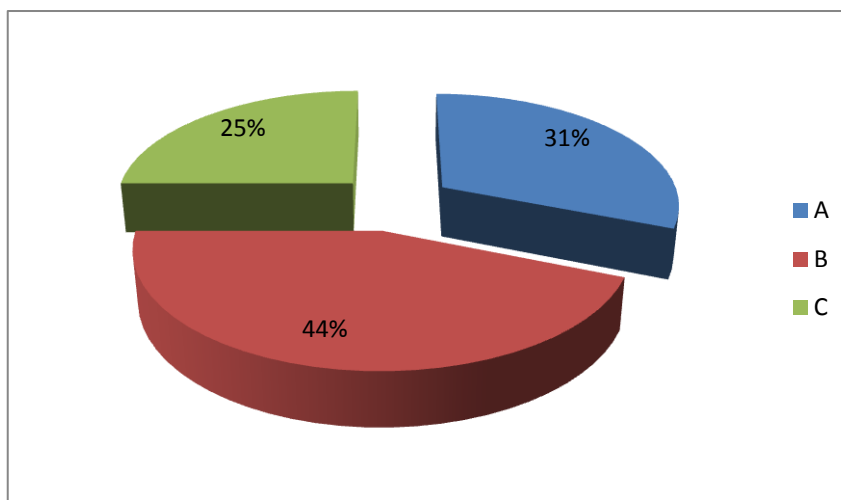
25% of the informants strongly focus on newspaper language in the enrichment and improvement of their Arabic language; whereas, 43% state that there is a moderate to occasional reliance on newspaper language, and 31% confirm that they do not have any intention to augment their capacities in MSA through reading newspapers. These results reveal that though the majority of readers have a certain aim of language enrichment and development; since if the rates "a" and "b" are grouped, the result will be 68% of people ranked from the very dependant to newspaper language to the least dependent one. Nevertheless these statistics quietly contradict with the ones of the next related question:

Do you think that the contemporary Algerian written journalistic works serve Arabic language, through the solidification of its maintenance and the strengthening of its position?

The collected answers are exhibited in this table:

answer	number of informants	percentage
a yes	31	31%
b Yes, to a certain extent	44	44%
c no	25	25%

Table.4.28. Readers' Views about the Arabic -Language Newspapers' Service to MSA



Pie Chart 4.22. Readers' Views about the Arabic -Language Newspapers' Service of MSA

It is as if there has been an exchange between the results in “a” and “b” answers of the two last questions. Now, people who totally agree that there is a positive role of newspaper journalists augment to the percentage of 31%, and people who totally disagree decrease in number to 25%. However, informants who think that this role is a limited one, equally cohere in number with the ones who expect their proficiency in MSA to be moderately or occasionally dependent on newspaper language. Therefore, there are 75% of newspaper readers who view newspaper language as contributive, in a way or another to the good of MSA, against 25% who see that this cannot be real.

In order to fix the final conclusion of this point with more reliable proofs, an additional question is added:

Why (concisely)?

21 informants did not answer this open-ended question, but answers of the other informants were diverse and very reflective:

In general, the justifications of readers who totally believe in the positive effects of written Arabic journalists' language on MSA can be summarised in four points. The first reason for some of them is in its being the language of a mass medium, which addresses all the Algerian people in one language, the language of their national identity. The second important reason, for them, is that newspaper language has become the only one which relies on the use of MSA exclusively, if compared to other mass media or any other

domain; and is that through its being very near to the Algerians, it has had its positive impact on their language use. The third reason is that these journalists' language has long endeavoured to preserve the Algerian identity. And the last provided explanation relates the fact to this language's being a very rich one, loaded with new meanings that can be effectively transmitted to the society members through the written word.

On their part, informants who believe in the limited contribution of Arabic newspaper journalists to MSA language give justifications for their answers in a range of three facts. The first one is that, for some of them, these journalists' efforts are of an average quality and this is not enough to boost the language development. For others, the reality is that this journalistic language is not formative in itself, but can be seen positively contributing to the situation of MSA, simply because it addresses people in "Arabic", reminding them in the same time about their Arab identity. And for the last category, though the newspaper language is Arabic in essence, the influence of French can be touched in it recurrently.

Finally, the category of informants who see that newspaper language is by no means advantageous to the present situation of MSA, relates the issue to other reasons that can be arranged under three global headings. First, many of them see that this language is a very defective one, containing weak language styles and contributing to the deterioration of MSA situation instead of supporting its growth. Another proportion of them speak about the negative influence of the foreign language on these newspaper texts, which helps the advocates of the colloquial and the foreign language to fulfil their aims in weakening MSA and replacing it by the colloquial. The third part of this category emphasises the focus of these newspapers on competitive efforts to transmit information and mainly to obtain more opportunities of financial welfare.

All the informants' contributions are very reflective and relevant. And these vital revelations of Algerian individuals just add proofs to the previous chapter's conclusions about the roles of newspaper journalists towards MSA in Algeria. Some readers are aware, in different degrees, about the drawbacks of newspaper language defects cited in the third chapter, as others show different levels of trust towards the language which has addressed the population's opinion and language capacities for decades.

4.3.6. Readers' Reactions towards Newspaper Language Errors

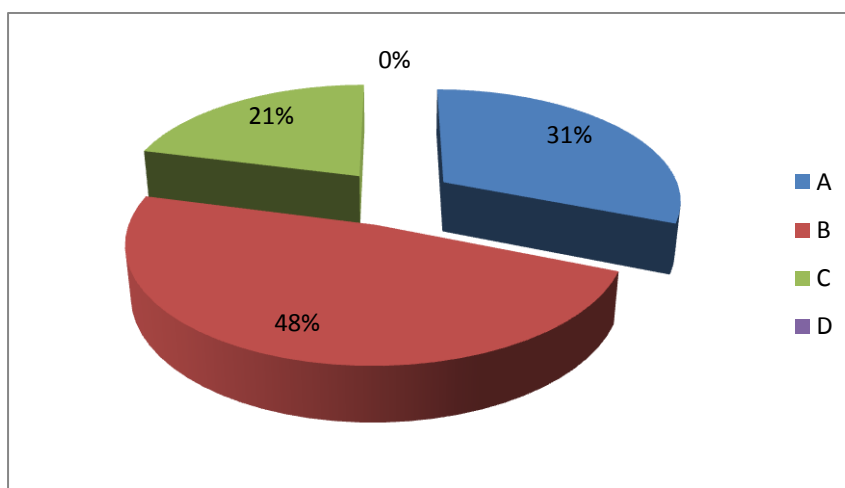
Taking into account the majority of readers' "unbalanced" trust of newspaper language in what concerns its service to MSA, the next question investigates these readers' degree of awareness about and reactions to language mistakes present in Echorouk and El Khabar newspapers:

During your newspaper reading, have you noticed language errors with their different kinds?

Answers are presented in the following table:

answer	number of informants	percentage
a repeatedly	31	31%
b sometimes	48	48%
c rarely	21	21%
d never	0	0%

Table.4. 29. Readers' Noticing of Newspaper Language Errors



Pie Chart 4.23. Readers' Noticing of Newspaper Language Errors

The largest percentage in the table shows that 48% of the informants sometimes notice language errors. Then 31% appears as the estimate of those who recurrently notice them. In addition, 21% of them say that language mistakes rarely appear in Arabic newspaper language, while no one (0%) thinks that these mistakes never take place.

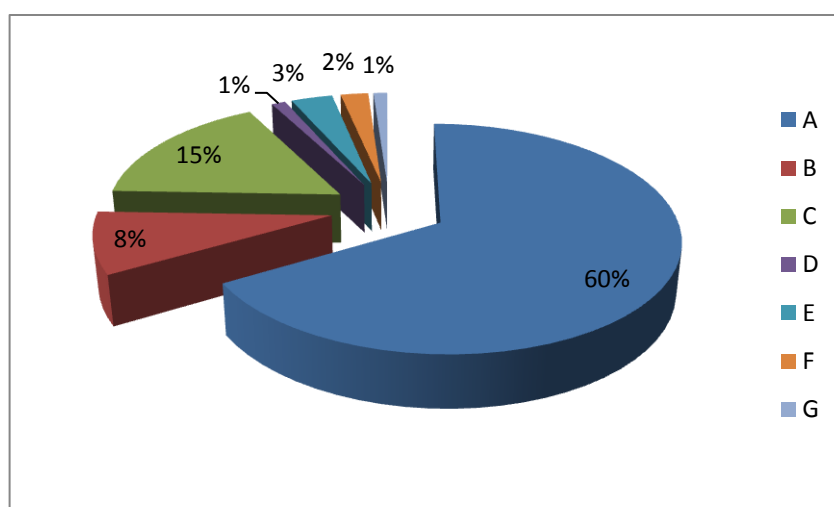
In order to examine readers' reactions to the existence of these mistakes in newspaper language, the next question is:

According to you, what are the factors of that?

The informants' answers are arranged and counted in the next table:

	answer	number of informants	percentage
a	printing errors	60	60%
b	the journalists' incompetence in language	19	19%
c	the impact of the colloquial on the standard	15	15%
d	a and b	1	1%
e	a and c	3	3%
f	b and c	2	2%
g	all	1	1%

Table.4. 30. Errors' Factors According to the Readers



Pie Chart 4.24. Errors' Factors According to the Readers

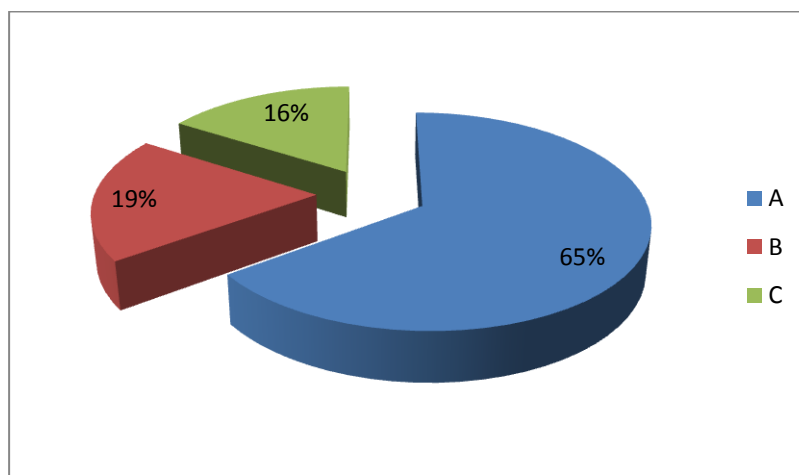
60 % of these newspaper readers associate its language errors to printing defects, while only 19% see that they are the results of journalists' incompetence in Arabic and 15% relate it to the colloquial influence over the standard. These statistics can be interpreted in two possible conclusions: The first one is that the readers' immense trust of journalists' competence does not allow most of them to have doubt in their linguistic capacities. And the second is that these readers themselves lack too much competence in MSA, the fact which hinders even their awareness about the actual language defects and their most reasonable factors. The next question is very suitable to justify these two conclusions:

Is it possible to accept these errors?

The proposed answers and informants' choices are exhibited in this table:

	answer	number of informants	percentage
a	Yes, because they are only some and not repeated	65	65%
b	No, because they are numerous and repeated	19	19%
c	It is not acceptable in any case	16	16%

Table. 4.31. Acceptance of Newspaper Language Errors by Readers



Pie Chart 4.25. Acceptance of Newspaper Language Errors by Readers

According to the informants' answers, 65% of readers accept Arabic newspaper language errors and 35% do not accept them in all cases. If the majority of readers accept language errors and do not reckon the danger they constitute towards the current situation of MSA, this can only confirm the density of language problems that reside in the Algerian society. Incompetence and carelessness about the dangers surrounding the purity in MSA language use is flagrant among the 65% of readers who accept the newspaper to address a mass audience in a mistake- containing language. And this becomes even more dramatic when this 65% symbolizes a represented proportion of the Algerian society.

4.3.7. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Colloquial in Newspaper Journalistic Texts

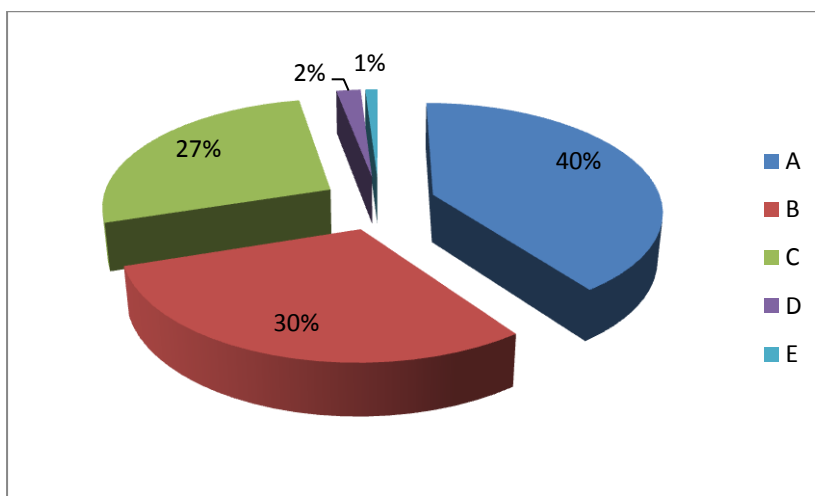
In order to investigate readers' reactions to the minor presence of the colloquial in the target newspapers' text, the next question is asked:

You may have encountered in some newspaper articles or their titles, some words or expressions in the colloquial (el-darija). What is your opinion about that?

The informants' answers are shown in the following table:

	answer	number of informants	percentage
a	A required thing since the colloquial is more expressive for the Algerians	40	40%
b	A normal thing, since there are not equivalents in Arabic for some colloquial meanings	30	30%
c	Not acceptable, since it is distorting the safety and purity of the standard	27	27%
d	a and c	2	2%
e	b and c	1	1%

Table.4.32. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Colloquial in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts



Pie Chart 4.26. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Colloquial in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts

According to the data, 40% of the informants see it required for journalists to use the colloquial and be more expressive; 30% of them see the phenomenon as a normal thing, since there are no equivalents in Arabic for some colloquial meanings; and only 27% view that it is totally not acceptable to use the colloquial in Arabic-language newspapers. Therefore 70% of these readers welcome the presence of the colloquial in their newspaper. The reinsuring side of this reality is the minor presence of this Arabic variety in the newspapers. And basing their answers on this truth makes readers' opinions very realistic, since it is crucial not to ignore the social position of Algerian Arabic in the contemporary society as well as its nearness to the people's thoughts and its rooted existence in their cultural characteristics.

4.3.8. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Foreign Language in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts

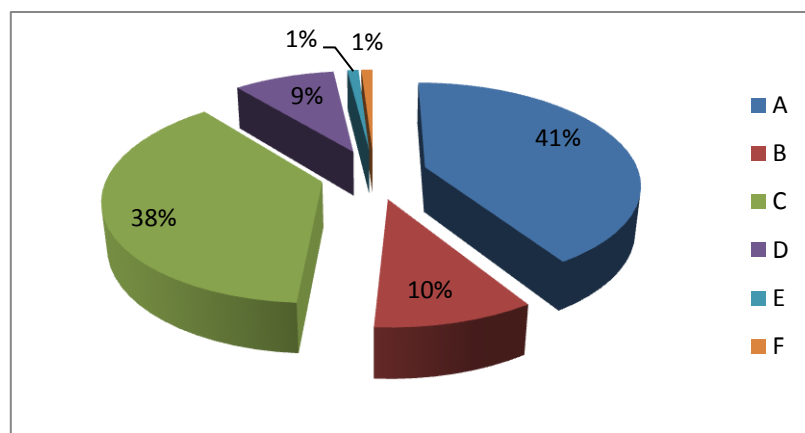
In this point, readers' feedback to the presence of foreign transliterations in newspaper journalistic texts is examined. And the question formulated for this purpose is:

You may have encountered in some newspaper articles or their titles, words or expressions of a foreign language origin (French or others). What is your opinion about that?

Four answers are proposed to informants, and their choices are presented in the next table:

answer	number of informants	percentage
a It is necessary in the era of globalization and civilization progress	41	41%
b It is necessary to use the French language because of its being part of our identity	10	10%
c It is necessary to get rid of this because it has negative effects over the purity of Arabic	38	38%
d This is not acceptable because each foreign word has an equivalent in Standard Arabic	9	9%
e a and d	1	1%
f b and d	1	1%

Table.4.33. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Foreign Language in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts



Pie Chart 4.27. Readers' Reactions towards the Use of the Foreign Language in Arabic Newspaper Journalistic Texts

What is prominently striking are the very near percentages of informants who consider it necessary to code-switch to the foreign language in the era of globalization and civilization progress (41%), and those who think that it is necessary to get rid of this because of its negative effects over the purity of Arabic (38%). In a word, this can prove two contradictory realities in the Algerian society. On the one hand, there is the issue of linguistic insecurity, widespread in society, and accompanied with the belief in the imperfection of MSA and the superiority of other languages, namely French and English, in the era of technology and development. On the other hand, there is the subject of Arabness and nationalist feelings which strongly defend the purity of MSA. And amid this situation, the newspaper seems to be ineffective to contribute to the struggle of Arabic language purity advocators, since its readers always show uneven attitudes towards the interference of the foreign language in the domains of MSA.

4.3.9. Readers' Global Views towards MSA

To conclude the present analysis of the readers' reactions to the defects and perfections of newspaper language, it is seen necessary to check the readers' opinions about MSA present-day situation and the way it should be served by the Arabic-language newspaper journalists. For this goal, two questions are suggested:

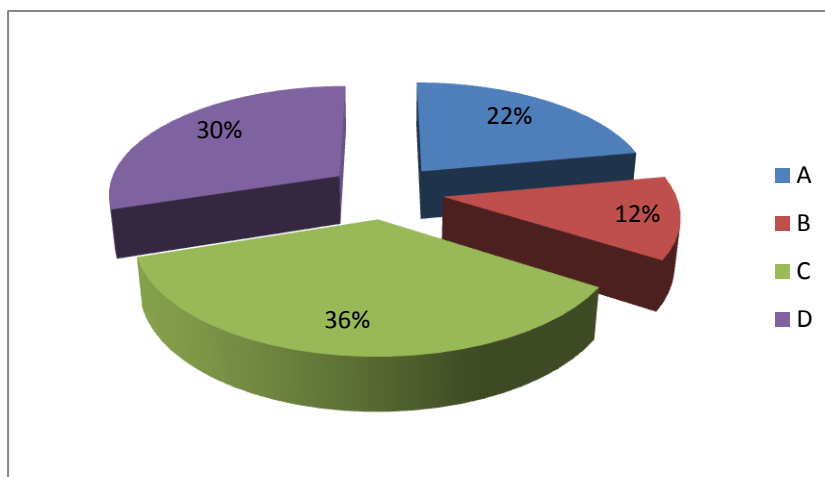
The first one says:

How do you judge Modern Standard Arabic in the modern era?

Informants' chosen answers are presented as follows:

answer	Number of informants	percentage
a an abandoned, disappearing language	22	22%
b a language keeping up with the era's requirements	12	12%
c a language conservative of the Algerians' identity	36	36%
d a language yielding to the Western culture	30	30%

Table.4.34. Readers' Global Views towards the Current Situation of MSA



Pie Chart 4.28. Readers' Global Views towards the Current Situation of MSA

The most elevated percentages of the answers prove that either MSA is considered a language conservative of the Algerians' identity (36%), or a language yielding to the Western culture (30%), or an abandoned, disappearing language (22%). On the other hand, a minority of informants (12%) see that in any case MSA is a language keeping up with the present era's requirements. What is alarming in these results is that many Algerians see their "official and national" language a disappearing one, and many others believe in its yielding to the Western culture.

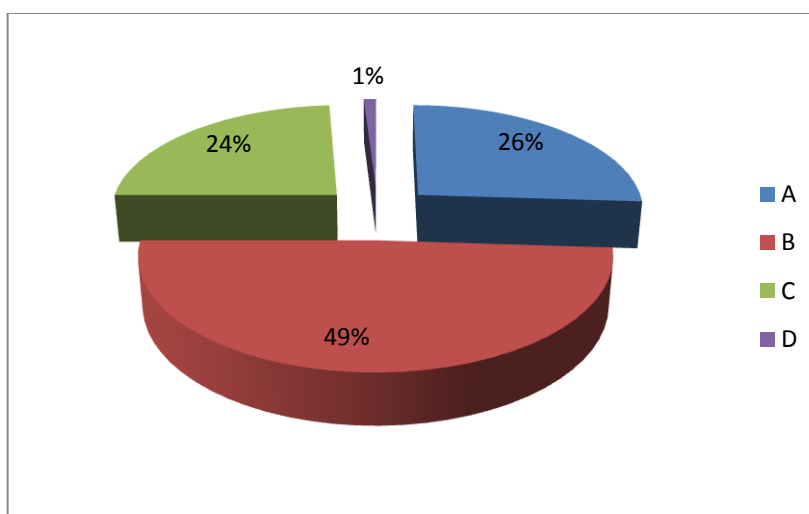
Under the effect of the last question's results, and to see whether these readers believe in the possibility of investing newspaper language in the rise and prosperity of MSA, a language part and parcel of the Algerians' culture and identity, the last question in the questionnaire is:

Do you think that one of the roles of the written press is to teach and form generations in what concerns language, culture and identity, in the same way as school does?

Informants' answers and their statistics appear in the table:

answer		number of informants	percentage
a	yes, and more than that	26	26%
b	yes	49	49%
c	no	24	24%
d	no answer	1	1%

Table.4.35. Readers' Global Views about the Role of Newspaper Language towards MSA



Pie Chart 4.29. Readers' Global Views about the Role of Newspaper Language towards MSA

26% of the informants believe that the educational role of the written press may even exceed the one of the Algerian school, the renowned educational institution ever. Others, forming the biggest percentage of 49%, only assume that it is siding schools in their educational mission. However, 24% see that it is not possible to expect these tasks to be completed by the newspaper. However possible explanations of the informants' answers are, their majority (75%) represent a total of Arabic newspaper readers expecting some contribution to be affected, on the part of their preferable newspaper, to the progress of the linguistic situation in country, which can surely have a beneficial involvement in the advancement of the society's cultural and identity constituents.

4.3.10. Findings and Recommendations

Conclusions of the analysis of readers' feedback to the language of Arabic newspapers, namely El Khabar and Echorouk are summarised in the following ideas:

-In the Algerian society, a great attachment of the population, with all its age categories and intellectual classes, to reading the Arabic-language newspaper is noticed. Factors of this reality are extremely related to the policy of Arabisation which has generated the post-independence generations' increasingly strong dependence on MSA in the reading task, to the extent that it has become impossible for their majority to assimilate newspaper discourses other than Arabic ones. This evidence justifies the readers' turnout towards Arabic-language newspapers, noticed with the consequent gradual desertation of French language newspapers. This can be partly viewed very positive to the present research work suggestion to invest the newspaper language in solving the society's language problems.

-Nevertheless, the readers resort to El Khabar and Echorouk newspapers is not justified in their compelling need to solve their language problems or to improve their competence in MSA. Their reasons are, conversely, rather connected to their search for information and leisure in a social habit that has become a parameter of the Algerian culture. However, their majority reckon the noticeable contribution of these newspapers to the maintenance and progress of MSA.

-As regards readers' awareness about the different language errors characterising their newspapers, it has been discovered that the majority notice the fact but accept it. And this is deciphered in the society's unawareness about the potential danger of these language defects' persistence. And instead of helping to solve this problem, the target newspapers become participants in its perpetuation.

In consideration of readers' attitudes towards the newspapers' reliance on the foreign word transliterations, results have shown that opinions are equally distributed between people who accept and require the continuation of this phenomenon and others who totally refuse and reject it.

Considering the aforementioned results, five recommendations are suggested:

First, the important turnout of Algerian readers towards the Arabic-language newspaper should be invested to impose the service of MSA correctness, continuation and progress, as one of the priorities in newspapers' mission in society.

Second, this measure can be further strengthened with the invitation of the new generations to interact with journalists through the enhancement of critical reading of their works, at school namely, and their encouragement to express their feedback via the developing option of the newspapers' electronic pages. In this case, the readers can communicate their remarks and, why not, corrections which will surely help in the improvement of newspaper language correctness and contribute therefore to the safety and purity of MSA.

Third, readers' trust of the newspapers' language, and acceptance of their language errors, should be invested to reward them and compensate the defects by journalists' care in the production of correct language, apt to establish their confidence and reconciliated feelings towards their national language.

Fourth, readers' trust in the respect and submission of newspaper language to the determined nationalist service of MSA must be seized as a way to enhance journalists' interest in being the language nourishing force, through their active neologism additions in all fields of information they may offer. Because since they are already offered the privilege of being "*language doctors*", they should urge themselves to prove it.

Finally, the relation of trust and love most of the newspaper readers reserve to the Arabic-language newspapers in general, should be preserved as a fortune to open more opportunities to establish language security in country; and for this, deeper studies should take place at the level of the newspaper editors and journalists for the sake of unifying their efforts in serving society linguistically.

4.4. Conclusion

The analysis of MSA language situation at the producers as well as the receivers' levels of newspaper discourse, has culminated with the conclusion that for the Arabic-language newspaper to be effectively involved in solving the linguistic problems in contemporary Algerian scene, and helping MSA to face the different challenges and difficulties surrounding it, too much care should be directed towards the views of all journalists and readers about this language. A diversity of views fuse in these individuals to develop the idea that: the validity of the beneficial contribution of newspaper journalists to the progress of MSA situation in Algeria, and the reduction of linguistic insecurity upshots at the societal level still remains unsure. Therefore, a lot of efforts are required from these newspapers, long considered as social institutions, to re-adopt their sociolinguistic role towards society and have it as one of the priorities in their professional tasks.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

Results of the analysis of the current situation of MSA in the Algerian newspaper have highlighted the fact that when expecting this newspaper to serve the language and help in solving its sociolinguistic problems, language defects, visibly present in it, make it quite difficult for it to accomplish this specific mission. The impact of language errors has made from the newspaper a minimized picture of the Algerian sociolinguistic scene and has required thus a more serious enterprise of journalists' linguistic capacities.

Modern Standard Arabic is the present-day simplified and standardized version of Classical Arabic, the language of Islam and the holy Qur'an. For this reason, which stands religious in essence, Arabs like the Algerian majority, share profound feelings of love towards this language which has become a historical marker of their ethnic and national unity. Nevertheless, to express feelings is unfortunately not sufficient for this people to maintain their language and protect its existence and continuance in present-day world of intense concern with securing ranks to its languages among the competing powerful, scientific and internationally well-positioned ones. The Algerian society suffers importantly from the phenomenon of linguistic insecurity, in addition to language-related identity problems and incompetence in MSA, despite of its being the official and national language of the country. The correct use and power position of MSA are therefore shaken at its homeland and by its people.

The major reason for this worrying reality of MSA is the relatively insufficient Algerians', like Arabs', scientific and modernizing creativity that sets serious drawbacks upon its stability. The wrong conceptualization of modernization and globalization has added to the density of the situation as it has augmented the generations' belief in the Western languages' superiority and increased therefore their refuge to look for ways of mastery and use of these foreign languages at the expense of proficiency in their own one. Controversy and ambivalence characterize Algerians' attitudes towards MSA and result in serious problems of identity; i.e. in majority, these people reflect confused attitudes that fluctuate between the acceptance and pride of being Arabs, and the strong desire to be like "the others". Moreover, the historical traces of the former colonizer form another

General Conclusion

explanation to this problem because even with efforts of an Arabisation policy that has been implemented since independence; French still occupies a strong position in society as the language of prestige, high intellectual level and scientific research.

The policy of Arabisation is partly positive but also negative to the case of MSA in Algeria. It is positive essentially in the way it has activated the reinstallation of Arabic status, at least officially, in the nation and society. However, it is noticeably defective in the process it has followed to reach this aim. The latter has been principally based on a nationalist ideal of diminishing the social strength and imposition of French to the maximum, pursued at the expense of the extension of correct use and the development of modernity requirements of MSA, and participating thus in the persistence of language errors and difficulty of expression in it. In fact, the issue of Arabization policy's defects joins dialects variation in the society to deepen the threat of linguistic insecurity to both the people and their language. Arabic dialects deeply rooted in the entire Arabic-speaking world since the early expansion of Islam, form in themselves a composition of risks and benefits to MSA. Their benefits rest on their being of an eloquent (*fasiḥ*) origin, enriching thus the vocabulary wealth of the standard. Their risks, on the other hand, lay on their being clearly divergent from it at different linguistic levels. This fact has encouraged many thinkers and linguists to defend the case of a simplified Middle Arabic which hosts the colloquial and the foreign word challenging the supremacy of MSA and menacing its purity.

The research work's results and conclusions about the impact of newspaper language on the history of human existence have qualified it as a powerful social institution. The investigation of roles and effects it has on the standard language, it usually employs, has cleared up the crucial role it has in upholding its prestigious status and maintaining its welfare. Key to the power of newspaper language is in its being the one of a mass communication device which addresses readers for the purpose of influence and feedback. To satisfy the public opinion's curiosity about discovering what is supposed to be trustworthy and to help them identify their position in the world count too much for a newspaper discourse to be successfully accepted and well-positioned in society; its language has therefore to enclose correctness and power. In developing countries like Algeria, the newspaper's power shows more explicit due to its mobilization, usually by

General Conclusion

government, to sustain certain policies and to spread a number of ideals seen necessary for the advance of these countries at different levels, including the linguistic one.

In the Arab world, contemporary newspaper use and treatment of MSA represent different levels which vary between the focus on the use of pure MSA, the openness to foreign language interference through prevailing code switching, the recurrent switch to the colloquial, and the presence of language errors. This variety of images has been interpreted in this research work by the fact that before being concerned with its ascribed duties towards the language, the Arab newspaper language first and mostly reflects the different aspects characterizing the way society manipulates it. The newspaper becomes thus a mirror to the pros and cons of the sociolinguistic situation of MSA and an example of the confusing clash between nationalists and advocates of the colloquial and/ or foreign language competing social position. Hence, whether journalists still deserve the title “language guardians” or “language doctors” remains a deep debate in itself.

Amidst the Arab mass media, the Arabic-language newspapers in Algeria are less supportive of code switching. Their use of the colloquial and the foreign word is very limited and can hardly be noticed in some of them. Nevertheless, they are exposed to language errors at different levels of seriousness. This is proved through the textual study of the language of El Khabar and Echorouk samples. The outstanding language errors in both of them are grammatical but important stylistic and spelling mistakes are noticed too.

Echorouk newspaper is revealed very defective with the detected number of 185 errors in 92 journalistic works, generally short reports. Errors in grammar, style and spelling are flagrant and the correct use of punctuation is almost absent. This happens despite the emphasis on language proficiency as a parameter of recruiting journalists and correspondents; however these journalists and correspondents’ care about the language itself, in addition to correctors and editors’ role towards it, occupies a secondary position if compared to their concern with the pursue of rapid information and the maximum of public attention and financial profits. On its part, El Khabar newspaper appears in a more insuring position with regards to language errors which are more grammatical than stylistic and orthographic. The number of these errors has been estimated at nearly half of those present in Echorouk, 90 in 92 articles, among which the amount of spelling and

General Conclusion

punctuation mistakes is visibly reduced. Regarding the presence of the colloquial in both scrutinized newspapers, the moderate use of Algerian Arabic presents the nearness of this variety to the Algerian thought which makes it unavoidable to use it in some instances seen more informative in it than in MSA. These results have led to the conclusion that newspapers in Algeria contribute both positively and negatively to the decrease of MSA sociolinguistic problems; yet the negative aspects of their roles remain more crucial than the positive ones. The benefits of these newspapers are stressed by their focus on the use of MSA itself and the reduction of code switching to the colloquial and foreign languages to the maximum, the fact which supplies readers, and society as such, with a discourse that activates their familiarity with MSA. The simplicity of language structures and vocabulary used in the newspapers add to their benefits to the case of MSA. It is an enhancement of a middle Arabic which remains simple MSA in use. Nevertheless, this quality is insufficiently exploited by journalists in the supply of the language's modernity needs and the enhancement of its correct use. In this respect, for instance, their reliance on foreign words and abbreviations on occasions when their creativity is solicited for the enrichment of MSA, ranks them as illustrators of the Arabs' dependence to the Western modern accomplishments rather than as being "language doctors"; and their deficient care about producing and mass-communicating a pure and sound language leads to the spread of common mistakes, and contributes to the maintenance of language insecurity problem in society.

The investigation of the communicative conditions of MSA in the Algerian newspapers, namely at the level of journalists as sources and readers as receivers, has revealed a number of advantageous factors that, if properly exploited, can ensure the involvement of these newspapers' language in the service of MSA. They can be summarized as follows:

- Journalists are aware about the respectable turnout their works enjoy at the level of different social categories, despite the current strong invasion of more modern and practical mass media. It is in fact a social wealth that should be invested to empower their respective newspapers' influence over the society's attitudes and behaviour towards MSA.

General Conclusion

- One of the social impacts of the policy of Arabisation is the formation of a new generation of arabised journalists, more competent in Arabic than in French. This focus on one language can be very beneficial to the case of MSA in Algeria if serious efforts are consecrated to the improvement of these journalists' linguistic performance.
- Being arabised in essence, readers resort to Arabic-language newspapers to better understand the information. This manifest dependence should be seized as an opportunity to reconcile these people with MSA, the language of their ethnic, religious and national identity, and to install attitudes of trust and security towards it, just by means of using a language that gathers easiness, correctness, and purity.
- Acceptance and trust of the target newspapers' language should be praised, and journalists must thus bow to readers' positive attitudes and expectations, through the multiplication of their efforts in improving their linguistic performance.

With consideration of its preliminary motivation, in addition to its objectives and conclusions, the present research work insists on the very advantageous service the Arabic-language newspaper can render to MSA and its people. For this reason, it strongly recommends the authorities' involvement in encouraging the amelioration and effectiveness of this service. The latter can be accomplished through the emphasis on significant Arabic language studies at the level of university formation of journalists, the perseverance in organising planned language training courses for enrolled journalists, and the consideration of securing the newspapers' financial stability. The work also invites future research on this subject to permit the continuation of assessing and directing efforts meant to foster Arabic newspaper service towards MSA.

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Appendices

Appendix A: The Original Texts of Quotations in Arabic Script

1. "أم اللغات" (بيومي، 2002).
3. "فمن تدبر اللغة العربية والعبرانية والسريانية، أيقن أن اختلافهما إنما هو من نحو ما ذكرنا، من تبديل ألفاظ الناس، على طول الأزمان، واختلاف البلدان، ومجاورة الأوطان، وأنها لغة واحدة في الأصل." (بيومي، 2002، ص. 17)
4. "كان الشعر عند العرب ديوان علمهم ومنتهى حكمهم، به يأخذون وإليه يصيرون" (الجمحي، 1998، ص. 25)
6. "إن اللغة العامية تمتاز باليسر والتحرور عن قيود الإعراب والأصوات المتنافرة. لأجل هذا يميل الناس إلى هذا النمط من السلوك في اللغة." (لعويسات، 2007، ص. 197)
7. "لقد كانت محاولات علماء اللغة منذ بداية عصر التدوين متواصلة من دون استسلام أو تيرم أو يأس في البحث عن حلول لتسوية الصراع بين لغتهم العربية واللغات الأخرى الأجنبية الوافدة وجعل هذا الصراع في صالح لغتهم، لغة القرآن، بحيث تبقى هذه اللغة قوية ثابتة الأصول، ولكنها في الوقت نفسه طيعة مرنة، تسمح لنفسها بالانفتاح على اللغات الأخرى والتفاعل معها من أجل تحقيق نمو واتساع وفاعلية ونفوذ أفضل." (المعتوق، 2005، ص. 48)
15. "لكن الإشكال أن الطفل يشعر بين عشية وضحاها بغرابة الاستعمال والقهر اللسانين والتعسف التربويين ودورها يكمن في إزالة هذه العوائق الثلاثة من نفسية الطفل." (مرتا، 2005، ص. 35)
22. "والنقاوة نجدها في البنيات الإفرادية للكلمات، أما التشوه فيلاحظ في اللواحق والسوابق والقواعد النحوية والتحقيق الصوتي." (مرتا، 2005، ص. 37)
27. "برصيد لغوي هائل" (مرتا، 2005، ص. 35).
32. "صنع لغة من أشتات الكلمات العامية" (بكري، 1999، ص. 89).
39. "المستوى العملي الاجتماعي" (الشريف وندا، 2006، ص. 2006).
40. "مخاطبة الجماهير ليفعلوا شيئاً ما، أو يفكروا بشيء ما، وأهم شيء في هذه الوظيفة، هو رد الفعل الذي يقوم به المتلقون" (الشريف وندا، 2006، ص. 20).
41. "في كوننا نملك اليوم لغة، عمرها يزيد عن سبعة عشر قرناً" (ميلة، 1999، ص. 117).
42. "إنني أعتقد أن أكبر تطور عرفته لغتنا العربية في عصرنا الحاضر، كان على يد الصحفيين ومحرري الصحف، فإن هذه الطبقة من حملة الأقلام تواجه عملاً يتطلب منها إنتاجاً يومياً ومتنووعاً." (كنون، 2006، ص. 437)
43. "يחס اغترابا لغويا في وطنه" (بلعيد، 2010، ص. 17)
44. "الغزو الثقافي والفكري هو أن تتراحم اللغات الأجنبية لغة البلد أو تجاريها بالاهتمام باللهجات، أو الدعوة إلى البحث عن لغة مفقودة باسم إحياء المحليات." (بلعيد، 2010، ص. 15)
45. "فالكاتب يعيا بوصف مخدع أو مائدة أو نحوهما، إلا أن اختار أحد أمرين أحلاهما مر؛ فإما أن يحشد على قلمه الكلمات الأجنبية أو العامية، وإما أن يتخذ للتعبير ألفاظاً فصيحة مجوفة، لم تأنس لها الأسماع." (تيمور، في ميلة، 1999، ص. 119)

46. "قوة حين تنقل ألوان الحضارة بألفاظ صافية، وأسلوب عربي مبين، إذ لا يستطيع أحد أن ينكر الدور الكبير الذي تلعبه، والأثر البالغ الذي تحدثه في الجماهير". (كساس، 2007، ص. 81).
47. "ظروف أخرى لإعداد النصوص الإعلامية، بحيث يتمكن الصحفي من مراجعة ما يكتب واختيار الأساليب والكلمات التي يراها مناسبة لنوعية قراء صحيفته، وهذا ما يحدث في أغلب الأوقات" (ميلة، 1999، ص. 124-125).
48. "غير أن بعض الصحفيين يلجؤون من حين إلى آخر، إلى استعمال عبارات وكلمات دخيلة وأخرى موهلة في العامية، لا مبرر إلى استعمالها، فيما يبدو لنا، سوى تلك القوة الإيحائية التي يمتاز بها هذا النوع من الكلمات والعبارات، لعمق انغراسها في لغة المجتمع" (ميلة، 1999، ص. 125).
49. "نتائج معاصرة جعلت من اللغة العربية لغة يستحيل إتقانها وصيانة سلطاتها النحوية لأنها في تفهقر مستمر" (الخوري، 2005، ص. 152).
50. "وعندهم أن كل صواب يمكن أن يكون خطأ، وكل خطأ يمكن أن يكون صواباً" (الخوري، 2005، ص. 152).
51. "يعتقد الكثيرون أن تردي اللغة العربية وتفشي الأخطاء اللغوية، قادم من وسائل الإعلام التي تنامت وانتشرت وكثر الإقبال عليها" (خلوفي، 2007، ص. 112).
52. "تعتبر لغة الإعلام مجمعا كبيرا فيه الصواب وفيه الخطأ يجمع كل منهما من خلال الوسيلة الإعلامية" (علي الحاج، 2006، ص. 136).
53. "قد لا تحصى" (علي الحاج، 2006، ص. 138).
54. "هناك إعلاميون جدد في عالم الصحافة اليوم لم يهدموا البناء الشامخ الذي وضعه رواد الصحافة فقط، بل بدؤوا ينشرون بذاءات" (علي الحاج، 2006، ص. 132).
55. "لا يعرفون معنى "التنقيب". وتجد جملة من عشرة سطور لا يفصلها أي فاصل وتجد أسئلة لا تنتهي بعلامة استفهام" (علي الحاج، 2006، ص. 132).
56. "مستويات اللغة العربية في لغة الإعلام العربي" (علي الحاج، 2006، ص. 143).
57. ألم يأتكم خبر الصحافة الجزائرية التي احتلت المراتب العالمية المشهود بها، والمراتب الأولى في الصحافة الإفريقية: الثانية (2) والخامسة (5) والسابعة (7) والعاشر (10) وهذا التصنيف صادر من مؤسسة أسترالية لها موضوعية دولية. (بلعيد، 2010، ص. 245)
58. وأشهد أن اللغة التي طبعت في ذهني كثيرا وترسخت أنماطها هي تلك التي كانت تصدر من الصحفيين المتألقين الذين كان لسانهم ينطق بما في فؤادهم، وهذا في سبعينيات القرن الماضي، وخاصة أثناء نقل المباريات الرياضية، وكانوا أطباء اللغة. (بلعيد، 2010، ص. 149-150)
59. "يتعدى الفعل اللازم إلى المفعول به إذا ضعّف أو دخلت عليه الهزمة" (عبد الحليم وأبو العينين، 2002، ص. 114).
60. "رأينا صواب يحتمل الخطأ ورأيكم خطأ يحتمل الصواب"
61. "مجزرة في حق اللغة العربية" (حمادي، 19 أبريل 2016)

Appendix B: Samples of the Newspapers' Headlines

التنظيمات الطلابية والأساتذة
رحبوا بالقرار

"البوتاكور"
والتنورات ممنوعة
في الجامعات

23

اليومي الشروق

إخبارية وطنية

رأينا صواب يحتمل الخطأ وأرىكم خطأ يحتمل الصواب

مساحة إخبارية

www.echoroukonline.com
فرنسا 1 دج
الجزائر، 15 دج
المدد 4736 هـ
1436 رجب 24 الموافق
2015 م 13 ماي
الأريعاء
echorouk1@gmail.com

الأمانة أنهت
عملية الجرد إذانا
بتسليم المهام للأمين
العام القادم

3

الشروق تحصل على القائمة الاسمية للمطالين بعودة أويحيى

بن صالح يستقبل بداية الأسبوع القادم

محكمة ميلانو تستمع إلى 6 متهمين من بينهم فريد بجاوي وسمير أورياد اليوم

شكيب خليل

لا متهما ولا شاهدا

5

فضيحة
سوناطراك -
إيني سايبام..

دفاع بجاوي للشروق،
الجلسة مغلقة بأسئلة
وأجوبة ومسائل تقنية

محاكمة خليفة

لحظات مؤثرة عند سماع أقوال
المدرّب الأسبق للفريق الوطني،
إيفيل ينفجر بالبكاء عند ذكر
وفاة أمه وهو سجين

- 320 مليار تتحول من قروض
إلى ديون.. والكل ينفى مسؤوليته!
- التهم دلال عبد الوهاب:
- كنت ألتقي أوامر بسحب ونقل
الأموال بـ"طالكي والكي"
- الحارس الشخصي لعبد المؤمن
خليفة.. عبد الوهاب رضا:
- خليفة كان يأمرني بشهيا
بسحب الأموال من البنك

6-9

عصابات تزرع الرعب بشطر
برج بوعرييج - البويرة
جثة وهمية في الطريق السياح
للاستيلاء على سيارات المسافرين

13

المتحررون على أبواب المؤسسات التربوية

أحداث ملتبس
8 ماي 45 بسطيف
الكاف تستدعي
رئيس الرجاء
المغربي

EL KHABAR
الصدوق والمصادقية

السنة الخامسة والعشرون / العدد 7798 / الثمن / الجزائر، 20 دج - فرنسا، 16

الأربعاء 13 ماي 2015 م

الواحد 24 رجب 1436 هـ

في رسالة عددت فيها حالات خرق الحقوق والتضييق على الجمعيات
خمس منظمات دولية تطالب الاتحاد الأوروبي بالضغط على الجزائر

• المدير العام للحريات والشؤون القانونية بوزارة الداخلية، محمد طالبي، لـ "الخبر": قانون الجمعيات قضية سيادية

طالبت خمس منظمات حقوقية دولية، في رسالة إلى الاتحاد الأوروبي، بالحث السلطات الجزائرية على إطلاق سراح النشطاء المضادين من أجل الحق في العمل، "فورا وبدون شروط"، بمناسبة انعقاد الدورة التاسعة لمجلس الشراكة الأوروبية الجزائرية، المنتظر في 19 ماي الجاري..

3 ص

محكمة القرن

اعتزقوا بتقل أموال
بلاكياس إلى بيئته
متهمون "يفضحون"
خليصة

• كشفت استجوابات المتهمين، في اليوم السابع من معاناة قضائية خفيفة، عن عسوائية كبيرة في تسيير بنك خليفة وتلاعبات في منح القروض وانتقال للأموال بين الجزائر والمغرب والمغرب العامة..

3 ص

القضاء على إرهابيين بعين الذهب

اغتيال أربعة من عناصر
الباتريوت بمروانة

• تكثفت مخرقة للجيش الوطني الشعبي التابعة للقطاع العملياتي لعين الذهب، بإقليم الناحية العسكرية الأولى، مساء أمس، من القضاء على إرهابيين اثنين..

2 ص

عقوبة تضاعف في حالة العود
حسب قانون الصحة الجديد

السيجارة بـ5 آلاف دينار
في الأماكن العمومية

• غرامة بين 20 و50 مليون سنتيم لمن يبيع "التبغ" للقصر

4 ص

بشبهة تهديد المال العام مع الشركة
الاطمالة "سبك أنت ناشه نا".

أموال الخدمات الاجتماعية لعمال التربية تحدث فتنة

ثماني نقابات تخير الوزارة بين الاستفتاء أو العدالة

• الكلا، أحد وكلاء السيارات يستحوذ على 40% والوكالات السياحية على نسبة 30% من أموال الخدمات الاجتماعية

• "الكتاباست" و"الأنباف": الاستفتاء تم في 2011

4 ص



Appendix C: Samples of the Newspapers' Texts

10 الشروق
الأربعاء 13 ماي 2015 / الموافق 24 رجب 1436 هـ / العدد 4736

تنفّر لأبسط ضروريات الحياة

قرية لعزيب آيت علي يفرحونان تعاني العزلة والتمهيش



استعجل سكان قرية تعزيب آيت علي ببلدية افرحونان في تيزي وزو، إتمام تهيئة طريق قريتهم، خاصة وأنها يعانون كثيرا من تدهور أوضاع الطريق الذي يشهد حضرا كثيرة تعوّلت إلى "الضغ" منصوبة على قارعة الطريق، والتي تسبب فيها أشغال ربط قنوات الغاز وشبكة الماء منذ الصائفة الماضية، ما فرض حصارا على العديد من العائلات وكذا الأطفال والعمال الذين يعانون كثيرا للالتحاق بعدادسهم ومناصب عملهم.

3. حميد

التي تبعد عن مقر البلدية بجوالي 3 كيلومترات. وجدد السكان نداءهم للسلطات الوصية بتوفير حياة كريمة لهم، حيث إن غياب غاز المدينة والإتارة الالهلية أصبحا يؤرقان حياة سكان القرية، خاصة في فصل الصيف أين يكثّر الطلب على الكهرباء، بالإضافة إلى خطر التجوال لسيلا بسبب كثرة العضر والظلام الذي يخيم على المنطقة بعد غروب الشمس مباشرة. كما طالب قاطنو القرية بإنشاء ملعب جوازي ودار للشباب لتمكين أبناء القرية من قضاء أوقاتهم فيها عوض السقوط في عالم الانسحراف والمخدرات

سكان حبي يبش وماريس يجحوط يترقبون التفتاة السلطات

ب. بلال

تعبد. قط وتتشر بها الحفر والمطبات. المسافرون لخط مدينة جحوط نحو

أولياء تلاميذ مدرسة شريفي بايث يحيى موسى يدقون ناقوس الخطر

أحمت جمعية أولياء تلاميذ مدرسة شريفي محمد شمال مقر بلدية آيت يحيى موسى بتيزي وزو، في رسالة موجهة إلى رئيس المجلس البلدي تحوز "الشروق" نسخة منها عدة نسائس على مستوى المدرسة أهمها نقص القاعات مقارنة مع عدد التلاميذ القاطنين من مختلف التجمعات السكنية القريبة، علاوة على انعدام التهيئة بداخلها وصغر خزان الماء الذي لا يغطي حاجيات التلاميذ، كما طالب ممثلو الجمعية بفتح باب صغير للإسراع في تهيئة الأستف التي تشهد تسريبات كثيرة

سكان شارع يوسف عبد القادر بالبلدية يطالبون بالرجل

اشتكى عشرات السكان القاطنين بشارع يوسف عبد القادر بالبلدية الذي يتكون من أحياء بريكي وحى السلمون، من معاناتهم الشديدة جراء تقاض السلطات المحلية في الاستجابة لاحتياجاتهم وانشغالهم التمتكية في الترحيل إلى سكناات لاقفة، حيث قال القاطنون بالحي أنهم يعيشون ظروفا أقل ما يقال عنها إنها مزرية وغير لائقة في محلات ومستودعات أستفها آيلة إلى الأتجار، في ظل غياب التفتاة من المسؤولين رغم اللغات التي أودعت لدى الجهات المعنية لرات عديدة.

ع. يوسف ع

معا ناة يومية لسكان قرية تدارث تموقرات بجاية مع النقل

يبدو أن معاناة سكان قرية تدارث تموقرات بأميزور مع النقل العمومي ستستمر مع مرور الأيام والأشهر، حيث أن سكان هذه القرية التي تبعد بنحو 20 كلم عن مقر بلدية أميزور بجاية ينتظرون أكثر من 3 ساعات للظفر بمقعد في حافلات النقل العمومي، وما زاد العنينة بله أن أربع حافلات للنقل العمومي تشتغل على الخط، ولكن استهزاء بعض النافلين وعدم الأهتمام باشغالات المواطنين واعتزاز بعض الحافلات، جعلها غائبة عن تقديم الخدمة، حتى أن تلاميذ مختلف الأقسام من الإكمالي والثانوي يضتفرون للنقل المدرسي نحو أميزور، ووجه سكان القرية نداءه إلى السلطات المحلية للتكفل باشغالاتهم في أقرب وقت.

ع. مبروك

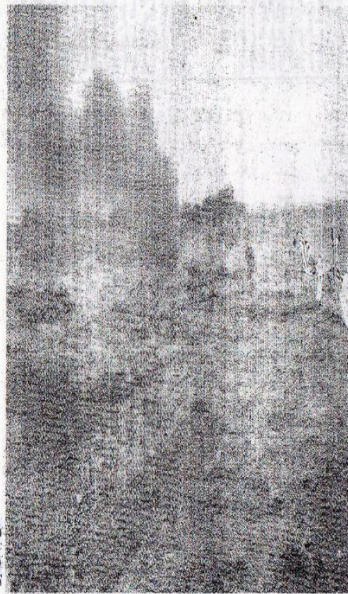
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الخبر 10

الجزائر العميقة

أغلقت الطريق المؤدي إلى الأبيض مجاجة مفرغة عشوائية تهدد البيئة بالشظية في الشلف

عبر العديد من سكان بلدية الشظية بالشلف عن استيائهم من الوضعية الكارثية التي يشهدها الطريق الرابط بين الشظية وبلدية الأبيض مجاجة بسبب المفرغة العشوائية.



مفرغة بالشظية تشكل خطرا على البيئة والإنسان

الشلف : ٤ دحماني

• يتعذر على أصحاب السيارات المرور عبر الطريق بعد أن تراكمت القمامة بوسطه وأدت إلى غلقه بصفة تامة، والأخطر من ذلك، فإن المنطقة الشمالية الشرقية للشظية تحولت إلى مفرغة عشوائية لرمي النفايات وبفيا الأشغال وتحويلت إلى مصدر حقيقي للخطر يهدد حياة السكان بالمنطقة 12، والحي الفوضوي الذي أصيب بعض سكانه بأمراض خطيرة عادت إلى الظهور بسبب انعدام النظافة وتلوث الهواء بالمنطقة نتيجة حرق هذه النفايات.

ويتساءل السكان عن دور مسؤولي بلدية الشظية ومديرية البيئة في الحفاظ على المحيط وحماية البيئة من أسباب التلوث الذي ينعكس سلبا على حياة الناس خاصة أمام استمرار عملية الرمي العشوائي للنفايات المنزلية من طرف شاحنات النظافة التابعة للبلدية وحتى الخواص، حيث تقوم يوميا بشاحنات وجرارات القمامة بالتخلص من حمولتها على جانبي الطريق الذي أصبح مصدرا لانتشار الروائح الكريهة

الشلف بمع مرور الشاحنات بوسط بلدية أولاد فارس

بسبب تصاعد الدخان جراء إضرام النار في القمامة، الأمر الذي تسبب في مضاعفة معاناة مستعملي الطريق المذكور وسكان المناطق المجاورة نتيجة وصول الروائح التي تكتم الأنفاس وتلوث المحيط، كما أصبحت هذه المفرغة العشوائية موقعا لرعي الأغنام والأبقار، ما قد يهدد صحة مستهلكي اللحوم والحليب الذي تنتجه هذه الحيوانات.

كما أدى توسع رقعة المزلية إلى تقليص مساحة الأراضي الفلاحية التي التهمت مساحة منها، كما هجرها بعض الفلاحين بسبب الغزلة بعد انسداد الطريق وعدم قدرتهم على الصمود ومقاومة الروائح والدخان الذي أصاب بعضهم بالأمراض التنفسية.

ويأمل ضحايا هذه المفرغة من السلطات المعنية الإسراع في التدخل لإلزام السلطات المحلية بمعالجة الوضع والحفاظ على نظافة المحيط وحماية حياة السكان والبيئة من أخطار التلوث.

٤. ع

غليزان

مستفيدون من سككات كتاب ايمو يحتجون

• عاد العشرات من المستفيدين من سككات كتاب ايمو التي انتهت شغالها منذ عدة سنوات أمام مجمع 1052 سكن الجديد قرب حي الزراعة بمدينة غليزان إلى الاحتجاج بداية الأسبوع الجاري، لبحث الجهة المعنية على الإسراع في تحرير الاستقادات المتأخرة لأصحابها من قبل مصالح الدائرة بالتنسيق مع صندوق التوفير، وغير المحتجون عن امتناعهم من تأخر المسؤولين عن منحهم مبالغ شفتهم رغم اتصالاتهم المتكررة بالصندوق والدائرة، حيث بقيت الأوضاع على حالها رغم أن مطالبهم قبلت من طرف المصالح المعنية.

غليزان : ل. جول

خير الدين يستأنفهم سكان دار أولاد العربي

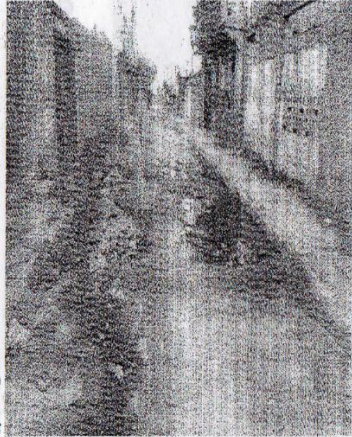
يلتفون الطريق

• أقدم أول أس العشرات من سكان دار أولاد العربي ببلدية خير الدين يستأنفهم على طلق الطريق الولائي رقم 170 لتعطيل حركة المرور في الأتجاهين لحوالي ساعتين، بعد أن صدمت سيارة سياحية طفلين لم يتجاوز عمرهما ثلاث سنوات، أصيبا على البرها بجروح وتم تحويلهما على جناح السرعة إلى مستشفى عين تادلس. وطالب المحتجون بوضع مهلات للحد من إرهاب الطرقات، وهو ما وعد به عضو المجلس البلدي الذي تنقل إلى عين المكان، كما سارع عناصر الدرك تطويق الجرحى ومباشرة التحقيق قبل إعادة فتح الطريق دون تسجيل تجاوزات.

مستأنفهم، م. بقليل

تلمسان

الأمراض المتفشية تهدد قاطني سيدي السنوسي



وضعية كارثية لأحد شوارع القرية

• اشتكى سكان قرية سيدي السنوسيين من تدهور البيئة والمحيط وجلاء عدم اكتمال أشغال التهيئة بثاني تجمع سكني في بلدية سيدي العيدلي شرقي مكره.

وفي سياق متصل ومع اقتراب عطلة الصيف اشتكى الألياء من غياب مشاريع ترقيعية وتنقيفية لفائدة الأطفال والشباب بمنطقة الخضر من مياه الصريف الصحي وسطا شارع يؤدي إلى الملحقة البلدية تهدد حياة السكان خاصة الأطفال منهم بالأمراض المتفشية عن طريق المياه وعن طريق الحشرات الضارة عشية حلول فصل الحرارة.

وذكر سكان الحي بأنهم لا يفتحون الشواهد ليلا ونهارا، تفاديا للروائح الكريهة وللحشرات الضارة في وضعية تراوح مكانها منذ سبعة أشهر. وتاريخ إسناد أشغال التهيئة وترقيت الشوارع لمقاول خاصة غادرت القرية دون استكمال الأشغال. وقال شهود عيان من سيدي السنوسي، قرية يقارب تعداد سكانها العشرة آلاف وهي من مخلفات أشغال المقاول،

دهاء، الترقية والتسنن العتاري وعن تموشنت

Appendix D: The Questionnaires

D.1. Journalists' questionnaire

السلام عليكم. هذا الاستطلاع يدخل ضمن دراسة لسانية اجتماعية نقوم بإعدادها لإظهار علاقة الصحافة المكتوبة باللغة العربية. نرجو منكم إفادتنا بالإجابة عن هذه الأسئلة.

معلومات شخصية:
وظيفةكم بالجريدة:
الانتماء: جريدة
الخبرة: سنة

1- ما هو دافعكم الرئيسي لامتحان الصحافة المكتوبة باللغة العربية؟

.....

.....

2- بحسب اطلاعكم وخبرتكم المهنية، ما الوضعية الراهنة للصحافة المكتوبة بالمجتمع العربي عامة؟
 تلقى إقبالا لا بأس به من قبل الجمهور تلقى إقبالا متناقصا من قبل الجمهور مهجورة

لماذا برأيكم؟

.....

.....

.....

3- ماهي الوضعية الراهنة للصحافة المكتوبة بالعربية بالمجتمع الجزائري؟
 تلقى إقبالا لا بأس به من قبل الجمهور تلقى إقبالا متناقصا من قبل الجمهور مهجورة

لماذا برأيكم؟

.....

.....

.....

4- إلى جانب سرد الأخبار والمستجدات والتأثير في الرأي العام، هل توافقون أن من الأهداف الأخرى للصحافة الجزائرية المكتوبة بالعربية:
 - نشر الاستعمال السليم للغة العربية الفصحى - الحفاظ على حيوية اللغة العربية الفصحى في المجتمع (نشر استعمالها)
 - إثراء اللغة بالمفردات المستحدثة المسيرة للعصر - التقريب بين العامي والفصحى في اللغة العربية
 - إرساء الأمن اللغوي (الثقة في اللغة القومية) في المجتمع حفاظا على الهوية الوطنية

نعم لحد ما لا

5- إذا لم تكن إجاباتكم "نعم"، احذفوا العبارات غير المناسبة

ما هو تعقيبكم على ذلك؟

.....

.....

.....

6- كيف يتم تقريب الفصحى المعاصرة من الفارئ الجزائري عامة؟ (يمكن اختيار أكثر من إجابة)

باستعمال مفردات مبسطة فصيحة الأصل استعمال المصطلح العامي

بطريقة أخرى؟ ما هي؟

.....

7- ما رأيكم في العلاقة بين اللغة العامية الجزائرية والفصحى المعاصرة؟

.....

.....

.....

8- في رأيكم، ما هي الإيجابيات من استعمال العامية في المقال الصحفي (إن وجدت)؟

.....

.....

.....

9- ما هي السلبيات منه (إن وجدت)؟

.....

.....

.....

10- ما أهمية استعمال الكلمات ذات الأصل الأجنبي "تابو"، "موضة"، "بريستيج"، "روبورتاج" و غيرها من التسميات مثل "الأفامي-FMI" في المقال الصحفي؟

.....

.....

.....

11- أثناء دراستكم للصحافة، هل تم التركيز على عنصر اللغة (اللغة العربية) كمادة أساسية؟

نعم لحد كبير نوعا ما لا

12- أثناء مزاولةكم لمهنة الصحافة، هل استفدتم من دورات تكوينية تخص اللغة؟

نعم بصفة دائمة نعم بصفة محدودة نادرا لا

13- إذا كانت الإجابة "نعم"، هل كان ذلك؟

بمبادرتكم بمبادرة الجريدة التي تنتمون إليها بمبادرة هيئة أخرى

(حددوا من فضلكم)

14- هل تزاولون مهنة أخرى إلى جانب الصحافة؟

نعم لا

15- هل ترتبط هذه المهنة بالصحافة باللغة العربية بغير ذلك

شكرا لكم

D.2. English Translation of Journalists' Questionnaire

Hello. This questionnaire is part of a sociolinguistic study, prepared to underline the relation between MSA and the newspaper. We hope you would assist us with your answers.

Personal information:

affiliation:.....

experience:years.

1. What is the first factor that made you choose the profession of journalism?

.....

2. According to your information and professional experience, what is the present-day situation of the Arabic-language written press in the Arab world?

It receives an important turnout of the people It receives a decreasing turnout of the people
 It is abandoned

-Why according to you?.....

3. What is the present-day situation of the Arabic-language written press in the Algerian society?

It receives an important turnout of the people It receives a decreasing turnout of the people
 It is abandoned

-Why according to you?

4. In addition to news listing and the influence of public opinion, do you agree that among the other goals of the Algerian press written in Arabic are:

- The spread of the correct use of MSA?
- The preservation of MSA vitality in society?
- The enrichment of this language with new terminology?
- The approximation between the colloquial and the standard in Arabic language?
- The realisation of linguistic security for the protection of national identity?

Yes to some extent no

5. Delete the irrelevant expressions

- What is your comment about that?.....

6. How can MSA be approached to the Algerian reader? (You can choose more than one answer)

with the use of simple words of an eloquent origin with the use of colloquial terms
 in another way What is it ?

7. According to you, what is the relation between the colloquial language and MSA?

.....
.....
8. According to you, what are the positives from using the colloquial in the journalistic text (if any)?

.....
.....
9. What are its negatives (if any)?

.....
.....
10. What is the importance of using words of a foreign origin and other namings, like “FMI”, in the newspaper text?

.....
.....
11. During your formation in journalism, was there a focus on language element (the Arabic language) as a fundamental subject?

yes, to a great extent in some way no

12. During your professional career, have you benefited from training sessions about language?

yes, regularly yes, in a limited way rarely no

13. If your answer was “yes”, was it?

your own initiative the initiative of the newspaper that you belong to
the initiative of another body (please precise it)

14. Do you practise another profession besides journalism?

yes no

15. Does this profession have a relation with?

Journalism the Arabic language another specialty

Thank you

D.3. Readers' Questionnaire

السلام عليكم. يشرفني أن أطلب منكم المشاركة في هذا الاستبيان الذي من غايته سبر آراء قراء الجرائد اليومية الجزائرية الواردة باللغة العربية. أتمنى أن تجيبوا عن الأسئلة الآتية ولكم جزيل الشكر.

معلومات شخصية	
الجنس:	ذكر <input type="checkbox"/> أنثى <input type="checkbox"/>
السن:	
المستوى الدراسي:	ابتدائي <input type="checkbox"/> متوسط <input type="checkbox"/> ثانوي <input type="checkbox"/> جامعي <input type="checkbox"/>
آخر <input type="checkbox"/>	وضحوا من فضلكم

الاستبيان:

ملاحظة:

- يرجى الإجابة عن طريق وضع علامة X في الخانة المناسبة

- ماعدا الإجابات بـ "نعم" أو "لا"، يمكنكم اختيار أكثر من إجابة

1. هل تتصفحون الجرائد؟ يوميا بانتظام عادة أحيانا نادرا
2. هل تعتمدون في قراءتكم على: النسخ المطبوعة النسخ الإلكترونية كلاهما
- لماذا؟(باختصار).....

3. هل تقرأون الصحف الجزائرية المكتوبة: بالعربية فقط بالفرنسية أيضا
4. ماذا تفضلون؟ الصحف المكتوبة بالعربية الصحف المكتوبة بالفرنسية
- لماذا؟
(باختصار).....

5. أي جريدة يومية إخبارية، مكتوبة باللغة العربية، تعادون قراءتها؟
الخبر الشروق غيرها (سموها من فضلكم).....

6. لماذا تختارونها من دون الصحف الأخرى؟
لأنها ذات مقروئية كبيرة تتناسب مواضيعها مع تطلعاتكم أسلوبها الصحفي مقنع

7. هل من أهدافكم، من خلال قراءة هذه الجرائد، إثراء رصيدكم اللغوي وتحسين مستواكم في اللغة العربية الفصحى؟
نعم إلى حد كبير ليس إلى حد كبير لا

8. هل تعتقدون أن أعمال الصحافة الجزائرية المكتوبة المعاصرة تخدم اللغة العربية ترسيخا لبقائها و رفعا لشأنها؟

نعم لحد ما لا

لماذا(باختصار)؟

.....

9. من خلال قراءتكم للصحف، هل لاحظتم وجود أخطاء لغوية بأنواعها؟

بصفة متكررة أحيانا نادرا لا أبدا

10. في رأيكم لم يرجع ارتكاب مثل تلك الأخطاء في غالب الأحيان؟

أخطاء مطبعية عدم تمكن الصحفيين من اللغة تأثير العامية على الفصحى

11. هل يمكن تقبل هذه الأخطاء؟

نعم لكونها قليلة وغير متكررة لا يمكن لأنها كثيرة و متكررة لا يمكن في كل الأحوال

12. قد تصادفكم في بعض المقالات أو عناوينها، كلمات أو عبارات بالعامية (الدارجة)، كيف تعتبرون ذلك؟

أمر مطلوب، إذ أن العامية أكثر تعبيراً بالنسبة للجزائريين

أمر طبيعي، إذ أنه ليس هنالك مطابق في العربية الفصحى لبعض المعاني العامية

أمر غير مقبول، لأن ذلك مشوه لسلامة و نقاوة الفصحى

13. قد تصادفكم في بعض المقالات أو عناوينها، كلمات أو عبارات دخيلة بلغة أجنبية (فرنسية أو غيرها)، لم يرجع ذلك في رأيكم؟

لا بد من ذلك في عصر العولمة و التقدم الحضاري

لا بد من استعمال اللغة الفرنسية كونها جزء من هويتنا

لا بد من التخلص منها كونها تؤثر على نقاوة اللغة العربية

أمر غير مقبول لأن لكل مصطلح أجنبي مقابل (كلمة ذات معنى مطابق) باللغة الفصحى

14. كيف تعتبرون اللغة العربية الفصحى في عصرنا الحالي؟

لغة مهجورة آيلة إلى الزوال لغة مواكبة لمتطلبات العصر

لغة محافظة لهوية الجزائريين لغة مستسلمة للثقافة الغربية

15. هل ترون بأن من شأن لغة الصحافة المكتوبة تعليم و تكوين الأجيال لغة، علما، ثقافة، وهوية مثلها مثل المدرسة؟

نعم وأكثر من ذلك نعم لا

شكرا عن هذه الإفادة القيّمة

D.4. English Translation of Readers' Questionnaire

I am honored to ask you to participate in this survey that focuses on readers' opinions about the Algerian newspapers, written in Arabic. I hope you would answer these questions and thank you very much.

Personal information:				
Sex :	male		female	
Age:			
Education level:	primary	middle	secondary	university
	other (precise please).....			

The questionnaire:

1. Do you read newspapers?

regularly everyday usually sometimes rarely

2. Do you rely in your reading on?

The print copy the electronic version both of them

Why (concisely)?

3. Do you read Algerian newspapers written in: Arabic only? French too?

4. What do you prefer?

Arabic-language newspapers French language newspapers both

Why (concisely)?

5. Which daily newspaper do you read?

-El Khabar -Echorouk -both -other (define it please)

6. Why do you choose it (or them) out of other newspapers?

It enjoys a large readability Its topics answer your expectations Its journalistic style is convincing

7. Among your goals from reading these newspapers, is there a focus on the enrichment of your Arabic language and the improvement of your level in it?

yes, to a great extent not to a great extent no

8. Do you think that the contemporary Algerian written journalistic works serve Arabic language, through the solidification of its maintenance and the strengthening of its position?

yes to a certain extent no

9. During your newspaper reading, have you noticed language errors with their different kinds?

Repeatedly sometimes rarely never

10. According to you, what are the factors of that?

printing errors the journalists' incompetence in language the impact of the colloquial on the standard

11. Is it possible to accept these errors?

Yes, because they are only some and not repeated

No, because they are numerous and repeated

It is not acceptable in any case

12. You may have encountered in some newspaper articles or their titles, some words or expressions in the colloquial (el-darija). What is your opinion about that?

A required thing since the colloquial is more expressive for the Algerians

A normal thing, since there are not equivalents in Arabic for some colloquial meanings

Not acceptable, since it is distorting of the safety and purity of the standard

13. You may have encountered in some newspaper articles or their titles, words or expressions of a foreign language origin (French or others). What is your opinion about that?

It is necessary in the era of globalization and civilization progress

It is necessary to use the French language because of its being part of our identity

It is necessary to get rid of this because it has negative effects over the purity of Arabic

This is not acceptable because each foreign word has an equivalent in Standard Arabic

14. How do you judge Modern Standard Arabic in the modern era?

an abandoned, disappearing language

a language keeping up with the era's requirements

a language conservative of the Algerians' identity

a language yielding to the Western culture

15. Do you think that one of the roles of the written press is to teach and form generations in what concerns language, culture and identity, in the same way as school does?

Yes and more than this yes no

Thank you

الملخص:

يتضمن هذا البحث دراسة كمية ونوعية لواقع الفصحى المعاصرة في الجريدة الجزائرية. يكمن هدفه في تسليط الضوء على المحاسن والمساوئ المميزة للنصوص الصحفية والمؤثرة على هذه اللغة التي تعتبر واحدة من أهم مقومات هوية العرب عامة والجزائريين خاصة وميزة أساسية لمكانتهم في العالم. الفرضية الأولية للبحث تقترح أنه رغم ما يعرف عن صحفيي فترة ما بعد الاستقلال وإسهاماتهم الوطنية المشجعة لنشر سياسة التعريب واهتمامهم بنشر الاستعمال السليم للفصحى المعاصرة، فإن هذا الوضع قد تغير حاليا مع تغير الاهتمامات اللغوية التي باتت منحصرة وثنائية مقارنة بغيرها من الطموحات الاقتصادية و السياسية الاجتماعية للصحفيين. ومع ذلك يمكن إيجاد حلول تمكن من جعل لغة الجريدة لغة يسهل الاعتماد عليها للنهوض بالفصحى المعاصرة في الجزائر والعالم العربي. نتائج البحث أثبتت صحة هذه الفرضية اعتبارا لدراسة نموذجين من جريدتي الشروق والخبر اليومييتين.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الفصحى المعاصرة، الصحف الناطقة باللغة العربية، الهوية، انعدام الأمن اللغوي، الأخطاء اللغوية.

Résumé :

Le présent travail de recherche est une étude qualitative et quantitative qui porte sur la réalité de l'utilisation de l'arabe moderne standard (AMS) dans les journaux algériens. Son objectif est centralisé sur les avantages et les inconvénients que les textes journalistiques apportent à cette langue qui reste un marqueur fondamental de l'identité des Arabes en général et des Algériens en particulier, ainsi que leur position dans le monde. L'hypothèse initiale du travail suppose que, malgré la contribution encourageante des journalistes algériens de l'époque postindépendance à la politique d'arabisation, et en dépit de leur effort nationaliste pour répandre l'utilisation correcte de l'AMS, les intérêts linguistiques des journalistes d'aujourd'hui sont étroits et se montrent secondaires si comparés à d'autres ambitions économiques et sociopolitiques. Néanmoins, il s'avère nécessaire de détecter les moyens par lesquels la langue du journal devient un appui fiable pour l'amélioration et la prospérité de l'AMS en Algérie et dans le monde arabe. L'hypothèse s'est avérée valide, tenant en compte la situation de l'AMS examinée dans les deux exemples du corpus, à savoir les deux journaux quotidiens Echorouk et El Khabar.

Mots-clés: AMS, journaux en langue arabe, identité, insécurité linguistique, erreurs linguistiques.

Abstract :

The present research work addresses the reality of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) in the Algerian newspaper. Its objective's emphasis is on benefits and drawbacks that journalistic texts bring about to this language which remains a fundamental marker of Arabs and Algerians' identity and position in the world. The work's initial hypothesis suggests that in spite of the post-independence journalists' encouraging contribution to the policy of Arabisation, and despite their nationalist endeavour to spread MSA's correct use, the linguistic interests of present-day journalists are narrow and show secondary if compared to other economic and socio-political ambitions. Nonetheless, it lies required to detect ways through which newspaper language becomes a reliable enhancement to the advance and prosperity of MSA in Algeria and the Arab world. The hypothesis is proved valid, considering the examined situation of MSA in the samples of Echorouk and El Khabar daily newspapers.

Keywords: MSA, Arabic-language newspapers, identity, linguistic insecurity, language errors.

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ABOU BAKR BELKAID UNIVERSITY, TLEMCEM
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE



Thesis Summary:

Modern Standard Arabic in Algerian Newspapers:
Shuruq and El Khabar

Thesis Submitted to the Department of English Language in Candidacy for the
Degree of Doctorate in Sociolinguistics

Presented by:

Mrs Fatima Nor El Houda DAHOU

Supervised by:

Pr. Ilhem SERIR

Academic Year: 2017

When seeking solutions to language problems, many scholars orient their attention to mass media, being active mass communicators that permanently address populations of different social categories through the constant mobilisation of language. The language of any nation is thus treated and oriented by mass media to a large degree, for predefined social, political and even economic purposes. Under such circumstances, the national language can either be looked after and protected or neglected and torn down by them. And, apart from the new media that are invading the world, the newspaper preserves its powerful position in societies, especially in the Arab ones, where the habit of reading it by individuals of both genders, and of different age categories, intellectual levels and socio-economic positions, has become inseparable from their culture. The uniqueness of newspaper language is in its being written, therefore checked and corrected, while the one of Arabic-language newspaper is in its being written essentially in MSA, knowing that the audio-visual media are more open to code-switching, hence less concerned with the purity and correctness of MSA. Connecting these views to the case of the Arabic newspaper in Algeria has led to the development of the following research questions:

- 5- What is the situation of MSA in the Algerian newspaper?
- 6- To what extent is this newspaper employed in the service of MSA?
- 7- What is the linguistic impact of this newspaper on Algerian readers and what are their reactions to its language?
- 8- What can enhance Arabic newspaper service to MSA in Algeria?

With regards to the influential role it has played in the re-establishment and consolidation of MSA's social position and correct use in post-independent Algeria, and in consideration of the way it was decisively mobilised to the enhancement of the policy of Arabisation in the 1960's and 1970's, this research work begins with the hypothesis that Arabic-language newspaper carries on its mission of maintaining and protecting the language, since, in the manner they endeavour to attract readers' interest, journalists must be conscious of rightfully undertaking a language which directly addresses readers' sociolinguistic identity. Nevertheless, this mission's profitability is being in decrease in the recent period, under the effects of contemporary professional goals adjusted to the newspaper's political and economic orientations. Therefore, there is a compulsory need to urge some language-related measures to enhance the crucial responsibility of this newspaper towards MSA.

For the purpose of examining the validity of this hypothesis, the present research work puts forward a sociolinguistic study of the situation of MSA in contemporary Algerian newspaper, with a focus on the case of Echorouk and El Khabar daily tabloids. The choice has been on these two newspapers, being among the most popular ones at present and having succeeded to gain the turnout of the largest numbers of readers, of different intellectual levels, socio-economic positions and age categories. It includes four chapters which titles and contents can be cited as follows:

The first chapter is entitled **“The Present Situation of MSA in the Arab World and Algeria”**. It exhibits and scrutinises the contemporary realities of MSA in the Arab world as such, particularly in Algeria. The aim of this chapter is to identify the actual problems that are facing this language in the Algerian society and to discover the factors that have led to their appearance and extension. For this reason, this part of the research work opens with a historical view on Arabs and their language since the earliest ages. Then, it extends to an examination of realities and problems of contemporary Arabic in the Arab world, with the intention of underlining the global context of the situation, to finally conclude with a study of today’s state of MSA in Algeria.

The second chapter is entitled **“Newspaper Language and its Effects on Sociolinguistic Realities: Generalities and the Case of the Arab World”**. As its title reveals, this chapter focuses on newspaper language and its sociolinguistic functions, particularly in the Arab world. Its first objective is to provide ideas about ways in which newspaper language can serve the language it employs, namely the standard language. Its second objective is to highlight the social power of newspaper language and the functions it has in constructing social identities, answering readers’ linguistic expectations, and shaping their attitudes towards the standard language. Finally, the chapter’s last objective is to relate all the findings to the Arabic-language newspaper, with an emphasis on benefits and drawbacks it brings about to MSA.

The third chapter, entitled **“Textual Analysis of Language Defects in the Algerian Newspaper: the Case of Echorouk and El Khabar”**, directly

approaches the target newspapers, by means of a textual analysis of one issue each. The goal is to quantitatively detect the presence and recurrence of language defects for further qualitative assessment of the amount to which these newspapers' language influences positively or negatively the case of MSA. Language defects, identified as the occurrence of language errors (in grammar, spelling and style), the interference of the foreign language (usually French), and the use of the colloquial (Algerian Arabic), are statistically interpreted and sociolinguistically analysed as valid proofs of the chapter's conclusions.

The Fourth Chapter, **“MSA at the Producer and Receiver's Level in Echorouk and El Khabar”**, is a completion to the third chapter. It directly addresses journalists and readers' developed views about the Arabic-language newspapers, namely Echorouk and El Khabar. Concerning journalists, the texts' producers, the focus is centred on reasons behind and conditions surrounding their linguistic performance as well as opinions they have developed about the mission they should fulfil towards MSA. As regards readers, the discourses' receivers, the centre of attention is directed to sketch out any potential linguistic impact the language of these newspapers has on them, in addition to the feedback(s) they have built up about these journalists' use of and behaviour towards MSA. Findings and conclusions of this chapter are exploited to conclude the research work by recommendations seen compulsory to foster the journalists' commitment to the protection, enrichment and spread of correct use of MSA in society.

Contemporary Arabic or MSA is well-positioned in the world languages order. Its strength is inspired from the holy Qur'an. Its spread over the world and the continuous increase of its speakers' number owe too much gratefulness to the expansion of Islam. People of Arabic adore their language and defend it mainly because of its being the language of Islam. In fact, this truth interprets the uniqueness of Arabic but alas it cannot avoid troubles challenging it. On the whole, problems of MSA in Algeria, the Maghreb and the Arab world as such are the same with relatively different degrees of seriousness: Arabs endure problems of identity, linguistic insecurity and poor scientific terminology, in addition to prevailing errors and lack of proficiency in the language.

Algerians, as Arabs, cherish MSA which represents the pride of glorious Islamic past. But in itself, this nostalgic pride undermines future horizons of the language in the era of globalization. The people believe in others' (technologically advanced nations and their languages) superiority but do nothing concrete for their own advance; whereas benefiting from globalization should not cease at the level of consuming others' latest technological products. In this era, Arabs are wrongly fascinated by the occidental culture and gradually detached from their own culture and identity. However globalization should be adopted through the understanding of technological languages and translation of scientific terminology in the same way as Arabs ancestors did in their golden era. The result will be a modern advanced competitive language that can impose itself within the ranking of international languages, mainly English and French which are also languages of the former colonizers. A modern advanced language means a modern thriving society with members who share confidence in their own identity. Unfortunately, this confidence remains loose with the increase of linguistic insecurity. Language policies of Arabisation, namely in Algeria, have helped the broadening of this phenomenon, since they are erected around nationalist ideals of Arabic restoration and "foreign" languages exclusion. However that happened at the expense of an organised and well- studied re-introduction of MSA. The result is present-day hesitancy and lack of proficiency in both MSA and French, while there would have been no harm if French had been accepted as part and parcel of the Algerian identity, even a beneficial wealth seized from the former colonizer that can serve Arabic positively. Errors, masked with code switching and the use of dialectal Arabic, prevail in individuals' speech and writings. The fact which has pressed ahead some scholars claim to re-evaluate the colloquial status and worsen the attitudes about MSA.

Ultimately, what is really required for MSA in the Algerian society is to be correctly and fluently used by its members. People should discard dependency to the others, especially in science and technology. They should also get rid of being obsessed by other languages superiority. When suggesting solutions to problems of MSA in Algeria, this research work does not assume an intervention in language policy or an assessment of the work of the Highest Council of the Arabic Language. Undoubtedly, the latter has played an important role in the defence, maintenance and evolution of Arabic both at the national and international levels. Besides, its contributions in the coining and unification

of recent technical terminology have prompted the expectancy of better future to MSA. Yet, boosting the advancement of the language is not the task of the council unaided. Therefore, the target is media language, precisely the written press. Knowing its recognised role in the spread of an advanced correct language and being aware of its role in orienting readers' attitudes and knowledge, Arabic newspapers are seen as key factors to the conditioning of MSA situation, especially with the recent increase of Arabic literacy and the augmentation of readers' number.

Reflections about realities, characteristics and social functions of the newspaper language have demonstrated a multitude of ideas about newspapers' position and exercised power on society. These ideas can be arranged in four main notes: First, the newspaper and its language have accompanied humans in their history. Second, the newspaper has managed to establish its prestigious and valuable position among other mass media. Third, the newspaper language shapes individuals and societies' opinions and world views. Finally, the newspaper acts directly on the existence and functioning of the standard language.

Newspaper language is profoundly embedded within human history and existence. Since antiquity language has earned an active role in society; it has been vigorously active in transmitting news. Communicating the news was first oral. There was an oral tradition of news telling that resisted ages until the appearance of writing. On such backgrounds, newspaper language spread more and more and its effects on societies grew broader because of a number of historical events, namely the invention of printing and the emergence of liberal ideologies.

Newspaper language has always played a paramount role in constructing and reconstructing identities of individuals and societies. To readers' views, it has broadly developed and conditioned strong ideas about the world as such, and helped thus to position their beings in the world. The identification, but also the acceptance and imposition of one's identity are built around the accurate and successful involvement of this language in the task. Therefore, it can be openly stated that an accurate and reliable newspaper language is and must be in an unending service of the standard language. It is a double work of journalists and copy- editors. It is a must for this language to be carefully written and presented. Therefore journalist' professionalism and copy-editors' rigorous

revision of the news articles' linguistic and discursive contents is of a principal weight in directing newspaper language and getting it involved in the most effective influence over the standard language.

As regards the role of the Arabic-language newspaper in the Arab world, it can be briefly said that asserting its role in the establishment of language security, the protection of MSA purity and the spread of its correct use, is a debate in itself. Evidence has shown that while it served a lot in re-establishing the powerful weight of the language in post-independent societies, and in shaping Arabs' nationalist identities, all erected around MSA, it is presently demonstrating numerous language defects that undermine the noble mission long attributed to it, at least by nationalist linguists. The case of the Algerian newspaper language is of no exception. Presently, contradictory views about its use and treatment of MSA are presented by scholars, the fact which leads to wonder if one can even continue to claim that one key for the evolution of MSA in Algeria, and the solving of its problems lies in the hands of newspaper discourse. For this reason, the research carries on with a third chapter, devoted to a profound study of language defects and realities of two samples from the Arabic-language Algerian newspapers.

The effects of Arabic newspaper language, namely that of El Khabar and Echorouk, can never be judged strictly negative or completely positive. The reasons for this conclusion are diverse and can be summarised in the subsequent lines:

The positive factor of these newspapers' language can be touched in their being written and communicated essentially in MSA. Thus, they supply for readers reliable and easily reached grounds to be familiar with reading in Arabic; therefore, familiar with Arabic vocabulary and expressions, in a manner that does not leave concrete opportunities for the foreign or the colloquial interference in the purity and stability of MSA. However, this quality can be further developed, and more beneficial if the transliteration of foreign words is avoided and the use of transliterated foreign abbreviations is replaced, as a suggestion, by Arabic ones. This manner of language use has and will surely have a hand in the protection of MSA's status, and the preservation of its purity and security in this era of controversial views on language roles in society.

Nevertheless, the problem of MSA is immense in what concerns language errors present in the two samples. Mistakes in the language directed to a mass audience remain unacceptable, especially when this language regarded as a crucial partaker in the shaping of the Algerian sociolinguistic situation, besides its being a forthright mirror to its pros and cons. Therefore, the conclusions about these language errors can be summarised as follows:

- Both Echorouk and El Khabar supply defective sources of language correctness, therefore the hypothesis of having them as boosters of correctness and purity of MSA language use is a debate in itself.
- Echorouk exhibits alarming conditions for MSA grammar, style and spelling with a number of errors that reaches 185. On the other hand, counting less than half of language errors in Echorouk sample, El Khabar's language with its 90 errors, stands in a more positive situation, regarding the degree of its correctness.
- The important amount of spelling mistakes in E Chorouk newspaper (more than 65% of the errors) raises doubt about journalists, correctors and editors' interest in "*guarding*" MSA and preserving its purity. On the opposite, El Khabar's few spelling mistakes (12.22% of errors' totality), hint at the journalists, correctors and editors' interest in producing correct language, thus contributing, in a way or another, to the good of MSA situation.
- Stylistic problems are also of a high rate for both newspapers. Of course, their number is less in El Khabar sample (35 compared to 50 in Echorouk sample), but still, both numbers remain unacceptable since they are noticed in only 13 to 14 pages. Weak style means weak language. And a weak language can never be regarded as a contributor to the progress of MSA situation and the solving of its problems.

In the light of the conclusions about the journalists' treatment of MSA and their views towards it, there is a confirmation of the idea that currently, "*to guard*" MSA and be in its service, is not really one of the priorities of their work. Nevertheless, three positive aspects remain very promising in what concerns possibilities of enhancing the full assumption of their professional roles towards this language: their consideration of Arabic-newspaper social position in Algeria, their being (an) arabised generation(s) of journalists, and the awareness of their majority about how Middle Arabic should work in newspaper texts.

Seen important for the increase of journalists' concern with MSA service, four major recommendations are suggested:

- First, creativity spirits in these journalists must be enhanced by them as by their superiors, in order to open more opportunities for their required involvement in the progress and enrichment of MSA in the era of rapid scientific growth and competitive challenges of more technological languages. Therefore, if the society is not technologically active, its language can alternatively be activated with the help of cooperative efforts of translators, linguists and also journalists.

-Second, newspaper journalists are warmly invited to have a hand in reviving the kinship relationship that exists between MSA and Algerian Arabic. This aspect alone can be very encouraging in reconciling the Algerian people with both MSA and their mother tongue. This can be brought into effect only with the investment of use of eloquent "*fasīḥ*" colloquial words and expressions in their texts. This deed can bring the colloquial to the MSA level gradually, and accordingly approach society's members more and more to their national language. Thus, the encouraged position of MSA in society can be intelligently maintained even with the use of the colloquial.

-Third, a number of journalists dangerously believe in the exteriority of MSA to their language and its nearness to the colloquial. These erroneous views about the conception and realisation of Middle Arabic should be reviewed and corrected by Arabic advocating thinkers and MSA language specialists, under the supervision of government. For this purpose it is strongly recommended that more emphasis is devoted to the organisation of rigorous formations that concern the Arabic language.

-Ultimately, the financial situation of newspaper journalists should be taken into account when requiring their care about the protective mission they are assigned towards MSA. Of course, earning respectful wages, necessary for them to afford all life expenses, is a key to increase their satisfaction with their job, and their consequent serious focus on their professional mission, via which they are considered "*language guardians and doctors*".

Conclusions of the analysis of readers' feedback to the language of Arabic newspapers, namely El Khabar and Echorouk are summarised in the following ideas:

-In the Algerian society, a great attachment of the population, with all its age categories and intellectual classes, to reading the Arabic-language newspaper is noticed. Factors of this reality are extremely related to the policy of Arabisation which has generated the post-independence generations' increasingly strong dependence on MSA in the reading task, to the extent that it has become impossible for their majority to assimilate newspaper discourses other than Arabic ones. This evidence justifies the readers' turnout towards Arabic-language newspapers, noticed with the consequent gradual desertation of French language newspapers. This can be partly viewed very positive to the present research work suggestion to invest the newspaper language in solving the society's language problems.

-Nevertheless, the readers resort to El Khabar and Echorouk newspapers is not justified in their compelling need to solve their language problems or to improve their competence in MSA. Their reasons are, conversely, rather connected to their search for information and leisure in a social habit that has become a parameter of the Algerian culture. However, their majority reckon the noticeable contribution of these newspapers to the maintenance and progress of MSA.

-As regards readers' awareness about the different language errors characterising their newspapers, it has been discovered that the majority notice the fact but accept it. And this is deciphered in the society's unawareness about the potential danger of these language defects' persistence. And instead of helping to solve this problem, the target newspapers become participants in its perpetuation.

In consideration of readers' attitudes towards the newspapers' reliance on the foreign word transliterations, results have shown that opinions are equally distributed between people who accept and require the continuation of this phenomenon and others who totally refuse and reject it.

Considering the aforementioned results, five recommendations are suggested:

First, the important turnout of Algerian readers towards the Arabic-language newspaper should be invested to impose the service of MSA correctness, continuation and progress, as one of the priorities in newspapers' mission in society.

Second, this measure can be further strengthened with the enhancement of the new generations to interact with journalists through the enhancement of critical reading of their works, at school namely, and their encouragement to express their feedback via the developing option of the newspapers' electronic pages. In this case, the readers can communicate their remarks and, why not, corrections which will surely help in the improvement of newspaper language correctness and contribute therefore to the safety and purity of MSA.

Third, readers' trust of the newspapers' language, and acceptance of their language errors, should be invested to reward them and compensate the defects by journalists' care in the production of correct language, apt to establish their confidence and reconciliated feelings towards their national language.

Fourth, readers' trust in the respect and submission of newspaper language to the determined nationalist service of MSA must be seized as a way to enhance journalists' interest in being the language nourishing force, through their active neologism additions in all fields of information they may offer. Because since they are already offered the privilege of being "*language doctors*", they should urge themselves to prove it.

Finally, the relation of trust and love most of the newspaper readers reserve to the Arabic-language newspapers in general, should be preserved as a fortune to open more opportunities to establish language security in country; and for this, deeper studies should take place at the level of the newspaper editors and journalists for the sake of unifying their efforts in serving society linguistically.

Results of the analysis of the current situation of MSA in the Algerian newspaper have highlighted the fact that when expecting this newspaper to serve the language and help in solving its sociolinguistic problems, language defects, visibly present in it, make it quite difficult for it to accomplish this specific mission. The impact of language errors has

made from the newspaper a minimized picture of the Algerian sociolinguistic scene and has required thus a more serious enterprise of journalists' linguistic capacities.

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Modern Standard Arabic in Algerian Newspapers:
Shuruq and El Khabar

General Introduction and General Conclusion

Presented by:

Mrs Fatima Nor El Houda DAHOU

Supervised by:

Pr. Ilhem SERIR

Academic Year: 2017

General Introduction

Language has always been fundamental to human existence, relationships and positions in the world. The language of one's ethnic group, of one's people, of one's nation, and of one's religion has particularly a profound significance for individuals and societies; suffice it to say that these individuals and societies habitually use expressions like "our language", "our mother language", "our national language" and other related concepts which have, in fact, become adages about the deep-rooted ideological correlation between this "our" and "language", between "self being" and "one's language". In other words, language and identity, as strongly related concepts are profoundly embedded in human spirits, and however it may be identified, this exists everywhere and in every person. Language, the vital indicator of its people's identity, their possession and the symbolic marker of their existence and their being different from the other, has always received a special care from the part of societies' members, especially governmental organizations and nationalist spirits who undertake the defense of their language position and the maintenance of its power seriously, bearing in mind that if they fail in this struggle, their existence among civilizations will be exposed to danger.

The history of humanity asserts the extent to which language has been a crucial parameter of populations' identities, existence and power in the world. The ancient Greek language, for example, dwells till the present time, a key resource of scientific terms and technical vocabulary as it supplies the foundational texts in different sciences. Thus, even if today, it could only be heard about a past Greek civilization, the Greek language is still alive, and is still powerful as it receives too much care from people who desire to attain a prestigious intellectual level, especially in Europe and the most developed countries; the reason for this is that Greek people have known how to make from their language an eternally powerful communicator of their strong identity and contribution to the world civilization. The Maltese language gives another example of the fact. Contemporary Maltese language draws its origin from Arabic language which was introduced to Malta in early 11th century. However, right with the expulsion of Muslims in the 13th century, Maltese people started to mobilise language in the process of a total independence from Arabs and their civilization. Their language which had been an Arabic vernacular for two centuries, witnessed a thorough process of change at the level of vocabulary and grammar.

And the result was a European Maltese language declared official in 1934. The case of the Maltese language presents a good model for peoples' need of their respective official and national languages for the sake of being independent, sovereign and of distinctive identities.

Arabs and their language, during their golden era with the Islamic conquests, supply another important illustration of how people can raise their position in the world through the raise and expansion of their language. Since the coming of Islam and for centuries, Arabs' civilization had thrived and spread to various parts in the world. It was the Arab-Islamic globalization with Arabic as an international language. Undoubtedly, the basic dimension for this civilization's growth was Arabic language; there was a compulsory need to develop, standardise and spread this language as a secure measure for the expansion and growth of Islam in addition to the Arab culture and scientific input. At that time, people seeking scientific knowledge and high social positions, from all over the world, were precipitating to learn Arabic. However, that reality seems too superior and far reaching if one compares it with the present-day situation of Arabs and their language. Today, it has become common sense to describe Arabs as being dependent to the Western culture and consumers of the Western technology. Their language, Arabic, is seen as an inactive language, dependent in itself to the Western languages, simply because these people do nothing beneficial for it, in terms of scientific and civilization development. The case of the Algerian society, as an Arab nation, is definitely of no exception as it can tell too much about the insecure situation of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), its official and national language that is part and parcel of its people's identity.

In the Algerian republic, Arabs usually show no hesitancy in expressing their being proud of their Arabness and of having "Arabic" as a mother tongue. In this society, it has become very usual to hear people say: "We love Arabic ... It is our language and the one of our ancestors. It is our mother tongue... We are proud of our language... it is the most beautiful language, the richest one and the greatest one... It is the language of Islam and holly Qur'an..." However, these declared feelings frequently repeated by the people, especially the younger generations, stand controversial to a number of sociolinguistic realities, among them, two are outstanding and much visible in different contexts of language use. The first reality has to do with the notion "mother tongue". It is definitely undeniable that Arabic is the mother tongue of the Algerian majority, but this Arabic is

surely not MSA, not the modern version of Classical Arabic, the language of Qur'an; it should rather be one of the Algerian Arabic dialects. This precision alone stands as a key to proficiency problems in MSA ubiquitous in the Algerian scene, as in the entire Arab world. On its part, the second reality has to do with the use of "Arabic language" in different social contexts. It is well-known that MSA, Arabs' standard language, is recommended in official usage; however, in various situations, it is being hustled by French, the language of the former colonizer; not to mention the phenomenon of code switching, constantly present in most conversations with foreigners or even socio-politically high-ranking Arabs, in which there is always a preference to use another language than Arabic, or at least to code-mix between this foreign language and Arabic, standard and colloquial. This form of code switching has become the most comfortable way of interaction, resulting from the effects of language choice and language attitudes in a multilingual society and composing a serious ground to undermine the status and power of MSA in society. These facts and reflections about the status of MSA with regards to the issues of identity and the degree of language security drives a question to be asked: what are the actual problems facing MSA in Algeria and what solutions can be proposed to rescue it and enable it face the modern era's challenges? In fact, the aim of this research sets off with this question.

When seeking solutions to language problems, many scholars orient their attention to mass media, being active mass communicators that permanently address populations of different social categories through the constant mobilisation of language. The language of any nation is thus treated and oriented by mass media to a large degree, for predefined social, political and even economic purposes. Under such circumstances, the national language can either be looked after and protected or neglected and torn down by them. And, apart from the new media that are invading the world, the newspaper preserves its powerful position in societies, especially in the Arab ones, where the habit of reading it by individuals of both genders, and of different age categories, intellectual levels and socio-economic positions, has become inseparable from their culture. The uniqueness of newspaper language is in its being written, therefore checked and corrected, while the one of Arabic-language newspaper is in its being written essentially in MSA, knowing that the audio-visual media are more open to code-switching, hence less concerned with the purity and correctness of MSA. Connecting these views to the case of the Arabic newspaper in Algeria has led to the development of the following research questions:

- 9- What is the situation of MSA in the Algerian newspaper?
- 10- To what extent is this newspaper employed in the service of MSA?
- 11- What is the linguistic impact of this newspaper on Algerian readers and what are their reactions to its language?
- 12- What can enhance Arabic newspaper service to MSA in Algeria?

With regards to the influential role it has played in the re-establishment and consolidation of MSA's social position and correct use in post-independent Algeria, and in consideration of the way it was decisively mobilised to the enhancement of the policy of Arabisation in the 1960's and 1970's, this research work begins with the hypothesis that Arabic-language newspaper carries on its mission of maintaining and protecting the language, since, in the manner they endeavour to attract readers' interest, journalists must be conscious of rightfully undertaking a language which directly addresses readers' sociolinguistic identity. Nevertheless, this mission's profitability is being in decrease in the recent period, under the effects of contemporary professional goals adjusted to the newspaper's political and economic orientations. Therefore, there is a compulsory need to urge some language-related measures to enhance the crucial responsibility of this newspaper towards MSA.

For the purpose of examining the validity of this hypothesis, the present research work puts forward a sociolinguistic study of the situation of MSA in contemporary Algerian newspaper, with a focus on the case of Echorouk and El Khabar daily tabloids. The choice has been on these two newspapers, being among the most popular ones at present and having succeeded to gain the turnout of the largest numbers of readers, of different intellectual levels, socio-economic positions and age categories. It includes four chapters which titles and contents can be cited as follows:

The first chapter is entitled **“The Present Situation of MSA in the Arab World and Algeria”**. It exhibits and scrutinises the contemporary realities of MSA in the Arab world as such, particularly in Algeria. The aim of this chapter is to identify the actual problems that are facing this language in the Algerian society and to discover the factors that have led to their appearance and extension. For this reason, this part of the research work opens with a historical view on Arabs and their language since the earliest ages. Then, it extends to an

examination of realities and problems of contemporary Arabic in the Arab world, with the intention of underlining the global context of the situation, to finally conclude with a study of today's state of MSA in Algeria.

The second chapter is entitled **“Newspaper Language and its Effects on Sociolinguistic Realities: Generalities and the Case of the Arab World”**. As its title reveals, this chapter focuses on newspaper language and its sociolinguistic functions, particularly in the Arab world. Its first objective is to provide ideas about ways in which newspaper language can serve the language it employs, namely the standard language. Its second objective is to highlight the social power of newspaper language and the functions it has in constructing social identities, answering readers' linguistic expectations, and shaping their attitudes towards the standard language. Finally, the chapter's last objective is to relate all the findings to the Arabic-language newspaper, with an emphasis on benefits and drawbacks it brings about to MSA.

The third chapter, entitled **“Textual Analysis of Language Defects in the Algerian Newspaper: the Case of Echorouk and El Khabar”**, directly approaches the target newspapers, by means of a textual analysis of one issue each. The goal is to quantitatively detect the presence and recurrence of language defects for further qualitative assessment of the amount to which these newspapers' language influences positively or negatively the case of MSA. Language defects, identified as the occurrence of language errors (in grammar, spelling and style), the interference of the foreign language (usually French), and the use of the colloquial (Algerian Arabic), are statistically interpreted and sociolinguistically analysed as valid proofs of the chapter's conclusions.

The Fourth Chapter, **“MSA at the Producer and Receiver's Level in Echorouk and El Khabar”**, is a completion to the third chapter. It directly addresses journalists and readers' developed views about the Arabic-language newspapers, namely Echorouk and El Khabar. Concerning journalists, the texts' producers, the focus is centred on reasons behind and conditions surrounding their linguistic performance as well as opinions they have developed about the mission they should fulfil towards MSA. As regards readers, the discourses' receivers, the

centre of attention is directed to sketch out any potential linguistic impact the language of these newspapers has on them, in addition to the feedback(s) they have built up about these journalists' use of and behaviour towards MSA. Findings and conclusions of this chapter are exploited to conclude the research work by recommendations seen compulsory to foster the journalists' commitment to the protection, enrichment and spread of correct use of MSA in society.

General Conclusion

Results of the analysis of the current situation of MSA in the Algerian newspaper have highlighted the fact that when expecting this newspaper to serve the language and help in solving its sociolinguistic problems, language defects, visibly present in it, make it quite difficult for it to accomplish this specific mission. The impact of language errors has made from the newspaper a minimized picture of the Algerian sociolinguistic scene and has required thus a more serious enterprise of journalists' linguistic capacities.

Modern Standard Arabic is the present-day simplified and standardized version of Classical Arabic, the language of Islam and the holy Qur'an. For this reason, which stands religious in essence, Arabs like the Algerian majority, share profound feelings of love towards this language which has become a historical marker of their ethnic and national unity. Nevertheless, to express feelings is unfortunately not sufficient for this people to maintain their language and protect its existence and continuance in present-day world of intense concern with securing ranks to its languages among the competing powerful, scientific and internationally well-positioned ones. The Algerian society suffers importantly from the phenomenon of linguistic insecurity, in addition to language-related identity problems and incompetence in MSA, despite of its being the official and national language of the country. The correct use and power position of MSA are therefore shaken at its homeland and by its people.

The major reason for this worrying reality of MSA is the relatively total absence of Algerians', like Arabs', scientific and modernizing creativity that sets serious drawbacks upon its stability. The wrong conceptualization of modernization and globalization has added to the density of the situation as it has augmented the generations' belief in the Western languages' superiority and increased therefore their refuge to look for ways of mastery and use of these foreign languages at the expense of proficiency in their own one. Controversy and ambivalence characterize Algerians' attitudes towards MSA and result in serious problems of identity; i.e. in majority, these people reflect confused attitudes that fluctuate between the acceptance and pride of being Arabs, and the strong desire to be like "the others". Moreover, the historical traces of the former colonizer form another explanation to this problem because even with efforts of an Arabization policy that has

been implemented since independence; French still occupies a strong position in society as the language of prestige, high intellectual level and scientific research.

The policy of Arabization is partly positive but also negative to the case of MSA in Algeria. It is positive essentially in the way it has activated the reinstallation of Arabic status, at least officially, in the nation and society. However, it is noticeably defective in the process it has followed to reach this aim. The latter has been principally based on a nationalist ideal of diminishing the social strength and imposition of French to the maximum, pursued at the expense of the extension of correct use and the development of modernity requirements of MSA, and participating thus in the persistence of language errors and difficulty of expression in it. In fact, the issue of Arabization policy's defects joins dialects variation in the society to deepen the threat of linguistic insecurity to both the people and their language. Arabic dialects deeply rooted in the entire Arabic-speaking world since the early expansion of Islam, form in themselves a composition of risks and benefits to MSA. Their benefits rest on their being of an eloquent (*fasiḥ*) origin, enriching thus the vocabulary wealth of the standard. Their risks, on the other hand, lay on their being clearly divergent from it at different linguistic levels. This fact has encouraged many thinkers and linguists to defend the case of a simplified Middle Arabic which hosts the colloquial and the foreign word challenging the supremacy of MSA and menacing its purity.

The research work's results and conclusions about the impact of newspaper language on the history of human existence have qualified it as a powerful social institution. The investigation of roles and effects it has on the standard language, it usually employs, has cleared up the crucial role it has in upholding its prestigious status and maintaining its welfare. Key to the power of newspaper language is in its being the one of a mass communication device which addresses readers for the purpose of influence and feedback. To satisfy the public opinion's curiosity about discovering what is supposed to be trustworthy and to help them identify their position in the world count too much for a newspaper discourse to be successfully accepted and well-positioned in society; its language has therefore to enclose correctness and power. In developing countries like Algeria, the newspaper's power shows more explicit due to its mobilization, usually by government, to sustain certain policies and to spread a number of ideals seen necessary for the advance of these countries at different levels, including the linguistic one.

In the Arab world, contemporary newspaper use and treatment of MSA represent different levels which vary between the focus on the use of pure MSA, the openness to foreign language interference through prevailing code switching, the recurrent switch to the colloquial, and the presence of language errors. This variety of images has been interpreted in this research work by the fact that before being concerned with its ascribed duties towards the language, the Arab newspaper language first and mostly reflects the different aspects characterizing the way society manipulates it. The newspaper becomes thus a mirror to the pros and cons of the sociolinguistic situation of MSA and an example of the confusing clash between nationalists and advocates of the colloquial and/ or foreign language competing social position. Hence, whether journalists still deserve the title “language guardians” or “language doctors” remains a deep debate in itself.

Amidst the Arab mass media, the Arabic-language newspapers in Algeria are less supportive of code switching. Their use of the colloquial and the foreign word is very limited and can hardly be noticed in some of them. Nevertheless, they are exposed to language errors at different levels of seriousness. This is proved through the textual study of the language of El Khabar and Echorouk samples. The outstanding language errors in both of them are grammatical but important stylistic and spelling mistakes are noticed too.

Echorouk newspaper is revealed very defective with the detected number of 185 errors in 92 journalistic works, generally short reports. Errors in grammar, style and spelling are flagrant and the correct use of punctuation is almost absent. This happens despite the emphasis on language proficiency as a parameter of recruiting journalists and correspondents; however these journalists and correspondents’ care about the language itself, in addition to correctors and editors’ role towards it, occupies a secondary position if compared to their concern with the pursue of rapid information and the maximum of public attention and financial profits. On its part, El Khabar newspaper appears in a more insuring position with regards to language errors which are more grammatical than stylistic and orthographic. The number of these errors has been estimated at nearly half of those present in Echorouk, 90 in 92 articles, among which the amount of spelling and punctuation mistakes is visibly reduced. Regarding the presence of the colloquial in both scrutinized newspapers, the moderate use of Algerian Arabic presents the nearness of this variety to the Algerian thought which makes it unavoidable to use it in some instances seen

more informative in it than in MSA. These results have led to the conclusion that newspapers in Algeria contribute both positively and negatively to the decrease of MSA's sociolinguistic problems; yet the negative aspects of their roles remain more crucial than the positive ones. The benefits of these newspapers are stressed by their focus on the use of MSA itself and the reduction of code switching to the colloquial and foreign languages to the maximum, the fact which supplies readers, and society as such, with a discourse that activates their familiarity with MSA. The simplicity of language structures and vocabulary used in the newspapers add to their benefits to the case of MSA. It is an enhancement of a middle Arabic which remains simple MSA in use. Nevertheless, this quality is insufficiently exploited by journalists in the supply of the language's modernity needs and the enhancement of its correct use. In this respect, for instance, their reliance on foreign words and abbreviations on occasions when their creativity is solicited for the enrichment of MSA, ranks them as illustrators of the Arabs' dependence to the Western modern accomplishments rather than as being "language doctors"; and their deficient care about producing and mass-communicating a pure and sound language leads to the spread of common mistakes, and contributes to the maintenance of language insecurity problem in society.

The investigation of the communicative conditions of MSA in the Algerian newspapers, namely at the level of journalists as sources and readers as receivers, has revealed a number of advantageous factors that, if properly exploited, can ensure the involvement of these newspapers' language in the service of MSA. They can be summarized as follows:

- Journalists are aware about the respectable turnout their works enjoy at the level of different social categories, despite the current strong invasion of more modern and practical mass media. It is in fact a social wealth that should be invested to empower their respective newspapers' influence over the society's attitudes and behaviour towards MSA.
- One of the social impacts of the policy of Arabization is the formation of a new generation of arabized journalists, more competent in Arabic than in French. This focus on one language can be very beneficial to the case of MSA in

Algeria if serious efforts are consecrated to the improvement of these journalists' linguistic performance.

- Being arabized in essence, readers resort to Arabic-language newspapers to better understand the information. This manifest dependence should be seized as an opportunity to reconcile these people with MSA, the language of their ethnic, religious and national identity, and to install attitudes of trust and security towards it, just by means of using a language that gathers easiness, correctness, and purity.
- Acceptance and trust of the target newspapers' language should be praised, and journalists must thus bow to readers' positive attitudes and expectations, through the multiplication of their efforts in improving their linguistic performance.

With consideration of its preliminary motivation, in addition to its objectives and conclusions, the present research work insists on the very advantageous service the Arabic-language newspaper can render to MSA and its people. For this reason, it strongly recommends the authorities' involvement in encouraging the amelioration and effectiveness of this service. The latter can be accomplished through the emphasis on significant Arabic language studies at the level of university formation of journalists, the perseverance in organising planned language training courses for enrolled journalists, and the consideration of securing the newspapers' financial stability. The work also invites future research on this subject to permit the continuation of assessing and directing efforts meant to foster Arabic newspaper service towards MSA.

Modern Standard Arabic in Algeria: Problems and challenges

Fatima Nor El-Houda DAHOU, Mustapha Stambouli University, Mascara, Algeria

The work tackles the situation of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), the modern version of Classical Arabic, in present day Algerian society. Today, MSA represents the core of Arab Algerians' identity and the pride of their glorious origin and history, all related to the golden era of Arab-Muslims (the case for all Maghribis and Arabs). However, this satisfaction lingers undermined by a number of problems that compile serious challenges to the power and existence of MSA in society and country. In a globalized world of speedily shifting notions, philosophies, cultures and civilizations, Algerians (like Arabs) and their language suffer from cultural, technical and scientific dependence on the most powerful languages, namely English and French. Besides, and more importantly, social effects of MSA's diglossic situation with Algerian Arabic, in addition to the competing position of French, place the society in incessant problems of identity and linguistic insecurity. In relation to the already mentioned ideas, the work presents a study on the real situation of MSA in Algeria and targets problems and challenges it faces. The study suggests a number of solutions seen beneficial to the position and evolution of the MSA language.

Keywords: MSA; French; Algerian Arabic; Identity; Linguistic Insecurity; Language Policy; Diglossia; Globalization

1. Introduction

What really cannot go unnoticed in any study about Arabic, the norm, are the different labels, attributed to it by scholars dealing with it. A category of them call it 'Classical Arabic'; even though it is the language of today, it is openly defined as an old language, the one which still relates to the ancient ages of Arabs. This 'definition' of the language noticeably prevails in the literature of some Algerian francophone scholars. The sociolinguist Chafia Yamina Benmayouf went even further in her book *La question linguistique en Algérie (the linguistic question in Algeria)* (2009). The book repeatedly replaces the label MSA by *l'arabe classique classique* (Classical Classical Arabic), with a repetition of the word "classical" to stress an effect of archaism and inappropriateness to modern life, messaged to the readership, chiefly to Algerians. Deepened confusing and disingenuous attitudes about the

language, the symbol of the Algerian identity, are unfortunately spread by such authors. Is this view destabilizing MSA's position in Algeria? The second category, basically represented by Algerian arabophone scholars, and they are many, chief among them are members of the Higher Council of the Arabic Language, like Nouiret, Mortad, Belaid and Mila, all sociolinguists and professors at the Algerian university. In their literature (see the bibliography as a sample), the labels *ellugha elfusha* (*the correct language*) and *El-Arabia El-Muʿasera* (Modern Arabic) prevail. In their contributions, there is always a stress on the high status of MSA in Algeria and on the importance of protecting and developing it. Is it a purely loyal attitude cultivated by nationalist spirits vs. an antagonist one, nourished by the French colonizing residues? Or, are they ambivalent and hesitant attitudes residing in the Algerian thought about French and MSA?

Related to the same topic is the Algerian dialect or the Algerian variety of Arabic. Speaking about MSA in Algeria can never be exhaustive without reference to this variety which, in its turn, has two contradictory labels. It is known as Algerian Arabic, the language of Algerians, typical to them and part of their identity. Algerian Arabic is also a more theoretical name to be used in research works about it as a precise variety of Arabic. But it is also named *el-famia* (colloquial or general Arabic), *lughat echarif* (the language of the street); it is even known as *el-lugha elmunharifa* (the divergent language). This variety has specific functions in the Algerian society, as a mother tongue and as a component of the Algerian identity. But it is, in many respects, different from MSA. Can this divergence be considered a threat to the correctness and stability of MSA in Algeria? Or can the two varieties co-exist and cooperate further to the promotion of Arabic in society and modern world?

To answer the questions pointed out above, the suggested study of MSA in Algeria targets three main poles: the influence of French, the process of arabization and its outcomes in domains like education, administration and social life, and the position and effects of Algerian Arabic.

2. Linguistic and Cultural Influence of French

The situation of MSA in Algeria is rather a delicate one, largely because of its interaction with French. Today, after more than 52 years of independence, Algeria is considered as one of the first francophone countries in the world in spite of its refusal to join the international organization of Francophonie. As a Maghrebi country, Algeria endured the longest period of French occupation (1830- 1962) and "*harboured the greatest number of colons*" (Versteegh, 2011, p. 200). During that period, Algerians dwelled in a nonstop contact with French. Anyone, of whatever literacy degree, should have needed the use the

colonists' language under a certain context. It was a question of necessity to communicate which helped the spread of French in the different Algerian regions. Thus, proficiency and "*degree of knowledge of French depended on the amount of exposure and the nature of the contacts with the French authorities and colonists*" (Versteegh, 2011, p. 203). Soon Algerian Arabic- French bilingualism was developed. Undoubtedly, the spread of French was enhanced but literacy was extinguished. The policy of the colonizer's government was clear: to devise a population subordinate to the French culture, the one that shifts from Arabic, the language of Islam, to French, but with a vigilant endeavor to keep it illiterate and marginalized. In 1847, Alexis De Toqueville, as quoted by Bassiouney, summarized the dilemma caused by the French colonizers that time:

Around us, knowledge has been extinguished, and recruitment of men of religion and men of law has ceased. That is to say we have made Muslim society much more miserable, more disorganised, more ignorant, and more barbarous than it had been before knowing us. (2009, p. 215)

In addition to illiteracy, the target was Islam; and since Arabic is the language of this religion, more pressure was exercised on it. All religious schools (*zaouia*), the only traditional schools were closed gradually, until the edict of the 1930's, declared Arabic a foreign language. The exact year of that event is not unanimous in the literature, however in Tigzi's (2004), it is in 1938. In addition, any effort which could guarantee the aim was employed. Resistance, military and intellectual, was put under control and reputed families were marginalized and broken up. Even racial struggle, between Berbers and Arabs, was enhanced to increase social unrest and disorganization.

In the 1950's, the policy has changed. The French government became engaged into a gradual contribution to the teaching and learning of Arabic (Sbaâ, 2002, pp. 31-34). In 1950, they created *madersas*, directed to the formation of teachers of Arabic, executives in justice (*cadi* or *adel*) and cults (*imam* and *mufti*). In 1951, *madersas* were transformed to "*Lycées de l'enseignement Franco-musulman*" (*Secondary School of French- Muslim teaching*). In 1961, learning Arabic became obligatory in the Algerian primary schools (*écoles du premier degree*). However, it was too late for Algerians to heal their linguistic situation. The French authorities cleverly endeavoured to keep it in remoteness from coping with the wide-reaching cultural development. It was taught as a school subject per se. The other subjects were strictly instructed in French. In other words, literal Arabic was retained a passive language.

Meanwhile, very few efforts were devoted to the generalization and

population of French through schools. Only 3% of the Algerian population was provided with schooling in 1890 and it could hardly reach 20% the day of independence (Sbaā, 2002, p. 28); however, the socio-economic necessities, especially the administrative requirements led the Algerian population to keep in touch with the language. French was generalized in all the social sectors. This reality promoted not only its familiarity to the Algerian population but also enhanced the process of lexical borrowing from French to the Algerian dialect(s).

The result of the long lasting French colonizing policy is a post-independence generation which literate members assembled mastery and fluency in French and possession of French cultural aspects while the population in general was bilingual to different extents. However, the supreme position of French got weakened as early as the 1970's with the generalized Arabizing policy taken on by independent Algeria. The next generations lost proficiency in French soon considered by government a foreign language; but Arabic-French bilingualism reigns till today. The lost proficiency is further interpreted by the Algerian linguist Abderrazak Dourari in an interview realized by Akram El Kébir in *El Watan* newspaper:

There exist less and less French-Algerian bilinguals perfect or even relative. Mixing rarely reflects the intentional choices of the locutors. It further reflects a lack of linguistic knowledge. To sprinkle one's Algerian expressions with French shows at least that the person knows something but [...] This mixing also shows the absence of coherent thinking in all issues. This is the gravest thing.¹ (2014, p. 17)

Absolutely, the independent Algerian governmental efforts to cast out the French language and culture remain impossible. The want to eradicate that language from the Algerian thoughts and language usage has finished in a contradictory situation which covers an increasing rate of ignorance in French accompanied with a need to use it not in daily speech as much as in domains of science and urbanization. Officially, French is a foreign language but de facto, it is a co-official language that still accompanies MSA in many administrative documents and that still governs as a language of scientific and technological highest education and research in the country, despite the effect of globalizing English on the world languages. In sum, contemporary situation and effects of the French language on the Algerian sociolinguistic reality is, to a large extent, a pure result of the language policy of Arabization which history turns back to 1962, the day of independence.

3. The policy of arabization in Algeria

During the pre-colonial period, Classical Arabic was the language of literature

and culture. It could only be accessed to in schools. Nevertheless, teaching was limited to mosques and Zaouias. Besides, school programs were poorly based on the teaching of grammar, learning Koran and commentaries about it while the superior studies were confined to law, theology and Hadith. In some cases, they exceeded to include some primary notions about geography and history. These pretty feeble foundations to the teaching of Arabic caused easiness in the realization of colonists' projects. However, Algerians' nationalist sentiment was stimulated in the 1930's with the founding of the Algerian Association of Muslim Scientists. The people's struggle to restore the position of Islam and Arabic had already existed before independence. In 1931, Ahmed Tawfiq El- Madani published his book *Kitab el-jazair* (the Book of Algeria) in which he wrote: "*Islam is our religion, Arabic our language and Algeria our fatherland*" (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 215). Thus the day of independence, the Algerian government proceeded a tough policy to restore the position of MSA as a response to the urgent need to join the Arab world and build national identity, the case of all Maghreb independent nations. However, the policy has faced, up to the present, much hindrance and many troubles and resulted in an important deficiency at different levels.

The spread of MSA has education as a first target, but administration is broadly essential to the plan. In 1963, the National Assembly, which members could hardly express themselves in Arabic, initiated with a proposal "*to translate the proceedings of the meetings in Arabic*" (Versteegh, 2011, p.200). Still, there were no competent and well-trained translators and French remained the language of administration till 1968, when the government passed a law stating that civil servants had to study Arabic for three years and "*demonstrate ability in SA*" in a final exam (Bassiouney, 2009, pp. 216-217). Yet the measure remained unfruitful. In 1980, the law was restated and underlined seriously that the result attained the spread of literacy in Arabic among state employees by late 1980's in a record judged to be the first in the Maghreb. Nevertheless, the spread of MSA in administration has not produced high graded administrators relatively competent in the language. Vital examples are their discourses, transmitted through different media programs (especially radio and television) which prove incompetency most of the time.

In education, the question was how to generalize the use of Arabic among the new generations; how to quickly fix MSA in them, as a force of sovereignty, national belonging and Arab-Muslim identity. At first, the task was difficult with the lack of pedagogical elements and teachers of Arabic, since in line with Berrabah's estimates, the day of independence, literacy in MSA could only cover 300,000 out of 10 million Algerians (2007, p. 230). Nevertheless, an agenda of complete arabization was urged. And to reduce the gap of teachers' scarcity, about 1,000 Egyptian and other Middle East teachers were employed. Scholars agree upon the fact that these teachers helped to give a

first push to MSA, but in a way that increased an attitude of exteriority of the language to thoughts and use of both pupils and parents; since these teachers, attached to their nationalism, taught Arabic in their local accents and proposed texts external to Algerian reality and used traditional methods of teaching (Berrabeh, 2007, p. 230). In fact, this evidence represents an initial failure in MSA's reintroduction. Anyhow, progress proceeded and MSA continued to gain ground on the Algerian sociolinguistic scene, with the support and intervention of governmental edicts and media mobilization. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that since 1962, ART (the Algerian radio and television) and Arabic press have played an important role in the spread of MSA, in addition to a nationalist information and arabized education of the popular mass (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 65). Gradually, French lost ground in schools. Starting from 1979, all subjects, from primary education to secondary schools were arabized. MSA became everywhere: in public signboards, in media broadcast and in written press. It was even generalized in law and in the teaching of humanities at universities (Bassiounney, 2009, p. 217). Accordingly, French withdrew more and more till 1988, the year of graduation of the last bilingual promotion in middle school (Bassiounney, 2009, p. 62).

Officially, Arabic is the language of teaching in schools at all levels, and only a position of a foreign language is reserved to French taught starting from third year primary school. Whereas the linguistic performance in classes differs:

The linguistic element varies in the interior of school, in classes and in communication among students. The share of each code (French, classical Arabic, dialectal (Arabic) is variable, according to what concerns a scientific discipline or a literary discipline.² (Bassiounney, 2009, p. 63)

Very critical is that image which may appear an acceptable behaviour in a multilingual society. Yet, this detail poses important problems due to the lack of objectivity in the spread and promotion of MSA through schools:

First, there is a problem of expression established within the new generations (it is the case in the entire Arab world). Evidence that no one can deny is that Algerians can hardly express themselves adequately in MSA (the same case for French). At any moment, there is a need to code switch, this in addition to errors in MSA's discourses, at the grammatical, phonological and even lexical levels. On the one hand, there is a strong quest of purifying MSA and eliminating the role of French as a language of instruction. On the other hand, there is a serious setback in the elaboration of a MSA really "modern", a MSA that could answer the needs of scientific transmission. Arabic in schools carries the problem of deficient terminology and inadequate teaching

programs. The journalist Said Rabia underlines the fact by quoting Dr Ahmed Djebbar, an ex-minister of education:

The gravest is not the fact of the reform itself nor the appliance of arabisation principle[...] (but) the acceleration of the decrease of the level of teaching contents, of the evolution of pedagogy towards passive learning and of the politicisation or the ideologisation of some, such as literature and history.³ (ElWatan, 2014, July19, p. 5)

The result is the worsening of both scientific and linguistic level due to “a manifest contradiction with the ideological and cultural line defined in the reform’s text itself”⁴ as seen by Dr. Djebbar (El Watan: 2014, July19, p. 5). Professor Abd El-Jalil Mortad joins the same idea when tackling the linguistic problem of the Algerian child: *“but the problem is that the child soon feels the strangeness of use, the linguistic ill-treatment and the educational abuse”* (2005, p. 35). Complicated methods of teaching based on memorization and idealization of the pedagogical topics are at the heart of the problem. Again, the drawbacks can be summarized in three points:

- Pupils lose motivation
- Mastery, fluency and correct use of MSA is reduced not only in pupils but roughly in generations who have received different levels of education in the language.
- Instability even touches other languages (seen as foreign languages), thus individuals lose proficiency in French, the marginalized colonizers’ language.

Related to the same standpoint is language and science in Algeria. The already (completely arabized) pupils reach the level of high research and scientific contribution to the country. The problem (the case of the entire Arab world), is that except law, trade and humanities, all courses and references in science and technology are out of the control of Arabic, an outcome of a lack of scientific terminology in MSA. In Algeria, scientific research relies on foreign languages, predominantly French then global English that is gaining room in the field. The chief trouble does not stop in reasons that posit MSA in such a situation but in the consequent poor acquisition and worrying lateness in scientific contribution. In exhibiting the situation, the journalist Akram El-Kébir summarizes the opinion of Pr. Mounia:

According to her, students are in the impossibility of communicating with professors. Worst, some of them have all the world’s pains to take notes when the professor presents the lecture, or at least to take notes in Arabic, while the professor speaks in French, this causes stoppage of

the access to understanding in the student of the scientific stream.⁵ (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 17)

The scientific dependence to “difficult” French has contributed to the technological, industrial and economic dependence to the others. Aissa Kadri, a professor in Paris 8 University, depicts the situation in an interview with Hassan Maoli:

The result is that, they are the multinationals who work in Algeria. Automobile is Renault, water is Suez, airport and metro management are ADP and Alston, in telephone (technology) there are foreigners, in freeway and civil engineering there are Chinese.⁶ (El Watan, 2014, November 29, p. 2)

Ultimately, in addition to the above mentioned issues, there is a big problem of identity and lack of self- confidence, properly lack of confidence in MSA, shared by the Algerian population. Its linguistic experience has actually led to an ambivalent attitude towards the language. To a degree, people believe in their sovereignty, arabness (*foro:ba*) and distinctiveness. They also share the pride of the glorious past of their language (the language of Islam). However, linguistic insecurity has nourished in them the belief in the superiority of the other, namely the French language. That is why the majority of Algerian intellectuals (arabophones or not) endeavor to carve a niche for themselves among eloquent francophones. This “*semi-adoption and semi-rejection*” (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 45) of MSA has placed Algerians in an ever-lasting quest of identity. The question now is how to establish confidence and reconciliation between Algerians, their identity, and MSA. In other words, how to personify this declared pride of Arabic in their actual speech behaviour and how to place MSA in such a society, a society required to welcome language diversity, openness to technology and globalization but not at the expense of an implicit underestimation of one’s language.

4. The case of Algerian Arabic

An ample examination of MSA’s sociolinguistic situation in Algeria will not be complete without the consideration of the diglossic situation it forms with Algerian Arabic. Diglossia existed farther before the French arrival to the area. Marçais describes the sociolinguistic environment in Algeria before 1832:

The Arabic language is presented to us under two sensitively different aspects: a literary language, known as written Arabic, the only in which until today, the literary and scientific books are written, the language which as presented to us, could never be spoken anywhere in Algeria.⁷ (Marçais, 1930, p. 401)

Marçais's observation asserts the divided aspects of the two Arabic varieties in pre-colonial Algeria. He describes Classical Arabic (CA), the old version of MSA, as a literal language which use was restricted to the written function aimed at recording literary and scientific works. Its role was thus basically written, cultural and educational.

Marçais continues:

And idioms which none of them has ever been written, but which, everywhere and maybe since a long time, constitute the only language of conversation in all the environments, popular or intellectual.⁸ (Marçais, 1930, p. 401)

Contrariwise, according to Marçais, the Algerian Arabic variety, including its different regional dialects that he calls '*idioms*', was the language of everyday interactions among the whole population, however their intellectual level was.

Algerian Arabic could resist the French linguistic colonization. France could spread ignorance and could wipe out literacy in MSA from the Algerian scene but it helped the preservation of a variety of it: "*A society which continues to express itself naturally in Algerian Arabic, the Arabic of the daily life, of the sensitiveness, of pains and of the emotionalism*"⁹ (Sbaâ, 2002, p. 43). Algerian Arabic, the language product and marker of the Algerian culture is eloquent, (*fasih*) in essence. Scholars agree that 90 per cent of the Algerian varieties of Arabic is pure (Nourat, 2005, p. 5), yet its vitality and exposure to language contact (especially with the loads of borrowed French words it contains) has led to its deformity, as explained by Mortad: "*and purity is found in the root, whereas the deformity is noticed in prefixes and suffixes, grammar rules and phonology*"¹⁰ (Mortad, 2005, p. 37) This deformity (*tafawuh*) has reduced trust in ways Algerian Arabic could serve the position of MSA. Thus, common attitudes about the weakness, inadequacy and incorrectness of the variety render it an "*unorganised code, an impure idiom*"¹¹ (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 22), vulgar, popular, with no exact grammar and no written form, a language which can be neither literary nor scientific. It is further viewed by some thinkers and linguists, described by Benmayouf (2009) as *extrémistes* (extremists) and *arabisants* (defenders of the case of MSA), as a hindrance to the linguistic unity both in Algeria and the Arab world. This view is strongly opposed by others who have embarked on a tough defense of value and position of AA. Two major pioneers of this trend are Mammeri and Kateb Yacine who share the belief in the importance of reevaluating and developing languages of everyday speech, "*the languages that have served humans*"¹² (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 23). Sbaâ joins the same idea and explains:

The Algerian society feels and thinks in the interior of norms exterior to the surnorm. It means exterior to Conventional Arabic, that some of the entire sides of its collective imaginary are depreciated and overshadowed."¹³ (Sbaā, 2002, p. 90)

Sbaā views MSA, which he calls '*conventional Arabic*' or '*surnorm*' as exterior to the Algerians' collective thoughts and feelings, all determined by their mother tongue, Algerian Arabic. For him, MSA proves its remoteness from the community's collective imaginary. Thus, the consideration of their mother tongue as a low variety is to be firstly thought of as a reduction of the value of their thoughts and beliefs.

Tremendous debates arise when it comes to consider some scholars' call for the re-evaluation of the status of Algerian Arabic. The situation is even more dramatized when related to schools, the cradle of future generations. A number of Algerian linguists speak about the shock or even traumatism of the Arab Algerian child on his first day at school. The journalist Amel Bliidi, sharing the view of some scholars writes:

Since the age of six, the Algerian child is soaked in a linguistic bath that casts out his mother languages. At a glance, he finds himself obliged to never pronounce the "language of the street", that of "the market", or "el-âamyā". Though it is in this language that he has been developing his imaginary.¹⁴ (El Watan 3, 25 December 2014, p. 16)

The author points at MSA, the language of the Algerian school, and describes it as a hindrance to the development of generations' "imaginary", thus thinking and conception of the world. Unfortunately, this view lacks objectivity; it has a declared destructive aim to both the position and values of el-fusha in the thoughts and feelings of Algerians. One should remember the fact that Algerian Arabic, in spite of the pejorative names ascribed to it, is intrinsically a vital but divergent spoken form of MSA. And if the child has to adapt his speech to the official, in the classroom, he has just to readjust some pronunciations and grammatical forms while using his mother tongue; since Algerian Arabic is not only near to MSA, but it is its providence and fortune (Mortad, 2005, p. 37) and the child comes to school with a stock of vocabulary and structures (Nouiret, 2005, p. 12) that he has the habit to use at home, in "the street" and at "the market". Actually the child enters school with "*an overwhelming linguistic account*"¹⁵ (Mortad, 2005, p. 35) that if invested properly will help produce generations proficient in MSA. Once again, the problem of deficient programs of arabization is evoked. The problem lies on how MSA is taught. Shared views of linguists confirm that "*the language of teaching is artificial and has nothing to do with the Algerian locutor's*

sociolinguistic reality,"¹⁶ explains the sociolinguist Zoulikha Merrad in El Watan newspaper (2014, December 25, p. 16). Manifestly, the "artificial" language is present in school programs which suggest texts, mostly strange to the Algerian real, current life; thus texts which cannot transmit the information efficiently.

The linguist Cherifa Gettas went further in her opposition to the role of MSA in the up-bringing of generations. She explains:

The classroom which is the place of dialogue and of communication becomes the place of censorship. This suffocating climate characterised by prohibitions and sanctions, hostile to the child's familiar language, will dig a hole between the child spoken language and the language of school.¹⁷ (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p.16)

The passage, a model to a widespread erroneous view, represents misleading information, expressed through harsh words. *Suffocating, prohibitions, sanctions* and *hostility* are in fact improper to describe neither the classroom atmosphere nor any other context of MSA use among Arab Algerians. With a modest experience of more than 31 years life in Algeria, and more than 26 years as a learner in the Algerian school and university, and more than 10 years as a teacher, nothing of such a cruelty has been noticed. On the contrary, Arabic course is the most preferable and the most beloved course to the eyes of children. And, most of the time, pupils' highest scores are those of Arabic language and religious education. An obvious reason is that MSA is their language, the origin of their mother tongue, and the vehicle of their thought and feelings. And above all, people's attachment to MSA is a result of its being the contemporary version of the holy Koran's language. Furthermore, *hostility* and *prohibition* towards Algerian Arabic, commonly known as *Derija*, are never present in the Algerian classroom, especially in recent times. Code switching reigns and the use of simple MSA and Algerian Arabic prevails on the part of both teachers and learners. The only problem, yet again, is that these "high scores" are outcomes of passive learning, out of practice and based on memorising. This is the deceitful defect of the teaching of and in Arabic in Algeria and the Arab world. Programs are incapable to construct generations able to express themselves correctly and fluently in MSA (in whatever context).

Zoulikha Merrad joins the same idea of Guettas and concludes that this atmosphere "has finished by consuming what remained from the Algerian identity"¹⁸ (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p.16). How is this identity consumed? The sociolinguist Ibtissam Chachou explains in the same newspaper article: "Complexes result, like the feeling of culpability, linguistic insecurity and the self-hatred which is manifested in the ipilinguistic discourse

*of the Algerian locutor*¹⁹ (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p.16)

How can identity be destroyed by its pillar? MSA is the chief linguistic component of Arabs' including Algerians' identity. What is only needed is to generate complete satisfaction with this existing identity. Of course, linguistic insecurity, disappointment about one's identity and even self-hatred are developed in the majority of Algerians under the effect of the social environment which has spread the belief in others' (the most developed societies) superiority. Some scholars, supporters of dialectal Arabic (ansa:r elʃamiya), call for its re-evaluation and rehabilitation in order to reconcile between people and their identity. They even suggest introducing it as a language of teaching in schools. Others suggest a middle language which loads up MSA with colloquial vocabulary. Here is a question of tearing down a powerful language, "manufacturing a language from odds and ends of the colloquial"²⁰ (Bakri, 1999, p. 89). Then, which colloquial can be used to replace or 'enrich' MSA, knowing that Algerian Arabic alone counts loads of varieties or dialects, regional and social (the case for other dialects of Arabic in the Arab world). In this case, the Arabic language becomes not a unifying force but a dividing force.

The conclusion is that there is diglossia in the Arab world which should be respected. Confusing views should worth be avoided since there is only one scientific and academic language in Arabic, which is MSA. Dialectal Arabic is related to it and never independent from it. It is an instrument of expression of specific topics. Certainly, there is a need to take care of dialectal Arabic in general, but in the sense of approaching it to MSA, not approaching MSA to it. Even the diglossic functions of the two varieties overlap. While MSA is gaining ground in the Algerians' and Arabs' everyday speech, due to the increase of literacy and the role of arabized mass media, dialectal Arabic intervenes in many official situations as a normal consequence of its closeness to people's thought. Hence evolution and leveling of the dialectal is recommended since, eventually, it lingers a marker of Arabs' culture and identity besides MSA.

5. Conclusion

Contemporary Arabic or MSA is well-positioned in the world languages order. Its strength is inspired from the holy Koran. Its spread over the world and the continuous increase of its speakers' number owes too much gratefulness to the expansion of Islam. People of Arabic adore their language and defend it mainly because of its being the language of Islam. In fact, this truth interprets the uniqueness of Arabic but alas it cannot avoid troubles challenging it. On the whole, problems of MSA in Algeria, the Maghreb and the Arab world as such are the same with relatively different degrees of seriousness: Arabs endure problems of identity, linguistic insecurity and poor scientific

terminology, in addition to prevailing errors and lack of proficiency in the language.

Algerians, as Arabs, cherish MSA which represents the pride of glorious Islamic past. But in itself, this nostalgic pride undermines future horizons of the language in the era of globalization. The people believe in others' (technologically advanced nations and their languages) superiority but do nothing concrete for their own advance; whereas benefiting from globalization should not cease at the level of consuming others' latest technological products. In this era, Arabs are wrongly fascinated by the occidental culture and gradually detached from their own culture and identity. However globalization should be adopted through the understanding of technological languages and translation of scientific terminology in the same way as Arabs ancestors did in their golden era. The result will be a modern advanced competitive language that can impose itself within the ranking of international languages, mainly English and French which are also languages of the former colonizers. A modern advanced language means a modern thriving society with members who share confidence in their own identity. Unfortunately, this confidence remains loose with the increase of linguistic insecurity. Language policies of arabization, namely in Algeria, have helped the broadening of this phenomenon, since they are erected around nationalist ideals of Arabic restoration and "foreign" languages exclusion. However that happened at the expense of an organized and well- studied re-introduction of MSA. The result is present-day hesitancy and lack of proficiency in both MSA and French, while there would be no harm if French were accepted as part and parcel of the Algerian identity, and even a beneficial wealth seized from the former colonizer that can serve Arabic positively. Errors, masked with code switching and the use of dialectal Arabic, prevail in individuals' speech and writings. The fact which has pressed ahead some scholars claim to re-evaluate the colloquial status and worsen the attitudes about MSA.

Ultimately, what is really required for MSA in the Algerian society is to be correctly and fluently used by its members. People should discard dependency to the others, especially in science and technology. They should also get rid of being obsessed by other languages superiority. When suggesting solutions to problems of MSA in Algeria, this paper does not assume an intervention in language policy or an assessment of the work of the Highest Council of the Arabic Language. Undoubtedly, the latter has played an important role in the defense, maintenance and evolution of Arabic both at the national and international levels. Besides, its contributions in the coining and unification of recent technical terminology have prompted the expectancy of better future to MSA. Yet, boosting the advancement of the language is not the task of the council or language politicians unaided. Media language too has a crucial role in uplifting the situation of Arabic, especially when Algerians

spend the majority of their free time watching Arab TV channels, listening to Algerian radio programs or reading a newspaper. The newspaper alone, for instance, has a recognized part in the spread of an advanced correct language in addition to the orientation of readers' attitudes and knowledge. Hence, Arabic newspaper is seen as a key factor to the conditioning of MSA situation, especially with the recent increase of Arabic literacy and the augmentation of readers' number.

Notes:

1. «Il existe de moins en moins de bilingues français-algériens parfaits ou même relatifs...Le mixage reflète rarement des choix intentionnels des locuteurs. Il reflète plus un manque de connaissances linguistiques. Parsemer son expression algériennes de mots français montre au plus que la personne sait quelque chose [...] Ce mixage montre aussi l'absence d'une pensée cohérente en toute matière, ce qui est plus grave». (2014, December 25, p. 17)
2. «L'élément linguistique varie à l'intérieur de l'école, dans les classes et dans la communication entre élèves. La part de chaque code (français, arabe classique, dialectal) est variable, selon qu'il s'agisse d'une discipline scientifique ou d'une discipline littéraire». (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 63)
3. «Plus grave n'est pas le fait de la réforme elle-même ni de l'application du principe de l'arabisation [...] l'accélération de la baisse du niveau des contenus des enseignements, de l'évolution de la pédagogie vers l'apprentissage passif et de la politisation ou l'idéologisation de certaines, comme la littérature et l'histoire ». (El Watan: 2014, July19, p. 5)
4. «... une flagrante contradiction avec la ligne idéologique et culturelle définie dans le texte de la réforme lui-même ». (El Watan: 2014, July19, p. 5)
5. «Selon elle, de nos jours, les étudiants se retrouvent dans l'impossibilité de communiquer avec les professeurs. Pire, certains éprouvent toutes les peines du monde «à prendre des notes» quand le professeur dispense le cours, ou tout au monde prendre des notes en arabe, quand le Pr parle en français, ce qui a pour effet de freiner l'accès à la compréhension chez l'étudiant de la filière scientifique». (El Watan, 2014, December25, p. 17)
6. «Le résultat en est que ce sont les multinationales qui travaillent en Algérie L'automobile c'est Renault, l'eau c'est Suez, la gestion de l'aéroport et du métro ce sont ADP and Alston, la téléphonie ce sont des étrangers, l'autoroute et les travaux publics ce sont les Chinois». (El Watan, 2014, November 29, p. 2)
7. «La langue Arabe se présente à nous sous deux aspects sensiblement différents: une langue littéraire dite arabe écrite, dans laquelle seule aujourd'hui encore, sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, qui exactement telle qu'elle se présente à nous, n'a peut-être jamais été parlée nulle part en Algérie». (Marçais,

- 1930, p. 401)
8. «Et des idiomes dont aucun n'a jamais été écrit, mais qui partout et peut être depuis longtemps, constituent la seule langue de la conversation dans tout les milieux populaires ou cultivés». (Marçais, 1930, p. 401)
 9. «Une société qui continue à s'exprimer naturellement en arabe Algérien, L'arabe de la quotidienneté et de la sensibilité des peines et de l'émotivité». (Sbaâ, 2002, p. 43)
 10. «Wa el-naqawa najidouha fi el-bouniat el-ifradia lilkalimat, amma el-tafawuh fayoulaḥaz fi ellawaḥiq wa el-sawabiq wa el-qawafid el-nahwiya wa el-taḥqiq el-sawti». (Mortad, 2005, p. 37)
 11. «Un code nonorganisé, un idiome impur». (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 22)
 12. «des langues dont les hommes se servent ou se sont servis». (Benmayouf, 2009, p. 23)
 13. «Dés l'âge de six ans, l'enfant algérien est immergé dans un bain linguistique écartant ses langues maternelles. D'un coup il s'entend ordonner de ne plus prononcer» la langue de la rue», celle «du souk» ou «elâmya ». C'est pourtant dans cette langue qu'il a appris à développer son imaginaire». (ElWatan 3, 25 December 2014, p. 16)
 14. «La société algérienne sent et pense à l'intérieur des normes extérieures à la surnorme. C'est- à- dire extérieures à l'arabe conventionnel, que certains des pans entiers de son imaginaire collectif se trouvent dévalorisés voire occultés». (Sbaâ, 2002, p. 90)
 15. «birašid lughawi haʔil». (Mortad, 2005, p. 35)
 16. «La langue d'enseignement est artificielle et n'a rien à voir avec la réalité socio-linguistique du locuteur algérien». (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 16)
 17. «La classe qui est le lieu du dialogue et de la communication, devient le lieu de la censure. Ce climat étouffant caractérisé par les interdits et les sanctions, hostile à la langue familière de l'enfant, va creuser d'avantage le fossé entre le parler de l'enfant et la langue de l'école». (El Watan, 2014 December 25, p. 16)
 18. «a fini par consommer ce qui restait de l'identité algérienne». Zoulikha Merrad (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 16)
 19. «Il en résulte des complexes, tel que le sentiment de culpabilité, l'insécurité linguistique et la haine de soi qui se manifeste dans le discours épilinguistique du locuteur algérien». Ibtissam Chachou (El Watan, 2014, December 25, p. 16)
 20. «sunʔ lughā min aʔtat el- kalimat el-ʔamia». (Bakri, 1999, p.89)

The Author

Fatima Nor El-Houda Dahou (Email: houdhoudtai2@yahoo.fr) is a teacher of sociolinguistics at the University of Mustapha Stambouli in Mascara- Algeria. She is also a researcher in sociolinguistics, multilingualism and media discourse. Presently, she is preparing her doctorate in the sociolinguistics of contemporary Arabic in Algeria. She has produced a number of scholarly contributions that concern topics about the Arabic language in the era of globalisation.

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