PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF ABOU BEKR BELKAID-TLEMCEN
Faculty of Letters and Languages Department of English

FROM HOME TO SCHOOL: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF ARABIC DIGLOSSIA AND ITS EFFECTS ON FORMAL INSTRUCTION IN THE ALGERIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

Thesis submitted to the Department of English
in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctorate in Sociolinguistics
(Language Contact and Sociolinguistic Variation)

Presented by:
Mrs. Chahrazed HAMZAOUI

Supervised by:
Prof. Zoubir DENDANE

Board of Examiners

Prof. Ali BAICHE	President	University of Tlemcen
Prof. Zoubir DENDANE	Supervisor	University of Tlemcen
Prof. Farouk BOUHADIBA	External examiner	University of Oran
Prof. Samira ABID HOCINE	External examiner	University of Sidi Belabbes
Dr. Hind MOSTARI	External examiner	University of Sidi Belabbes
Dr. Mohamed Nassim NEGADI	Internal examiner	University of Tlemcen

Academic year: 2016-2017

Statement of originality

I hereby certify that the work contained in this thesis, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctorate, is entirely performed by me under the guidance and advice of my supervisor. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due references are made.

Signed: Chahrazed HAMZAOUI

Date: 04/06/2017

DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this work to the following people:

• My father and my mother. May Almighty Allah bestow His mercy on their soul;

• My dear husband Zoheir and my wonderful children: Noureddine, Adil and Hanane;

• My brother and sisters: Larbi, Nadjiba and Kamila.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank Almighty Allah for providing me the strength, knowledge, ability, health and opportunity to undertake this humble research work and to persevere and complete it satisfactorily. Without his blessings, this accomplishment would never have been possible.

I would like to say a very big ‘thank you’ to my supervisor Prof. Zoubir Dendane for all the support and encouragement he gave me during the most troublesome and tough periods I spent, undertaking this research work. Without his guidance, support, generosity and constant feedback, this doctoral thesis would not have been achievable.

Special thanks go to all the members of the jury including, Prof. Ali BAICHE, Dr. Mohamed Nassim NEGADI, Prof. Farouk BOUHADIBA, Prof. Samira ABID HOCINE, Dr. Hind MOSTARI. I highly acknowledge their acceptance to evaluate this research work.

I am also grateful to all the participants who took part in this study, namely, the teachers, the pupils and the inspectors. I would like to thank them all. I will never forget their professionalism and commitment. I am also very appreciative to all my honored teachers who have constantly been a source of knowledge and enlightenment throughout my bachelor and magister studies, namely, Prof. Zoubir DENDANE, Dr. Mohammed Nassim NEGADI, Prof. Ilhem SERIR, Prof. Smail BENMOUSSAT and Prof. Ali BAICHE. I equally express my immense and sincere thanks to Prof. Mohamed BENRABAH (Rahimahou Allah) for his tremendous help and pieces of advice.

Last but definitely not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my friends and colleagues, be they from Tlemcen or Ain-Temouchent for their emotional and inexhaustible moral support, and for their love, encouragement and prayers.

Abstract

The purpose of the present study is to scrutinize the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal education, with special reference to the primary level in the Algerian school. It seeks to highlight the sociolinguistic phenomenon 'diglossia' and its effect on pupils' linguistic performance. The significance of this research work lies in investigating the variety used in classroom interaction and determining the pupils' flaws as regards Modern Standard Arabicuse when communicating with their teachers. Recently, clear weaknesses seem to have been noted in pupils' linguistic skills in all Arab schools, particularly at primary level, for most of them have relatively little or no acquaintance with the official language of instruction outside the school context. In the Algerian policy, Modern Standard Arabic has a high stance and function since it is the *de facto* language used for instruction, while children acquire Algerian Arabic as a mother tongue. The pupils' educational flaws and the persistent feelings of linguistic insecurity are directly ascribed to diglossia. Through collecting and analyzing data by means of diverse sociolinguistic tools and elicitation techniques such as questionnaires, interviews and the matched-guise technique, we have tried, in this study, to explore the extent to which diglossia affects the learning/ teaching process. Therefore, the findings obtained reveal that the teachers often have recourse to Algerian Arabic, a variety they find more appropriate to get the message across. What should be stressed is that the pupils' linguistic weaknesses essentially lie in their lack of exposure to Modern Standard Arabic outside the school environment. However, it has been noted that their perceptions about the complexities of Modern Standard Arabic decrease as far as they move up to the next grades. The other central result is made upon the positive attitudes towards Modern Standard Arabic and the negative attitudes towards Algerian Arabic displayed by teachers and pupils -as two partner parties in this study- since Modern Standard Arabic is granted an outstanding predominance and prestige in the community, especially because of its tight association with the Qur'an and the huge bulk of Arabic literature.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Statement of originality……i

Dedications……...ii

Acknowledgements……...iii

Abstract……iv

Table of Contents…….....v

List of Tables……....x

List of Figures……xii

List of Acronyms……xiv

List of Phonetic Symbols……xv

GENERAL INTRODUCTION……1

CHAPTER ONE: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1.1 Introduction……7

1.2 Language, dialect and variety as distinct concepts……7

1.2.1 Language defined……8

1.2.2 Difference between Dialect and Variety ……11

1.3 Language and education……...15

1.3.1 Language planning in education……...…16

1.3.1.1 Status planning in education…….....23

1.3.1.2 Corpus planning in education……...25

1.3.1.3 Acquisition planning in education……....29

1.4 An Overview on Arabic sociolinguistics……31

1.5 Diglossia: A crucial phenomenon in sociolinguistic theory…….....34
1.5.1 Theoretical assumptions on diglossia (Marçais, Ferguson, Fishman)……..34
1.5.2 Types of diglossia……..42
1.5.3 Research on diglossia in Arabic……44
1.5.4 Educated Spoken Arabic…….…..50
1.5.5 Levels of the Arabic language……...52
1.5.5.1 Blanc (1960)……....52
1.5.5.2 Continuum with levels: Badawi (1973)……..53
1.5.5.3 Meiseles (1980)…… .55
1.6 Diglossia and education……..55
1.7 The Status of MSA in the Arab world……59
1.7.1 MSA and education……..61
1.7.2 Arab pupils' exposure to MSA……62
1.8 Language attitudes……...65
1.9 Conclusion…….....69

CHAPTER TWO: THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA: HISTORICAL AND CURRENT ISSUES

2.1 Introduction……..70
2.2 Historical background of Algeria……70
2.2.1 Algeria from the prehistoric era to the beginning of the first century A.D…...71
2.2.2 Algeria from the Roman conquest to the Byzantines…….....72
2.2.3 Algeria from the 7th century to the beginning of the 19th century……..73
2.2.4 Algeria from 1830 to 1962……77
2.3 The Language situation after 1962……...80
2.4 The Language profile of Algeria……..84
2.4.1 The Arabic language……84
2.4.1.1 MSA as the official language……89
2.4.1.2 AA as a mother tongue……..91
2.4.2 Berber……94

2.4.3 French……...96
2.4.4 English……...…99
2.5 Present-day sociolinguistic situation in Algeria……100
2.5.1 Diglossia in the Algerian context……102
2.5.2 Algerian bilingualism: Arabic vs. French……...108
2.5.3 Language contact outcomes……112
2.5.3.1 Code-switching and code-mixing……112
2.5.3.2 AA/ French code-switching……....114
2.5.3.3 Algerian diglossic code-switching……..118
2.5.4 Borrowings……120
2.6 Conclusion…….....122

CHAPTER THREE: THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

A. The Algerian Educational System

3.1 Introduction……124
3.2 Structure of the educational system……...124
3.2.1 The school system…….....125
3.2.2 The administration system……126
3.3 Education and literacy……...126
3.4 The role of the educational system……....128
3.5 Reforms of education……130
3.6 The issue of the Arabisation policy in school……....134
3.6.1 From 1962 to 1975……..135
3.6.2 From 1975 to 2002……..138
3.6.3 From 2003_____.....140
3.7 The impact of Arabisation on education……....143
3.8 Failure of Arabisation……....145
3.9 The status of Arabic in the educational sphere……..146
3.10 The impact of Arabic diglossia on the quality of education……148
3.11 Inside class issues……155

3.11.1Curriculum weaknesses…….155
3.11.2 Overcrowded classes…….....156
3.12 Conclusion……...157

B. Methodology and Data Collection Procedures

3.11 Introduction……..159
3.12 Research objectives and motivations……...159
3.13 Methodological Concerns……....161
3.14 Description of the actual Arabic teaching/ learning situation in primary schools.161
3.15 Context of investigation and sample population……..162
3.16 Restating the research questions and hypotheses……165
3.17 Research design and procedure……167
3.17.1 Research tools……...168
3.17.1.1 The questionnaire……....168
3.17.1.2 The interview……..172
3.17.1.3 The matched-guise technique……..175
3.17.1.4 Classroom observation as an additional tool……...176
3.17.2 Data collection procedures……178
3.17.2.1 Questionnaire to teachers……..178
3.17.2.2 Questionnaire to pupils……180
3.17.2.3 Interviewing inspectors……181
3.17.2.4 Interviewing teachers……...182
3.17.2.5 Interviewing pupils……..184
3.17.2.6 The matched-guise technique as a data collection procedure……..184
3.18 Data analysis procedures……..186
3.18.1 Quantitative analysis……..187
3.18.2 Qualitative analysis……187
3.19 Conclusion……...190

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

4.1 Introduction……....191
4.2 Data results: Quantitative vs. Qualitative analysis…….....191
4.3 Analysis of the results: questionnaires and interviews……...191
4.3.1 The variety of classroom interaction……...192
4.3.2 MSA and pupils' perceptions…….....200
4.3.3 Pupils' linguistic performance in classroom interaction…….. ..220
4.3.3.1 Findings from the interview with teachers……220
4.3.3.2 Analysis of the interview with teachers……228
4.3.3.3 Results from the interview with pupils…….230
4.3.3.4 Interpretation of the interview with pupils……234
4.3.4 Remedies for the issue of Arabic diglossia…….236
4.3.1 Findings from the interview with inspectors……...236
4.3.2 Synthesis of the interview with inspectors……..239
4.4 Attitudes towards diglossia……...241
4.4.1 Diglossia and pupils' attitudes……241
4.4.2 Diglossia and teachers' attitudes……252
4.5 Classroom observation results and analysis……...255
4.6 General interpretation and integration……258
4.7 Conclusion…….265

GENERAL CONCLUSION……..266
BIBLIOGRAPHY…….272
APPENDICES…….294

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Types of language planning and policy……..20

Table 1.2 The ambits of use of the two varieties of Arabic……37

Table 1.3 The nine rubrics of diglossia……..39

Table 1.4 Fishman's Extension of diglossia (1967)……..42

Table 3.1 Status of Arabization in primary school (1973-74)…….....137

Table 3.2 Status of Arabization in intermediate school (1973-74)…….....137

Table 3.3 Status of Arabization in secondary school (1973-74)……..138

Table 3.4 Language spread in primary school…….....142

Table 3.5 The gender variable rates of pupils (respondents)…….....163

Table 3.6 The gender variable rates of teachers (respondents)……....164

Table 3.7 The questionnaire: Advantages and disadvantages……..170

Table 4.1 Teachers' variety use in the classroom…….....192

Table 4.2 Teachers' frequency use of AA in class……194

Table 4.3 Teachers' encouragement towards MSA use in classroom interaction…...195

Table 4.4 Teachers' acceptance of AA use in classroom interaction……..196

Table 4.5 The difficulty of exclusive use of MSA in classroom interaction……197

Table 4.6 Artificiality feeling in the exclusive use of MSA in class……198

Table 4.7 AA enhancing pupils' assimilation……..199

Table 4.8 The variety used outside school……200

Table 4.9 The variety of classroom interaction (pre-school grade pupils)……201

Table 4.10 The variety used in class (1st grade pupils)……....202

Table 4.11 The variety used in class (2nd grade pupils)……202

Table 4.12 The variety used in class (3rd grade pupils)……203

Table 4.13 The variety used in class (4th grade pupils)……203

Table 4.14 The variety used in class (5th grade pupils)……....204

Table 4.15 Parents' encouragement towards MSA use at home……..205

Table 4.16 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (pre-school grade pupils)……....206
Table 4.17 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (1st grade pupils)…….207
Table 4.18 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (2nd grade pupils)……....207
Table 4.19 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (3rd grade pupils)…….208
Table 4.20 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (4th grade pupils)…….209
Table 4.21 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (5th grade pupils)…….209
Table 4.22 The variety of the learning process (pre-school grade pupils)…….....210
Table 4.23 The variety of the learning process (1st grade pupils)…….....211
Table 4.24 The variety of the learning process (2nd grade pupils)…….....212
Table 4.25 The variety of the learning process (3rd grade pupils)……212
Table 4.26 The variety of the learning process (4th grade pupils)……213
Table 4.27 The variety of the learning process (5th grade pupils)……214
Table 4.28 Pupils' understanding skill in MSA vs. AA in class……..216
Table 4.29 Pupils' perception about MSA learning…….218
Table 4.30 Pupils' assertion of guises' pleasantness……....242
Table 4.31 Pupils' evaluation of cleverness (G1)…….....243
Table 4.32 Pupils' evaluation of cleverness (G2)……....244
Table 4.33 Pupils' evaluation of attractiveness (G1)……245
Table 4.34 Pupils' evaluation of attractiveness (G2)……246
Table 4.35 Pupils' evaluation of friendliness (G1)…….....247
Table 4.36 Pupils' evaluation of friendliness (G2)……..247
Table 4.37 Pupils' evaluation of appropriateness (MSA)……248
Table 4.38 Pupils' evaluation of appropriateness (AA)……249
Table 4.39 Pupils' ratings of beauty (MSA)……250
Table 4.40 Pupils' ratings of beauty (AA)……251
Table 4.41 Pupils 'ratings of correctness (MSA)……251
Table 4.42 Pupils' ratings of correctness (AA)……252
Table 4.43 Teachers' variety preference in class……253
Table 4.44 Teachers' assumption of variety's appropriateness in class……253

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 A model of language policy……..18

Figure 2.1 Badawi's diagram (1973): "Levels of Egyptian Arabic"…….103

Diagram 2.1 Characterization of diglossia in Algeria……...106

Diagram 2.2 Characteristics of Code-switching in the Algerian Context……..119

Figure 3.1 Two distinct types of matched guise method……176

Figure 3.2 A synopsis of the research design…….189

Figure 4.1 MSA vs. AA use by teachers in the classroom……..…193

Figure 4.2 Teachers' frequency use of AA in class……194

Figure 4.3 Teachers' encouragement towards MSA use in classroom interaction….195

Figure 4.4 Teachers' acceptance of AA use in classroom interaction…….....196

Figure 4.5 The dilemma of the exclusive use of MSA in classroom interaction..…197

Figure 4.6 The variety used outside school……..200

Figure 4.7 Parents' encouragement towards MSA use at home……... 205

Figure 4.8 Pupils' understanding skill in MSA vs. AA in class……...216

Figure 4.9 Pupils' perception about MSA learning……..218

Figure 4.10 Pupils' confirmation of guises' pleasantness……242

Figure 4.11 Pupils' evaluation of cleverness (G1)……...243

Figure 4.12 Pupils' evaluation of cleverness (G2)……..…244

Figure 4.13 Pupils' evaluation of attractiveness (G1)……..245

Figure 4.14 Pupils' evaluation of attractiveness (G2)……..246

Figure 4.15 Pupils' evaluation of friendliness (G1)…….247

Figure 4.16 Pupils' evaluation of friendliness (G2)…….247

Figure 4.17 Pupils' evaluation of appropriateness (G1)……..248

Figure 4.18 Pupils' evaluation of appropriateness (G2)……..…249

Figure 4.19 Pupils' ratings of beauty (MSA)……..250

Figure 4.20 Pupils' ratings of beauty (AA)…….251

Figure 4.21 Pupils' ratings of correctness (MSA)……...251
Figure 4.22 Pupils' ratings of correctness (AA)…….....252
Figure 4.23 Teachers' variety preference in class……253
Figure 4.24 Teachers' assumption of variety's appropriateness…….....253
Pie-chart 3.1 The gender variable rates of pupils (respondents)……..…163
Pie-chart 3.2 The gender variable rates of teachers (respondents)……164
Pie-chart 4.1 Artificiality feeling in the exclusive use of MSA in classroom interaction……198
Pie-chart 4.2 AA enhancing pupils' assimilation……199
Pie-chart 4.3 The variety of classroom interaction (pre-school grade pupils)……..201
Pie-chart 4.4 The variety used in class (1st grade pupils)…….....202
Pie-chart 4.5 The variety used in class (2nd grade pupils)……202
Pie-chart 4.6 The variety used in class (3rd grade pupils)……203
Pie-chart 4.7 The variety used in class (4th grade pupils)……203
Pie-chart 4.8 The variety used in class (5th grade pupils)……204
Pie-chart 4.9 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (pre-school grade pupils)……206
Pie-chart 4.10 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (1st grade pupils)……207
Pie-chart 4.11 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (2nd grade)……..207
Pie-chart 4.12 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (3rd grade)……..208
Pie-chart 4.13 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (4thgrade)……209
Pie-chart 4.14 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (5th grade)…….....209
Pie-chart 4.15 The variety of the learning process (pre-school grade pupils)……...210
Pie-chart 4.16 The variety of the learning process (1st grade pupils)…….....211
Pie-chart 4.17 The variety of the learning process (2nd grade pupils)……..212
Pie-chart 4.18 The variety of the learning process (3rd grade pupils)…….....212
Pie-chart 4.19 The variety of the learning process (4th grade pupils)…….213
Pie-chart 4.20 The variety of the learning process (5th grade pupils)…….....214

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AA: Algerian Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic

CRNSE: The National Commission of the Reform of the Educational System

CS: Code-switching

ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic

FLN: Front of National Liberation

G1: Guise one

G2: Guise two

H: High variety

L: Low variety

LP: Language Planning

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

PS: Primary School (s)

UNESCO: Organisation of the United Nations for Education, Science and Culture

List of Phonetic Symbols

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

- *Consonants* 28 consonants in MSA

Arabic	*English Gloss*		*Arabic*	*English Gloss*
[ʔ] [ʔamal]	hope		[ɖ] [ɖaw]	light
[b] [bərd]	cold		[ʈ] [ʈwe:l]	tall
[t] [tu:m]	garlic		[ð] [ðal*a*:m]*	darkness
[θ] [θaldʒ]*	snow		[ʕ] [ʕayn]	eye
[dʒ] [dʒna:n]	garden		[ɣ] [ɣia:m]	cloud
[ħ] [ħajʈ]	wall		[f] [fumm]	mouth
[χ] [χe: ʈ]	thread		[q] [qurʔa:n]	Quran
[d] [da:r]	house		[k] [kora]	ball
[ð] [ðiʔb]*	wolf		[l] [lima]	lemon
[r] [raqba]	neck		[m] [mliħ]	nice
[z] [zi:t]	oil		[n] [na:s]	people
[s] [sətta]	six		[h] [ra:s]	head
[ʃ] [ʃəmʕa]	candle		[w] [wa:d]	river
[ʂ] [ʂɑlɑ:t]	prayer		[j] [jəd]	hand

* The interdentals [θ], [ð] and [ð] are merged into [t, d, ɖ] in most Algerian dialects.

* [g] often occurs as a realization of MSA /q/, as in [gamra] for /qamar/ 'moon' .

* [p] and [v] are not in the Arabic phonemic system, but occur in French borrowings in AA, as in [pupija] 'doll' and [vista] 'jacket'.

- *Vowels* 6 vowels in MSA: 3 short and 3 long counterparts

Short V	*Arabic*	*English Gloss*		Long V	*Arabic*	*English Gloss*
[a]	[mlaħ]	salt		[a:]	[qa:ɖi]	judge
[u]	[kul]	Eat!		[u:]	[fu:t]	pass on!
[i]	[lima]	a lemon		[i:]	[li:l]	night

* In certain environments (e.g. emphatics), vowels are affected in height and quality: /a/ → [æ ~ ɑ], /i/ → [i ~ɪ ~e], /u/ → [o~ ʊ]. e.g. [ʂɑlɑ:t] 'prayer'; [twe:l] 'long/tall

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The present research work falls within the field of Arabic sociolinguistics and refers more particularly to Arabic diglossia. Known as the father of diglossia, Charles Ferguson mentioned, in his highly acclaimed 1959 article, that Arabic is often considered a 'diglossic' language designating the existence of a High variety, (H) and a low variety (L) used in semi-exclusive contexts, that is the two discrepant forms are kept disjoint and used in distinct settings, and for distinct purposes. H is sometimes referred to as *Fuşħa*, Classical Arabic, Literary Arabic, Standard Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic.

This research work uses the term Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to represent a modern descendent of Classical Arabic (CA), the Arabic of the Qur'an and Arab literature. The MSA variety is used in formal contexts, such as administration, religious preaches, radio broadcasting, editorials in newspapers and most significantly as a medium of instruction. L is referred to simply as a vernacular, spoken Arabic, colloquial Arabic, '*aammiya*, or Algerian Arabic (AA). L has no official status as it is adopted in daily life and more relaxed settings such as family and friends. In a number of situations, only H is convenient while in others, L is more suitable.

This study is based on the revisited version of diglossia, a more recent article entitled 'Diglossia revisited' (1991) where Ferguson himself has recognized his weak points and re-examined his original definition to promote a more nuanced picture of Arabic in use. Indeed, the emergence of a new form of Arabic -which is believed to exist between MSA and the vernacular- known as 'the middle language' (Al-Batal, 2006), or 'Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), seems to be the predominant variety used in semi-formal situations especially by educated people.

On the other hand, one of the most significant issues characterizing Algerian formal education is that the language which is prescribed in the official text as the

language of instruction, differs to a large extent from the pupils' mother tongue at all linguistic levels, namely: phonology, morphology, vocabulary, grammar and syntax.

The fact is that MSA is the mother tongue of no sector in the Algerian speech community – nor is it in any other Arab country – and children do not become aware of it until school age while AA, though highly stigmatized, is the authentic mother tongue acquired first and used in daily life. Arab pupils in general and Algerians in particular, show a kind of deficiency in understanding and mainly in communicating in MSA. In fact, Arabic diglossia has a strong impact on the educational sector since the vernacular or at least the 'middle language' seem to occupy a substantial place in the verbal expressions of most teachers in various classroom contexts.

Arabic course teachers have often recourse to the vernacular in teaching. Such strategy complicates their duties which are supposed to enhance pupils' language skills and consequently leads to serious pedagogical problems, in addition to a lack of linguistic confidence among a huge number of learners. Some sociolinguists and educationists -like Maamouri (1998) - attribute the low quality results of education in the Arab world to the diglossic situation in classrooms, in addition to the linguistic distance between the standard form of Arabic and the different colloquial forms. Pupils' incompetence in MSA clearly appears in their deficiency in communication skills since they are unable to find the accurate lexical items to express themselves in classroom interaction.

In the Algerian speech community, all children are exposed to L whether at home or in neighbourhood, whereas H is only accessible through formal instruction. Though several scholars (Zughoul, 1980; Horn, 2015) claim that Arab children have no contact with MSA until they enter school, some of them have some exposure to this variety before having access to school through kindergartens, television programmes, particularly in cartoons and documentaries, in addition to literary events like stories and religious events like the Qur'an or prayers. However, this exposure might be very limited depending on the environment to which the child belongs.

This study focuses on the extent to which Arabic diglossia affects the teaching/learning process among pupils studying in several grades at primary level. It was conducted in six different primary schools situated in different parts of the Algerian country. In parallel, it indicates the impact of such phenomenon on pupils' linguistic skills in classroom interaction. Our reference to the term 'diglossia', in the present research work, may be restricted to cases in which H and L are considered as versions of the same language, but H is not the daily means of communication of anyone.

The objectives of the present study can be summarized as follows:

- First, it aims at exploring the form of Arabic used by Arabic course teachers when presenting the lessons.
- Second, it endeavours at investigating pupils' perceptions when they are first confronted to the standard form of Arabic in school, and whether there is an alteration in their perceptions at further school grades, that is, until the fifth grade.
- Third, it seeks to show the extent to which pupils use MSA in classroom interaction and find out the main reasons that stand behind their linguistic deficiency.
- Fourth, it attempts to detect pupils' as well as teachers' attitudes towards both forms of Arabic that is, MSA and colloquial Arabic.
- Finally, it aims at identifying some political suggestions that may be undertaken as a remedy to the problem of Arabic diglossia. It also hopes to get policy-makers reflect on issues relating to diglossia in the Algerian education sector.

Taking into account the above discussion and the objectives of the study, the central question directing the research can be put as follows: To what extent does Arabic diglossia affect the teaching/learning process at primary level?

The main question involves five sub-questions. In a nutshell, our study tries to answer the following questions:

- Research Question #1: Knowing that MSA is the medium officially implemented in formal education, we wonder whether it is, indeed, used in class; or do teachers use Colloquial Arabic in their teaching strategies?

- Research Question #2: What are pupils' feelings when they are first faced with MSA at school, and is there any change in their feelings about the school language at further grades?
- Research Question #3: To what extent do primary school pupils use MSA in classroom interaction, and what reasons stand behind their linguistic flaws if any?
- Research Question #4: What are pupils' as well as teachers' attitudes towards MSA and Colloquial Arabic at primary level?
- Research Question #5: What political decisions may be undertaken as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia?

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

- Hypothesis#1: Teachers tend to use a mixture of MSA and Algerian Arabic, most believing that this strategy may facilitate comprehension and pupils' smooth integration.
- Hypothesis #2: Depending on the degree of exposure to MSA before school age, pupils will exhibit more or less linguistic insecurity in class, and reluctance or eagerness in using the school language. Such feelings will develop in positive or negative ways depending, not only on the teaching strategies, but also on parents' involvement and encouragement as regards the use of the school language.
- Hypothesis#3: Some pupils use MSA when interacting with their teachers, but owing to the lack of exposure to the variety outside the school environment, most of them frequently use AA, a fact that leads to poor proficiency in MSA use in classroom interaction.
- Hypothesis#4: Being aware of the importance of the learning/teaching process in MSA, most teachers and pupils from different grades display positive attitudes towards this variety which is also associated with the Qur'an and religious matters, while most of them show negative attitudes towards AA since it is only used for daily practices.

- Hypothesis#5: The gap between Colloquial Arabic and MSA has to be reduced progressively by policy-makers' recommendations for the sake of formal education and this might be done by promoting the use of MSA even outside the school environment.

As far as the organisation of this research work is concerned, four major chapters constitute its construct. Chapter one reviews some of the existing literature about some key-concepts upon which our study is based, namely: language and dialect, language planning, Arabic sociolinguistics and language attitudes. The first chapter focuses on the phenomenon of diglossia in Arabic and its relation with the sector of education. It also provides a reflection on the status of MSA in the Arab world, in addition to a general overview on Arab pupils' exposure to the standard form of Arabic. More importantly, this chapter endeavours to build a theoretical framework to guide the study in the processes of data collection, analysis and interpretation.

Chapter two provides an overview on some historical and current issues concerning the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria with the aim of showing the language repertoires present in the Algerian linguistic scene, in addition to the several sociolinguistic phenomena that characterize the Algerian society, namely: diglossia, bilingualism and their inevitable outcomes, that is, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowings.

Chapter three is twofold. The first part provides a general background of the Algerian educational system, the context of our study. It discusses the structure as well as the role of the Algerian education sector, and provides a brief reflection on the different reforms the Algerian education system has gone through. The first part of the chapter also focuses on the Arabisation process, its impact on education and the reasons of its malfunction. It also gives an idea about the status of Arabic in the educational sphere, in addition to the impact of Arabic diglossia on the quality of education. This chapter's part ends with a brief discussion of some pedagogical problems such as curriculum weaknesses and overcrowded classes.

As to the second part, it is meant to present a reflective account of the research methodology underlying our study, starting first with a general presentation of the research objectives and motivations, in addition to some methodological concerns. It also presents a general description of the actual Arabic teaching/learning situation in primary school, and discusses the investigation context as well as the sample population participating in this study. The second part of this chapter explains the research methodology and the various research instruments are presented; their selection is also explained. Moreover, it elucidates the different procedures of data collection used to gather the most valid data which will be examined both quantitatively and qualitatively in the next chapter.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the empirical phase which aims at finding illuminative data to conduct the research. Through the use of different elicitation techniques such as questionnaires, interviews and the matched-guise technique, we have tried, in this study, to expose and analyse the main data gathered from our inquiry. First, the chapter presents the results obtained from our investigation and deals with their analysis and interpretation. The main research findings are then explained by way of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Finally, the main findings are interpreted by making reference to our results and clarifying the degree of evidence of the gathered data.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Chapter One: Theoretical Considerations

1.1 Introduction

The field of sociolinguistics has not much attracted the attention of Arab linguists in comparison to those of the western world. More recently, sociolinguists have begun investigating the effect of a number of sociolinguistic phenomena, i.e., diglossia, bilingualism, code-switching, etc. and their impact on the educational sphere. Ferguson (1959) - with his pioneering article 'Diglossia'- is one of the most prominent linguists who probably marked the first starting step of Arabic sociolinguistics as an academic discipline in its single right.

This chapter will deal with some fundamental theoretical issues. It will introduce some sociolinguistic concepts relevant to our research work. It will attempt to explain the notions of language, dialect and variety, three significant concepts for the study of diglossia and language planning. It will also provide a detailed analysis of diglossia in general and Arabic diglossia in particular. Moreover, the present chapter will synthesize literature on education and language planning. It will also give an overview on Arabic sociolinguistics, in addition to diglossia in relation to education which is the principal concern of our research work. This chapter will also attempt to clarify the status of MSA in the Arab world as well as Arab pupils' exposure to MSA, and will finish with a review on language attitudes.

1.2 Language, dialect and variety as distinct concepts

Most people have already tried to sit in public places and listen to conversations taking place around them. Though people pretend to be preoccupied, they listen attentively. They also make judgments and impressions about social status, regional background, and many other personal and social traits based merely upon the type of language other people are using. Language differences can be considered

as a ‘fact of life’; they are unavoidable in a society composed of various social groups, and as Dendane (2007) argues

> If we are cautious enough and listen to the way(s) people speak in all types of society, we will certainly find out that they use various speech forms to the extent that one may be convinced of the originality of each speaker.
>
> (Dendane, 2007: 22).

However, while people interact linguistically, they may not always assert their mastery of whichever language they speak. They may claim their difficulty in deciding whether what they speak is a ‘language’ or simply a ‘dialect’ of some language. That is why reviewing some definitions of sociolinguistic key-concepts such as ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ appears easy at first glance. Yet, the difference between them is the most wondering and critical question among theorists because there is no criterion agreed on, to distinguish between these two ambiguous notions.

1.2.1 Language defined

Language is a complex and intricate natural phenomenon which differentiates human beings from other creatures. Its central position in ones’ life makes it a subject of interest and debate in different disciplines. Language definition has received the attention of several researchers who conceive it as a manifestation of social learning and behaviour. Sapir, for instance, focuses on the main role of society that has a tremendous impact on children’s language, with its different implements, when he says that: “in a sense, every form of expression is imposed upon one by social factors, one’s own language above all” (Sapir, 1949:112).

Language is also considered as an innate endowment and as a genetic gift. Chomsky (2006) asserts that language is an essential property of thinking capacity, and is an abstract innate faculty of the brain. His tendency to the innateness conception of language development is revealed while he asserts that “when we study human language, we are approaching what some might call the human essence, the distinctive qualities of mind that are, so far as we know, unique to man [...]” (Chomsky, 2006:88).

It is worth pointing out that scholars usually perceive the terms ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ as non-technical notions because of their ambiguity, and thus, the division between these two complex entities is rather *fuzzy* as the distinction is not linguistic, but most of the time political. In Trudgill’s (1995: 145) terms, “it is only linguists who fully understand the extent to which these questions are not linguistic questions”. Romaine (2002: 14) points out the following: “The term ‘language’ is employed for a variety that is autonomous, together with all those varieties that are heteronymous upon it”. The terms ‘autonomy’ and ‘heteronomy’ do not reflect any purely linguistic factors, but rather political and cultural ones. In the same vein, Max Weinreich (1945) explains the importance of political power and sovereign nations in determining what counts as a language or a dialect by declaring “a language is a dialect with an army and a navy”. This famous statement highlights the socio-political dimensions of declaring something a ‘dialect’ or a ‘language’.

Furthermore, as Wardhaugh (2006: 30-31) reminds us, the sociolinguistic notions of ‘power’ and ‘solidarity’ may be helpful in understanding this considerable ambiguity. “Power requires some kind of asymmetrical relationship between entities […] Solidarity, on the other hand, is a feeling of equality that people have with one another”. Language has, thus, more power than its dialects; in other words, it is the most powerful dialect which has been granted such a privilege because of extra-linguistic factors.

Besides, lay speakers draw a distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’in a cryptic manner. The English language, for example, is the sum total of its dialects and it is considered more prestigious than a dialect; but Standard English itself is no more than a dialect that has undergone the process of standardization, one essential reason why it was used around London by the court and higher class influential people in the 15th century. Therefore, from a linguistic standpoint, any dialect may evolve to a ‘standard language’, a prestige position it may reach as a result of political and cultural influences.

> Whether some variety is called a language or a dialect depends on how much prestige one thinks it has, and for most people this is a clear-cut matter, which depends on whether it is used in formal writing.
>
> (Hudson, 1996: 32).

Typically, in fact, ordinary people distinguish between these two terms in the following way. They perceive dialects merely as forms of speech which lack an established written form and as 'non-prestigious', whereas the standard and prestigious variety of their state is usually held in high esteem and considered as 'language'. Indeed, " forms of speech which are, or are believed to be, unwritten, unstandardized, and/or associated with groups lacking in prestige, formal education, etc., or culturally subordinated to other groups, are often described as dialects, by contrast with standardized, prestigious varieties (described as 'languages'). For instance, in popular usage, 'rural Yorkshire dialect' may be contrasted with 'the English language', and 'the dialects of Southern India' with 'the Tamil language''' (Malmkjaer, Anderson, 1995: 124).

Haugen (1966a) has also noticed that *language* and *dialect* are unclear notions, pointing out that "X is a dialect of language Y or Y has the dialects X and Z (never for example, Y is a language of dialect X)" (Haugen, 1966: 923). In other words, if X is a dialect of Y, then Y cannot be the dialect of X. Therefore, Haugen acknowledges that the relationship between 'language' and 'dialect' is quite *super-ordinate* because dialect is a self-contained unit of language and does not deviate from a standard. Malmkjaer (1991:124) states the following: "Dialects are also often perceived as individually discrete units, collectively comprising the equally discrete languages of which they are dialects."

To give an illustration: The *language* name'Arabic' is considered the super-ordinate label, while the *dialect* name 'Algerian dialect' is always the subordinate term, i.e., a language can be larger in size than a dialect. In other words, the term language may express two different meanings: it may refer to a collection of dialects i.e., a group of related norms, or a single variety (Haugen 1966, Harris 1990). In this

vein, using a language means using one of its dialects. “Hence every dialect is a language, but not every language is a dialect.” (Haugen, 1966:99).

In fact, if we apply Haugen’s view to our society, most Algerians consider MSA as the most ‘prestigious’, ‘pure’ and ‘correct’ variety for religious, cultural and literary purposes, by contrast to their colloquial and regional dialects usually perceived as ‘general’, or ‘common’ and ‘non-prestigious’ forms, commonly used in daily conversations. However, any dialect is a potential candidate that may evolve into a standard language, especially in large urban areas such as Cairo in Egypt or Baghdad in Iraq. Ferguson (1970: 116)[1] supports this idea by stating that “Arabic speakers, within the areas of influence of these prestige dialects, may in the course of their lives adjust their own dialect in the direction of the prestige dialect”.

In the context of our work, it would be interesting to consider all the views mentioned above in the education sector, where there is high debate and much controversy over which language should be used in schools and more precisely at primary level. In their educational strategies, in fact, there is a general agreement among all Arab communities, that MSA is the official medium of instruction in schools. Maamouri (1998: 11) rightly admits that language is “a means and a carrier of knowledge and learning”. To this, he adds: “language becomes central to the instruction process, and its mastery is an indicator of educational success or failure” (ibid).

1.2.2 Diference between dialect and variety

The question of what a language is and what a dialect is, is not a new one, and there are still no agreed upon criteria how to resolve it. Ordinary people, in fact, often consider a dialect no more than a powerless and non- prestigious variety of language. However, specialists often experience difficulty in determining which term should be used in certain circumstances.

[1] In Pride and Holmes eds. (1972: 116).

It is worth pointing out that one of the key processes in raising the status of a dialect is standardization. Ferguson (1968: 31)[2] describes standardization as "the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as the supradialectal norm". In fact, what is considered standard is associated with *prestige*, an extra linguistic factor. Furthermore, what is considered standard is divorced from the notion of correctness and superiority, for, as Macauley (1993: 61) declares, "a language is a dialect endorsed by a national government and promulgated through a state educational system".

From a sociolinguistic standpoint, a dialect is a distinct form of a language which is associated with a recognizable regional, social or ethnic group. Crystal (1994:114) tells us that 'dialect' refers to "a regionally or socially distinctive variety of language", while Trask (1999: 75), in his part, claims that it is "a more or less identifiable regional or social variety of language". In the light of these definitions, there is a general agreement among scholars that dialect invokes a sub-division of a particular language which can be either of regional or social type.

A regional dialect is a distinct form of a language spoken in a certain geographical area. For instance, we have the Cockney dialect, Yorkshire dialect of English, Parisian French and the Algerian dialect of Arabic. The inhabitants of these regions have certain distinct linguistic features that differentiate them from speakers of other forms of English, French and Arabic respectively. For Wardhaugh (2006), the task of defining regional dialects is a quite easy one. He elaborates:

> One basic assumption in dialect geography is that regional dialects are really quite easy to sample: just find one or two people in the particular location you wish to investigate, people who are preferably elderly and untraveled, interview them and ask them how they pronounce particular words, refer to particular objects, and phrase particular kinds of utterances.
>
> (Wardhaugh, 2006: 139).

Following Romain's viewpoint (2000:2): "A 'regional dialect' is a variety associated with a place, such as the Yorkshire dialect in England or the Bavarian

[2]Mentioned in Caroll, T (2001: 15).

dialect in Germany". Therefore, regional dialects tend to vary geographically. The difference may be noticed in the terms people use for the same object, or in their ways of pronouncing the same word. The term 'accent' has generally been used to refer to the speakers' pronunciation. This label should not be confused with dialect, as this latter is distinguished from other dialects of the same language on at least three levels of analysis, vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. In other words, the term "'accent' refers to the way in which a speaker pronounces, and therefore refers to a variety which is phonetically and/or phonologically different from other varieties; 'dialect', on the other hand, refers to varieties which are grammatically (and perhaps lexically), as well as phonologically different from other varieties" (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980:4). In fact, "If two speakers say, respectively, *I done it last night* and *I did it last night*, we can say that they are speaking different dialects"(ibid.).

Not only is the term 'dialect' used to describe regional variation, but also to elaborate distinctions in speech associated with various social groups or classes. Wardhaugh (2006:49) sums up the difference between the two labels by stating that "Whereas regional dialects are geographically based, social dialects originate among social groups and are related to a variety of factors, the principal ones apparently being social class, religion and ethnicity." In contrast with 'regional dialect', a social dialect is a form of language spoken by a particular group based on social features other than geographical; class, education, age and sex. Therefore, social dialects are conditioned by such social factors and other social parameters like place of residence, occupation, ethnic origin, cultural background, religion, education, and so on. Hudson (1996: 42) says: "Because of these other factors, a speaker may be more similar in language to people from the same social group in a different area than to people from a different social group in the same area."

As far as the Algerian context is concerned, 'dialect' may refer to either a 'regional' or 'social' form of language. Regional and social boundaries may be represented in geographical lines known as isoglosses on maps demonstrating a boundary for each location in order to separate a dialect from another. To illustrate,

the word ‘peanuts’ is pronounced [ʔawʔaw] in Tlemcen, [kewkew] in Oran and [qawqaw] in other areas. Another example may be stated: the expression ‘come here’ is produced as [ʔadʒi llәhna] in Tlemcen, whereas in other regions, it is articulated as [ʔarwa:ħ hneja].

The term ‘variety’ is a neutral label used by sociolinguists in order to avoid any negative connotation the dialect may engender. This particular term can be applied to any type of identifiable language which might be considered as a single entity. Duranti (1997) points out in this respect:

> […] sociolinguists prefer the term variety (also linguistic variety or variety of language), to be thought of as a set of communicative forms and norms for their use that are restricted to a particular group or community and sometimes even to particular activities. Sociolinguists’ varietiesmight cover what other researchers call languages, dialects, registers, or even styles. The advantage of using the term variety is that it does not carry the usual implications associated with words like “language” and “dialect” and can cover the most diverse situations…
>
> (Duranti, 1997: 70-71).

Indeed, ‘language variety’ is regarded as a general term that may refer to two distinct languages such as Arabic and French, or to differentiate between two varieties of the same language such as American English vs. Australian English. It may also refer to standard vs. non-standard varieties. This means, it is evident that everyone speaks a dialect of his/her native language, everyone has a dialect, and thus, dialect refers to any variety of language. Linguistically, a language can reach the status of a dialect if its speakers witness a shift to a more prestigious language. A dialect, on the other hand, can move to the status of language if it gains a given social prestige. This change of social status is directly linked to language policy, a sociolinguistic concept that will be detailed in the next section.

1.3 Language and education

Language occupies a crucial position in national development priorities, and language choice remains a key policy issue in many societies, be they monolingual or multilingual. Language plays an important role in providing access to knowledge and learning, and its mastery contributes to educational success. Hornberger (1996) sums up the relationship between language and education in the following terms:

> Education is the site where, on the one hand, larger social and political forces are reflected in the kinds of educational opportunities offered to speakers of different language varieties and, on the other, language use mediates their participation on other opportunities and ultimately, their potential contributions to the larger society.
>
> (Hornberger, 1996:461).

In Algeria, different languages are used in people's daily life, each with its different varieties at play:

1. Mother tongue – Native language- AA
2. National language (also mother tongue of certain populations) – Tamazight (Berber which recently acquired official status (article 4, 2016)[3]).
3. National and official language – Arabic (meaning MSA).
4. First foreign language (second language sociolinguistically) – French.

In this complex situation, language choice in Algeria is of crucial importance in its economic, educational and social development. It requires a review of language policy and appropriate language planning to promote national development in the age of information and communication. In multilingual societies, in particular, there exists too much controversy over which language to be used in schools, especially at the lower primary level. Indeed, there is a general agreement among Arab education experts and practitioners that MSA is the medium of instruction in all Arab institutions. However, there is a growing body of awareness among scholars that

[3]See the Algerian Constitution (2016).

language education confronts so many barriers which may contribute to shortcomings on the results of the education process.

One of the central obstacles lies essentially in both teachers' and learners' linguistic knowledge, i.e., the kind of language teachers and learners need to be acquainted with and the kind of training experience that may aid teachers develop this knowledge. Such issue is clearly manifested in all Arab educational institutions, since most teachers lack the adequate knowledge in the language of instruction, which in turn affects learners' competence. Moreover, teaching in a language which is unfamiliar to a learner is often too demanding for a learner to cope with, particularly for pre-school and primary-school learners. In other words, if learners' first language is not used for learning and teaching processes, this may lead to negative impact on their school achievement in general. Pinnock (2009: 8) explains this issue by stating that "The language used to deliver the school curriculum pulls down the educational performance of many of those who do not use it at home, particularly those who do not have access to it outside school."

Therefore, our own view regarding issues in relation to language diversity in various Algerian educational settings, and whether we consider them as 'problems' or 'resources' is going to be essential to provide an understanding of Algerian education in particular, because what is at stake is the role of Arabic in this field.

1.3.1 Language planning in education

As a preliminary definition, language planning (LP) refers to the planning of deliberate alterations in the form or use of a language (or a variety), or languages (or varieties). In other words, LP is the official, government-level activity aiming at establishing which language varieties are used in a particular community, and at directing which language varieties are to be used for which purposes in that particular community. Others view it as a dynamic process which aims at modifying language functions, language patterns, and language status in a given society. It represents a

remarkable effort by individuals, groups, or organizations to influence language use or development.

Haugen (1959) is credited to be the first who coined the term 'language planning', to refer to the development of a new standard national language in Norway following independence from Denmark in 1814. He (1959) defines LP as follows:

> [By language planning, I understand] the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. In this practical application of linguistic knowledge we are proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where judgment must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms.
>
> (Haugen, 1959:8).

At the beginning, he witnessed the activity of preparing orthography, grammar and dictionary as the actual process of LP, but he later came to see these activities as outcomes of language planning, part of the decision implementation made by language planners (Haugen, 1966a:52). In his introduction of a fourfold planning model, Haugen (ibid) portrays the various LP stages as embracing: selection, codification, implementation and elaboration. Initially, a norm is chosen by changing or creating a variety; the norm is codified by establishing the orthography, pronunciation, grammar and lexicon; the function of the norm is then elaborated, for instance by coining the necessary lexical items, and finally, its acceptance in the community in question is guaranteed. Stages involving selection and implementation are more closely associated with status and acquisition planning, whereas the codification and elaboration stages are more closely associated with corpus planning.

By the late 1980's, LP was subject to criticism and accused of being a regular failure of national planning activities. This, in fact, seems to have encouraged the use of a more neutral term called 'language policy'. The term involves the formulation of laws, regulations and official positions concerning language usage and the allocation of linguistic resources by either some political organization or government.

Schiffman (1996)[4] sums up the essential components of language policies in the entire world, and in the Arab world in particular, in the following terms:

> Language policy is primarily a social construct. It may consist of various elements of an explicit nature – juridical, judicial, administrative, constitutional and/or legal language may be extant in some jurisdictions, but whether or not a polity has such explicit *text*, policy as a culture construct rests primarily on other conceptual elements – belief systems, attitudes, myths – the whole complex that we are referring to as linguistic culture, which is the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, religious stricture, and all the other cultural 'baggage' that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their background (Shiffman, 1996:276)

Policy, as Schiffman rightly states, is a cultural construct. It is the sum of beliefs, attitudes, values and even misconceptions at times that people have accumulated from their society. Spolsky, in turn, identifies three important components which make up language policy for a speech community. He (2004) posits the following:

> A useful first step is to distinguish between the three components of the language policy of a speech community: its language practices - the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs and ideology - the beliefs about language and language use; and any kind of language intervention, planning or management.
>
> (Spolsky, 2004:5).

The figure below represents the three components of language policy, according to Spolsky (2004: a):

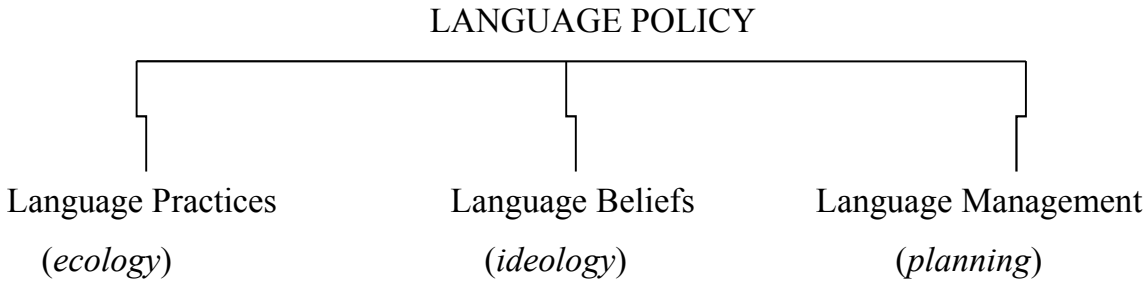


Figure 1.1 A LP model based on Spolsky (2004a) as constructed in Shohamy (2006: 53).

[4]In Bassiouney (2009: 200).

It can be argued from this approach that all collectively acting groups possess a language policy. Indeed, every individual may be said to have his/her own language policy. The first two components namely language practices and beliefs/ ideology constitute what Shiffman (1996) calls a speech community's[5] *linguistic culture.* In this sense, we may consider language policy as a combination of both linguistic culture and language planning.

Typically, in fact, Spolsky's (2004) framework clearly identifies the interconnection of the three principal components of language policy, but over the years, other terms like 'explicit' (or overt, official, de jure, planned) or 'implicit' (or covert, informal, de facto, unplanned) have been used by various scholars to describe policies. Moreover, language policy is all about choice. In this line of thought, Spolsky (2004) clearly admits that:

> Language policy is about choice, it may be the choice of a specific sound, or expression, or of a specific variety of language. It may be the choice regularly made by an individual, or a socially defined group of individuals, or a body with authority over a defined group of individuals.
>
> (Spolsky, 2004: 217).

The table below provides a synopsis of the different types of LP and policy:

[5] According to Romaine (1994: 22): « A speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language ».

Table 1.1 Types of language planning and policy (Bencells 2009: 62).

Types	Policy planning approach (on form)	Cultivation planning approach (on function)
Status planning (about uses of language)	**Officialization** **Nationalization** **Standardization of status** **Proscription**	**Revival** **Maintenance** **Spread** **Interlingual communication – international, intranational**
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	**Group** **Education / School** **Literary** **Religious** **Mass media** **Work** **SELECTION** Language's formal role in society *Extra-linguistic aims*	**Reacquisition** **Maintenance** **Shift Foreign language / second language/ literacy** **IMPLEMENTATION** Language's functional role in society *Extra-linguistic aims*
Corpus planning (about language)	**Standardization of corpus** **Standardization of auxiliary code** **Graphization** **CODIFICATION** Language's form *Linguistic aims*	**Modernization** (new functions) **Lexical** **Stylistic** **Renovation** (new forms, old functions) **Purification** **Reform** **Stylistic simplification** **Terminology unification** **ELABORATION** Language's functions *Semi-linguistic aims*

One of the major goals of LP is to reduce linguistic diversity, when the decisions of LP are undertaken, i.e., one sole language is declared to be the national language in a multilingual community. Because of its almost exclusive history in the Arab world, Algeria creates a fascinating object for study on language planning and language policy. A few years after Algerian independence, Gordon (1966: 246) argues that "Algeria's future will remain a fascinating case-study for Orientalists and for those interested in 'development' and 'modernization'". The language issue in

Algeria marks “the most severe problem of Algeria in its present and troubled state” (Berger, 2002: 8). Tabory & Tabory (1987) illustrate Algeria's complexity as to LP in the following terms:

> [t]he Algerian situation is complex, as it is at a crossroad of tensions between French, the colonial language, and Arabic, the new national language; Classical Arabic versus colloquial Algerian Arabic; and the various Berber dialects versus Arabic. The lessons from the Algerian situation may be usefully applied to analogous situations by states planning their linguistic, educational and cultural policies.
>
> (Tabory & Tabory, 1987: 64).

Algeria displays a complex multilingual society represented in a set of language varieties: two High (H) forms, namely Modern Standard Arabic, used formally, and French, a linguistic inheritance from the colonial period which remains in a privileged position. In contrast, the Low varieties which are used colloquially or informally are linguistically related to, but significantly distinct from, the High variety. A situation in which two distinct varieties of the same language exist side by side in a complementary relationship, each performing distinct functions in a community is known as ‘diglossia’, a phenomenon which constitutes the principal concern of our research work.

The assumption that only the High variety is ‘appropriate’ for use in the classroom, and that the Low variety is usually stigmatized and viewed as a degenerate form of Arabic, has long been deeply rooted in the policies of Arabic-speaking countries (El-Dash & Tucker, 1976; Ennaji, 1999; Ferguson, 1959; Taha, 1990)[6]. In Algeria, as in the rest of the Arab world, diglossia as an essential sociolinguistic and educational obstacle has not received enough objective attention on the part of Arab scholars. Benrabah (2005:407) views the issue in the following terms: “The major source of the problem is these myths that people and the elite closely associate with

[6] Mentioned in Benrabah (2005).

religious and nationalist issues. Orientalists and Arabists were among the first to draw attention to the (teaching) problems created by diglossia."

Paradoxically, there were some linguists who took into account the issue of 'diglossia' and its negative impacts on Arab personality. One of those scholars was Furayhah, a prominent Lebanese linguist who described the two varieties of Arabic as expressing 'two separate selves' (1955: 33). But, as anticipated by the American sociolinguist Ferguson (1959), the process of bridging the gap between the 'High' and 'Low' forms has been highly debated in Algeria since 1962, and what favoured the 'destabilization' of diglossia, as mentioned by Ferguson, are the following factors: "linguistic urbanisation as a result of population mobility (rural depopulation), mass instruction in Classical Arabic and the Arabisation of the milieu. These ecological factors give rise to a *Koiné*[7]*;* that several Algerian linguists call Algerian Arabic." (Benrabah, 2005: 407). LP may also provide benefits to societies, as correctly mentioned by Jernudd (1971),

> Language planning can result in providing several benefits to society. Firstly it provides certain degree of linguistic homogeneity, it can allow for quicker and better communication and consequent increase in the standard of living. Second, language planning in so far as it provides a common means of communication can result in greater equalities of participation.
>
> (Jernudd, 1971: 206).

Language planning may prove to be beneficial if it is implemented seriously; it can provide advantages to all of its people, to have the same economic and political power, but if it is against its spirit, it may engender acute outcomes such as 'power struggle', 'language movements' and 'language riots'.

[7]Siegel (1985: 363) offers a definition of *koiné* in the following terms: "a koiné is the stabilized result of mixing of linguistic subsystems such as regional or literary dialects. It usually serves as a lingua franca among speakers of the different contributing varieties and is characterized by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction and simplification in comparison".

1.3.1.1 Status planning in education

'Status planning', which is usually the agenda of politicians and bureaucrats, involves decisions undertaken by policy makers in order to allocate the functions of languages and literacies within a given community, i.e., any official trial to determine which languages are to be used in diverse public functions by the government, the legal system, the media and the education system. It also involves status choices, making a particular language or variety a 'national language', an 'official language', etc. The national language is very important in the nation building process because of many reasons, as Wright (2016) says,

> First, it has a utilitarian role. It becomes the medium of communication which permits the nation to function efficiently in its political and economic life, particularly as democracy develops […]. Second, a unified language is held to promote cohesion, allowing the nation to develop a shared culture […]. Third, if it can be demonstrated that the language of the group is both different from that of neighbours and with some measure of inner cohesion, this can be used as one of the arguments in any bid to be treated as a separate nation.
>
> (Wright, 2016:47).

An alternative term is 'language allocation' which refers to "authorative decisions to maintain, extend, or restrict the range of uses (functional range) of a language in particular settings" (Gorman, 1973:73). Another definition which proves to be more effective is provided by Cooper (1989:99) who views status planning as the "deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community's languages".

Additionally, Kaplan & Baldauf (1997:30) are of the opinion that status planning refers to "those aspects of language planning which reflect primarily social issues and concerns and hence are external to the language(s) being planned". The status issues that constitute a language plan are namely, the selection of languages for particular functions and the implementation of those languages for those particular functions. The status planning of a language requires the following important societal domains:

- government - assembly/parliament
- court – administration
- education – business – media

Indeed, "the larger number of domains in which a language is recognized, the higher its status" (Gadelii, 1999:6). Language status decision may be more complicated when such a process creates a situation where some individuals need to learn a language that they do not normally speak. Kloss (1969)[8] establishes four common attributes that link to language status:

1. Origin of the language used officially with respect to the speech community.
2. Developmental status of language.
3. Juridical status with respect to the speech community.
4. Ratio of users of a language to total population.

Considering status planning as an essentially political activity, Hornberger (1994) identifies four major language planning goals: Status standardization, officialisation, nationalization and proscription. The first involves "language planning activities that accept or impose a language as the standard" (Hornberger, 1994: 81), i.e., the selection of a particular language as a societal norm regardless of whether it is granted an official and national status. 'Officialisation' involves a government decision to make a language official in a society. 'Nationalization' can be used in two different senses (Garvin, 1974:71). First, in the 'emotionally more neutral' sense, that a particular language "can serve the entire territory of a nation rather than just some regional or ethnic subdivision" (ibid.); second, in the 'emotionally more powerful' sense that a given language can serve as a national symbol. Therefore, the term nationalization can reflect either a territorial or symbolic connotation. For example, in Algeria, Berber has long been considered a symbolic national language without being officially symbolic. The label 'proscription' means prohibiting the use of a particular language. This case is noticeably absent at the Algerian governmental level.

[8] In Cobarrubias, J. & Fishman, J.A., (1983:43).

The situation becomes more complex when countries and nations become decolonized, for a selection among a number of indigenous languages is required. People are, thus, asked to use the chosen language in education and all formal and institutional domains. For example, in 1962, when Algeria got its independence, there was an obscure linguistic issue. Such obscurity lies in the existence of a linguistic diversity, MSA and French on the one hand, and Tamazight and Algerian Arabic on the other.

In Arab communities in general and in Algeria in particular, the conflict concerning the status of the Arabic language in the education domain has not been resolved yet because of the existence of the well-known sociolinguistic phenomenon 'diglossia'. Maamouri (1998: 58) provides an illustration of what he called "slowly opening up to the implications of accelerated educational reforms". He targets Morocco, where King Hassan II, in one of his speeches, supported the idea of using dialects in the first years of primary education. Following Maamouri's (1998) viewpoint, the problem lies in the fact that Arabic learned by children at school differs to a large extent from the language used at home or in the street.

Once a language has been assigned as convenient for use in an official situation, its structure requires modification and reform in such a way to fulfil the society requirements in all institutional domains of social life. This process of modification is referred to as 'corpus planning'.

1.3.1.2 Corpus planning in education

The term 'corpus planning' was conceived by Kloss (1969) to indicate modifications by deliberate planning to the actual corpus or aspect of a language. Illustrations of this are the creation of a new alphabet, the development of specialized vocabulary, standardization, codification of morphology and spelling, and the imposition of words proliferating particular attitudes to some groups of people. According to Maamouri (1998: 12), corpus planning is a process which "seeks to develop a variety of a language or a language, usually to standardize it by providing

it with the means and tools for serving as many functions as possible in society". Following this claim, 'corpus planning' is a purely linguistic process which endeavours to define, or reform the standard language by changing forms in spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. The reforms of languages like *Turkish* and *Hebrew* are regarded as perfect instances of corpus planning.

Therefore, 'corpus planning' can be viewed as those traits of language planning which are basically linguistic and hence internal to language. According to (Bamgbose, 1989)[9], some of these traits linked to language are: " (1) orthographic innovation, including design, harmonization, change of script and spelling form; (2) pronunciation; (3) changes in language structure; (4) vocabulary expansion; (5) simplification of registers; (6) style and (7) the preparation of language material".

Haugen (1983) splits these processes into two major categories: those linked to the formulation of *norms* and those connected to the extension of the linguistic *functions* of the language. In his four-fold planning model, Haugen (1983) terms the first category, 'Codification' or (standardization procedures), and the latter, 'Elaboration' or (functional development).

A well-known American architect, Louis Henry Sullivan (1856- 1924) whose main concern was skyscraper design is of the opinion that "form ever follows function". Although this dictum is derived from an architectural theory, it might be applied to 'corpus planning' because the role of both the architect and the corpus planner is to design structures in order to serve particular functions which are founded in a particular social, cultural, historical and political contexts. In corpus planning activity, form can follow function in two senses: First, "in the sense that the corpus planner designs or selects structures on the assumption that a given function, overt or covert, can be served by a modification or treatment of the corpus" (Cooper, 1989: 123). Secondly, "form follows function in the sense that the desired communicative function precedes the designed or selected structure" (ibid).

[9]In Kaplan& Baldaugh, (1997:38).

Following Bamgbose (1991:110), a number of features characterizing corpus planning activities can be listed, in particular:

- design of orthography or reform of the existing spelling system;
- standardization/harmonization of spelling/word forms;
- determination of word pronunciation;
- choice of script;
- terminology, vocabulary expansion;
- change in grammatical structure (such as the introduction of the decimal system);
- creation of simplified registers for special purposes;
- dialect leveling;
- cultivation and counseling in respect of different styles and genres;
- production of primers, readers, manuals in connection with literacy training/schooling;
- translations of various kinds, of the Bible, for example;
- dictionaries, grammars;
- fiction and other creative arts, including language;
- other forms of production of written and oral texts in the broad sense;
- creation of institutions dealing with language questions only (such as language commissions).

Cooper (1989) maintains that the first effort in corpus planning should be directed towards *graphization*, a term which refers to the process of developing a suitable writing system. Ferguson (1968a: 28) puts it quite simply: "graphization [is] reduction to writing". It also involves development, selection and modification of scripts and orthographic conventions for a language. What seems significant in planning orthography, is to consider characteristics such as ease of learning, writing, reading and so forth. However, for Cooper (1989), even if these characteristics appear to be apparently reasonable, they struggle with each other. He points out: "What is easy to read is not necessarily easy to write and print. What is easy to learn is not necessarily easy to use" (Cooper, 1989: 126).

A second aspect of corpus planning is *standardization* which is "the process by which a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of such things as grammar, spelling books, and dictionaries, and possibly a literature" (Wardhaugh, 2006: 33). One of the major goals of standardization is to increase and expand the uniformity as well as the codification of the norm. Wardhaugh (ibid) points out that "standardization also requires that a measure of agreement be achieved about what is in the language and what is not". He also affirms that standardization is crucial to the teaching process. To this, he adds: "Once a language is standardized it becomes possible to teach it in a deliberate manner" (ibid: 34).

The last process in corpus planning implies *modernization* sometimes referred to as *elaboration* which is a form of language planning that takes place when a language needs to expand its resources in order to meet functions. Modernization refers to the process of establishing new lists and glossaries in order to describe new technical concepts. Modernization, as defined by Cooper (1989: 149) is "the process whereby a language becomes an appropriate medium of communication for modern topics and forms of discourse" i.e., any trial to bring a language up- to- date with new technologies and recent styles. This process usually occurs when countries gain independence from a colonial power or when there is a modification in the language education policy.

It also allows language users to converse and write about technical topics, principally those relating to scientific and academic domains. One of the most important forces in modernization activity is to enrich the lexicon with new terminologies which enables the language to mediate topics in recent domains. Arabic has witnessed a prompt expansion of novel terms used in textbooks in schools. Because of the trade treatment worldwide, many commercial words have been used recently. However, this language cannot be adopted in education without getting through the implementation phase known as 'acquisition planning'.

1.3.1.3 Acquisition planning in education

Cooper (1989) states a third additional sub-category of language planning to the 'status'/ 'corpus' dichotomy , 'acquisition planning' also termed 'language in-education planning' (Kaplan & Baldaugh, 1997). This is another kind of language planning in which a national state or local government system aims to influence aspects of language, like language status, distribution, and literacy through education. Cooper (ibid: 125) defines 'acquisition planning' as the"organized efforts to promote the learning of a language". He goes asserting that "language policy-making involves decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for the guidance of others" (ibid: 31).

More recently, with special reference to acquisition planning, Wright (2016: 69) defines it as "the term generally employed to describe the policies and strategies introduced to bring citizens to competence in the languages designated as 'national', 'official' or 'medium of education'". Colluzzi (2007: 138), an Italian scholar defines this activity as "any effort leading to the acquisition of the language on the part of the people targeted by the language planning". It is thus important to scrutinize this kind of language planning "in which users are targeted to receive opportunity and/or incentive to learn a given language" (Hornberger, 2006: 32).

The main purposes of acquisition planning are established by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) in '*Language Planning from Practice to Theory'*

1. To decide what languages should be taught within the curriculum;
2. To determine the amount and quality of teacher training;
3. To involve local communities;
4. To determine what materials will be used and how they will be incorporated into the syllabi;
5. To establish a local and state assessment system to monitor progress;
6. To determine financial costs.

Cooper (1989:120) focuses on the point that 'acquisition planning' and 'status planning' are two different processes. He says that "status planning is an effort to

regulate the demand for given verbal resources" by contrast to acquisition planning which "is an effort to regulate the distribution of those resources". The principal purpose of status planning, in fact, is to increase the number of 'functions' of the language, whereas the principal purpose of acquisition planning is to increase the number of 'users' of the language.

All in all, acquisition planning includes all endeavours to "increase the number of speakers of a language at the expense of another language (or languages)" (Nahir, 1984:365). These endeavours may be in the form of government formulas and laws to determine the use of a language in particular domains. Spolsky (2004) listed the possible domains where acquisition planning can be applied namely: the media, the workplace, organizations, religious domains and education where probably the most significant measures are undertaken. Cooper (1989) emphasizes the need of this language planning activity as language planning energy is directed towards spread mainly through education which is primordial to LP so that acquisition planning is termed after it. Indeed, one of the most important domains of LP is the school (Spolsky, 2004) and, as correctly asserted by Hoffman (1991:214), "the education system is by far the most important tool for implementing a government's language planning policy".

This can be interpreted by the fact that a new language, for example, is taught to children in school rather than their native language which reinforces status planning. After that, corpus planning will be enhanced by teaching them the prescribed form of this language. Next, acquisition planning is fundamentally realized through education programmes for children and adults, despite the fact that it encounters some problems.

Therefore, education is the major sector by which societies and nations can flourish. In Algeria, for example, considerable efforts have been made from the part of language planners in order to enhance and ameliorate the educational sector. Yet, despite this growing interest, many problems still impede the development of this 'sensitive' sector. The main role of LP is to assign a language to formal contexts and assign the vernaculars for less formal domains. This distinction of functions in a

speech community has been termed ‘diglossia’ by Ferguson (1959), an aspect of language contact, worthy of consideration, which will be tackled in section 1.5.

1.4 An Overview on Arabic sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics *per se* is concerned with the relationship between language and society, between language use and the social backgrounds of its users. Sociolinguists study the language by revealing patterns of variation in speech communities and consider language use in relation to some social factors such as socioeconomic class, gender and age of the speaker. In this line of thought, Hymes (2003:30) correctly asserts that the “diversity of speech has been singled out as the hallmark of sociolinguistics”.

In Crystal’s viewpoint, sociolinguistics is “the study of the interaction between language and the structures, and functioning of the society” (Crystal, 1987: 412). Indeed, the field of sociolinguistics has grown up largely within the last fifty years (Paulston & Tucker 2003). Today, the field “examines in depth more minute aspects of language in social context” (Shuy, 2003: 5).

Studies relating to differences in ways people speak are not new, and Arabic linguistics, as a field of study, goes back to Khalil Ibn Ahmed, if not before (Bohas et al: 2006). This prominent Arab philologist compiled the first Arabic dictionary and he is credited for the formulation of the rules of Arabic prosody (Bassiouney, 2009: 23). Furthermore, “The foundations for classical Arabic grammar and lexicography were set by the end of the eighth century AD, with the extraordinary lexicographical legacy of Al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad (Kitaab al-ʕAyn), and the evergreen grammatical masterwork of Sibawayhi (**الكِتاب** Al-Kitaab)” (Ryding, 2014:8).

The development and enhancement of the Arabic grammatical tradition is a long, intellectually appealing and significant one. The Arabic grammatical theory thus established its basics in written form more than a thousand years ago, and created “a background against which disciplinary progress could be initiated, taxonomies could be compiled, terminology could be refined, and theoretical speculation could

be engaged in – a matrix of information, analysis, and procedure that fostered the development of a lasting research tradition in Arabic language study" (ibid).

In order to comprehend the prevailing status of Arabic, it is of paramount importance to comprehend the framework of sociolinguistic studies pertinent to it. In the case of Arabic, two crucial challenges are highly noticeable on the sociolinguistic scene: the former is that Arabic is a diglossic language spoken in more than twenty two countries, each with their own regional dialects; the latter is linked to the prestige of the 'High' forms, namely Classical Arabic and its contemporary form MSA, which are the standard, formally-taught varieties of Arabic. Another challenge is the paucity of discourse analysis of the Arabic language, and the corresponding lack of both linguistic and sociolinguistic studies of recent Arabic language use. In his *Handbook for Arabic Language Teaching Professionals in the 21st Century,* Badawi (2006) mentions that:

> Modern learners face the unenviable task of trying to learn an ill-defined, ill researched, socially diffused phenomenon whose properties and functions are badly and disparately understood by non-native and native speakers alike. The lack of clearly defined language objectives that the teaching profession is suffering from today is a function of the lack of a clear understanding (or at least appreciation) of the sociolinguistic role it plays in present-day Arab societies.
>
> (Badawi (2006: ix).

Typically in fact, and as already mentioned (see section 1.4.), Arabic sociolinguistics has not been considered to a large extent by Arab sociolinguists as compared to European ones. A crucial step which probably marks the beginning of Arabic sociolinguistics as an academic field in its own right, was made by Ferguson (1959) in his pioneering article 'Diglossia' (Owens, 2001: 423), in which he draws the distinction between the standard language and the distinct colloquial forms of each Arab country, each variety used for a different function. Therefore, in all Arab countries, the High variety is the high register used for literary discourse while the description of the Low variety (*al-'aammiya* or *ad-darija*), often considered ungrammatical, is represented by the numerous local, regional, and social Arabic dialects which are typically used in all informal situations, i.e., restricted to ordinary conversations.

Arab countries are characterized by diglossia, i.e., communities where two varieties, H (MSA) and L (Colloquial Arabic) 'exist side by side' (Ferguson, 1959) and are used alternatively for different functions. Therefore, MSA has a sacred status amongst all Arabs as it is the closest variety to Classical Arabic, the language of the *Qur'an*, the Holy book of Islam and the official medium of instruction in all Arab communities.

The Arabic 'language system' is a symbol of tension and strain like the political systems in all Arab communities. Such tension is closely related to diglossia which is considered as a "socio-politically regulated linguistic situation, where one linguistic variety has a higher status than another (or others), and in which linguistic functions are partitioned between the two in complementary fashion" (Owens 2001:423), following Ferguson's classic model.

There has been widespread interest among sociolinguists on the choice of language in education. Undoubtedly, the language of education worldwide is the standard variety of the country or nation. In the Arab world, therefore, the Arabic variety MSA has been appointed as a medium of instruction in all educational institutions and more recently, educationists, linguists and psychologists have been involved in a continual discussion concerning the issues in rapport to poor proficiency in school learning which might be attributed to the impact of language on instruction. Indeed, "one of the most pressing issues in education today is the fact that many children from lower socio-economic homes, many of them minority children, do poorly in school" (Gee, 2001: 657 in Handbook of linguistics)[10].

Gee's claim emphasizes on the linguistic gap between society and the language of instruction in schools, especially when children have had little exposure at home, school based forms of language and interaction. Consequently, they come to school with nothing relevant in the language of education. The same situation occurs in Arabic schools, as children have little or no opportunity to interact in the school language outside the school environment. This language mismatch creates, in fact, a

[10] In Arnoff, M. & Rees Miller, J (eds.) « The Handbook of Linguistics » Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

situation where children find it artificial and illogical, and some of them prefer to receive their lessons in the colloquial form of Arabic for being the most used in every day speech.

1.5 Diglossia: A crucial phenomenon in sociolinguistic theory

Diglossia is an important sociolinguistic phenomenon which was first introduced by Karl Krumbacher (1902), a prominent German linguist in his famous book entitled *'Das Problem der Modernen Griechischen Shiftsprache'* in which he considered the origin, nature and development of diglossia with particular reference to the Greek and Arabic situations. Later on, Ioannis Psichari (1928), a Greek linguist and demoticist considers the case of Geeek as diglossic because two distinct varieties fulfilled different functions at that time: Katherevousa was used for writing and reflected Classical Greek more than the popular form, by contrast to Dimotiki which was the medium of everyday interaction. A monograph was published by Fernandez (1993) who investigated a vast bibliographic review of works concerning the concept of diglossia from 1960 to 1990, including about 3000 titles[11].

1.5.1 Theoretical assumptions on diglossia (Marçais, Ferguson, Fishman)

- ***Marçais's diglossia***

The most common view is that the term 'diglossia' was first used (1930) in an article written by the French dialectologist William Marçais in which he accounted for the linguistic situation in Algeria at that time. In fact, he is believed to be the first who made an impressionistic attempt to describe this situation in the Arabic language as a competition between written literary language and vernacular, sometimes exclusively spoken[12]. He uses the French term 'diglossie' to describe two distinctive aspects of the language, but their specific function was not explicitly mentioned when he declared that:

[11]Titles encompassed: (1) index of languages, (2) diglossia in literature, (3) historically oriented works, (4) pedagogically oriented works, (5) theoretical works, and (6) theses and dissertations. The year before, Hudson (1992) considered 1092 titles.

[12] « ...la concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire parfois exclusivement parlée. »

> the Arabic language shows in the form of two different aspects : 1) a literary language, said to be written or regular, or literal, or classical which alone has been written everywhere in the past [...]; 2) spoken forms [...] [13] (Marçais,1930:401).

or as "two states of the same language, different enough to say that the knowledge of one does not imply the knowledge of the other."[14] (ibid.409).

- Ferguson's diglossia

The term 'diglossia', modelled on the French 'diglossie', was first introduced into the English literature on sociolinguistics by Ferguson (1959) in his famous article 'Diglossia' in *Word* to include a situation "where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community , with each having a definite role to play" (Ferguson, 1972:32). The real contemporary debate about *diglossia* started with Ferguson's famous article in which he considered the linguistic situation of four linguistic situations which show the major characteristics of this diglossic case: Greek (Katharevousa vs. Dimotiki), German (Hochdeutsch vs. Weizerdeutsch), Haitian Creole (French vs. Creole Haitian) and Arabic (Classical vs. colloquial).

He (ibid) suggests that these languages have superposed varieties in addition to the primary dialects of the language, and that these varieties are used on a large scale by the community and are assigned definite specialized social functions. Following Ferguson's viewpoint, the key element in 'diglossia' is the coexistence of two distinct language forms throughout one speech community. One form is known as the high variety, H and the other one the low variety, L, with each variety having its own specialized functions. He (1959: 245) says that: "One of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L". The High variety, H, is used only on formal and public occasions, while the Low variety, L, is used under normal, everyday circumstances. A best illustration of the specialization of

[13] My translation of the French text : « La langue arabe se présente à nous sur deux aspects sensiblement différents: 1) une langue littéraire dite arabe écrit ou régulier, ou littéral, ou classique qui seule a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passé [...]; 2) des idiomes parlés [...]

[14] My translation : « deux états d'une même langue, assez différents pour que la connaissance de l'un n'implique pas la connaissance de l'autre »

functions of H, as opposed to L, is provided by Ferguson himself in his most frequently quoted definition: Ferguson himself (1959:336), in a fully-fledged theory of diglossia, explains that diglossia "is a relatively stable situation" entailing the existence of a superposed, highly codified variety "largely acquired by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes", but alternating in the community with a 'low' form, the real mother tongue used for everyday purposes.

Ferguson's definition of 'diglossia' is quite specific in that the two varieties belong to the same language and an important component of it, is the personal vision that the High variety is the 'real' language and the Low variety is 'incorrect usage'. According to him, two main features define a diglossic context: the former is a distinction between the written and the oral modes; the latter is a rigid socio-functional complementarity of two separate sets of functions performed by two remarkably distinct, though linguistically related codes (Maamouri, 1998:30). In addition, Ferguson (1959) stresses on the role of a sizable body of literature in H, and restricted literacy 'to a small elite' in diglossic societies.

Following Ferguson's viewpoint, diglossia differs significantly from standard-with-dialects languages for a number of reasons, principally for the fact that H is not spoken in everyday conversation. He says in this respect:

> Diglossia differs from the more widespread standard-with-dialects in that no segment of the speech community in diglossia regularly uses H (the prestigious variety[15]) as a medium of ordinary conversation, and any attempt to do so is felt to be either pedantic or artificial. In the more usual standard-with-dialects situation, the standard is often similar to the variety of a certain region or social group which is used in ordinary conversation more or less naturally by members of the group and as a superposed variety by others. (ibid: 337).

Ferguson proceeds by exemplifying cases in which only H is convenient and others in which only L is appropriate. He (1959: 236) emphasizes the importance of "using the right variety for the right situation [...] A member of the speech community

[15] The prestige issue will be tackled in the different characteristics of H and L mentioned by Ferguson.

who uses H in a purely conversational situation or in an informal activity like shopping is equally an object of ridicule." Under this system, the speaker will use a variety basically according to the *diaphasic*[16] factor. According to Ferguson (1972 [1959]: 236), H is convenient for a number of formal settings, while L is used in others, informal:

Table 1.2 The ambits of use of the two varieties of Arabic

High variety	**Low variety**
- Sermon in church or mosque - Speech in parliament, political speech - Personal letters - University lecture - New broadcast - Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture - Poetry	- Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen and clerks - Conversations with family, friends and colleagues - Radio soap opera - Caption on political cartoon - Folk literature

In a diglossic community, all children acquire the Low variety at home; "no one acquires H as a mother tongue; H is learned through school" (Hudson 1996: 50), while the High variety, H, is learned through formal education. Therefore, Ferguson (1959: 432) asserts that "the speaker is at home in L to a degree he almost never achieves in H". In this sense, H is the written language used in schools and codified in books and well-defined in dictionaries, i.e. H, being a standard language, is preserved and stable[17]. However, the two varieties may overlap in some instances. In fact, due to the spread of literacy, intellectuals may switch[18] to H while using L, especially those educated in H. Ferguson (1959) alluded to the possible existence of

[16]*Diaphasis,* a Greek term, is a criterion of sociolinguistic variation determined by changing the setting in which the speaker conveys the following: the context, the interlocutors, the circumstances, or the purpose of the communication, etc.

[17]Stability is another characteristic used by Ferguson to describe diglossia.

[18]Code switching is the practice of selecting, alternating, or mixing linguistic elements from two or more codes, so as to contextualize talk in interaction.

what he called ‘intermediate varieties’ within the strong H/L dichotomy. He (ibid) says in this respect:

> In Arabic, for example, a kind of spoken Arabic much used in semiformal or cross-dialectal situations has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary. (Ferguson, 1959:332).

Moreover, Ferguson (ibid) made a brief mention that in the spoken language between H and L, there are a number of “relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language (Greek *mikti*, Arabic *al-luġah al-wusṭā*, Haitian Creole *de salon*) and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L” that attempt to “solve communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia situation”. This bridge between the two poles is merely performed by the vocabulary that the two varieties lend to each other. However, Ferguson, did not deliver any empirical evidence for his declarations.

Before school age, some children may learn some H, but many are not exposed to it. Therefore, the two varieties are not viewed as possessing the same degree of prestige. For example, this diglossic situation may also be found in Algeria, where both MSA and colloquial Arabic are used. Ferguson believes that ‘diglossia’ exists when the speech community is characterized by the following situations:

(a) existence of primary dialects (Low variety, L);

(b) existence of a secondary variety superposed to dialects (High variety, H);

(c) stable coexistence of L and H;

(d) H is a cognate language of L but it is structurally distant from the latter;

(e) H vehicles a prestigious literary tradition;

(f) H is highly codified and standardised;

(g) H is learnt at school through formal education;

(h) H is used in almost all (i) written situations (ii) formal spoken situations;

(i) H is never used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

On the basis of Ferguson's theory, diglossia is multidimensional since it considers nine diglossic features in which H and L may vary distinctively. The following table summarizes the nine rubrics of Ferguson's original treatise. It also synthesizes the principal differences between the two varieties in a diglossic context.

Table 1.3 The nine rubrics of diglossia **(**Britto, 1986: 58).

Rubrics	**Characteristics of H:**	**Characteristics of L:**
Function:	Used for formal speeches, writing, and high functions.	Used for conversations and low functions.
Prestige:	More prestigious.	Less prestigious.
Acquisition:	Learned formally at school, in addition to L.	Acquired naturally and informally at home or playground.
Standardization:	Highly standardized by descriptive and normative studies.	Poorly standardized, though informal standards may exist.
Literary heritage:	Vast amount. Highly esteemed literature.	Small amount. Less highly esteemed literature.
Stability:	Autonomous and stable, with some interference from L.	Autonomous and stable, with some interference from H.
Lexicon:	The bulk of the vocabulary is shared with L. But there are also words used exclusively or paired with L.	The bulk of the vocabulary is shared with H. But there are also words used exclusively or paired with H.
Phonology:	With L constitutes a single phonological structure. Features divergent from L are a substyem.	With H constitutes a single phonological structure. L, however is the basic system.
Grammar:	More complex.	Simpler.

Ferguson's original definition on diglossia has been criticized and discussed extensively even by Ferguson himself who has acknowledged some weaknesses in a much more recent article which he has entitled 'Diglossia revisited' (1991), published in *The Southwest Journal of Linguistics*. Ferguson considered his study as 'preliminary' (1996: 26), and concluded his paper with an "appeal for further study

of this phenomenon and related ones" (1996: 38). It is worth reading what Ferguson writes in this regard:

> Of the many weaknesses that can be attributed to the original diglossia article, let me mention seven that I have found especially salient and troublesome - things I would certainly treat differently if I were to write the article today[19].

Such weaknesses include: object of description, linguistic distance, larger picture, attitudes, power, interactional dynamics and variety. Ferguson, as he rightly admits, has neglected an important aspect, namely that of 'variability' within diglossia (Hamam, 2011: 31). He suggests the presence of sharp boundaries between H and L "the boundary between the high variety and the vernacular in diglossia is behaviourally and attitudinally sharper than in creole continua" (1996:52), and recognizes the presence of only two antagonistic poles:"in the diglossia case the analyst finds two poles [...]; there is no third pole" (1996:59).

According to Bassiouney (2009:11), a number of questions arose from Ferguson's definition of diglossia, as summarized below:

1- "How far apart or how close together should the H and L be for a language situation to be called 'diglossia'?
2- Is there only one H?
3- What happens in countries where more than one language is in everyday use such as in Tunisia, where some people are also fluent in French?
4- How much switching can there be between H and L?"

Admittedly, these questions were posed by many scholars among whom Fasold (1995: 50ff), who says with regard to the first question "that there are no absolute measures that could specify the distance between H and L in a diglossic community". Concerning the second question, Bassiouney (2009:11) explains that Ferguson talked only about a distinction between H and L without taking into

[19]In El Gibali, A. (1996:54).

consideration the difference that exists between the two kinds of H, especially in the Arab world, that is, CA/ and MSA. She believes that "the main differences between both are stylistic and lexical rather than grammatical" (Bassiouney, ibid).

With regard to the third question, she is of the opinion that "in such countries the term diglossia is too narrow for the type of situation which exists" (Bassiouney, ibid.). As for her consideration H/L switching, she mentions Ferguson's restricted extent on the issue. Furthermore, she asserts that Ferguson focuses more on what she has called ' the external situation' in determining language choice when he affirmed that in a certain set of circumstances, only H is appropriate while in others only L is convenient without considering a speaker's possible implication in negotiating 'socially agreed' features of language choice.

However, what makes Ferguson's theory a milestone in the area of sociolinguistics is that he yielded his concept with the above cited formulas. It has received the attention of many theorists who have endeavoured to extend it over other sociolinguistic cases. Within this sense, references should be made to the work of Fishman (1967) and that of Gumperz (1964), who have tried to reconsider the concept with a new perception. The altered version of diglossia is referred to as 'extended diglossia'.

- Fishman's extended diglossia

The term diglossia has been extended and refined by various scholars. Fishman (1967) is one of those scholars who explicitly presents an extended version of diglossia to characterize other bilingual and multilingual cases where the H and L varieties are genetically separated. He (1967) points out that "diglossia has been extended to cover situations where forms of two genetically unrelated or at least historically distant languages occupy the H and L varieties". As an illustration, he spoke about Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay, Standard English and Caribbean Creole, and Biblical Hebrew and Yiddish for many Jews. Fishman, then, suggests a four-fold model for societies that considerably extends Ferguson's approach by

encompassing both bilingual communities and structurally unrelated languages which is summarized in the table below:

Table 1.4 Fishman's Extension of Diglossia (1967).

Type1: *Both Diglossia and Bilingualism*	**Type2: *Diglossia without Bilingualism***
Description: Every member of the speech community is fluent in both H and L. Examples: German and Swiss German in Switzerland, Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay.	Description: H and L speakers are two disjunctive groups living in the same area. Example: Czarist Russia before W.W. I (Nobility speaks French, masses speak Russian).
Type3: *Bilingualism without Diglossia*	**Type4: *Neither Diglossia nor Bilingualism***
Description: H and L have merged; either language may be used for any purpose. Examples: Industrialized countries in the Western world, "westernized" African and Asian countries.	Description: Completely monolinguistic societies with no varieties. Examples: Isolated tribes, bands, or clans (hypothetical).

The term 'diglossia' has been defined in distinct ways by many scholars, and accordingly, numerous perspectives were given towards this sociolinguistic phenomenon, but various scholars have suggested diverse terminologies for the concept 'diglossia'. These different terminologies will be considered in the next section.

1.5.2 Types of diglossia

With respect to what is referred to as 'classical' (Ferguson, 1959) and 'extended' (Fishman, 1967) diglossia in sociolinguistics literature, Kloss (1966:138) suggests the terms 'in-diglossia' and 'out-diglossia' in an attempt to characterize and categorize multilingual communities'. The former defines speech communities where the two varieties are closely related, for example French and Creole in Haiti and thus, Kloss term in-diglossia is similar to diglossia in Ferguson's sense. However, Kloss (1966) suggests the term out-diglossia for situations where the two languages are unrelated or at best distantly related. Kloss states the example of Paraguay, where

Spanish and Guaraní-an indigenous language- exist in what Fishman (1967) calls an 'extended diglossic' relationship. Kloss (1966: 138) describes out-diglossia as follows: "monolingual nations when viewed from the standpoint of "mothertongueness" but bilingual in terms of cultural setting and equipment".

Moreover, Fishman suggests a convenient difference between 'consensually different languages' and 'consensual dialects', since the debate as to whether Carribean English is in fact genetically descended from English or not, is still unresolved , i.e., if Carribean English is consensually a dialect of English, or is consensually (recognized as) a separate language.

Myers-Scotton (1986), on her part proposes the term 'narrow diglossia'with special reference to Ferguson's classical version (1959) and 'broad diglossia' to depict Fishman's expansion of the debate. Scotton (ibid) is of the opinion that actually, there exist a few truly diglossic societies in the Fergusonian sense, for two conditions must hold to meet the criteria: (1) "Everyone…speaks the Low variety as a mother tongue" and (2) The High variety is never used in informal conversations. Tamil, Letzebuergesch, and Swiss German are obvious examples of these. Saville-Troike (1978) draws a distinction between diglossia and *dinomia*, which translates from Greek as 'two systems of laws.' He (ibid) describes it as "the coexistence and complementary use within the same society of two cultural systems". One system is the dominant culture of the larger society and the other is a subordinate and less prestigious sub-culture from within that same society.

MacKinnon (1984) introduces a complex three-dimensional model of diglossia that encompasses kinds such as *schizoglossia*, a situation "in which distinctive language-variants are conserved by different social groups or strata" (ibid: 503).

Admittedly, many scholars warn against such terminological mix. Nadia Anghelescu (1974: 83)[20] is one of those scholars who think that such mixture may lead to the use of the term for 'stylistic functional variation' and will falsify its unique

[20]In Maamouri (1998: 31).

psychological linguistic traits. She (ibid) also believes that"diglossia implies sufficiently similar languages for the speakers to feel that it is the same language, yet remote enough, so that the acquisition of the literary language implies long-term efforts and can never be fully achieved". However, this terminology variation and concept extension allows us to elaborate more complicated concepts involving other kinds of diglossia. Mkilifi (1978) suggests the term 'triglossia' to include situations where three distinct varieties are involved, the H/L dichotomy, in addition to a third variety which is *higher* than H and is assigned to specific functions.

As an illustration, he (1978) refers to Tanzania where three varieties are at play: Swahili as H, the vernacular as L and English which is higher than Swahili.This concept paved the way to the consideration of other situations where more than three varieties exist. Platt (1977) is one of those authors who consider such situations known as 'polyglossia'. Muller & Ball (2005: 61) stated Malaysia as an example where, in addition to Malaysan English and Bahasa Indonesia as H, more than one L exists. Our research work deals with the classical version of diglossia where two varieties of the same language exist side- by- side within the same society, each having a definite role to fulfil, i.e., one H is used in formal contexts, while L is used in informal ones. However, it is much more based on Ferguson's (1991) revisited version of diglossia.

1.5.3 Research on diglossia in Arabic

Mustafa is still Mustafa. He did not change. He still has two tongues in his mouth, two hearts in his chest. A tongue that speaks for him and a tongue that speaks against him. A heart that speaks for him and a heart that speaks against him. When he speaks sincerely, his words are in colloquial. A colloquial that was the only variety he knew and used in narration before. But when he starts speaking what they dictate to him, then he speaks in the language of books, and his words become comic!

The above extract from the Arabic novel entitled '*Qismat's el ghurama*' [21] (The debtor's share) reveals neatly the pressure and the doubtful sentiments of Egyptian people towards both Modern Standard Arabic and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. It is highly probable that this extract also reveals the pressure that lies in all Arab communities where the language variety used by individuals at home differs significantly from the one learned at school, where individuals express their thoughts and feelings in one variety and write in another. Indeed, what Mustafa's ex-wife 'Muhra' wants to convey here, is the dilemma that the Arab world faces, especially when she states that Mustapha "still has two tongues in his mouth and two hearts in his chest". This extract means exactly that Mustafa like other Egyptians and all Arab individuals live in a 'diglossic' society.

It is presumed that Arab people have been acquainted with 'diglossia' since the pre-Islamic period during which every tribe possessed its individual dialect, as well as a common standard dialect, as Nuri (2013) neatly posits:

> Most probably, Arabs have known diglossia since Al-Jahiliya (pre-Islamic) period where at the time every tribe had its own dialect in addition to a common standard dialect, the characteristics of which were derived from the middle and eastern part of the Arab peninsula under the influence of, interalia, pilgrimage, and trade.
>
> (Nuri, 2013: 340).

However, today the colloquial forms most probably rose with early Islamic conquests when Arabs interweaved with non-Arabs, yet it was only later that they became established and their phonology and syntax matured (Fück, J.1955:11 -87).[22] The difference among the existing colloquial dialects in the Arab communities today can be easily designated to the different dialects of the tribes that immigrated to these places during and after Islamic conquests (Issa, 1987: 62).

It would be quite interesting to support the points mentioned above by listing a number of terms that can be traced back to those archaic Arabic dialects, though some of these terms experienced some semantic modification. Nuri (2013:341)

[21] Muhra, Mustafa's ex-wife, in '*Qismat's el ghurama*' (The debtor's share) by Yusuf al-Qa'id (2004), (in Bassouiney, 2009:9).
[22] In Nuri, R. (2013: 340).

mentions the example of the word *ħawwiš* which was used in ancient dialects to mean 'to collect' in general, but now this term has become specific in Libyan Arabic to mean 'to collect money'.

It is tangible that in some speech communities the school language (officially formal language) is significantly distinct from the home language (dialect or vernacular). If we apply both the structural and functional criteria to the language situation in Arabic, we obviously notice that Arabic involves "two or more varieties which exist side by side with each other and have specific kinds of structural and functional relationships" (Nuri, 2013: 341). In fact, one of the most important characteristics of diglossia which is directly implicated for the acquisition of literacy skills is the establishment of rigid and complementary functional separation of two linguistic codes: the written and the spoken (Ferguson, 1959). The standardization of Arabic, which began in the 8th and 9th centuries AD has produced a set of norms that the early grammarians called *fusha* (Maamouri, 1998).

Over the course of many years, the continued use of this favoured set of written linguistic norms led to substantial differences between the dynamic spoken Arabic vernaculars and the fixed written form, making the two varieties linguistically distant (Saiegh-Haddad, 2007 : 609). The High variety (H) also called *'al-fusħa'*, *Modern Standard Arabic* (MSA) or Literary Arabic, is used in education, administration, literature, and in formal oral discourse. This variety that all Arab countries share alternates with *al 'ammiya*, referred to as the low variety (L), is used for daily practical conversation, personnel letters and plays. Disparities between the two forms are widely exhibited in syntax, morphology, phonetics, and semantics.

As far as *fusħa* is concerned, people perceive it as 'pure' and 'real' Arabic and the dialects as 'corrupt' forms. Typically in fact, Arabs' attitudes towards the state of their language adhere to a generally unconcerned pattern: "the only language whose existence is socially acknowledged is the prestigious MSA, whereas DA[23] has historically never been given much importance or recognition, since it has always

[23]DA refers to the different dialectal forms of Arabic.

been considered a bastardization of the original, 'pure' language" (Horn, 2015: 2). For most Algerians, MSA is considered as the 'real' form, while AA is the real mother tongue as it conveys social and cultural feelings.

However, for daily interaction, "the use of MSA is socially regarded as incongruous, almost vilifying in respect to the "high" functions that MSA is supposed to accomplish (ibid). Kaye (2001)[24] also shares this opinion when he claims that "speaking MSA to one's maid at home or bargaining over the price of an item in a crowded market in MSA would be absurd, even ludicrous". In this sense, one can neatly notice why diglossia persists in the Arab communities despite the pan-Arabistic endeavours to deploy MSA as the sole and unique form of Arabic of all the twenty-two countries in question.

One viewpoint is offered by Abu-Rabia (2000) who recognizes the existence of a lower code which is perpetuated in a vicious circle by both parents and educators, among whom the long-ingrained, popular belief persists that children would be too challenged to grasp the structural complexity of MSA, and who are therefore more inclined to resort to the vernacular in their everyday conversations with young learners. There is a general agreement amongst most, if not all Arabs, that no colloquial form should ever be adopted as an official language by any Arab territory, as this would entail 'undesirable' results. The study conducted by Zughoul (1980) is particularly relevant to this idea:

- MSA would eventually disappear to be replaced by the local vernaculars, in the same fashion as Latin died with the advent of Romance languages, so the 'unifying force' guaranteed by the lingua franca would no longer exist;
- This scenario runs counter the principles of Islam (which exalts Arabic as the 'perfect' language) because it would lead to the eventual 'unintelligibility of the Qur'an and the vanishing of 'Arab traditions and culture', a fact which could be then exploited by 'Western colonialists' to dominate the Arab peoples;

[24]In Horn, C (2015).

- The local idioms are not sophisticated enough to provide adequate means of communication.

The first two points mentioned above are much more related to religious and ideological grounds, whereas the latter reveals that the regional dialects have never enjoyed a regular written form. It might be interesting to mention at this point an anecdote narrated by Ferguson himself (1990: 44)[25] which shows an important role played by the vernacular in the Arab societies, and aims at signaling an intimacy relationship. In this anecdote, Ferguson claims that once, he was conversing with some Arab theorists whether it is more useful to teach foreigners MSA, or one of the colloquial forms used in the Arab communities, AA for example. One of those theorists replied immediately that the only way to teach these foreigners, is through MSA only and that there is no need to teach them any form of colloquial Arabic.

The author confirmed his exclusive use of MSA; then the phone rang and he went to answer it. Ferguson said that he heard the man saying *ʃlonki* which means 'How are you?' in Baghdadi and many eastern Arabic dialects. When the man came back, Ferguson could not help commenting; 'You said you never use a kind of Arabic dialect'. 'No, I never do', said the man. 'You know, there was a phone call a couple of minutes ago and I heard you say the word *ʃlonki*. The man nodded his head 'Is that not a kind of dialect?' Ferguson asked. The author's reply was, 'Oh, I was just speaking to my wife'. In sum, this story highlights the disparity between people's perceptions of their language use and their current language use. In fact, what the author thought, is that it is quite acceptable to use the vernacular with his wife, and thus this contrasts with his claim that 'he never uses a dialect'.

More recently, the term 'Arabic diglossia' has been highly debated by various scholars who suggest its re-evaluation through the term 'Arabic multiglossia' since more than "two varieties of a language exist [ing] side by side…with each having a

[25] In Bassiouney (2009: 13).

definite role to play" (Ferguson, 1959: 352). As such, Wahba (2006) believes that the use of varieties is quite complex. CA, the language of the Qu'ran is strongly used in religious contexts and serves as the chief vehicle and instrument of Islam (Zughoul, 1980). MSA is used in very formal contexts and in some TV programmes and news reports. However, according to Daoudi (2011), some scripts, novels, personal letters, poetry and, today with the advancement of technology, Internet posts and texting, are written in the vernacular. The different colloquial forms are used for daily communication.

Most frequently, in conversations between professionals from different countries, forms of what is known as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA)[26], or Formal Spoken Arabic (FSA), an intermediate variety based on vernaculars, may be used rather than MSA (Ryding, 1991).This new variety of Arabic has emerged from the coalescence between CA and colloquial Arabic. Mahmoud (1986: 239) points out that "the emergence of a new, intermediate form of Arabic called Educated Spoken Arabic is commonly cited as evidence that the diglossic situation is undergoing a dramatic change". The fact is that MSA, ESA and colloquial Arabic seem to create a continuum from which native speakers may choose the appropriate variety at distinct times and occasions. Indeed Ferguson (1959) himself recognized the possible existence of 'intermediate varieties' (see section 1.5.1). Diglossia in the Arab world is undergoing a dramatic modification and ESA is bridging the gap between forms of Arabic for the elite in a successful manner. Mahmoud (1986) supports this idea by stating that:

> Diglossia is not an unchanging, stable phenomenon as it may have appeared to Ferguson, and ESA is a definite harbinger of change in the Arabic speech community since it seems to be bridging successfully the gap between two forms of Arabic and increasingly satisfying the communicative needs of its elite.
>
> (Mahmoud, ibid: 247).

It is safely claimed that many specialists -be they Arabs or non-Arabs- consider Ferguson's classification to be a 'defective' account of Arabic varieties. For example,

[26]See section 1.5.4 for more details.

Holes (1995: 39) finds Ferguson's categorization of H and L as a 'misleading oversimplification'. Fishman (1972) is among those who consider the use of Arabic varieties as more flexible and changeable than Ferguson's dichotomy. Moreover, Badawi (1994) spoke about different levels of Arabic instead of only two forms. This is the main reason why various scholars prefer the characterization of Arabic linguistics as a spectrum, a continuum, or a diglossic continuum (al-Batal, 1992; Edwards, 1994; Holes 1995; Kaye, 2001; Elisele, 2002; Wilsmen, 2006; Wahba, 2006; Younes, 2006)[27].

1.5.4 Educated Spoken Arabic

There is growing awareness among a number of scholars about an ongoing change in Arabic diglossia with the emerging middle variety (Mitchell, 1987; Ryding, 1991; Stevens 2006; Wahba, 2006). But until recently, there exists no real consensus on the exact name or the description of this particular variety. Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), also called Formal Spoken Arabic (FSA) is defined as "a supra-regional, prestige form of spoken Arabic practical as a means of communication throughout the Arabic speaking world" (Ryding, 1991:212).Though the terms 'formal' and 'spoken' sound contradictory when administered to the Arabic language, this mixed variety incorporates components of both, and some authors prefer using the term 'Formal Spoken Arabic' instead of 'Educated Spoken Arabic', because the word '"educated" actually refers to the speakers of this language, whereas the term "formal" refers to the language itself' (Ryding: ibid).

This form of Arabic can be a potential solution for 'inter-dialectal' interactions. Indeed, ESA is a solution to the language problem for most Arab people, especially those who do not speak "a fully inflected MSA with a high degree of proficiency or accuracy" (Stevens 2006:56), because they are able to use the "so-called 'pause forms', in which the complex inflections of formal literary Arabic are greatly reduced" (ibid). In addition to this, there are no clear rules to describe ESA

[27]In Bahbouh (2010: 11).

although it is presumed to be 'rule-governed', not a random process. Nielsen (1996) says in this respect:

> ESA is a mixed variety which is very badly codified […] apart from very few studies (for example Eid 1982), no research has established what kind of rules actually, govern this mixing, nor do we know whether or not such rules are subject to generalisations. This is not to say that native speakers do not know how to mix; but we have no reliable information establishing that the mixing is not a phenomenon heavily influenced, say, by personal or regional factors.
>
> (Nielsen, 1996: 225).[28]

According to Mitchell (1986: 9), various reasons may contribute to the presence of ESA: Firstly, in the modern world, educated people tend "to converse on topics beyond the scope of a given regional vernacular". Secondly, educated men and women want to "'share and commune' with other Arabs of similar (educational) background" (ibid: 2). Thus, Arabs need a shared means of communication which is influenced by their acquaintance with the structure and vocabulary of MSA, but this does not mean "that they switch to 'oral MSA', but that they switch to a form of language which contains shared vernacular elements as well as MSA" (Bassiouney, 2009: 16). This idea of ESA is very relevant to the present study as for Mahmoud (2006), the effect of ESA has been mostly noticeable in the teaching and learning processes of Arabic. The Arab child, for instance, will be exposed for the first time to a language not too far removed from his mother tongue. Ryding (1991) also emphasizes this idea when she states that:

> FSA by no means replaces MSA, which is, of course, indispensable for literacy in Arabic. However, FSA can be used to supplement the traditional focus on literary Arabic, particularly at the beginning and intermediate levels, exposing learners to a widely acceptable form of spoken Arabic.
>
> (Ryding, 1991:213)

Furthermore, the Arabic language has been considered in terms of levels by various scholars.

[28]In Bassiouney (2009: 17).

1.5.5 Levels of the Arabic language

After Ferguson's 1959 article on diglossia, other prominent scholars considered the Arabic linguistic situation (Blanc 1960, Badawi 1973, Mitchell 1978, Meiseles 1980, etc.) admitting that people switch between H and L principally when conversing with each other, but frequently they do not switch the whole way, resulting in levels which are neither entirely H, nor entirely L. They find that the Fergusonian binary model presented in terms of H and L is too simple to provide an accurate explanation for the intermediate varieties or levels that may lie between them.

1.5.5.1 Blanc (1960)

In his analysis banked upon recordings of cross-dialectical dialogues, Blanc (1960) acknowledges five levels:

1- *plain colloquial* which is the simple speech feature of a given region. It may have an'informal' or 'slightly formal' variant;
2- *koineized colloquial* refers to any colloquial in which levelling elements have been introduced, more or less freely;
3- s*emi-literary or elevated colloquial* is any plain or koineized colloquial that has been classicized beyond the 'slightly formal';
4- *modified classical* refers to CA with dialectal elements;
5- *Standard classical* involves CA without dialectal interference (1960:85).

These five varieties rely on intuition and on a very restricted inquiry. Blanc's analysis deals mainly with koineization and interdialectal contact, in other words, how well educated Arabs from distinct states converse when they meet together and not with the distinct levels of spoken language in one region. Moreover, it does not perform "a more varied corpus of educated spoken Arabic" (Meiseles 1980:118). This was treated by Badawi.

1.5.5.2 Continuum with levels: Badawi (1973)

The investigation made by Badawi (1973) is based on the output of the Egyptian media in which he endeavours to clarify which levels of the spoken form are typical of which kinds of interlocutors and which kind of situation in Egypt. This investigation is probably the first in which an author talks about a continuum of different levels. This means that speakers, starting from a given variety, can move through the linguistic *spectrum* adapting their own language, even in short periods of time (Badawi, 1973:92-93). The five levels of Arabic proposed by Badawi (ibid) are as follows:

1- *fuṣḥā at-turāθ* **'**Classical Arabic' : used in Qur'an recitation only. It represents "the linguistic vehicle of the legacy of Islamic high culture and religion" (Badawi, 1991: VIII). It also represents "the prescriptive Arabic grammar as taught at traditional institutions like al-Azhar University [...]. It is a written language, but is heard in its spoken form on religious programmes on TV" (Bassiouney 2009:14-15). This variety is used by Islamic linguistically ideologized interlocutors who want to go through traditional texts in their language.

2- *fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr*'Modern Standard Arabic' : The variety used in formal contexts has been defined by Bassiouney (2009: 15) as : "a modification and simplification of CA created for the need of the modern age [...] It is usually read aloud from texts and, if the speaker is *highly skilled*, may also be used in the commentary to the text".

3- *ʕāmmiyyat al-muθaqqafīn* 'colloquial of the intellectuals': It refers to the formal spoken language of the educated people. This variety arises from the influence of MSA on the vernacular. Bassiouney (ibid) is of the opinion that *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn "*may be used for *serious discussion*, but is not normally written. It is used by 'cultured' (i.e., well-educated) people on television. It is often the language used in formal teaching in Egyptian universities, and it is becoming the means of educating students and discussing with them different topics. In other words, it is becoming the medium of instruction in Egyptian classrooms".

4- *ʕāmmiyyat al-mutanawwirīn* ‘colloquial of the literate’ represents the informal spoken language of educated people. “This is the everyday language that people educated to a basic level (but not university level) use with family and friends, and may occur on TV in a discussion of sport or fashion or other ‘non-intellectual’ topics. Cultured and well-educated people also use it when talking in a relaxed fashion about non-serious topics” (Bassiouney 2009:15).

5- *ʕāmmiyyat al-ʔummiyyīn* ‘colloquial of the illiterate’ i.e. the code in which the illiterate talk. Bassiouney (ibid) makes a good point when she says that: “This is the form of colloquial which is characterized by the absence of influence from MSA. On TV, it occurs only in the mouths of certain characters in soap operas, children’s shows and comic situations”.

The levels mentioned above are clearly defined, described and distinguished in Badawi’s diagram (see Fig 2.2, section 2.5.1). They rely on the sociological backgrounds of the interlocutors such as social standard, level of education and the social context. Badawi’s model clarifies, as previously mentioned, which language variety is typical of which type of speaker in which type of situation in Egypt. It is note-worthy here that, when he defines distinct levels, Badawi sees the Arabic language as a *continuum*, the various levels are not to be treated as discrete varieties: “The divisions between the levels are of course blurred rather than clear-cut, each level can nonetheless be typified by its own specific combination of linguistic and allied social, educational and psychological characteristics” (Badawi & Hinds, 1991: VIII). Badawi also uses ‘education’ as a sociolinguistic factor, but “Using education as a criterion can be considered a problem in his description” (Bassiouney, 2009: 15). It is rather fuzzy if the colloquial levels are based on socio economic factors such as education or are simply ‘stylistic registers’ or if they can be both. Blanc’s and Badawi’s models take distinct directions. While Blanc (1960: 151) recognizes the existence of ‘gradual transitions between the various registers’, Badawi (1973: 95) claims that these five levels do not exhibit neat, durable boundaries between one another.

1.5.5.3 Meiseles (1980)

Given the vagueness of the concept of ESA**,** Meiseles (1980) emphasizes on linguistic and social function criteria to suggest his four linguistic- level scale in contemporary Arabic: Literary Arabic or Standard Arabic, Sub-Standard Arabic, Educated spoken Arabic and finally basic or plain vernacular (Meiseles 1980:123).

Especially with respect to all the various efforts which have been made, Badawi's model about contemporary Arabic in Egypt has yielded a more authentic and detailed depiction of the linguistic levels or varieties in between H and L. Badawi's five-level model is the model *par excellence* that reflects the linguistic reality in Egypt. It is more significant and more representative than the others, for it links the language used to the community where it is used. The levels in question rely basically on the sociological backgrounds of the speakers like social standard, education level and social situation. At this level, it should be worth mentioning that Badawi's five level model, will be applied to the Algerian context in the next chapter (see section 2.5.1).

1.6 Diglossia and education

As highlighted previously, 'diglossia' is a remarkable phenomenon in Arabic. CA or MSA fulfils religious aims and is formally taught in schools, especially in preparation for religion study or the study of Arabic literature. Haeri (2000:71) claims that:

> For most Arabs, Classical Arabic had not been a language they had to learn to write in or take exams in, but one that belonged to readings of the Qur'an and their obligatory daily prayers. Little knowledge of its syntax or any of its intricacies, rhetorical styles, genres, and so on, was necessary for such ritual activities.

Modern Standard Arabic, a modernized and somewhat simplified derivative of the Classical Arabic, has become the medium of instruction in all Arab institutions and formal public speaking. Different colloquial varieties of Arabic, essentially distinct in structure from MSA, are the vehicle of all informal conversations.

Furthermore, MSA is the mother tongue of nobody, a fact which may be seen as an impediment to the educational development of the Arab speech communities as a whole. Abdulaziz (1986:21) describes the severity of the situation in the following terms:

> The gap between the colloquial forms, which are the true mother tongues of the speakers, and MSA causes many problems to educationalists and writers. Although it is assumed that in the education system only the standard form would be used, the fact is that it is used only for writing. The language of instruction in schools or university lectures is the colloquial in its various forms. Students are therefore faced with the problems of receiving their instruction in one form and reading and writing in the other.

Originally, Arab children are born into a complex linguistic context. First, they grow up speaking their mother tongue and then learn to read and write in MSA. Indeed, Arabic represents the ideal model of both religious and cultural diglossia which may involve the selection of the prestigious variety for formal contexts like school. This may, therefore have various impacts on the child's school experience. Ferguson (1996)[29] elaborates the exclusive situation with the Arabic language as follows:

> L is invariably learned by children in what may be regarded as the 'normal' way of learning one's mother tongue, whereas the actual learning of H is chiefly accomplished by the means of formal education, whether this be Qur'anic schools, modern government schools, or private tutors […] The speaker is at home in L to a degree he almost never achieves in H.

It has long been acknowledged that educational results may be negatively influenced if there exists a distinction between the languages used by children at home and the languages used in the education system.

[29]In Haeri (2000:65).

Empirical studies for both developed and developing countries show that pupils who have another home language than the language of instruction experience higher dropout rates (Steinberg, 1984; Van Dyken, 1990; Benson, 2000; Mohanlal, 2001; Hovens, 2002; Klaus, 2003; Bamgbose, 2005; Benson, 2005a; Lewis, 2006), higher repetition rates (Patrinos, 1997; Benson, 2000; Hovens, 2002; Klaus, 2003; Bamgbose, 2005; Benson, 2005a; Lewis, 2006), and have lower levels of attainment and achievement in general (Rosenthal, 1983; Rong, 1992; Rumberger, 1998; Beckett, 2002; Bamgbose, 2005; Lewis, 2006; Hampden-Thomson, 2006)[30]

Arab children encounter many difficulties in learning MSA because it is comparable to learning 'a new Language'. Furthermore, these children do not use this 'new language', MSA, in their everyday life outside the school environment, a fact that adds to the complication of the situation, and "if children suffer because they use a non-standard variety, this is the fault of society, not of the children. It is society's attitudes that should be changed, not the language of children." (Deterding, 1998:20).

According to Haeri (2000:70), two crucial questions must be taken into consideration: First which form of the language should serve as the medium of instruction, and second, should the MSA form be modernized and in what manner? This is the principal reason why Suleiman (2003:142) treats Arabic in relation to national identity and points out that: "Arabs need a unified language which can in turn unify them, an instrument of fusion rather than fission". Al-Husri (1985)[31] supports this idea when he writes: "the Arabs need a 'unified and unifying language', rather than a series of dialect-languages which will lead to further fragmentation".

Essentially, some Arab scholars are neatly aware that the low achievements of education in Arab institutions are directly attributed to diglossia inside classrooms. Maamouri (1998: 27-28) establishes four areas that engender important language interference when children try to make the transition from their mother tongue to MSA. They are as follows:

[30]In Smits, J et al, (2009: 6).
[31]In Suleiman, (2003:143).

1. Important lexical differences even in commonplace everyday words and functional terms;
2. Inflections denoting gender, number and tense, most of which have disappeared from all the colloquial Arabic dialects;
3. Important varying changes in phonological structure with sounds in writing which have dropped out of everyday usage;
4. A lack of unified Fusha Arabic scientific vocabulary at various levels of the curriculum.

There is now a growing body of evidence that diglossia in Arabic is one of the serious linguistic issues confronting the Arab world which has a great impact on the social, psychological and educational aspects of the society. Zughoul (1980) is one of the most prominent scholars who considers the high rate of illiteracy in any speech community as one of the most significant reasons standing behind the extension of the linguistic distance between MSA and the vernaculars in the Arab world. Further, Kaye (2001:119) claims that "some educated Arabs find it difficult to carry on a conversation in MSA" because of the existence of diglossia and bidialectal variations.

Attempts to deal with the diglossia problem as regards the teaching/ learning process, is a ceaseless debate among various scholars. Stevens (2000:56), for example, deals with the complexity of learning the Arabic language which is mainly due to the spoken/written dichotomy. He suggests the idea that students are demanded to spend huge efforts to learn both speaking and writing forms, and to distinguish between them. He (ibid) also proposes the following:

> there must be a certain difficulty psychologically in acquiring two closely related systems and keeping them separate while the acquisition process goes on. Perhaps it might be easier to learn two unrelated languages simultaneously than two closely related systems.
>
> (Stevens, 2000:56).

Furthermore, the use of MSA only in the Arabic classrooms entails a kind of pressure on teachers, even if they are native Arabic speakers because they are not accustomed, and most of the time not able, to speak MSA in daily conversations.

According to Wilmsen (2006:125): "It is an open secret in the Arabic teaching profession that the language taught in the classroom is not the same as that usually used in speech". More recently, some interesting arguments have been made by some scholars like Younes (2006: 164) who believes that Arabic should be dealt with as "one system of communication with a spoken side and a written side and a common core" because it would be a more precise reflection of the sociolinguistic realities of Arabic and pedagogically more effective.

1.7 The status of MSA in the Arab world

Arabic is a Semitic language, rated as the fifth most extensively used language in the world. It is the official language of more than twenty countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Modern Standard Arabic[32], also called Al-'Arabiyya, Al-Fusha, or Literary Arabic is the dialect of the tribe of *Quraysh* which was selected to be the literary language for Arabs years before the time of Prophet Mohammed (Peace be upon him). "It is a historical fact that all the Arab peoples were culturally united by the preaching of the Prophet Mohammed; the role and importance of Islam in the whole area can hardly be overestimated in the analysis of the social phenomenon of language" (Horn, 2015:100) .

This selection of MSA over other dialects used by those Arabs was not made haphazardly, but was rather based on certain tendencies that MSA enjoys in the Arabian Peninsula. What is known as Standard Arabic known as 'al 'arabija al fusħa' is, in fact, the essential instrument and vehicle of the sacred message of Islamic law *'al-'Share'ah'*.

This is the contemporary form of classical Arabic, the language of the Qur'an and early Islamic literature which came into being as a result of the rapidly increasing sophistication of modern age, especially in science and technology; in other words, it emerged as a result of contact with western culture and consequent

[32] The term "MSA" is used primarily by linguists and in educational settings. For example, constitutions of countries where Arabic is an official language simply refer to "the Arabic language," the reference to the Standard form of Arabic being implicit.

modernization in the Arab world since the 19th century. This form of Arabic is "a Pan Arab variety that is marginally affected by regional variation, by contrast to CA which is the only fixed form both diachronically and synchronically" (Holes, 2004: 47). Currently, it is the effective variety used in education, media, literature and all government documentation in all Arab countries.

Throughout the Arab world, extending from Morocco to Iraq and including the Gulf countries and the Levant, MSA has been for centuries the sole formal variety taught systematically in all schools and universities and used regularly by TV, magazines, newspapers and in literature. It is a modernisation of CA, especially at lexical and stylistic levels. MSA is quite uniform in the twenty two countries throughout the Arab world and acts as a *lingua franca* for speakers of various regional dialects, some of which are not mutually understandable.

In addition, all Arab constitutions point out that 'Arabic' is the official language of the state. Most Arabs value MSA and highly respect it for a number of reasons. On the one hand, it is viewed as a sacred variety because of its tight association with Islam. On the other, it is the 'formal' and 'prestigious' form that unifies the Arab nation '*al-Umma l Arabiyya*'. This natural superiority is directly related to such qualities as logic, beauty and eloquence. However, the variety used in daily interactions is, to varying extents, dissimilar from MSA, and is considered as 'corrupt' and 'incorrect' language. Unfortunately, MSA is no one's native language as people do not acquire it naturally from birth. At a fairly early age, children acquire the vernacular through contact with their parents or siblings, but MSA is learned through access to the benefits of formal education. All Arab people assume that it is artificial and not workable to speak MSA in day-to-day conversations. For this reason, MSA is limited to such areas like literary events, religious sermons and education, and it is therefore almost never spoken in daily life.

1.7.1 MSA and education

With respect to its order varieties, the field of teaching Arabic continues to be controversial, for the main reason of the prevailing distinctions between the two forms in terms of vocabulary, phonology, syntax, and grammar. Even if "transforming Classical Arabic into a language for mass education to make pupils use it actively in writing and reading was considered a task of monumental magnitude given the differences between it and the spoken languages" (Haeri, 2000: 71), it has been accomplished favorably for the most part, and is the form known actually as MSA, the only Arabic variety taught in schools at all levels.

In spite of its official status, MSA confronts diverse extensive challenges, encompassing "the development of a more efficient orthography, the modification of grammar to make modern Arabic a workable standard for most functions including education, and the elaboration of vocabulary to cover modern culture andlearning" (Abdulaziz, 1986 :18). Moreover, the state of MSA is quite complex. This complexity is due to the mixture of Arabic language patterns which may certainly lead to negative outcomes such as "pedagogical problems and even to linguistic insecurity in formal school communication among high number of young Arab learners" Maamouri (1998: 40).

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

> An imperfectly known, but functional, part of most Arabs' communicative lives, associated with a rather high degree of linguistic insecurity, both respected and revered to the degree that it is viewed as a close relative or descendent of Classical Arabic, and despised and denigrated to the degree that it is taken to be a degeneration of Classical Arabic. (Parkinson, 1991b: 48).

Maamouri (1998) explains that faulting Arabic teachers is commonplace which demonstrates the dissatisfaction of the Arab public with the low performance of the Arabic teachers and its unfavorable impact on the acquisition of MSA fluency in schools. Taha Hussein (as cited in Maamouri: 1998: 41) is a well-known Egyptian writer who correctly asserts that teachers of MSA do not own enough knowledge to efficiently communicate the subject matter to their pupils. One of the principal reasons lying behind this gap is said to be manifested in the lack of fluency and knowledge of MSA along with the lack of motivation in teaching it, and the existence of a diglossic situation in schools throughout the Arab world.

1.7.2 Arab pupils' exposure to MSA

The most significant characteristic of diglossia, and one that has direct ramifications for the acquisition of literacy competencies, is the establishment of rigid and complementary functional separation of two linguistic codes, namely the written and the spoken (Ferguson, 1959). Another unique characteristic of diglossia that has direct implications for literacy advancement in Arab children is the process of acquisition (ibid).

Once in contact with school, Arab children are formally and abundantly exposed to MSA, another, linguistically linked yet significantly distinct form which is taught to them almost as a foreign language (Ayari, 1996).Thus, no one acquires *fusha* natively. Horn (2015) claims in this respect:

> Arab children spend the first years of their lives in families that […] consider it outlandish to speak to them in MSA. Their first approach to reading and writing, however, confronts them with considerable difficulties, in that they suddenly have to cope with a language that is vastly (syntactically, lexically, grammatically and phonologically) different from theirs […]
>
> (Horn, 2015: 102).

The Arabic language is, therefore, the model *par excellence* of both cultural and religious diglossia which may request the selection of the prestigious variety for formal environments such as the school. This may in fact have various impacts on the

child's school experience. On the one hand, parents anticipate their child to be taught the prestigious variety at school and teachers establish the class work to attain this parental purpose on the other.

Therefore, in such a situation, children are not at all aided to make enquiry and discovery, but rather "the learner is forced to emphasize form rather than content; embellishment rather than essence; imitative ability rather than creativity" (Al Rabaa, 1986: 74). For this reason, recommendations for smooth transition from vernacular to standard Arabic encompass treating the standard as a new language that is, intently forgetting old rules and words and substituting them with new ones, making the lesson presentation more appealing (Brosh & Olshtain, 1995).

The language of instruction in schools is supposed to be MSA. Young pupils are, therefore, faced with the problems of receiving their lessons in a form which is distinct in a number of features from the one acquired at home. This means that these children encounter a variety of Arabic with which they have relatively little or no contact. Zughoul (1980: 202) remarks that: "The diglossic situation is indeed problematic for a linguistic community. It is considered to be a hindrance to educational and economic development, as well as a national coherence". Furthermore Aroian (1983)[33] estimates that dual instruction engenders various dilemmas implanted in "the difficulty of the grammar and orthography of Classical Arabic".

It is widely assumed that Arab pupils are required to restrain most of their habitual speech while attempting to acquire a new form of Arabic once in contact with school. However, the intermingling of Arabic linguistic patterns seems to pave the way to critical pedagogical problems, as well as a kind of feeling of linguistic insecurity during classroom interaction among a high number of young Arab learners. Maamouri (1998:40) concludes that: "this lack of security comes from a general feeling oflow understanding of modern fusha and of low identification of its norms".

[33] In Haeri, (2000: 71).

The impact of the diglossic situation on the acquisition of basic literacy skills in Arabic has only recently started to attract empirical attention. In an investigation on children's phonological sensitivity, Saiegh-Haddad (2003) hypothesizes on the one hand, that because of enhanced exposure and practice with oral language phonemes, children would find colloquial Arabic phonemes easier to access than MSA phonemes and that phonemes included within colloquial Arabic syllables would be easier to access than those included within MSA syllables on the other.

Notwithstanding the fact that MSA and the different vernaculars share a high number of phonemes, no vernacular has precisely the same set of phonemes as MSA (Maamouri, 1998). Hence, some MSA phonemes may not be available in a specific colloquial form and alternately, some colloquial forms may encompass non-standard phonemes. This entails that "some MSA phonemes, as well as other phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical structures, may not be familiar to children upon the inception of reading in the first grade. This makes learning to read in Arabic a dual task in which children are required to acquire a linguistic system and an orthographic system simultaneously"(Saiegh-Haddad 2007).

Alternatively, Abu- Rabia (2000) scrutinizes the effects of exposure to MSA of preschool children on their reading comprehension of *fusha* stories in the following grades: one and two. He concludes that in reading comprehension, children who were exposed to Standard Arabic outperform those who were exposed only to colloquial Arabic. He (ibid) says in this respect:

> It was assumed in this post hoc study that children who are exposed to literary Arabic in their preschool and kindergarten period will show better reading comprehension of literary Arabic than children at the same age level who are exposed to spoken Arabic in the same period.
>
> (ibid: 150).

Admittedly, the role of parents in improving their children's educational level is of crucial importance. Maamouri (1998) points out the importance of parents' reading to their children early and often in order to enhance their reading skills. He is also of the opinion that illiterate parents create a serious impediment to the creation

of an early literate environment for a young child. In the same vein, Abu-Rabia (2000: 149) says that: "reading skills in the early years of a child's life are essential for the acquisition of knowledge in later schooling."

More recently, he (2012: 2) adds that "there is a widespread agreement that joint parent-preschooler reading is a highly beneficial parental practice that promotes the acquisition of literacy-related knowledge and, consequently, paves the way for successful achievement". It is a fact that if parents read to their children before having access to formal instruction on purpose and in a delightful atmosphere, reading process may certainly become a more natural productive means of promoting literacy acquisition than are more traditional syllabi.

As Arabic diglossia is a thorny issue when linked to education in the Arab World, one aim of the present study is to enrich our knowledge of primary school literacy acquisition in Arabic, with a particular focus on the language difficulties encountered in classroom interaction.

1.8 Language attitudes

The study of language attitudes has its origins in various fields encompassing the social psychology of language, sociology of language, anthropological linguistics, communication and discourse analysis. In preliminary investigation on attitudes, Allport (1935:801), as cited in Garett (2010), claimed that attitude was the most imperative notion in social psychology and it has been a key-notion in sociolinguistics since Labov's (1966) influential work on the social stratification of speech communities, and how language change is influenced by the prestige and stigma allowed by speech communities to specific linguistic traits.

In early work, this particular area of study was based upon a decision made between two theories about the nature of attitudes: The first theory emphasises on "a mentalist view of attitude as a state of readiness" whereas the other emphasizes the 'behaviourist view' that "attitudes are to be found in the responses people make to social situations" (Fasold, 1984). These two theories may be distinguished by the fact

that people who accept the behaviourist view acknowledge attitudes as a single entity. Those who accept the mentalist view, on the other hand, acknowledge attitudes to have three basic elements: cognition, affect and readiness for action.

Baker (1992: 10) defines 'attitude' as "[...] a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior". Brown (1981) proposes that 'attitude' is an outcome of parental attitude, peer attitude, contact with other people and other affective factors. Allport (1954) (cited in Garett (2010: 19) highlights that attitude is "a learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way".This definition points to the concern of attitudes which does not include affect only, but it also incorporates cognitive and behavioural aspects. Further, it explains that attitudes are things that we learn, rather than innate.

Our learning of attitudes may implicate a number of processes. First what is known as observational learning (Garett, 2010) refers to the way we notice the behaviour of others and the outcomes of that behaviour. The second is called instrumental learning (ibid) where we expect for the outcomes of attitudes and whether these administer benefits or detriments, for instance some crucial language attitudes concerning an evaluative distinction between a familiar non-standard variety and a standard one. "This suggests that parents and teachers can have some role in the development of such attitudes at the person-to-person level, consciously or not" (Garett, 2010: 22). Furthermore, "Parents might indicate approval or agreement at times when their children express attitudes with which they themselves concur" (ibid).

Romaine (1995) considers a number of aspects as language attitudes such as language evaluation, language preference, desirability of learning particular languages, and self-reports concerning language use. Attitudes towards languages – be they positive or negative- are often affected by the process of standardization. According to Milroy (2007:133), "language attitudes are dominated by powerful ideological positions that are largely based on the supposed existence of this standard

form, and these taken together, can be said to constitute the standard language ideology or "ideology of the standard language."

Garett (2010:7) believes that "people are apparently not conscious of the influence of these ideological positions and tend to consider it as a question of common sense". However, he asserts that: "people hold attitudes to languages at all levels: for example, spelling and punctuation, words, grammar, accent and pronunciation, dialects and languages. Even the speed at which we speak can evoke reactions" (ibid: 2).

The study of language attitudes involves distinct methods such as the analysis of societal treatment of language varieties, direct assessment with interviews or questionnaires in addition to indirect assessment with the speaker evaluation paradigm. As an illustration of the first method i.e., the way a given society analyses language varieties, Bourhis (1982) examines language policies in Canada, and as an illustration of the direct method of evaluation, Gardner & Lambert (1972) use ratings of integrative and instrumental orientation.The 'matched-guise' technique is one of the models developed by Lambert (1967) and his colleagues; it is an example of the indirect assessment method based on mentalist conceptions which was introduced as a means of evaluating language attitudes in a French-Canadian bilingual context.

The purpose of this technique is to elicit information from the subjects by making them listen to a piece of speech performed by the same speaker in various guises while the subjects in question do not guess that the speaker is for all guises the same person. The informants will certainly show reactions and different attitudes towards 'each speaker'. The following aspects of pupils and teachers' attitudes will be tackled in our research work:

1- Pupils as well as teachers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic at primary school level.
2- Pupils as well as teachers' attitudes towards MSA at primary school level.

In societies where various languages or dialects co-exist, people may display either positive or negative attitudes towards the users of these languages or language varieties and, as Trudgill (1992: 44) points out, these attitudes "may range from very favourable to very unfavourable, and may be manifested in subjective judgments about the 'correctness', worth, and aesthetic qualities of varieties, as well as about the personal qualities of their speakers".

In Algeria, MSA is held in high esteem by most Algerian people; it is considered the 'supra-language' for its undeniable status as the language of the Holy Qur'an and *the Hadeeth* (traditions) of Prophet Mohammed (Peace be upon him). Dendane (2007) claims that:

> the fact that a number of Qur'anic verses insist on bringing up this inextricable link between Arabic and the Holy Book makes people believe that the language of the Qur'an cannot be surpassed, and thereby hold it in the highest regard, though in practice it is a lower-status variety that people use in everyday speech interaction.
>
> (Dendane, 2007: 263-264).

As opposed to the western world where language attitudes are widely affected by language policies which commonly advocate the variety of the capital city as the national and official language of the state, the prestige of H in the Arab world remains uniform and unchallengeable, even when sometimes people are not able to understand it well. Indeed, Arab peoples' attitudes towards CA/MSA "seem to be unanimously positive not only among Arabic speakers, but also among large number of non-Arab Muslims as a result of its association with the Qur'an and its religious significance as a whole" (Dendane, ibid).

Certainly, Arab children may display either positive or negative attitudes towards this prestigious variety once entering school as they do not acquire it natively. Arabs in general, perceive the high variety as the 'real' language, *al Lugha* as it is often referred to by ordinary people, by contrast to their colloquial forms which are commonly viewed as 'incorrect', 'vulgar' and'deficient'. Ennaji (1991: 12) points out

that “for most Maghrebins, governments and people alike, Dialectal Arabic is a corrupt or incorrect form of Arabic which is useless inimportant matters”.

Dakwar (2005) investigates Palestinian children’s attitudes in first, second and third grades towards MSA within the formal educational context of the school; she has noticed that children exhibit a decreased enjoyment in learning MSA as far as their grade level increases. The main reason behind this is the diglossic aspect of the Arabic language. Abu-Rabia (2012), on his part investigates the effect of parental attitudes towards reading behaviour, and the learning environment on their children’s reading achievements. He, therefore, proposes that parents’ supportive attitudes have an important positive impact on the reading performance of their children in the first grade.

1.9 Conclusion

From the review of the related literature, we can deduce that diglossia is an outstanding phenomenon in the Arab world in various fields of life, but it is mostly noticeable in the educational sphere. Indeed, diglossia has a great impact on education (Zughoul, 1980; Ferguson, 1996; Maamouri 1998; Stevens 2000; Wilmsen, 2006) to mention just a few. Our aim, here, is to show the effect of Arabic diglossia on education in the Algerian educational sector with special emphasis on the language difficulties encountered by pupils once in contact with schools from pre-school up to grade five.

Moreover, in this chapter, it has been deduced that diglossia in Arabic is rather considered a multiglossia because of the existence of more than two varieties of Arabic (Blanc 1960, Badawi 1973, Meiseles 1980). The form that should be used in education remains a disputed issue despite the semi-consensus between sociolinguists and educationists of MSA (the standard variety) as a medium of instruction. Nevertheless, the sociolinguistic situation of societies, as will be illustrated in the Algerian context, is the most significant aspect which affects the variety used in a formal setting such as the school.

CHAPTER 2

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA: HITORICAL AND CURRENT ISSUES

Chapter Two: The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria: Historical and Current Issues

2.1 Introduction

The present chapter is formulated as follows: First, and without entering into details, the aim is to throw some light on the successive events that Algeria has gone through. It also offers a panoramic picture about the language repertoires and the conflicting interplay between them, leading to a linguistic situation which sounds quite inextricable. What seems strange is the view settled by policy-makers indicating that MSA is the sole official language in the Algerian territory. However, what is evident is that there exists more than MSA in the Algerian linguistic landscape due to its rich historical heritage.

The aim of this chapter is, accordingly, to shed some light on the current sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in the light of the long-term contact between the distinct groups, namely: Arabs, Berbers and French. This has given birth to a nation where the dynamics of language contact symbolise everyday linguistic performance of Algerian interlocutors.

The current chapter involves some of the features relevant to our study, notably, the phenomenon of diglossia- in accordance with the language varieties available in the Algerian context- and its impact on the educational sector. Algeria is one of the Arabic-speaking countries where two varieties, MSA and AA, exist side by side (Ferguson, 1959) and are used in distinct social settings. MSA is used in official contexts, such as education, media and religious sermons, whereas AA, in its various forms, is used in everyday life. However, the Arabic language in its two forms, Classical Arabic and MSA has a sacred status due to its tight association with Islam and the language of the Holy Qur'an.

2.2 Historical background of Algeria

Algeria, as a distinct political entity, is relatively a contemporary creation rising, as it has, within the last four hundred years. However, the history of its Berber

and Arab peoples is of significantly older antiquity. The consecutive historical facts in the Maghreb in North Africa, for more than twenty centuries, have resulted in the intricate linguistic picture that can be easily noticeable in today's Algeria. In fact, a country like Algeria has been a crossing point of diverse invasions. Without entering into the details of such facts, we shall endeavour to mention those that are significant to our research work.

2.2.1 Algeria from the prehistoric era to the beginning of the 1st century A.D.

In the prehistoric era, the Algerian province was already populated and the prehistoric civilizations of that time are supposed to have had African characteristics and affinities.[34] The coalescence of peoples of North Africa amalgamated ultimately into a different native population that appeared to be called Berbers. Indeed, the Berbers are supposed to be the first inhabitants of the Algerian territory and the northern coast of Africa was known as "Berberia ". The origin of this population is still a controversial issue, but the prominent Arab sociologist, Ibn-Khaldoun, proposes that the Berbers were oriental people of Hamito-Semitic descent settled down on the North African areas. Historians of the Middle Ages also suggest that the Berbers were split into two distinct branches, namely, Botr and Banés who originated from Mawigh ancestors who, in turn, were split into tribes and again into sub-tribes. The well- known large Berber tribes are as follows: Sanhadja, Zenata, Awarba, Berghwata, Houaras, Kutama and Masmouda.

Identified primarily by cultural and linguistic features, the Berbers lacked a written language and accordingly tended to be ignored or marginalized in historical accounts. Actually, the different Berber dialects used in different regions throughout the Algerian territory, are said to have evolved from 'Tamazight'. However, the fact that creates an identity obstacle is that the history of the Berbers was written in the languages of their colonizers mainly Greek and Latin rather than in their own language. With regard to the social and political life of the Berbers, it is stated that

[34]See Julien (1931) for more details.

they were scarcely unified at the time they settled alone in Algeria. The geographical aspect of Algeria supported Berbers' diffusion and their isolation one group from another. They used to assemble into several tribes, fighting one another.

The Phoenicians, who were a Semitic group of ancient times, settled on North Africa around 900 B.C. and founded the city of Carthage. Hippo Regius (modern Annaba) and Rusicade (modern Skikda) are among the towns of Carthaginian origin on the coast of present-day Algeria. Linguistically speaking, the Phoenicians possessed their own writing system, but despite the fact that Berbers came across it, their civilization or rather language remained oral. The Berber language was the principal language spoken at that period in Algeria.

By the early fourth century B.C., Berbers constituted the sole largest component of the Carthaginian army.They succeeded in gaining control of much of Carthage's North African lands. Carthage was demolished in 146 B.C. The Berber civilization attained its highest point during the reign of the most famous Numidian King Masinissa in the second century B.C. After Masinissa's death in 148 B.C., the Berber kingdoms were sometimes divided and sometimes reunified. Masinissa's reign subsisted until A.D. 24, when the remaining Berber territory was joined to the Roman Empire.

2.2.2 Algeria from the Roman conquest to the Byzantines

The Latin language was being adopted just after the Roman conquest in 100 B.C.; it was accessible to all men of education who acquired Roman citizenship. The Berber language was spoken by the nomads and peasants. "Latin was established as the official language of the elite living in urban cities, while Berber was spoken by peasants in the countryside" (Mostari, 2005:38).

Numidia (present day Algeria) became the symbol of occidental Christianity on the eve of the second century A.D. In the first century before our era, the Romans

settled in the North African coast and transmitted their civilization to the local inhabitants. However, they were unable to 'latinize' the Maures (Berber populations) who took refuge in the mountains. Because of the deep attachment to their language and traditions, the Berbers succeeded in resisting against the Romanisation and even against Christianisation.

In 429 A.D. the Vandals of Genseric, coming from Spain, defeated Algeria and established themselves there. These invaders never amalgamated with the local inhabitants and could never influence the language of the Berber population of the mountains. However, in 533, the Vandals were defeated by the Byzantine rulers and they faded by leaving practically no trace of their passage. At that period, Justinian, a Byzantine ruler, reconstructed Algeria and placed it under the rule of Constantinople, which was the centre of the Empire. Justinian attempted to settle civil rule in Algeria, but he failed very quickly. The arrival of the Arabs to spread Islam in the seventh century AD (first century of the Hegira, the Islamic calendar) was a turning point in the history of all the North African countries in general, and that of Algeria in particular.

2.2.3 Algeria from the 7th century to the beginning of the 19th century

-The arrival of the Arabs

The first Arabs came into the Algerian territory in 700 A.D.This was a crucial event in the history of the region and for the future of North African populations as a whole, as they underwent significant transformations from the socio-cultural, religious and linguistic standpoints. As opposed to the invasions of previous religions and cultures, the advent of Islam, which was expanded by Arabs, was to have pervasive and long-lasting impacts on the Maghreb. The settlement of Arabs isolated Algeria from Europe to which it had been attached for many centuries. The Berbers who were converted to Islam learnt Arabic gradually and most of those who left the mountains for the city learnt the Arabic language as well. The reason for this admission of the Arabic language was its strong association with Islam.

However, a minority of Berber populations, especially those of some isolated and remote areas adhered to their ancestral languages, and thus rejected Arabisation[35]. Arabs at that time had a dominant and flourishing culture, a very rich literature and they were very advanced in the domains of science and technology. For this reason, Berbers were obliged to a certain extent to learn Arabic because it was the official language used for administration and law, and the language of the ruling power as well. As Arabic shortly emanated as a symbol of Arab-Islamic identity, Algeria became part of the Arab nation 'al 'Umma L Arabiyya', the Arab nation. In this line of thought, Taleb Ibrahimi (1997) writes:

> Algeria is Arab and has proclaimed itself Arab and Arabophone since the arrival of the successive waves of Arabs who then, with the Islamisation have permitted its Arabisation. An Arabisation which had been done slowly and over a long period, since the year of Okba Ibn Nafaa in the 7th century to the latest of Hilali tribes[36].
>
> (Taleb Ibrahimi, 1997: 23).

However, it is worth mentioning that the process of Arabisation was very progressive because of the several Berber revolts against the Arabs. William Marçais (1938) explains the process by which the 'Berber nation' was gradually arabised in a categorical way. He writes:

> In the 7th century, the Berber region broke up with the West, and it is connected with the East totally and without internal conflict or crisis of consciousness. New leaders, the Arabs, ceased to govern directly the country.But they marked it with an eternal stamp which is the Arabism as much as the whole of the Maghreb of today is considered as an eccentric province of Arabism[37] (ibid).
>
> (Translation is mine).

[35]This process will be scrutinized in the next chapter.

[36]My translation of the French original text : « L'Algérie est arabe et se proclame arabe et arabophone depuis l'arrivée des vagues successives arabes qui ont donc, avec l'islamisation permis son arabisation. Une arabisation qui s'est faite lentement et sur une longue période, depuis l'année d'Okba Ibn Nafaa au 7éme siècle à celle plus tardive des tribus hilaliennes. »

[37] « Au VIIème siècle, le pays berbère a rompu avec l'Occident et s'est rattaché a l'Orient, totalement, sans retour, et semble-t-il sans conflit intérieur, sans crise de conscience. Ses nouveaux maitres, les Arabes, ont pu par la suite cesser d'y exercer directement le pouvoir. Mais ils l'ont marqué d'une empreinte ineffaçable. Ils l'ont arabisé, si bien qu'aujourd'hui le Maghreb, presque dans son ensemble, peut être considéré comme une province excentrique de l'arabisme ». Quoted In Kh. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997: 23).

Similarly in fact, from the 7th century until the 8th century, the Islamisation of the country was an arduous and lengthy process, and notwithstanding, the majority of pre-Islamic Berbers were pagans, some of whom had some understanding of Christian beliefs, converted to Islam. "Indeed, after the Arab conquest, Islam was obviously implemented with Muslim theocratic law and political institutions" (Mostari, 2005: 40). Classical Arabic was adopted by the Berbers as a written form. Indeed, the Arabs' arrival restrained the Berber language from developing a written form because writing was devoted to the Arabic language only, which evolved into the new vehicle of propaganda and the new settlers diffused the holy word, the Qur'an, through its original language.

Interestingly enough, the linguistic situation of the region was going to witness considerable change after the invasion of Banu-Hilal in the 11th century. Being mainly rural tribes, they spoke a kind of rural Arabic and since their arrival to Algeria, two varieties of Arabic had co-existed together: the rural variety spoken by *Banu Hilal* and an urban variety used by the first Arab Muslims in the cities.

Next, with the founding of the dynasties and the manifestation of Arab scientists, philosophers and poets from the Maghreb, Arabic undeniably became the language of the whole region as well as the language of science and technology. At present, Algerians honor famous names such as Imru- al Qais (Arab poet), al-Khawarizmi (mathematician and developer of arithmetic and algorithm), Ibn Sina (father of medicine) and Ibn Khaldoun (father of social science).

-Non-Arab occupation

Following the invasion of the "Cardinal Ferdinand Ximènès" in the 13th of September 1505, the Spanish occupation of Algeria was mainly military rather than social. Such forces permitted certain assimilation with the Arabic population into a Spanish atmosphere, such as, altering the principal mosques of the cities into churches, etc.

At the beginning of the 16th century, some Moors of Spain (mixed Arabs/Spaniards) occupied some areas of Algeria and wished to spread over the

whole region. Thus, in 1516, the Algerian ruling power required the help of two Turkish pirates, namely: Arudj and Khayr-al-din (Barbarossa Red Beard). After succeeding in this mission, the latter declared himself the governor of Algiers and Tlemcen. As a consequence, Algeria was put under the Ottoman protectorate.

Indeed, Algeria became a province for the Ottoman Empire for nearly 300 years. In that period, Turkish had an official status and Arabs and Berbers were discarded from the government. The fact is that the Ottomans were not preoccupied by the political, social or economic conditions of Algeria. However, from the linguistic stand point, many Turkish words and expressions had been adopted in Algerian Arabic. According to Ghalem (2000),

> the Ottoman presence during three centuries, without upsetting the linguistic landscape of the country, influenced the urban varieties primarily (Algiers, Bejaia, Médéa and Tlemcen) which borrowed a considerable number of Turkish terms in the various fields of everyday life (food, clothing, names of trades) of which some became patronyms . (Ghalem (2000:45).

Consequently, besides the various Berber words found currently in a lot of Algerian Arabic varieties, the traces that Spanish and Turkish languages have left on the Algerian linguistic scene can be noticed especially in urban speech, and consist of some borrowed words such as: [carantiţa], [falţa] [ţabse] and [boţe] meaning respectively ‘hot’, ‘mistake’, ‘eating plate’, and ‘boat’, in addition to a number of lexical items linked particularly to marine items often used in coastal areas. However, very few grammatical morphemes of Turkish have created their way into the Arabic language because of the preponderance of this particular language in matters of religion.

In the meantime, Arabic followed its progression thanks to a mixing of the population which is known today as the Arabo-Berber or Berbero-Arabs, in addition to the traditional teaching Quranic Schools such as Zaouias and Mederssas. Obviously, some authors believe that the preservation and the influence of Arabic

was distinguished in the countryside during the Ottoman era. Ghalem (ibid) says in this respect:

> In the same time some areas were obliged to use Arabic words other than their mother tongue, for this we may say that the Arabization of the majority of the Algerian countryside was not due to the Islamic Hillalian era but was due to other factors, we may not explain, in the end of the Hafside, the Zianide and all the Ottoman period.
>
> (ibid).

In spite of the long settlementby the Turks, their linguistic effect upon the population was almost insignificant. In fact, Berber and Arabic preserved themselves intact. In1830, Algeria witnessed the beginning of the most decisive linguistic influence that the country was going to be exposed to throughout the French colonization which lasted more than a century.

2.2.4 Algeria from 1830 to 1962

Algeria was subjected to one of the most drastic forms of cultural colonialism from its conquest in 1830 until its independence in 1962. In fact, as indicated before, 1830 was the starting point of one of the longest and most persuasive linguistic influence of the Algerian history, the French settlement which lasted more than a century. One of the central objectives of French colonialism in Algeria was to acculturate Algerians and to wipe out their Arab-Islamic identity. Algeria was considered as a French department and France asserted that 'Algeria is French'.

It is a fact that the French history in Algeria started with the French colonization in July 1830, when they judged the diffusion of their language as "the most effective means to make [their] progress and domination in this country." (Turin, 1983:40). In 1832, though he was not a linguist, the General commandant of the expeditionary corps the Duke Rovigo, as mentioned in Benrabah (1999:44), revealed that the most adequate measure of monopolizing the Algerian territory was to eradicate its language, saying: "I look at the propagation of instruction and of our

language as an effective means to make progress in our domination in this country"[38]. Furthermore, in the first years of colonization, France visualized two principal aims: on the one hand, to eradicate the Arabic language; on the other to introduce the French culture into the indigenous country. This is correctly declared by the Duke Rovigo, as cited in Chitour (1999),

> On the one hand to replace Arabic by French; on the other hand, to alter indirectly the culture by an insidious and systematic alienation of the spiritual places of knowledge – because the great majority of the mosques gave also the teaching of Arabic and, for some, the scientific knowledge of the epoch. (Chitour, 1999:84).

A century later, in the 1930's, the Sheikh Ben Badis launched the so-called 'conseil d'El Ulémas'which would, under the name of Islam create an Algerian nation and especially a democratic nation that would survive under the French protectorate. Following the death of Ben Badis, some significant political Algerian parties were twofold conceived: First, there was a creation of P.C.A. (Parti Communiste Algérien) in 1935, then P.P.A. (Parti Populaire Algérien) in 1937. During the same period, however, the French administration executed a law which considered Arabic a foreign language. This measure created anger under the leadership of Ben Badis who deserved trust for being the first to describe the Algerian identity as Arabo-Islamic: "The Algerian people are Muslims and they relate to Arabicity."[39]

Indeed, until 1880, the complete de-Arabisation of Algeria was an arduous process because of the existence of Quranic schools and mosques. As a matter of fact, the Algerian people used French in educational institutions, with the colonizer, but still preserved their vernaculars at home and with friends. Despite the various methods of deculturation, the Arabic language maintained its prestige as a language of the Holy Qur'an. However, because of the lack of educational institutions in Arabic, people, especially those who lived in urban centres, were required to send their children to French schools in order to access the modern world and to avoid illiteracy through education. The beginning of the 20th century witnessed a radical

[38]Je regarde la propagation de l'instruction et de notre langue comme le moyen le plus efficace de faire des progrès à notre domination dans ce pays. (My translation).
[39] My translation of Ben Badis' statement : "شعب الجزائر مسلم و إلى العروبة ينتسب."

modification of attitude towards the French school and the Algerians resisted the French colonial model. Kh. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:37) says in this respect that

> The beginning of this century witnesses a change of attitude towards the school; from fierce refusal, Algerians proceed to a vehement claim for the right of schooling[40] (My translation).

All in all, during the period (1830- 1962), the educational sector in Algeria was directed towards French and there was a radical decline of CA. In fact, CA was submitted as an optional foreign language when taught in French schools. By contrast to CA which was symbol of illiteracy and ignorance, French was the language of instruction, a contemporary language with an immense future.

However, there was a substantial value of nationalism among Algerians just after the First World War not only within the urban Muslim middle- class, but also in the factories of France where the Algerian workers learned to defend their rights within the trade unions and the French communist party. In November 1st, 1954, the National Liberation Front (FLN) launched a military revolution calling for 'independent Algeria' because the situation of the country had seriously worsened.

Algeria gained independence formally on July 5, 1962 after a bloody sacrifice through a seven- year war and the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria was formally announced on September 25, 1962. This resulted in the commitment of the leaders of the war of independence (1954- 1962) as well as successive governments in the revival of Arabic and its establishment as a national language.

The recently independent state was marked by a linguistic diversification. The languages at play were then the two language varieties spoken by the indigenous population, namely: Algerian Arabic (AA) and the different Berber varieties. French was deeply rooted in AA so that this latter included many borrowings from the French

[40]Le début de ce siècle verra un changement d'attitude vis-à-vis de l'Ecole ; du refus farouche, les Algériens passent à la revendication véhémente du droit à la scolarisation.

language. Italian in certain areas in the East and Spanish in the West, were spoken especially by colonists. However, CA was the sacred language that no one used in daily conversations. Although MSA was acknowledged as the national and official language of the newly independent country, French persisted in various spheres like education and administration and kept its traces in AA and Berber.

This period was marked by the existence of some Algerian bilinguals who were highly proficient in French writing and reading skills, but the majority of the Algerian population could use only some rudimentary words such as inadhering to commands, demanding for work and so forth. Indeed, French –Arabic bilingualism was not really widespread, but rather there existed two kinds of speakers:

1- Those who were able to speak Algerian Arabic or Berber and never had the opportunity to enter school.
2. Those who were able to speak Algerian Arabic or Berber, but could use French as well, for their whole education and culture was carried out exclusively in the French language.

These people were enrolled in French schools, namely: "Ecoles Françaises publiques" or in what was known as 'missionaries schools'. These Algerians were totally acculturated. However, they were considered as Algerian elites and they were accepted in French schools especially those conceived for the French colonists' children.

2.3 The Language situation after 1962

As soon as the French settlement ended in 1962, Algeria's elites were vigorously confident in the entire substitution of French by Arabic as the medium of the imperative functions of the country. In order to illustrate these beliefs, in 1963, a leading Algerian poet/writer anticipated this development in the following terms:

> In ten to fifteen years, Arabic will have replaced French completely and English will be on its way to replacing French as a second language. French is a clear and beautiful language, but it holds too many bitter memories for us[41].

[41]Quoted in Benrabah, (2007: 193-194).

By the end of the1970s until the early 1990s, the French language was introduced as the first mandatory foreign language and was taught as a subject on its own starting from the fourth grade of primary level. The English language, however, was taught as the second foreign language starting from the eighth grade in Middle School.

The state was not only left with considerable losses in lives, but also in cultural and educational facets. There was, therefore, an urgent need for the country to attain its Arab and Muslim identity since CA is the language of Arab and Muslim identity. The Algerian political power admitted Islam as the "religion of the state" and Arabic as the official language, as two pillars that hold the Algerian identity.

Typically in fact, right after independence, Algeria was confronted to the crucial dilemma concerning the fact that French was imposed during the settlement period as the sole official language. Then in order to return to the Arab-Islamic cultural identity and the national personality, the new policy makers initiated a smooth and expeditious language policy that endeavoured to reinforce MSA as an official language of the country, especially in the education sphere through the 'acquisition planning' process. The policy in question was termed "Arabisation policy" (for more details, see Chapter 3) and it involved the process of re-establishing and reinforcing the use of MSA in many fields such as administration, justice, media and education, where probably the most important commitments have been taken into consideration.

In order to implement the Arabisation policy without, however, ceasing to use the French language, several measures have been taken so far. This point can be emphasized by one of the reflections on Algerian culture that appeared in the Algerian daily newspaper, *EI-Moudjahid*: "L'arabisation est une necessité, mais le bilinguisme n'est pas un mal", i.e., Arabisation is a necessity, but bilingualism is not an evil. Nevertheless, despite this positive attitude towards bilingualism, one of the principal objectives of the Algerian leaders was to weaken the use of French to a scientific tool underprivileged of any cultural or literary value, with the purpose of eliminating the

use of French in the future. It was, therefore, necessary to preserve the use of French at least in scientific fields for a certain period expanding to the present, as most educated Algerian people such as teachers, scientists and physicians had received their education in the French language. Moreover, all the scientific books that were available at that time were in French.

However, what seems odd is that right after the withdrawal of the French in 1962, the French language extended quickly and to a larger number of Algerian citizens. Granguillaume (1983:12) believes that the cognizance of the French language started spreading to more portions of the Algerian population in post-independence, principally among school children since it became the language of instruction at the primary level. He says in this respect that "[…] the knowledge of French has spread to a more important number of citizens after independence following the extension of education which includes French teaching since the primary level".[42]

In spite of the fact that schooling could only be achieved in the French language, the demand for formal education was so vigorous that parents desired at all costs that their children attend school. Thus, the only way to achieve schooling at that time was through French, because most teachers were Francophones, and had their diplomas in the French language. Arabic, however, was taught as a subject in its own for only one or two hours a week, while other subjects like sciences, history and geography, and arithmetic were taught in French. Interestingly enough, French *per se* was given as a subject on its own.

This period was marked by the high status and the prestige position that French gained among the Algerian citizens for its tight association with science and technology, development and modernism. This paved the way to the creation of a bilingual society among Algerian children and the Algerian community in general.

[42] My translation of the original French text : « […] la connaissance du français s'est élargie à un nombre plus important de citoyens après l'indépendance, par suite de l'extension de la scolarisation qui comporte l'enseignement du français dès le niveau primaire. »

Dendane (2007: 85) reminds us of this fact saying that: "The Algerian children, and the society as a whole, were therefore destined to constitute a bilingual community".

It should be noted that independent Algeria did not admit any decree with AA or Berber, or even French which was the dominating language in formal settings at that time. The choice of MSA was then *logical* for the main reason that, on the one hand, all formerly colonised Arab countries did so, and on the other, no variety among the present varieties in the Algerian linguistic landscape could pursue the task of restoring the Algerian identity. Moreover, for the simple fact that AA lacked a standard form, it was completely removed from Algerian language planning. Indigenous varieties of Berber origin were also set aside from LP in the new independent country despite their being the mother tongue of a number of Algerians throughout Algeria. The Algerian government decided that AA and Berber would be 'inappropriate' to be national symbols of the independent state.

In spite of the fact many countries have selected the coloniser's language as the official language of their state after independence, like the case of a number of African countries such as Mali, Niger, Nigeria and many others, it was not the case for Arabic speaking countries in general, and Algeria in particular. French was excluded from being the official language of Algeria simply because the Algerian policy-makers wished to cut any thread that might relate Algeria to the French coloniser which was viewed as a symbol of 'dark years of colonisation', and selecting it as an official language of the country would be a symbol of 'weakness' of 'Algerianism'. Yet, what has really contributed to assigning it a better social status is its usage in the educational sphere for several years.

On May 5th 1965, Benbella declared to the newspaper *Alger Républicain* that it was necessary to arabise the new independent state. However, this did not mean completely eradicating the French language, for he believed that French was an essential tool to acquire and understand modern techniques. During the period 1965-1978, the second president of Algeria, Houari Boumediene proposed the most basic processes and agreed upon an overall Arabisation as a national purpose. He was of

the opinion that the modification of the Algerian citizens as well as the rebuilding of their identity, should be achieved by an active preservation of the Arabisation programme already initiated by other policy makers, and considered as a crucial instrument to yield the national personality of the Algerian population that must evolve from the use of the Arabic language in every field of cultural, economic and social life.

It was only until the 1980's that MSA started to be approved as the language of instruction in the complete primary school in various grades and various subjects at the secondary level. Arabisation was, in fact, integrated gradually in secondary schools and at the university level; Arabic was introduced on a gradual basis in economics, law and social sciences. However, scientific domains such as physics, mathematics, biology and medicine were, and still are, conducted in the French language.

2.4 The language profile of Algeria

Akin to the rest of North African communities, Algeria has witnessed a dilemma of languages because of the several conquests by peoples from distinct cultures and identities that had a great effect on the Algerian linguistic scene. This thorny issue comes to the surface as soon as one attempts to draw a panoramic picture of the existing language varieties and to figure their status. In this section, we shall try to shed some light on the components of the actual Algerian sociolinguistic profile with the aim of demonstrating the dynamic conflicting interplay between its languages and language varieties, namely: the Arabic language with its different forms, French, Berber and English.

2.4.1 The Arabic language

Arabic is considered as a Central Semitic and an Afro-asiatic language spoken by more than 280 million people as a first language, most of whom live in the Middle East as well as Northern Africa. Arabic roots are connected with the revelation of the

Qur'an to the Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him). Besides, Arabic has long occupied an exceptionally significant position in Arab history because on the one hand and as already stated, it is viewed as the language of revelation of the Qur'an and it is considered as providing the cement of Arab nationalism on the other. In the history of Algeria, the Arabic language expanded as an outcome of military conquests by Muslim armies, from the seventh century onwards. However, language expansion can also occur as a result of a process of acquisition in schools through language-in-education planning or acquisition planning activities.

The Arabic language may either refer to Classical Arabic that is also identified as the written language of the Qur'an or a pure language. CA also designates the Arabic of medieval times in which a body of literature is written, with special reference to pre-Islamic poetry. On the other hand, the Arabic language sometimes refers to what is labelled MSA which was established in the 19th century as an outcome of Cultural Revival 'Nahda'in the Middle East (Benrabah, 2007).

It is worth mentioning at this level that some scholars use the concepts CA and MSA interchangeably while others emphasize the distinction between the two terms. Typically, in fact, MSA has two principal roles: on the one hand, it is used in formal contexts, both spoken and written ones. On the other hand, it fulfils non-formal contexts for the intentions of creating a more advanced degree of mutual intelligibility between regional dialects that are linguistically isolated, such as, Jordanian Arabic and Algerian Arabic for instance.

The Arabic language in Algeria is diglossic where H (MSA) is used in formal situations and L (AA) in informal ones. The fusion of both was first remarked in the speech of educated Algerians. However, recently, it has been noticed that both educated and non-educated Algerians are more or less, either consciously or unconsciously, experiencing the process of incorporating MSA items in their everyday interactions mainly as a result of the Arabisation policy. Dendane (2007) points out the following:

> The effects of such mixing of the varieties are easily detectable in the speech of different types of speakers and in different types of context, to the extent that we may often hear someone using MSA with a varying 'dosage' of L forms or, conversely, colloquial Arabic with H forms, particularly at the lexical level.
>
> Dendane (2007, 69- 70).

Because Arabic is spoken by almost all Algerians and even Berbers, Algeria is considered part of the Arabic nation. It is true that all these communities use different varieties of Arabic, which Ferguson (1959) distinguishes as High and Low varieties, in different social contexts and each for specific functions. Yet, a more comprehensive and finer analysis of present-day uses of the Arabic language demonstrates the existence of a continuum that may be better described and investigated in terms of 'multiglossia' (see Chapter 1, section 1.5.3).

In fact, linguists usually consider three major variants of Arabic which may appear in Classical Arabic (CA), the language of the Holy Book-Qur'an- and ancient poetry, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), a modern version of CA, and Dialectal Arabic also called Algerian Arabic (AA) used in day-to-day conversations. (Mcloughlin, 1999) claims that:

> There is a direct line of descent from classical Arabic, the language of Qur'an to modern Arabic, so that across 1400 years (in the Islamic calendar) the script is recognizably the same, the grammar has changed remarkably little (by comparison with, for example,German and English) and even the vocabulary has shown an astonishing integrity and consistency.
>
> Mcloughlin (1999:1).

As previously stated, CA, the most established variety at the 'top' level, is used in "the Qur'an – 'the clear Arabic book' – considered by virtue of its divine origin to be a paragon of purity and eloquence" Chejne (1969: 40), and still pervades all religious ceremonies. It is also the language used in pre-Islamic poetry which is still preserved. This is why it is considered as a living language used in some specific domains including in particular,

a) Religious purposes (reading of the Qur'an, Friday Sermons, etc.)

b) The language of a large body of literature (prose and especially poetry).

Because CA is associated with the Qur'an, this variety of Arabic spread over the entire Arab world during the Islamic conquests, to become a bond of unity over the territory which stretches from the Atlantic Ocean (Morocco) to the Persian Gulf (Iraq).“Muslims in general and Arabs in particular have long regarded Arabic as a God-given language, unique in beauty and majesty” Chejne (1969: 6).

According to Abu-Melhim (1992:3), MSA is “the written language of contemporary literature, journalism, and formal education … [it] is the standard written Arabic of the entire Arab world, linguistically unifying it today as CA once did”. From this quote, we may deduce that CA is the mother tongue of no sector in a community. The term rather involves the written Arabic of the Qur'an and of the literature of the early period. Classical Arabic became the language of scholarship and religion with the expansion of Islam. It is used as the language of religious practices throughout the entire Islamic world.

MSA (*Al-fusħa*), a modern form of Classical Arabic (Palmer 2008), is the universal language of all Arab communities and its phonological, morphological as well as syntactic structures are practically the same as CA. The term refers to the essential instrument and vehicle of the sacred message of Islamic law '*share'ah*'. It is also considered as a source of integration that works in favour of pan-Arab national identity and cultural heritage (Suleiman, 2003). MSA is the formal language that is used in all formal writings such as official correspondence, literature and newspapers.

This particular form of Arabic is quite uniform throughout the Arab world and serves as a *lingua franca* for speakers of several colloquial forms, many of whom might otherwise be unable to interact with each other. In fact, as mentioned earlier, there exist no native speakers of MSA. The majority of educated Arab people learn it through formal schooling, although many Arabs without formal schooling in MSA can comprehend it to a greater or lesser degree. In the third article of the Algerian constitution, Arabic has been categorized as the official language of the state and thus declared as the medium of instruction in all educational institutions.

The term AA '*al-darija*' refers to the various Algerian regional varieties used in everyday spontaneous communication and popular culture. These forms of Arabic are used in movies, series, plays, and even in some literature. Zughoul (1980: 204-205) distinguishes between Standard/ CA and the various colloquial forms as follows:

1. Generally, Classical Arabic is characterized by a more complicated grammatical system than Colloquial Arabic.
2. Classical Arabic is richer than Colloquial Arabic in its lexicon.
3. Colloquial Arabic represents only a spoken variety used for everyday communication. It has not been written.
4. The term Colloquial is used to refer to a large number of non-standard varieties (dialects) of Arabic developed within and across Arab countries.
5. Colloquial Arabic is acquired natively while Classical Arabic is learned in school and thus is sometimes referred to as not being natural.
6. In general, Arabic speakers hold more positive attitudes towards Classical Arabic than the colloquial varieties.

Just like all Arab children, Algerians acquire one of the colloquial varieties as their first language. There are several spoken dialects that vary along geographical and socio-economic lines. Arab people from certain regions can usually understand dialects from other regions, depending on their geographical proximity and knowledge of MSA. That is, these dialects share a high degree of mutual intelligibility with each other and with other dialects of the Maghreb (Tunisia, Morocco, etc.), particularly with the age of easier communication (TV, internet, etc.). The main aspects that distinguish colloquial forms encompass the impact of languages that were spoken in the area prior to the arrival of the Arabs, the influence of neighbouring languages, and the prestigious role of languages of colonial powers. AA includes a great number of foreign lexical items, mainly those French borrowings that are integrated in Algerians' daily speech.

2.4.1.1 MSA as the official language

At the present time, the national and official language of Algeria is Arabic, recognized to be MSA or *al-lughah al-'Arabīyah al-fuṣḥá*', the'most eloquent' Arabic variety and used in writing and in most formal speech, although it is no body's mother tongue. What is known as colloquial or dialectal Arabic is, indeed, the mother tongue of most Algerians and it differs from one region to another and from city to city, in addition to some Berber varieties spoken, representing the mother tongue of people in some areas of the state.

Following a long and brutal war (1954-1962), Algeria was declared as an independent country characterized by a linguistic diversity. Therefore, the country had to be unified and solidified with a single religion, a single language, and a single political party. The free nation rejected any consent with French, Berber or even AA as official languages. Algerian leaders had fought for Arabic to re-attain its prestige position and endeavoured to strengthen it as the official language of the nation. They had also aimed at diverting French that had a strong creeping in all domains of life during the French colonization and even after independence when the phenomenon of bilingualism crept largely. Admittedly, Algeria confronts a critical existence illustrated in a linguistic conflict among three parties: Standard Arabic, dialectal Arabic and the French language, in addition to Berber. This conflict is a remnant of the long French occupation which spent significant efforts to marginalize Arabic, to fight it and substitute it with the French language.

After the withdrawal of French, Algeria had an urgent need to recover its Arab and Muslim identity and hence, it was confronted with a critical reality as to the selection of which national and official language was going to symbolize it : French which represents the 'dark years'of colonization, or Arabic which is the language of Qur'an and identity. Therefore, several factors have led to the selection of Arabic for what is known today as 'independent Algeria'. First, Classical Arabic is identified as the language of the Holy Qur'an and that of the pre-Islamic poetry before the French settlement; secondly, MSA is highly codified and thus, it is recognized as the idealized and correct form. Moreover, the Arabic language was standardized before

the French colonization took place. It was also the current prestigious language shared by the Arab world because of its religious value.

Unlike other newly-independent nations that have witnessed the substitution of their mother tongues by the colonizers' languages - as for example in the case of French in Senegal -, Algeria, like its two neighbour countries, Morocco and Tunisia, had an urgent 'return' to the Arabic language and its implementation as the sole official language which led to the launching of the Arabisation process.

The functions designated to 'institutional'[43] Arabic have widened because of the Algerian government's engagement through its official language policy. For instance, in the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the registry offices in town halls, Arabisation is either complete or almost complete and, to a lesser extent, the Ministry of Education (Benrabah 2007). In the educational field, a permutation to MSA as the key language of instruction has taken place gradually since 1962, especially at primary and secondary levels. However, in universities, the French language is still the dominant language for studies in scientific fields, and has persisted as the language with higher social status and prestige.

MSA enjoys high prestige in the Algerian territory. It is the prevailing variety in all religious sermons and used, as stated previously, as the medium of instruction in several educational institutions such as schools, universities, institutes, etc. It is used as the language of TV news and programmes, newspapers, magazines and books as well. This Arabic variety supposedly used by all Algerians as a language of formal settings, is not inherent or natural; and it is not the native language of anybody as mentioned repeatedly, for it is not acquired naturally from birth. Algerian children painlessly acquire their colloquial Arabic (AA) through contact with their parents and their siblings, but MSA is only learned in a formal type of education, at school or in the mosque for religious purposes.

[43] The term 'institutional' has been introduced here to indicate that Arabic is used in some specific institutions in Algeria.

2.4.1.2 AA as a mother tongue

There is a prevailing feeling among most Algerians that it is artificial and not workable to use MSA for daily interaction. The other form of Arabic known as AA, '*al-darija*', or'*al-ammiya*' meaning 'habitual' and 'popular' respectively, is the basis of oral communication, used spontaneously by Algerian speakers to express their feelings and thoughts, and to communicate. Colloquial Arabic is a form of Arabic that native speakers acquire naturally from birth, and is used at home when interacting with family and friends, and in radio or television soap operas.

The Low variety (AA) consists of the total sum of the regional dialects scattered throughout the country. These dialects share a kind of mutual intelligibility with each other as well as with other Maghrebi dialects, but are likely to be incomprehensible outside the Maghreb territory. What is indeed peculiar to AA (in addition to Moroccan and Tunisian Arabic, though to a lesser extent) is that foreign lexical items, especially those French borrowings, are copious in everyday usage. Indeed, French is "strongly implanted at the lexical level", as Bouhadiba (1998:162) points out. In fact, many people show hesitation in identifying AA as the true variety due to the insertion of a significant amount of French words. Moreover, Algerian dialects are variants that stem from geographical differences under colonial influences of Spanish, French and Turkish and consequently, significant local variations (in pronunciation, grammar, etc.) exist in AA. Illustrations of differences can be observed in towns like Jijel where the phoneme/q/ is pronounced [k], [g] in Oran and in Tlemcen as the glottal stop [ʔ].

In Algeria, two sorts of Arabic dialects were subsequently deeply rooted: the Sedentary or Pre-Hillali dialects, then the Bedouin or Normadic dialects. Whereas the former were brought to ground by the sedentary Arabs during the first movement of Arabisation, the latter were introduced by the mid-11th century. The Algerian sedentary dialects are divided into inter-linked types: the urban dialects, the mountain, or the village ones. Urban dialects are implanted in the long established cities of Tlemcen, Nedroma, Algiers, Cherchell, Tenes, Blida, Meliana, Skikda,

Medea and Dellys (Bourdieu, 1961). The village dialects or Mountainous speech, on the other hand, are commonly found in the mountains of Msirda and Trara in the department of Oran as well as the department of Constantine which corresponds to Eastern Kabylia, including Djidjelli, Mila and Collo. These dialects are more spread in the East in comparison with the west. Nevertheless, they are less extensive than Bedouin dialects.

All colloquial forms are described in terms of 'diglossia relationship' (Ferguson 1959a), vis-à-vis MSA with clearly distinct functions. AA differs from MSA at all linguistic levels namely: phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical. This can be illustrated by the following instances (Hamzaoui, 2013: 60- 61):

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

1. Elision: as in [k'təb] in AA for CA [kataba] where the vowel/a/ is dropped, meaning 'he wrote'.

2. Assimilation: as in /'ɤasala/→ [χ'əsəl] , meaning 'he has washed' in which/ɤ/→[χ] as a result of regressive assimilation of voicing, i.e./ɤ/ loses its voicing before the voiceless fricative /s/ after the vowel drop.

3. Diphthong realized as a long vowel: While CA /ʔajna/ is realized [fejən] in Tlemcen, it is pronounced [fi:n] and [wi:n] in other varieties.

b. *Morphological:* for instance, the inflections referring to the dative and causative cases are not used in daily speech. Speakers can only be conscious of these if they know the rules of *iʕraab* of CA, learned at school, and the persons who are familiar with them may use them solely in formal situations. For example, the CA utterance /taka'llamtu maʕa lmuʕa'llimi/ is realized as

[tkəlləmət mʕa l'muʕa'llim] even in a formal setting. This is simply due to the general phenomenon called 'pause form'.

c. *Syntactic*: a high number of syntactic structures are simplified in AA. The basic sentence structure in MSA is normally a VSO, while in AA it usually takes the form of SVO, as in /naʒaħa' əttilmi:ðu fil ʔiχtiba:ri/ in MSA, but is realized as : [əttəlmi:d nʒaħ f 'liχtiba:r] in 'semi-formal' settings.

d. *Lexical*: a great number of French words and expressions have become part of Algerian speech, in particular those lexical items related to technical fields or imported articles of which people are at a loss if asked to find equivalent words such as *tournevis* 'screw-driver' or *mandat* 'money order'. There are also some borrowed words from CA or MSA in AA as a consequence of the process of Arabisation. The word [dawla] has replaced, though not to a large extent, the French word *état*, 'state'.

Whether it is a dialectal or a standard form, a bedouin or a sedentary dialect, it is Arabic in its intertwined forms, which dominates the other languages present in the Algerian linguistic scene (Berber and French), for it is the most widely used and the most widely distributed in the nation. It is the instrument of communication of all Algerians be they man or woman, rich or poor, old or young, literate or illiterate; the fact is that it is the language of the Algerian society.

Moreover, Algerian Arabic, which is considered as the first language of 80-85% of the Algerian population (Benrabah, 2014: 402), is spread over four principal geographical areas each with its own linguistic aspects:

1- Western Algerian Arabic used in an area which extends from the Moroccan border to Tenes.

2- Central Algerian Arabic spoken in the central zone which extends to Bejaia and includes Algiers and its surroundings.

3- Eastern Algerian Arabic spoken in the High Plateaus around Setif, Constantine, Annaba and extends to the Tunisian border.

4- Saharan Algerian Arabic spoken by around 100,000 inhabitants in the Sahara desert (Benrabah, ibid).

Indeed, linguists go further when they assert that Algeria is a multilingual country on the basis of the co-existence of another indigenous variety called 'Berber' which makes the Algerian linguistic issue more complicated.

2.4.2 Berber

The existence of a linguistic diversity in the Algerian territory is not only the result of geographic and social conventions, but it is also a matter of ethnography and history. Algerian lands were first invaded by the Arabs during the seventh century who integrated themselves among the Berbers[44], who in turn, are considered as the indigenous tribes of North Africa. Yet, in spite of the widespread Arabisation which accompanied the Muslim settlement that took place mostly during the 7th and 11th centuries, the Berber varieties scattered in some regions throughout the country have been preserved;"traits of reluctance are still retained nowadays in Algeria and are expressed through language attitudes in the Berber minority" (Derni: 2009: 50).

Right after independence (1962), The Arabic language was recognized as the national and official language of the nation. As a matter of fact, Berber was put aside with no political recognition, and thus, its speakers "felt themselves to be at a disadvantage and argued that independence for them had resulted in no more than an exchange of masters" (Benmoussat, 2003:109). However, after a constitutional revision by President Bouteflika, *article 3 bis* advocated the proclamation of Berber as a national language. The official promulgation was made in Algiers on Moharram 27th, 1423 corresponding to April 10th, 2002. However, this decision did not seem to satisfy Berbers as they sought equality between the status of Arabic and Tamazight. Indeed, Berber has recently (February, 2016) made a noteworthy step onward since

[44] The word Berber derives from Latin 'barbaros'. The term was used in the history of Europe and Africa to indicate civilizations that were not Roman or Greek. At present, it indicates the populations of North Africa and Sahara. In Algeria, they come under distinct affiliations.

it is actually considered as a joint-official language along side Arabic. In addition, the constitutional amendment did not change any condition in the principles of the Algerian state and no positive action had been undertaken in favour of Berber. In fact, the exact number of Berber speakers is unknown in Algeria, since the nation does not take into account language data in its censuses. However, they are estimated at 1/5, according to Chaker (1984:8-9). There are four major Berberophone groups: The first distinct Berberophone group are the'Tuaregs', desert nomads estimated at a few thousand centering on their heartland, the Hoggar Mountains near the southeast and southwest borders of the Algerian territory.

The 'Mozabites'estimated between 80.000 and100.000 living in Gharda'ia and enclosed bastion cities in the Mzab region in the Sahara. The third distinct Berberophone group are the 'Chaouias'who represent the third Berber community, settling around the Aures Mountains, further east, south of Constantine. The variety spoken by this population is called *Chaoui (Tachawit)* ; though with fewer native speakers compare to Kabylie, is spoken by over a million speakers, localised principally in the eastern area of the country mainly in Sétif, Tebessa, Batna, Souk-Ahras, Khenchela and Oum-El-Bouaghi.

The final and most significant Berber group is represented by the Kabylians (about two-thirds of Berberophones). Kabylia is an isolated area along the Mediterranean Sea. The Kabylians speak *Kabylie (Thakvayelith)* which is considered as the second dominant Berber variety worldwide after *Chleuh*[45]*(Tachelhit)*-the prevailing variety among Moroccan Berber communities - spoken mainly in Great Kabylia in seven provinces, namely: Tizi-Ouzou, Bejaia, Jijel, Boumerdès, Bouira, Bordj-Bou-Arreridj, and Sétif. It is also spoken by Berber families living out of Kabylia, in urban cities such as Algiers, Annaba, Oran and Constantine and in the Berber diaspora in Europe, particularly in France.

[45]In the wilaya of Tlemcen, 'Chleuh' is the frequently attested Berber variety, spoken in Beni Boussaid, a Berber 'aarch' in the mountain of Asfour on the borders with Morocco, as well as in Beni Snouss.

The Berbers asked for the recognition of Tamazight as a national and official language in the Algerian territory. Moreover, they demanded for a linguistic and cultural autonomy that consists in the recognition of Tamazight as the first language in the Berberophone areas. In the meantime, Tamazight is taught in some primary and secondary schools in towns like Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia. This language has been introduced as a free subject into the school curriculum, and the basic law specifies that interested learners are free to select which Berber variety to learn. Recently, Berber functions as a 'joint-official' language alongside Arabic (see constitution 2016). Meanwhile, French being a linguistic inheritance from the colonial era, adds to the intricacy of the Algerian nation.

2.4.3 French

Under the slogan *l'Algérie française* (French Algeria), France implemented a deliberate, well-organized policy with the ultimate goal of complete assimilation. Indeed, just after the settlement, one of the principal purposes of the French policy was to malign intensely non- French languages and cultures and to promulgate French as the sole official language which was viewed by Bourhis (1982:44) as "the only language of civilization and advancement". It is a fact that French was imposed by the colonists and this was one of the fundamental features used by France in its policy of depersonalization and acculturation of the Algerian citizens. Kh. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:42-43) reports the following:

> French, language imposed in violence on the Algerian population, has constituted one of the fundamental elements used by France in its policy of depersonalization and acculturation towards Algeria[46] (Translation is mine).

And pointing out the declassification of written Arabic and the imposition of French as the only official language for a long period, she (ibid) adds:

[46]My translation of the French text « Le français, langue imposée au peuple algérien dans sa violence, a constitué un des éléments fondamentaux utilisés par la France dans sa politique de dépersonnalisation et d'acculturation à l'égard de l'Algérie »

> But the most important consequence for us about this declassification of the Arabic language (in its written form) is that French becomes of course the only official language but also and especially for a long time (My translation).

Accordingly, one of the obvious purposes of the French policy makers was to conquer and dominate Algeria definitively by de-arabising it and executing the *French School.* Evidently, Most Algerians were against that language dominion and tried to oppose resistance to it. They succeeded in doing so to a certain extent till 1880 (Dendane, 2007: 83). The most drastic consequence at that time was that the Arabic language confined itself merely to oral usage, a situation that leads to a rapid expansion of illiteracy among Algerian citizens.

According to Dendane (2007), soon afterwards, there was a radical change of attitude towards the French School especially at the onset of the twentieth century, simply because Algerian parents became more conscious of the benefits of education for their offspring whatever the language of instruction, and they were convinced that the only way to access the modern world could not be achieved in another language except in French. Benrabah (2005) supports this idea when says that:

> By 1920-1922, Algerians' cultural resistance turned into an acceptance of the colonial school system which quickly changed into a demand for more education in French , a change that would lead to ambivalent attitudes towards the French after independence, when there was both dissatisfaction with and attraction to the colonial language.
>
> (Benrabah, 2005:397- 398).

The expansion and development of the colonial education system permitted Standard French to spread mainly among the population of European descent and a minority of Arabo-Berber Algerians (Benrabah, 2005:405). During the colonial era, French varieties can be established along a dialect continuum. At one end of the continuum, there is the basilectal variety known as *patouète*. This latter was principally used in the port towns of Algiers, Oran, Skikda, Annaba and Mostaganem (ibid). At the other end of the continuum, there exists another French variety, an acrolect which was principally written and strongly influenced by the French norm. It was mainly used by journalists, teachers, colonial administrators, writers and so

forth. The range of French varieties mentioned previously for the colonial era is still valid today even though the vast majority of Algerians of European descent abandoned the country more than fifty years ago.

> The basilectal form is used by two social categories within the population. First, there are Algerians who hold low-ranking positions in the administrative sector, educated before Arabisation was implemented, with an elementary education in French. The second group includes Arabised monolinguals trained after the implementation of Arabisation who did not have access to French for one reason or another (nationalism, lack of teachers, etc.).
>
> (Benrabah, 2005: 405).

As a result, the Algerians were so extensively influenced linguistically during the French settlement, that today, more than 50 years after independence, French continues to play a key role in spoken as well as written domains. It has also become deeply rooted in Algeria where it still enjoys a high status. Moreover, in June 2000, during his state visit to France, President Bouteflika addressed his audience in French to assure them about the future of this language in Algeria. He says in this respect:

> The French language and the high culture that it vehicles remain, for Algeria, important and precious benefits than the restoration of Arabic, our national language, will ostracize. It is there a richness to be able to fertilise our own culture, and that is why French, like other modern languages, and moreover due to its intrinsic virtues and seniority in our country, it will keep a place that neither a complex, a resentment nor any ordinary situation would dispute.[47]

Thus, despite the fact that French is not recognized as an official language in the country, it remains an important language because it is taught as a compulsory subject starting from the third grade in primary education. What seems odd is that despite the extensive efforts spent by the Algerian rulers for a radical Arabization, there are far more Algerian people competent in French than in 1962 (Benrabah,

[47] My translation of the text : « La langue française et la haute culture qu'elle véhicule restent, pour l'Algérie, des acquis importants et précieux que la réhabilitation de l'arabe, notre langue nationale, ne saurait frapper d'ostracisme. C'est la une richesse à même de féconder notre propre culture, et c'est pourquoi le français, à l'instar d'autres langues modernes, et plus encore en raison de ses vertus intrinsèques et de son ancienneté dans notre pays, gardera une place qu'aucun complexe, aucun ressentiment ni aucune conjoncture quelconque ne saurait lui disputer. »
'Le message de Bouteflika', Le Monde, 17 June, 2000. In Benrabah (2004: 51).

2004), and despite a drop in standards, Algeria is the second French-speaking community after France (Benrabah, ibid: 54).

Furthermore, it is of paramount importance to mention that the presence of multilingualism, which often generates contact situations, and language rivalry allows us to consider another competing language, English, so worthy of consideration in the Algerian linguistic scene.

2.4.3 English

In Algeria, learning and teaching foreign languages have reached much importance in the new curricula, and as a result, English has gained more attention in the educational sphere; it has also been introduced in labour and production fields. The globalisation process, has introduced English in various non- English speaking countries throughout the world notwithstanding the various constraints of politics, geography, economy, cultural and social arrangements decrease to make the globe smaller. More recently, as Derni (2009) points out,

> English has not only been acknowledged in the Algerian educational system, but it is seemingly developing as an integral part of AA itself, especially among young people and that has often been introduced through French via forms like 'taxiphone', 'fast-food', 'week-end', 'chat', 'internet', 'windows', 'surfing', 'web', 'foot', 'penalty' and so on.
>
> Derni (2009: 284).

Notwithstanding, globalization has not stimulated serious linguistic modifications in the Algerian territory, as in many parts of the Arab world because of the existence of French , English nowadays, has gained more importance than ever not by the Algerian education sector solely , but also by speakers themselves. It can be deduced that, in the present time, the Algerian population has become more aware of the urgent need of learning English through which people have the opportunity to exchange information and communicate with the external world.

2.5 Present-day sociolinguistic situation in Algeria

Algeria is a multilingual country, a linguistic situation that comes from its inextricable history. As mentioned earlier, the native inhabitants of Northern Africa in general and Algeria in particular are the Berbers who came under the chain of the Phoenicians who imposed their Carthaginian rule for about seven centuries,then the Roman domination which lasted for about six centuries, then the Vandals and the Byzantine dominations for about a century each. The Arabs and the Turks who dominated the area for about three centuries, and finally, the French, who ended the Turkish invasion, commanded for more than a century. It is undeniable that the diverse events that Algeria has gone through had many undeniable consequences.

> One of the consequences of this long history of mixing peoples was language contact and its by-product, multilingualism – Berber–Punic, Berber–Punic– Latin, Berber–Arabic, Berber–Arabic–Spanish–Turkish, Berber–Arabic–French, and so on.
>
> (Benrabah 2014: 43).

In effect, two conquering groups among those previously cited left deep traces on the Algerian linguistic landscape: the Arabs and the French. Following the Arab invasion in the seventh century, the Arabic language became vigorously associated with Islam in North Africa.Arabic evolved moderately, and more and more Berbers left their vernacular to become Arabophones, and thus,

> [t]he Berbers admitted the superiority of Arabic over their own language, probably because of this link between Arabic and religion, and maybe also because of the respect they felt for the written forms which their own language did not possess.
>
> (Bentahila, 1983: 2).

During the period 1830-1962, the French imposed a scrupulous policy of deracination and deculturization. “Indeed, colonised for more than 130 years (1930-1962), Algeria was considered by the French government as a province of France which would never be autonomous and separated from the ‘Metropole’” (Dendane, 2007: 68). Colonial France implemented an assimilationist policy of total Frenchification onmillions of Algerian people in order to accomplish their “civilizing

mission", and thus, the French settlers strongly believed in the superiority of their language and culture. The truth is that the complexity mirrored in today's Algerian linguistic profile is the result of the several events that the country has gone through. Undoubtedly, various factors have contributed to the existence of such intricacy, some being of historical nature, others political and still others socio-cultural. Beside the co-existence of theTamazight dialects scattered in a few regions throughout the country, despite the introduction of the Arabic language since the Islamic openings, the French language is still pervading the vernaculars of millions of Algerians after more than half a century of independence.

The effect of French and its culture was so strong that it began to mirror in many Algerians' oral communication and soon gave birth to a kind of dual identity. The domination had many consequences namely the various linguistic phenomena that take place whenever two or more languages get into contact: the well-established sociolinguistic phenomenon of bilingualism and subsequent code-switching and code-mixing, in addition to borrowing and the well- known phenomenon of diglossia pervading the Algerian sociolinguistic profile.

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

All in all, Algeria not only reflects a diglossic case in which two distinct varieties are in a functional distribution (Ferguson 1959a), but also the sociolinguistic phenomena that occur when different languages are in contact, i.e., bilingualism and its inevitable results namely code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing.

The next sections will attempt to shed some light on the main constituents of the actual Algerian sociolinguistic profile with the purpose of demonstrating the dynamic relationship between the varieties of the Arabic language that are present in the community, in addition to the constant use of the French language in its various forms in daily conversations.

2.5.1 Diglossia in the Algerian context

The diglossic linguistic situation in Algeria is similar to that of the rest of the Arab world. Like every diglossic society, there are distinct levels of speech ranging from formal, the High variety, to informal speech, the Low variety (see section 1.5). As already discussed (section 1.5.4.3), Badawi (1973:53) points out that "there exists more than one level of speech not only in the speech community of Egypt, but in that of every Arab country".

As an intricate multilingual country, Algeria presents in its linguistic scene at least two H, several L languages and an intermediate set of middle varieties. Algerian Arabic symbolizes the major variety of Arabic and, with the exception of a few elderly monolingual Berber speakers, is used by almost all groups (Queffelec *etal.* 2002: 34-5).

In Algeria, diglossia appears through the presence of CA, the most exalted and fully inflectional form of Arabic being the language of the Qur'an; MSA, as mentioned several times in this study, is a modern version of CA that functions as a language of instruction, religious and literary recitations, media and formal contexts in general. ESA is the variety used in semi-formal contexts by the most educated people, and finally AA represents the various colloquial forms which are used by people in informal contexts such as family talk, shopping, chat with close friends, etc. According to Benrabah (2014: 45), "The dialectal form of Arabic consists of two main varieties: Algerian Spoken Arabic used by populations in the north of the country, and Algerian Saharan Spoken Arabic in the south, in the Sahara desert."

Badawi (1973) came up with a diagram for an attempt to explain how the linguistic system in Arabic operates in rapport with diglossia phenomenon. It is possible to implement the diagram below not only to the Egyptian Arabic situation, but also to the Algerian context which is more or less analogous.

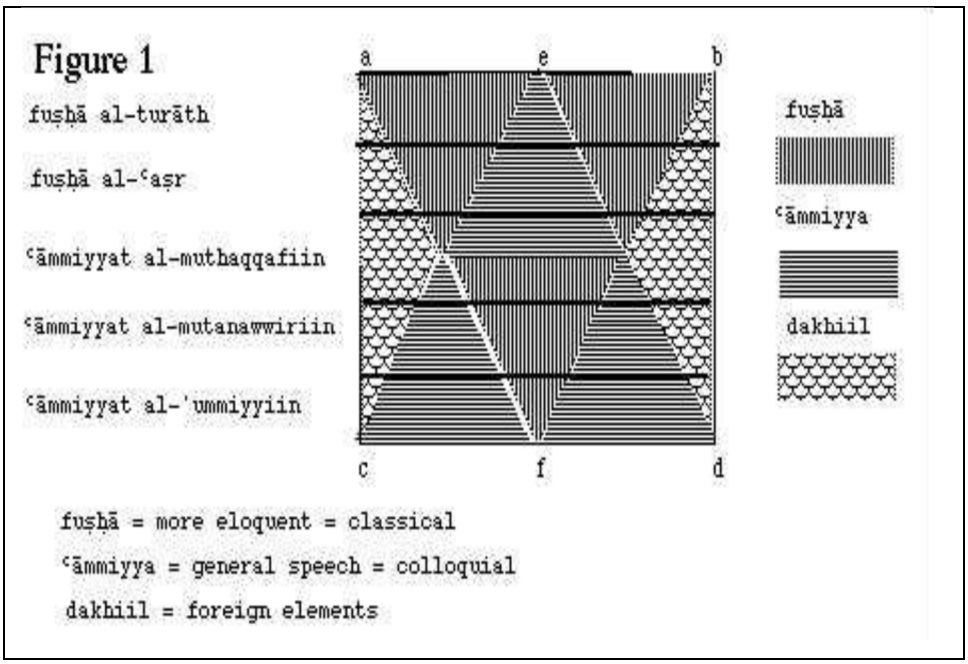


Figure 2.1 Badawi's diagram (1973): "Levels of Egyptian Arabic"[48]

Essentially, two principal aspects characterizing to some extent similarly the Arabic language circumstance dominating in present day Arab speech communities are clearly highlighted in Badawi's model: First, the hierarchical five levels schematised as a continuum have been translated into English by Freeman (1996) in the following concepts:

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

[48]In Dendane (2007: 70).

When we apply Badawi's stratification to the Algerian context, the five levels may be clearly represented in a continuum that indicates the following: CA, the language of the Qur'an, MSA, the variety used in formal contexts, Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) used in semi-formal situations, then a sort of 'elevated' spoken Arabic, and finally Colloquial Arabic.

The second aspect is that, in this hierarchical level model, each level incorporates mixing from all the other elements of the system, in other words, the varieties are mixed at all five levels with fluctuating degrees of interlacing, and with nearly a considerable use of foreign components known as 'dakhil' in Arabic, meaning terms that 'penetrated' the language. These borrowings are considered as outcomes from the contact of Arabic with other languages during the pre-colonial period, Berber, Turkish and Spanish to provide an illustration, but mainly from French during the colonial era.

Similarly in fact, K. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:70), and in an investigation about the linguistic conflict of Arabic diglossia in the Algerian context, presents a linguistic continuum of five Arabic levels in a hierarchical model that begins from the most to the least conformist *of El-Fasih.*

- Classical Arabic
- Standard Arabic
- Substandard Arabic
- Educated Spoken Arabic
- Dialectal Arabic/ vernacular

Following this hierarchical level model, it can be argued that the linguistic conflict in Algeria is apparently a manifestation of other rivalries of a national level which are mainly due to political as well as cultural issues. Moreover, this chain corresponds with particular domains of use where there exists a link between the prevailing and dominant form, which is held in high esteem and convenient to formal contexts referred to as Classical Arabic, and a dominating form which is arguably

Algerian Arabic and which is contrarily low in status, and convenient to informal contexts. This specific variety, and as mentioned repeatedly in this work, is used by most Algerians for day-to-day conversations.

In essence, the sociolinguistic situation in the Algerian territory provides a perfect example of thephenomenon of diglossia which refers to the co- existence of two distinct varieties of the same language that are in complementary functional distribution (Ferguson, 1959). The standard form of Arabic differs considerably from colloquial Arabic in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary. Additionally, MSA serves "not only as the vehicle of current forms of literature, but also as a resource language for communication between literate Arabs from geographically distantparts of the Arab world". (Ryding, 2005: 7).

With reference to the classical outlook of diglossic speech communities, Algeria involves a more inextricable situation than that of Ferguson's Arabic speaking communities. The complexity of the Algerian context lies, in fact, in the co-existence of four varieties which are used in relation to two varying settings : formal and informal . The varieties in question are: MSA, French, AA, and Berber.[49] Therefore the Algerian speaker may use MSA as H in formal settings and AA in informal ones; such compartmentalization refers to Ferguson's (1959) originalversion. There exist other possible distributions of H and L; French can be used asH and AA / Berber as L or MSA as H and Berber as L.

This distribution applies to Fishman's (1967) 'extended diglossia', a case where two genetically unrelated languages are used for specific domains. The concomitant possible distributions of H and L can be summarized as follows:

- Modern Standard Arabic versus Algerian Arabic (Ferguson 1959) classical diglossia/ intralingual diglossia)
- French versus Algerian Arabic (Fishman 1967 extended diglossia/ interlingual diglossia)

[49]Berber varieties do not exist in most areas of the country. They are scattered in a few regions which in turn are distant from one another.

- Modern Standard Arabic versus Berber (Fishman 1967 extended diglossia/ interlingual diglossia)
- Berber versus French (Fishman 1967 extended diglossia/ interlingual diglossia)

The simple diagram below characterizes the diglossic situation in Algeria and summarizes clearly what has been discussed above:

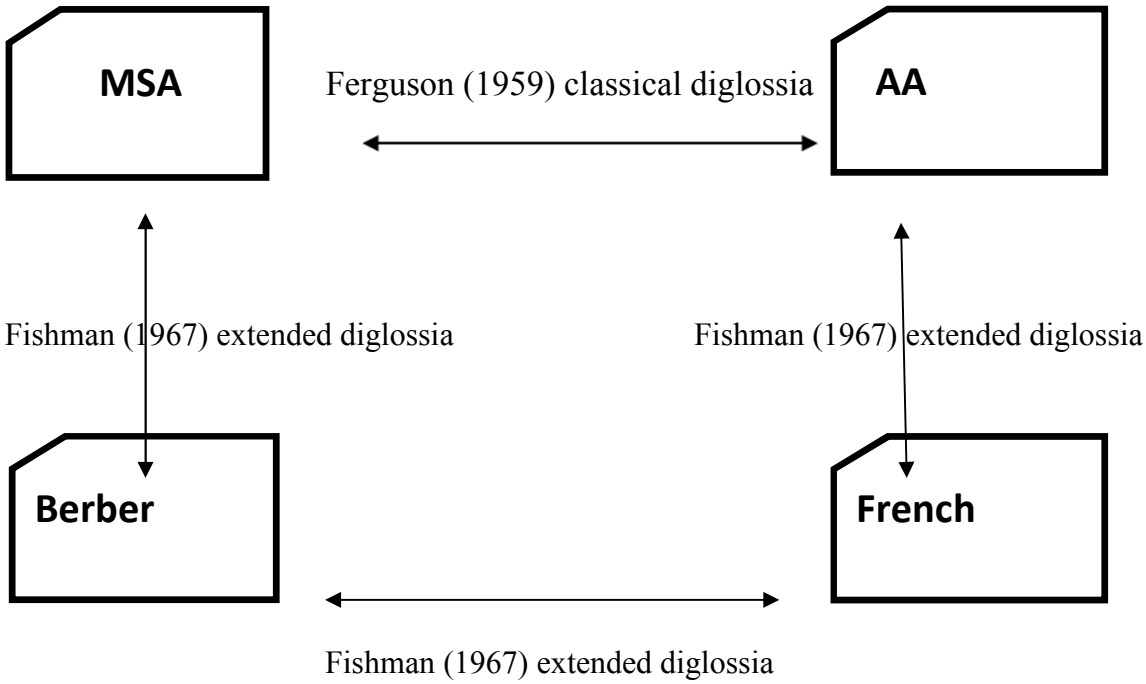


Diagram 2.2 Characterization of Diglossia in Algeria (Hamzaoui 2013: 75).

In an endeavour to throw some light on the Algerian linguistic profile, Bouhadiba (1998:1-2) not only considers the intricacy of the situation and the complexity in establishing boundaries that might dissociate the distinct varieties that come into play, but he also endeavours to clarify the strong *infiltration* of daily speech by French lexical items. He (1998) says in this respect:

> The actual linguistic reality as it is presented in observation is characterized by a continuum of Arabic where the varieties of this language are sometimes difficult to delimit: classical arabic, literary arabic, modern standard arabic, educated spoken

> arabic, dialectal varieties with arabic dosage but where French is strongly implanted at the lexical level..[50]
>
> (ibid).

Therefore, we may wonder whether the validity of Ferguson's binary model will hold any longer to explain the reality of the linguistic situation in Algeria. It is nonetheless true that alternating between H and L is easily noticeable in certain formal or semi-formal situations, mainly from the part of individuals who have received their education either in Arabic or in both Arabic and French. As an illustration, in situations such as in a religious lecture in the mosque, or in a conference on TV news, the speaker either switches from H to L, or vice-versa, or even mixes both varieties in order to transmit the message to a larger audience including less educated people. A kind of 'instability' is also perceived as a dilemma or conflict in the Algerian context, for:

> The dilemma in question here concerns not only the *de facto* dominance of higher level CA/MSA as opposed to the vitality of the Low variety, but also the increasingly dynamic relationship between the two types of variety which results in their frequent contact and the emergence of intermediate varieties along the Arabic continuum.
>
> (Dendane, 2007: 73).

For instance, when addressing his audience, a political ruler, will continually switch from H to L or the other way round. He will shift to H for the principal aim to transmit the wish for Arab authenticity in addition to issues and concepts that he would be unable to reveal in colloquial Arabic, and in reverse to L to reveal identification and solidarity with the audience.

In Algeria, it is clearly observable that the various colloquial forms are closer to each other and at the same time to CA and/ or MSA to the extent that one may notice that Algerian interlocutors switch or mix to varying degrees between the three Arabic varieties at play, i.e., CA, MSA and AA whether in formal or semi-formal

[50] My translation of the French text : « La réalité linguistique actuelle telle qu'elle se présente à l'observation est caractérisée par un continuum de l'arabeoù les variétés de cette langue sont parfois difficiles à délimiter: arabe classique, arabe littéraire, arabe standard moderne, arabe parlé cultivé, variétés dialectales à dosage arabe mais ou le français est fortement implanté au niveau lexical... »

contexts. The educational sphere is by no means an exception of the diglossic phenomenon. Notwithstanding MSA is officially recognized as the medium of education and instruction in all Algerian educational institutions, AA in its various forms remain in the forefront competing with the most prestigious and formal variety in classroom activities.

2.5.2 Algerian bilingualism: Arabic vs. French

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

> The concept of bilingualism refers to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (societal bilingualism); but it also includes the concept of bilinguality (or individual bilingualism). Bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a mean of social communication.
>
> (Hamers & Blanc, 2000:6).

Algerian bilingualism in particular, is the result of the long gradual settlement of the whole state by the French. Indeed, Algeria reflects an inextricable situation, for a large proportion of its population is able to communicate in more than a single code. What adds to the intricacy of the Algerian society, is the co-existence of two completely distinct languages: Arabic and French. The latter remains important in both spoken and written domains. According to Romaine (1994: 30), "If individuals possess two languages and can function reasonably effectively in producing and perceiving both, they are considered bilinguals".

It is worth mentioning that during the pre and post-independence eras, most, if not all the Algerian population -without taking into consideration their cultural and educational level- were bilinguals. However, in the present time, bilingualism is much more common among those who had the opportunity to go to school and those who

were in contact with French. Nowadays, it is clearly noticeable that the whole population, even illiterate people can use and / or comprehend at least a few words either from MSA or French in their daily conversations.

The French language, in this way, continues to create the stability of Algerian bilingualism through its expansion within the substantial Arabic speaking nation and the marginal Berber group since its initiation in the policy of French settlement in the society at the onset of the nineteenth century. French is so deeply rooted in Algeria that, today more than fifty years after independence, the bulk of French structures in the Algerians' mother tongue has apparently shaken up the phonology, the morphology, the morpho-syntax and even the lexicon of Algerian Arabic. "French items are so infiltrated in Algerian Arabic that many Middle East speakers, when they come across it, regard it as distant from Arabic affiliation" (Derni, 2009: 71).

Moreover, in autumn 1999, President Bouteflika presented a press conference at the Crans Montana Summit in Switzerland in which he (as cited in Benrabah, 2004a: 96), declared: "We attended French school and we are thus heavily influenced by Descartes"[51], and in the summer of 1999 (as cited in Benrabah, ibid: 96), he admitted that:

> Algeria does not belong to Francophonia but there is no reason for us to have a frozen attitude towards the French language which taught us so many things and which, at any rate, opened [for us] the window of French culture.[52]
>
> (My translation).

Bouteflika's recognition of French as part of Algeria's language landscape belongs to his strategy which is meant to modernise Algerian institutions as for example, the educational system. It is obvious that one of the major goals of educational reforms is to guide Algeria's development and modernisation, encouraged by Bouteflika's government. The principal reform involves the restoration to bilingual education, and to put an end to monolingualism.

[51] On a assisté à l'école française et on est profondément influencé par Descartes (my translation).
[52] L'Algérie n'appartient pas à la Francophonie mais il n'y a acune raison pour nous d'avoir une attitude figée envers la langue Française qui nous a enseignée autant de choses et dont à n'importe quelle vitesse, a ouvert [pour nous] la fenetre de la culture française (my translation).

Not surprisingly, education is one of the most pertinent determinants leading tobilingualism. At a fairly early age, the child acquires the vernacular which he receives and develops at home and then, with the help of school, the child is able to learn a foreign language and to perform the two languages. As an illustration, Algerian children acquire their mother tongue (AA) at home, then they learn Standard Arabic starting from the first years of formal schooling and later on, they learn French as a foreign language along with Arabic. In this sense, individual bilingualism is viewed as an inevitable outcome of the educational policy. Thus, it can be argued that the influence of the French on the Algerian community has been so strong that it is practically impossible to hear a discussion without the incorporation of at least a few French words or expressions. In fact, the French impact on Algerians' speech has contributed nowadays not only in the use of borrowed words, but also in the allotment of 'ready-made' expressions like *c'est pas grave* or the intermittently used question *ça marche?,* meaning respectively 'that doesn't matter' and 'does it work ?' "AA is so to say, loaded with French to the extent that this type of variety has been referred to as 'Franc-Arabic' by Bouamrane (1998)" (Dendane, 2007: 75).

However, notwithstanding French domination on the government, education, the media, and administrationin the colonial period, the use of this foreign language has weakened in a number of higher domains since Algeria's independence. As a matter of fact, the functions allocated to Standard Arabic have spread. The fluctuation to the Arabic language is almost exhaustive in the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Justice, Religious Affairs Ministry, and the registry offices in town halls. In education, Standard Arabic is so to say the exclusive medium of instruction in primary and secondary school and in the humanities at the university level. Nevertheless, French is still considered the key-language for studies in higher education especially in scientific domains.

More recently, a survey was conducted by Benrabah (2004), among 1051 senior high school students from three urban centres with distinct population sizes: Oran which is considered as a large town; Saïda, as a medium city and Ghazaouet,

the smallest among the three. 82% affirmed they felt 'close to God' in Standard Arabic and 80% described it as 'the language of religious and moral values'. However, 91.5% said that French 'allows openness to the world' and 85.7% felt that it is the'language of science and technology' (Benrabah 2007a, 238–239).

Bilingualism in the Algerian society is, in fact, not homogeneous since not all the population is bilingual. Varying degrees of bilingual proficiency is characteristic of Algerians as their communicative competence in French can range from the knowledge of a few forms and loans to a highly native-like mastery of that language among the élite and educated people, mainly those who had the opportunity to attend the French school before, and right after independence. Nevertheless, whatever we may say about the importance and the role that French has played in the socio-historical making of modern Algeria, and by its being considered as a colonial inheritance, Arabic is thought to be the sole language to be selected as the national and official language of independent Algeria. In September 2005[53], President Bouteflika claims that:

> Arabic will remain the only official language of Algeria. No country in the world has two official languages and it will never be the case in Algeria where the only official language, recognized by the Constitution, is Arabic. I cannot accept things that work against Algeria's interests.

Yet, the Algerian community does not use the Arabic language in all domains. Therefore, domain loss for Arabic has led to a situation whereby language functions and registers take place in a kind of complementary distribution: Whereas Arabic is used for spiritual needs and represents cultural power, French symbolizes worldly needs and economic power (Benrabah, 2014).

Benrabah (2004)[54] has also introduced the notion of *Algerian paradox* through which he explains that, in spite of a radical Arabisation policy made by the Algerian policy-makers, and in spite of a drop in standards as a result of poor teaching methods, the Algerian society remains the second French-speaking nation in the world after

[53]Mentioned in Benrabah (2007a: 247).
[54]In Lang. P. (2004: 54).

France, and currently, there are far more competent individuals in French in Algeria than in 1962.

The intricacy of the Algerian speech community *per se* is examined through the Algerian sociolinguistic realities, as the context exhibits heated debating issues such as bilingualism and code-switching, an inevitable phenomenon in all bilingual societies. Algerian speakers use different codes in their daily conversations depending not only on the topics debated, the domains of use, but also on their attitudes towards each code, which may acknowledge the use of a mixture of languages and switching.

2.5.3 Language contact outcomes

An extraordinary rich field of study in the different language contact phenomena is offered by the present-day sociolinguistic situation in the Algerian society. Indeed, the long-term contact between the distinct autochthonous groups (Berbers, Arabs, and French) has led to a society whereby the dynamics of language contact characterize the everyday speech of most, if not to say all Algerian speakers. These phenomena are mainly represented in the relationship between Arabic and French on the one hand, and between language varieties on the other.

2.5.3.1 Code-switching and code-mixing

In sociolinguistics, the phenomenon of code-switching (CS hereafter) concerns situations of speech that draws upon the use of at least two languages that are combined in different ways. According to Bell (1976), a code may be a language, a variety, or a style of a given language. CS is a key aspect of language contact and is by no means an exceptional phenomenon. In fact, code-switching and code-mixing are widespread phenomena in bilingual societies where individuals use their mother tongue and their second language in different domains. Yet, it is not always the case where each different language is used in one particular domain. Instead what tends to occur is that a mixture of the two languages involved is used.

Generally speaking, linguists do not always make an explicit difference between CS and code-mixing. Such a distinction is rather formal. At a formal level, CS can be considered mainly an inter-sentential switching or a macro-switching, and code-mixing can be considered an intra-sentential switching, a micro-switching.

In many countries throughout the world, bilingualism represents the norm, though distinct kinds of persons attain distinct extents of bilinguality. In such situations, speakers'repertoires are rich, since they include more than one language and a high number of persons acquire the ability to switch from one code to another in various domains or contexts, and following certain situations, rules of interaction, topic and addressee, they are able to manipulate the accessible codes spontaneously to convey the message (Dendane, 2007: 141).

Many social constraints can easily explain CS besides the grammatical structure that has to be respected by users of two languages when they switch back and forth. As an illustration, pupils at the primary level would try to do all their best to use MSA as the sole form in classroom interaction, though some AA lexical items may infiltrate into their speech. However, they would avoid using French words during the Arabic lessons, especially when interacting with their teachers. Thus, in general, we may argue that CS does not happen at random, but under many kinds of constraints. At the structural level, three principal kinds of switching are worth mentioning (Poplack, 1980:601-2)

- Extra-sentential or tag-switching where tags and certain set phrases in one language are inserted into an utterance of another language.
- Intra-sentential switching occurs within a clause or sentence boundary.
- Inter-sentential switching where a change occurs at clause or sentence boundary.

In the social approach to code-switching, the phenomenon is viewed as governed by social situations as well as social rules. Therefore, Blom and Gumperz (1972) diagnosed two sorts of CS: situational and metaphorical. *Situational CS* as its name implies is influenced by situation change, that is, the language used in a formal

situation varies from the one used in an informal one. This kind of CS differs from diglossia. In this vein, Wardhaugh (2006: 104) claims that: "In diglossia too people are quite aware that they have switched from H to L or L to H. Code-switching, on the other hand, is often quite subconscious…" Conversely, *Metaphorical CS* occurs with changes in the topic rather than in the social situation. In this kind of CS, the speaker switches languages to achieve a special communicative effect. A few years later, Gumperz (1977) developed the concept of metaphorical CS and coined another term *conversational CS* in which the speaker switches within a single sentence. He (1997) says in this respect:

> By conversational code-switching, I refer to the juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems within the same exchange. Most frequently the alternative takes the form of two subsequent sentences, as when a speaker uses a second language either to reiterate his message or to reply to someone else's statement. (ibid: 1).

This juxtaposition is meaningful for bilinguals and it is a communicative resource while it could seem erratic for'foreigners. In a multilingual country like Algeria, the phenomenon of CS predicts the sociolinguistic behaviour of most Algerian speakers. Indeed, a mere observation of a natural and spontaneous conversation between Algerian speakers allows us to remark the alternation from one code to another. Due to some historical factors, CS is usually between Arabic in its two forms: MSA and AA (and/or Berber) and French.

2.5.3.2 AA/ French code-switching

Code-switching has long been a linguistic instrument that most Algerian interlocutors use in their communicative strategies as a result of French which has become a solidly-rooted language in the Algerian community. The alternative selection between the Arabic code and the French code develops under two central types of code-switching, namely, situational and conversational code-switching (Gumperz, 1989).

The first type, that is, situational CS preserves strictly different codes. It is also normative as it induces sociolinguistic norms of use as well as domain[55] oriented. Arabic infiltrations in both an Algerian and a French governed situational CS conversation incorporate the following features:

- personal pronouns like *ana*: 'I', *nta* 'you', *huma:* 'they'...etc.
- forms of address like *ya khti:* 'my sister', *ya ousted:* 'teacher', *cheikh:* 'sir'.
- interjections usually used to call or to attract people like *asmaaʕ*: 'listen'.
- time indicators like *dourk*: 'now', *bakri:* 'in past time' and *lyoum:* 'today'.
- prepositional phrases of place like *fi bladna:* 'in our country' and *hna*: 'here'.
- negative statements like *lala:* 'no' and *mashi hakda:* 'not like this'.
- particles of indirect annexation like *ntaaʕ:* 'of'. (Queffélec *et al*., 2002: 115)

The second type, that is conversational or metaphorical CS, has been defined as a case "where bilingual speakers talking to other bilinguals and change their language without any change in the situation" (Hudson, 1999: 52-53). Moreover, Spolsky (1998:50) describes conversational CS as "…a powerful mechanism for signaling social attitudes or claiming group membership or solidarity".

This type of CS emerges frequently among lay persons whether they are 'truly known' as bilinguals or 'monolinguals'. Without paying attention to their educational level, that is, whether they are educated or not, Algerian people tend to alternate between Arabic and French forms in their daily conversations. Such a sociolinguistic phenomenon embroils clauses, phrases, or even words between sentences and within the same sentence, triggering in this manner two other kinds of conversational CS; that is, inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CS (see section 2.5.3.1).

The different types of switching, also called 'conversational switching', 'code changing' or 'code-mixing' by various scholars, are very common in the speech of

[55]A domain has been described by Downes (1998:61-2) as : "A grouping together of recurring situation types in such a way that one of the languages in a repertoire, as opposed to the others, normally occurs in that class of situations. And members of the speech community normally judge that the use of that variety, and not the others, is appropriate to that domain".

the majority of Algerian population. Consequently, it is very easy to portray the three grammatical types of CS distinguished by Poplack (1980) as illustrated in the following instances (French italicized):

a) Extra-sentential: is the insertion of a tag or ready-made expression in one language into a sentence in the other language as in the example below:

wjak tfahəmna ʕla dik əl qaḍija, *n'est-ce pas ?*
(We have agreed on that issue, haven't we?

b) Inter-sentential CS, also known as code-changing: the switching point occurs at clause or sentence boundary.This type of switching requires greater fluency in both languages in comparison with extra-sentential CS, as in the following two instances:

Ramdan rah qəri:b. *Tu te rends compte comme le temps passe !*
(Ramadan is getting closer. Do you realize how time goes by?)
Il a fait un accident grave, bəṣṣaħ maṣralu walu.
(He had a terrible accident, but he is safe).

c) Intra-sentential CS also called code-mixing involves switching within the clause or sentenceboundary. This type of switching includes the juxtaposition within a single clause of segments belonging to the two systems in contact. This mechanism and the sort of its analysis can be termed code-mixing, as in:

rani machəja la fac baʃ nəʃuf mon encadreur.
(I am going to the university to meet my supervisor).

The diagram below depicts the different kinds of code-switching in the Algerian context:

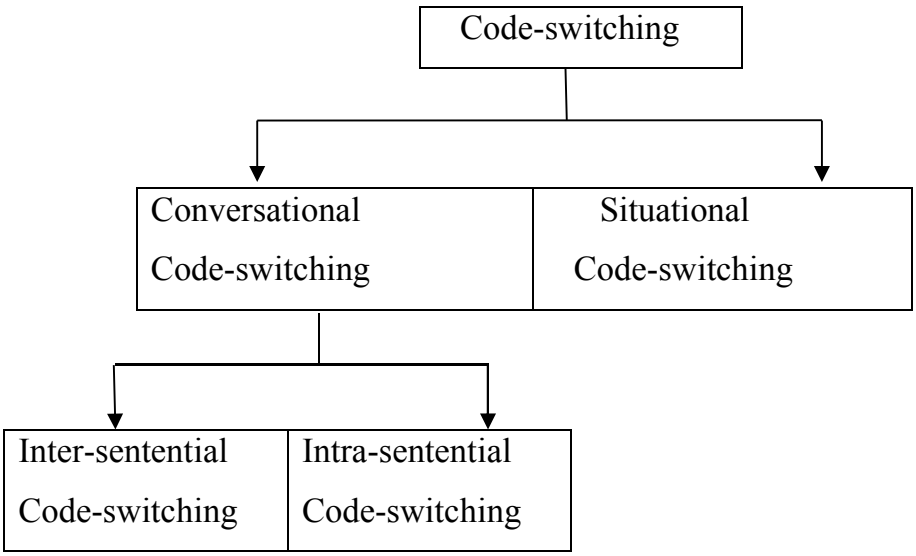


Diagram 2.3 Characteristics of code-switching in the Algerian context

What seems interesting in the Algerian context in fact, is that whenever you listen to people talking about any topic, be it pertinent or irrelevant, you will hear switches from AA to French and the other way round. It is sometimes very hard to notice whether the base language is Arabic with penetrations of French components or vice versa. Furthermore, for many Algerians, CS has become a linguistic tool in their communicative strategies, for they regard the French language as more prestigious and as a language of modernity. Therefore, they consciously switch to French, on purpose, particularly those who live in cities where there is a high educational level in comparison with people who live in the countryside.

In addition to the switching between Algerian Arabic (and/or Berber) and French, that is 'external CS', another kind of CS that can be attested in the Algerian background involves the alternation between AA and MSA.

2.5.3.3 Algerian diglossic code-switching

According to Holes (1993), sociolinguistic studies on the Arabic language had principally approved a descriptive-linguistic approach and that the etiological-sociolinguistic approach had still reached little attention.

> Almost all the work done so far has been addressed to the descriptive problem in answer to questions such as "What is Educated Spoken Arabic?" and "What linguistic features characterize interdialectal Arabic?" Little attention has been paid to questions which seek to explain observed variation like "What factors cause a speaker to switch styles?"; "How is a switch signalled, linguistically and paralinguistically?" and "What range of styles do individual speakers possess, and how do they use them?"
>
> (Holes, 1993:17).

The phenomenon of CS in Arabic conversational situations mainly concerns dialectal koineization when interlocutors meet from distinct Arab countries and try to adapt their language moving back and forth from their own dialect to dialectal forms of the speaker or SA form or koineized forms (Holes 1995:293-294). Indeed, in Algeria, this type of CS known as 'diglossic CS' or 'internal CS' which results from a diglossic aspect is an emerging behaviour, though to a much lesser extent than AA/French CS. According to Dendane (2007),

> Such CS can only be observed in certain contexts, such as the school, the mosque a public formal speech and the like, in which the speaker usually switches to AA to insist on things that may not have been clearly understood in MSA.
>
> (Dendane, 2007: 149).

There is evidence that CS is a tool that allows the analysis of the mixed forms not only in bilingual situations, but also in the Arabic situation. What seems odd in the Algerian context is the use of AA, that is, the low variety in a situation where Ferguson indicates that only the high variety is appropriate such as education, religion, the media and so on. Pupils, for instance, often switch to AA during classroom interaction, where only MSA is supposed to be appropriate.

However, it is easy to notice that many people especially intellectuals use a large amount of MSA words and expressions in their conversations like: religious people, lawyers and teachers, especially Arabic language teachers who, unconsciously switch to MSA, the language of instruction, when conversing with colleagues, friends and even with their family members."The mixture of H and L in a single conversation is called the middle variety. Indeed, this variety has been recognized by Ferguson when he revised his theory in 1991." (Hamzaoui, 2013:88).

In fact, it has been customary to hear some Algerian speakers using words such as [əl qaḍijja], [muhimma] and [aħwel] for 'business', 'mission' and 'circumstances', respectively, in their daily speech, especially when they lack the appropriate words in AA. There are some Algerians who try to employ the maximum of MSA loanwords in their speech to preserve their Arab-Muslim identity, as they believe that the use of any variety other than MSA represents a loss of identity and a defeat to Islam as well as the language of 'paradise', as many Muslims think. In this sense, and in order to emphasize their Arab identity, many parents ask their children from a fairly early age to call their father and mother in the following words: [ʔæbi] and [ʔummi] instead of [bb^{w}a] and [mm^{w}a].

Arabic teachers and learners also tend to use AA in their teaching and learning strategies. Consider the following instance where a teacher uses AA in a situation where MSA is more suitable:

[ljum ɣadi nəsʔalkum ʕan muhimmat əl ħasu:b] meaning 'today, I am going to ask you about the role of the computer'.

The pupils' answer was as follows:

[naʕam muʕallima hadi sahla] meaning ' yes teacher, this is easy'.

This situation is controversial if compared with Ferguson's assertions about H which is always more prestigious in comparison with L. Thus, when asked about the reason of such linguistic behaviour, the teacher asserts that, because young pupils

come from an environment where MSA is not the mother tongue of anybody, she is confronted to a situation where she is obliged to use L in order to facilitate comprehension, and to make a smooth transition from home to school. This, in fact, is one of the principal concerns of the present research work.

And, as MSA is almost never used by Arab children in daily life, except in learning at school and praying, diglossic CS is an instrument which helps in distinguishing this double modality of speech. This allows MSA and AA to be complementary in many contexts and for many issues, MSA and AA are cooperative and work together to convey meaning. Furthermore, AA is characterized by a great many lexical borrowings, particularly from French.

2.5.4 Borrowings

Borrowing is another linguistic phenomenon of interference between two codes that will be retained differentiated from CS. Heath (2001) points out this distinction asserting that borrowing

> is a form that has spread from one linguistic variety (the 'source') into another variety (the 'target' or 'replica'). In this sense it is nearly synonymous with 'loanword,' but a borrowing is often really a stem (smaller than aword), and may be a phrase (larger than a word). Borrowing is also the term for the act of incorporation itself, so there is a certain semantic ambiguity between process and result in the usage of the term.
>
> (Heath, 2001:432)

This linguistic phenomenon involves improvised borrowings, due for instance to the scarcity of an accurate word or because the word in the code used is not as expressive as the one of the other code. Two reasons can be attributed to this: either because the interlocutor ignores it completely, or because it lacks in one code.

There is no doubt that the long and profound contact with the French during the colonization has left many traces on the Algerian society, especially at the linguistic level. French is incorporated in the speech of the majority, if not all Algerians who use this language with varying degrees. Their speech consists, in fact,

of single words as well as whole sentences. They integrate French words which are adapted both phonologically and morphologically into their vernacular and treat them as part of their mother tongue. Bentahila and Davies (1883) point out that these borrowings are stimulated by the inexistence of equivalent words in their language:

> French words which are regularly used by Arabic monolinguals must be recognized as borrowings which have become part of the competence of the Arabic speaker. It is usually easy to see the motivation for such borrowings, for a word from one language is usually introduced into another to fill a lexical gap in the second, which may process no simple term for the concept represented by the borrowed word. Code-switching, on the other hand, needs not be motivated by the need to fill such a gap; on the contrary, a bilingual may switch from one language to another even though he is perfectly able to convey the whole of his message in the first language, and may in fact sometimes demonstrate this by making a switch and then returning to his original language and providing a translation of the switching material.
>
> (Bentahila and Davies, 1883: 302).

As a result of long-term contact with the French, a large number of terms slipped into AA to the extent that some people are not aware that very common loans like [stilu], [lamba] or [tabli] for instance are borrowed from French *stylo*, *lampe* and *tablier*, 'pen', 'lamp' and 'apron' respectively. Such terms have no equivalents in AA and they are clearly adapted both phonologically and morphologically to fit the Arabic system. Again, because the word 'lampe' is feminine in French, it requires the infusion of the suffix {-a} at the end of the borrowed term when incorporated to AA. Furthermore, the plural form of [lamba] is again [lamba:t]. In this case, the morphology of the original French item adjusts that of AA because {-a:t} represents the marker of the 'feminine plural' in Arabic, as for instance, in the item [muʕallima:t] meaning 'women teachers'. Our concern involves borrowed words used in an educational setting, primary school.

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

Teacher: ʕlaʃ maʒəbtʃ lkaji ntaʕ əlmuħawalat ljum

(Why haven't you brought your copybook of mathematics today?)

Pupil: nsitu fəl karṭab laχɒr

(I forgot it in the other school bag).

Teacher: matʕawətʃ tənsa la ləkarṭab wə la lkaji smaʕt

(Do not forget again, neither the school bag nor the copybook next time, clear?)

Pupil: duk nsəlləf lkaji ʕla ṣaħbi wnəktəb əddərs fəlmanzil

(I will borrow the copybook from my friend and write the lesson at home).

The constant use of the words [kaji] and [karṭab] by both the teacher and the pupil in this conversation, originate from the French terms *cahier* and *cartable* ('copybook', and 'pencil') have no known equivalents in AA and they are adapted phonologically, though in the present time MSA forms are also applied.

Another feature, worthy of consideration is that loanwords do not possess any dual form. This is in fact not surprising, since neither AA nor French take into consideration such a form by contrast to the standard form of Arabic. To emphasize duality, Algerian interlocutors often include the term [zu:ʒ] meaning 'two' before the borrowed word in question. In this line of thought, the dual form of [biru] is [zu:ʒ biruja:t] and [blasa] is [zu:ʒ blasa:t] (or [zu:ʒ bla:jəs] meaning 'two desks' and 'two places' respectively.

2.5 Conclusion

By way of conclusion, this chapter is a general analysis of the current sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. Historical, socio-cultural as well as political aspects, all at once contribute in composing an Algerian territory full of linguistic complexities worthy of scientific research. On the one hand, MSA (H) and AA (L) combination designates a classical diglossic situation, whereas the connection between French (H) and AA (L) denotes a case of extended diglossia. However, the interaction between H and L, and the tenacity of French as an active language has resulted in constituting an Algerian intricate multilingual society where various types of code-switching and borrowing exist.

We have also attempted to emphasise the diglossic nature of the Arabic language and its resulting mismatch: Algerians in general and children in particular do not speak MSA, the language used as the medium of instruction in a spontaneous way, a fact which leads to low achievements at school. Moreover, the spoken dialects of Arabic differ to a large extent from MSA. The pupils' low linguistic attainment in schools is directly attributed to diglossia since they are familiar with colloquial Arabic in their life situations; then they are supposed to use a distinct variety once entering school.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

Chapter Three: The Context of the Research

A. THE ALGERIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

3.1 Introduction

The aim of the first part of chapter three is to provide a survey on the Algerian educational system. It may be useful to mention that in Algeria, many factors are responsible for the creation of low linguistic achievement and minimizing the progress of linguistic enhancement. Indeed, one of the principal factors behind this, is the diglossia phenomenon which refers to the coexistence of distinct forms of the same language. The other factors consist in curricula weaknesses, teachers' use of AA when presenting the lessons, in addition to overcrowded classes.

This part will provide an overview of the Algerian educational structure. After that, it will discuss the role of the education system along with its different reforms. It will also present the issue of language policy (Arabisation) in school pursued in Algeria since independence 1962 until recently. Next, it will tackle the impact of Arabisation on education, in addition to the status of the Arabisation process. Furthermore, this part will give an overview on the status of Arabic in the educational sphere, as well as the impact of Arabic diglossia on the quality of education. Finally, the first part of the chapter will discuss the issue of curriculum weaknesses and overcrowded classes. The second part of the chapter will expose methodological concerns on the issue.

3.2 Structure of the educational system

As far as the structure of the Algerian educational system is concerned, two sub-structures are worthy of consideration: the school system in addition to the administration system.

3.2.1 The school system

Three levels make up the Algerian school system: primary, middle, and secondary education. Children generally enter pre-school at the age of five and spend one year before they are automatically enrolled in primary school at the age of six. Indeed, school is free and by law compulsory for all children from age six to seven. Those who succeed in their primary school examination in the fifth grade are referred to middle school where the period of studies has become three years since 2003.

Following the government's initiative to reform the educational sector, it has been actually extended to four years starting after the completion of primary school. Once in the fourth year of middle school, pupils experience a national examination known as the "Basic Education Certificate examination" (BEM), which would permit them to progress to secondary school, also called 'Lycée'. Those who pass the middle school examination move to the secondary school to study a one year foundation course (called 'tronc commun) which incorporates a mixture of specialist streams that pupils will pursue in their successive years of education**.** The Algerian educational system makes available the following specialist streams:

- Literary streams, which fundamentally encompass studies in Humanities and the Social Sciences,

- Scientific streams, which encompass studies in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, and Biology,

- Technological streams, where pupils study Applied Technology.

The period of these specialist streams lasts three years and finishes with the Baccalaureate examination, called 'BAC', a general examination that pupils have to undergo and which will enable them to enter university. Thus, it can be argued that examinations in Algeria exhibit important objectives for pupils who desire to follow their studies. Arabic is the language of instruction in all subjects except foreign languages, obviously.

3.2.2 The administration system

The administration portrayed in this section is the one under the Ministry of Education which is considered as the body in charge of the Algerian school system and the source of all decisions and policy-making. The Ministry of Education is controlled by the Minister of Education who symbolises the highest authority in the Ministry. This latter usually negotiates with the General Inspectorate of Education in the course of policy- making.

This refers to a department selected by the Ministry and directed by the General Inspector of Education. The principal mission of the inspector is to scrutinize the teaching and learning standards, and to conduct the appropriate implementation of policies and procedures at school level. All decisions and policies undertaken are then disseminated to regional Directorates of Education whose main role is, to depict the policies and promote their accomplishment and, therefore, assign the basic human and material resources.

The Director of Education reports only to the Minister, and administers the Directorate of Education. At schools, the Head-teacher conducts the institution and works in collaboration with important persons such as, supervisors, the Director of studies, and the secretaries in order to constitute the administrative staff. Teachers regularly have to acquaint to their Head-teacher, in addition to their regional inspectors.

3.3 Education and literacy

Literacy, a term which appears to be controversial among educationists is sometimes viewed as a neutral term and technical skill. Indeed, literacy symbolises the fundamental human need in addition to human right, to pick up knowledge of reading and writing. Literacy is often subject to past, political, economic and cultural factors. As an illustration, literacy through the Middle Ages was related with the

aptitude of a person to speak, read and write Latin. According to Soares (1992), only members of a few elite groups had access to formal education and Latin texts.

Similarly, in 1951, the term 'literacy' was defined by UNESCO as the ability of a human to read and write. A few years later, this definition was revised by UNESCO to refer to the literate as a person who is able to participate in all the activities where literacy is essential for persuasive functioning in his group and community and also for allowing him to pursue to use reading, writing and calculation for his own as well as community's development (Soares, 1992). She (ibid: 10) asserts that: "the concept of literacy involves a set of structures ranging from individual skills, abilities, knowledge, to social practices and functional competencies, to ideological values and political goals".

Illiteracy, on the other hand, simply means the inability of a person to read and write. The term has been considered as a social issue, for it seems to have a great effect on the larger standards of living of the young Arab societies; it was part of the necessary politically correct effort of removing poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality of opportunity (Maamouri, 1999: 19).

One of the major roles of policymakers and literacy providers in both formal and non-formal settings should be to comprehend the nature of the literacy issue to create the vital conceptual alteration from trying to 'remove illiteracy' to the more productive job of implanting literacy in youth as well as adults. In Arabic, 'ummiyya' is used for "illiteracy" and 'mahw al-ummiyya' which means "eradication of illiteracy" for 'literacy'.

However, efforts in rapport with eradication of illiteracy, also called anti-illiteracy (Maamouri, 1998) in Algeria, persist under the average and the negative customs and habits that influence learners making them feel hesitant to go to illiteracy eradication centres; this creates one of the significant matters of the illiteracy problems since the media do not yield the necessary recommendations.

According to Maamouri (1998: 17), in the Maghreb, we face four very different illiteracy situations: Mauritania (62.3%), Morocco (56.3%), Algeria

(38.4%), and Tunisia (33.3%). In fact, a review of the social and economic background of the Algerian society demonstrates that there exist numerous challenges that face literacy in Algeria. The various causes that aggravate the dilemma could be summarized in the following terms:

- The family's ineptness to bear the anxieties of school expenses.
- The distance between the residential locations and schools is considered as another cause of illiteracy. Children often avoid far schools and the school place with a tolerable distance is essential for all children as well as their parents.
- The low income and poverty of some Algerian families stimulate a kind of deterioration of the living standards. In this sense, the low-income families are obliged to encourage their children to work instead of getting them join school.
- Lack of female teachers, especially in rural areas which causes low access to school for girls, as parents prefer female teachers to teach their daughters instead of male teachers.

Notwithstanding these dilemmas, real economic growth, in most sectors of the economy, led to noticeable advances in raising the living standards of the Algerian population including those living in rural areas. A deliberate policy of free education, low rent, and generous social housing policy helped this. This egalitarian policy intended to improve income distribution, achieve reductions in absolute poverty and get rid of illiteracy.

3.4 The role of the educational system

Since Algeria gained independence in 1962, the education of the young population has become one of the high priorities of the nation. A substantial proportion of its resources has been committed to the educational sphere. That is why the educational sector has undergone an impressive development. In fact**,** according to UNICEF (2014:1), more than 10 million of the Algerian population actually attend school, i.e., 28 per cent of the population and more than a fifth of the state budget is spent on education and training. From 1984 to 2013, the number of students doubled

from 5.1 to 10.1 million and spending on education rose from 20 billion Algerian Dinars (DA) to 1.260 billion DA (Unicef, ibid).

Far from being simply a political institution, removed from people's lives, school plays a significant role in personal lives as well as family lives across the whole panorama of social backgrounds. Therefore, it has the ability to insert its values and constraints deep into people's hearts and minds. In general, the purpose of the establishment of Algerian education system is to fulfil the needs of the background education issues. Over the last decade, the country has increasingly become focused on improving the quality of education**.**

In terms of syllabus, textbooks and organization, the Algerian education system was based on the French system until the late 1960's. Actually, the school system is based on nine years of basic education, i.e., five years in primary school (needless to consider pre-schooling) and four years of middle education followed by secondary education for three years. In another context and in an attempt to consider the educational disparities that occurred before, policy-makers put in place some social support measures in order to expand the chances of accomplishing equal opportunities for those people coming from the most disadvantaged areas and to make the educational sector trustworthy.

The crucial role of the school is to ensure that all pupils get the necessary know-how and training in order to enable them find a job and get their place in society. Indeed, the evident progress made by the nation in rapport with the massive development of schooling and basic education emphasizes the importance of Algeria's devotion in ensuring all Algerian children enter to mandatory schooling cycles from ages 6 to 16. A significant progress has been highly noticeable over the last few years through the objective of achieving a constitutional principle of compulsory basic schooling. The net school enrolment rate of 6-16 year olds went from 88.3 per cent in 2006 to 92.9 per cent in 2013 with full parity between boys and girls (UNESCO, 2014).

Furthermore, in 2013, the population aged 6-16 was estimated at 6.95 million children (3.55 million boys and 3.4 million girls). Out-of-school children aged 6-16, therefore, represented a population of 494,000 including 252,000 boys and 242,000 girls. In 2006, the population of 6-16 year olds was estimated at 7.6 million children (3.88 million boys and 3.72 million girls). Out-of-school children aged 6-16, therefore, represented a population of 890,000 children including 443,000 boys and 447,000 girls. As such, the number of out-of-school children aged 6-16 was reduced by almost a half between 2006 and 2013 (ibid).

The Arabian Campus Web site[56] describes the Algerian educational system as follows:

> Primary education is mandatory and lasts for nine 9 years (École fondamentale which ceased in 2003 with the new educational reforms), whereas in today's Algerian primary school, education lasts for five 5 years. Middle school lasted four 4 years with the new reforms. Secondary education which is obligatory and consists of three-year cycle of study, is provided in secondary schools and technicums.

The Algerian educational system is also marked by high rates of school enrolment and fast expansion in numbers for the various education cycles, resulting in students remaining in school for longer. Yet, this does not impede some school-age children from staying out of school, or those already enrolled from dropping out owing to the endurance of the practice of repeating a school grade, especially during lower primary education.

3.5 Reforms of education

Algerian policy makers have felt the urgent need to reform the educational sector, a sector which has been described several times as being 'doomed' by President Abdelaziz Bouteflika whenever talking about the Algerian school. In a public meeting in 1999 where he insisted on an imperative need to reform the education system, he pinpoints (as cited in Benrabah, 2011:100),

[56]An academic service provider established in the United Arab Emirates for the purpose of promoting accredited higher education programmes and institutions within the Arabian region. With its extensive range of services offers unique advantages for students searching for programmes as well as the institutions trying to promote its programmes within the region and abroad.

> Standards have reached an intolerable level to the point that the Algerian degree, which used to be accepted by La Sorbonne, Harvard and Oxford up to the 1980s, is no longer recognized even by Maghreban universities. Tunisian and Moroccan students used to come to Algeria to study medicine and pharmacy. Today, the opposite is true [...]. I have a solemn duty towards the Algerian people to let them know about the problems facing the educational system, from basic and secondary levels to higher education. The situation is dangerous, very dangerous. If we keep on this track, we will go from one type of illiteracy to another, worse than the previous one.[57]

For this reason, the Ministry of National Education launched a huge proportion educational reform programme including the three levels of education specifically the primary, the middle and secondary schools. According to Benrabah (2005: 449), "in September 2003, the total number of pupils and teaching personnel for primary, middle and secondary levels were 7,805,000 student enrolments and 336,000 teachers".

In 2002, a national education reform aimed at reintroducing French as a foreign language into the second grade of primary education. One of the principal modifications in this reform was that English would be taught in the sixth grade (intermediate school), two grades earlier than in the past. Some subjects, as Sciences and Mathematics would be partly taught in French (Lakhal-Ayat, 2008).

In 2003, a recent general law has introduced a reform of the educational sector. Such reform consisted in the reorganization of educational structures, revising school programmes and reworking teaching methods around a structure to provide quality of learning. In terms of reforms of the Algerian education sector, they can be summarized as follows:

a- Arabisation[58] as the first reform: This policy was intensified since 1962 in order to remove all French traces present in Algeria for more than 130 years of colonization. Benrabah (1999) emphasized the point that at the beginning of 1962, the Algerian government which inherited the remnants of an education system

[57]This is Benrabah's translation.
[58]This concept will be considered in details in the next section.

focused on European content and conducted in a foreign language by foreign teachers, sought to gradually raise Arabic sessions in all levels, and all subjects were taught in Arabic. In addition, there was a decline in the amount of time devoted to teaching French.

One month before Algeria's independence, the leadership of the Algerian revolutionary movement devoted the future nation to the linguistic Arabisation policy stating that, ''[The role of the Revolution] is above all [...] to restore to Arabic – the very expression of the cultural values of our country – its dignity and its efficacy as a language of civilisation'' (Gordon, 1978: 149).[59] Such policy favoured religion, as well as the national integrity and unity.

b- The Fundamental schooling system as the second reform: It was in 1976 that a new schooling system known as the fundamental school was put into practice. It consisted in a fusion of the primary and middle school lasting for nine years with all the subjects taught in Arabic except for the foreign languages. However, with the coming of Mostepha Lacheraf as a Minister of the educational sector, the French language was re-implemented in teacher training, and subjects like Mathematics and Biology were taught in this language. English was taught in the middle school in that system.

c- English in the primary school as the third reform: Another measure starting from 1993 was applied in order to reinforce the foreign languages' teaching at an early age. This process aims at providing primary school pupils the opportunity to select between French and English as a mandatory foreign language. This reform was experienced in some primary schools, but stopped as most parents preferred their children to study French instead of English.

Generally speaking, the reform of the Algerian education system involves three principal measures, namely: pedagogical reform, teacher training and the general reorganization of the education sector. A pedagogical reform is undoubtedly

[59]In Benrabah (2007:229).

significant when considering some measures which include, for instance, the introduction of new course-books and syllabuses in all school subjects like Arabic, French, technology, history and science.

As regards teacher training, the implementation of the educational policy is crucial and it is also important to familiarize teachers with the contemporary methods. Within the perspective of the general reorganization of the education sector, teaching is reconstructed through the generalization of the pre-school, the minimization of the primary school level duration into five years and the extension of that of the middle cycle into four years.

In the same context, the current minister of education, Nouria Benghabrit[60] mentions that if the reforms undertaken in 1979 succeeded in reaching certain challenges, as for instance 'free education' and 'Arabisation' of the educational system, the challenge today is reflected in what is known as 'quality of education' which is the claim of the whole nation. Low quality education is, in fact, a real problem in any nation, but in Algeria, we can argue that the process of educational change is an intricate and arduous task involving politically-oriented objectives. The minister believes that the reforms of second generation should be taken into consideration as a first step during the school year 2016-2017 at the first and second grades of primary education, in addition to the first grade of middle cycle before becoming widespread in the other educational levels. However, Nouria Benghabrit shares the dissatisfaction of all the principal actors of the education sector. She admits that there is an urgent need to straighten out the system in order to avoid any risk of mediocrity[61].

[60]In 'Le soir d'Algérie', 2014.
[61] In 'Le Soir d'Algérie', 2014.
http://www.lesoirdalgerie.com/articles/2014/05/28/article.php?sid=164057&cid=2 : accessed to on September, 24th, 2016.

3.6 The issue of the Arabisation policy in school

Algeria makes an interesting object for study of what is known as 'Arabisation', a term which is translated interchangeably in Arabic as *ta'rib*. Benrabah (2005) defines the term as follows:

> Ta'rib means the replacement of French by Arabic in all walks of life (education, administration, milieu, media, etc.) as well as the use of the latter language as an instrument for national unity and the affirmation of an identity that is exclusively Arab.
>
> (Benrabah, 2005: 410).

The Arabisation process aims at restoring and reinforcing the use of MSA as an official language of the nation in many spheres such as, justice, media, administration and especially education where apparently the most significant measures have been taken. Indeed, the reason behind the launch of such policy was the Algerian urgent need to return to the Arab-Islamic cultural identity and the national personality with the aim of substituting French which was so deeply rooted in most principal sectors by Arabic. Derni (2009) says in this respect:

> The selection of Arabic in language planning in Algeria has always been considered as an anti-colonial act against French, which was solely taught at primary, middle, secondary and university levels from 1830 to 1962.
>
> (Derni, 2009: 285).

The procedure was not the same for the three independent Maghrebi countries (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria). It was the Algerian authority that exhibited ideological determination in regaining both language and identity. The Algerian nation appeared as "the most vociferous in proclaiming its Arab Muslim identity" (Gordon, 1978: 151). In order to distinguish themselves from the French people, the Algerian people were to recognize Islam with concomitant emphasis on the Arabic language (Grandguillaume, 1997). The Arabisation policy was constantly inserted in a conflict against French.

The debates used in the conflict expropriated the key values which should have been prevalent to all the Algerian population. The defenders of Arabization asserted to be the only real nationalists and the genuine Moslems by contrast to the defenders of bilingualism who were considered as advocates of French. Thus, the dilemmas of the Arabisation operations are not only of political and socio-cultural nature, but also linguistic, as most Algerian executives were administratively *francophones* (as they were known). In fact, the Arabisation procedure has gone through different stages that can be mirrored via various periods.

3.6.1 From 1962 to 1975

One of the principal reforms established in the newly independent nation was to restore Arabic in the education sector we can read in the *Tripoli Programme* of June 1962,

> The Revolutionaries restated in regard to Arabic, what they did in constant manifestos before: [the role of the revolution]… is above… all to restore to Arabic—the very expression of the cultural values of our country—its dignity and its efficacy as a language of civilisation.[62]

The first president of Algeria Ahmed Ben Bella confirmed that at early schooling (1963), the selected official language (MSA) would be taught in parallel with French in primary school. In November 1965, the newly appointed Minister of Education Taleb Ibrahimi (1981:72) asked the following question: "What kind of man do we want to train (in schools)?" The same Minister also mentions that "School, is the silent revolution" (ibid: 76). To this, he adds: "National Education is, in some respects, like a business firm which needs to plan its production according to its forecasts/ perspectives mapped out not only for a few years, but for almost a generation" (ibid:101).

Benrabah (2005:411) argues that the quotations mentioned above are "characteristic of discourse in totalitarian regimes: the need to transform the

[62] InGordon (1978:149).

governed, it is dominated by the idea of creating a 'new man' and a 'new society'", that is a fundamental appearance of a new generation that is in an urgent need to master thinking in the Arabic language.

Following June 1965, the Algerian education leaders insisted on *Pan-Arabist* practices already started in the Middle East: the syllabus was emphasized inbound, starting with history which would be subjected to nationalism claims. "The teaching of history in the Sixth Grade was the first to be arabised both in form and content" (Benrabah, 2005:422).

Dealing with the Arabisation of the form, history was taught in MSA from September 1966. In terms of arabising the content, an Algerian former official of the Ministry of Education explained the operation in the following terms: "for that particular year [1966], school children tackled history starting not from Antiquity but from the beginnings of Islam. These measures were symbolic of the new direction taken by the educational policy" (Haouati, 1995:56) as cited in Benrabah (ibid).

Again, in accordance with the endorsement of the *F.L.N.* (Front of National Liberation) which emphasized the imperative requirement to speed up the Arabisation procedure, MSA attained a significant status since it became the form used in the medium of education for the first grades in the primary level at the onset of the school year 1964-1965. Following this period, the Arabisation process increased to a degree where the year 1971 was called the 'year of Arabisation' (Benrabah, 2005: 443), along with the third and fourth grades totally arabised at the primary level, and the creation of 20 Islamic high schools by the new Ministry of Islamic Education (ibid). By 1975, the primary school was also completely arabised with French being taught as a foreign language subject at the fourth grade. The operation has gone through different stages that can be recapitulated in the tables below[63]:

[63] Although our study emphasizes on the primary level, it is important to mention the other education levels.

*In primary education (1973-1974)

Table 3.1 Status of Arabization in primary school (1973-74) (Adapted from Grandguillaume, 1983: 100).

Grade	**Status of Arabisation**
1st	Totally Arabized.
2nd	Totally Arabized.
3rd	Totally Arabized; French is a foreign language.
4th	Totally Arabized; French is a foreign language.
5th	1/3 of the classes totally Arabized; French is a foreign language.
6th	1/3 of the classes totally Arabized; French is a foreign language.

* In intermediate education (1973-1974)

Table 3.2 Status of Arabization in intermediate school (1973-74) (Adapted from Grandguillaume, 1983: 100).

Grade	**Status of Arabisation**
1st 2nd 3rd	In each of the first three grades, 1/3 of the classes were totally Arabized, whilst the remaining 2/3 were bilingual. Scientific subjects were taught in French.
4th	All subjects were taught in Arabic, except mathematics, natural sciences and geography.

*In secondary education (1973-74)

Table 3.3. Status of Arabization in secondary school (1973/74) (Adapted from Grandguillaume, 1983:100).

Grade	**Humanities streams**	**Mathematics and science streams**
Première	Totally Arabized	1/3 of the classes Arabized, 2/3 bilingual. Scientific subjects were taught in French
Seconde	Totally Arabized	1/3 of the classes Arabized, 2/3 bilingual
Terminales	All subjects were taught in Arabic, except mathematics and geography.	1/3 of the classes Arabized, 2/3 bilingual. Philosophy, geography and science subjects were taught in French.

Indeed, since1971, MSA has replaced French as the medium of instruction in primary school (Benmoussat, 2003). However, French prevailed in many functional spheres, notably in industrial and running economic enterprises, in addition to the mass-media, especially in the written medium.

3.6.2 From 1975 to 2002

In May 1975, the First National Conference for Arabisation was assembled by the Algerian authorities to accelerate Arabisation. In 1977, President Boumediene appointed Mostefa Lacheraf as Minister of Primary and Secondary Education. This latter was against rapid Arabisation and favoured the strategy of gradualism and bilingual education. During the period lasting from 1977 to 1978, "Lacheraf suspended the Fundamental School, dismissed the Arabophone personnel in his Ministry, re-instated teacher training in French and bilingualism in primary schools

with scientific subjects (math, calculus, biology) taught in French" (Benrabah, 2007: 231).

Soon after the death of President Boumediene in December 1978, Lacheraf, who was appointed as Minister of education, retired and was substituted by a pan-Arabist Kabylian who was considered as a monolingual Arabophone. The new appointed Minister insisted on the re-insertion of total Arabisation policy and implemented systematically the Fundamental School where religious instruction became obligatory at all levels (Tefiani, 1984: 121-2).[64]

By the late 1980s, two other institutions arose: the Algerian Academy for the Arabic Language in 1986 and the Algerian Association for Arabisation in 1989 (Kadi, 2004: 134-5). What is known as the 'Fundamental School' was introduced during the same period, such system provides pupils three years of middle education before entering secondary school. Azzouz, an Algerian sociolinguistic researcher when testing the difference between pupils of the Fundamental School studying in the sixth grade of primary education in 1980, and those of the same level in 1991 as regards their linguistic performance finds that "the Fundamental School cohorts fared consistently and significantly lower than the 1980 group in the three basic disciplines: calculus, Arabic and French" (1998: 52).

In the 1990's, Arabic was part of the Algerian education system and later at universities for social sciences as well as human sciences. Later on, in 1992, another plan that was delayed, concerned the teaching of French at the primary level. After a claim made by the pro- Arabisation lobby, as cited by Laib (1993: 7), the Minister of Education agreed upon a decision that consisted against postponing French language teaching from the Fourth to the Fifth Grade in the primary cycle.

Yet, in order to provide the group mentioned before something in return, Algerian leaders decided that, as early as September 1993, parents could have the

[64]Quoted in Benrabah (2007: 232).

possibility to select between French and English for their offspring once in the Fourth Grade of the elementary level (Bennoune, 2000: 303). In the beginning of the school-year, 1997-1998, the Ministry of Education adopted a new experimental strategy for the Fundamental School. Such strategy consisted in the introduction of Berber in Grade Seven of the three-year cycle, that is, in the first year of Middle Schooling. This substantial obstruction emerged as a reaction to the instructions set up in mid-March 2001 by the National Commission for the Reform of the Educational System (CNRSE in French). This reform was established in May 2000 by the newly elected President, Bouteflika. In March 2001, one of the principal objectives of the CNRSE lied in the re-introduction of the French language as the first compulsory foreign language in Grade Two of the elementary cycle instead of teaching it in Grade Four as had been the case since the late 1970s. The CNRSE also recommended that scientific disciplines be taught in the French language instead of Arabic.

On April 20th, 2001, the 'Cultural Berber Movement' was created as an opposition to the Arabisation of the education system and in response to the actual president Abdel Aziz Bouteflika's refusal to recognize officially the Tamazight language. In fact, the Berbers asked for the acknowledgment of the Kabyle dialect as a primary national language; respect for Berber culture, and greater attention to the economic development of Kabylia and other Berber homelands. In April 2002, policy-makers institutionalised it as a national language, though not an official one.

3.6.3 From 2003_____

The latest reform (2002) proposed the reinsertion of French into the second grade of primary education. The English language would be taught in the sixth grade (middle school), two grades earlier than in the past. In September 2003, President Bouteflika's government began to assign some of the suggestions settled by the CNRSE.

The Fundamental schooling system, viewed *as a failure* by the Minister of Education (Metaoui, 2000: 1-2), as cited in Benrabah (2005: 448), was and still is

substituted by the three levels, namely: primary school with five years instead of six, middle school which lasts four years instead of three, as was the case in the Fundamental School system, and secondary school with three years. Furthermore, the final exam of primary education which occurred in the sixth grade actually takes place in the fifth grade. It is, therefore, safely claimed by some head-teachers that the omitted grade (the sixth grade) has been restored by the so-called 'pre-school' grade.

Furthermore, the three years in the middle school have been displaced by four years of middle instruction, and thus, this system was applied by the ex-minister Baba Ahmed and it is still applicable by the recent minister of education, Mrs Nouria Benghabrit. More recently, she proposes that the first years of primary education should be conducted in Colloquial Arabic to make a smooth transition from home to school, because Algerian children are not familiar with MSA.

The UNESCO has long encouraged the 'axiomatic' perspective that using the first-acquired language at primary school level is central for better achievement. The declaration made by UNESCO (1953:11) tells that: "it is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. […] Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium." However, Benghabrit's suggestion came to nothing, as most Algerian parents and educationists regard MSA as the only means of instruction because of its high status and prestige position.

During the same year (2003), the Ministry of Education recruited 1,500 primary school teachers for the teaching of French in Grade Two as from September 2004 (Belabes, 2004a; Kourta, 2003), as mentioned in Benrabah (2005: 449), and the total number of both pupils and teaching personnel for primary, middle and secondary levels were 7,805,000 student enrolments and 336,000 teachers (ibid).

The 2005-2006 school year will be the last year for the Fundamental school system in the primary level, and in May 2006, the Ministry of Education decided to move the teaching of French from Grade Two to Grade Three, starting from September 2006 (Benrabah, 2006: 70).The following table represents language schedule in primary cycle:

Table 3.4 Language spread in primary school (study plan with weekly and yearly hours). (Adapted from Benrabah, 2005: 449).

Years ***Subjects (hours per week)***	***1***	***2***	***3***	***4th****	***5th****	***Language used***
Standard Arabic	14	12	11	8.30	7	Arabic
French	-	3	4	5	5	French
Maths	5	5	5	5	5	Arabic
Islamic Studies	1.30	1	1	1.30	1.30	Arabic
Civic	1	1	1	1	1	Arabic
Music	1	1	1	1	1	Arabic
Physical education	1.30	1	1	1.30	1.30	Arabic
Environmental studies				2	2.30	Arabic
Handicrafts/Drawing	1	1	1	1.30	1.30	Arabic
History- Geography					1	Arabic
Science-Technology	2	2	2			Arabic
Total weekly	27	27	27	27	27	
Total yearly	810	810	810	810	810	

In a nutshell, the Arabisation policy has resulted in the spread of MSA in Algeria because of the government's ideological and political engagement. French, as already mentioned, is actually taught as a subject from Grade Three in primary education to the final year at the secondary cycle, totalling 10 years of instruction.

Indeed, the success of the Arabisation policy was clearly noticeable in the primary as well as the secondary schools. However, there was a partial failure of such policy at the university level where the French language remains the principal medium of instruction and where the failure of MSA is mainly attributed to teachers' disability to fit the contemporary technical and scientific issues and expressions. Within this context, Granguillaume (1996:13) points out the following: "No one

contests that Arabic is 'the national language' but few Algerians master this Classical Arabic as much in the oral as in the written one" [65] (translation is mine).

3.7 The impact of Arabisation on education

The shift to Arabic as the sole and unique medium of instruction in the three educational cycles has created serious dilemmas. First, teachers were *Francophones* at that period for the simple reason of the French education they had received during colonisation, and thus, they were not prepared to this sudden transition. Secondly, the poor linguistic proficiency made the duty of explaining new concepts in Arabic an arduous one, especially in content subjects like physics, mathematics and natural sciences.

During a ministers' assembly in 1960s, Taleb Ibrahimi confirmed that the Arabisation policy would not function, but it was necessary to apply. He asserted that:*It won't work but we must do it*...In 1977, such sentence was warned by Lacheraf to Taleb Ibrahimi who was reproaching him his lack of fervour for Arabization (Grandguillaume, 1995:18), but as already stated, Lacheraf (1964) protested against an Arabization made at random and in a brutal manner.

He rather favoured bilingualism, stating that with the deficit of Algerians' cultural identity during the colonial era, it was inconceivable to predict any impulsive generation of qualified teachers, trained in a language and culture which were removed from free speech and necessary scientific progress, "As if secular ravages could be compensated in one year, two or even ten! It is not a question of waiting but of starting methodically!" (Grandguillaume, 1983: 99).[66] (Translation is mine).

It is worth mentioning that in 1970 the ministry of education was divided into two isolated ministries: the ministry of primary and secondary education under the

[65] Nul ne conteste que l'Arabe soit 'la langue nationale' mais peu d'Algériens maitrisent cet Arabe classique tant à l'oral qu'à l'écrit.
[66]"Comme si des ravages séculaires pouvaient être réparés en un an, ou deux, où même dix! Il ne s'agit pas d'attendre mais de commencer méthodiquement !

Minister's- A. Benmahmoud- supervision, and the ministry of higher education under Benyahia's supervision. This gap in the educational system resulted in misrepresentations within Arabization itself. While it went to a great extent at fast rate at both primary and secondary levels, it was restrained at higher level.

Another thorny issue with regard to the linguistic aspect of Arabisation, we reckon that from the beginning, it lies in the disparities found between MSA, the form of Arabic agreed upon for the Arabisation procedure and certainly never used by anyone in daily life, in addition to the vernaculars used spontaneously in everyday communication by the majority of Algerian interlocutors.

> Thus, the process of Arabisation was faced with a tricky resolution which lied in the dual action of substituting French to restore the cultural and national personality, and the mother tongue(s) to unify the citizens under the high-status language symbolizing Islamic and pan-Arab identity.
>
> (Dendane, 2007: 92).

Teachers' principal duty was to correct pupils' language, be it colloquial Arabic or Berber. The child is continually obliged to switch from the Arabic used with his parents and siblings at home to the form of Arabic used at school. Boudalia-Griffou (1993) believes that such education was based on a model oriented to deficient and mentally retarded children to whom a simplistic and a parrot fashion learning methods were applied. This pedagogy triggers off the feeling of culpability among pupils using their mother-tongue, and the outcome is a weakening of the linguistic abilities of the pupils not only as learners, but also as social speakers/actors (Taleb-Ibrahimi, Kh., 1993:66).

Another problem lied in the presence of a huge number of pupils in classrooms. Grandguillaume (2006) claims that during the first years of independence, teachers were in charge of two classes, each with an average class-size of 40 pupils. Besides this extremely regrettable situation, the teaching methods posed a real dilemma. During the 1980s, teaching had become monolingual to a large extent. This situation resulted in an educational conservatism (ibid). The kind of pedagogy recommended at that epoch denied all the other languages present in the Algerian linguistic scene,

be they colloquial Arabic, French or Berber. Another reason that had made the issue problematic was the presence of Berbers who tended to favour French to Arabic as their second language and considered it as a more useful medium for modernity (Gordon, 1978: 158).

Benrabah (2007a) posits that Abdallah Mazouni, a prominent Algerian scholar published a pervasive piece of work concerning the language issue in Algeria in which he assumed that expeditious Arabisation policy might prove, among other things, harmful to the Arabic language itself, might be regressive and could alienate students because the language was difficult and the teaching tools were inadequate.

3.8 Failure of Arabisation

The Algerian government withstood the Arabisation of the educational system with different kinds of deficiencies. The failure in standards stem from the lack of qualified teachers and the elevated number of pupils, which essentially doubled within four years; it increased from 777,636 in 1962- 1963 to 1,332,203 in 1965-1966 (Bennoune, 2000: 223).

Algerian authorities themselves have witnessed shortcomings and weaknesses of the Arabisation policy. One of the significant reasons of Arabisation failure in the country is that the operation has always been decided by the leaders not on a linguistic ground, but rather on ideological and political basis. Benrabah (2004)[67] says in this respect: “Far from being a linguistic process, the Algerian language policy has been primarily thought of as a political and ideological process for the control of future generations.”

Another reason that induces more complexities in the implementation of Arabisation lied in the discrepancy between the mother tongue of Algerians and Standard Arabic which had been imposed by Algerian leaders for the Arabisation procedure. The subtle influence of French on many Algerians’ everyday practices has

[67]In Lang. P (2004: 55).

led French to hold high prestige evaluations until today. The co-existence of two forms of Arabic obviously denotes the phenomenon of diglossia and the extensive use of French has given birth to a state of bilingualism.

The imposition of an exclusively Arabic monolingual schooling system implemented during the nationalist phase is considered to be a major source of its current 'failure' (Benrabah, 2007: 226). What is more, is that the Arabisation policy implemented by the Algerian government whose major aim was to remove French thoroughly failed. From a quantitative viewpoint, today's Algeria is the second largest French- speaking community in the world (Benrabah, ibid: 194).

Complete Arabisation contributed to the decline of the Arabized education. This opinion was shared by Taleb-Ibrahimi Kh. (1997: 50) who posits that: "The Algerian school does not produce bilinguals but semilinguals without a good command of either language" (my translation). Entellis (1981: 197) is of the same opinion when he writes that "Too many young people may be emerging from secondary schools with an incomplete command of both literary Arabic and functional French". Because of these deficits, the Algerian government was in an urgent need to move in the direction of reforms, which would promote linguistic pluralism and set aside the process of Arabisation.

3.9 The status of Arabic in the educational sphere

The state of MSA in Algerian classrooms appears to be quite intricate. Such intricacy lies in the intermingling of Arabic patterns. It is clear that MSA and AA code-switching constitutes a significant cause of serious pedagogical issues that can result in defective language proficiency and even to linguistic insecurity in formal school among a huge number of young Algerian learners. Teachers' deficiency in MSA use is another reason standing behind their poor competence in communicating the message to their pupils in this particular form of Arabic.

Some Arab educational specialists (Abu Rabia 2000; Maamouri 1998) are fully aware that the low educational achievements and literacy rates in most Arab communities are mostly related to the diglossic situation of the Arabic language which in turn, has a negative impact on the ability of Arab children to acquire Arabic reading and writing skills, and consequently on their academic attainment in general.

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

Indeed, several approaches have developed in relation to the teaching of Arabic. Al Batal (1992) has cited the most important ones. They are: The classical Arabic approach, the MSA approach which is based on teaching MSA solely, the colloquial approach, the middle language approach and finally, the simultaneous approach which seems to provide an adequate answer to the question of how to deal with Arabic diglossia in the classroom. Teaching Arabic, or any other language, is a cautious linguistic procedure performed by teachers inside classrooms. Moreover, teaching the Arabic language might not be effective and beneficial with the lack of qualified teachers whose awareness of Arabic connotation is mirrored in their manner of presenting lessons, as well as their linguistic performance via the use of the 'pure' variety of Arabic in the different educational circumstances inside classrooms.

The establishment of training programmes for Arabic teachers by the educational leaders would be beneficial in order to improve their knowledge and the level of their teaching standards. In fact, when Arabic course teachers exhibit a high fluency in the language of instruction (MSA), the pupils will inevitably follow their example, and will obviously be encouraged to learn from them. Following this measure, school children may probably stop believing that Arabic is strenuous to be learned. Some scholars such as Maamouri (1998) relate the high rate of illiteracy in

the Arabic speaking countries to the diglossia phenomenon which is believed to have a negative effect on Arab children's attainment in general.

3.10 The impact of diglossia on the quality of education

There is a general agreement among some Arab scholars on the occurrence of a lack of empirical study of the Arabic diglossic situation and education (Dakwar, Haeri, 2005). According to Dakwar (2005: 76), most of the investigation emphasized on the effects of early exposure to MSA texts on reading comprehension competencies by Arab pre-school children, the development of meta-linguistic awareness in either normally developing children or children with reading or learning disabilities, and on teaching Arabic as a foreign language within the existing diglossic situation. Within the context of native Arabic speaking students, Dakwar (ibid) also mentions that there is a scarcity of studies scrutinizing educational methodologies, knowledge and attitude development within a diglossic framework.

However, some Arab educators focus on the issue of diglossia and its negative impact on Arab personality. As an illustration, in 1955, Furayhah, a prominent Lebanese scholar, characterized the two forms of Arabic as the expression of two separate selves (Furayhah, ibid: 33). Nevertheless, as predicted by the American sociolinguist Ferguson (1959), the process of bridging the gap between H and L has been under way in Algeria since 1962. Some of the principal determinants that have privileged the destabilisation of diglossia have been stated by Ferguson himself and they are as follows:

a- Linguistic urbanisation as a result of population mobility (rural depopulation),
b- Mass instruction in MSA and the Arabisation of the environment. These ecological determinants give birth to a *Koiné* that certain Algerian linguists call Algerian Arabic (Benrabah, 1993; Bouamrane, 1986; Queffelec *etal/.,* 2002).

As mentioned several times in this study, the existence of diglossia is one of the most distinctive features of Arabic (Al-Batal, 1996; Haeri, 2000). Indeed, the

Arabic language has been cited as an exemplar of diglossia in the Arab world (Benrabah, 2014). This phenomenon consists in the occurrence of two language varieties: one variety serves as the medium of everyday communication and the other is learned predominantly through formal education. It is thus, used for most written and formal spoken contexts, but not as a primary dialect of the language.

The diglossic linguistic situation in Algerian speech communities is similar to that of the rest of the Arab world. Evidently, the kind of Arabic that Algerian children speak in their homes and neighbourhoods is almost totally distinct from MSA. Maamouri (1998) claims that:

> While all children painlessly and inevitably learn their local vernacular or colloquial dialect of Arabic, only those who have access to the benefits of formal schooling may learn fusha, thereby acquiring socioeconomic gains as well as social mobility.
>
> (Maamouri, 1998: 34).

Educated Algerians use MSA for reading, writing, and speaking on all official circumstances. However, non-educated native Algerians, use the colloquial form on a daily basis for every day communication. MSA differs from the spoken form in vocabulary, phonology, grammar, morphology, and syntax, in which there is also a diversity of dialects (Abu-Rabia, 2000). According to Ayari (1996), children in a diglossic situation have to cope simultaneously with reading and writing in a second language (MSA).

The point is that, despite the fact Arabic is taught in schools, it is treated as a language whose grammar rules are not practical in real occasions. Maamouri (1998: 33) writes, "[MSA] is nobody's mother tongue and is rarely or almost never used at home in the Arab world". Pupils are therefore, expected to memorize and read whole passages in that variety, sometimes without automatically comprehending them. "However, they are not offered classes in conversational MSA, which makes students mark it for formal and academic purposes" (Aramouni, 2011: 39), and for day-to- day interaction, the vernacular plays the key role.

Nevertheless, in order to determine the validity of modern teaching methods, it is of paramount importance to comprehend the benefits of teaching MSA over the vernaculars. Mahdi Alosh (2002) emphasized on literary Arabic as a substratum of learning Arabic. He (ibid) says that:

> The Arabic you will be learning is the variety used in the Arab world for formal instruction, in the media, and in formal situations. It is more or less invariable all over the Arab world, thus giving the advantage of learning the language that isreadily understood everywhere in the Arab Middle East. Learning this form of Arabic lets the learner identify with the educated population and have access tothe literature and the written and spoken media. This variety, however, is not used for everyday oral interaction on the street or at home.
>
> (ibid: 6).

Following this claim, Alosh (ibid) affirms the necessity of language teaching via MSA, the common character among all educated Arab people. The advantage of this instructional approach to Arabic is that it offers pupils a great opportunity for learning the Arabic language adequately. Indeed, some Arabic course teachers use the so-called MSA approach in their teaching strategies, which is based on the restrictive use of MSA as a language of instruction in classrooms.

However, there is a disagreement among other Arab scholars on the exclusive use of Standard Arabic inside classrooms. For instance, Wahba (2006)), as mentioned in Aramouni (2011: 4), is among those linguists who suggests that: “both varieties of the language should be taught together, as occurs in natural speech context”. When describing Literary Arabic and colloquial Arabic as a single entity, Wahba (2006), points out:

> Each side of this system is used in situations and for functions for which it is uniquely suited, and both sides are necessary for functioning in the full range of situations where an educated native speaker is expected to function.
>
> (Wahba, 2006: 159).

In the early1970s, the teaching methodology adopted in Algeria affected the quality of children’s education. In her critical analysis published in 1989, Malika Boudalia-Griffou, an Algerian pedagogue points out that the teaching methods imposed by the Algerian Ministry of Education have a significant impact on the

Algerian youth's linguistic ability, in addition to their intellectual development. She (1989) also argues that, once in contact with school, the Algerian child experiences an emblematic Pavlovian conditioning via teaching techniques and pedagogical contents that encourage hardened linguistic models at the expense of linguistic complexity. For instance, the instructions administered by the Ministry of Education in 1965 request the following[68]:

(1) Teachers should teach *'oral Arabic',* the language of dialogues and avoid language for description and narratives.
(2) Use simple linguistic structures for sentences: SVO (Subject-Verb-Object).
(3) In this 'simplified' language, only a restricted list of adjectives can be used with no more than 32 adjectives of the type 'big-small'.

In Algeria, it can be argued that all the difficulties involved in all language teaching are combined by the distinctive difficulties involved in the teaching of diglossic languages, that is, H and L. "Perhaps one could define diglossia as those linguistic situations which create difficulties for teaching" (Ferguson, 1963: 176).

In fact, some Algerian teachers incorporate AA words in their teaching strategies believing that their pupils comprehend better when they receive their lessons in the spoken variety. Still others use ESA which is based on teaching by a form of Arabic supposed to exist between MSA and the colloquial variety (see section 1.5.4 for more details). From a linguistic standpoint, ESA is not yet a focused form of Arabic, for its phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon are sometimes based on MSA and at other times on the colloquial forms. The most important features that are based upon MSA are namely the phonological and the supra-segmental features, while the lexicon and the structure are based on the vernaculars (Dashti, 1998). Al-Batal & Belnap (2006: 397) support the aforementioned procedure by claiming that "the Arabic classroom can be and should be a place in which multiple registers co-exist as they do in real life".

[68]Mentioned in Benrabah (2005: 463).

However, other linguists such as Zughoul (1980) believe that "Educated Arabic is not a well-defined variety in the sense that it is completely unstructured". As already stated, ESA is a mixture of MSA and vernacular which is used by educated Arabs coming from various Arab communities or from the same country to communicate with each other (ibid). Sha'aban (1978) as cited in Zughoul, (1980) writes that:

> Educated Arabic remains strikingly dominated by dialectal features especially in phonology and syntax and that switching to *fusha* Arabic depends on the nature of the topic, country of the speaker, and familiarity with other interlocutors and other dialects.
>
> (Zughoul, 1980: 206).

The interweaving of MSA and spoken varieties in the Algerian educational institutions and the lack of clear-cut linguistic marking barriers seem to complicate the linguistic insecurity of young pupils who seem embarrassed by what constitutes the 'pure' form among the various Arabic varieties which surround them and what does not. Moreover, the situation is more inextricable in the Maghreb and especially in Algeria where the same needs lead to the invasion of local vernaculars, French-based borrowings, in addition to inter-dialectal borrowings coming from the Arabic spoken forms which are administered into their learning environment by a significant movie presence from the Machrek.

The status of MSA in Arabic language teaching is substantial and it is difficult for any spoken form to substitute it. MSA is, in most Arab world, the only official and national language in the constitution. This is the main reason why, Younes (1995) believes that most of Arabic programmes prefer to teach MSA. Younes's belief makes the exclusive use of MSA as an imperative matter in a community where numerous dialects are used as in Algerian schools, because of the various dialectal backgrounds of the pupils in one classroom. In such concern, the use of a particular colloquial variety impedes comprehension for some pupils, particularly those who are not familiar with the teacher's dialect spoken inside the classroom. Due to the multi-dialectal nature of the Algerian society, many teachers and pupils use their own colloquial varieties which more often include some items and expressions that appear

to be unusual for some pupils who live in other parts of the country, speaking another regional dialect.

Parkinson (1991:39) believes that "[fusha] may not have native speakers, but it certainly has native users, people who read it fluently and listen to it with ease and understanding every day, and who occasionally use it in speaking and writing as well". However, teaching MSA might not be effective and successful without competent teachers whose realization of Arabic proficiency is mirrored in their manner of teaching as well as their linguistic achievement via the use of the 'real' form of Arabic in the distinct educational contexts in classrooms.

The teachers' incompetence may be regarded as an impediment in contributing in a convenient environment of MSA in teaching. In addition, the teachers' use of colloquial forms in presenting the lessons impedes the process of minimizing or bridging the gap between MSA and the vernaculars and burdens, to a great extent, pupils' ability of interacting in MSA.

Arab children in general, and Algerian children in particular, do not feel the freedom to use and innovate in MSA. Once in contact with school, pupils have to 'unlearn' or even conceal most of their linguistic practices while they attempt to acquire a new set of 'rigid' rules. The concern of internalizing these new practices is not reinforced by classroom methods which emphasize the absolute use of the official medium of instruction (MSA). Maamouri (1998) employs the strong term 'clash' which seems to take place in all Arab classrooms between two conflictual practices. According to him:

> On the one hand, teachers deliberately try to neglect and undermine the actual speech habits of the pupils. On the other, the same teachers find themselves often obliged to use the colloquial to communicate with their learners for one reason or another. Teachers and students seem to show a frequent preference for a significant use of the colloquial in conversations in and outside of the classroom.
>
> (Maamouri, 1998: 41).

Despite the fact that a good number of Algerian children are exposed to H before formal education through cartoons on channels like *Toyour-el-Djennah,*

MBC3, etc and TV programmes, this does not solve the linguistic problems they encounter once at school. The major problems of the standard language used in formal education relate mostly to the diglossic character of Arabic, which makes the reading task very arduous. Aramouni (2011) confirms that:

> There are serious negative educational and social consequences related to these reading difficulties, including feelings of linguistic insecurity by alarge number of youth and young adults when it comes to common acts of social communication and personal expression.
>
> (Aramouni, 2011:43).

Many linguists attribute pupils' low attainment in Arabic functional skills acquisition to the diglossic character of the society since they are supposed to interact in the colloquial forms in their daily life. This is why various scholars are of the opinion that early instruction succeeds better if conducted in the child's mother tongue. "Arguably, the most single important decision that might be taken to enhance the educational prospect of children would be for educational institutions to value and use the child's native language as resources in the classroom rather than obstacles to learning (McKay and Wrong, 1988; Murray, 1992; Nichols, 1996/2001)"[69].

Additionally, Harrison (1996:9) believes that "a child's background (intelligence, pre-school learning, home circumstances, parents, etc.) contributes approximately 85% to what is achieved in school. The other 15% is contributed byschooling"[70]. The debate concerning the issue of the use of non-standard dialects in education in Algeria is not yet completely resolved, for many linguists are persuaded that the vernaculars are not constructive, and it is only Standard Arabic which possesses an unchallenged position as a medium of instruction, for it is the most prestigious and highly codified variety.

Furthermore, McFerren (1984: 5) states that "diglossia remains the single greatest impediment to Arabisation in the Maghreb". The two H forms are Standard Arabic and French which represent the only languages of literacy in the Algerian

[69]Mentioned in Benmoussat (2003: 111).
[70]Cited in Serir (2011:31).

society. French remains in a privileged position: in addition to being the first mandatory foreign language in schools, it is the working language in government institutions along with Arabic.

However, a considerable number of Algerians are literate in MSA. Among the literate population (around 20-23 million), three quarters are more or less competent in French (Queffelec *et al.,* 2002: 118). It can be argued that MSA and French remain the languages of social and economic promotion. And this is echoed in young Algerians' attitudes towards the colonial language.

3.11 Inside class issues

Education in Algeria suffers from diverse and essential issues which constitute an obstacle in front of any step towards qualitative progress in teaching and learning process starting with curriculum weaknesses to overcrowded classes. This problem could be analysed in the next sections.

3.11.1 Curriculum weaknesses

The curriculum weakness is considered as one of the most important issues interrupting teaching and learning process. Indeed, the textbooks' content emphasizes on theoretical aspects much more than supporting the mental capacities of the pupils. Arabic textbooks are no exception as most of the syllabuses focus on acquiring cognitive knowledge while ignoring linguistic skills, which promote pupils' linguistic ability functionally.

The Algerian syllabus in some educationists' points of view seems to be students and teachers-criticized, and does not help in developing the students' creative thinking. Even though the curriculum has undergone modifications and changes, it remains full of theoretical knowledge and that of the primary level is thought to be almost exclusively overloaded. The core of a curriculum is based on what is to be taught and when, leaving to the teaching profession determinations as

to how this should be done.In practice; however, there is no clear divergence between curriculum content and methodology.

Arabic course teachers, parents and young pupils in general challenge dilemmas relating to the contents of the Arabic textbooks from grade one to grade five of primary education which are overwhelmed with intricacies -especially grammar- in addition to emphasis on learning by heart; a fact which makes the pupils feel like parrots, and thus hinders their proficiency in the language itself. Consequently, most pupils feel the guilt for not mastering Standard Arabic which is supposed to be the sole and unique form of Arabic used as a medium of instruction.

A valuable comment was raised by Boudalia-Griffou (1993: 43) with special reference to the textbooks contents: there are no texts which can kindle interest in culture and literature, they are introduced much later, in the fifth grade, and it is too late for the children who are well on their way to shape their personality. All these breaks which "are accompanied by an impoverishment of the linguistic capacities of learners" (Taleb-Ibrahimi K., 1993:66) should be taken into consideration seriously by the Algerian authorities in order to improve the child's linguistic proficiency in MSA, not only for his personal benefit, but also for the whole society's interest.

3.11.2 Overcrowded classes

Most of the Algerian schools are characterized by what is known as 'overcrowded classes' where the single class often consists of more than forty pupils. The huge number of pupils inside classrooms does not help in attaining the desired educational goals, since the teacher in charge of such classes is unable to reach all learners. One of the crucial roles of teachers is to transmit knowledge to learners. However, in crowded classes where the pupil-teacher ratio ranges from 40 to 1 to more than 45 to 1, it is quite difficult to establish an adequate interaction with all pupils due to the overwhelming number of learners in class. Challenges such as monitoring pupils' linguistic capacities, checking assignments, maintaining discipline, just to cite a few,are issues worrying teachers involved in overcrowded

class teaching. Bamba (2012) asserts that overcrowded classes are characterized by certain prevailing dilemmas including the physical environment of the classroom, the issue of management, students' engagement in the learning process, difficulties of assessing students' knowledge and feedback, as well as the problem of teaching resources.

Until recently, the double-shift system is still present in some primary schools which splits the assigned time into two: two classes share the same room during the day, having the same time allocated for teaching each. This would probably affect the quality of learning, though no research has been devoted to this aspect to our knowledge. It is extremely regrettable to see that the number of pupils in a class is still high, at every grade in primary schools.

With regard to the Arabic course, pupils in the crowded classes are not given enough chance to practice loud reading, which is considered as an important strategy to improve pupils' linguistic skills, and alternatively, most teachers read the texts themselves or ask few pupils to read, while the other pupils remain reticent or simply reply to the comprehension questions. The aspects mentioned above are considered as a handicap in accomplishing the educational objectives of both learning and teaching practices.

3.10 Conclusion

Education is an essential sector for the development and civilization of nations. Indeed, there exists no single community in the modern world that has attained absolute development, security and progress, without efficient planned contribution in this sector.

This chapter is divided into two parts: the first part gives a picture of the educational system in Algeria as the context where the present study was conducted. First, it has a survey of the Algerian educational system, which is made up of the school system and the administration system. Then the chapter discusses the link between education and literacy as well as the role of the education system in Algeria.

After that, it has provided an overview on the Arabisation policy, after which, MSA, the prestigious variety has been given importance in LP by virtue of being the language of Arab-Islamic identity.

It is also devoted to an analysis of the effect of Arabisation process on the educational sector and the reasons for its failure. At last, the chapter has yielded a description of the status of Arabic in the educational sphere with a special focus on the well-known phenomenon of diglossia in relation to education, our principal interest in this study. In fact, AA differs substantially from the language of education (MSA) which results in low linguistic performance in schools from the the part of pupils. In addition, some teachers' use of the vernacular in their teaching strategies broadens the gap between MSA and AA in favour of the latter.

The second part of the chapter is devoted to methodological issues and framework considered in the present investigation, the ultimate aim being to attempt to verify the hypotheses put forward in the study about the issue of Arabic diglossia in relation to formal education in Algeria.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

B. METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

3.11 Introduction

This second part of the chapter considers the different steps we have undertaken in investigating the phenomenon of diglossia and its effects on formal instruction in the Algerian education system among pupils studying at various grades of the primary level. It discusses in detail the methodology that underpins our research work. It also aims at presenting the research design and data collection procedures.

First, it will discuss the researcher's objectives and motivations and will describe the actual Arabic teaching/ learning situation in primary schools. Next, it will explain our context of investigation and sample population, in addition to the restatement of the research questions and hypotheses. After that, the chapter will consider the different instruments used for gathering data and will describe the data collection procedures. Finally, it will discuss the various data analysis procedures undertaken in this study.

3.12 Research objectives and motivations

One of the principal aims of the present research work is to investigate the sociolinguistic phenomenon 'diglossia' and its impact on education among primary-school pupils from different grades, that is, from pre-school until the fifth grade. Though pupils and teachers are participants in classroom interaction, we will mainly focus on pupils' speech since they have relatively little or no acquaintance with MSA- the variety which is supposed to be used as a medium of instruction- outside the school milieu. We will try to shed some light on the language difficulties encountered by pupils in classroom interaction during their first grades of primary education, and whether there is or there is not an improvement at further school grades, in addition to the teachers' as well as the learners' attitudes towards MSA and AA.

Both groups (pupils and teachers) were selected from distinct primary schools situated in distinct towns, namely, Tlemcen, Oran, Ain-Temouchent and Mechria.

The first three towns are situated in the North West of Algeria, whereas the fourth is situated in the south. They actually contain inhabitants from various regions of the country. Thus, on the one hand, some pupils use an urban Arabic variety, while others use a rural one, a fact that makes the classroom situation multi-dialectal and the classroom interaction is apparently a mixture of miscellaneous dialects, which permits us to examine the pupils' weaknesses as regards MSA use when interacting with their teachers.

It should be mentioned that, the selection of the sample population is based on two main reasons, namely, objective motivations and subjective ones. The first one lies in the fact that Tlemcen has long been considered as a prestigious town whose native inhabitants are characterized by extremely conservative socio-cultural features, but also by the noticeable characteristic of using the glottal stop [ʔ], which is absent in other towns of Algeria. Oran is also a large region whose inhabitants are characterized by an intensive linguistic diversity because of the population shift (rural exodus). Mechria is also an interesting place for doing field work since it puts us in direct contact with people living in the Sahara.

The choice of Ain-Temouchent constitutes an ideal place of investigation as it is the researcher's workplace. Besides, being situated near Oran and not far from Tlemcen, makes it a melting pot of a diversity of people, and, thus, a diversity of language varieties, which allows us to tackle the impact of Arabic diglossia on the learning process among primary school pupils from various grades.

All the factors mentioned previously have facilitated the task of visiting the selected primary schools, and the familiarity with some teachers has allowed us to observe the situation directly. This, in fact, aids more in distributing the questionnaires to participants, in addition to interviewing the respondents at successive times, a fact that has permitted us to collect valid data concerning the issue.

3.13 Methodological Concerns

The present research work adopts a descriptive approach which aims at scrutinizing the phenomenon of diglossia for the purpose of clarifying its implications. This approach is viewed as an analytic method based on accurate and adequate information about such phenomenon (or specific topic) through a defined period of time in order to reach practical results to be evaluated and interpreted as objectively as possible. Through the use of different sociolinguistic tools, the data were collected in the period from October 2015 to December 2016.

3.14 Description of actual Arabic teaching/learning situation in primary schools

As already stated, MSA, the official language of Algeria, is the medium of instruction in all grades of primary school, i.e., from pre-school until the fifth grade. However, the mixture of Arabic features in classroom interaction triggers off a kind of linguistic insecurity among a high number of young pupils. The reason behind this linguistic insecurity lies in low identification of MSA and low understanding of its patterns. A *clash* seems to take place in the teaching/learning situation. This term has been used by Maamouri (1998) to refer to the fact that:

> On the one hand, teachers deliberately try to neglect and undermine the actual speech habits of the pupils. On the other, the same teachers find themselves often obliged to use the colloquial to communicate with their learners for one reason or another.
>
> (Maamouri, 1998:41).

Thus, diglossia inside class is a widespread phenomenon that leads to serious pedagogical problems and feelings of linguistic anxiety. Moreover, young learners do not feel the freedom to use and innovate in MSA, but rather these pupils borrow some colloquial patterns to fill in lexical or grammatical gaps. This situation is described in the mid-eighties in Tunisian primary schools in one of the researches conducted by Mohamed Jabeur, “which reveals that a growing number of Egyptian or Syrian words and linguistic forms are being used in the written composition of

young school children because they are under the impression that those forms really belong to fusha" (ibid:42). This seems to be real for Algerian young learners as well.

3.15 Context of investigation and sample population

The selection of a proper sample is fundamental to a sample survey. A sample is a set of units which is some part of a larger population and which is pointedly chosen to represent the whole population. There are four aspects of major interest in this definition, namely the units which comprise the sample, the population which the sample seeks to represent, the extent of the sample and finally its selection. Therefore, the selection of the sample population should meet the following criteria: representativeness, suitability and generalisability. For this reason and as already stated, we have opted for a case study based on consulting six different primary schools (PS(s)) from four distinct towns located in the North West of Algeria, namely, Tlemcen, Ain-Témouchent, Oran and Mechria which is located in the North West of the Algerian highlands . The ones chosen in Tlemcen city are named *Ibn Msaib* and *Abdulhamid IBnu Badis*.

The first one is located near 'Zianides' hotel and the second one, an ancient school is situated near the train station. The PS(s) selected from Ain-Témouchent are called *El Ikhwa Chouhada Moulay Meliani* and *Dahbi Zoubida* respectively, while the ones situated in Oran and Mechria are known as *Mazour Didouche* and *Tebboune Souad.* However, because of many constraints, we did not have the opportunity to go to Berber regions in order to do our investigation; this might be explored in further research, as the mother tongue is not Arabic but a vernacular of Berber, Tamazight.

The sample population should also explain the group of persons under investigation. Thus, " the profile of the subjects should be given so that the reader gains knowledge about the different variables resulting from gender, age, race, geographical places, religious beliefs, educational background, etc" (Hamzaoui & Negadi, 2013: 47).

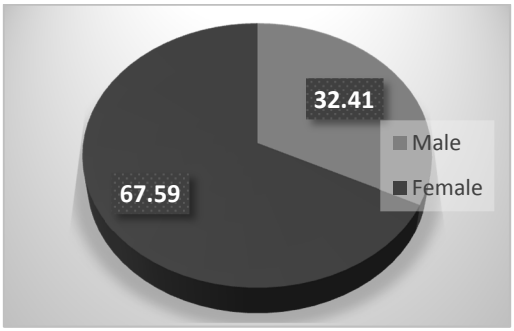
As the principal objective of this research work is to investigate the effect of diglossia as a sociolinguistic issue in the Algerian education system, the sample population has been selected randomly from six schools as a sample of the research community. It includes 216 pupils (six pupils from each grade and from six distinct PSs) and 24 teachers (four teachers from each selected PS), in addition to 2 inspectors.

The high rate of pupils' group in comparison to the small rate of teachers' as well as inspectors' group, lies mainly in the fact that the present study puts an emphasis on the impact of Arabic diglossia on learning rather than on the teaching process. One particular issue that relates to the fieldwork is that the pupils require careful attention and consideration on the part of the researcher since their age does not go beyond ten. It is also worth noting that the mother tongue of these pupils is AA.

For the sake of checking the relevance of the gender variable, we have considered this factor among the respondents, 70 boys vs. 146 girls, rating 32. 41% males and 67.59% females; the number of females being much higher than that of males (more than twice as much). The table and the figure given below show clearly the gender distribution of the pupils.

Gender	Frequency	Rate
Male	70	32.41%
Female	146	67.59%
Total	216	100%

Table 3.5 The gender variable rates of pupils (respondents)



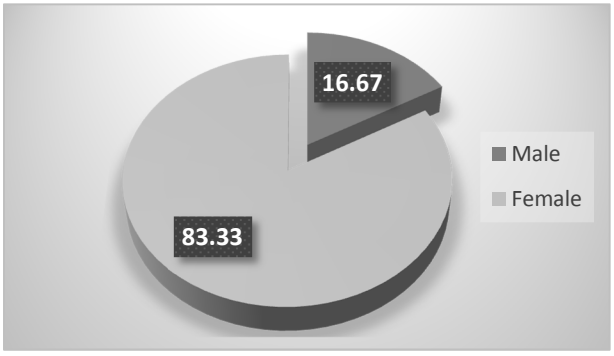
Pie-chart 3.1 The gender variable rates of pupils (respondents)

The teachers in the sample were those to whom the researcher had access and who volunteered to participate. They were from both genders, that is, males and females from six distinct schools, as well as the experience variable in order to collect

the maximum data from them. The selected group includes 24 teachers, only 4 of them are males, rating 16.66% and 20 are females, rating 83.33%. The table and figure below highlight the gender variable rates of the teachers.

Gender	Frequency	Rate
Male	4	16.67%
Female	20	83.33%
Total	24	100%

Table 3.6 The gender variable rates of teachers (respondents)



Pie-chart 3.2 The gender variable rates of teachers (respondents)

The teaching experience of the respondents ranges from three to twenty years. Most of the teachers taking part in this research hold the degree of 'Licence'. Some of them have been recently recruited. In addition to this, most of these teachers have received theoretical training but not a practical one. In other words, the gap between what they learned at university and what they actually perform with the pupils is an extensive one. Moreover, new recruited teachers find themselves sometimes at a loss, for they have to design their own lessons.

Therefore, the sample population is mixed in terms of variables such as age and gender. The pupils' age ranges from 5-10 years old. Their mother tongue is AA and most of them have little or no contact with MSA (especially preschool and first grade pupils). They also share the fact of being part of the national programme and they are part of an educational reform that is composed of a five-year study period concluded with a national exam at the end of their curriculum in the primary school.

However, the age variable among teachers has not been taken into account, as our study focuses mainly on pupils from different grades. With the aim of obtaining

valid data from the respondents, many research tools have been adopted in this study in order to reach answers to our research questions.

-*Negotiating access*

Despite the familiarity with most teachers, I sometimes had to wait for long time before I managed to interview some of them. One of the most important barriers I encountered was the problem of *confidence*, for some teachers and even headmasters for instance wondered if the Ministry of education had not sent me to *spy* on them. Knowing the Algerian beliefs and culture, I used to take with me my student card which I only presented the first time I arranged interviews.

Moreover, whenever I had to negotiate for interviews in primary schools, I had to confer access with the headmasters before meeting teachers, so as not to disturb them during their working time. I arranged appointments to meet with them, and during the meetings, I explained the aims of my research work.

I also emphasized political disinterest of my study and assured them that my personal intentions were not directed towards defying the socio-political and cultural structures of the Algerian educational sector, but rather to supply as much as a possibly objective interpretation of the teachers' assumptions bearing in mind their anonymity as well as that of their pupils. However, I must admit that all the staff including teachers, pupils and inspectors I met, were remarkably friendly, helpful and cooperative.

3.16 Restating the research questions and hypotheses

Arabic diglossia has a considerable effect on the educational sector since the vernacular seems to be the predominant variety used as a medium of communication between teachers and pupils in the various classroom settings. As the present research work highlights the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal instruction among Algerian pupils from different grades, this situation has led us to pose specific research questions for which the data and analysis are intended to supply an answer. They are listed as follows:

1. Knowing that MSA is the medium officially implemented in formal education, we wonder whether it is, indeed, used in class; or do teachers use colloquial Arabic in their teaching strategies?

2. What are pupils' feelings when they are first faced with MSA at school, and is there any change in their feelings about the school language at further school grades?

3. To what extent do primary school pupils use MSA in classroom interaction, and what reasons stand behind their linguistic flaws if any?

4. What are pupils' as well as teachers' attitudes towards MSA and Colloquial Arabic at primary school level?

5. What political decisions may be undertaken as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia?

As a research hypothesis has been defined as "a tentative answer to a research problem expressed in the form of a clearly stated relation between independent ('cause') and dependent ('effect') variables" UNESCO (2005: 5), the research questions mentioned above allowed us to state the following hypotheses:

1. Teachers tend to use a mixture of MSA and Algerian Arabic, most believing that this strategy may facilitate comprehension and pupils' smooth integration.

2. Depending on the degree of exposure to MSA before school age, pupils will exhibit more or less linguistic insecurity in class and reluctance or eagerness in using the school language. Such feelings will develop in positive or negative ways depending, not only, on the teaching strategies, but also on parents' involvement and encouragement as regards the use of the school language.

3. Some pupils use MSA when interacting with their teachers, but owing to the lack of exposure to the variety outside the school environment, most of them use frequently AA, a fact that leads to poor MSA proficiency in class.

4. Being aware of the importance of the learning/teaching processes in MSA, most teachers and pupils from different grades display positive attitudes towards this variety associated with the Qur'an and religious matters. However, most of them show negative attitudes towards AA since it is used only for daily practices.

5. The gap between Colloquial Arabic and MSA has to be reduced progressively by policy-makers for the sake of formal education, and this might be done by promoting the use of MSA even outside the school environment.

Following the questionings mentioned at the onset of this research work and the corresponding hypotheses put forward, we have aimed at these objectives: First, to identify the variety of Arabic used by teachers in their teaching strategies; second, to explore the kind of linguistic insecurity felt by pupils in classroom interaction during their first years of schooling, and whether this linguistic anxiety will develop more or decrease at further school grades; third, to examine the language difficulties encountered by pupils due to a lack of exposure to MSA outside class; fourth, to evaluate pupils as well as teachers' attitudes towards MSA and AA and finally, to suggest some political measures to reduce the gap between MSA and AA in the educational sphere.

3.17 Research design and procedure

In order to provide the present study with trustworthiness, we have opted for the so called *triangulation*, a term used in various senses by qualitative researchers. Burns (1994:272) reminds us that triangulation in an action research, is a way of stating that "if different methods of investigation produce the same result then the data is likely to be valid"[71]. Triangulation aims at collecting diverse perspectives on the targeted situation.

[71]Mentioned in Burns, A. (1999: 163).

Because it is the researcher's belief that triangulation is a valuable method that enhances validity in gathering data, the present research work has used the following research tools. First, questionnaires and interviews have been administered to the sample population, which consists of pupils, teachers and inspectors with the aim of eliciting data explicitly from the informants.

Another research tool involves the matched-guise technique to check out the hypothesis concerning the pupils' as well as the teachers' attitudes towards both varieties of Arabic (MSA and AA) at primary school level. However, classroom observation has been added (as an additional tool) because we have assumed it significant to check and reinforce our triangulation of research tools.

3.17.1 Research tools

In an attempt to investigate the impact of Arabic diglossia on pupils' linguistic proficiency in classroom interaction, various sociolinguistic instruments have been utilised. Each of these tools used in this study is described below.

3.17.1.1 The questionnaire

Questionnaires are 'instruments' for collecting and recording information about a particular issue of interest. They are necessary when making research, as they supply us with information about people's beliefs, attitudes, motivations and preferences. This tool is made up of a list of questions, but should also include a definite purpose that is related to the objectives of the research. Babbie (1990:377) states that a questionnaire is "a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate to analysis". According to Seliger & Shohami (1989:172), questionnaires are "printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often unanimously".

There are two kinds of questionnaires, namely structured and unstructured. Structured questionnaires include close-ended questions with well-defined skipping patterns to follow the sequence of questions. Closed (or multiple choice) questions ask the participant to select, among a possible set of responses, the answer that most closely represents his/her perspective. The participant is usually demanded to circle or tick the selected response.

Questions of this type may propose simple alternatives such as ‘yes’ or ‘no, ‘true’ or ‘ false’, ‘good’ or ‘bad’. They may also require that the participant selects among various response categories, or that he/she utilizes a frequency scale, either an importance scale, or an agreement scale. Most of the quantitative data collection operations use this kind of questionnaire in which informants are asked to choose an answer from among a list provided by the researcher.

These are popular in survey research because they provide a greater uniformity of responses and permit the collection of reliable and reasonably valid data in a simple way. Unstructured questionnaires, on the other hand, encompass open ended and vague opinion-type questions. Such questions are open for the answers and are used by focus group discussions.

Open-ended and closed-ended questions may present benefits as well as drawbacks.

Table 3.7 The questionnaire: Advantages and disadvantages

Open-ended questions	Close-ended questions
+ They may confess other attitudes the investigator may not have anticipated. + Successful in interviews. + The respondents may fail to provide the expected responses.	+ They are easier to accomplish. + Effective in mass interview questionnaires (written ones). + The respondents may be easily bored; they tend to reply incautiously. + The respondent may not find his /her appropriate response among those suggested by the researcher.

According to Brown (2001:6), administering questionnaires can be split into two distinct methods. The first type involves the self-administered questionnaire which is usually sent out to the targeted informants. This method implies some major weaknesses among which the informants usually hardly return the questionnaire. In addition, the researcher neglects how the questions were answered.

The second procedure involves the group-administered questionnaire. In such method, Brown (ibid) believes that the questionnaire "is administered to the groups of individuals all at one time and place …" It is safely claimed that this procedure is more recommendable than the self-administered one, as the researcher is present to explain any ambiguous questions; he/ she is also aware of the conditions under which the questionnaires were filled out.

Since the present research work scrutinizes the impact of Arabic diglossia on education, it was necessary to administer a questionnaire for the most important parties involved in this process, that is, teachers and pupils with the aim of verifying whether teachers tend to use both MSA and AA when presenting their lessons, for they believe that this strategy may facilitate comprehension and pupils' smooth integration. Our second purpose in administering the questionnaire, is to check

whether pupils will show more or less linguistic insecurity and reluctance or eagerness in using MSA, and whether such perceptions will evolve either positively or negatively depending not simply on the teaching methods, but also on the parents' assistance and encouragement towards MSA usage.

The respondents were asked to report their answers by themselves for the sake of avoiding annoyance and influence, and to gain time. Yet, in order to prevent any kind of ambiguity expected to face the participants during their responses, we had to be present, guide and assist the selected groups through answering the questions provided in the questionnaires. We also took into consideration the easiness and intelligibility of the items to avoid the vagueness expected during the answers.

Moreover, when close questions were posed to the respondents (pupils' group), especially young pupils (pre-school and first grade pupils), we used to put crosses when necessary in the square blanks and preferred not to ask them to do it themselves for the simple reason that they are too young to accomplish such a task.

Indeed, all questionnaires have been validated by a professor specialized in linguistics and sociolinguistics from Abu-Bakr Belkaid University (Tlemcen). It should be mentioned that all the questionnaires' items were first written in English, and then later on translated into Arabic to cooperate with the topic being investigated as well as the informants' capacities.

- *Pilot administration for pupils*

Since we opted for administering the questionnaire to the learners in class, we find it essential to administer it first to 24 pupils in order to get an idea about the time needed to provide an answer to the different questions, and also to verify its accuracy. We selected one pupil from each group and from each grade to whom we addressed the questions; we sought to be sure that the informants would answer the questionnaire individually. The pilot administration revealed to be satisfactory for all the questions.

3.17.1.2 The interview

In conducting interviews, the interviewer has the opportunity to get in touch with the participants by spending some time, and this aids in exploring additional and meaningful information. The interview seeks the personal dimensions which are not possible in any other method of data collection. Burns (1999:118) affirms that "Interviews are a popular and widely used means of collecting qualitative data".

Indeed, the principal aim of conducting interviews is to obtain exhaustive information and understanding of the interviewees' perception. That is why, they are considered excellent tools for research in which rich detail about the perspectives of participants is expected. In an attempt to show the importance of the interview, Cohen *et al*. (2000) claim that:

> Interviews enable participants- be they interviewers or interviewees- to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view. In these senses, the interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself.
>
> (Cohen *et al*., 2000: 267).

There are three types of interviews: unstructured, semi-structured, and structured interviews according to Nunan (1992: 149).

-*Unstructured interview:* This type of interview is considered informal, spontaneous and flexible. It is managed by the answers of the interviewee rather than the researcher's schedule of events. The researcher exercises little or no control, and the researcher's idea of where he or she wants the interview to go is relatively unpredictable.

-*Semi-structured interview:* in this type of interview, the interviewer generally knows where he or she directs the interview and what should come out of it. However, the researcher does not present the interview with a series of set questions to be answered. Instead, topics and issues determine the course of the interview.

- *Structured interview:* This is the most formal type of interviews. The series of questions is completely predetermined by the researcher who works through a list of

predetermined questions in a fixed order, in other words, it has a set of questions as a guide line but basically distinct from questionnaires.

Cohen and Manion (1994) state that there are three aspects which make the interview method a good technique to use in educational research:

> First, it may be used as the principal means of gathering information having direct bearing on the research objectives...Second, it may be used to test hypotheses or to suggest new ones; or as an explanatory device to help identify variables and relationships. And third, the interview may be used in conjunction with other methods in a research undertaking.
>
> (Cohen & Manion, 1994: 272-273).

However, despite the fact the interview generally presents many advantages, it also presents some drawbacks, most common of which is the investigator's prejudice and her/his repercussion on the informants' replies, which in turn could probably influence the whole research process. The prejudice referring to in this situation is the one mentioned by Hammersley and Gomm (1997) as a

> […] particular source of systematic error: that deriving from a conscious or unconscious tendency on the part of a researcher to produce data, and/or to interpret them, in a way that inclines towards erroneous conclusions which are in line with his or her commitments.
>
> (Hammersley and Gomm, 1997:1).

When constructing our list of open-ended questions, we considered the following points:

1. Ambiguous and technical terms were avoided as much as possible in order not to confuse the participants.

2. Questions where the possible replies are too ambiguous were also avoided.

3. We have made sure that the questions administered to the participants were concerned with the interests of the part of population he would like to get data from.

4. The questions presented to the sample population were clear in meaning.

In the present study, all the interviews held with the respondents were rather unstructured with unpredictable answers. Before conducting such interviews, we had to participate in each of the classes from which the respondents were selected for the purpose of increasing the pupils' as well as the teachers' familiarity. The teachers' interview was quite easy, but the one held with pupils, especially young pupils was a very sensitive one, since we had to employ several tactics to obtain reliable data.

For instance, we used to give them some chocolate or sweets or even some modest toys before starting our interview in order to attract their attention and to collect the maximum information. With an extensive help from the part of the headmasters and teachers, the pupils' interview was mostly conducted on Tuesday afternoons, that is during pupils' free time, a fact that allowed us to feel at ease when collecting data from such 'cute' and 'innocent' informants.

The interviews held with the teachers and pupils were specially designed to verify the third hypothesis that posits the following:

Some pupils use MSA when interacting with their teachers, but due to the lack of exposure to the variety before formal instruction, most of them use AA in a spontaneous manner, a fact that leads to poor proficiency in MSA use in classroom interaction. Furthermore, the interview held with the inspectors' was also a sensitive one, since we had to arrange a meeting with them in the school inspectorate in order to gather the most valuable information as regards the fifth hypothesis that states the following: the gap between Colloquial Arabic and MSA has to be reduced progressively by policy-makers' recommendations for the sake of formal education and this might be done by promoting the use of MSA even outside the school environment.

Our principal aim in establishing such a research instrument was to ensure a cautiously elicited and interpreted interview. Research objectives were set up and interpreted into interview questions under the form of open questions. Like the questionnaire, ambiguous questions were prevented.

3.17.1.3 The matched-guise technique

The matched-guise technique is considered an indirect approach and a sociolinguistic experiment to study language attitudes originally developed by Lambert and his colleagues in 1960 to dredge up covert attitudes towards English and French in Montreal. This test is designed to elicit the research subjects' attitudes towards the languages or language varieties tested by making them listen to a recording passage or a speech performed by the same person, so as to make them feel they are two distinct individuals. The research subjects are then asked to answer a set of questions that will reveal their attitudes towards the languages or language varieties at play. This sociolinguistic experiment is viewed as an indirect approach, for the simple reason that respondents, although aware that it is an attitude-rating task, do not know what exactly they are rating (Garrett 2010), and, as Loureiro *et al*. (2012: 7) explain,

> Because of its broad use in the investigation of language attitudes in multilingualand multicultural contexts since Lambert et al.'s study, the matched-guise test has attracted a great deal of scrutiny mainly concerning the content of the reading passage and the authenticity of the linguistic variables being measured.
>
> (Garrett 2010: 41).

. As opposed to direct questionnaires or interviews, Lambert's technique permits the production of spontaneous, unconscious social judgments, in addition to sincere reactions to each voice heard. Lambert (1967) affirms that this method "appears to reveal judges' more private reactions to the contrasting group than direct questionnaires do". However, more recently, language attitude studies have used a combination of both questionnaires and matched-guise experiments, such as Pieras-Guasp's work on Catalan and Spanish in Mallorca (2002)[72].

The samples can be presented to the judges in two distinct procedures. The first probability is that each judge listens to both passages. The second probability is to divide the judges into two randomized groups, and each group gets to listen to one of the two samples. This method is convenient in cases where it is likely that judges

[72]In Loureiro et al, (2012: 7).

would consider whether they were presented with two guises produced by the same speaker. This is clearly stated in the figure below.

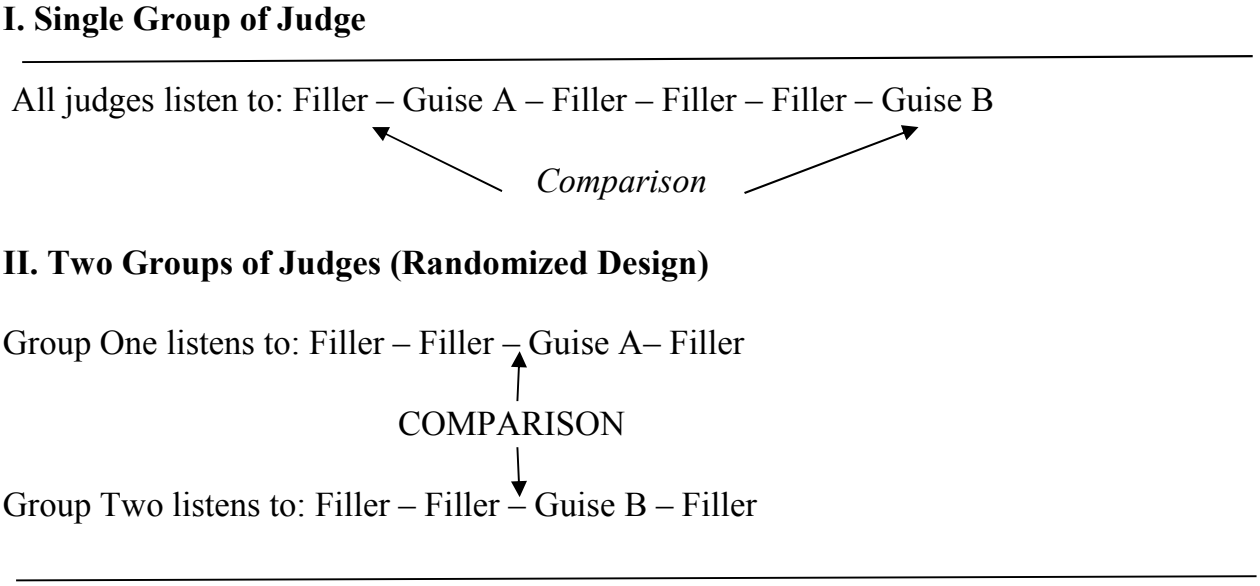


Figure 3.1 Two distinct types of the matched- guise method.

It should be mentioned that the first possibility was applied in our investigation. The reason why we decided to employ this technique in our research, was to elicit valid data about the pupils' attitudes towards both varieties of Arabic (MSA and AA) at primary school levels.

3.17.1.4 Classroom observation as an additional tool

Participant observation has long been used in a diversity of disciplines as an instrument for gathering reliable data about processes, people and cultures, particularly in qualitative research. Schensul, Shensul &LeCompte (1999: 92) define participant observation as "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting".

One of the greatest advantages of this method is that participant observation enables researchers to reveal factors significant for a thorough comprehension of the research problem, but that were obscure when the study was designed. Therefore,

what we determine from participant observation can help us in two ways: First, understanding data gathered via other methods (such as interviews and questionnaires). Secondly, designing questions for those methods that will provide us the perfect understanding of the phenomenon being investigated.

Observation allows the researcher to watch peoples' behaviours and interactions directly. Indeed, 'watching' and 'listening' are key to observation since this latter provides the researcher the opportunity to document activities and behaviours without having recourse to peoples' willingness and capacity to answer to questions.

Participant observation is also viewed as a qualitative method with roots in traditional ethnographic investigations whose principal objective is to aid researchers learn the perspectives undertook by study populations. Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte (1999) list the following reasons for using participant observation in research:

• to identify and guide relationships with informants;

• to help the researcher get the feel for how things are organized and prioritized, how people interrelate, and what are the cultural parameters;

• to show the researcher what the cultural members deem to be important in manners, leadership, politics, social interaction, and taboos;

• to help the researcher become known to the cultural members, thereby easing facilitation of the research process; and

• to provide the researcher with a source of questions to be addressed with participants (LeCompte, 1999 :91).

In fact, the inclusion of 'classroom observation' as an additional tool emerged from the fact that it might examine and reinforce our triangulation of research tools and might lead to other interesting issues. Hence, in our investigation, the observation has included the attendance of two sequenced sessions in each primary school and has focused on exploring the variety of Arabic used by teachers and learners as two

partner parties in classroom interaction, in addition to the pupils' language difficulties in classroom interaction.

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

3.17.2 Data collection procedures

The data collected for this study relied mainly on the questionnaire, the interview and the matched-guise technique which took a whole year duration. Throughout this period, we have collected as much information as possible in order to find out answers to our research questions. The selection of these methods for gathering information was prompted by the research conditions such as the timing assigned for data collection and the availability of the informants.

3.17.2.1 Questionnaire to teachers

The teachers' questionnaire was divided into two categories, namely the educational and psychological factors (see Appendix A-Questionnaires 2 and 3). The first one aimed at exploring the variety used in classroom interaction by teachers, whereas the second factor, that is the psychological one aimed at investigating the respondents' attitudes (teachers) towards both varieties of Arabic (MSA and AA).

Questionnaire 2 items were designed in accordance with our first research question which consists in exploring the variety of Arabic used by teachers when presenting the lessons (see Appendix A). However, Questionnaire 3 aims at exploring the teachers' reactions towards MSA and AA. 24 copies of the printed questionnaire

were distributed to 24 teachers from six different schools scattered throughout the country.

All these informants are teachers of Arabic and they had to report their answers by themselves to avoid annoyance and influence. Yet, we had to be present on many occasions in order to guide the research subjects through answering the questions provided. The questionnaire-based on the educational factor-administered to the selected group was composed of seven questions. A series of multiple choice (close-ended) questions was arranged with the aim of eliciting data about the variety used by teachers in classroom interaction.

Question 1 asks about the variety of Arabic used by teachers in the process.

Question 2 explores the extent to which teachers use AA in the teaching process.

Question 3 involves whether teachers encourage their pupils to communicate and interact in MSA in class.

Question 4 asks whether pupils are allowed to use AA in classroom interaction.

Question 5 aims at finding out whether it is hard for teachers to use MSA as the sole variety when explaining their lessons.

Question 6 asks about artificiality feeling from the part of teachers when using MSA only in the teaching.

Question 7 is intended to find out whether the teachers feel that the use of AA in the teaching process enhances the pupils' assimilation.

The questionnaire – based on the psychological factor- was composed of five questions; three of them were close-ended questions and the two others were open-ended ones aiming at exploring the teachers' attitudes towards MSA and AA.

Question 1 asks about the variety in which the teachers prefer presenting their lessons.

Question 2 aims at examining which variety of Arabic the teachers find more beautiful than the other.

Question 3 is intended to find which variety is more appropriate for the teaching/ learning process.

Question 4 explores the teachers' reaction when pupils interact with them in MSA.

Question 5 evaluates teachers' reaction when their pupils interact with them in AA.

3.17.2.2 Questionnaire to pupils

This questionnaire was addressed to two hundred and sixteen pupils from different grades at the primary level. These pupils were split up into groups of six, i.e., one group from each grade and from different schools. The printed questionnaires were carefully distributed to 216 pupils studying hierarchically in various grades, that is, from pre-school grade until the fifth grade. The selected participants had to report their answers by themselves except for pupils from pre-schooling and those from grade one. Indeed, since these pupils are too young, we had to be present most of the time to help them fill the questionnaire.

The assigned questionnaire was administered to pupils from various grades in different classrooms, and from different primary schools. By doing so, we sought to be sure that all the participants would reply and give back the questionnaire. The operation took about an hour for each group. We carefully explained to the respondents the purpose of the study and the necessity of answering the questions independently.

The questionnaire administered to pupils was composed of 7 questions, which aim at exploring the pupils' feelings about MSA once in contact with school and whether there is a change in their perceptions about this form of Arabic at further school grades. A set of multiple choice questions was arranged with the aim of verifying the second hypothesis that relates to linguistic insecurity and school language use.

Question 1 and question 2 refer to the variety of Arabic employed by pupils whether outside or inside class.

Question 3 asks whether parents encourage their children to talk in MSA at home.

Question 4 deals with pupils' proficiency in MSA use inside the classroom.

Question 5 asks about the variety of Arabic pupils consider more appropriate for the learning process.

Question 6 explores the variety by which pupils comprehend better when receiving Arabic lessons.

Question 7 aims at asking the pupils from various grades whether it is easy to learn MSA or not.

3.17.2.3 Interviewing inspectors

It is argued that inspectors symbolise the eyes of the educational authority displayed in the educational sector, and because of their constant visits and observations on teachers' achievements, they are professionally conscious about teachers and subject settings in classes. In this sense, we have taken the decision to make use of the Arabic inspectors' interviews to check our fifth hypothesis that states the gap between Colloquial Arabic and MSA has to be reduced progressively by policy-makers' recommendations for the sake of formal education and this might be done by promoting the use of MSA even outside the school environment.

The interview was addressed to two inspectors whose teaching experience ranges between twenty two and twenty four years respectively. It was based on six open-ended questions which were written down in a questionnaire format.

Question 1 is designated to ask whether the inspectors have an idea about diglossia in Arabic by stating how.

Question 2 aims at verifying whether the inspectors consider Arabic diglossia as a problem in itself when dealing with the educational field and stating why.

Question 3 seeks to obtain information about whom the inspectors blame when they notice that pupils from various grades show a kind of deficiency in MSA use.

Question 4 is intended to check about the inspectors' reaction if they noticed that Arabic course teachers use AA in their teaching strategies.

Question 5 asks whether the inspectors force teachers to use only MSA in classroom interaction by stating some reasons behind this reaction.

Question 6 aims at identifying some measures that may or must be undertaken by Algerian policy-makers as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia by providing reasons for such a choice.

3.17.2.4 Interviewing teachers

This interview was conducted with twenty four teachers from different schools and teaching at various grades. These were participants for individual interviews, that is, we had to conduct an interview with each teacher from those selected for this research, hoping that this would confirm our third hypothesis related to MSA use in classroom interaction.

The interview exclusively addressed to teachers of Arabic consists of two parts. We have proceeded to this division for purposes of providing answers to our third research question as well as to the fifth which recommends MSA/AA gap reduction. We encouraged personal contribution on the part of the respondent, which we suppose, can be very explanatory.

The first part involves many details that reveal the main language difficulties encountered by primary school pupils in classroom interaction and the reasons that stand behind such linguistic deficiency. The second part, on the other hand, includes two questions which aim at providing answers for our fifth research question which we believe, can be very informative. The participants of this assignment were interviewed on the basis of open-ended and complex questions with the aim of finding answersfor the following questions:

Question 1 invites the teachers to provide an explanation on the way they introduce their pupils to this reality of the co-existence of two forms of Arabic, that is, *al-fusha* and *al-ʕammija*.

Question 2 aims at providing information about whether the pupils use MSA only in classroom interaction by stating some reasons about such behaviour.

Question 3 was addressed to the teachers in order to find out whether the pupils encounter difficulties when using MSA in classroom interaction and to cite the kinds of language difficulties they confront.

Question 4 aims at giving the reasons that stand behind pupils' linguistic deficiency.

Question 5 exhibits the solutions suggested by the teachers in order to avoid AA use in classroom interaction.

Question 6 invites the teachers to present information about whether the curriculum contribute in promoting the learners' language skills by stating some reasons.

Question 7 demonstrates whether the teachers under investigation blame their pupils when making verbal errors by providing some reasons.

Question 8 determines the various actions undertaken by the teachers to help in developing their pupils' linguistic skills.

Question 9 is designed to have the teachers' opinions about the new reform suggested by the newly appointed minister of education (2015) which consists in the introduction of dialect use in primary school for the following grades: pre-school, the first and second grades.

The last question is intended to know which political measures may be undertaken as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia, by stating the reasons behind their choice. This question was also posed to the inspectors (see section 4.5.2.4) in order to provide an answer to our fifth research question that states the following: What political decisions may be undertaken as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia?

3.17.2.5 Interviewing pupils

Unlike the teachers' interview which was considered as an'individual interview', pupils were participants for 'group interviews', conducted with six groups of pupils from each grade and from distinct primary schools. The interview with the pupils was composed of simple open-ended questions and included five questions, which were directed to get answers for our third research question.

Question 1 refers to the difficulties encountered by most pupils in understanding the Arabic lessons as well as the reasons behind such misunderstanding.

Question 2 asks how and whether the pupils have any exposure to MSA outside the school environment.

Question 3 is intended to reveal whether the pupils find it easy to interact with their teachers in MSA by stating why.

Question 4 is designed to identify the reasons that stand behind the pupils' linguistic handicap.

Question 5 invites the pupils to mention some of the language difficulties they face when interacting with their teachers.

The subjects' responses were noted down and no detail was rejected, since certain ideas were thought to be very helpful. Moreover, we did not interrupt the respondents, nor did we try to correct them, so as not to create any embarrassment. Right after the pupils' as well as the teachers' interview, we transformed the notes into passages because it was necessary to formulate an interview summary before forgetting its details.

3.17.2.6 The matched-guise technique as a data collection procedure

Simply put, and as previously mentioned, this method was designed to elicit the respondents' attitudes towards the Arabic varieties at play by making them listen

to a text passage performed in two varieties by the same individual, which might make them feel they are listening to two persons. These respondents were then asked to answer a set of questions that will 'hopefully' reveal their attitudes towards the language varieties tested. The test is *matched* in that the speaker is the same person and he/ she is narrating the same passage.

In our investigation, the respondents were exposed to two distinct guises: the first guise was in MSA and the second one was in AA. Each of these guises was designated in a form of short passages from the story of 'Beauty and the Beast' that was performed by the researchers' nephew who happened to be a boy of eight years old and whose voice was tape-recorded. The different passages performed in AA, were characterized by the salient feature [ʔ], specific to Tlemcen speech (see Appendix C).

Three passages from 'Beauty and the Best' story in English were then translated into Standard Arabic and AA. The speaker in all guises read the passages in these forms of Arabic and had a good proficiency in these language varieties.Therefore, the sample population -made up of pupils- was asked to listen carefully and attentively to these tape-recorded passages and guess about the interlocutor whose age and gender were anonymous. In fact, our use of this technique aimed at testing the fourth hypothesis concerning the pupils' attitudes towards H and L (MSA and AA).

Apart from this, the task of distributing the matched-guise technique questionnaires was not a simple one, since we had to deliver them to the sample population from different primary schools and from various grades on many times and occasions. However, with the consent of the headmasters from each primary school, we had the privilege to be assisted by some teachers who kindly accepted to put off their lessons and help us achieve this hard task.

As far as the matched-guise technique questionnaire format is concerned, it consists of three questions that ask the following:

Question 1 aims at seeking knowledge concerning which pupil is more pleasant than the other with a third option 'I do not know'.

Question 2 is designed to get the respondents' judgments about the speakers in different guises in case they were their classmates. A set of adjectives were proposed with their antonyms, and the pupils had to put a tick near the selected adjective, as for instance, 'clever' vs. ' less clever'; 'attractive' vs. 'non-attractive' and 'friendly' vs. 'unfriendly'(see Appendix C).

Question 3 aims at verifying whether the speaker's variety in each guise is 'appropriate/inappropriate, 'beautiful'/ 'ordinary'; whether it is 'correct/ 'incorrect'.

3.18 Data analysis procedures

As a preliminary definition, data analysis is the mechanism by which one can evaluate data by means of analytical and logical reasoning in order to scrutinize each component of the data administered. Therefore, the aim of analyzing data is to gather usable and useful information.

After the data is obtained, it is analyzed either quantitatively or qualitatively. These two kinds of data analysis form distinct, but not necessary incompatible perspectives on corpus data. In order to show the importance of both qualitative and quantitative analysis in sociolinguistic research, Johnstone (2000) affirms that:

> This means that analyzing sociolinguistic data often involves some counting, explicit or implicit, in order to answer questions about how often things happen, in addition to the descriptions that help answer qualitative questions about how and why things happen.
>
> (Johnstone, 2000: 37).

For the purpose of investigating the effect of Arabic diglossia on the educational sphere and more precisely on pupils' linguistic attainment, we resorted to these two methods of analysis to the data resulting from the various research instruments believing that the use of more than one type of analysis may certainly provide us with more reliable research results.

3.18.1 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative approach is considered objective, for it is based on testing a theory measured with numbers and analyzed using statistical technique; in other words, it is concerned with the collection and analysis of data in numeric form. Hamzaoui & Negadi (2013: 48) say in this respect: "In quantitative research we classify features, count them, and even construct more complex statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed". Nevertheless, the description of the data which evolves from quantitative analysis, is weaker than that collected from qualitative analysis.

The purpose of quantitative research methods is to increase relevance, and completeness of the results. In this approach, the researcher is expected to repeal his/ her prejudices, experiences and perceptions to guarantee objectivity in the conduct of the study as well as the conclusions that are established. Some of the basic features of many quantitative researches include the use of instruments such as tests or surveys to obtain data, in addition to confidence on probability theory to assess statistical hypotheses that relate to research questions of interest.

The quantitative analysis in the present study relies on quantified data which can reveal the impact of Arabic diglossia on pupils' linguistic performance in classroom interaction and the reasons behind their linguistic deficiency, in addition to their attitudes towards the varieties of Arabic at play. The data are outlined in tables and graphs where the numerical data are converted into percentages to allowcomparison. It was used for the analysis of both pupils' and teachers' questionnaires and interviews as well as the matched-guise technique.

3.18.2 Qualitative analysis

Unlike the quantitative approach, the qualitative approach is rather subjective in that it is generally associated with interpretive and critical paradigms. It is, therefore, considered harder, more stressful and more time-consuming.

> The aim of qualitative analysis is a complete, detailed description. No attempt is made to assign frequencies to the linguistic features which are identified in the data, and rare phenomena receive (or should receive) the same amount of attention as more frequent phenomena.
>
> (Ochieng, 2009:17).

Qualitative research methods are also considered as inductive, in the sense that a researcher may construct hypotheses, explanations, and conceptualizations from details provided by respondents. Nonetheless, the principal disadvantage concerning qualitative analyses to corpus analysis relies on the fact that their results cannot be enlarged to wider populations with the same degree of certainty that quantitative approaches can, for the simple reason that the results of the study are not investigated to determine whether they are statistically significant or merely due to chance.

In the present research work, the qualitative analysis is based upon our personal observation and interpretation. Moreover, it is exploratory, descriptive and discovery oriented in purpose. In other words, as Denzin & Lincoln (2005) say:

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.
>
> (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:3).

Identifying the mix- methods approach - qualitative and quantitative- in this research work is important because it communicates information about key questions concerning the impact of Arabic diglossia on the educational setting in the Algerian context. According to Johnson and Turner (2003),[73]

> the fundamental principle of quantitative vs. qualitative approaches is that multiple kinds of data should be collected with different strategies and methods in ways that

[73] Mentioned in Clifton & Ronald (2011:151).

reflect complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses, allowing a mixed methods study to provide insights not possible when only qualitative or quantitative data are collected.

Researchers use different approaches for analysing data depending not only on the paradigm they choose, but also on the nature of the data they collect. In this line of thought, quantitative and qualitative approaches were combined in order to provide a general picture which has something to contribute to data study.

- To sum up this part, a synopsis of the present research design is presented:

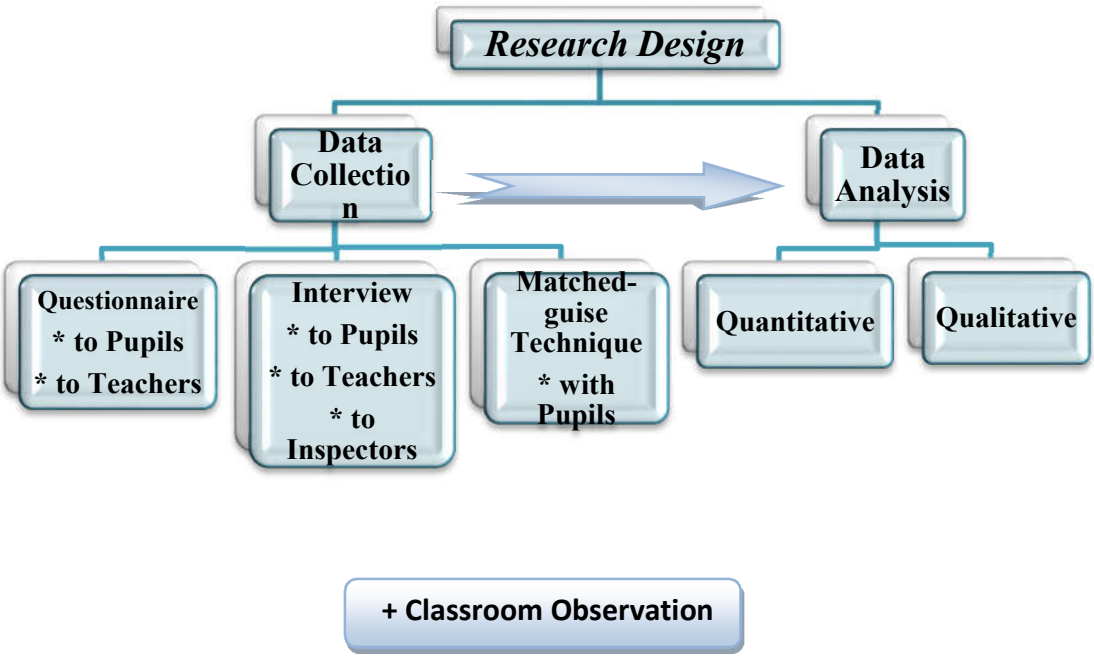


Figure 3.2 A synopsis of the research design

Put another way, our research design uses a mixed-method research which combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches for the analysis of the answers obtained from the questionnaires administered to both teachers and pupils, as well as the responses obtained from teachers', pupils' and inspectors' interviews, in addition to the analysis of the matched guise technique's answers whose major aim is to elicit the pupils' attitudes towards the Arabic varieties at play.

3.19 Conclusion

This second part of the chapter starts with the presentation of the research objectives and motivations. Then, it describes the current Arabic teaching/learning situation at primary level. Next, it presents our context of investigation, different primary schools from a few towns of the country. It also provides a description of the sample population which includes teachers, pupils and inspectors as three partner parties in this study. Then, it restates the research questions and hypotheses.

Following that, it discusses the various instruments for data collection. The present research work uses a triangulation of research instruments, based on questionnaires, interviews and the matched-guise technique. This triangulation of methods for data collection is used to maximize the credibility of the results.

Moreover, the inclusion of classroom observation as a supplementary tool helps us in strengthening our triangulation of the research tools. This, in fact, has allowed us to collect data from multiple sources. Questionnaires are administered to teachers and pupils. Interviews are addressed to teachers, pupils and inspectors while the matched-guise technique is used to elicit pupils' attitudes towards the varieties of Arabic. The rationale for using these instruments has been explained.

Finally, we have considered the data analysis procedures. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used for analyzing the data. The next chapter will analyze and interpret the data collected from the sample population in order to understand the nature of the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal instruction among pupils in some Algerian primary schools.

Chapter Four: Analysis and Interpretation of the Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide an interpretation of the data gathered from three main sources of data, namely, questionnaires, interviews and the matched-guise technique. Classroom observation has been added as a research instrument with the aim of examining and strengthening the results obtained from the other tools. More importantly, the following chapter will present an interpretation of the results obtained using as a basis, the statistics convenient to support the arguments with tables and figures in order to make the explanations understandable and clear.

The chapter will finally supply a summary of the main findings. It is worth noting that the principal purpose of this chapter is to profile the participants' responses in order to capture their essence. An interpretation of these answers will eventually be yielded in this end.

4.2 Data results: Quantitative vs. Qualitative analysis

As far as the collection of information about the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal education is concerned in this assignment, both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used in an attempt to approach exactness and objectivity. The full results are firstly summarized in tables and graphs, then they are interpreted qualitatively.

4.3 Analysis of the results: Questionnaires and interviews

This section is devoted to quantitative and qualitative analyses of the results obtained from questionnaires and interviews. The teachers' questionnaire is meant to explore the variety of Arabic used in class, while that of the pupils aims to determine the way they perceive MSA during their first years of schooling, and whether there is a change in their feelings at further school grades. Then the results obtained from

the interviews with the teachers and inspectors will be also presented and analysed qualitatively.

4.3.1 The variety of classroom interaction

We have set up a simple closed format questionnaire consisting of direct multiple choice questions presented to teachers of Arabic from the different primary schools (see Appendix A-Questionnaire 2). As already mentioned, it consists of ten straightforward questions (see section 4.7.2.1) about the variety used by the informants in their teaching strategies. The findings obtained are obviously not intended to be fully representative of all Algerian primary schools, but the outcome, here, may be seen as typical of at least similar groups of teachers at primary school level since diglossia is a characteristic of the Algerian society as a whole.

-*Quantitative analysis*

The following tables and figures exhibit the results obtained from the 24 teachers and the equivalent proportions in percentages.

Question 1: Which variety of Arabic do you use in your teaching process?

Table 4.1 Teachers' variety use in the classroom

Varieties	MSA	AA	Both
Number	5	0	19
Percentage	20.83%	0%	79.17%

The graph below clearly represents the findings obtained as regards the variety of Arabic used by the teachers when explaining their lessons.

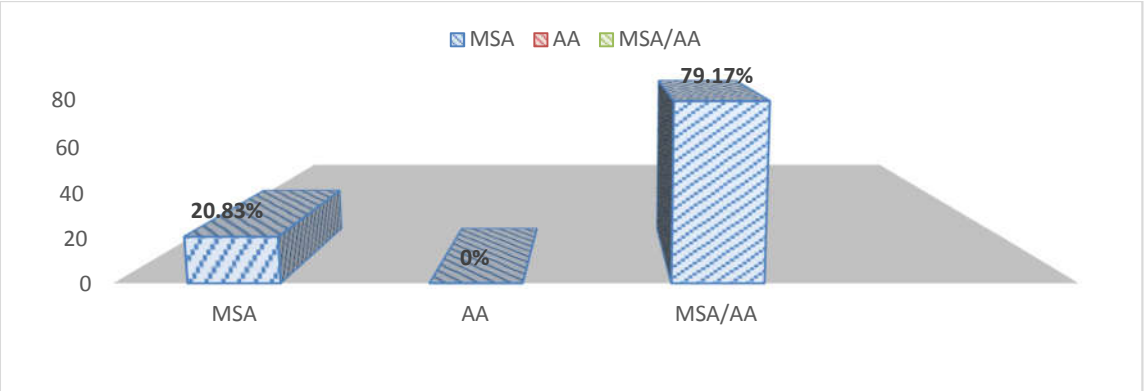


Fig.4.1 MSA vs. AA use by teachers in the classroom

With regard to the first hypothesis which stipulates that teachers tend to use a mixture of MSA and AA believing that this strategy may facilitate comprehension and pupils' smooth integration, interesting results were obtained. First, the variety used in classroom interaction has been declared to be a mixture of MSA and AA by most informants (79.17%), except five teachers (20.83%) who confirmed using only MSA in their teaching strategies. Indeed, the majority acknowledged to use what is called by some sociolinguists 'middle language', representing a mixture of a standard variety and the vernacular (Al-Batal, 1992). In terms of using the 'middle language' also called ESA (see section 1.5.4), most teachers believe that mixing MSA and the vernacular in teaching the Arabic course sometimes enhances and facilitates pupils' assimilation.

Nevertheless some sociolinguists are of the opinion that mixing language patterns inside the classroom (standard Arabic and the vernacular) triggers real pedagogical problems and sometimes leads to a lack of adequate language competence, low linguistic confidence and even to feelings of linguistic insecurity (Maamouri, 1998), while others believe that the classroom should be a place where numerous registers co-exist, as they do in real life (Al-Batal & Belnap 2006).

Question 2: How often do you use AA in your teaching process?

The table below exhibits the rates of the Arabic course teachers' use of AA in class.

Response	Teachers' use of AA in the classroom	
	Freq.	Rate
Very often	0	0%
Quite often	4	16.66%
Sometimes	14	58.34%
Rarely	6	25%
Never	0	0%

Table 4.2 Teachers' frequency use of AA in class

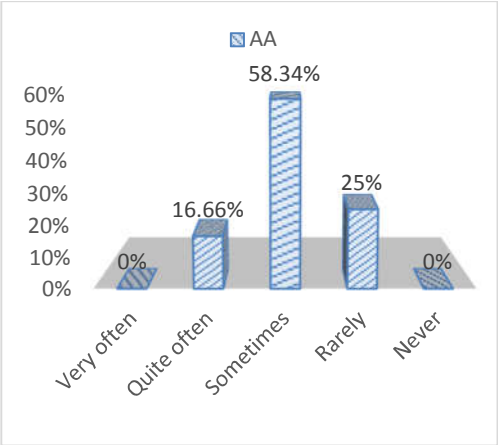


Fig.4.2 Teachers' frequency use of AA in class

When asked about AA frequency use in lesson presentation most teachers (rating 58.34%) said that it sometimes integrated in the explanation of their lessons, for the simple reason that the majority affirmed that they should use the vernacular in order to make a smooth transition from home to school especially for pre-school and first grade pupils, and that AA sometimes improves pupils' comprehension in general. Four respondents with a rate of 16.66% mentioned that they use AA quite often when presenting the lessons; 14 respondents with a rate of 58.34% claimed that they sometimes use it; 6 respondents (25%) affirmed to use it rarely, whereas nobody asserted that they never or very often use it in the classroom.

Question 3: Do you encourage your pupils to interact and communicate in MSA?

The teachers' replies as to their encouragement towards their pupils' interaction and communication in MSA are neatly illustrated in table 4.3, as well as the equivalent graph below.

Response	Teachers' encouragement towards MSA use	
	Freq.	Rate
Always	5	20.83%
Often	19	79.17%
Sometimes	0	0%
Rarely	0	0%
Never	0	0%

Table 4.3Teachers' encouragement towards MSA use in classroom interaction

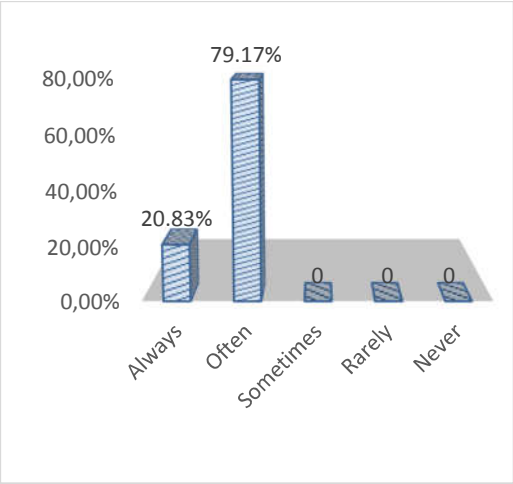


Fig. 4.3 Teachers' encouragement towards MSA use in classroom interaction

As for their encouragement towards MSA use inside the classroom, the majority of the informants (79.17%) said that they often encourage their pupils, except for a small number of teachers from about 20.83% who safely claimed that they always enhance the use of MSA in classroom interaction from the part of their learners. Only 5 informants declared their permanent encouragement, and noone argued that they sometimes, rarely or never encourage them to use MSA in classroom interaction. Some statements that prove teachers' encouragement of MSA use in class were expressed by the following statements:

-We teach Arabic, so our major aim is to inculcate MSA to our pupils.

- MSA is the language of the Qur'an, for this reason, pupils have to learn it accurately.

- Practice makes perfect, so with regular use of MSA, pupils can develop linguistic proficiency in MSA.

- Our role is to fight AA use in class and to enhance MSA use instead.

- Children are exposed to AA outside the school context, MSA is the sole variety used in formal instruction and consequently, they have to make efforts to learn it adequately.

- Once a week, pupils are asked to read a short story at home and to summarize it.

Question 4: Do you allow your pupils to use AA in classroom interaction?

Response	Teachers' allowance of AA use in classroom interaction	
	Freq.	Rate
Always	0	0%
Often	0	0%
Sometimes	11	45.83%
Rarely	11	45.83%
Never	2	8.34%

Table 4.4 Teachers' acceptance of AA use in classroom interaction

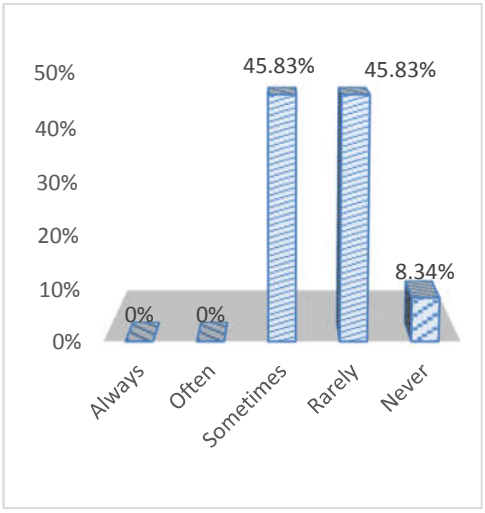


Fig.4.4 Teachers' acceptance of AA use in classroom interaction

When asked whether their pupils are allowed to use AA in classroom interaction, nobody revealed that they always or often permit them to use the vernacular. However, the same rates (45.83%) are attributed to those who reported that they sometimes or rarely allow them to use it, and a very small percentage (8.43%) is attributed to those who do not allow their pupils to use AA in classroom interaction which could be interpreted thus: there are some pedagogical circumstances where pupils are allowed to use their dialects in order to express themselves, for they meet obstacles in finding the accurate lexical items to express their ideas in MSA. Otherwise, this could be considered as an impediment for the learning process. Some statements as regards the teachers' permission to use AA were expressed thus:

-Pupils, especially those studying in pre-school and first grades are allowed to use AA in a class topic discussion because they have little or no knowledge about MSA, the language of instruction.

-Pupils have difficulties in finding the correct words in MSA in order to express their ideas in classroom interaction.

-We have to make a smooth transition from home to school in order to avoid monotony and disgust from the part of our pupils.

-We have to give the opportunity to our pupils to express their ideas, even if they are in AA because we know that they lack fluency in MSA.

-Outside school, nobody uses MSA, so we allow them to use AA from time to time just to avoid embarrassment and insecurity feelings.

It is worth mentioning here again that MSA is not the pupils' mother tongue, and that they learn it at school almost as any other second language or like a foreign language. This is a significant reason, though perhaps not the only one, in explaining the fact that a fairly good number of informants revealed that they sometimes or rarely allow their pupils to use AA in classroom interaction.

Question 5: Is it difficult for you to use MSA only when explaining the lessons?

Response	The difficulty of exclusive use of MSA in class	
	Freq.	Rate
Yes	0	0%
No	12	50%
A little	12	50%

Table 4.5 The difficulty of exclusive use of MSA in classroom interaction

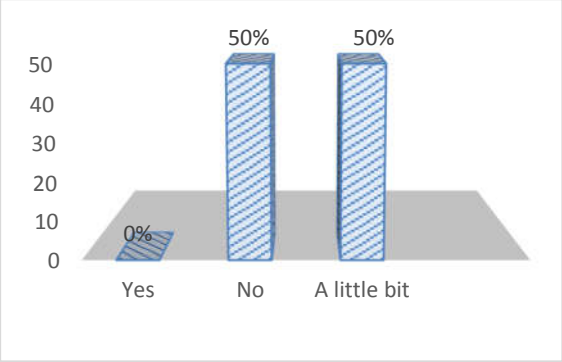


Fig.4.5 The dilemma of exclusive use of MSA in classroom interaction

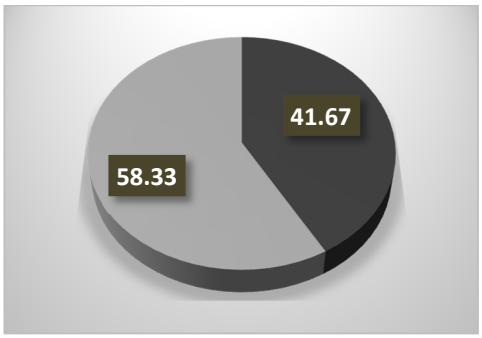
Concerning the dilemma of the exclusive use of MSA when explaining the lessons, the same percentage (50%) is attributed to the informants who reported 'no' and those who declared 'a little '. This can be explained as follows: On the one hand, the former group does not find any difficulties in presenting the lessons in MSA only, for they believe that MSA is the sole variety used as the medium of instruction.

Yet, this claim unfortunately contradicts the pedagogical reality which shows that these teachers use a mixture of both varieties in their teaching perspectives. On the other hand, the teachers' second group find it somehow difficult to use only MSA in their explanations because, according to them, pupils are weak in MSA use, and in order to avoid any bias and disgust from the part of learners, they have to incorporate some AA words to facilitate assimilation, be it pre-school or any other grade. This, in fact confirms our first hypothesis (see General Introduction).

Question 6: Do you feel artificiality when you only use MSA in your teaching process? The following table reveals the results obtained for this question.

Response	Artificiality in MSA use	
	Freq.	Rate
Yes	0	0%
No	10	41.67%
A little	14	58.33%

Table 4.6 Artificiality feeling in the exclusive use of MSA in class



Pie-chart. 4.1 Artificiality feeling in the exclusive use of MSA in class

Similarly, and in relation to feeling of artificiality when using MSA exclusively in the teaching process, the results do not show a flagrant difference between those who reported 'no' (41.67%) and those who said 'a little' (58.33%). The pie-chart given above clearly summarizes the respondents' claims. Indeed, The teachers' feeling of artificiality relates to the fact that they find it perplexing when they teach in only MSA, for they believe it is a kind of artificiality since none of them uses it spontaneously outside the school environment, and that the pupils feel bored when they receive their lessons solely in MSA without a minor use of the vernacular for explanation. The exclusive use of MSA in the teaching process requires artificial situations, for pupils learn to use this variety in situations and domains where it is not used in everyday life, like introducing people and greeting.

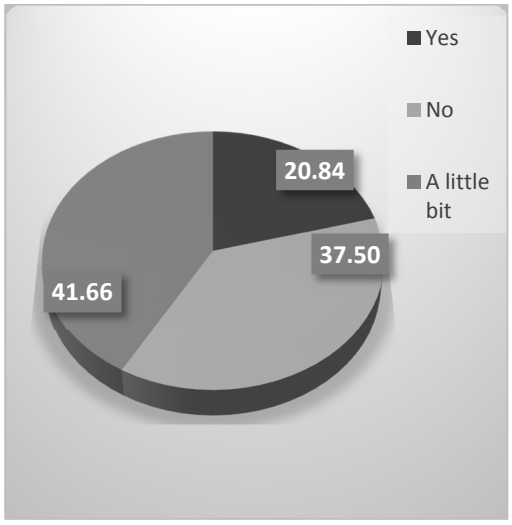
Question 7: Do you feel that the use of AA in the teaching process enhances pupils' assimilation?

Taking into account whether AA use enhances pupils' comprehension when explaining the lessons, various responses were provided. The highest score (rating 41.66%) is attributed to those who reported 'a little', (37.50%) mentioned that they do not feel that AA improves assimilation and only (20.84%) declared that AA use enhances pupils' assimilation.This is clearly highlighted in the table below and its equivalent pie-chart.

For those who reported that AA usage enhances pupils' comprehension, they affirmed that their classrooms contain linguistically mixed-level pupils, that is, some are linguistically proficient while others are not. Therefore, this distinction should be taken into consideration and AA should be integrated in the teaching process, a procedure which permits all pupils to understand. Moreover, pupils from pre-school and first grades are not linguistically qualified in MSA, since it is nobody's mother tongue; that is why using AA from time to time, may facilitate assimilation.

Response	Pupils' assimilation enhancement when using AA	
	Freq.	Rate
Yes	5	20.84%
No	9	37.50%
A little	10	41.66%

Table 4.7 AA enhancing pupils' assimilation



Pie-chart.4.2 AA enhancing pupils' assimilation

4.3.2 MSA and pupils' perceptions

In order to investigate how the pupils perceive MSA once in contact with school and whether they exhibit an alteration in such feelings at further grades, we purposely oriented the questionnaire to the pupils from various grades in order to avoid any bias and prejudice from the part of the teachers. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the teachers were not asked about their pupils' perception of MSA.

As already stated, the questionnaire administered to the pupils was composed of eleven questions and yielded both quantitative and qualitative data.

Question n° 1: Which variety of Arabic do you use outside class?

When the pupils from different grades were asked about the variety used at home, most pupils with a rate of 99.07% declared, not surprisingly, that they use AA only outside the school milieu. However, only two pupils reported that they use both varieties, whereas no one asserted that they use MSA outside class. The table and its corresponding graph indicate the scores obtained. In other words, based upon the findings, it is clear that no body uses MSA outside the school environment.

Responses	The variety used outside class	
	Frequency	Rate
AA	214	99.07%
MSA	0	0%
MSA/AA	2	0.93%

Table 4.8 The variety used outside school

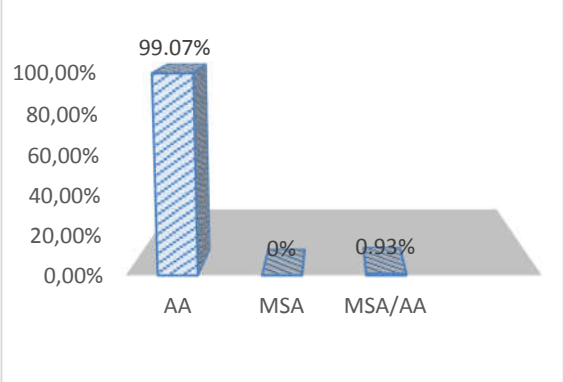


Fig 4.6 The variety used outside school

Mention should be made here again that the population in this study was divided into groups of six pupils from each grade and from six different PS, that is why, we will consider the different responses provided by the learners from each grade in a hierarchical grading, and six pupils from each grade represent the rate of 100%, i.e., 36 pupils= 100%

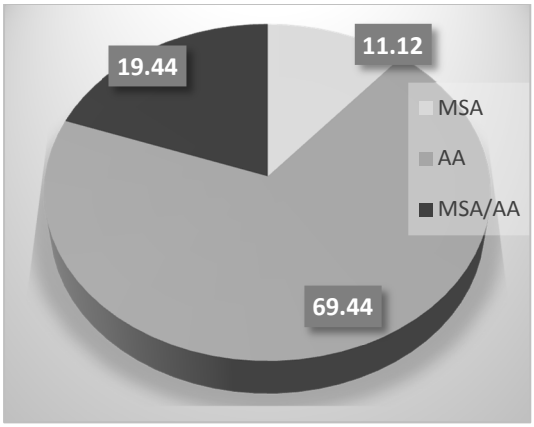
Question n°2: Which variety of Arabic do you use in class?

- *Pre-school grade pupils*

In fact, the scores for AA use in classroom interaction are quite high: about 69.44% of the informants in each group have declared that they use AA inside class. A relatively small number of pupils (11.12%) said they use MSA, and seven informants rating 19.44% claimed that they use both varieties, i.e., MSA and AA in classroom interaction. This is clearly shown in the following table and its corresponding pie-chart.

Responses	The variety used inside the classroom (pre-school)	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	4	11.12%
AA	25	69.44%
MSA/AA	7	19.44%

Table 4.9 The variety of classroom interaction (pre-school grade)



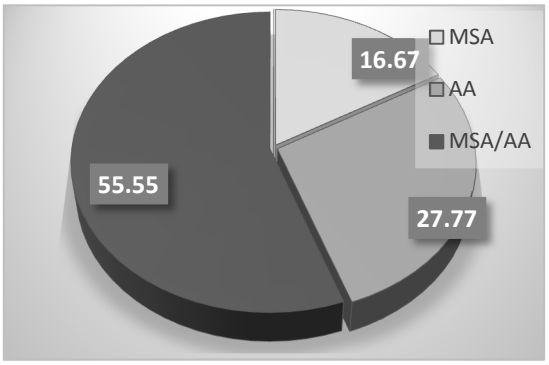
Pie-chart 4.3 The variety of classroom interaction (pre-school grade)

- *First grade pupils*

As far as the use of Arabic is concerned, more than half of the population, from about 55.55% opted for MSA/ AA use, to a little more than 27% for AA use, and then less than 17% for MSA use in classroom interaction. Consider the following table and pie-chart.

Responses	The variety used in the classroom (1st grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	6	16.67%
AA	10	27.77%
MSA/AA	20	55.55%

Table 4.10 The variety used in class (1st grade pupils)



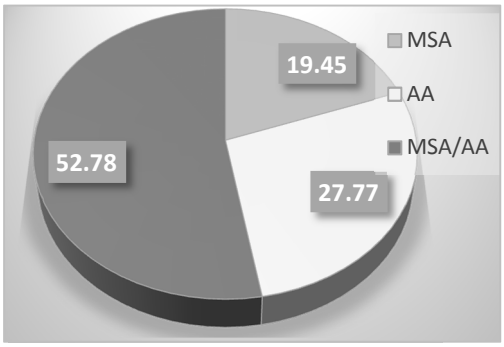
Pie-chart 4.4 The variety used in class (1st grade pupils)

-*Second grade pupils*

Similarly, the scores obtained show that more than half of the respondents, with a rate of 55.78% claimed that they mix between the two forms of Arabic when interacting with their teachers, ten respondents rating 27.77% said that they tend to use AA only, while seven informants rating 19.45% declared that they use MSA only in classroom interaction. The table as well as the pie-chart below highlight the results clearly.

Responses	The variety used in class (2nd grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	7	19.45%
AA	10	27.77%
MSA/AA	19	52.78%

Table 4.11 The variety used in class (2nd grade pupils)



Pie-chart 4.5 The variety used in class (2nd grade pupils)

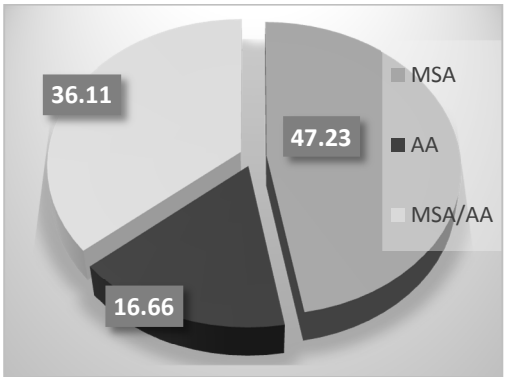
-*Third grade pupils*

When the third grade pupils were asked about the variety used in classroom interaction, 17 pupils (47.23%) declared that they use MSA, 13 of them with a rate

of 36.11% stated using both varieties, whereas only 6 respondents (16.66%) declared that they use AA in classroom interaction. Consider the following table and pie-chart.

Responses	The variety used in class (3nd grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	17	47.23%
AA	6	16.66%
MSA/AA	13	36.11%

Table 4.12 The variety used in class (3rd grade pupils)



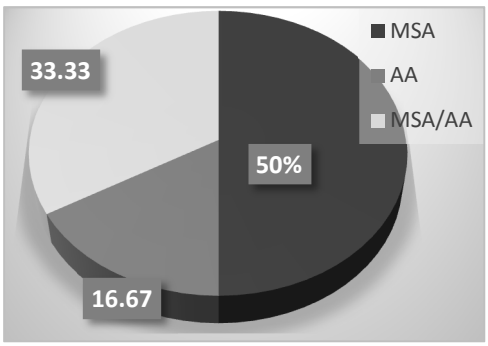
Pie-chart 4.6 The variety used in class (3rd grade pupils)

-Fourth grade pupils

Here, the results are nearly similar to those obtained in the above grade, i.e., the third grade. Again most pupils with a rate of 50% asserted to use MSA only in classroom interaction, six pupils (16.67%) declared that they use only AA and twelve of the respondents with a rate of 33.33% said that they use a mixture of MSA and AA when communicating with their teachers inside class. These results are highlighted in the following table and pie-chart.

Responses	The variety used in class (4thgrade)	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	18	50%
AA	6	16,67%
MSA/AA	12	33,33%

Table 4.13 The variety used in class (4th grade pupils)



Pie-chart 4.7 The variety used in class (4th grade pupils)

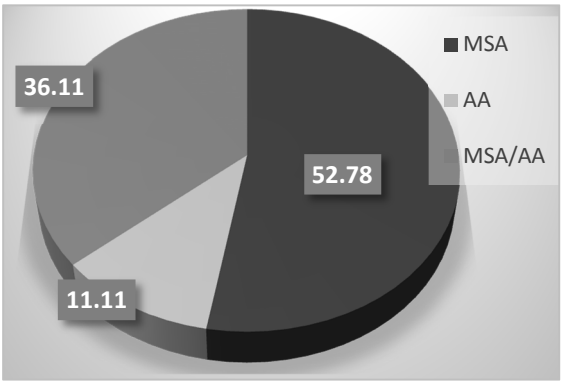
-Fifth grade pupils

Again, the results reveal much similarity with those obtained with the fourth grade pupils. Indeed, nineteen respondents (52.78%) affirmed that they use MSA

when interacting with the teachers, a small rate including 11.12% is attributed to those who claimed using AA only, and thirteen respondents rating 36.11% confirmed that they use MSA ad AA in classroom interaction. The following table and pie-chart reveal the results obtained from the fifth grade pupils.

Frequency	The variety used in class (5^{th}grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	19	52.78%
AA	4	11.11%
MSA/AA	13	36.11%

Table 4.14 The variety used in class (5^{th} grade pupils)



Pie-chart 4.8 The variety used in class (5^{th} grade pupils)

To sum up, concerning the variety used inside the classroom, we considered the responses of the selected informants from each grade. As for pre-school grade pupils, the majority said that they use AA. Three boys aged 5 claimed the following: *" We spend so much time in the street playing football and other games, and we have never heard anyone using the language of the classroom in our neighbourhood*". Girls of the same age continued by stating that: *"We are always exposed to French cartoons through various channels such as 'Boomerang', 'Tiji' and 'Piwi', and no one in our family uses the language of the classroom*[74] *at home. That is why we are not able to use MSA in class".*

However, the majority of the informants from the first grade of PS reported that they mix between MSA and AA when interacting with their teachers, whereas the number of those who reported to use MSA only is very small. Nearly similar results were obtained from the respondents studying in the second grade, as the majority claimed to use a mixture of the two forms of Arabic inside class.

[74] What is meant by the language of the classroom is obviously MSA. Pupils are accustomed to call it this way when conversing with their teachers.

Nevertheless, the amounts of MSA use among the respondents studying in the third, fourth and fifth grades are neatly higher than those mentioned above.

A pupil aged 8 from the third grade said that *"when I return home, I do my homework and then I watch the cartoons that are broadcasted in the language of the classroom"*. Another pupil aged 10 from the fifth grade said: *"I have plenty of Arabic short stories at home. I always read one before going to bed; this helps me a lot to improve my language skills in MSA"*. However, these pupils are considered as an exception since they are the ones who perform better in class.

Question n°3: Do your parents encourage you to talk in MSA at home?

When asked whether parents encourage their children to use MSA at home, that is, outside the school milieu, similar results were obtained from all grades.

Responses	Parents' encouragement as to the use of MSA at home	
	Frequency	Rate
Always	5	2,31%
Often	7	3,24%
Sometimes	40	18,52%
Rarely	61	28,25%
Never	103	47,68%

Table 4.15 Parents' encouragement to use MSA at home

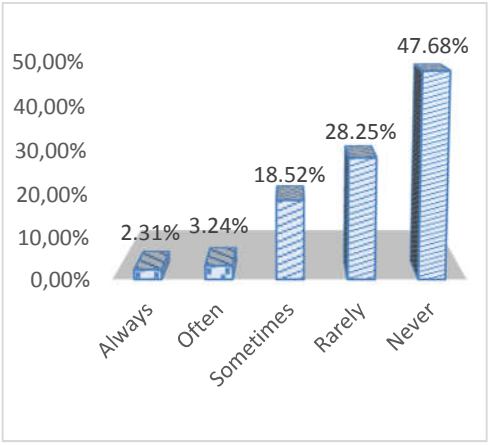


Fig 4.7 Parents' encouragement to use MSA at home

In terms of parents' encouragement vis à vis MSA use on the part of their children at home, the results appear to reflect to a large extent that most pupils are not encouraged by their parents to talk in MSA at home, which could be interpreted that the pupils sometimes use the colloquial form of Arabic in the classroom due to their weakness in MSA communicative skills.

However, there are some exceptions; some pupils (rating 18.52%) claimed that they are sometimes encouraged by their parents, others (3.24%) said that they are often boosted to converse with their parents in MSA, and a minority asserted to be

always encouraged as to the use of MSA at home. A girl from the fourth grade aged 8 said *"Ummi always reads the Qur'an in the language of the classroom; she uses many words in this language when we are cooking together in the kitchen; so once in the classroom, I find it easy to learn MSA"*.

Question n°4: How well do you express yourself in MSA inside class?

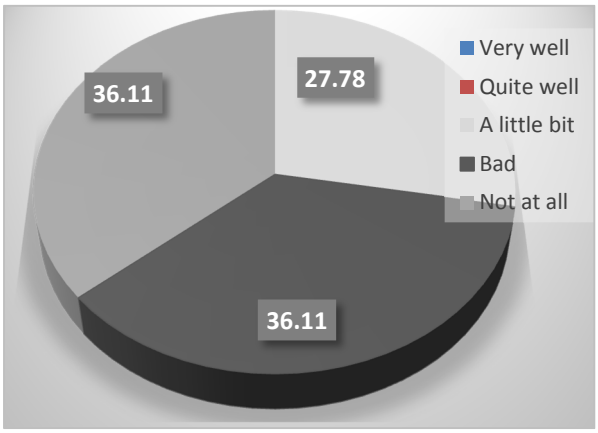
Through this question, the pupils were asked to determine their degree of proficiency in MSA use inside the classroom. The results from the various grades of the primary level are discussed hierarchically.

-Pre-school grade

We found that over 13 respondents rating 36.11% declared they do not master MSA use in classroom interaction, the same rate is attributed to those who claimed that their proficiency in MSA is bad, 10 respondents (27.78%) said that they are a little bit proficient in MSA use in class, and no one affirmed to use MSA either 'quite well' or 'very well' in classroom interaction. This is clearly shown in the table and pie-chart below.

Responses	Pupils' degree of proficiency in MSA use (Pre-school grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
Very well	0	0%
Quite well	0	0%
A little	10	27.78%
Bad	13	36.11%
Not at all	13	36.11%

Table 4.16 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (pre-school grade)



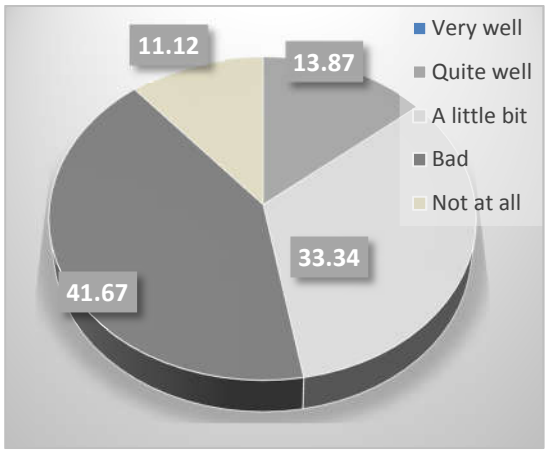
Pie-chart 4.9 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (pre-school grade)

-First grade pupils

The results obtained from 1st grade pupils concerning their attainment in MSA use in classroom interaction, a small proportion (5 respondents) rating 13.88% claimed that they quite well use it, most of them, that is, 15 respondents with a rate of 41.67% mentioned that they use MSA badly, 12 respondents representing 33.34% of the sample population said that they use it a little bit, and only 4 respondents rating 11.12% said that they use it 'very well' in class.

Responses	Pupils' degree of proficiency in MSA use (1st grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
Very well	0	0%
Quite well	5	13.87%
A little	12	33.34%
Bad	15	41.67%
Not at all	4	11.12%

Table 4.17 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (1st grade pupils)



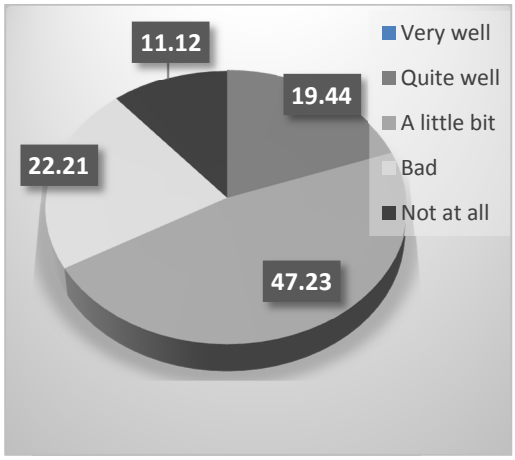
Pie-chart 4.10 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (1st grade pupils)

-Second grade pupils

The table below and the corresponding pie-chart reveal, by degree of proficiency, the answers provided by the second grade pupils.

Responses	Pupils' degree of proficiency in MSA use (2nd grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
Very well	0	0%
Quite well	7	19.44%
A little	17	47.23%
Bad	8	22.21%
Not at all	4	11.12%

Table 4.18 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use



Pie-chart 4.11 Pupils' proficiency in MSA

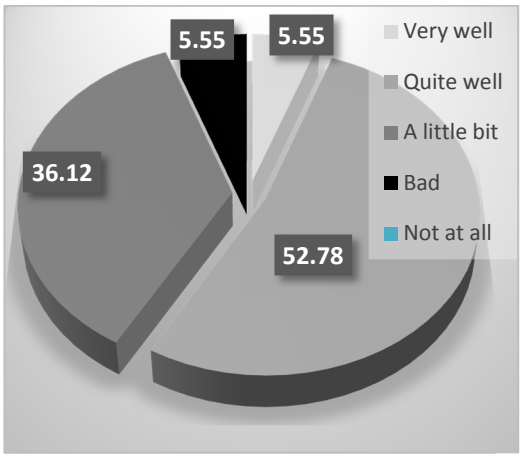
A relatively good number of informants, rating 47.23% revealed that they are a little proficient in MSA usage inside class, nearly the same scores are attributed to those who said that they 'quite well' and 'badly' use it (19.44% - 22.21%), a quite smaller number of informants rating 11.12% revealed they do not use it at all, and no one claimed that he/ she 'very well' uses MSA in classroom interaction.

-Third grade pupils

When the same question was posed to the pupils studying in the third grade level, the majority with a rate of 52.78% asserted that they 'quite well' use MSA when communicating with their teachers, a rate of about 36. 12% is ascribed to those who affirmed that they use it 'a little bit', and the same rates are attributed to the respondents who confirmed that that they use MSA 'very well', or 'bad' in classroom interaction.

Responses	Pupils' degree of proficiency in MSA use (3rd grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
Very well	2	5.55%
Quite well	19	52.78%
A little	13	36.12%
Bad	2	5.55%
Not at all	0	0%

Table 4.19 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (3rd grade pupils)



Pie-chart 4.12 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (3rd grade pupils)

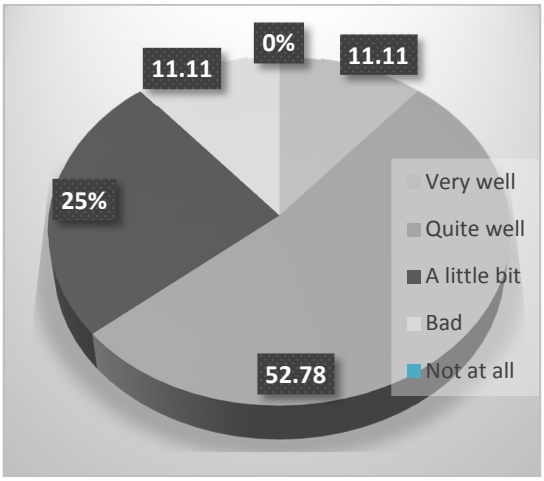
-Fourth grade pupils

The findings obtained from the question posed to the fourth grade pupils revealed the following results: a quarter of the sample population (36.12%) studying in the fourth grade declared that they use a little MSA, 19 informants with a rate of 52.78% claimed that they use 'quite well' this variety; similar scores were found for those who safely claimed that they use MSA 'very well', and those who said that they 'badly' use it, and no one confirmed that they do not completely use it when

interacting with teachers. Consider the following table and its corresponding pie-chart.

Responses	Pupils' degree of proficiency in MSA use (4th grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
Very well	4	11.11%
Quite well	19	52.78%
A little	9	25%
Bad	4	11.11%
Not at all	0	0%

Table 4.20 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (4th grade pupils)



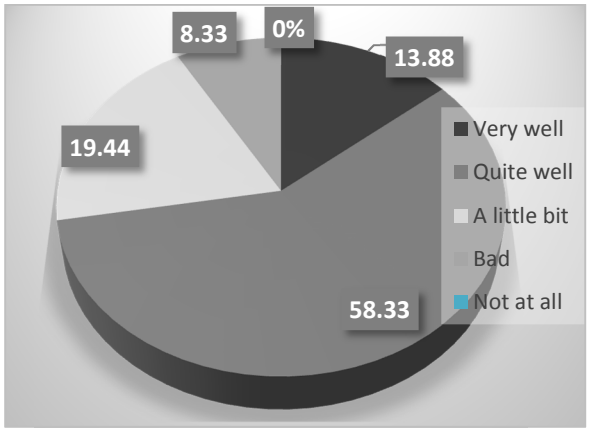
Pie-chart 4.13 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (4th grade pupils)

-Fifth grade pupils

Similar results were obtained in comparison with those from the 4th grade, i.e., most pupils, 58.33%, stated that they use MSA 'quite well', but much lower scores obtained with the reply 'very well', 'a little bit', or 'bad', and again, nobody said that they completely do not use it in classroom interaction.

Response	Pupils' degree of proficiency in MSA use (5th grade)	
	Frequency	Rate
Very well	5	13.88%
Quite well	21	58.33%
A little	7	19.44%
Bad	3	8.33%
Not at all	0	0%

Table 4.21 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (5th grade pupils)



Pie-chart 4.14 Pupils' proficiency in MSA use (5th grade pupils)

Generally speaking, when asked about their proficiency level in MSA use inside the classroom, the pupils provided different answers from each grade. Pre-school as well as first grade pupils show a kind of deficiency in MSA use inside the classroom, as most of them revealed that they either use it in a bad way or not at all, to the exception of a minority of pupils who reported that they show 'a little bit' proficiency in its use inside class.

Yet, if we consider the other grades hierarchically, that is, from the second to the fifth grade, a significant improvement concerning the pupils' linguistic attainment in MSA was noticed. In fact, the number of respondents who reported that they are 'quite well' in MSA use increases gradually, and those who reported to use MSA in a 'bad' way or 'not at all' decreases significantly.

Question n°5: Which variety do you consider more appropriate for the learning process?

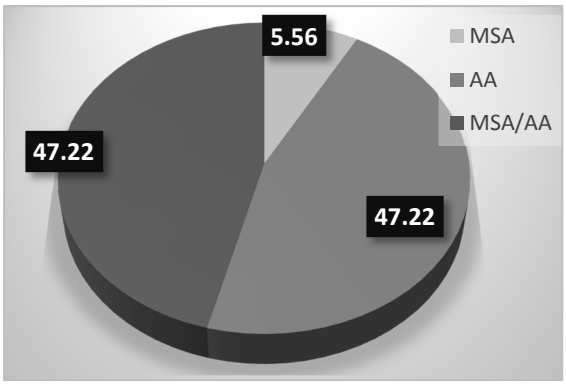
In order to check the pupils' viewpoints concerning the most appropriate variety for the learning process, the question was posed to six groups consisting of six pupils studying in different PS, that is, each group consisted of 36 pupils.

-Pre-school grade pupils

Consider the results obtained with pre-school grade pupils in the following:

Responses	Pupils' feelings about the appropriate variety of Arabic for the learning process	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	2	5.56%
AA	17	47.22%
MSA/AA	17	47.22%

Table 4.22 The variety of the learning process (pre-school grade pupils)



Pie-chart 4.15 The variety of the learning process (pre-school grade pupils)

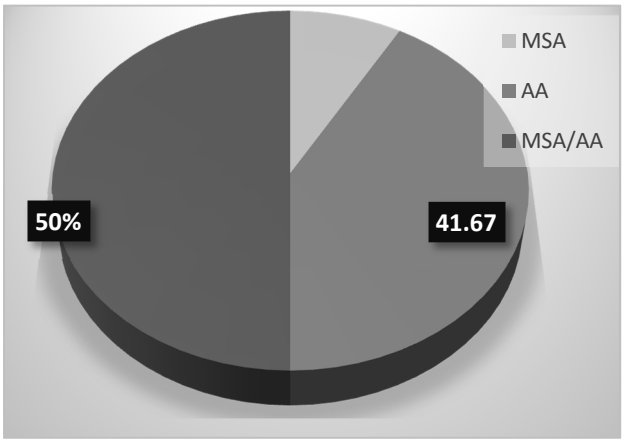
When pre-school pupils were asked about the variety they find more accurate for the learning process, 17 respondents rating 47. 22% said that it is AA, the results are similar for those who claimed that they find it more appropriate when both varieties are used (47.22%), and a few pupils rating 5.56% said that MSA is the most appropriate variety for the learning process.

-First grade pupils

As far as the first grade pupils are concerned, nearly the same results as those mentioned above were found. 15 respondents rating 41.67% declared that it is AA, 18 respondents rating 50% mentioned that it is more appropriate to learn Arabic courses through both varieties, while only 3 respondents rating 8.33% affirmed that they feel that MSA is the most accurate variety for the learning process. The results are represented in the following table and its corresponding pie-chart.

Responses	Pupils' feelings about the appropriate variety of Arabic for the learning process	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	3	8.33%
AA	15	41.67%
MSA/AA	18	50%

Table 4.23 The variety of the learning process (1st grade pupils)



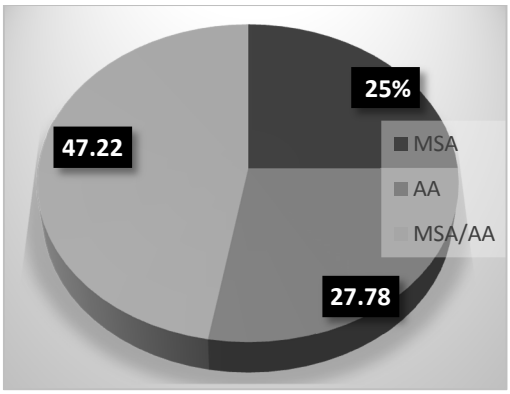
Pie-chart 4.16 The variety of the learning process (1st grade pupils)

-Second grade pupils

Here again most pupils with a rate of 47.22% confirmed that the most appropriate variety for learning the Arabic lessons is a mixture of MSA and AA; a lower percentage representing 27.78% is attributed to those who claimed that it is AA and 9 respondents with a rate of 25% attested that MSA is the most accurate variety for the learning process.

Responses	Pupils' feelings about the appropriate variety of Arabic for the learning process	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	9	25%
AA	10	27.78%
MSA/AA	17	47.22%

Table4.24 The variety of the learning process (2nd grade pupils)



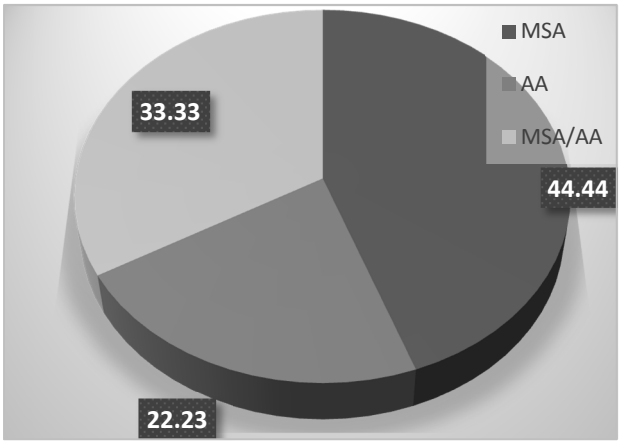
Pie-chart 4.17 The variety of thelearning process (2nd grade pupils)

-Third grade pupils

Sixteen respondents studying in this grade with a rate of 44.44% affirmed that the convenient variety for learning is MSA. However, 12 respondents rating 33.33% said that the inclusion of both MSA and AA is the most appropriate strategy for the learning process, and a smaller number of the respondents rating 22.23% confirmed that the accurate form for learning Arabic lessons is AA. This is clearly represented in the following table and pie-chart.

Responses	Pupils' feelings about the appropriate variety of Arabic for the learning process	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	16	44,44%
AA	8	22,23%
MSA/AA	12	33,33%

Table 4.25 The variety of the learning process (3rd grade pupils)



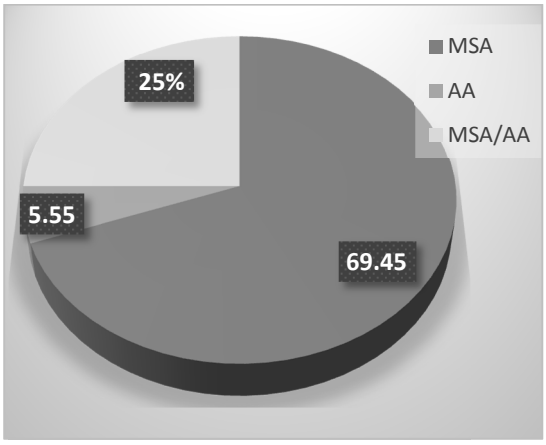
Pie-chart 4.18 The variety of the learning process (3rd grade pupils)

-Fourth grade pupils

Here again, the number of the respondents who opted for MSA as the accurate variety for learning the Arabic lessons is higher than those previously mentioned (69.45%). A quarter of the sample population rating 25% stated that it is MSA/AA, and a minority of the respondents rating 5.55% declared that AA is the most appropriate form for the learning process. These findings are clearly represented in the following table and pie-chart.

Responses	Pupils' feelings about the appropriate variety of Arabic for the learning process	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	25	69.45%
AA	2	5.55%
MSA/AA	9	25%

Table 4.26 The variety of the learning process (4th grade pupils)



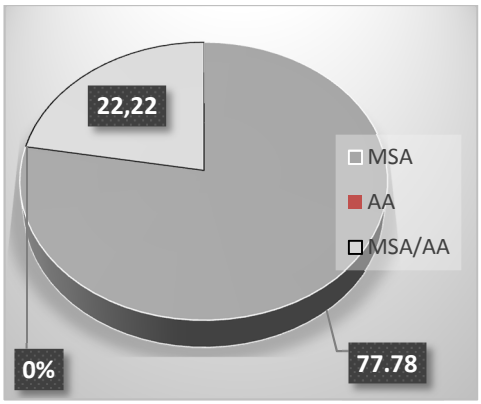
Pie-chart 4.19 The variety of the learning process (4th grade pupils)

-Fifth grade pupils

Similarly, the scores obtained from this portion of the respondents who claimed that MSA is the more appropriate for the learning process than any other variety is higher, i.e., rating 77.78%, a small number of the informants stated that a mixture of both MSA and AA rating 22.22% suits them better, and nobody said that AA is more accurate than any other form when learning the Arabic lessons. Consider the table below and its equivalent pie-chart.

Responses	Pupils' feelings about the appropriate variety of Arabic for the learning process	
	Frequency	Rate
MSA	28	77,78%
AA	0	0%
MSA/AA	8	22,22%

Table 4.27 The variety of the learning process (5th grade pupils)



Pie-chart 4.20 The variety of the learning process (5th grade pupils)

All the results obtained above from the various grades reveal that when asked about the most appropriate variety for the learning process, most of the respondents from pre-school, first and second grade affirmed that it is either AA or both. This can be explained by the fact that these pupils have little or no acquaintance with MSA, the variety used as the medium of instruction.

Nevertheless, when we considered the other grades, i.e., from the third until the fifth grade, it clearly appears from the results we obtained, that a good number of the informants became aware of the importance of MSA in the learning process, and therefore, affirmed that it is the most accurate variety for receiving their Arabic lessons, to the exception of some pupils who claimed that mixing between MSA and AA is one of the best strategies for the learning process. These motivated pupils need more encouragement from the part of their teachers and parents.

Question n°6: In which variety do you understand Arabic lessons better?

As already stated, and knowing that 36 pupils from each grade represents the percentage of 100%, the following results were obtained. In fact, the scores relating to the pre-school grade pupils show that the majority of the respondents rating 55.56% affirmed that they understand their lessons better through AA use; 10 of them rating 27.78% opted for MSA/AA, and only 6 respondents rating 16.66% said that they understand better through MSA.

When the same question was posed to the 1st grade pupils, 15 informants with a rate of 41.67% declared that they comprehend better through AA, the same proportion is attributed to those who said that the use of both varieties suits them better, and a similar percentage than that mentioned above relates to those who claimed that MSA facilitates their comprehension.

Taking into account the pupils from the second grade, 11 respondents rating 30.55% confirmed their better understanding of the Arabic lessons through MSA, 9 of them rating 25% affirmed that it is through AA, and 16 informants with a rate of 45% said that a mixture of the two varieties facilitates their understanding.

The results obtained from the 3rd grade pupils show that the highest percentage representing 47.23% is attributed to those who selected MSA, a neatly smaller score rating 22,22% is attributed to the respondents who claimed that it is AA, and 11 informants rating 30.55% said that they comprehend their lessons better through MSA/AA usage.

As far as the pupils from the 4th grade are concerned, the majority rating 58.34% opted for MSA, a minority rating 5.55% claimed that it is AA, while 13 respondents with a proportion of 36.11% asserted that it through MSA/AA use that they comprehend their lessons better.

Similarly, the scores obtained from the 5th grade pupils highlight that the majority rating 69.45% mentioned that MSA facilitates comprehension, 9 respondents with a rate of 25% opted for MSA/AA use, and a similar percentage as the one obtained for the 4th grade pupils, that is, 5.55% is attributed to those who claimed that AA is the most appropriate variety for the learning process. Consider the following table and graph which represent the above results.

Table 4.28 Pupils' understanding skill in MSA or AA in class.

	MSA	Freq.	AA	Freq	MSA/AA	Freq.
Pre-school grade	6	16.66%	20	55.56%	10	27.78%
1st grade	6	16.66%	15	41.67%	15	41.67%
2nd grade	11	30.55%	9	25%	16	44.45%
3rd grade	17	47.23%	8	22.22%	11	30.55%
4th grade	21	58.34%	2	5.55%	13	36.11%
5th grade	25	69.45%	2	5.55%	9	25%

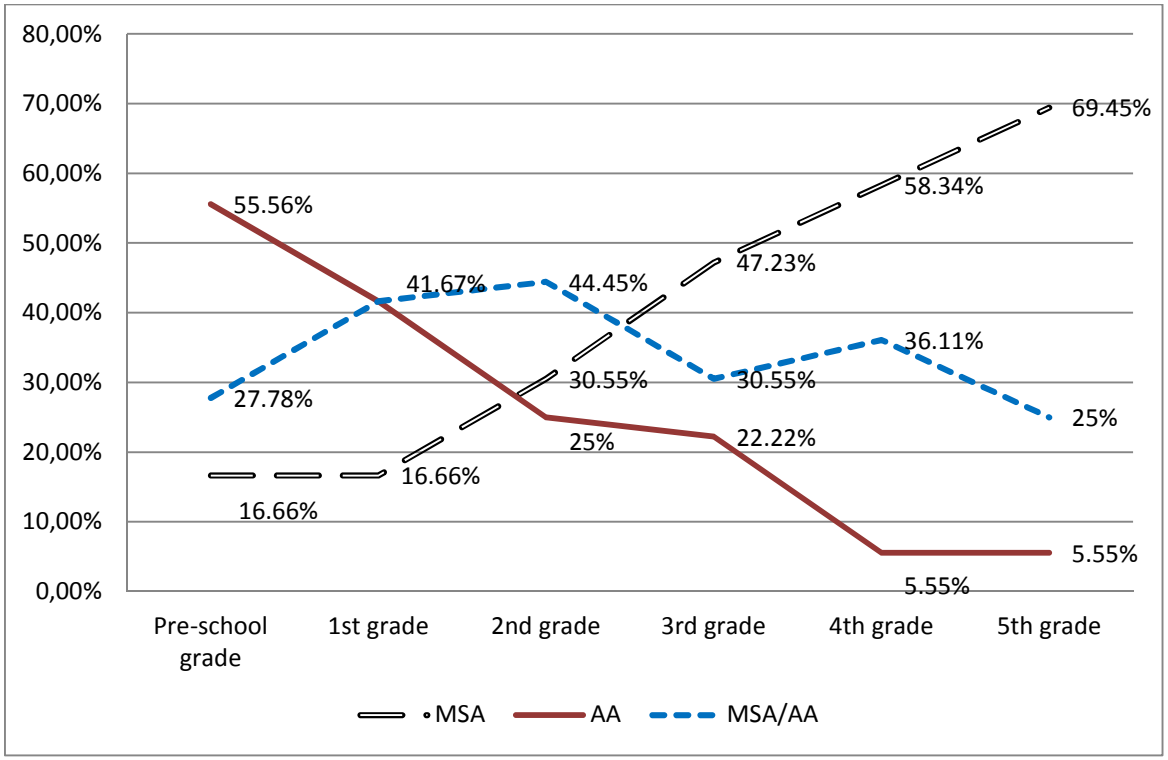


Fig 4.8 Pupils' understanding skill in MSA vs. AA in class

In an attempt at exploring the appropriate variety that may contribute to a better understanding of the Arabic lessons, here again, the majority of pre-school grade informants claimed that it is AA. One plausible reason for the youngest pupils'

claim might be that, at the pre-school grade, they still lack ability to use MSA 'correctly' and they rather show considerable ability in AA usage because it is their mother tongue. As for the respondents from the first and the second grades, the results revealed that these pupils show better understanding when they receive their lessons in both varieties.

What seems to be surprising about the other grades, that is, the third, fourth and fifth grades, is that the majority of the informants reported that the variety by which they understand better is MSA, while a minority claimed that it only through AA usage or through a mixture of the two forms of Arabic that they are able to comprehend the lessons better. One explanation we may provide about the pupils' scores is that whenever they move from one grade to another, there is a significant amelioration in their perception about MSA.

These arguments are somehow in contradiction with the precedent teachers' claims, as they confessed that their pupils comprehend better through the use of the 'middle variety'. Nevertheless, these findings confirm that most pupils, at further school grades feel that MSA is the most appropriate variety for instruction. However, when we consider some pupils' arguments, we can firstly deduce that teachers constitute a pillar in either enhancing or decreasing pupils' feelings about the easiness/ difficulty of learning MSA and secondly, parents' contribution is of paramount importance in motivating and helping their children to ameliorate their MSA use either inside or outside the school milieu.

Question n°7: Is it easy to learn MSA?

The following table and its equivalent graph clearly show the results obtained.

Table 4.29 Pupils' perception about the easiness of MSA learning

	Yes	Freq.	No	Freq.	A little bit	Freq.
Pre-school grade	5	13.88%	16	44.45%	15	41.67%
1st grade	6	16.66%	12	33.34%	18	50%
2nd grade	6	16.66%	15	41.67%	15	41.67%
3rd grade	9	25%	13	36.12%	14	38.88%
4th grade	12	33.34%	10	27.78%	14	38.88%
5th grade	17	47.23%	8	22.22%	11	30.55%

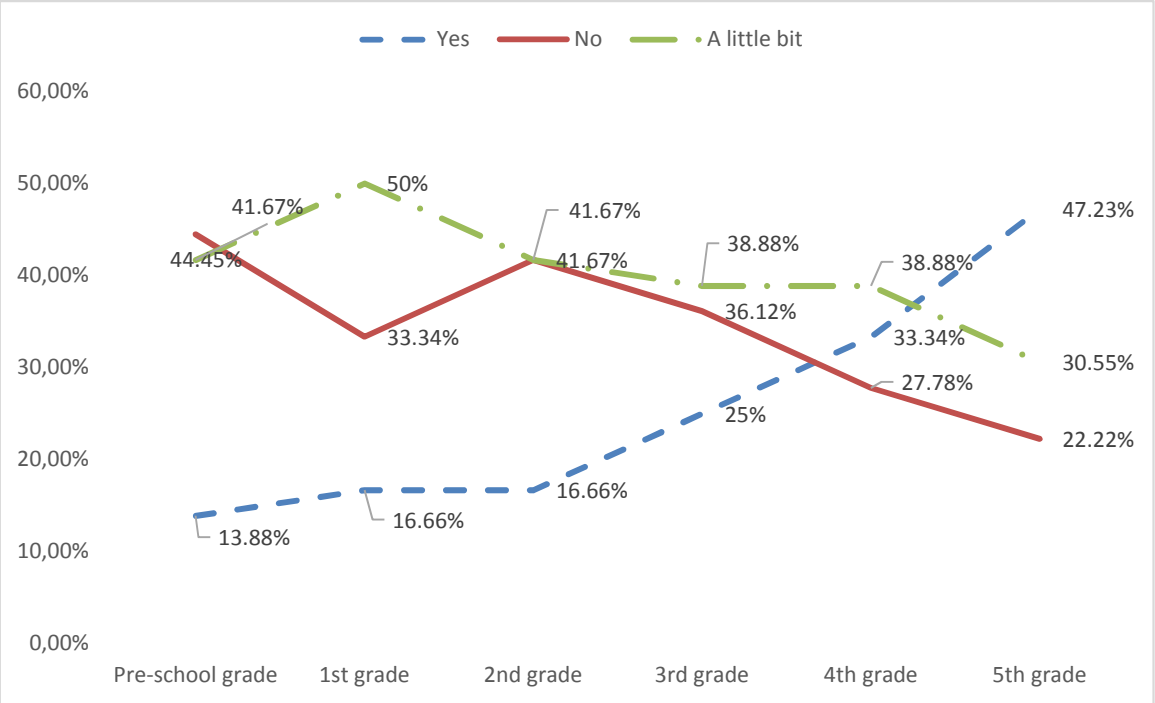


Fig 4.9 Pupils' perception about the easiness of MSA learning

When this question was posed to the respondents of pre-school grade, almost half the sample said 'not easy' (44.45%), while a slighter number (41.67%) said 'a

little'. As for the rest (13.88%), they find it 'quite easy' to learn MSA. Again, the scores obtained from the 1st grade pupils show that half the sample (50%) claimed that it is 'little bit easy' to learn MSA, while a slighter number (33.34%) provided a negative answer. As for the rest (16.66%), they confirmed the easiness of MSA learning.

As for the pupils studying in the 2nd grade, (41.67%) said that MSA is 'not easy' to learn. A similar rate is attributed to those who said 'a little bit', and (16.66%) find it 'easy'.When the 3rd grade pupils were asked whether Standard Arabic is easy to learn, (38.88%) reported that it is 'a little' easy, a neatly higher score (25%) than those mentioned previously is attributed to those who mentioned that it is 'easy', while the rest (36.12%) confirmed that it is not easy at all to learn MSA.

If we consider the findings obtained from the 4th grade pupils, we found similar scores (38.88%) as those obtained from the 3rd grade pupils for those who claimed that MSA is a 'little' easy to learn. Nearly the same percentage (33.34%) is attributed to those who said that it is 'easy'. As for the rest (27.78%), they confirmed their difficulty in MSA learning.

As far as the 5th grade pupils are concerned, (47.23%) affirmed the easiness of MSA learning, while (30.55%) reported that it is 'a little' easy, and the smallest score (22.22%) is attributed to those who mentioned that MSA is 'not easy' to learn. Put another way, a considerable number of the informants studying in the pre-school, first and second grade declared that it is not, or that it is a little bit easy to learn MSA. Just an expression about the informants' replies: their linguistic deficiency which corresponds to a lack of the necessary vocabulary in MSA in order to express themselves inside the classroom.

A pupil aged six from the first grade mentioned the following: *"I don't understand the language of the classroom; it is not easy to learn, it is more difficult than French; why don't we use our mother tongue instead? This is the language we*

acquired from birth". Another pupil aged seven from the second grade answered showing a strong feeling: *"I find it quite hard to speak and learn the language of the classroom, and even our teacher uses AA when explaining the lessons!"*

However, the scores obtained from the informants from the third until the fifth grade revealed that a good number of pupils said that it is easy to learn MSA, but we cannot only refer to their assertions in order to prove that MSA is easy. Teachers' assertions are more valid at this level. The scores also showed that most of them asserted that it is 'a little bit' easy, and some of them, that is, a minority affirmed the difficulty of learning Standard Arabic. But we expected a majority to report 'yes', that is, MSA is quite easy to learn; this can be explained mainly by the fact that these pupils have little exposure to MSA outside the school environment.

4.3.3 Pupils' linguistic performance in classroom interaction

In this part, the interview results obtained from teachers and pupils are to be deliberately interpreted for the sake of having a clearer view concerning the pupils' language difficulties in classroom interaction, as well as suggesting some remedies concerning the issue of Arabic diglossia in the educational sector.

4.3.3.1 Findings from the interview with teachers

Question n° 1: How do you introduce your pupils to this reality of the co-existence of two varieties of Arabic? Al-fusha and al-daridja? (Standard and colloquial).

This question is supposed to be posed to the respondents who teach pre-school as well as first grade pupils, and as all the respondents participating in this study have already taught Arabic to pupils of these grades, we had the opportunity to collect data from them all. Indeed, all the teachers said that *"because these pupils are too young, we try to explain them smoothly and tactfully that they are no more at home. Now that they are at school, they can consider us as their second parents, and they have*

to learn the language of the classroom, a kind of 'new language' (for them not for us!) which is mainly considered as the language of the Qu'ran".

A female teacher from *Tebboune Souad* PS (in Mechria) whose teaching experience was twenty-five years, declared *"I am your second mother and this is our sweet home.From now on, we're going to learn a beautiful and wonderful language which is the language of Allah, the one who created us; come on my children, who loves Allah? Raise your hands. When they all raise their hands, then I say great let's learn it together!"*

Another female teacher from *Ibn Msaib* PS (in Tlemcen) having had twenty years of experience affirmed that *"I start introducing my pupils to MSA step by step, I never force them at the beginning to talk in Standard Arabic only, I first try to familiarise them with some words in MSA using pictures, toys, Qur'anic verses or some songs before tackling the syllabus".*

Question n° 2: Do pupils use MSA only in classroom interaction? Why?

When asked whether the pupils use MSA as the sole variety in classroom interaction , most respondents provided a negative answer, to the exception of 2 informants -one of them teaching fourth grade pupils and the other fifth grade pupils- who claimed that their pupils use only MSA in classroom interaction.

A female teacher from *El Ikhwa Chouhada Moulay Meliani* (in Ain-Témouchent) acknowledged: *"No, this is because they are young and AA is their mother tongue, so it is considered easy in comparison with MSA. Moreover, AA is the sole variety that pupils use at home and in the street".* Another male teacher from *Mazour Didouche* PS (in Oran) said: *"Pupils cannot use only MSA when interacting with their teachers; they are accustomed to use AA, that is why they often include AA items to express themselves in class, and this is mainly due to their paucity of vocabulary in MSA".*

Still another female teacher from the same school reported the following *"I cannot lie and tell you that all the pupils use only MSA in classroom interaction; our pupils are weak in MSA use, but I do not blame them at all because many factors contribute to this poor standard, such as parents' neglect, lack of reading, lack of exposure towards MSA outside the school and so forth".* The respondents who claimed that their pupils use only MSA in classroom interaction. Their claims are illustrated by the following instances:

-Our pupils are forced to use MSA in the classroom because this is the variety used as the medium of instruction.

-They are not allowed to use the home language and the language of the street when they interact with us.

-They have an exam by the end of the school-year, so they are supposed to succeed in this exam by using MSA only. Do you imagine them using AA in their paragraph? It will be a disaster.

Question n°3: Do your pupils encounter some difficulties when using MSA in classroom interaction? If it is the case, what kind of language difficulties do they encounter?

Here again all the teachers answer 'Yes', and they all insisted on the lexical as well as the pronunciation difficulties encountered by the majority of their pupils especially when communicating and reading texts.A female teacher from *Abdulhamid Ibnu Badis* PS confirms that *"the kind of difficulties differs from one pupil to another and from one classroom to another. Some pupils make mistakes at the pronunciation level, others at the lexical level; some others at the grammatical level and still others do not find the accurate words in MSA in order to write correct paragraphs which I personally consider as a collapse in education".*

Another female teacher from *Dahbi Zoubida* PS (in Ain-Témouchent) said: "*Our pupils in general feel a kind of linguistic insecurity in classroom interaction because they lack the necessary vocabulary in MSA*". Still another respondent from *Ibn Msaib* PS focused on the phonological problems when she claimed: *"Pupils have*

problems of pronunciation, especially those consonants which appear to be the same as /t/ and /θ/; /q/ and /k/; /s/ and /ʂ/; /d/ and /ð/, and many others. For instance, words such as / θumma/; /miðallatun/, and / ʂala:tun/ are realized by most of the pupils as /tumma/, / midallatun/ and / sala:tun/. I always correct these kinds of mistakes, but they still make them".

Question n° 4: What reasons stand behind their linguistic deficiency?

Most respondents asserted that the loss of necessary vocabulary in MSA is one of the major reasons behind the pupils' linguistic deficiency. Others mentioned other reasons; for example, a female teacher from *Tebboune Souad* PS (in Mechria) declared: *"This is mainly due to the syllabus which focuses on reading and writing skills rather than on communicative skills, and which includes many subjects, so we don't have enough time to allow the pupils to express themselves in MSA".*

Another informant from *Mazour Didouche* PS (in Oran) claimed*"The main reason behind this gap is the lack of reading at home as well as some parents who prefer using French instead of the language of Qur'an when communicating with their children".* Still another informant from *Ibn Msaib* PS reported that *"Among the reasons behind the pupils' linguistic deficiency is the environment where we live and the society as a whole because most Algerians emphasise on AA usage in their daily speech and they completely neglect MSA".*

An informant from *Dahbi Zoubida* PS (in Ain-Témouchent asserted that *"it is not the fault of pupils, they are confronted to this variety only through formal instruction, once at home they neglect this variety and they are confronted to the reality that AA is the only variety they can use with their parents or in the street, nobody uses MSA for day to day interaction, am I right or wrong?"*

Question n° 5: What solutions do you suggest to avoid the use of AA in classroom interaction from the part of your pupils?

Here, we are interested in the solutions suggested by our informants for their pupils to avoid AA use in classroom interaction. Therefore, various propositions were taken into account. Consider the following instances:

-Teachers have to suppress most of their linguistic habits, that is, they have to avoid AA use whatever situation they are confronted to.
-Pupils have to read stories at home.
-Pupils must be exposed to TV programmes that are broadcasted in MSA.
-We have to fight AA use in classroom interaction, especially we, as teachers have to present our lessons in MSA only.
-We have to correct pupils' mistakes regularly.
-The syllabus should be lightened, so that we can help our pupils to improve their communicative skills in MSA.
-Raising parents' as well as teachers' encouragement towards MSA use both inside and outside the classroom.
-Parents should, from time to time, talk in MSA with their children, so that they can feel at ease when using it in class.
-Teachers should introduce dialogues, as in ancient times and should increase such a strategy which we believe will be successful in developing pupils' linguistic abilities.
-Reading is a very important skill, so from the 2nd until the 5th grade, we should oblige pupils to read a story at home and to provide a summary, at least once a month.
-We have to insist on MSA use from the part of pupils whatever subject we deal with.

Question n° 6: Does the curriculum contribute in promoting the learners' language skills? Why?

When asked whether the curriculum contributes in promoting the learners' language skills, again the majority of the respondents gave a negative answer, to the exception of some teachers who provided a positive reply.An informant from *Abdulhamid Ibnu Badis* PS replied: *"This syllabus does not contribute at all in promoting our pupils' linguistic skills because it contains too many subjects and we*

*are always in a hurry to finish the syllabus before the end of the school-year".*Another respondent from *El Ikhwa Chouhada Moulay Miliani* (in Ain-Témouchent) declared: *"The curriculum does not contribute in promoting the pupils' language skills because of a lack of the necessary means and the heavy number of subjects that we have to teach".*

Still another informant having had thirty years of experience in education said: "*mainly because some important sessions dealing with dialogues and the use of words to form correct sentences have been canceled".* Nevertheless, another informant from *Ibn Msaib* PS reported that: *"I feel that the curriculum contributes in promoting pupils' language skills since simple and easy words in MSA are included in most school- books, so pupils are able to assimilate and use these simple lexical items".*

Question n°7: Do you blame your pupils when hearing verbal errors? Why?

Again, most informants provide a negative answer to this question. As an illustration, a respondent from *Tebboune Souad* PS (in Mechria) stated that: *" I really don't blame the pupils when making verbal errors, but instead, I try to correct them especially when words are not pronounced correctly, and I also try to use simple words in MSA when I explain the lessons in order to facilitate pupils' assimilation".* Another respondent from *El Ikhwa Chouhada Moulay Meliani* (in Ain-Témouchent) mentioned the following: *"each pupil has his/ her own social and psychological circumstances, and all these factors may have an impact on the pupils' personality, so I can't blame them when making verbal mistakes".*

Another respondent from *Mazour Didouche* PS (in Oran) insisted on the fact that it is not the pupils' fault when they make verbal errors. *"I blame the environment; parents do not talk in MSA at home, some of the pupils are not exposed to this variety outside the classroom, they are not even exposed to TV programmes in MSA, especially cartoons".* However, a respondent from *Abdulhamid Ibnu Badis* PS said that: *"I blame the pupils when hearing verbal errors, they have to work hard at home,*

and they have to read more; to do more grammar exercises in order to improve their communicative skills".

Question n° 8: What do you do to help in developing your pupils' linguistic skills?

When the respondents were asked about the way they deal with their pupils in order to improve their linguistic skills in MSA, just a word was provided by nearly all of them: reading. An informant from *Ibn Msaib* PS declared: *"I always encourage my pupils to read stories, I always try to create a kind of competition between them, by presenting humble presents".* Another informant from *Mazour Didouche* PS (in Oran) declared that: *"simply put, I advise all the teachers of Arabic to avoid AA when explaining their lessons and use MSA instead; such strategy may contribute better in developing pupils' language skills".*

Question n° 9: Recently, the minister of education has spoken about a new reform, the introduction of dialect use in primary school for the following grades: pre-school, the first and second grades. How would you react to this reform?

When this question was posed, different replies were suggested from the part of our informants. Consider the following instances:

-We cannot agree on such reform because we consider MSA as the correct variety for instruction; this is the language of the Qur'an, so how can we teach our pupils using AA?

-If pupils do not learn MSA from pre-school, first and second grades, how would their level be in the next grades?

-I consider this as a joke.

-I do not have any answer to this question, this concerns mainly Algerian policy-makers.

-I cannot even imagine this, AA is a mixture of many words coming from different languages, it includes plenty of French loanwords, and we are Arabs and Muslims, and all the other Arab countries use MSA in education.

-It will be a disaster, the level has decreased, so how would it be if we teach our pupils in AA?

-When we consider these grades, we can say that the pupils are aged five to seven or eight maximum, so their memory is still fresh to acquire as much vocabulary as possible in the correct form of Arabic (MSA).

-Pupils are not acquainted with MSA until they enter school, so imagine that they will receive their lessons in AA only during their first years of education. They will certainly show disgust and won't appreciate MSA learning at further grades.

Question n° 10: Which political measures may be undertaken as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia? Why?

Here again, we had different replies. Consider the following:

-More awareness should be raised about MSA use in education from the part of all the parties involved in this sector.

-Creating more kindergartens in all the Algerian territory where children can be taught MSA before school-age.

- Activities such as reading, singing should be achieved in MSA, and not in AA in kindergartens.

- Raising awareness among inspectors to avoid AA use from the part of teachers when presenting their lessons.

- Creating more Algerian channels that will broadcast programmes in MSA, not only for children, but also for adults.

- Creating more Qur'anic schools where children can be taught the Qur'an at a fairly early age.

-Fighting AA use inside the classroom.

4.3.3.2 Analysis of the interview with teachers

Taking into consideration the fact that the respondents are in direct contact with the pupils, there is no doubt that they could make realistic remarks on their linguistic behaviour in classroom interaction. The teachers' assertions in relation to the way of introducing the child to this reality of Arabic as a diglossic language, especially during his/ her first years of schooling (pre-school and first grade), reflects to a large extent their full awareness of MSA significance as a medium of instruction and their perception of its tight association with the Qur'an and religion.

Undoubtedly, the classroom interaction variety has great impact on the learning/ teaching quality, and thus on the pupils' linguistic behaviour in general. When asked whether their pupils use only MSA in classroom interaction, most teachers asserted the pupils' difficulty in its exclusive use. Therefore, taking into account their claims, various reasons contribute to this dilemma (see question n°2, section 3.17.2.4).

According to an informant from *El Ikhwa Chouhada Moulay Meliani* PS from Ain-Témouchent, the pupils' inability to use only MSA when interacting with their teachers is associated with two facts: pupils' small age and AA which is their mother tongue, that is, he believed that because the pupils are still young, and because MSA is not the variety they acquired naturally from birth, they show considerable linguistic deficiency in it.

Another informant from *Mazour Didouche* PS declared the same reasons and added that AA items are often integrated in pupils' speech as they lack the necessary accurate words to express their thoughts in MSA. This teacher also confirmed that the pupils are not blamed for their linguistic deficiency in MSA since for her, diglossia which is a characteristic of the Algerian society in particular, is viewed as an impediment for the learning process.

Moreover, some of the respondents who teach the fifth grade classes recognized the importance of MSA usage inside the classroom since their pupils will

take a final exam by the end of the school-year. As a matter of fact, full awareness regarding the language difficulties encountered by pupils is manifested. The informants reported the difficulties encountered mainly at the pronunciation and lexical levels.

According to them, various reasons stand behind this linguistic deficiency, one of which is that the language used by pupils at home or in neighbourhood differs to a large extent from Standard Arabic. Still another reason lies in parents' neglect. Indeed, most pupils are neither read to, nor are they encouraged to use MSA outside the classroom, and still others accused the syllabus which, according to them, does not give enough importance to the speaking skill, but rather, emphasizes on the reading and writing skills.

From this, we may deduce that parents' involvement is significant in the enhancement of pupils' linguistic proficiency in MSA.When asked about the solutions they suggest to avoid AA use in classroom interaction, the teachers proposed various arguments, as reflected in the statements reported by them (see question n°5, section 3.17.2.4).

The assumptions based on whether the curriculum contributes in promoting pupils' language skills were rather unsatisfactory as the following drawbacks have been listed by the informants: Lack of adequate materials, lack of time, busy schedule and the suppression of many important sessions included years ago in oral expression such as dialogues and sentence formation.

A kind of annoyance was noticed when the informants were asked whether they blame their pupils when making verbal errors. Most of them nodded their heads stating that they do not blame them at all because these errors stem from some social and psychological factors; others put the blame on parents and the society as a whole, except one teacher from *Abdulhamid Ibnu Badis* (Tlemcen) who criticized his pupils and focused on the point that they do not make enough efforts to improve their language skills.

Another interesting assertion concerning the way pupils may enhance their language skills was that, it is not only through reading that the learners can improve their communicative skills, but even through other methods. Still another declaration was that teachers should avoid AA use in their teaching strategies and opt for MSA instead.

After showing their astonishment towards the declaration of the recent minister of education, Nouria Benghabrit, a large number of informants affirmed their total disagreement towards this strategy, some went beyond and took it as a joke (see question n°9, section 3.17.2.4). In fact, the minister of National Education found herself in a shaming situation when she announced on August 2nd, 2015 that the National Forum of the Ministry of National Education came up eventually with a general agreement that the vernacular is to be used in the first and second grades of primary education. Many assemblies reacted to this decision, including educationalists, teachers' unions and even political parties.

Similarly, when asked about the political measures that may be undertaken as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia, a question intended to find an answer to our fifth research question, different replies were yielded (see question n°10, section 3.17.2.4).

4.3.3.3 Results from the interview with pupils

To have more reliable data about pupils' linguistic proficiency in MSA in classroom interaction, another interview has been administered to the group of pupils from each grade in order to test the hypothesis that some of them use MSA when interacting with their teachers, but due to the lack of exposure to the variety outside the school environment, most of them use AA in a spontaneous manner, a fact that leads to poor proficiency in MSA use in classroom interaction.

Measuring in a fully objective way, proficiency in MSA use from the part of pupils was not at all an easy task, and in an attempt to provide answers about their

understanding and use of H, we set up a simple format questionnaire consisting of five questions presented to 216 pupils. Therefore, the following results were obtained.

Question n°1: Do you face any difficulties in understanding Arabic lessons? Why?

When this question was asked, most informants from pre-school up to the fifth grade reported that they find it very complicated to understand the Arabic lessons because they are not familiar with the vocabulary and that they feel like if they are confronted to a 'new language', especially those young pupils who study in the following grades: pre-school, first and second.

Two pupils from the first grade said that: *"We feel that MSA is quite difficult to comprehend because we don't understand so many words and we have not benefited from pre-schooling"*. Other informants from the fifth grade declared: *"It is not easy to understand Arabic lessons especially when the teacher asks us to summarize texts or to write paragraphs, we lack the correct words to express ourselves"*. Still others from the second grade reported that *"MSA is very difficult especially at the pronunciation level"*. Some informants from the fourth grade said that: *"Arabic lessons are not easy to understand, for most of the words are difficult and nobody talks to us in MSA outside class, even our teacher"*.

Question n°2: Do you have any exposure to MSA outside the school environment? If yes, how?

Here again most, if not all of the respondents, declared that they have little or no exposure to MSA outside the school environment. The informants from pre-school grade said that: *"This language is unfamiliar to us except when we watch cartoons or when our parents read us a story before sleeping*". Some informants from first grade replied: *"We are not at all exposed to MSA outside the classroom except when we do our homework"*.

Nearly the same replies were provided by the respondents from the other grades. Two informants from the third grade declared the following: *"We have little exposure to MSA outside school, we read stories from time to time and we watch*

cartoons that are diffused in 'Toyour el Djenna' channel". Another informant from the fifth grade reported this: *"I always read stories in MSA before going to bed, this will probably help me in improving my level and succeeding in my final exam".*

Question n° 3: Do you find it easy to interact with your teachers in MSA? Why?

Once again, the majority of the informants confirmed their difficulty when interacting with the teachers because they are not able to find the accurate lexical items to express themselves spontaneously in MSA, to the exception of some pupils who are considered as the best ones who safely claimed that it is easy to use MSA in classroom interaction.

The group of informants from pre-school grade declared: *"We are not able to interact with our teacher in MSA; we are still learning the Arabic alphabet".* Some respondents from the first grade said: *"Yes, it is quite difficult because it is not our mother tongue and we are still learning this language which we consider as the language of the classroom".* Other informants from grade three affirmed *"we find it difficult to use MSA when interacting with our teachers, we often use AA words instead because we do not understand some words in MSA, and it is not easy to find the appropriate words in classroom interaction".*Some informants from the fourth grade declared: *"Even our teacher uses AA when explaining the lessons, it means that she also finds it difficult to use MSA only!"*

Exceptionally, another informant from the same grade who is considered the best in the classroom said this: *"I find it easy to interact with my teacher in MSA, because I was already exposed to MSA in Dar el Hadith. In addition, my parents always help me a lot in preparing my lessons before coming to school".* Still other brilliant pupils from the second, fourth and the fifth grades affirmed that they were already exposed to MSA in kindergartens that their parents always read to them stories in MSA at home, and that most of the time, they watch TV programmes that are broadcasted in only MSA.

Question n°4: What reasons stand behind this linguistic handicap?

When asked about the reasons that stand behind linguistic insecurity, most of the respondents from different grades, that is, from pre-school until the fifth grade reported that they lack exposure to this variety outside the school milieu. Still other reasons were provided by some informants, for instance, a pupil from the fourth grade asserted the following: *"Not only my parents do not talk to me in MSA at home, but also our teacher often uses AA in classroom interaction"*. Other respondents from the third grade said that "*MSA is not our mother tongue, we use it only inside the classroom, and thus we find it difficult to learn and understand*".

A respondent from the fifth grade claimed that *"the pupils who perform better in class are those whose parents always encourage to read at home; my parents use many French words when talking to me at home, they never use the language of the classroom*". Still another informant from the fourth grade said: *"When I am outside the school, nobody uses MSA, and when I play with my friends in the street we use only AA"*. Another informant from the second grade declared: *"When I ask the teacher about something, she replies in AA, I cannot find the necessary vocabulary in MSA when interacting with my teacher because no one speaks this language"*.

Question n°5: Cite some of the language difficulties you face when interacting with your teachers.

When the respondents were asked to cite some of the language dilemmas they face in classroom interaction, different answers were provided. Consider the instances listed below.

-We do not find the accurate lexical items to express ourselves in classroom interaction.

- When the teacher asks us to explain the difficult words that relate to a certain text, we are not able to provide answers.

- We do not pronounce words correctly.

-We frequently use AA to fill in our lexical gap.

- When the teacher asks us some questions relating to the texts, we have so many ideas in mind, but, unfortunately, we are not able to communicate them in MSA.

- Most of the time, we try to memorise some words that have already been used by the teacher in order to interact with him/her.

- The teacher always tries to correct our verbal errors in classroom interaction especially in the listening/ reading comprehension session in which we are supposed to use correct words in MSA.

- When the teacher asks us to form correct sentences from the words he/ she proposes, we spend too much time to achieve this task, and most of the time, the sentences are incorrect because we do not find the appropriate vocabulary.

4.3.3.4 Interpretation of the interview with pupils

The majority of informants confirmed their difficulty in understanding the Arabic lessons. This idea is clearly supported by some pupils' claims, and the main reason behind this handicap lies in the pupils' unfamiliarity with most of the lexical items in MSA. Another important reason relates to the fact that some pupils did not have the privilege to benefit from pre-schooling, which is considered as a significant initial step before moving to the first grade.

Moreover, taking into account some informants' replies, this difficulty relates to their weaknesses in finding the accurate words in MSA in order to write paragraphs, or to summarize texts, and more significantly, when interacting with their teachers, in addition to their difficulties in pronouncing items correctly in MSA along with their lack of exposure to this variety outside the classroom; a fact which directly affects their linguistic attainment.

Indeed, the scarce use of MSA inside the classroom by some pupils seems to make them feel, when conversing in Standard Arabic, as if they were speaking a foreign unfamiliar language and consequently, they feel embarrassment and

insecurity. This act definitely favours the diglossic situation inside the classroom and impedes the realization of the desired aims of the teaching/learning process.

In terms of their degree of exposure towards MSA outside the school environment, a vast number of informants implicitly hinted to that matter when they affirmed their scarce exposure, and this is clearly reflected in the learners' claims. Abu-Rabia is one of those Arab prominent scholars who stressed the point that early exposure of Arab pre-school pupils to MSA may improve their performance in reading comprehension tests two years later.

He (2000: 149) argues that "reading skills in the early years of a child's life are essential for the acquisition of knowledge in later schooling". Therefore, the preparation of Algerian children for the standard form of Arabic before they reach school age, and parents' awareness of their off-springs' exposure to MSA at home is an essential strategy to increase their language skills at school.

When asked whether they find it easy to interact with their teachers in MSA, and some reasons that stand behind such situation, the majority of the respondents from different grades mentioned that it is quite difficult because of many circumstances. First, it has been noted that the teachers themselves include AA items in the explanation of their lessons; second, there is paucity of the necessary vocabulary in MSA in order to state their ideas and opinions; third, as mentioned several times in this study, Standard Arabic is not the mother tongue of anybody, and again critical lack of exposure to the standard form of Arabic outside the school environment. All these factors contribute to a large extent to this dilemma. The reasons behind this difficulty are clearly illustrated in the statements provided by the learners themselves (see question n°5, section 3.17.2.5).

4.3.4 Remedies for the issue of Arabic diglossia

In order to test our hypothesis in which we mentioned that: the gap between Colloquial Arabic and MSA has to be reduced progressively by policy-makers for the sake of formal education and this might be done by promoting the use of MSA even outside the school environment, we arranged an interview with two inspectors who provided answers to the following questions.

4.3.4.1 Findings from the interview with inspectors

Question n°1: Do you have an idea about the meaning of diglossia in Arabic? How?

Indeed, both inspectors declared that diglossia in Arabic corresponds to the existence of two varieties of the same language within the same speech community, each having its specific function, *al fusha* (MSA) which is regarded as the prestigious variety is used in formal contexts, and *al-aammiya (the vernacular)* is used in informal settings, that is, in everyday communication. To this, they added that MSA is the variety used as the medium of instruction since it is the most logical and appropriate one.

Question n°2: Do you consider Arabic diglossia as a problem in itself when dealing with the educational sector? Why?

The first respondent said: *"Of course, diglossia is a real problem because it makes the pupil unable to master or even to converse in MSA inside the classroom, and our role is raising consciousness among teachers of the Arabic lessons to accustom the learners using the language of the Qur'an accurately in class and in all the subjects, be they in oral expression, grammar, dictation, religion or any other".*

The second respondent declared this: *"It is evident that diglossia is a problem in itself when dealing with education. It is an impediment for the teaching/learning process. Dialect use inside the classroom impedes comprehension. You know that*

each language has its own rules and goals, and using both varieties in education is not convenient for the learning/teaching process. MSA is the only variety that possesses these rules and goals since it is the language of the Qur'an".

Question n°3: Whom do you blame when you notice that pupils in various grades show a kind of deficiency in MSA use?

Both inspectors reported that this question is at the same time an important and a very sensitive one. The first respondent declared the following: *"The fact that pupils show a kind of deficiency in MSA use is something evident, and I do not blame them; In fact, I blame the whole society from top to bottom including ministers, administrators, educationists and all the members of the Algerian society especially parents. We have to work hand in hand in order to fight AA use in the educational sector and to increase MSA use instead".*

The second respondent mentioned that: *"The pupils are really deficient in MSA use. On the one hand, the blame is put on those who have prepared the school curriculum, in addition to the lack of a well-developed and effective education; on the other hand, teachers and parents should spend considerable efforts to spread MSA use".*

Question n°4: How would you react if you noticed that teachers at primary level use AA when interacting with their pupils? Why?

When asked about their reaction if Arabic course teachers use AA in classroom interaction, the following replies where mentioned. The first informant stated this:

"I am going to turn that around a little bit and ask you the following: As a teacher of English, do you find it correct or evident to use either Arabic or French when explaining your lessons? You may inevitably say 'no', this is the same for me; personally, I completely forbid teachers to use AA inside the classroom since MSA is the only correct variety implemented for formal instruction".

The second informant declared the following: *"If pupils use AA, I do not blame them at all since they are still learning MSA which is full of difficult words. But if teachers use the vernacular when presenting the lessons, I do not tolerate this at all, it impedes pupils' comprehension! They teach Arabic, so they are asked to use only MSA in their teaching strategies, otherwise pupils may believe that they are at home or in the street and not at school. Indeed, I am against AA use in classroom interaction; I always insist on MSA as the only variety to be used in the teaching process".*

Question n°5: Do you force teachers to use only MSA in classroom interaction? Why?

When this question was posed to the informants, they both insisted on MSA use in classroom interaction. The first respondent said in this respect: *"Yes, I invite all the Arabic course teachers and insist on only MSA use when presenting the lessons so as not to lose our identities and values. This is our language, the language of the Qur'an that we normally have to use even at home or in the street. Some teachers have recourse to AA either by neglect or because they believe that such procedure facilitates comprehension".* As to the second respondent, he said: *"As an inspector of education, I urge all teachers to use MSA in classroom interaction, for diglossia does not fulfil our major goal, which is teaching MSA to our pupils and set aside AA which is full of French words and has no scientific basis".*

Question n° 6: Which measures may or must be undertaken by Algerian decision-makers as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia? Why?

This question seemed to be of great interest for our respondents who declared that they are still searching for answers to this sensitive question. Some of their replies were as follows:

-The ministry of education should constitute a unit to combat diglossia inside the classroom.

-The ministry of education should create functional libraries in all educational institutions including primary schools, and also middle and secondary schools.

-Presenting academic awards for those who write stories, poetry or present plays (theatre) in MSA, in order to encourage them, and spread MSA use.

-Giving considerable importance to MSA in all subjects.

-Obliging teachers to use only MSA in their teaching strategies.

-The whole educational system in Algeria should be revised by policy-makers.

-Broadcasting more educational television programmes for children and adults in Algerian channels in MSA only.

-Creating classes of pre-schooling in all primary schools, even in those located in rural areas.

- Building kindergartens where MSA is taught to children aged less than five, and why not recruiting teachers adapted for that task only!

- Fighting illiteracy and encouraging Algerian people to read books, newspapers, articles, etc. in MSA.

They pursue stating that that awareness should be raised concerning these measures, otherwise the issue of diglossia will increase and cause serious pedagogical problems in the future.

4.3.4.2 Synthesis of the interview with inspectors

We have made use of the Arabic inspectors' interview in order to cover the area of attained data concerning the remedies for the issue of diglossia in Arabic, especially in the education sector. Indeed, there seems to be growing awareness among the informants about the meaning of diglossia in Arabic. They focused the point that diglossia corresponds to the existence of two distinct varieties, each having a clear-cut role to play. This is clearly reflected in their answers (see section 4.3.4.1).

Moreover, the inspectors having distinct levels of experience showed compatible answers when asked whether diglossia is considered as a problem in itself

as far as the field of education is concerned. The respondents agreed on the fact that the use of the vernacular in classroom interaction hinders comprehension and leads to serious pedagogical problems. They showed their awareness of the significance of MSA as the only accurate form used as a medium of instruction. In fact, there is a quasi-general consensus amongst the inspectors about the importance of MSA due to its standard status and its tight association with the Holy Qur'an.

To recognize who is blamed when the pupils show a kind of linguistic deficiency inside the classroom, the inspector informants provided miscellaneous replies related to this issue. The first respondent put the blame on the whole society and insisted that it is everyone's responsibility to spread MSA use and combat AA usage for effective education. The second informant rather accused the persons who prepared the syllabus because for him, it does not focus on oral, but rather on the written skills only, a fact which is considered as an impediment for linguistic proficiency in MSA. Indeed, he believed that the use of colloquial Arabic affects pupils' linguistic level, and it is viewed as a major cause of their linguistic flaws.

In terms of AA use from the part of teachers in the explanation of their lessons, the inspector respondents totally disagreed with this procedure when they declared that teachers are not allowed to use AA in classroom interaction. They believed that mixing MSA and the vernacular in teaching the Arabic course hinders pupils' assimilation.

Furthermore, the respondents declared that teachers must avoid AA use -a variety full of French loanwords- in their teaching strategies because it does not fulfil the desired educational goals. Indeed, they confirmed their awareness of such a strategy defects. A respondent confirmed his appreciation towards MSA and revealed its importance in education. He also indicated that some teachers have recourse to the vernacular when presenting their lessons for other reasons like neglect or enhancing pupils' assimilation.

Concerning the measures that may or must be undertaken by Algerian decision-makers as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia, the inspector informants enumerated some suggestions (see question n° 6, section 4.3.4.1). In fact, the respondents believed that the issue may become more complicated if the measures they suggested would not be applied, and that they should be taken into account seriously to help in developing the linguistic attainment of the pupils from various grades, and create a pure and authentic linguistic environment in all school grades in general and in primary schools in particular.

4.4 Attitudes towards diglossia

In order to elicit the respondents' reactions towards the two forms of Arabic, i.e., MSA and AA, two different procedures were used. First, the matched-guise technique, as used in Lambert *et al*. (1960's), intends to yield an assessment of the language attitudes displayed by the pupils, then a questionnaire was administered to the teachers as an assessment of their reactions towards H and L.

4.4.1 Diglossia and pupils' attitudes

A text composed of three passages from 'Beauty and the Beast' story was read at a natural speed rate by the same person. It was first narrated in MSA, then later on in AA. In order to obtain different attitudes, we have divided the 216 informants into six different groups studying in different primary schools from pre-school grade until the fifth grade. The tables and graphs will demonstrate the evaluations of the whole group of judges on two dimensions, namely, the assessment of the speakers' personalities and the variety.

-Pleasantness and attitude

Question n° 1: Who is more pleasant?

When this question was posed, the respondents provided the data mentioned in the table below, in addition to its corresponding graph where the results in a 'pleasantness degree' are shown in contrasting views of those who declared pupil1 as opposed to pupil2/ 'I do not know'. Indeed, here again the majority of the pupils from different grades clearly favoured pupil1, and considered him 'more pleasant' than pupil 2. This is clearly shown in the table below and its equivalent graph.

Table 4.30 Pupils' assertion of guises' pleasantness.

Pleasantness	Pupil1		Pupil 2		I do not know	
Pre-school grade N=36	8	22.23%	15	41.66%	13	36.11%
1st grade N= 36	15	41.66%	10	27.78%	11	30.56%
2nd grade N= 36	17	47.22%	10	27.78%	9	25%
3rd grade N= 36	20	55.56%	7	19.44%	9	25%
4th grade N= 36	25	69.45%	6	16.67%	5	13.88%
5th grade N= 36	31	86.12%	3	8.33%	2	5.55%

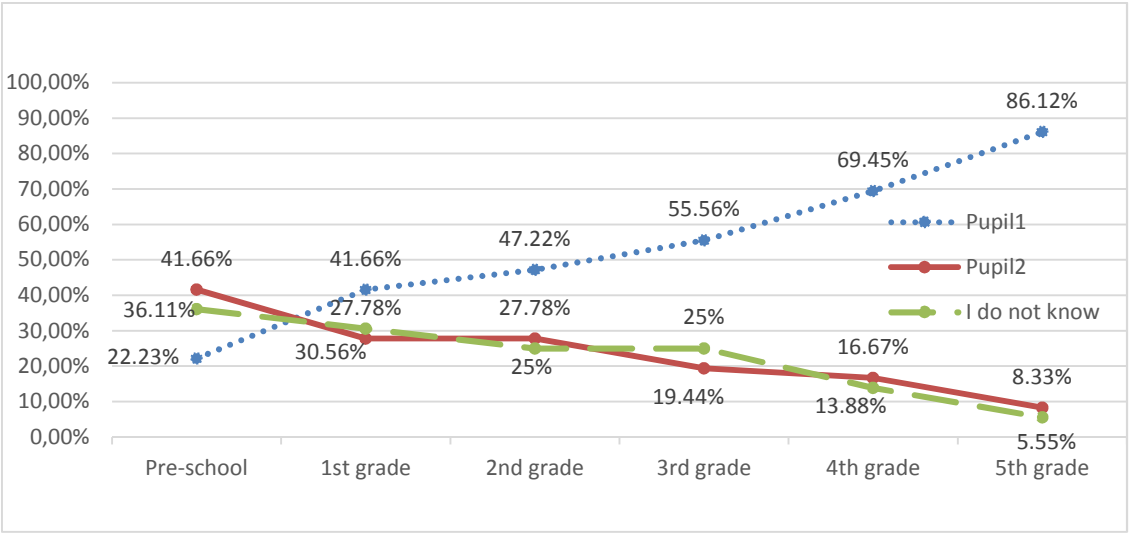


Fig 4.10 Pupils' confirmation of guises' pleasantness

Indeed, most pupil respondents reported that the performer in G1 (MSA) is the most pleasant except for pre-school pupils. This means that the pupils from first up to the fifth grade favour MSA speech and consider the performer using AA as quite unpleasant, mainly because the speech in this guise (G2) is characterized by the glottal stop, and the majority of the respondents consider this as inaccurate for the learning process.

-Pupils' evaluative reactions to the speakers in the two guises

Question n°2: How would you judge these pupils if they were your classmates?

Here, the respondents were asked to express their attitudes towards G1 and G2 by putting a cross in the square blanks they think convenient for each of the three characteristics proposed: *cleverness, attractiveness* and *friendliness* (see Appendix C).

a) Cleverness

Clever……..Less clever

Guise 1 (MSA)

Cleverness (G1, MSA)	Clever		Less clever	
Pre-school grade	8	22.23%	28	77.77%
1st grade	20	55.55%	16	44.45%
2nd grade	25	69.45%	11	30.55%
3rd grade	25	69.45%	11	30.55%
4th grade	32	88.88%	4	11.12%
5th grade	36	100%	0	0%

Table 4.31 Pupils' evaluation of cleverness (G1)

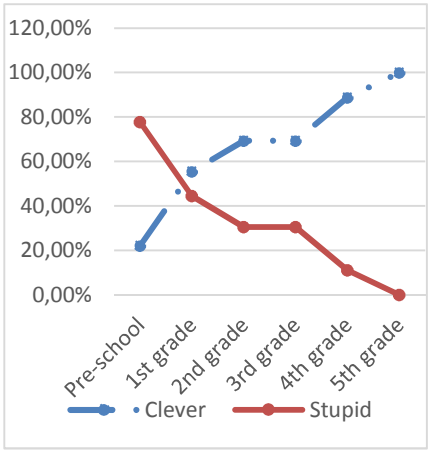


Fig 4.11 Pupils' evaluation of cleverness (G1)

Similarly, the results on the aspect of 'cleverness' show a clearly upgrading scores ranging from 22.23% for the pre-school grade to 100% for the 5th grade. First, lower

scores are attributed to the pre-school pupils who stated that G1 is clever, then, as far as we moved from one grade to another, we noticed that higher scores are ascribed to those who found G1 as the 'cleverest'.

However, the scores obtained on which guise sounds cleverer for G2 seem to reveal the opposite than those above, i.e., to the exception of the pre-school grade pupils, the majority of the pupils from the other grades regarded G2 as 'less clever'. Consider the table below and its equivalent graph.

Guise2 (AA)

Cleverness (G2, AA)	Clever		Less clever	
Pre-school grade	30	83.33%	6	16.67%
1st grade	15	41.67%	21	58.33%
2nd grade	14	38.88%	22	61.12%
3rd grade	10	27.77%	26	72.23%
4th grade	6	16.67%	30	83.33%
5th grade	1	2.77%	35	97.23%

Table 4.32 Pupils'evaluation of cleverness (G2)

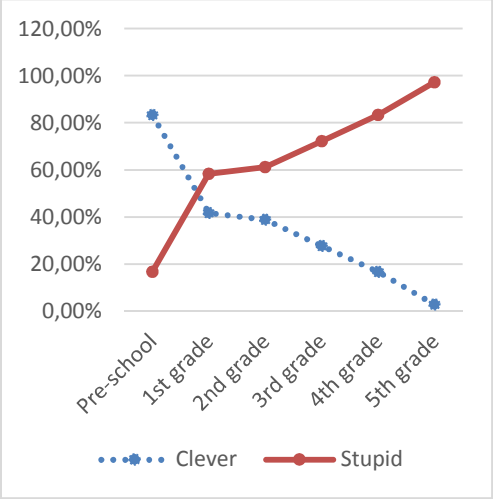


Fig.4.12 Pupils' evaluation of cleverness (G2)

Evidently, positive attitudes are crystal clear in the data collected concerning clevernes in G1. Similarly, negative attitudes in the data collected about the speaker using AA who was conceived as 'less clever' are also clearly highlighted. For the majority of the respondents, the performer using AA in class is breaking the rule of conversation. Yet, most pupils from pre-school grade perceived performer 1 using MSA as 'less clever' and performer 2 (AA) as clever. This might be explained that this category of pupil respondents have relatively no contact with MSA outside the school environment, and that they are still unfamiliar with this form of Arabic.

b) Attractiveness

Attractive…….Non-attractive

Guise1 (MSA)

Nearly similar scores as those above (cleverness, G1) were obtained for the trait of 'attractiveness', that is, to the exception of the pre-school pupils who perceived G1 as 'non- attractive', an upgrading score from the first up to the 5th grade is obtained for those who considered G1 as the most attractive, as we can see in the table below and its equivalent graph.

Attractiveness (G1, MSA)	Attractive		Non-attractive	
Pre-school grade	8	22.22%	28	77.78%
1st grade	16	44.45%	20	55.55%
2nd grade	20	55.55%	16	44.45%
3rd grade	28	77.78%	8	22.22%
4th grade	32	88.89%	4	11.11%
5th grade	34	94.45%	2	5.55%

Table 4.33Pupils'evaluation of attractiveness

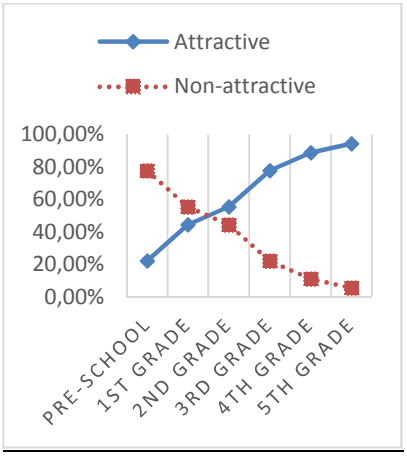


Fig.4.13Pupils'evaluation of attractiveness

Guise2 (AA)

The attractiveness trait indicates that G2 receives the lowest scores on this characteristic to the exception of the pre-school grade pupils who find G2 as more attractive than G1. The following table and its corresponding graph show the extent to which the five groups react towards G2.

(G2, AA)	Attractive		Non-attractive	
Pre-school grade	30	83.33%	6	16.67%
1st grade	11	30.55%	25	69.45%
2nd grade	9	25%	27	75%
3rd grade	7	19.45%	29	80.55%
4th grade	1	2.77%	35	97.23%
5th grade	0	0%	36	100%

Table4.34 Pupils'evaluation of attractiveness

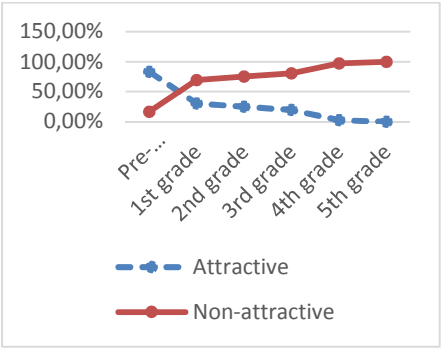


Fig.4.14Pupils'evaluation of attractiveness

The scores obtained on which variety sounds more attractive seem to reveal that the prestige of H remains unchallengeable among our respondents from various grades, except for pre-school grade pupils; the attitudes displayed towards MSA seem to be unanimously positive as the majority conceived the performer in G1 as the most attractive because of its tight connection with the Qur'an and its religious connotation in general. The negative attitudes towards MSA displayed by pre-school grade informants are associated with the pupils little or no acquaintance with H outside the classroom.

c) Friendliness

Friendly…….Unfriendly

Guise1 (MSA)

The trait which concerns the pupils' evaluation of friendliness of G1 also shows an upgrading scores' level, except for the pupils studying in the pre-school grade who perceive G1 as 'unfriendly'. This is evidently highlighted in the table as well as the graph below.

Friendliness (G1,MSA)	Friendly		Unfriendly	
Pre-school	9	25%	27	75%
1st grade	21	58.33%	15	41.67%
2nd grade	25	69.45%	11	30.55%
3rd grade	28	77.78%	8	22.22%
4th grade	30	88.33%	6	16.67%
5th grade	32	88.88%	4	11.12%

Table 4.35 Pupils'evaluation of friendliness (G1)

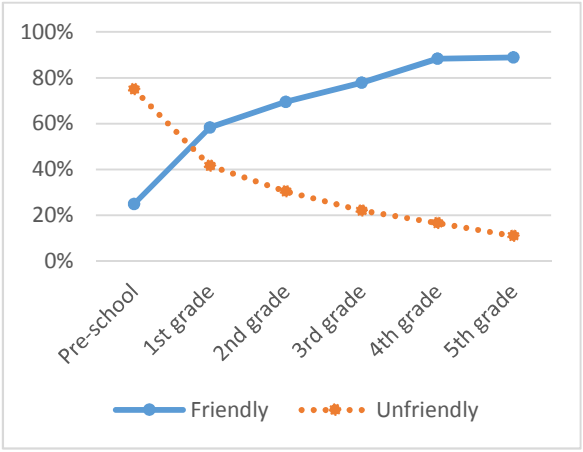


Fig.4.15 Pupils'evaluation of friendliness

Guise2 (AA)

As opposed to G1, the scores obtained for G2 neatly show that again, to the exception of the pre-school grade pupils, the majority of the respondents from the 1st grade up to the 5th grade evaluate G2 as 'unfriendly'. Consider the following table and its corresponding graph.

Friendliness (G2,AA)	Friendly		Unfriendly	
Pre-school grade	29	80.55%	7	19.45%
1st grade	15	41.67%	21	58.33%
2nd grade	9	25%	27	75%
3rd grade	6	16.67%	30	83.33%
4th grade	5	13.88%	31	86.12%
5th grade	2	5.55%	34	94.45%

Table 4.36 Pupils'evaluation of friendliness (G2)

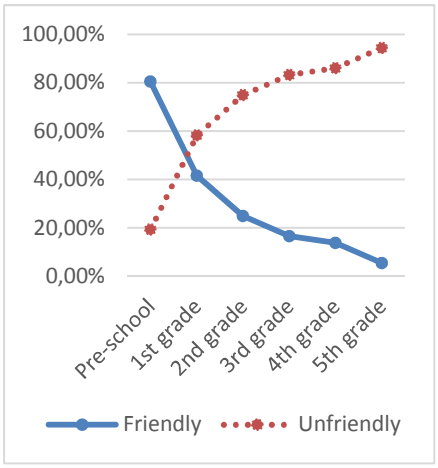


Fig.4.16 Pupils'evaluation of friendliness (G2)

In other words, the results obtained in the attitudinal test concerning friendliness among pre-school grade pupils seem to confirm that the speaker using MSA gets the lowest scores (25%), perhaps again, because these pupils are still unfamiliar with this variety and find it quite difficult to learn and understand. AA, however, gets the highest scores (80. 55%) probably because of its use in the context of everyday life. Quite opposite results were obtained from the respondents studying in the first up to the fifth grade, as they considered the speaker using AA in G2 as unfriendly. The only explanation we can provide about the pupils' judgements is that MSA is viewed as the accurate variety for the learning process.

-Pupils' evaluative reactions to the speaker's variety

The third matched-guise test was intended to elicit the listeners' evaluations on two variety aspects selected on the basis of a number of traits reflecting 'appropriateness', 'beauty' and 'correctness'. Consider the results obtained from question three below.

Question n° 3: How do you find the speaker's variety?

a) Appropriateness

Appropriate……inappropriate

Variety 1(MSA)

Appropriateness (MSA)	Appropriate		Inappropriate	
Pre-school grade	2	5.56%	34	94.44%
1st grade	22	61.12%	14	38.88%
2nd grade	25	69.45%	11	30.55%
3rd grade	25	69.45%	11	30.55%
4th grade	30	83.33%	6	16.67%
5th grade	35	97.23%	1	2.77%

Table 4.37 Pupils' evaluationof appropriateness (MSA)

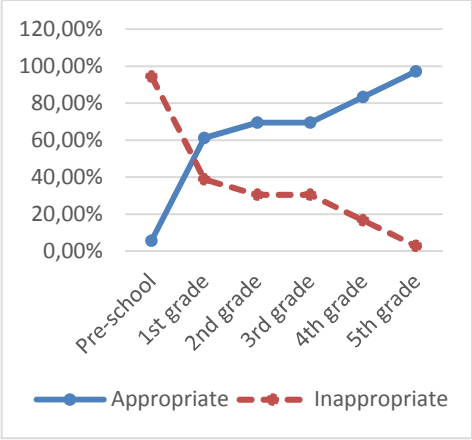


Fig 4.17 Pupils' evaluation of appropriateness (MSA)

In our context, as we have seen in the preceding chapters, MSA, the High variety is used in education. Thus, in terms of 'appropriateness', the results show strikingly upgrading scores, ranging from 5.56% for pre-school grade to 97.23% for the 5th grade. However, remarkably downgrading scores ranging from 94.44% to 2.77% are attributed to those who consider MSA as 'inappropriate'. This is obviously illustrated in the table and figure above.

Considering again the results from the perspective of AA, we have obtained quite opposite scores as those above, that is, an evidently downgrading scores from the pre-school grade until the 5th grade are clearly highlighted in the table and its corresponding figure below as regards the ' appropriateness ' of AA.

Variety2 (AA)

Appropriateness (AA)	Appropriate		Inappropriate	
Pre-school grade	34	94.44%	2	5.56%
1st grade	12	33.33%	24	66.67%
2nd grade	10	27.77%	26	72.23%
3rd grade	8	22.22%	28	77.78%
4th grade	2	5.56%	34	94.44%
5th grade	1	2.77%	35	97.23%

Table 4.38 Pupils' evaluation of appropriateness (AA)

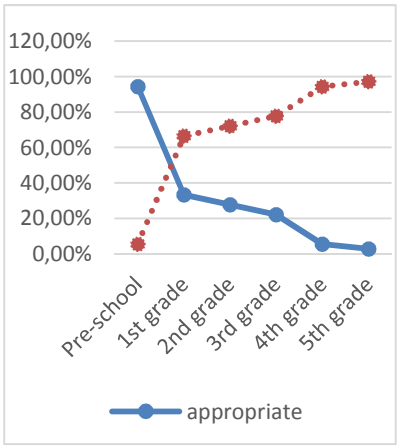


Fig 4.18 Pupils' evaluation of appropriateness (AA)

As we moved from one grade to another, we noticed the respondents' awareness concerning the appropriateness of MSA in the learning process. However, the downgrading scores from the pre-school grade until the 5th grade concerning the inappropriateness of AA as the variety of instruction, revealed the pupils' high appreciation towards MSA and a clear devaluation of AA. This fact reinforces our fourth hypothesis that posits: Being aware of the importance of the learning/teaching

processes in MSA, most pupils from different grades display positive attitudes towards this variety which is also associated with the Qur'an and religious matters.

a) Beauty

Beautiful……Ordinary

Variety1 (MSA)

Variety1 (MSA)	Beautiful		Ordinary	
Pre-school grade	20	55.56%	16	44.44%
1st grade	30	83.33%	6	16.67%
2nd grade	30	83.33%	6	16.67%
3rd grade	34	94.45%	2	5.55%
4th grade	36	100%	0	0%
5th grade	36	100%	0	0%

Table 4.39 Pupils' ratings of beauty (MSA)

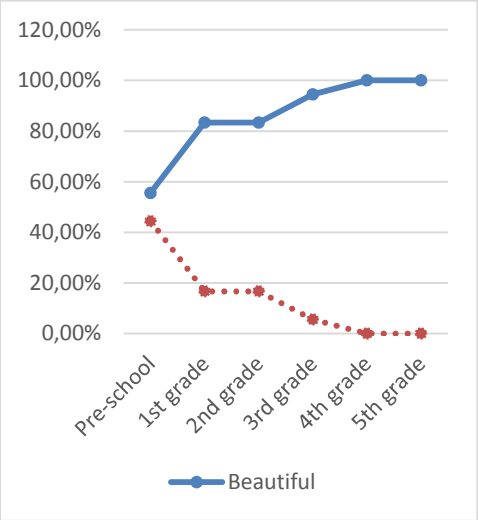


Fig.4.19 Pupils'ratings of beauty (MSA)

At this level, it is worth mentioning again that it is not the speech itself which is evaluated, but *the performer* of the speech variety. The striking results obtained from the informants' attitudinal test concerning beauty are first revealed in the reactions of pre-school grade pupils who show a flagrant difference in comparison with the results obtained previously concerning other traits of MSA. We have noticed from the results obtained that all the respondents from the six distinct grades (pre-school-fifth grade) confirmed the beauty of MSA. Yet, the majority of the pupils from different grades confirmed that they consider AA as ordinary. This is shown in the table below and the equivalent graph.

Variety 2 (AA)

Variety 2 (AA)	Beautiful		Ordinary	
Pre-school grade	14	38.88%	22	61.12%
1st grade	10	27.77%	26	72.23%
2nd grade	7	19.44%	29	80.56%
3rd grade	3	8.33%	33	91.67%
4th grade	1	2.77%	35	97.23%
5th grade	0	0%	36	100%

Table 4.40 Pupils' ratings of beauty (AA)

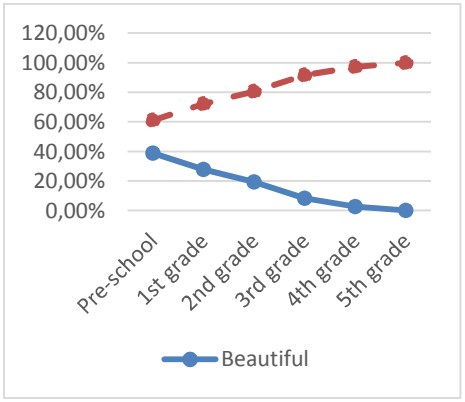


Fig.4.20 Pupils'ratings of beauty (A

b) Correctness

Correct……..incorrect

Variety 1(MSA)

Correctness (Variety1)	Correct		Incorrect	
Pre-school grade	20	55.56%	16	44.44%
1st grade	29	80.55%	7	19.45%
2nd grade	32	88.88%	4	11.12%
3rd grade	32	88.88%	4	11.12%
4th grade	35	97.23%	1	2.77%
5th grade	36	100%	0	0%

Table 4.41Pupils' ratings of correctness (MSA)

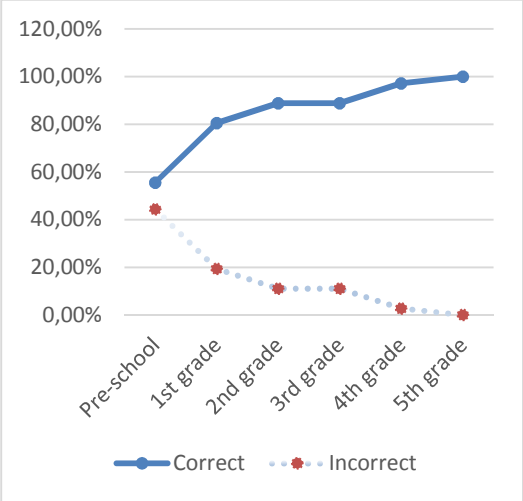


Fig.4.21 Pupils'ratings of correctness (MSA)

Quite similar evaluation patterns as those concerning 'beauty' have been obtained. MSA, the form of Arabic used as the medium of instruction surely has some impact on informants' upgrading scores since the majority of them affirmed the correctness of variety1, and the incorrectness of variety 2. This is clearly illustrated in the above table and graph, in addition to the table below and its equivalent graph.

Variety2 (AA)

Correctness (variety2)	Correct		Incorrect	
Pre-school grade	15	41.67%	21	58.33%
1st grade	7	19.45%	29	80.55%
2nd grade	5	13.89%	31	86.11%
3rd grade	3	8.33%	33	91.67%
4th grade	0	0%	36	100%
5th grade	0	0%	36	100%

Table 4.42 Pupils' ratings of correctness (AA)

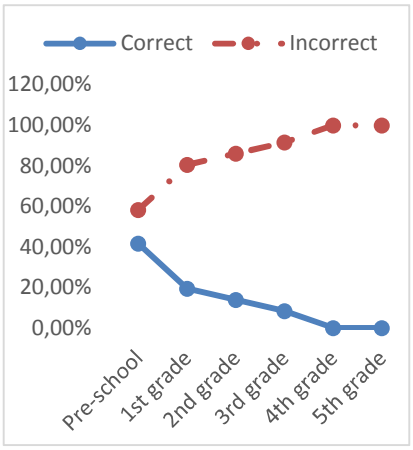


Fig.4.22 Pupils'ratings of correctness (AA)

Something worth mentioning is that, when the informants listened to G1 (MSA), they had a normal reaction. However, when they listened to G2, all the informants, to the exception of pre-school grade pupils, laughed out loudly, looked at one another curiously and joked about the guise. Therefore, the feeling of MSA correctness stems from the fact that this variety is considered as the correct form to be used inside the school setting. In the next section, we shall find out how our second group of judges (teachers) would evaluate both forms of Arabic, that is, MSA/AA.

4.4.2 Diglossia and teachers' attitudes

In order to evaluate the teachers' reactions towards MSA and AA, a questionnaire based on a psychological factor -including both close-ended and open-ended questions- was administered to 24 teachers from different primary schools who teach at different grades. The respondents were asked to reveal their attitudes towards MSA/ AA on the basis of five questions.

Question n°1: In which variety of Arabic do you prefer explaining your lessons?

Responses	Teachers' variety preference in lesson explanation	
	Freq.	Rate
MSA	20	83.33%%
AA	0	0%
MSA/AA	4	16.67%

Table 4.43 Teachers' variety preference in class

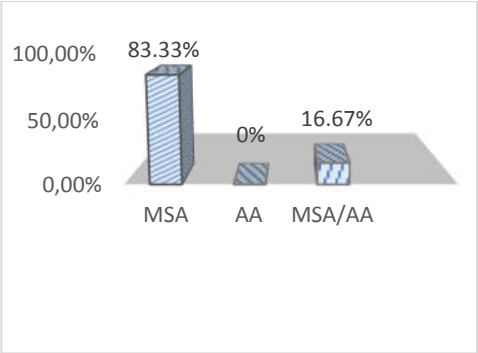


Fig. 4.23 Teachers' variety preference in class

The conspicuous results obtained from the variety by which the teachers prefer explaining their lessons was MSA. Apparently, most teacher respondents (83.33%) acknowledged their preference towards MSA use in class, despite the reality which reveals that most of them use a mixture of both MSA and AA in the teaching process. As asserted previously by the teachers themselves, this method may aid pupils' assimilation.

Question n°2: Which variety do you think is more beautiful?

All the informants (rating 100%) revealed the beauty as well as their high appreciation towards MSA which they consider as the real variety because of its tight association with Islam.

Question n° 3: Which variety do you think is more appropriate in the teaching/ learning process?

Responses	Teachers' assumption of variety's appropriateness	
	Freq.	Rate
MSA	20	83.33%
AA	0	0%
MSA/AA	4	16.67%

Table 4.44 Teachers' assumption of variety's appropriateness

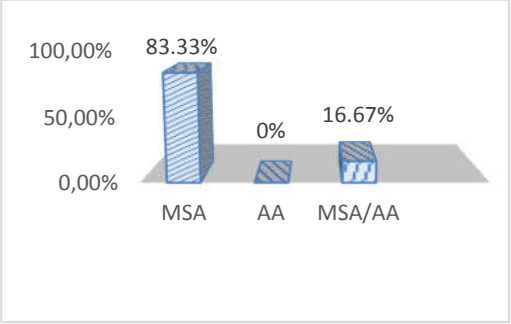


Fig. 4.24 Teachers' assumption of variety's appropriateness

As for the most appropriate variety for the teaching/learning process, similar results as those mentioned in question n°1 were obtained, that is, most teachers agreed on the appropriateness of MSA in the teaching/ learning process. The high rate of the respondents' answers reflects their immense recognition of MSA importance as a medium of instruction and their awareness of its high status amongst the whole Arab and Muslim nations. But, in spite of the acknowledged vast appreciation towards MSA, we strongly believe that the preservation of AA in the teaching process will persist, unless there will be a general agreement amongst all teachers of the Arabic course concerning its prevention.

Question n°4: What is your reaction when the pupils interact with you in MSA?

The psychological items answers to this question echoed the homogeneous attitudes of the Arabic course teachers towards MSA use from the part of their pupils. All the respondents declared that they feel proud when their pupils interact with them in MSA, which means that these informants always support classroom interaction in MSA which unfortunately contradicts such perspective in real pedagogical situations. Undoubtedly, the classroom interaction variety has great impact on pupils' levels, especially in exams. One respondent from *Ibn Msaib* PS declared the following: *"It is an honour for us when our pupils interact with us in MSA, this means that they have received a good quality teaching and that their level of understanding is quite good"*.

Still another informant from *Tebboune Souad* PS said that *"this is a dream, if you have a whole class which interacts only in MSA, it means that you are the best teacher of Arabic in Algeria, or let me say in the Arab world. This is the correct language, the language of the Qur'an, I try to do my best in order to make my pupils interact in MSA only, and I hope one day my dream may come true and I will be in charge of whole classes where pupils use only MSA!"*

Question n° 6: What is your reaction when the pupils interact with you in AA?

When this question was posed, most of the respondents affirmed their contribution in minimizing AA use in classroom interaction because MSA is considered as the medium of instruction. The teachers revealed lower appreciation towards AA use from the part of learners, for this contributes in their linguistic deficiency and low levels. An informant from *Dahbi Zoubida* PS said *"we have to fight AA use and favour MSA instead, especially in classroom interaction. AA has no scientific basis, it is the language used at home or in the street; it is also full of foreign words, especially those French words. Once in school, pupils are asked to use MSA which is the only correct variety for instruction. Of course, most of our pupils do not master MSA, but our mission is to inculcate this variety to our learners".*

Concerning our respondents' reactions on pupils' interaction with them either in MSA or in AA, again MSA gets the highest preference, all the teachers imagined one day a whole class interacting in MSA only because they believed that this procedure relates to the quality of teaching. However, AA get the lowest appreciation, as for most teacher respondents, this form is only used in the context of everyday talk and it has no scientific basis. Moreover, they insisted on enhancing MSA use as it is the appropriate variety used as a medium of instruction and at decreasing AA use inside the classroom. This strategy may probably aid in improving the quality of teaching in our institutions.

4.5 Classroom observation results and analysis

-Results

Two sequential observation sessions were organized in each primary school. They were held in distinct grades, and the data were gathered from various classes in a direct and natural manner (see appendix D for more examples). Consider the following instances:

- *Example1:* First grade pupils (*Abdulhamid Ibnu Badis* PS- Tlemcen)

The conversation below occurred between the teacher and pupils in which she asked them to show her their homework before starting the lesson.

- Teacher: sbaħ ləχi:r ja ʔatfa:l dərtu ʕamalkum lju:m
(Good morning children, have you done your homework?)
- Pupils: naʕam
(Yes.)
- Teacher: əffəthu lkajja:t ʔasəm ha:da:ţlabtkum baʃ təkkətbu ħarf /ʂ/ me:ʃi ħarf /s/
(Open your copybooks; what is that? I asked you to write the letter [ʂ] not [s].)
- Teacher: ʔija win rah ʕamalək ja oussama rak kasu:l lju:m
(Oussama, where is your homework? Today you are lazy.)

- Pupil: ðhəbna nħawsu fi lʒabali
(We went to the mountain.)
- Teacher: manquluʃ hakaða nqulu ila lɣa:bati mafhu:m
(We do not say it this way, we say to the forest, is it clear?)
Teacher: lju:m ʕandna ħarf ʔa:χar kəmmlna mʕa ħarf [ʃ] wə [ʂ]
(Today, we are going to deal with another letter; we have finished with [ʃ] and [ʂ].)

- *Example2:* Second grade pupils (*Dahbi Zoubida* PS-Ain-Témouchent)

Consider the following conversation between the teacher and pupils in a lesson of reading comprehension. The teacher stuck up a picture on the blackboard and asked the pupils to describe what they see in this picture. The topic discussed was 'In the shopping mall'.
- Teacher: ma:ða: tula:ħiðu:n jusra ija ʕabbri
(What do you notice? Yousra comment!)
- Pupil1 : muna waʒadat ʂuratan lissana:fi:ri fi ʕulbatin mina lʒubni
(Mouna found Smurphs' picture in the cheese box.)
- Pupil2: muna mʕa ummiha fi lħa:nu:ti

(Mouna is with her mother in a shop.)

- Teacher: manquluʃ lħanut walakin əlmatʒar

(We do not say shop but the shopping mall.)

- Teacher: wa maða tarawna ajdan

(What do you also see?)

- Pupil3: muna maʕa ummiħa taʃtari kifaʃ nqulu swalaħ da:r billuɣa

(Mouna is with her mother, how do we say house supplies in MSA?)

- Teacher: nqululhum lawazimu lbajti awi lmanzili ma hija muʃtaqqa:t lħali:b

(We call them 'homr supplies'. What are the milk products?)

- Pupil1: ljajurt wlʒubn wəzzabda

(Yoghurt, cheese and butter.)

- Teacher; hadou kalimat nquluhum bəddariʒa maʃi bluɣat lqism

(We use these words in AA and not in MSA.)

-*Analysis*

The striking result obtained from classroom observation is the teachers' speech which is a mixture of MSA and AA in the whole examples we provided. This in fact, confirms the teachers' claims concerning their teaching strategy which is based on the middle variety whose major aim is to facilitate comprehension.

Pupils from various grades had spent strenuous efforts to communicate in MSA accurately, but most of them showed a kind of frustration and feeling of linguistic insecurity when answering their teachers. This is mainly due to their weak exposure towards the variety which is supposed to be used as the medium of instruction, that is, MSA, in addition to their inability to find the correct words and expressions in order to fill their lexical gaps.

When the pupils were asked to construct accurate sentences from the list of words provided to them, there seemed to be a misunderstanding of these particular words, sometimes pupils used other words, a fact which changes the whole meaning of the sentences, and this is considered as a handicap in the learning process. Moreover, when the pupils were asked to remind the teacher about the story of 'the

sun and the wind'; it was quite difficult for them to summarize the whole story using exclusively MSA. Some phonological mistakes have also been noticed. Indeed, when the pupil, in example 3, said /əssəmʃ/ instead of /əʃʃams/, the teacher corrected the pupil's mistake which has also been made by the teacher himself. This results from the teacher's use of dialect inside the classroom.

However, what has been noticed with the pupils and teachers of Mechria, is that the 'dosage' of French and colloquial Arabic use in the classroom is neatly smaller compare with the other PS (see example 6, Appendix D); moreover, these pupils show, to a certain extent, higher proficiency in MSA use when communicating with their teachers in comparison with those living in Northern Algeria, especially those living in urban cities. This can be explained by the fact that people from the South have more exposure towards MSA than those living in the North through Arab TV channels for instance, or that parents use more Standard Arabic at home when conversing with their children in comparison with those from the North. However, this does not mean that they exclusively use MSA in all cases and situations in classroom interaction.

The sociolinguistic phenomenon of diglossia is, therefore, highly noticeable in the whole classes. There seems to be a confusion about what constitutes Standard Arabic and what does not. Furthermore, as affirmed in the results, the linguistic distance between the vernacular and MSA affects principally vocabulary and pronunciation. These educational problems are directly connected with the diglossic nature of the Arabic language.

4.6 General interpretation and integration

The questionnaires administered to teachers and pupils, the interviews with teachers, pupils and inspectors, in addition to the matched-guise technique were intended to: scrutinize the variety of Arabic used by teachers in their teaching process, identify the pupils' perceptions when they are first faced to MSA in school and

whether there is a change in their perceptions at further school grades, find out the extent to which pupils use MSA in classroom interaction and the reasons behind their linguistic flaws, explore the teachers as well as the pupils' attitudes towards MSA at primary school level, and search about the political decisions that may be undertaken as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia. With all these objectives in mind, the researcher has tried to verify her hypotheses.

Concerning the first hypothesis which states that teachers tend to use a mixture of MSA and Algerian Arabic believing that this strategy may facilitate comprehension and pupils' smooth integration, the results unveiled the concrete diglossic situation of the Arabic classrooms in the Algerian primary schools. The results obtained revealed that the teachers use an intermediate form of Arabic (ESA) in their teaching strategies. Indeed, some experienced educationists consider that the use of a familiar language to teach facilitates understanding the lessons, and may help in better knowledge acquisition. Al- Batal (1992) declares that "a colloquial and MSA should be taught in the classroom to reflect the linguistic reality in the Arab world today". In this line of thought, Trudgill (1995:185-188) recognizes three possible approaches for dealing with the use of non-standard dialects (colloquial forms)) in school:

1. Elimination of non-standard speech: Teachers at all times try to prevent students using their non-standard varieties, and correct every occurring instance of a nonstandard feature. Some teachers even go as far as punishing students who refuse to conform to the use of the standard variety.

2. Bidialectism: Teachers accept that the non-standard variety will continue to be used in informal situations, but try to encourage the use of the standard variety for some situations in school, particularly for written work.

3. Appreciation of dialect differences: If children suffer because they use a nonstandard variety, this is the fault of the society, not of students. It is the society's attitudes that should be changed, not the language of students.

Considering the second approach where both standard and non-standard forms coexist, most teachers believe that mixing MSA and dialects inside the classroom aids in pupils' assimilation. The study analysis, therefore, disclosed that teachers shift back and forth between MSA and their dialects when presenting the lessons believing that such strategy facilitates pupils' comprehension. This, in fact, confirms our first hypothesis.

With regard to our second hypothesis which stipulates that depending on the degree of exposure to MSA before school age, pupils will exhibit more or less linguistic insecurity in class and reluctance or eagerness in using the school language, and such feelings will develop in positive or negative ways depending not only on the teaching strategies, but also on the parents' encouragement towards the use of the standard language, interesting results were obtained. First, it should be noted that the pupils from the lower grades, that is, from pre-school up to the second grade confirmed their permanent recourse to their dialects in classroom interaction and find it quite difficult to communicate in MSA mainly because they are not encouraged by their parents.

Another reason is that these pupils are not qualified enough to interact in MSA, and they find it disassociated from the reality of the verbal expressions used in their daily communication. In fact, the recurring use of the vernacular makes pupils' tongues more familiar with the dialect than MSA. However, a remarkable change in their feelings about MSA at further school grades was noticed.

Most participants studying from the third grade until the fifth grade showed strong positive perceptions about MSA and that *Fusha* is not enough difficult to learn and understand in comparison with the previous years. Pupils exhibited considerable awareness about the importance of MSA in the learning process. This is clearly highlighted in their responses. This sudden positive feelings' improvement towards MSA mostly relates to their motivation and will of learning MSA, in addition to their higher exposure and accustomation to MSA (either inside/outside school) in comparison to those studying at lower grades . Nevertheless, their linguistic deficiency is associated with other factors such as parents' neglect, teachers' use of

the vernacular inside the classroom, the syllabus weaknesses and so forth. Here again, we can say that our second hypothesis has been proved.

Considering the third hypothesis which designates that some pupils use MSA when interacting with their teachers, but owing to the lack of exposure to the variety outside the school environment, most of them use AA in a spontaneous manner, a fact that leads to poor linguistic proficiency in MSA in classroom interaction; it has also been ratified since we have noticed that most pupils make strenuous efforts when using MSA in classroom interaction for various reasons, such as their linguistic deficiency in MSA especially at the lexical and pronunciation levels, and their poor contact with the standard form before formal schooling; in addition, MSA is not acquired naturally from birth (a 'learned' form) and its structure is inextricable.

These pupils when they find it difficult to express some idea in MSA, they automatically switch to their dialects which they find much easier to communicate with their teachers. The pupils' deficiency in MSA communicative skills is a result of the paucity use of this variety in classroom interaction, and more significantly, their insufficient exposure to MSA before formal education.

Parents generally assume that children do not understand MSA and do not like being read to in this variety. Here, the importance of children's experience of language interaction in the home as well as in the school is paramount. The learners use the vernacular in classroom interaction because they are not proficient enough to communicate in MSA, and they find it cut off from the reality of spoken expressions used in daily life. The educational problems and the persistent feelings of linguistic insecurity are directly related to the diglossic nature of Arabic.

Another important finding relating to this study is that pupils who show higher proficiency in MSA use when interacting with their teachers are considered as the best pupils, i.e., those who perform better in MSA inside class. This may be interpreted that such proficiency relates to their consciousness about MSA significance in the learning process, in addition to the fact that their exposure towards

the standard variety outside the school environment is considerably higher compared to those who highlight a kind of linguistic flaw in classroom interaction.

According to Saiegh Haddad (2012: 7), the framework for literacy acquisition is first entrenched in the child's home. "Thus, literacy acquisition is embedded in the socio-cultural contexts of the young children's families" and "the belief system of parents regarding literacy should affect parent-child literacy interactions and activities" (Saiegh Haddad, ibid). Undoubtedly, quality improvement in education depends upon two factors: proper teachers' training and parents' contribution. Besides, Dennane (2010) spoke about an experiment carried out with his proper children since babyhood. Through this experience, the father employed Standard Arabic and the mother employed Colloquial Arabic, then he came with the conclusion that his children acquired simultaneously the two forms of Arabic and showed an ability to recognise the appropriate form to be used with each interlocutor. The same experience was applied in two distinct kindergartens from different countries, one in Kuwait and the other, in Damascus. Surprisingly, identical findings were obtained, that is young children whose age does not go beyond five were capable to develop significant linguistic competence in MSA.

Similarly, Dendane's (2013) investigation in a kindergarten in Tlemcen allowed him to conclude that the child's early exposure to MSA - two or three years before reaching school age- using simple methods like songs, Quranic verses and games, yields many benefits mirrored in an interesting cognitive development and a promising readiness to deal with the school language (MSA) as well as other content subjects. Dendane (ibid) emphasizes the point that elementary school teachers regonize that this category of learners perform well at the outset of their formal schooling.

It is obvious that teachers' as well as parents' awareness about children's frequent exposure to MSA, be it at home, or inside the classroom is of paramount significance in order to enhance their language skills years later. Teachers in particular have to suppress most of their linguistic habits when presenting the lessons. Indeed, they should have less or no recourse to their dialects, which is considered an

impediment for the teaching/ learning process. This way, pupils will probably follow their exemplar and develop higher linguistic proficiency in MSA in classroom interaction.

In their responses about their attitudes towards MSA/AA, the pupils from first up to the fifth grade revealed their considerable appreciation towards MSA and felt proud of it, due to its sacred status and relation to Classical Arabic, the language of the Holy Qur'an. This feeling emerges from the Arab society perspective to MSA and the conservative nature of the Algerian society in which they live. Maamouri (1998: 37) says in this respect: "there is a prevailing feeling among Arabs that their language is imbued with a natural superiority".

In spite of this high value, the pupils from pre-school grade revealed less appreciation towards MSA and favoured AA instead. But, taking into account their small age, we cannot deduce that this particular category of learners show negative attitudes towards MSA, for they do not find it beautiful, correct or expressive (in fact, the majority do, see section 4.4.1), but the reasons range from their perception that MSA is not easy to learn and that it is not their mother tongue, and from their fear of deficiency in MSA to their feeling with embarrassment and linguistic insecurity when using it. This lack of security comes from a general feeling of low understanding of MSA and of low identification of its norms (Maamouri, ibid).

Similarly, the teachers' responses reflected their homogeneous attitudes towards MSA/AA. Indeed, all the teachers feel proud and show positive attitudes towards MSA that might contribute to various reasons such as linguistic awareness, realization of MSA high significance in the teaching/ learning process, and most significantly as the language of the Qur'an. Following this interpretation, it can be deduced that our fourth hypothesis has been partly confimed.

As for the fifth hypothesis which stipulates that the gap between Colloquial Arabic and MSA has to be reduced progressively by policy-makers for the sake of formal education and this might be done by promoting the use of MSA even outside the school environment, striking results were obtained. Undeniably, the inspector informants emphasized the point that one of the major remedies that might be

undertaken to reduce Arabic diglossia in the educational sector to a certain extent, is the teachers' imperative suppression or the slightly decrease of their dialects' use when presenting their lessons, for they believe that the use of the vernacular when teaching Arabic lessons impedes assimilation and leads to serious pedagogical flaws which might have a negative impact on pupils' achievements in general.

Several statements were enumerated by both teachers and inspectors such as the creation of kindergartens in all Algerian communities where children can be taught MSA before reaching school age, a fact which can help in enhancing pupils' level years later, prohibiting AA use inside the classroom especially by teachers who are supposed to teach through only MSA , the establishment of pre-schooling classes in all primary schools, broadcasting more educational television programmes for children and adults in Algerian channels exclusively in MSA, the creation of functional libraries in all educational institutions and many others.

All these propositions would be exceptionally idealistic; we must, thus, recognize that this is not going to take place in the short term, but it needs time and great efforts from the part of all members involved in the Algerian education sector starting from top to bottom, in order to weaken the issue of Arabic diglossia in this particular and substantial sector.

The present research work proposes that teachers focus more on providing the pupils' knowledge about the language rather than developing their linguistic skills and consequently pupils cannot interact adequately with their teachers in MSA. Yet, according to teachers, this remains the fault of those who have prepared the syllabus. Pupils have usually recourse to their dialects because of their weaknesses in practicing the functions of the language in question.

Therefore, in all grades of the primary level, teachers should concentrate more on teaching pupils the language skills instead of knowledge about the language system. Moreover, and as already stated, the role of parents is of paramount importance in making their children more familiar with a language that seems quite difficult to learn and understand.

4.7 Conclusion

Based both on a mixed methods approach (quantitative vs. qualitative), interesting results were attained as regard the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal instruction in the Algerian education sector. In fact, diglossia as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, is an indisputable matter which cannot be prevented inside the Arabic course classrooms. The truth is that several factors contribute to this inevitable issue, such as the linguistic background in which children live-whether at home or in the street- since no one uses MSA as a mother tongue, or even inside the classroom as nearly all teachers integrate the vernacular in the explanation of their lessons.

Pupils' linguistic deficiency is directly related to the paucity of accurate lexical items in MSA in order to express themselves in classroom interaction. However, the study revealed that, at further school levels, pupils' perceptions about the complexity of MSA alter extensively, that is why Arabic course teachers should make a minor or no use of the vernacular as a means of enhancing pupils' linguistic abilities instead of being a destruction tool for what they have to acquire of these abilities at further school levels. Finally, it has also been noted that parents' encouragement and guidance is one of the most prevalent perspectives in enhancing their children language skills whether at pre-school or at further primary school grades.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

GENERAL CONCLUSION

It appears to be clear that diglossia has long been conceived as one of the most important challenges which confront the educational institutions not only in Algeria, but in the whole Arab world; some go beyond to consider it as an impediment to development in diglossic communities and a destruction instrument of linguistic proficiency among a huge number of learners. The diglossic nature of today's Arabic seems to be an inevitable issue as it hinders intellectual progress.

Indeed, there are many determinants which make this sociolinguistic phenomenon highly problematic, such as the linguistic context in which pupils live whether at home since children do not grow up speaking MSA, or in school which is perceived almost as a 'new world', for children have to contend with an 'unfamiliar' language. Besides, most teachers explain the lessons using the vernacular despite their awareness of MSA as the sole and unique variety implemented as a medium of instruction.

Children come to the formal school setting with a natural knowledge about their mother tongue, while the textbooks are based on MSA. From this, we can assert that learning MSA comes about mainly as a result of formal instruction. Furthermore, children are not aware of Arabic diglossia and its impact on their learning. This research work is significant as it shows the impact of Arabic diglossia on pupils' linguistic competence at primary level. Therefore, the language difficulties that pupils are confronted to in learning the standard form of Arabic and the reasons behind their linguistic deficiency, have been the concern of the present study.

To achieve the objectives of the current research work and attain answers to the research questions, a set of research tools were administered to the sample consisting of 24 teachers and 216 pupils who were selected from various primary schools in Algeria. The study has been based on questionnaires and interviews conducted with teachers, pupils and inspectors in order to obtain relevant responses about the variety used in classroom interaction, find out the reasons that stand behind

pupils' low linguistic achievement when interacting with their teachers, in addition to their perceptions concerning the easiness/ difficulty about learning MSA once they reach school, and check whether there is a change in their feelings at further school grades. The matched-guise technique has also been used to elicit the teachers' as well as the pupils' attitudes towards the forms of Arabic at play. The data collected from the sample population have been analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively, and the results have been discussed accordingly.

The conclusions we can draw for this study can be summarised under several points. First, the results of this inquiry reveal that the Arabic course teachers use the so-called middle language (or ESA), a mixture of MSA and the vernacular in their teaching strategies believing that the introduction of ESA would benefit the pupils and be a solution to diglossia in the classroom. They argue that teaching in such a method helps in assimilation and transmitting the message to pupils who are thought to be still young to receive the lessons exclusively in MSA.

The teachers' frequent recourse to the use of the vernacular when explaining the lessons makes pupils feel confused about what constitutes formal Arabic and what does not. This tricky situation involves that pupils will have to learn a whole set of skills embroiled in the choice of the convenient form for a given context, as well as a double sets of vocabulary items. That is why Arabic course teachers should be conscious of the significance of MSA in the teaching process, and be able of addressing their pupils accurately using a pure form of Arabic.

Another thorny issue that emerged from this study is the observation that lack of competency in MSA, leads to frustration and low linguistic self-confidence from the part of learners. Pupils show a similar level of diglossia regardless of whether they move to further grades. Indeed, the findings of this empirical work disclose that strenuous efforts are made by the majority of pupils when using MSA in classroom interaction because of their linguistic deficiency. Frustration and low linguistic self-confidence felt by young pupils relate to their inability in finding the adequate lexical items to express their ideas effectively in MSA. Ferguson himself expected that confusion may arise. He proposed that the confusion posed by attempting to learn a

diglossic language seems likely to learn two languages at once. This dilemma appears to be real in Arabic since the results reveal that there is such confusion confronted by pupils at all grades.

However, we have come across other interesting results which reveal that pupils 'deny' the difficulty of MSA learning at further school levels (from 3rd up to 5th), and their perceptions of MSA foster rather than weaken, although, taking into account teachers' claims and the researcher's direct observation, the opposite is true. These pupils have somewhat benefited from increased exposure and experience with MSA structures that formal instruction permits. In fact, if they are still facing difficulties in MSA use, this is mainly due to other factors such as parents' neglect, teachers' dialect use, syllabus weaknesses, ineffective exposure, etc.

This sudden change in pupils' feelings rather stems from the fact that these learners have become more familiar with Standard Arabic and more aware about its importance in comparison with those studying at lower grades (pre-school, first and second). Moreover, it has been noted that their acquaintance with MSA outside the school context is neatly higher than pupils studying at lower grades (from pre-school up to the second grade). Another important reason relating to better proficiency, is that pupils who are exposed to literary Arabic through TV kids programmes, stories or the Qur'an, have more chance for success than pupils whose exposure to the standard variety is reduced or totally absent before formal instruction.

Furthermore, the present study reveals high appreciation in terms of attitudes towards the standard variety from the part of both teachers and learners, for they perceive it as the 'real 'and 'correct' variety used in formal education, particularly as the language of the Holy Qur'an. However, negative attitudes displayed by pre-school grade pupils relate to their perception that learning formal Arabic is an arduous process. This can be linked to the fact that this particular category of pupils have relatively little or no acquaintance with the official language of instruction outside school, they also perceive MSA as an 'unfamiliar' language and they are still unaware about the importance of this form of Arabic in the learning process.

We have also observed from the results that in terms of inspection role, the inspectors urge all Arabic course teachers to use MSA exclusively when presenting their lessons because when pupils notice that their teachers avoid dialect use in class, they will automatically follow their exemplar. Moreover, the inspectors confessed other measures that may at least reduce the problem of Arabic diglossia in the educational sector. The verity is that the linguistic duality problem which diglossia presents, is a definite bothersome aspect having a direct impact on the young learners' language achievement. It is only through immediate and convenient language planning decisions, better language instruction and more exposure to MSA- even outside the school setting- that good and useful academic results could be brought. And because the character of educational reform is an arduous process, effective and hasty progress should not be anticipated soon in the Algerian education scene. In fact, the policies, propositions and recommendations which can bridge the gap between MSA and the vernacular continue to wait for definite linguistic, social and most significantly political resolutions.

Confirmation from inquiry in both fields of education and psychology has demonstrated that the use of the learners' dialects is crucial for persuasive learning outcome, as there is a liaison between the child's language acquisition and his cognitive development. Such a process permits a smooth transition from home to school with better scholarly attainment, but the relevant question here is: what dialectal Arabic among the miscellaneous dialects that exist should be taught? Promoting dialectal Arabic in Algerian PS (s) is a way to trigger off low levels as it is only in the school context where MSA is really used; and if it is to be implemented, we may consider it as a challenging duty. Such a measure makes it a prerequisite to pass through a whole language planning procedure, but it would, unfortunately, be a direct threat to Standard Arabic.

However, because of the impossibility of dialect use in the Algerian school context, educators should be aware of the effect of diglossia on pupils' linguistic skills and they should be trained to explain the linguistic differences between colloquial and standard Arabic to their pupils (in terms of vocabulary, phonology and grammar).

They should also recognize that there needs to be an educational reform in the teaching of Arabic in the school system. In addition, parents' awareness-raising would be an essential first step. On the basis of our findings, some strategies can be highly recommended. They are listed as follows:

-Expanding the use of Standard Arabic even colloquially starting from the home.

-It will be beneficial if all teachers abandon the use of the vernacular in teaching and place more emphasis on the standard variety as a medium of instruction.

- It will also be beneficial if pupils are asked to write paragraphs at home at least once a week. Such a task may certainly help them to reduce their lexical gap.

-Increasing positive pupils' attitudes towards MSA and constantly encouraging them to be much closer to this variety in classroom interaction.

-Parents' awareness about the drawbacks of limiting their children's exposure to MSA during early childhood should be raised.

- Raising parents' awareness concerning the importance of reading and conversing with their children in MSA before they attain school age.

- Giving pupils adequate and equal opportunities of practicing reading aloud which certainly enhances their fluency by paying attention to correcting their verbal errors through their reading since reading has a crucial place for the Arabic-speaking, and this is one of the best ways of developing pupils' fluency in MSA.

-The creation of interesting resources (current topics, visually appealing) and role models who communicate in MSA (cartoon characters, clowns, funny characters, action heroes, etc.) in all schools.

- Interest in teaching Arabic functionally i.e., in making pupils acquire the linguistic skills rather than teaching them grammar; or getting them to know the language instead of knowing about the language.

- Creating kindergartens and hiring professional teachers where children can have the opportunity to be exposed to MSA through TV kids programmes, stories, songs and Quranic verses.

Undoubtedly, helping young pupils to learn a pure form of Arabic is a shared responsibility between all members involved in education, starting from the child's home environment and social context to the school and ministry of education. Indeed, at a fairly early age, i.e., before reaching school age, children must be exposed to MSA as they are born with an innate inclination to acquire the society's language in which they are placed, and it should be worth mentioning again that the role of parents remains a key factor in yielding a satisfactory linguistic level in primary education. Language planners should, therefore, promote linguistic plans in order to overcome the negative impact of diglossia, especially when children enter school. They should review and modify the content of the language lessons offered in primary schools and they might take into consideration the efficiency of authority strategies to favour the use of MSA as a modern language.

Thus, the present study has provided some results regarding Arabic diglossia and its influence on formal instruction among young learners. There always remain opportunities for further research into the area in order to develop our understanding about diglossia as a sociolinguistic phenomenon.Therefore, we suggest that further research should be undertaken with the aim of scrutinizing and determining which form of Arabic should fulfill the learning needs of our children at lower grades, especially in pre-school, first and second grades: what can be concluded from this study is that an abrupt 'leap' to MSA, perceived as a 'new' language, entails frail learning, in addition to low linguistic attainment from the part of pupils. Another piece of research could be to see the extent to which the results and conclusions of the present research work can be generalised to other teachers and pupils in other regions of Algeria, such as Kabylia and some Berber areas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography

- Abid-Houcine, S. (2007), "Enseignement et éducation en langues étrangères en Algérie : la compétition entre le français et l'anglais". *Foreign Language Learning and Acquisition in Algeria: the Competition between English and French*, Droit et Cultures, Paris, N°54 (2), 143-156.
- Abu-Melhim, A.-R. H. (1992). *Communication across Arabic dialects: Code-switching and Linguistic accommodation in informal conversational interactions.* Texas A&M University.
- Abu-Rabia, S. (2000). Effects of Exposure to Literary Arabic on Reading Comprehension in a Diglossic Situation. *Reading and Writing: An Interdisciplinary Journal, 13,* 147-157.
- Abu-Rabia, S. (2012). Parents' Attitudes and Behavior, The Learning Environment, and Their Influence on Children's Early Reading Achievement. Open Journal of Modern Linguistics. Vol.2. N4.
- Abdulaziz Mkilifi, M. (1978). Triglossia and Swahili–English bilingualism in Tanzania. In J. Fishman (ed.), *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism,* 129– 52. The Hague: Mouton.
- Abdulaziz, M. (1986). Factors in the development of modern Arabic usage, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 62, 11-24.
- Agbedq, C.U. Krisagbedo, E.C. & Ugwuqna, C.N. *Extended diglossia as a sociolinguistic situation in Nsukka urban area.Journal of Igbo Language & Linguistics* (2009) Vol. 1, 27-37.
- Al-Batal, M. (1992). Diglossia Proficiency: The Need for an Alternative Approach to Teaching. In Rouchdy, A (ed.). The Arabic Language in America (pp. 284-304). Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press.
- Al-Batal, M. & Belnap, R. K. (2006). The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in the United States: Realities, needs, and future directions. In Kassem. M. Wahba, Zeinab.

- Al-Jabiri, M. 'Innovation in the language in the letters of words and meanings.' Al-Ittihad, 16 September 2003.
- Alosh, M. M. (2002). *"Ahlan wa Sahlan", functional Modern Standard Arabic for beginners*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Al-Rabaa, S. (1986). Diglossia in Classroom: the Arabic Case, Anthropological Linguistics, Vol 28, N° 1. (Spring, 1986).
- Aramouni, Eva, H. (2011). The Impact of Diglossia on Arabic Language Instruction in Higher Education: Attitudes and Experiences of Students and Instructors in the US.
- Arnoff, M. & Rees Miller, J (eds.) « The Handbook of Linguistics » Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- AUER, P. (1984). *Bilingual conversation*. Amsterdam. Benjamins.
- Ayari, S. (1996). Diglossia and Illiteracy in the Arab world: Language, Culture and Curriculum, 9, 243-252.
- Azzouz, L. (1998). Proble´ matique de la baisse de niveau scolaire. In M. Madi (Ed.), Re ´flexions. L'Ecole en de ´bat en Algérie. 47–57. Algiers: Casbah Editions.
- Babbie, Earl, 1990. Survey Research Methods, Second Edition. California: Wadsworth Publishing Company. Campbell, J. Gabriel, Ramesh Shrestha and Linda Stone, 1979. The Use and Misuse of Social Science Research in Nepa.l Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.
- Badawi, al-Said Muḥammad (1973). *Mustawayāt al-ʕarabiyya al-muʕāṣira fī Miṣr*. Cairo. Dār al-Maʕārif.
- Badawi, al-Said Muḥammad & Hinds, Martin (1991). *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic: Arabic-English*. Beirut. Maktabat Lubnān.
- Badawi, al-Said Muhammad. (2006). Foreword, Arabic for Non-native Speakers in the 21st Century: A Shopping List. In Kassem M, Wahba, Zeinab

A. Taha and Liz England (Ed.) *Handbook for Arabic Language Teaching Professionals inthe 21st Century*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers. ix-xiv.

- Baker, C. *(1992). Attitudes and Language,* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C. (2002) Bilingual education. In R.B. Kaplan (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, 229-42. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bamba, M. (2012). *Seeking Effective Approaches to Teaching Large EFL Classes in the Ivory Coast* (Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania).
- Bamgbose, Ayo. 1991. Language and the nation. The language question in Sub-saharan Africa. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bassiouney, R. (2009). *Arabic Sociolinguistics.* Edinburgh University Press Ltd.
- Bell, R.T. (1976). *Sociolinguistics: Goals, Approaches and Problems*. London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd.
- Bencells, M, R (2009). Language Planning and Policy and Multilingual Education in Catalonia. Working Papers in Educational Linguistics 24/2: 57-78.
- Benmoussat, S. (2003). *Mediating Language and Culture*: An Investigation Analysis of the Cultural Dimensions in the Algerian Newly Designed ELT Textbooks. A Doctoral Thesis. Tlemcen, Algeria: Aboubakr Belkaid University.
- Bennoune, M. (2000). Education, Culture et Développement en Algérie. Bilan & Perspectives du Système Educatif. Algiers: Marinoor-ENAG.
- Benrabah, M. (1993) L'arabe algerien, vehicule de la modernité [Algerian Arabic, vehicle of modernity). *Cahiers de Linguistique Sociale* 22, 33-43.

- Benrabah, M. (1999). Langue et Pouvoir en Algérie. Histoire d'un traumatisme linguistique Paris, Séguier.
- Benrabah, M. (2004). An Algerian Paradox: Arabisation and the French language. In *Shifting Frontiers of France and Francophonie*. 2004. Yvette Rocheron & Christopher Rolfe (eds). British Library and Library of Congress Cataloguing-in- Publication Data.
- Benrabah, M. (2005). Current Issues in Language Planning. The Language Planning Situation in Algeria. Vol. 6, No.4. 379-502.
- Benrabah, M. (2006). Voyage en Algérie, pays des 66 milliards de dollars de réserve et de l'immense désespoir des jeunes. Esprit, 12, December, 61–75.
- Benrabah, M. (2007a). "Language-in-Education Planning in Algeria: Historical Development and Current Issues." Language Policy 6 (2): 225–252. doi:10.1007/s10993-007-9046-7.
- Benrabah, M. (2011). The "Impossible" Reform of Education in Algeria: The Weight of Politics.ISBN978-3-8329-6805-2.
- Benrabah, M. 2014. Competition between four "world" languages in Algeria. Journal of World Languages, Vol. 1, No. 1, 38–59.
- Bentahila, A. 1983. *Language Attitudes among Arabic-French Bilinguals in Morocco*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bentahila, A., and Davies, E.D. (1983). The syntax of Arabic-French code-switching. *Lingua,* 302-315.
- Berger, A.E. (2002) Introduction. In A.E. Berger (ed.) *Algeria in Others' Languages,* 1-16. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Blanc, H. (1960). Stylistic variation in spoken Arabic: A sample of inter-dialectal educated conversation. In C.A. Ferguson (Ed). *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics,* 81-156. Cambridge: Harvard University.

- Blom, J.P. and Gumperz. J.J. (1972). “Social meaning in Linguistic Structure: “Code Switching in Norway”. In Li, W (ed.) (2000). 111-36.
- Bohas, G., J.-P. Guillaumeand D. Kouloughli (2006), The Arabic linguistic tradition, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Bouamrane, A. (1986) Aspects of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen.
- Boudalia-Griffou, M. (1989). L'école algérienne de Ibn Badis à Pavlov, Alger, Laphomic.
- Burns, A. (1999). Collaborative Action Research for English Language Teachers. Cambridge university press.
- Bouhadiba, F. (1993). On Loci for Norm and the Arabic Language Continuum: In Defense of MSA. *Cahiers de Dialectologie et de Linguistique Contrastive*. Université d’Oran, 1993- 1994 ; Vol. IV, Cahier 1.
- Bouhadiba, F. (1998). Continuum linguistique ou alternance de codes? Essai d’analyse dynamique des faits : Etat des lieux. *Cahiers de Linguistique et Didactique* (GRLDLD) N° 1, Octobre 1998 : 1-11. I.L.E. Oran, Algérie.
- Bourdieu, P. (1961). Sociologie de L’Algérie, France: PUF, Que Sais-je, 802.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (1982) Language policies and language attitudes: le monde de la Francophone, in Ryan, E. and Giles, H. (Eds.) *Attitudes towardslanguage variation: Social and applied contexts,* London: Macmillan.34-62.
- Bourhis, R.Y. (1982). « Language Policies and Language Attitudes: Le monde de la francophonie ».
- Brosh H, Olshtain E (1995). Language skills and the curriculum of a diglossic Language. Foreign Lang. Ann., 28(2): 247-60.
- Brown, H. D. (1981) Affective Factors in Second Language Learning in Alatis, J., Altman, H. and Alatis, P. (Eds), *The Second LanguageClassroom,* Oxford: 0. U. P.

- Brown, J. D. (2001). *Using surveys in language programs. Cambridge*: CUP.
- Burns, A. (1999). Collaborative Action Research for English Language Teachers. Cambridge university press.
- Caroll, T. (2001). *Language Planning and Language Change in Japan.* Curzon Press Richmond, Surrey.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Marrisson (2000) (5th edition). Research Methods in Education. 25 West 35th Street, New York, NY. 10001.
- Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1994). Research Methods in Education - Fourth Edition. London: Routledge.
- Chaker, S. (1984) *Textes en Linguistique Berbere (Introduction au Domaine Berbere) [Texts in Berber Linguistics (Introduction to Berber Studies)).* Paris: CNRS.
- Chambers, J.K. And Trudgill, P. (1980). *Dialectology.* London. Cambridge University Press.
- Chejne, A. (1969). *The Arabic language: Its role in history*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Chitour Chems Eddine, ―L'éducation et la culture en Algérie _Des origines à nos jours', ENAG Edition, 1999, 301pp.
- Chomsky, N. (2006). *Language and mind*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Clifton F. Conrad & Ronald C. Serlain, (2011). *The SAGE Handbook for Research and Education* (second edition). *University of Wisconsin-Madison.* SAGE Publications Ltd 1. Oliver's Yard.
- Colluzzi, P. (2007). *Minority Language Planning and Micronationalism in Italy*: An Analysis of the Situation of Friulian, Umbrian and Western Lombard wuth reference to Spanish Minority Languages. British Library and Library of Congress.

- CONSTITUTION DE LA REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENNE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE. PRESIDENCE DE LA REPUBLIQUE SECRETARIAT GENERAL DU GOUVERNEMENT. Mars, 2016.
- Cooper, R. L. (1989), *Language Planning and Social change*. Cambridge. CUP.
- Crystal D. (1980). *A first Dictionary of Linguistics and phonetics*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. (1987), *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dakwar, K.R. (2005). Children's Attitudes towards the Diglossic Situation in Arabic and its Impact on Learning. Columbia University.
- Daoudi, A. (2011). Globalisation and E-Arabic: The emergence of a new language at the literal and figurative levels. In C. Hasselblatt, P. Houtzagers, & R. Van Pareren (Eds.), *Language contact in times of globalization*. 61-76. Amsterdam. The Netherlands: Rodopi.
- Dashti, A. (1998) Language Choice in the State of Kuwait. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Essex.
- Dendane, Z. (2007). *Sociolinguistic Variation and Attitudes towards Language Behaviour: The case of Tlemcen Arabic*. Doctorate Thesis. Algeria: OranUniversity.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), The SAGE handbook of qualitative research (3rd ed., pp. 1–29). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Derni, A. (2009). *Ecolinguistic Implications in Language Change: Towards a New Paradigm in the Study of Lexical Variation in Ghazaouet Spoken Arabic*.A Doctorate Thesis. Tlemcen University.
- Deterding, D. (1998). *APPROACHES TO DIGLOSSIA IN THE CLASSROOM: THE MIDDLE WAY.REACT*. 1998(2), 18-23.

- Downes, W. (1998). (2nd Ed). *Language and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- El Gibali, A. (1996). *Understanding Arabic*: Essays in Contemporary Arabic Linguistics; in Honor of El Said Badawi. The American University in Cairo Press. Egypt. *1959-1994*. 25-39. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Entelis, J.P. (1981). Elite political culture and socialization in Algeria: Tensions and discontinuities". Middle East Journal, Vol.25. 197-207.
- El Watan. 2015. Education. Trois Classes en Tamazight Ouvertes à Oran. Tuesday, November, 17th, 2015.
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Ferguson, C. (1959) Diglossia. *Word* 15, 325-40.
- Ferguson, C. A. (1968a). Language development. In J. Fishman et al. (Eds.), Lan-guage problems of developing nations, 27-35. New York: Wiley & Sons.
- Ferguson, C. (1959a). « Diglossia ». *Word*. Vol. 15. 325-40. In Giglioli, P. (1972).
- Ferguson, C. (1963) Problems of teaching languages with diglossia. In E. Woodworth and R. DiPietro (eds) *Report of the Thirteenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics andLanguage Studies* (Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics, 15). 165-77. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Ferguson, C.A. (1970). The Role of Arabic in Ethiopia. A Sociolinguistics Perspective. In Pride & Holmes (1972: 112-24).
- Ferguson, C. (1991). Diglossia Revisited. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* .10 (1), 214- 234.

- Ferguson, C. (1996). “Epilogue: Diglossia revisited”. In ELGIBALI (1996). 49-67.
- Ferguson, C. (1996). Diglossia. In T. Huebner (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic Perspectives. Papers on Language in Society.*
- Fishman, J. (1967). « Bilingualism, with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without Bilingualism ». Journal of Social Issues 32: 29-38.
- Fishman, J., 1972. *The sociology of Language*. Newbury House.
- Fishman, Joshua (1980) Bilingualism and biculturalism as individual and as societal phenomena. Journal of multilingual and multicultural development 1 (1), 3-15.
- Furayhah, A. (1955) *Nahwa 'arabiyya muyassara [Towards a simplified form of Arabic]*. Beirut: Dar al-maktab al-lubnani.
- Gardner, R. C. and Lambert, W. E. (1972) *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning,* Rowley: Newbury House.
- Garett, P. (2010). Attitudes to Language: Key Topics to Sociolinguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garvin, Paul L. 1974. Some Comments on Language Planning. In Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *Advances in Language Planning*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 69-78.
- Ghalem, (2000) in Remaoun Hassan, ― L‘Algérie Histoire, Culture et Société‖, Casba édition, 2000, 351.
- Gordon, D.C. (1966). *The Passing of French Algeria.* London: Oxford University Press.
- Gordon, D.C. (1978). *The French Language and National Identity*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Gorman, T.P. (1973). ‘Language Allocation and Language Planning in a Developing Nation’. In : *Language Planning : Current Issues and Research*,

J. Rubin & R. Shuy (eds.), George Town University Press, Washington, D.C., 72-82.

- Grandguillaume G. (1983). Arabisation et Politique Linguistique au Maghreb. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Grandguillaume, G. (1995). Comment a-t-on pu en arriver là ? Esprit, 208. Avec l'Algérie.12-34.
- Granguillaume, G. (1996). L'Algérie confrontée à L'Islamisme, in Le Monde Diplomatique. Edition Février 2000.
- Grandguillaume, G. (1997). Le Multilinguisme dans le cadre national au Maghreb, in Colloque plurilinguisme et identités au Maghreb, 233. Publications de l'université de Rouen. 13-19.
- Granguillaume, G. (1998). 'Langues et Représentations Identitaires en Algérie'. In Gonzale, J.J (ed.). 65-78.
- Grandguillaume, G. (2006). Langue Arabe en Algérie et à Mayotte. Communication au colloque sur le Bilinguisme à Mayotte, 20 au 24 Mars 2006. On consultation from website: www.granguillaume.free.fr [May 2006].
- Gumpers, J.J. and Hymes, D. ND (eds). *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Gumperz, J. (1977). The Sociolinguistic Significance of Conversational Code-Switching. University of California, Berkeley. RELC JOURNAL, Vol. 8 No. 2, December 1977.
- Gumperz, J. *Contextualization and Understanding.* (Berkeley Cognitive Science Report, 59). Berkeley: Institute of Cognitive Science, U of California, Berkeley, 1989.
- Haeri, N. (2000). Form and ideology: Arabic sociolinguistics and beyond. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 29*, 61-87.

- Haeri, N. (2003). *Sacred language, ordinary people: Dilemmas of culture and politics in Egypt*. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hamers, F. and Blanc, A. (2000). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hamzaoui, H. & Negadi, M.N. (2013). *HOW TO WRITE AN EXTENDED ESSAY OR A THESIS IN LANGUAGE STUDIES*. Editions Manel.
- Hamzaoui, C (2013). The Impact of Arabic Diglossia on Children's School Experience: An Investigation of the Primary Level in Tlemcen. Unpublished Magister thesis.
- Harris, Roy (1990). The Dialect Myth, in Jerold A. Edmondson, et al. (eds.) *Development and Diversity: Language Variation across Time and Space: A Festschrift for Charles-James N. Bailey*. Arlington: The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Publication 93.
- Haugen, E. (1959). Planning for a standard language in modern Norway: Anthropological linguistics.Vol 33.
- Haugen, E. (1966a). Linguistics and Language Planning*, in Sociolinguistics*, W. Bright (ed.) (The Hague: Mouton), 50-71.
- Haugen, E. (1966). Dialect, Language, Nation. Repr. In J. B. Pride and Janet Holmes (eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings* 1972:97–111. Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books.
- Haugen, E. (1966a). Dialect, Language, Nation, *In American Anthropologist*, *New Series*. Vol. 68. N°4: 922-935.
- HEATH, John (2001). "Borrowing". In MESTHRIE (ed.) (2001). 432-441.
- Hoffman, C. (1991). *An Introduction to Bilingualism*. UK: Longman.
- Holes, C. (1993). "The uses of variation: a study of the political speeches of Gamal Abd al-Nasir". In EID & HOLES (eds.) (1993). 13-45.

- Holes, C. (1995). *Modern Arabic: structures, functions and varieties*, London, Longman.
- Holes, C. (2004). *Modern Arabic: Structures, functions, and varieties*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Horn, C. (2015). Diglossia in the Arab World-Educational Implications and Future Perspectives. Scientific Research Publishing Inc. Open Journal of Modern Linguistics, 2015, 5, 100-104.
- Hornberger, N. (1994). Literacy and Language Planning. In *Language and Education*. 8. 75-86.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2006). Frameworks and Models in Language Policy and Planning. In T. Ricento (Ed.). *An introduction to language policy*. 24-41. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hudson, R. A. (1996) 2nd ed. *Sociolinguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hudson, R. A. (1998). *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hudson, R. A. (1999). *Sociolinguistics*. 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press.
- Hymes, D. (2003), Models of the interaction of language and social life, in C. Paulston and R.
- Issa, K. M. (1987) *Al-lugha Al-Arabiyya Baina Al-Fusha wa Al-Ammiyya. Arabic (The Arabic Language Between the Classical and the Colloquial varieties).* Ad-dar Al-Jamahiriyya Press.Misurata. Libya.
- Jernudd, B.H and Das Gupta (1971). Can Language be Planned? An East West Centre Book.
- Honolulu (1971). The University Press of Hawaii. 206 – 8.
- JULIEN, CH. A. (1931) Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord. Paris; Editions du Seuil.

- Johnstone, B. (2000). *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics*. New York. Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, R. B., & Turner, L. A. (2003). Data collection strategies in mixed methods research. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research. 297–319. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kadi, L. (2004) La politique linguistique algerienne: Vers un etat des lieux [Algerian language policy since independence]. Revue d'Amenagement Linguistique 107, 133-4.
- Kaplan, R & Baldaugh, R. (1997). *Language planning from Practice to Theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kaplan, R. B. & Baldauf, R.B. (Jr). (2003). *Language and language-in-education planning in the Pacific Basin.* Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- KAYE, Alan S. (1972). Remarks on diglossia in Arabic: well-defined vs. Ill-defined. Linguistics.81. Berlin. de Gruyter Mouton. 32-48.
- Kloss, H. (1966). Types of multilinguistic communities: a discussion of ten variables. *Sociological Inquiry*, 47. (Spring 66). 135-147.
- Labov, W. (1963) "the social Motivation of a sound change". Word, 19:225-309.
- Laib, M. (1993) L'anglais en 4e annee. La langue alibi (English in the 4th year. An alibi language). El Watan (27 May), 7.
- LAKOFF, Robin Tolmach (1979). "Stylistic strategies within a grammar of style. Language, sex and gender". In ORASANU et al. (eds.) (1979). 53-78.
- Lambert, W.E. (1967). A Social Psychology of Bilingualism. Journal of Social Issues, 23: 91-109. In Pride and Holmes (1972: 336-49).
- Lang, P. (2004). *Shifting Frontiers of France and Francophonie.* ISBN 3-906768-31-7. Yvette Rocheron & Christopher Rolfe (eds).

- Loureiro, R, V. et al. (2012). Language attitudes in Galicia: using the matched-guise test among high school students, 7.
- Lyons, J. (1981). *Language and Linguistics*: An Introduction. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Maamouri, M. (1998). Language Education and Human Development: Arabic Diglossia and its Impact on the Quality of Education in the Arab Region, International Literacy Institute ILI.
- Maamouri, Mohamed. 1999. "Literacy in the Arab Region: An Overview". *International Literacy Handbook.*
- Macauley, R. (1993). *The Social Art, Languages and Its Uses.* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacKinnon, K. (1984). Power at the periphery: The language dimension and the case of Gaelic Scotland. *Journal of Multicultural and Multilingual Development,* 5(6), 491-510.
- Mahmoud, Y. (1986). "Arabic after Diglossia". Ferguson, C, Fishman, J.A. Fergusonian Impact: In Honor of Charles A. Ferguson. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Malmkjaer, K, Anderson, J, M, (1995). *The Linguistic Encyclopedia*. Routledge: Routledge Publications.
- McFerren, M. (1984) *Arabization in the Maghreb.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Mcloughlin, (1999).*Colloquial Arabic*. (ed.).Jonathan Ownes.Mouton de Gruytere.New York.
- Marçais, Philippe. 1960a. "'Arabiyya (Western dialects)". Encyclopaedia of Islam l, 578-583. 2nd ed. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- MEISELES, Gustav (1980). *Educated spoken Arabic and Arabic language continuum*. In Archivum linguisticum. XI. 2. 118-148.

- Miliani, M. (1986). 'Bilingualism in Algeria'. Revue des langues. Publication de l'institut des langues étrangères. Université d'Es-Senia. Oran. 6: 125- 132.
- Milroy, J (2007). The ideology of the standard language. *In Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics*, edited by Carmen Llamas, Louise Mullany, and Peter Stockwell. London: Routledge.
- Mitchell, T. F., 1986. 'What is educated spoken Arabic?' International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 16, 7-32.
- Mostari, H.A. (2005). The language Question in the Arab World: Evidence from Algeria. Journal of Language and Learning. Vol. 3. N° .1 ISSN 1740- 49.
- Mufwene, S. 2013. "Globalization, Global English, and World English (es): Myths and Facts." In The Handbook of Language and Globalization, edited by N. Coupland, 31–55. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Mullany, Louise, and Stockwell, Peter (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics*, pp. 133-139. London: Routledge.
- Muller, N. and Ball, M. J. (2005). 'Code Switching and Diglossia'. In Ball, M.J. 49-62.
- Myers Scotton, (1986). « Diglossia and Codeswitching ». *In the Fergusonian impact,* Vol 2, Joshua. A. In Fishman et al. (eds.), 403-15. Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993a). *Social Motivation for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993b). *Delling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Code-switching.* Oxford. Oxford University Press.
- Nahir, M. (1984). Language planning goals: A classification. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, *Volume 8*.
- Nuri, R. Ageli (2013).A Bird's Eye View of the Diglossic Situation in Arabic. Semat. Vol 1. No 2, 338-346.

- NUNAN, D. (1992). Research Methods in Language Learning. Cambridge: CUP.
- Ochieng, P, Atieno (2009). AN ANALYSIS OF THE STRENGTHS AND LIMITATION OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH PARADIGMS. Vol13. 17.
- Owens, J. (2001), 'Arabic sociolinguistics', Arabica 48: 419-469.
- Palmer, J. (2008). Arabic Diglossia: Student Perceptions of Spoken Arabic after Living in the Arabic-Speaking World. Arizona Working Papers in SLA & Teaching, 15, 81-95. Retrieved from http://slat.arizona.edu/
- Parkinson, Dilworth B. 1991. Searching for Modern fusha: real-lifeformal Arabic. In Al-carabiyya. 24, 31-64.
- Parkinson, D.B. (1991a). 'Searching for Modern Fusha: Real- Life Formal Arabic'. Al-Arabiyya 24: 31-64.
- Parkinson, D.B. (1991b). Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics: Papers from the fifth annual symposium on Arabic linguistics. Amsterdam: Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Paulston, C. B. and R. G. Tucker (eds) (2003), *Sociolinguistics:* The essential readings, Oxford: Black well.
- Pinnock, H (2009). Language and Education: The Missing Link. CfBT and Save the Children Alliance copyright.
- Platt, J. (1977), « A Model for Polyglossia and Multilingualism ». In Language and Society 6.3: Language and Society 6.3: 61-78.
- Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English *y termino en Espagnol*". *Linguistics* 18, 581-618, reprinted in Li, W. (2000). 221- 256.
- Pride, J.B. and Holmes, J. (1972) (eds). Sociolinguistics. Harmondsworth, Penguin.

- Queffélec, A, Deraadji, Y, Debov, V, Smaali, D, and Cherrad- Benhefra, Y (2002).*Le Français en Algérie : Lexique et dynamique des Langues*. Collection Champs Linguistiques. France.
- Romaine, S. (1994). *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford University Press. United Kingdom.
- Romaine, S. (1995) *Bilingualism,* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ryding, K.C. (1991). Proficiency despite diglossia: A new approach for Arabic. *The Modern Language Journal, 75* (2), 212-218. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.1991.tb05352.x.
- Ryding, K.C. (2005). *A Reference Grammar of Modern Standard Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ryding, K. C. (2014). Arabic: A Linguistic Introduction. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Sapir, E. (1949). *Selected writings of Edward Sapir: in language, culture and personality***.** Barkley.
- Saeigh-Haddad, E. (2003). Linguistic Distance and Initial Reading Acquisition: The Case of Arabic Diglossia. Bar Ilan University.
- Saeigh-Haddad, E. (2007). Linguistic constraints on children's ability to isolate phonemes in Arabic. Cambridge University Press 0142-7164/07.
- Saeigh-Haddad, E. (2012). LITERACY REFLEXES OF ARABIC DIGLOSSIA. Chapter4. English Linguistics Department, Bar-Ilan University, Israel.
- Saville-Troike, M (1978) *A guide to culture in the classroom* Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

- Saville-Troike, M (1978) *A guide to culture in the classroom* Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

- Seliger, H. & Shohamy, E. (1989). *Second Language Research Methods. Oxford*: OUP.
- Serir, M.I. (2011-2012). Lectures on Dialectology: Some Ideas and Reflections. Dar El ADIB.
- Siegel, Jeff (1985). "Koinés and koinéization." *Language in Society*. 14:3, 357-378.
- Schensul, Stephen L., Schensul, Jean J., & LeCompte, Margaret D. (1999). *Essential ethnographic methods: observations, interviews, and questionnaires* (Book 2 in Ethnographer's Toolkit). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Schiffman, H. F., (1996). *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*. Routledge; London & New York.
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy - Hidden agendas and new approaches.* Abingdon: Routledge.
- Shuy, R. W. (2003 [1990]), 'A brief history of American sociolinguistics', in C. B. Paulston and R. G. Tucker (eds), Sociolinguistics: The essential readings, Oxford: Black well, 4-16.
- Soares, Magda Becker. (1992). Literacy assessment and its implications for statistical measurement. UNESCO, Current surveys and research in statistics, SCR-E-62.
- Spolsky, B. (1998). *Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language Policy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stevens, P., 2006. Is Spanish Really So Easy? IS Arabic Really So Hard?: Perceived Difficulty in Learning Arabic as a Second Language. In Wahba, K. et al. (eds) *Handbook for Arabic Language Teaching Professionals in the 21st Century.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Suleiman, Y. (2003). *The Arabic language and national identity*. Washington, DC: Georogetown University Press.

- Tabory, E. and Tabory, M. (1987) Berber unrest in Algeria: Lessons for language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 63, 63-79.
- Taha. A., & Liz England (Eds.), *Handbook for Arabic language teaching professionals* (pp. 389-399). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- TAINE-CHEIKH, Catherine (2002). "De la variation linguistique dans le prêche populaire mauritanien". In ROUCHDY (2002). 177-202.
- Taleb-Ibrahimi, K. (1993). A propos de l'école Algérienne de Ibn Badis à Pavlov, de M. Boudalia-Greffou, Réflexions sur les pratiques didactiques de l'enseignement de la langue arabe dans le système éducatif algérien. NAQD, 5: Culture et Système Educatif. 65-73.
- Taleb Ibrahimi, K. (1997). "*Les Algériens et Leur (s) Langue(s)"*. Algiers, Algeria: El-Hikma editions.
- Taleb-Ibrahimi (2000) in Remaoun Hassan. L'Algérie Histoire, Culture et Société, Casbah édition, 2000.
- Trask, R, L. (1999). *Key Concepts in Language and Linguistics*. Routledge. Routledge Publications.
- Trudgill, P, (1995). Sociolinguistics: *An Introduction to Language and Society*. Revised Edition. London: Penguin.
- Turin Yvronne ―Affrontements culturels dans l'Algérie Coloniale _Ecole, Médecines, Religion' 1830-1880‖, Edition ENAL, Alger, 1983, 320.
- UNESCO (1953). *The Use of the Vernacular Languages in Education*. Monographs on 87 Foundations of Education, No. 8. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2008c), *Mother Tongue Matters*: *Local Language as a Key to Effective Learning*, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2005). Quantitative research methods in educational planning. Series editor: Kenneth N.Ross.

- UNICEF (2014). *SUMMARY ALGERIA COUNTRY REPORT ON OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN*.MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN INITIATIVE.
- Wahba, K., 2006. 'Arabic Language Use and the Educated Language User.' In Wahba, K. et al. (eds) *Handbook for Arabic Language Teaching Professionals in the 21st Century*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Wardhaugh, R. (1992) (2nd ed.). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Blackwell.
- Wardhaugh, R. (2000). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (3rd ed.). Beijing.
- Wardhaugh, R. (2006). (5th edition). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. UK: Blackwell. Language Teaching and Research Press /Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Wilmsen, D., 2006. 'What is Communicative Arabic?' In Wahba, K. et al. (eds) *Handbook for Arabic Language Teaching Professionals in the 21st Century*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Wright, S. (2016). LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING. From Nationalism TO Globalisation. (2nd edition). University of Portsmouth, UK. PALGRAVE MACMILAN.
- Younes, M., 2006. Integrating the Colloquial with Fusha in the Arabic-as-a-Foreign language Classroom. In Wahba, K. et al. (eds) *Handbook for Arabic Language Teaching Professionals in the 21st Century*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Zughoul, M.R. (1980). Diglossia in Arabic: Investigating Solutions. Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. N° 5.

Arabic References

-عبدالمنعم عبد العال(1961) . "لهجة شمال المغرب تطوان وما حولها" دارالكتاب العربي للطباعة والنشر، القاهرة، مصر، 432.

Abdel Muniim abdelal. (1961). Lahjat shamal almaghrib Titwan wa ma hawlaha. Dar alkitab alarabi littibaa wa nashr. Cairo. p 432.

-س٠م٠بدوي٠ (1973). مستويات العربية المعاصرة في مصر٠ القاهرة ـ دارالمعرفة.

Badawi, S.M. (1973). Mustawayat al-aarabya almuaasirah fi Misr. Cairo: Dar almaarifa.

-ز٠دندان (2013). اللغة العربية، إشكال الإزدواجية والتعليم الرسمي. ملتقى دولي بدبي، ماي 2013 اللغة العربية في خطر: الجميع شركاء في حمايتها.

Dendane, Z. (2013). Allugha Alaarabya: Ishkal al-izdiwajia wa attaalim arrasmi. https://www.academia.edu/3785806/The_Arabic_Language_the_issue_of_Diglossia_and_formal_education

-ع.دنان. (2010). نظرية تعليم اللغة العربية الفصحى بالفطرة والممارسة ـ موجزها وانتشارها وكيفية تطبيقها. دار البشائر/سورية.

Dennane, A. (2010). Nadaryat taalim allugha Al-aarabya Alfus-ha bi-alfitrah wa almumarassah: Mujazuha wa intisharuha wa kayfiyat tatbiquiha. Syria. Dar Albashair.

Webography

- Hammersley, M. and Gomm, R. (1997). Bias in Social research. In Sociological Research Online, Vol. 2, No.1. www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/2/1/2.htm [accessed to on November, 5th, 2016]
- Horn, C. (2015). Diglossia in the Arab World. *Open Journal of Modern Linguistics, 5,* 100-104. http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ojml.2015.51009
- Le Soir d'Algérie http://www.lesoirdalgerie.com/articles/2014/05/28/article.php?sid=164057&cid=2: [accessed to on September, 24th, 2016].
- UNDP, (2003). *Arab Human Development Report 2003*. Arab Human Development Report. Amman: UNDP. Retrieved from http://www.arab-hdr.org/

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire1: Pupils' Questionnaire (original version)

الجنس: ذكر ☐ أنثى ☐

مستوى الدراسة :

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

1. ما هي اللغة المستعملة في المنزل؟

الدارجة ☐ الفصحى ☐ كلاهما ☐

2. ما هي اللغة المستعملة في القسم؟

الفصحى ☐ الدارجة ☐ كلاهما ☐

3.هل يشجعانك والديك على التكلم بالغة العربية الفصحى في المنزل؟

غالبا ☐ أحيانا ☐ نادرا ☐ أبدا ☐

4- الى أي مدى تحسن (ين) استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى داخل القسم؟

غالبا ☐ أحيانا ☐ نادرا ☐ أبدا ☐

5- ما هي اللغة التي تظن أنها موافقة لمجال التعليم؟

العربية الفصحى ☐ الدارجة ☐ كلاهما ☐

6- بأي لغة تفهم(ين) أحسن عندما تتلقى (ين) دروسك؟

العربية الفصحى ☐ الدارجة ☐ كلاهما ☐

7-هل تعلم اللغة العربية الفصحى تعد بمهمة سهلة؟

نعم ☐ لا ☐ إلى حد ما ☐

شكرا على تعاونكم

Questionnaire 2: Teachers' Questionnaire (original version)

نرجومنكم الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة في مجال بحث علمي وهذا بوضع علامة (x) أمام الإجابة الصحيحة أوأخرى إذا تطلب الأمر:

الجنس:

ذكر ☐ أنثى ☐

-ماهي مدة تدريسك للغة العربية الفصحى؟

-العامل البيداغوجي:

1- ما هي اللغة المستعملة أثناء عملية التدريس؟

اللغة العربية الفصحى ☐ الدارجة ☐ كلاهما ☐

2- إلى أي مدى تستعملون الدارجة أثناء الدرس؟

غالبا ☐ عدة مرات ☐ أحيانا ☐ نادرا ☐ أبدا ☐

3- هل تشجعون تلاميذكم باستعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى أثناء الدرس؟

دائما ☐ غالبا ☐ أحيانا ☐ نادرا ☐ أبدا ☐

4- هل تسمحون لتلاميذكم باستعمال الدارجة أثناء الدرس؟

دائما ☐ غالبا ☐ أحيانا ☐ نادرا ☐ أبدا ☐

5- هل يعد استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى لوحدها أثناء الدرس بمهمة صعبة؟

نعم ☐ لا ☐ إلى حد ما ☐

6- هل تظنون أن استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى أثناء عملية التدريس شيء غير طبيعي؟

نعم ☐ لا ☐ إلى حد ما ☐

7-هل تشعرون أن استعمال الدارجة أثناءالدرس يُحسّن استيعابَ التلاميذ ؟

نعم ☐ لا ☐ إلى حد ما ☐

العامل النفسي

1-ماهي اللغة التي تفضلون استعمالها أثناءالدرس؟

الفصحى ☐ الدارجة ☐ كلاهما ☐

2-ماهي اللغة التي تظنونها أجمل؟

الفصحى ☐ الدارجة ☐

3-ماهي اللغة التي تظنونها مناسبة أكثرلعملية التعليم والتدريس؟

الفصحى ☐ الدارجة ☐

4-ماهورد فعلكم لما يتعامل التلاميذ معكم باللغة العربية الفصحى؟

……
……
……..

5-ماهورد فعلكم لما يتعامل التلاميذ معكم بالدارجة؟

……
……
……..

شكرا على تعاونكم

APPENDIX B

Interviews

Interview 1: Pupils' Interview (original version)

الجنس: ذكر ☐ أنثى ☐

مستوى الدراسة :

نرجومنكم الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة في مجال بحث علمي:

1- هل تواجه (ين) أي مشاكل لفهم دروس اللغة العربية الفصحى؟ لماذا؟

……
……
……
……

2- هل تتعرض (ين) لأي استعمال للغة العربية الفصحى خارج المدرسة ؟ كيف؟

……
……
……
……

3- هل التكلم باللغة العربية الفصحى مع المعلمين مهمة سهلة بالنسبة إليك ؟ لماذا؟

……
……
……
……

4- ما هي الأسباب التي ترجع لهذه الإعاقة اللغوية؟

……
……
……
……

5- أذكر(ي) بعض المشاكل اللغوية التي تواجهها أثناء الدرس؟

……
……
……
……

شكراعلى تعاونكم

Interview 2: Teachers' Interview (original version)

نرجومنكم الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة في مجال بحث علمي:

1- كيف تعرضون التلاميذ لحقيقة الازدواجية اللغوية: اللغة العربية الفصحى والدارجة ؟

……
……
……
……
……

2- هل يستعمل التلاميذ اللغة العربية الفصحى فقط أثناء الدرس؟ لماذا؟

……
……
……
……
……

3- هل تلاميذكم يواجهون بعض الصعوبات عند استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى أثناء الدرس ؟ وإذا كان الأمر كذلك، ما هي أنواع الصعوبات اللغوية التي يواجهونها؟

……
……
……
……
……

4- ما هي الأسباب التي ترجع للخلل اللغوي عند التلاميذ؟

……
……
……
……
……

5- ما هي الحلول التي تقترحونها لمنع استعمال الدارجة أثناء الدرس؟

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

6- هل البرنامج يساعد على تطوير الرصيد اللغوي للتلاميذ ؟ لماذا؟

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

7- هل تضعون اللوم على تلاميذكم عند استماعكم للأخطاء اللغوية ؟ لماذا؟

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

8- كيف تساعدون تلاميذكم على تطوير رصيدهم اللغوي؟

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

9- لقد تكلمت أخيرا وزيرة التربية عن إصلاح جديد داخل المدرسة الابتدائية والذي يتمثل في إدخال الدارجة في تدريس الأقسام التالية: التحضيري، السنة الأولى والثانية ابتدائي. ما هو رد فعلكم تجاه هذا الاقتراح الجديد؟

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

10- ماهي الإجراءات السياسية التي يجب اتخاذها من طرفا لدولة من أجل حل مشكلة الازدواجية اللغوية؟ لماذا؟

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

شكراعلى تعاونكم

Interview 3: Inspectors' Interview (original version)

بغرض القيام ببحثٍ علميّ، نرجومنكم الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة:

1-هل لديكم فكرة عن معنى الازدواجيةا للغوية لمانتكلم عن اللغة العربية الفصحى؟ كيف ذلك؟

……
……
……
……

2-هل تظنون بأن الازدواجيةا للغوية مشكلة في حد ذاتها في مجال التعليم؟ لماذا؟

……
……
……
……

3-على من تضعون اللوم عندما تلاحظون أن التلاميذ يظهرون بعض الخلل عند استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى؟

……
……
……
……

4-ماهو رد فعلكم إذا لاحظتم أن أساتذة اللغة العربية يستعملون الدارجة أثناء الدرس؟

……
……
……
……

-5هل تجبرون الأساتذة على استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى فقط أثناء الدرس؟ لماذا؟

……
……
……
……

6-ماهي الإجراءات السياسية التي يجب اتخاذها من طرف الدولة من أجل حل مشكلة الازدواجية اللغوية؟ لماذا؟

……
……
……
……

شكراعلى تعاونكم

APPENDIX C

Attitudes

The matched-guise technique (original version)

املأ في الأسئلة المقدمة إليك بعد استماعك لهته المقاطع منقصة'جميلة والوحش' :

التلميذ 1: تقدم المقاطع الثلاث من طرف التلميذ الأول باللغة العربية الفصحى.

المقطع 1: كان هناك قديما رجل غني جدا له ست أطفال، ثلاث أولاد وثلاثة بنات. كانت بناته جميلات حقا، ولا سيما بنته الصغيرة. عندما كانت صبية، أعجب جميع الناس بجمالها ولقبوها بجميلة الصغيرة، حتى لما أصبحت فتاة كبيرة، فإنها لا زالت تلقب كذلك، الأمر الذي جعل أخواتها شديدة الغيرة منها.

المقطع :2 ذهب الرجل للبحث عن فرسه و لما اجتازشجرة من الأزهار، تذكر مطلب جميلة فجمع غصنا مليئا بها و مباشرة بعد ذلك، سمع صوتا بليغا ثم أدرك حيوانا مرهبا قادما نحوه و كاد يغمى عليه.

المقطع3: قال الوحش: "أنا إسمي ليس 'سيدي' و لكن 'حيوان'، أنا لا أحب المجاملات. لكن قلت بأن لديك بنات. سأسامحك ولكن بشرط أن واحدة منهن تأتي طوعا وتتعذب من أجلك، ثم أقسم بأن لو بنتك ترفض الموت، سوف تعود من خلال ثلاثة أشهر".

التلميذ 2: تقدم المقاطع الثلاث من طرف التلميذ الثاني بالدارجة.

المقطع 1:

هدي شحال كان حالراجل مرفه بزاف وكان عند ست نتع درارتلت ولاد وتلت بنات، لبنات كانو شابات بزاف surtoutصغيور، فصغره كامل ناس كانو مخلوعين فزينهاوسماوها جميل الصغيور حت لادي كبرت وهومان عاد يعيطوله بهاد الأسم اشي لي رد خواتاتها يغيرو منها.

المقطع2:

مش الراجل يفتش عل العود ديال، وكي فات عل ح شجرنتع لورد، تفكر آسم جميل سأسات إي جمع حلفرع من هداك الورد م تم تم سمع حلهاراج أوي وشاف حلبميم تخوف ماجي من جهت و كان مش يتغاشا.

المقطع3: أل لغول: أنا مكسمنيش سيدي أنا منحبش ال يطلع بي، بصح ألت بدي عندك لبنات دأ نسمحلك بصح condition àإيل وحد منهم جي بسيف وتتأدب عل خاطرك و زيد حلف إيلا بنتك ما أبلتش باش تموت عل خاطرك، توليلي من تلت شهور.

أجب على الأسئلة التالية من فضلك:

1-من هو الألطف؟

التلميذ 1☐التلميذ2 ☐ لا أعرف☐

2-ما رأيك في سلوك التلميذين إذا كانا زميليك في القسم؟

التلميذ 1

ذكي☐ غبي☐

جذاب☐ غير جذاب☐

ودي☐ فظ☐

التلميذ 2

ذكي☐ غبي☐

جذاب☐ غير جذاب☐

ودي☐ فظ☐

3-لغة المتكلم هي...

الصنف الأول:

مناسبة☐ غير مناسبة☐

جميلة ☐ عادية ☐

صحيحة☐ خاطئة☐

الصنف الثاني:

مناسبة☐ غير مناسبة☐

جميلة ☐ عادية ☐

صحيحة☐ خاطئة☐

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire to pupils (translated version)

Dear Pupils,

You are kindly invited to participate in this research work by completing the following questionnaire:

Gender:

Male ☐ Female ☐

Grade:

1- Whichvariety of Arabic do you use outside class?

-AA ☐ - MSA ☐ -Both ☐

2- Which variety of Arabic do you use in class?

-MSA ☐ -AA ☐ -Both ☐

3- Do your parents encourage you to talk in MSA at home?

Always ☐ -Often ☐ -Sometimes ☐ -Rarely ☐ -Never ☐

4- How well do you express yourself in MSA inside class?

-Very well ☐ -Quite well ☐ -A little bit ☐ - bad ☐ - Not at all ☐

5- Which variety do you consider more appropriate for the learning process?

-MSA ☐ -AA ☐ -Both ☐

6- In which variety do you understand Arabic lessons better?

-MSA ☐ -AA ☐ -Both ☐

7- Is it easy to learn MSA?

Yes ☐ No ☐ A little ☐

Thank you very much

Questionnaire to teachers (translated version)

Dear Teachers,
This questionnaire is part of a research work carried out in some Algerian primary schools. It presents an investigation of the impact of Arabic diglossia on the educational system. It would be of great help if you could take some of your time to answer this questionnaire. Please put a tick for the appropriate answer.

-Gender:

☐ Male ☐ Female

-How long have you been teaching Arabic?

-The educational factor:

1- Which variety of Arabic do you use in your teaching process?

MSA ☐ AA ☐ Both ☐

2- How often do you use AA in your teaching process?

Very often ☐ Quite often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Rarely ☐ Never ☐

3- Do you encourage your pupils to interact and communicate in MSA?

Always ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Rarely ☐ Never ☐

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

Always ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Rarely ☐ Never ☐

5- Is it difficult for you to use MSA only when explaining the lessons?

Yes ☐ No ☐ A little ☐

6- Do you feel artificiality when you only use MSA in your teaching process?

Yes ☐ No ☐ A little ☐

7- Do you feel that the use of AA in the teaching process enhances pupils' assimilation?

Yes ☐ No ☐ A little ☐

-The psychological factor: Teachers' attitudes

1- In which variety of Arabic do you prefer explaining your lessons?

MSA ☐ AA ☐ MSA/AA ☐

2- Which variety do you think is more beautiful?

MSA ☐ AA ☐ MSA/AA ☐

3- Which variety do you think is more appropriate in the teaching/ learning process?

MSA ☐ AA ☐ MSA/AA ☐

4- What is your reaction when pupils interact with you in MSA?

……
……
…….

5- What is your reaction when pupils interact with you in AA?

……
……
……

Thank you for your cooperation

APPENDIX B

Interviews

Interview 1: Pupils' Interview (translated version)

Dear Pupils,

You are kindly invited to participate in this research work by providing an answer to these questions:

Gender:

Male ☐ Female ☐

Grade:

1- Do you face any difficulties in understanding Arabic lessons? Why?

……
……
……

2- Do you have any exposure to MSA outside the school environment? If yes, how?

……
……

3- Do you find it easy to interact with your teachers in MSA? Why?

……
……
……

4- What reasons stand behind this linguistic handicap?

……
……

5- Cite some of the language difficulties you face when interacting with your teachers.

……
……
……

Thank you for your collaboration

Interview 2: Teachers' Interview (translated version)

Dear Teachers,
This interview is part of a study carried out in some Algerian primary schools. It presents an investigation of the impact of Arabic diglossia on the educational system. It would be of great aid if you could take some of your time to answer these questions by providing full statements.

1- How do you introduce your pupils to this reality of the co-existence of two varieties of Arabic? Al-fusha and al-daridja? (Standard and colloquial)

……
……

2- Do pupils use MSA only in classroom interaction? Why?

……
……

3- Do your pupils encounter some difficulties when using MSA in classroom interaction? If it is the case, what kind of language difficulties do they encounter?

……
……

4- What reasons stand behind their linguistic deficiency?

……
……

5- What solutions do you suggest to avoid the use of AA in classroom interaction from the part of your pupils?

……
……

6- Does the curriculum contribute in promoting the learners' language skills? Why?

……
……

7- Do you blame your pupils when hearing verbal errors? Why?

……
……

8- What do you do to help in developing your pupils' linguistic skills?

……
……

9- Recently, the minister of education has spoken about a new reform, the introduction of dialect use in primary school for the following grades: pre-school, the first and second grades. How would you react to this reform?

……
……
……

10- Which political measures may be undertaken as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia? Why?

……
……

Interview3: Inspectors' Interview (translated version)

Dear Inspectors,

This interview is part of a study carried out in some Algerian primary schools. This study presents an investigation of the impact of Arabic diglossia on the educational system. It would be of great aid if you could take some of your time to answer these questions by providing full statements.

1- Do you have an idea about the meaning of diglossia in Arabic? How?

.....
.....

2- Do you consider Arabic diglossia as a problem in itself when dealing with the educational sector? Why?

.....
.....

3- Whom do you blame when you notice that pupils in various grades show a kind of deficiency in MSA use?

.....
.....

4- How would you react if you noticed that teachers at primary level use AA when presenting the lessons?

……
…….

5- Do you force teachers to use MSA only in classroom interaction? Why?

……
……
……
…….

6- Which measures may or must be undertaken by Algerian decision-makers as a remedy to the issue of Arabic diglossia? Why?

……
……
……

Thank you for your collaboration

APPENDIX C Attitudes

The matched-guise technique (translated version)

Dear pupils,

Listen to these tape-recorded passages from the 'Beauty and the Beast' story performed by two distinct pupils from distinct grades, then fill in the questionnaire:

Pupil1:

Passage1: There was once a very rich merchant who had six children, three sons and three daughters. His daughters were extremely beautiful, especially the youngest. When she was little, everybody admired her and called her "The little Beauty" so that, as she grew up, she still went by the name of Beauty, a fact that made her sisters very jealous.

Passage2: The man went to look for his horse but when passing through an arbor of roses, he remembered Beauty's request to him and gathered a branch on which were several. Immediately, he heard a great noise and saw such a frightful Beast coming towards him that he was ready to faint away.

Passage3: "My name is not My Lord", replied the monster, but "Beast". I do not love compliments, not I, but you say you have daughters. I will forgive you on condition that one of them comes willingly, and swears that if your daughter refuses to die in your stead, you will return within three months. (In MSA).

Pupil2:

Passage1: There was once a very rich merchant, who had six children, three sons, and three daughters. His daughters were extremely beautiful, especially the youngest. When she was little, everybody admired her and called her "The little Beauty" so that as she grew up, she still went by the name of Beauty, a fact that made her sisters very jealous.

Passage2: The man went to look for his horse, but when passing through an arbor of roses, he remembered Beauty's request to him and gathered a branch on which were several. Immediately, he heard a great noise and saw such a frightful Beast coming towards him that he was ready to faint away.

Passage3: "My name is not My Lord", replied the monster, but "Beast". I do not love compliments, not I, but you say you have daughters. I will forgive you, on condition that one of them comes willingly and swears that if your daughter refuses to die in your stead, you will return within three months. (In AA).

Please, provide an answer to the questions below by putting a tick in front of the right answer or the right selected adjective.

1- Who is more pleasant?

Pupil1 ☐ pupil2 ☐ I do not know ☐

2- How would you judge these pupils in case they were your classmates?

Variety1 (pupil1) G1:

clever ☐ less clever ☐

attractive ☐ non-attractive ☐

friendly ☐ unfriendly ☐

Variety2 (pupil2) G2:

clever ☐ less clever ☐

attractive ☐ non-attractive ☐

friendly ☐ unfriendly ☐

3- How do you find the speaker's variety?

Variety 1:

appropriate ☐ inappropriate ☐

beautiful ☐ ordinary ☐

correct ☐ incorrect ☐

Variety 2:

appropriate ☐ inappropriate ☐

beautiful ☐ ordinary ☐

correct ☐ incorrect ☐

Thank you for your collaboration

APPENDIX 4 Classroom Observation Results

-Example3: Third grade pupils (Mezwar Didouche PS- Oran)

Consider the following conversation in which the teacher asked the pupils to remind her about the story of 'the wind and the sun'.

Teacher: manal ərwaħi llehna waħkina lqiṣa nteʔ əssəmʃ wərri:ħ
(Manal, come here and tell us the story about the sun and the wind.)

Pupil1: əssəmʃ kanət tətkəlləm mʕa rriħ wma qaddəʒʃ təɣləb ərriħ
(The sun talked to the wind and it was unable to fight it.)

Teacher: lima:ða: (Why?)

Pupil2: liʔanna ssəmʃ ʔaʕtat linnasi ʔassaχa:nata wa rriħ aʕtathum lberd
(Because the sun gave heat to people and the wind gave them cold.)

Teacher: baʃ tamtaz əʃʃams wa bima:ða: tamtaz ərriħ
(What characterizes the sun and what characterizes the wind?)

Pupil3: əsemʃ hija lhuduʔ wərriħ lquwa
(The sun symbolizes silence and the wind is symbol of force.)

Teacher: aħsant ja muħammed ərʒaʕ lmakanək bəssaħ la:zəm tgul əʃʃams wa lajsa əssemʃ (Very good Mohammed, return to your place.)

Example4: Fourth grade pupils (Mezwar Didouche PS-Oran)
Consider the following interaction between the teacher and pupils in which he asked them to form correct sentences with the words he proposed.

Teacher: ma: maʕna ʕalima
(What is the meaning of ‘he knew’?)

Pupil1: maʕnaha ʕarəf
(It means ‘he knew) in AA.

Teacher: ʔalʔa:n nətləb menkum baʃ tkuwwnu ʒumal mufi:da bhad əlfiʕl
(Now, I am asking you to form correct sentences with this verb.)

Pupil2 : ʕalimtu anni: rabiħtu filʔimtiħa:ni
(I knew that I won (AA) in the exam.)

Teacher: manquluʃ rabiħtu nqulu naʒaħtu
(We do not say ‘I won, we say ‘I succeeded.)

Pupil 3: ʕalimat ʔummi
(My mother knew.)

Teacher: hadi ʒumla na:qsa
(This is an incomplete sentence.)

Pupil3: bɣit ngul bəlli rani fsiber bssaħ maʕərəfʃ bəlluɣa
(I wanted to say that I am in the cyber, but I did not know how to say it in MSA.)

Teacher: lʔa:n kuwnu ʒumla bi ʔahdat
(Now construct a sentence with (she offered’.)

Pupil1: ʔahdat ʔummi liʔuχti silsilatan
(My mother offered a necklace (in AA) to my sister).
Teacher:χataʔ ngulu qiladatan ʔaw ʕiqdan

(False, we say a necklace in MSA.)

Pupil2: ʔaʕtatli ʔummi ħadijjatan

(My mother offered me a present.)

Teacher: χataʔ tləbt mənkum ʒumla bfiʕl maʃi bʔism lʔa:n ʒumla bjaʃtaħiru

(False, I have asked you to construct a sentence with a verb and not with a noun. Now try to form a sentence with the expression 'be famous for'.)

Pupil 1: ʔattilmi:ðu jaʃtaħiru fi ddirasati

(The pupil is famous in his studies.)

Teacher: ma:ħaða ja walid beddeltna gaʕ lmaʕna.

(What is that? You have completely changed the meaning!)

Pupil2:ʔalmuʕallimu maʃħu:run

(The teacher is famous.)

Teacher: wa lakin ħa:da χabar maʃi fiʕl fil muda:riʕ

(But this is a predicate, not a verb in the present tense.)

-Example5: Fifth grade pupils (Ibn-Msaib PS- Tlemcen)

Here, the teacher asked the pupils to speak about the aspects of spring season.

Teacher: ma: hija maða:ħi:r faʂl arrabi:ʕ

(What are the aspects of spring?)

Pupil1: wasəm naħkiw

(What shall we mention?)

Teacher: maða nara fi rrabiʕ tkəllmu ʕla ttabiʕa

(What do we see in spring? Speak about nature.)

Pupil 2: kiʃ jqulu taχda:r bəlluɣa

(How do we say ‘it becomes green) in MSA.

Teacher: taχdarru malək

(It becomes green, what is the matter with you?) in MSA.

Pupil3: muʕalima ʕandi bəzzaf ntaʔ les idées bəʂʂaħ bʂddariʒa

(Miss, I have many ideas, but in AA.)

Teacher: ʔuktubu fiqra flbayt wqulu lilʔaħl ntaʕkum jsaʕdukum lʔan ʕindana dars firijadia:t liʔanna lwaqt majakfinaʃ baʃ nukmil əddars

(Try to write a paragraph at home and ask your parents and peers to help you. Now, we have a mathematics lesson because there is a lack of time.)

Example six: Third grade pupils (Tebboune Souad PS- Mechria)

Teacher: man hija baʔiʕatu lkibri:ti

(Who is the little match girl?)

Pupil 1: hija bintun sayi:ratun

(She is a small girl.)

Teacher: wa ma:ða: ħadaθa laha:

(And what happens to her?)

Pupil 2: laqad ma:tat min su:ʔi lħað

(She died unfortunately.)

Teacher: ʔuðkuru: baʕḍ ʔaħla:m lbint ʔaʂʂayi:ra

(Tell about some dreams of the little girl.)

Pupil 3: ʃaʕarat bilʔirtifa:ʕi maʕa ʔummiha: ʕa:lijan

(She felt high with her mother.)

Teacher: ʔaħsant, ʔalʔa:n taχajjalu: nihaja ʔuχra: linnaʂ

(Good, now imagine another end to the story.)

From Home to School: A Sociolinguistic Study of Arabic Diglossia and its Effects on Formal Instruction in the Algerian Education System

الملخص

إنّ الغرض الرئيسي من هذا العمل هو دراسة أثر الازدواجية اللغوية على تعليم اللغة العربية وتعلمها في بعض المدارس الابتدائية في الجزائر. أولا، يهدف هذا العمل إلى معرفة نوع اللغة المستعملة أثناء عملية التدريس٠ ثانيا، يطلع على الصعوبات اللغوية التي يتلقاها التلاميذ أثناء الدرس مع محاولة معرفة الأسباب التي تُسبّب ذلك وكذلك كشف أيّ تغيير يظهره التلاميذ في شعورهم حول صعوبة الفصحى خلال السنوات اللاحقة٠ وأخيرا، يحاول البحث تسليط الضوء على مواقف المعلمين والتلاميذ تجاه الفصحى والدارجة، كما أنه يقترح بعض الإجراءات التي يمكن اتخاذها كعلاج لمشكلة الازدواجية اللغوية في مجال التعليم. وبالتوازي مع ذلك، هناك أدلة واضحة على أن تدنّي المهارات اللغوية في الفصحى من طرف التلاميذ ينشأ من بعض العوامل مثل افتقار التعرض إلى الفصحى خارج المدرسة، الإهمال من قِبَل أوليائهم واللجوء المستمر إلى الدارجة أثناء عملية التدريس من طرف المعلمين.

الكلمات المفتاحية :ازدواجية اللغة العربية -العملية التعليمية -اللغة الفصحى/العامية -الصعوبات اللغوية -المواقف اللغوية.

Summary

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the impact of Arabic diglossia on the teaching/learning process in some primary schools scattered throughout the Algerian territory. First, it endeavours to explore the variety used in classroom interaction. Second, it attempts to examine the language difficulties encountered by pupils when interacting with their teachers and the reasons behind these difficulties. In addition, it explores whether there is a change in pupils' feelings as regards the difficulty of MSA at further school grades. Finally, it attempts to highlight the teachers' along with the pupils' attitudes towards the varieties at play, and suggests some measures that may be undertaken as a remedy for the problem of Arabic diglossia in education. In parallel with this, there is clear evidence that pupils' low linguistic achievement in MSA stems from different factors, such as lack of exposure to MSA outside the school setting, parents' neglect and teachers' constant recourse to the vernacular during the presentation of their lessons.

Key words: Arabic diglossia- Teaching/learning process- MSA/Vernacular- language difficulties- language attitudes.

Résumé

L'objectif de ce travail de recherche est d'explorer l'impact de la diglossie arabe sur le processus d'enseignement/apprentissage dans quelques écoles primaires dispersées à travers le territoire Algérien. Premièrement, cette étude tente d'explorer la variété arabe utilisée dans l'interaction en classe. Deuxièmement, elle tente d'examiner les difficultés linguistiques que les élèves rencontrent lors de l'interaction avec leurs instituteurs, ainsi que les raisons de ces difficultés, et si un changement a lieu au niveau de leurs impressions concernant la difficulté de la langue arabe dans des niveaux ultérieurs. Enfin, ce travail essaye d'explorer les attitudes des enseignants ainsi que ceux des élèves envers les deux variétés en jeu et de suggérer quelques mesures qui peuvent être prises comme remède au problème de la diglossie arabe en classe. En parallèle, il est clair que le niveau linguistique faible atteint par les élèves dans l'arabe standard est du à des facteurs différents, comme par exemple le manque d'exposition à l'arabe standard en dehors de l'école, la négligence des parents, ainsi que le recours constant à la langue vernaculaire de la part des enseignants durant la présentation de leurs leçons.

Mots-clés : Diglossie arabe - processus d'enseignement/apprentissage - Arabe standard/ langue vernaculaire- difficultés linguistiques- attitudes langagières.

Summary of the thesis

The principal aim of the present research is, to investigate the impact of Arabic diglossia on formal education, with special reference to the primary level in the Algerian school. It sheds light on the sociolinguistic phenomenon 'diglossia' and its impact on pupils' linguistic performance. The rationale of this study lies in scrutinizing the variety used in classroom interaction and determining the pupils' difficulties as regards MSA use when communicating with their teachers.

Recently, clear deficiencies seem to have been noted in pupils' linguistic skills in all Arab schools, particularly at primary level, since most of them have relatively little or no contact with the official language of instruction outside the school context. In the Algerian policy, Modern Standard Arabic has a high stance and function since it is the real language used in classroom settings while children acquire Algerian Arabic as a mother tongue. The pupils' educational dilemmas and the persistent feelings of linguistic insecurity are directly ascribed to diglossia.

This study focuses on the extent to which Arabic diglossia affects the teaching/learning process among pupils studying in several grades at primary level. It was conducted in six different primary schools situated in different parts of the Algerian state. In parallel, it indicates the impact of such phenomenon on pupils' linguistic skills in classroom interaction. Our reference to the term 'diglossia', in the present research work, may be restricted to cases in which H and L are considered as versions of the same language, but H is not the daily means of communication of anyone.

The objectives of the present study can be summarized as follows: First, it aims at exploring the form of Arabic used by Arabic course teachers when presenting the lessons. Second, it endeavours at investigating pupils' perceptions when they are first confronted to the standard form of Arabic in school, and whether there is an alteration in their perceptions at further school grades, that is, until the fifth grade. Third, it seeks to show the extent to which pupils use MSA in classroom interaction and to find out the main reasons that stand behind their linguistic deficiency. Fourth, it aims to detect pupils as well as teachers' attitudes towards both forms of Arabic that is, MSA and colloquial

Arabic. Finally, it aims at identifying some political suggestions that may be undertaken as a remedy to the problem of Arabic diglossia. It also hopes to get policy-makers to reflect on issues of diglossia in the Algerian education sector.

To achieve these objectives and attain answers to the research questions, a set of research tools were administered to the sample consisting of 24 teachers and 216 pupils who were selected from various primary schools in Algeria. The study has been based on questionnaires and interviews conducted with teachers, pupils and inspectors, in order to obtain relevant responses about the variety used in classroom interaction, and the reasons that stand behind pupils' low linguistic achievement when interacting with their teachers. In addition, pupils' perceptions concerning the easiness/ difficulty about learning MSA once they reach school, and whether there is a change in their feelings at further school grades have been explored. The matched-guise technique has also been used with the aim of eliciting the teachers as well as the pupils' attitudes towards the forms of Arabic at play. The data collected from the sample population have been analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively, and the results have been discussed accordingly.

Indeed, four principal chapters make up the construct of this research. Chapter one reviews some of the existing literature about some key-concepts upon which our study is based, namely: language and dialect, language planning, Arabic sociolinguistics and language attitudes. The first chapter focuses on the phenomenon of diglossia in Arabic and its relation to the field of education. It also provides a reflection on the status of MSA in the Arab world, in addition to a general overview on Arab pupils' exposure to the standard form of Arabic.

More importantly, this chapter endeavours to build a theoretical framework to guide the study in the processes of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Chapter two provides an overview on historical and current issues on the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria with the aim of showing the verbal repertoires present in the Algerian linguistic scene, in addition to the several sociolinguistic phenomena that characterize

the Algerian society, namely: diglossia, bilingualism and their inevitable outcomes, that is, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowings.

Chapter three is divided into two parts. The first part provides a general background of the Algerian educational system, the context of our study. It discusses the structure as well as the role of the Algerian education sector, and also provides a brief reflection on the different reforms the Algerian education system has gone through. The first part of the chapter also focuses on the Arabisation process, its impact on education and the reasons of its malfunction. It also gives an idea about the status of Arabic in the educational sphere, in addition to the impact of Arabic diglossia on the quality of education. This part ends with a brief discussion of some pedagogical problems such as curriculum weaknesses and overcrowded classes.

As to the second part, it is meant to present a reflective account of the research methodology underlying our study, starting first with a general presentation of the research objectives and motivations, in addition to some methodological concerns. It also presents a general description of the actual Arabic teaching/learning situation in primary school, and discusses the investigation context as well as the sample population participating in this study. The second part of this chapter explains the research methodology and the various research instruments are presented; their selection is also explained. Moreover, it elucidates the different procedures of data collection used to gather the most valid data which will be examined both quantitatively and qualitatively in the next chapter.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the empirical phase which aims at finding illuminative data to conduct the research. First, it presents the results obtained from our investigation and deals with their analysis and interpretation. The main research findings are explained by way of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Finally, the main findings are interpreted by making reference to our results and clarifying the degree of evidence of the gathered data.

Concerning the first hypothesis which states that teachers tend to use a mixture of MSA and Algerian Arabic believing that this strategy may facilitate comprehension

and pupils' smooth integration, the results unveiled the concrete diglossic situation of the Arabic classrooms in the Algerian primary schools. The results obtained revealed that the teachers use an intermediate form of Arabic (ESA) in their teaching strategies. Indeed, some experienced educationists consider that the use of a familiar language to teach facilitates understanding the lessons and may help in better knowledge acquisition.

With regard to our second hypothesis which stipulates that depending on the degree of exposure to MSA before school age, pupils will exhibit more or less linguistic insecurity in class and reluctance or eagerness in using the school language, and such feelings will develop in positive or negative ways depending, not only, on teaching strategies, but also on parents' encouragement towards the use of the standard language from the part of their children, interesting results were obtained. First, it should be noted that pupils from the lower grades, that is, from pre-school up to the second grade confirmed their permanent recourse to their dialects in classroom interaction and find it quite difficult to communicate in MSA mainly because they are not encouraged by their parents.

Another reason is that these pupils are not qualified enough to interact in MSA and they find it disassociated from the reality of the verbal expressions used in their daily communication. In fact, the recurring use of the vernacular makes pupils' tongues more familiar with the dialect than MSA. However, a remarkable change in their feelings about MSA at further school grades was noticed.

Most participants studying from the third grade until the fifth grade showed strong positive perceptions about MSA and that *Fusha* is not enough difficult to learn and understand in comparison with the previous years. Pupils exhibited considerable awareness about the importance of MSA in the learning process. This is clearly highlighted in their responses. This sudden positive feelings' improvement towards MSA mostly relates to their motivation and will of learning MSA. Nevertheless, their linguistic deficiency is associated with other factors such as parents' neglect, teachers' use of the vernacular inside the classroom, the syllabus weaknesses and so forth.

Regarding the third hypothesis which designates that some pupils use MSA when interacting with their teachers, but owing to the lack of exposure to the variety outside the school environment, most of them use AA in a spontaneous manner, a fact that leads to poor linguistic proficiency in MSA in classroom interaction, it has been noted that most pupils make strenuous efforts when using MSA in classroom interaction for various reasons, such as their linguistic deficiency in MSA,- especially at the lexical and pronunciation levels- their lack of exposure to the standard variety before formal schooling; in addition, MSA is not acquired naturally from birth (a 'learned' form) and its structure is inextricable.

The pupils' deficiency in MSA communicative skills is a result of the paucity use of this variety in classroom interaction and lack of exposure to MSA before formal education. Parents generally assume that children do not understand MSA and do not like being read to in this variety. Here, the importance of children's experience of language interaction in the home as well as in the school is paramount. The learners use the vernacular in classroom interaction because they are not proficient enough to communicate in MSA and, they find it cut off from the reality of spoken expressions used in daily life. The educational problems and the persistent feelings of linguistic insecurity are directly related to the diglossic nature of Arabic.

Another important finding relating to this study is that pupils who demonstrate higher proficiency in MSA use when interacting with their teachers are considered as the best pupils, i.e., those who perform better in MSA inside class. This may be interpreted that such proficiency relates to their consciousness about MSA significance in the learning process, in addition to the fact that their exposure towards the standard variety outside the school environment is considerably higher than those who show a kind of linguistic deficiency in classroom interaction.

Teachers as well as parents' awareness about children's frequent exposure to MSA, be it at home, or inside the classroom is of paramount significance in order to enhance their language skills years later. Teachers in particular have to suppress most

of their linguistic habits when presenting the lessons. Indeed, they should have less or no recourse to their dialects, which is considered as an impediment for the teaching/ learning process. This way, pupils will probably follow their exemplar and develop higher proficiency in MSA in classroom interaction.

In their responses about their attitudes towards MSA/AA, the pupils from first up to the fifth grade revealed their strong appreciation towards MSA and felt proud of it, due to its sacred status and relation to Classical Arabic, the language of the Holy Qur'an. This feeling emerges from the Arab society perspective to MSA and the conservative nature of the Algerian society in which they live.

In spite of this high value, the pupils from pre-school grade revealed less appreciation towards MSA and favoured AA instead. However, because of their small age, we cannot deduce that this particular category of learners show negative attitudes towards MSA because they do not find it beautiful, correct or expressive. Indeed, the reasons range from their perception that MSA is not easy to learn and that it is not their mother tongue, and from their fear of deficiency in MSA to their feeling with embarrassment and linguistic insecurity when using it. This lack of security comes from a general feeling of low understanding of MSA and of low identification of its norms.

Similarly, the teachers' responses reflected their homogeneous attitudes towards MSA/AA. Indeed, all the teachers feel proud and show positive attitudes towards MSA that might contribute to various reasons such as linguistic awareness, realization of MSA high significance in the teaching/ learning process, and most significantly as the language of the Qur'an.

As for the fifth hypothesis which stipulates that the gap between Colloquial Arabic and MSA has to be reduced progressively by policy-makers for the sake of formal education and this might be done by promoting the use of MSA even outside the school environment striking results were obtained.

Undeniably, the inspector informants emphasized the point that, one of the major remedies that might be undertaken to reduce Arabic diglossia in the educational sector, is the teachers' imperative suppression or slightly decreasing their dialects' use when

presenting their lessons, for they believe that the use of the vernacular when teaching Arabic lessons impedes assimilation, and leads to serious pedagogical flaws which might have a negative impact on pupils' achievements in general.

Several statements were enumerated by both teachers and inspectors such as, the creation of kinder gardens in all Algerian communities where children can be taught MSA before reaching school age can help in enhancing pupils' level years later; prohibiting AA use inside the classroom especially by teachers who are supposed to teach through MSA only; the establishment of pre-schooling classes in all primary schools; broadcasting more educational television programmes for children and adults in Algerian channels exclusively in MSA, in addition to the creation of functional libraries in all educational institutions and many others.

All these propositions would be exceptionally idealistic.We must thus recognize that this is not going to take place in the short term, but it needs time and great efforts from the part of all the members involved in the Algerian education sector from top to bottom, in order to reduce the issue of Arabic diglossia in this particular and substantial sector.

The present research work proposes that teachers focus more on providing the pupils' knowledge about the language rather than developing their linguistic skills and consequently pupils cannot interact adequately with their teachers in MSA. However, according to teachers, this remains the fault of those who have prepared the syllabus. Pupils have usually recourse to their dialects due to their weaknesses in practicing the functions of the language.

Therefore, in all grades of the primary level, teachers should concentrate more on teaching pupils the language skills instead of knowledge about the language system. Moreover, the role of parents is of paramount importance in making their children more familiar with a language that seems quite difficult to learn and understand.

The conclusions we can draw for this study, can be summarised under several points. First, the results of this inquiry reveal that the Arabic course teachers use the so-called middle language (or ESA), a mixture of MSA and the vernacular in their teaching

strategies believing that the introduction of ESA would benefit the pupils and be a solution to diglossia in the classroom. They argue that teaching in such a method helps in assimilation and transmitting the message to pupils who are thought to be still young to receive the lessons exclusively in MSA.

The teachers' frequent recourse to the use of the vernacular when explaining the lessons makes pupils feel confused about what constitutes real Arabic and what does not. This tricky situation involves that pupils will have to learn a whole set of skills embroiled in the choice of the convenient form for a given context, as well as a double sets of vocabulary items. That is why Arabic course teachers should be conscious of the significance of MSA in the teaching process and be able of addressing their pupils accurately using a pure form of Arabic.

Another thorny issue that emerged from this study is the observation that lack of competency in MSA, leads to frustration and low linguistic self-confidence from the part of learners. Pupils show a similar level of diglossia regardless of whether they move to further grades. Indeed, the findings of this empirical work disclose that strenuous efforts are made by the majority of pupils when using MSA in classroom interaction because of their linguistic deficiency; frustration and low linguistic self-confidence felt by young pupils are due to their inability to find the adequate lexical items to express their ideas effectively in MSA. Ferguson himself expected that confusion may arise. He proposed that the confusion posed by attempting to learn a diglossic language seems likely to learn two languages at once. This dilemma appears to be real in Arabic since the results reveal that there is such confusion confronted by pupils at all grades.

However, we have come across other interesting results which reveal that pupils 'deny' the difficulty of MSA learning at further school levels (from 3rd up to 5th), and their perceptions of MSA foster rather than weaken, although, taking into account teachers' claims and the researcher's direct observation, the opposite is true. These pupils have somewhat benefited from increased exposure and experience with MSA

structures that formal instruction permits. In fact, if they are still facing difficulties in MSA use, this is mainly due to other factors such as parents' neglect, teachers' dialect use, syllabus weaknesses, ineffective exposure, etc.

This sudden change in pupils' feelings stems from the fact that these learners have become more familiar with Standard Arabic and more aware about its importance in comparison with those studying at lower grades (pre-school, first and second grade). Moreover, it has been noted that their acquaintance with MSA outside the school context is neatly higher than pupils studying at lower grades (from pre-school up to the second grade). Another important reason relating to better proficiency is that pupils who are exposed to literary Arabic through TV kids programmes, stories or the Qur'an, have more chance for success than pupils whose exposure to the standard variety is reduced or totally absent before formal instruction.

Furthermore, the present study reveals high appreciation in terms of attitudes towards the standard variety from the part of both teachers and learners, for they perceive it as the 'real 'and 'correct' variety used in formal education, particularly as the language of the Holy Qur'an. However, negative attitudes displayed by pre-school grade pupils are mainly due to their perception that learning formal Arabic is an arduous process. This can be related to the fact that this particular category of pupils have relatively little or no acquaintance with the official language of instruction outside school, they also perceive MSA as an 'unfamiliar' language and they are still unaware about the importance of this form of Arabic in the learning process.

We have also observed from the results that in terms of inspection role, the inspectors urge the Arabic course teachers to use MSA only when presenting their lessons because when pupils notice that their teachers avoid dialect use in class, they will automatically follow their exemplar. Moreover, the inspectors confessed other measures that may at least reduce the problem of Arabic diglossia in the educational sector. In truth, the linguistic duality problem that diglossia as a sociolinguistic phenomenon presents, is a definite bothersome aspect having a direct impact on the young learners' language achievement.

It is only through immediate and convenient language planning decisions, better language instruction and more exposure to MSA- even outside the school setting- that good and useful academic results could be brought. Moreover, because the character of educational reform is an arduous process, effective and hasty progress should not be anticipated soon on the Algerian education scene. In fact, the policies' propositions and recommendations which can bridge the gap between MSA and the vernacular, continue to wait for definite linguistic, social and most significantly political resolutions.

Confirmation from inquiry in both fields of education and psychology has demonstrated that the use of the learners' dialects is crucial for persuasive learning outcome, as there is a liaison between the child's language acquisition and his cognitive development. Such a process permits a smooth transition from home to school with better scholarly attainment, but the relevant question is: what dialectal Arabic among the various dialects that exist should be taught? Promoting dialectal Arabic in Algerian PS is a way to trigger low levels as it is only in the school context where MSA is really used; and if it is to be implemented, we may consider it as a challenging duty. Such measure makes it a prerequisite to pass through a whole language planning procedure, but it would, unfortunately, be a direct threat to Standard Arabic.

However, because of the impossibility of dialect use in the Algerian school context, educators should be aware of the effect of diglossia on pupils' linguistic skills and they should be trained to explain the linguistic differences between colloquial and standard Arabic to their pupils (in terms of vocabulary, phonology and grammar). They should also recognize that an educational reform in the teaching of Arabic in the school system is highly needed. In addition, parents' awareness raising would be an essential first step.

Undoubtedly, helping young pupils to learn a pure form of Arabic is a shared responsibility between all members involved in education, starting from the child's home environment and social context to the school and ministry of education. Indeed, at early age, i.e., before reaching school age, children must be exposed to MSA as they are born with an innate inclination to acquire the society's language in which they are

placed, and it should be worth mentioning again that the role of parents remains an important factor in yielding a satisfactory linguistic level in primary education. Language planners should therefore, promote linguistic plans in order to overcome the negative impact of diglossia, especially when children enter school.

They should review and modify the content of the language lessons offered in primary schools and they might take into consideration the efficiency of authority strategies to favour the use of MSA as a modern language. Thus, the present study has provided some interesting results regarding Arabic diglossia and its influence on formal instruction among young Algerian learners.

Best Journals
Knowledge to Wisdom

ISSN(P) 2348-0521

BEST : International Journal of Humanities, Arts, Medicine and Sciences (BEST : IJHAMS)

VOLUME: 5, ISSUE: 3, MAR 2017

JCC Impact Factor (2016): 1.9287

Index Copernicus Value (ICV): 44.78

editor.bestjournals@gmail.com

www.bestjournals.in

Best Journals
Knowledge to Wisdom

ISSN(P) 2348-0521

BEST : International Journal of Humanities , Arts, Medicine and Sciences (BEST : IJHAMS)

VOLUME: 5, ISSUE: 3, MAR 2017

JCC Impact Factor (2016): 1.9287

Index Copernicus Value (ICV): 44.78

Copyright © 2017 by **BEST** Journals

All rights reserved. This book or parts thereof may not be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or any information storage and retrieval system now known or to be invented, without written permission from the copyright owner.

Permission is granted to quote from this journal with the customary acknowledgement of the source.

FOCUS AND SCOPE

BEST: International Journal of Humanities, Arts, Medicine and Sciences (BEST: IJHAMS) publishes peer-reviewed scientific papers of significance in all areas of applied and natural sciences. The scope of the journal includes biological sciences, biotechnology, clinical sciences, animal and veterinary sciences, agricultural sciences, chemistry, environmental sciences, physics, geology and computer applications. The journal is designed for academics, scholars, scientists, research scholars, industry practitioners and advanced students.

Types of Paper

Regular Articles: These should describe new, carefully confirmed findings, innovative & creative research ideas and experimental procedures should be given in sufficient detail for others to verify the work. The length of a full paper should be the minimum required to describe and interpret the work clearly.

Short communications: A short communication is suitable for recording the results of complete small investigations or giving details of new models or hypotheses, innovative methods, techniques, creative models etc., The style of main sections need not conform to that of full-length papers. Short communications are 2 to 4 printed pages (about 6 to 12 manuscript pages) in length.

Reviews: Submissions of reviews and perspectives covering topics of current interest are welcome and encouraged. Reviews should be concise and no longer than 4-6 printed pages (about 12 to 18 manuscript pages). Review manuscripts are also peer-reviewed.

Publication Frequency: 12 issues per year. Submission: Authors are requested to submit their papers electronically thru the website both in the word document.

Abstracting and Indexing: Abstracted and indexed in many of the major global databases including: **Thomson Reuters' RESEARCHERID,** Mendeley, Google Scholar, Issuu, ResearchBib, CiteFactor, SSRN & I2OR

EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS OF BEST: INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES, ARTS, MEDICINE AND SCIENCES (BEST: IJHAMS)

Editorial Board Members

Dr. Abhijit Majumdar, M.Tech., Ph.D., Research Scientist at University of Greifswald, Germany.

Dr. Pankaj, M.Sc., M. Phil. (Gold Medalist)., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Research Coordinator Department of Mathematics, Indus International University Bathu, Dist. Una, H.P-174301, India

Dr. Madhavi Godavarthy, M.Phil.(Osm.)., Ph.D(Osm)., Assistant Professor, Department of English, College of Sciences and Arts, Al Qurayyat, AlJouf University, Skaka, Saudi Arabia.

Dr. Ramakant D. Kaplay, M.Sc., Ph.D., Professor School of Earth Sciences/Vc's Secretariat, Swami Ramanand Teerth Marathwada University, Vishnupuri,, Nanded-431 606, Maharashtra, India.

Dr. Santosh S. Hosmani, M.Tech, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Metallurgy & Material Science, College of Engineering, Pune (COEP) (An Autonomous Institute of Government of Maharashtra) Shivaji Nagar, Pune – 411 005, India.

Dr. Rajendra Kumar Goyal, B.E., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Metallurgy and Materials Science, Shivaji Nagar, Pune- 411 005, India.

Dr. Darshana Patil, M.Sc., Ph.D., Department of Botany, Smt. C. H. M. College, Ulhasnagar – 421003, Maharashtra, India.

Dr. (Ms.) J. Judith Vijaya, M.Sc. Ph.D. F.I.C.S., Assistant Professor, Catalysis and Nanomaterials Research Laboratory, Department of Chemistry, Loyola College, Nungambakkam, Chennai 600 034, India.

Dr. J. Jeyakodi Moses, M.B.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Chemistry & Applied Chemistry, PSG College of Technology, Coimbatore. India.

Dr. Kaushik Kumar, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Chemical & Polymer Engineering, Birla Institute of Technology, Mesra, Ranchi, Jharkhand - 835 215, India.

Dr. Shyamal Kumar Pabi, B.E., M.Tech., Ph.D., Professor Metallurgical and Materials Engineering Dept, Indian Institute of Technology Kharagpur, Kharagpur-721302, West Bengal, India.

Dr. Pushpender K. sharma, Ph.D., DBT Postdcotoral fellow, Department of Biological sceinces, Indian Institute of Science Education and Research (IISER) , Mohali, India.

Dr. Md. Younus Mia, M.Sc., M.S., Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Environmental Science & Resource Management, Mawlana Bhashani Science and Technology University, Santosh, Tangail-1902, Bangladesh

Dr. Md. Rafiqul Islam, M.Sc., Ph.D., Professor & Ex-Chairman, Department of Population Science & Human Resource Development, Faculty of Science, Rajshahi University, Rajshahi-6205, Bangladesh.

Dr. Muhammad Iftikhar, M.Sc., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Fiber Technology, University of Agriculture Faisalabad, Pakistan.

Dr. Ahmad Shukri Al-Rimawi, M.Sc., Ph.D., Acting Dean, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Jordan, Department of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness Management, Amman 11942, Jordan.

Dr. Deeb Taher Deeb Alansawi, M.Sc., Ph.D., Department of Chemistry, The University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan.

Dr. Mousa Abbouda Samha, Ph.D., Professor of Demography, Department of Geography, Faculty of Arts, University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan, 11942, Jordan.

Dr. Md. Rafiqul Islam, M.Sc., Ph.D., Professor and Ex-Chairman, Department of Population Science and Human Resource Development, University of Rajshahi, Rajshahi-6205, Bangladesh.

Dr. Hany Nour, M.Sc., Ph.D., Researcher, National Research Centre, Chemical Industries Research Division, Department of Photochemistry, El-Behoos street, Cairo, Dokki, Egypt.

Dr Anita Talib, M.Sc., Ph.D., Deputy Director, Centre for Marine & Coastal Studies(CEMACS), Universiti Sains Malaysia, 11800 Penang, Malaysia.

Dr. Sebastien Gay, Ph.D., University of Chicago, Department of Economics, 1126 E. 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637, USA.

Dr. Ashraf Mahdy Abd EL-Hamid Said, M.Sc., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Faculty of Agriculture, Moshtohor, Banha University, Kaha – Qalubeia- 13743, Egypt.

Dr. Karim S. Echtay, M.Sc., Ph.D., Associate Professor, Biochemistry Deptartment of Biomedical Sciences Faculty of Medicine & Medical Sciences, University of Balamand, No 100 Tripoli – Lebanon.

Prof. Dr. Puiu Nistoreanu, Ph.D., Vice Dean of the Faculty of Commerce, The Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies, Facultatea de Comert, Catedra Turism-Servicii, Bucuresti, Romania.

Dr. Mohamed Mujithaba Mohamed NAJIM, M.Eng., (AIT, Thailand), Ph.D., (UPM, Malaysia), Senior Lecturer, Department of Zoology, Faculty of Science, University of Kelaniya, Kelaniya - 11600, Sri Lanka.

Dr. Adel Mohamed Youssef Abou El-khir, M.Sc., Ph.D., Professor of Soil Microbiology and Plant Nutrition, Department of Soils and water Science Faculty of Agriculture, Kafrelsheikh University, Egypt.

Dr. Haythum Salem, M.Sc., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Plant nutrition and Soil Fertility, Benha University - Faculty of agric., P.O. Box: 13637, Egypt.

Dr. Hitesh Vijay Motwani, M.Sc., Ph.D., Department of Medicinal Chemistry, Division of Organic Pharmaceutical Chemistry, Uppsala Biomedical Centre (BMC), Husargatan 3, Uppsala University, 751 23 Uppsala, Sweden.

Dr. G. Sandhya Kiran, M.Sc., Ph.D., PGDEE., Associate Professor, Department of Botany, The M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara 390 002, Gujarat, India.

Dr. Mohammad Shabbir Alam, M.Sc., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Biochemistry, Jazan University, Jazan- KSA.

Dr. El-Sayed Mohamed Ibraheim Hegazi, B.V. Sc., M.V. Sc., Ph.D. V. Sc., Vice Dean of the Faculty for Higher Education and Research, Researchers and Senior Researchers, Nutrition, Biochemistry and Deficiency Diseases, Animal Health Research Institute, Giza, Egypt.

Dr. S. Chitra, M.Sc., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Chemistry, K.S.R. College of Engineering, Tiruchengode, Namakkal District, Tamil Nadu, India.

Dr. Abeer Al-Bawab, Ph.D., Director of HMCSR, Professor, Department of Physical Chemistry, University of Jordan, Amman 11942, Jordan.

Dr. Mohammad Bataineh, M.Sc., (Algebra) M.Sc., (Mathematical Statistics) Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Mathematics, Yarmouk University, P. O. Box 566, Irbid, Jordan.

Dr. Bensafi Abd-El-Hamid, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Chemistry and Physics, Faculty of Sciences, Abou Bekr Belkaid University of Tlemcen, P.O. Box 119, Chetouane, 13000, Algeria.

Dr. Md. Saiful Islam, M.Sc., Ph.D., Professor, Department of Zoology, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh.

Dr. Zahra Shariatinia, Ph.D., Department of Chemistry, Amirkabir University of Technology (Polytechnic), P.O.Box: 159163-4311, Tehran, Iran.

Dr. Mohammad Hadi Dehghani, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Tehran University of Medical Sciences, School of Public Health, Dept. of Environmental Health Engineering, Tehran, I.R. Iran.

Dr. Soleiman Mohammadi Limaei, M.Sc., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Forestry, Head Faculty of Natural Resources, University of Guilan, Someh Sara, 1144, Iran.

Dr. Xiaodong Bao, M.S., Ph.D., Postdoctoral Scholar of Plant Pathology, Center for Infectious Disease Dynamics W213-19A Millennium Science Complex, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802. United States.

Dr. Ali A. Ensafi, M.Sc., Ph.D., Professor, Department of Chemistry, Isfahan University of Technology, Isfahan, 84156-83111, Iran

Dr. Amrendra Kumar Sharma, M.A (Lancaster, England)., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Linguistics, Department of Languages & Translation, Dhofar University, Salalah, Oman.

Dr. Hussein O. M. Al-Dahmoshi Al-Enezi, M.Sc., Ph.D., University lecturer, Biology Department, College of Science, Babylon University, Iraq

Dr. Verma Jainendra Kumar, M.B.A., Ph.D., Applied Economics, Univ. of Lucknow, Vikas Nagar, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India

Dr. Nidhi Kesari, M.Com., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Commerce, Daulat Ram College, Delhi University, Maurice Nagar, New Delhi

DR. Vishnu Narayan Mishra, M.Sc., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Mathematics (AMHD), Sardar Vallabhbhai National Institute of Technology, Ichchhanath Mahadev Road, Surat, Surat (Gujarat), India

Dr. Naresh Rout, B.Ed, Ph.D., Ravenshaw University, Lecturer, Department of Utkal University of Culture, Cuttack, Odisha, India

Dr. Kalpana Agrawal, M.B.A., Ph.D., Faculty HR, Marketing, Foreign Trade, English, Prestige Institute of Management and Research, Indore

Dr. Aditya Kumar Shukla, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Amity School of Communication, Amity University Madhya Pradesh, India

Dr. Umesh Kumar, Ph.D., Principal, Government Women's Polytechnic, Ranchi Department of Science & Technology, Jharkhand, India

Dr. Bahram Moghaddas, B.A. , M.A. , PhD, Senior Lecturer, Khazar Institute of Higher Education, Mahmoodabad, Iran.

Dr. Amer A. Taqa, Ph.D, Department of Dental Basic Science College of Dentistry, Mosul University, Iraq

Dr. Vishnu Narayan Mishra, B.Sc., M.Sc., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Mathematics (Applied Mathematics and Humanities Department), Sardar Vallabhbhai National Institute of Technology, Ichchhanath Mahadev Dumas Road, Surat (Gujarat), India.

Dr. S. Dheva Rajan, M.Sc., M.Phil., Ph.D., Lecturer of information Technology (Mathematics Section) at Al Musanna College of Technology, Al Musanna, Sultanate of Oman

Dr. Deepmala, Visiting Scientist, SQC & OR Unit, Indian Statistical Institute, 203 Barrackpore Trunk Road, Kolkata 700 108 (West Bengal), India

Dr. Said Elshahat Abdallah, Ph.D., M.Sc., B.Sc., Associate Professor, Department of Agricultural Engineering, Faculty of Agriculture, Kafrelsheikh University, Kafr Elsheikh, Egypt

BEST: International Journal of Humanities, Arts, Medicine and Sciences

(BEST: IJHAMS)

Volume 5, Issue 3, March – 2017

ISSN (P): 2348-0521; ISSN (E): 2454-4728

TABLE OF CONTENTS

S.NO	TITLE	AUTHOR(S)	PAGE NO
1.	Effect of Interval Training Method on Performance of 200 Meter Sprinters	Dileep Tirkey	1-4
2.	Status of the Reading Skill in the Algerian Context	Benramdane Roqiya	5-18
3.	'Why This, Why Now, Why Me': Reactions of Patients Newly Diagnosed with Type 2 Diabetes Mellitus at a Hospital in Ghana	Kwadwo Ameyaw Korsah, Charles Yajalin & Harriet Edinam Adagblenya	19-36
4.	The Issue of Arabisation in the Algerian Education Sector	Chahrazed Hamzaoui	37-42
5.	Islamic Revolution and New Islamic Civilization	Rashid Rekabian & Mahmood Alipour Gorji	43-54
6.	A Study on Impact of Demonitization on Online Shopping	Swati Dayal Chandani & Ashish Khare	55-60
7.	Comparing Effectiveness in Iranian State-Owned and Private Banks with SFA in 2000 - 2014	Mehdi Zahed, Mohamamadreza Mohammadi, Hamid Asayesh & Elahe Naghib Dashti.,	61-68
8.	Inspiring Minds From Individual to Social Consciousness a Study of Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam's Selected Works	Jeetha Johny Chungath	69-74
9.	Effect of Mental Health Education on Risky Behaviours among in-School Adolescents in Central Senatorial Disrict Kogi State Nigeria	Jacob, Funso Florence	75-84
10.	Analysis of Principals' School Organization Climate Competencies as a Tool for Effective Administration of Secondary Schools in Ohaozara Local Government Area, Ebonyi State	Uzoma Aja-Okorie & Paul Nwakpa	85-96

BEST: International Journal of Humanities, Arts, Medicine and Sciences (BEST: IJHAMS)
ISSN (P): 2348-0521, ISSN (E): 2454-4728
Vol. 5, Issue 03, Mar 2017, 37-42
© BEST Journals

THE ISSUE OF ARABISATION IN THE ALGERIAN EDUCATION SECTOR

CHAHRAZED HAMZAOUI
University of Ain-Temouchent, Algeria

ABSTRACT

One of the most significant dilemmas that Algeria has had to challenge since 1962, relates to language. It is considered as the only Arab community which swallowed the most substantial colonial French impact for more than a century. In order to restore and recover a previously oppressed identity and personality, the newly free nation urged to implement a language policy called Arabisation as a massive system, especially in the educational sphere which remains up to now highly problematic. Therefore, This paper presents the language policy (arabisation) pursued in Algeria since independence. The first parts of the paper emphasize on defining the concepts of language planning and arabisation. The next section provides an overview on the arabisation process and its effects on the educational system throughout distinct periods. The following part explores the problems resulting from arabisation. Finally, the paper argues that the process has failed as a result of miscellaneous factors.

KEYWORDS: Algeria, Education, Arabisation, Policy, Makers, Language Policy/Language Planning

INTRODUCTION

Just after independence, the Algerian authority implemented a language reform known as 'Arabization'. The term refers to the pervasive use of Arabic in domains such as polities, culture and education where probably the most significant measures have been taken. Indeed, the Arabisation policy is stimulated by three essential features: Firstly, Arabic denotes the cultural side of independence, as French was imposed by the settler. Secondly, Arabic is the language of Islam. Finally, Arabic is used by the Arab nation. However, Arabization whose aim was to turn Arabic as a chief tool of thought and work in order to reach the stipulations of time and to overcome the bias of language, literature and poetry, was disapproved and accused to have no scientific basis as a result of its connection with the Islamist movement.

LANGUAGE PLANNING DEFINED

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

Cooper (1989:45) offers a narrower definition of LP where he mentions that: "LP refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes", i.e. as an intervention aiming at influencing language or language use, and the term 'efforts' refers to the decisions taken by policy makers to evolve a language and to implement it for specific functions. These actions are referred to as, status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. The latter which is also called 'Language-in-education planning'

(Kaplan & Bardauf,1997), is another type of LP in which a national state or local government system aims at influencing aspects of language, such as language status, distribution, and literacy through education.

ARABISATION

By 1962, the newly free country was confronted to the critical issue related to the reality that French was imposed during the period of occupation as the only official language. for returning to the Arab-Islamic cultural identity and the rational personality, the new Algerian political leaders launched a simple and rapid language policy that attempted to reinforce MSA as an official language of the state especially in the field of education through the process of 'acquisition planning'. Such policy was called "Arabisation policy". 'Arabisation', in the light of Kh. T. Ibrahimi's (1997:138) views point, is one of our fundamental options. It is not a matter of refusing the dialogue with other people and other civilizations; it is however, a matter of becoming ourselves, in order to root in our soil and our identity, for better assimilating after, what the others can bring of enrichment (translation is mine).

Arabization was meant to erase all the colonizer's remnants and to unify Algerians both politically and linguistically, and as previously mentioned; the Algerian leaders had a substantial will to regain their Arab and Muslim identity which could be attained only through Arabic.

THE ARABISATION PROCESS AND ITS IMPACT ON EDUCATION

The process of Arabisation did not only consist in altering French by Arabic, but also in establishing the requisite alternatives while taking into consideration the recent functional transformations that the foreign language has exhibited in the whole country. Therefore, the procedure has gone through various stages that can be mirrored through distinct periods:

- From 1962 to 1965: On October 5th, 1962, the first president of Algeria Ahmed Ben Bella proclaimed his adherence to al 'Umma l 'Arabiyya, the Arab nation stating: "Nous sommes des Arabes" (we are Arabs). The Algerian constitution endorsed such ideological orientation: while Article 2 indicates that "Islam is the religion of the state", Article 3 states that "Arabic is the national and official language". Ben Bella also claimed that at early schooling (1963), the selected official language (MSA) would be taught in parallel with French in primary school. Then, in accordance with the recommendation of the F.L.N. (Front of National Liberation) which focused on the urgent need to speed up Arabisation, MSA gained an important status since it became the variety used in the medium of education for the first years in the primary level at the beginning of the school years 1964-1965. However, the French language continued to be used in many other spheres such as government, law, administration, education, science, technology, etc. In this context, and on May 5th, 1965, Benbella announced to 'Alger Républicain'[1] that Arabisation was a necessity, but it did not mean to eradicate completely French as for him, the French language was an essential means to acquire and comprehend modern techniques.
- From 1965 to 1978: During this period, Houari Boumediène (1974), the second president of Algeria initiated the most radical processes and decided upon complete Arabisation as a national aim. According to him, the change of the Algerian citizen and the restoration of his identity should be done by an active continuation of the Arabisation programme, previously started by other political leaders and which is regarded as an essential instrument to bring back the national personality of the Algerian population which must emerge from the use of Arabic in all domains

[1] 'Alger Républicain 'was a daily newspaper in that period.

of economic, social and cultural life. . By the end of 1968, the third, fourth and fifth years of primary schools were partially arabised. Since 1971, MSA has replaced French as the medium of instruction in primary schools (Benmoussat, 2003), but the use of MSA as a language of instruction in schooling was not welcomed by the French elite. By late 1977 and early 1978, pedagogical and psychological sciences were taught in French. Mr. Lacheraf, minister of universities and scientific research, at that time, agreed on an urgent and total Arabisation, but not at random and in a fierce way.

- From 1979 to 1998: By the 1980's, MSA began to be introduced as the language of education in the entire primary school in some grades and some subjects at the secondary level. The 'Fundamental School' was introduced in 1984. Such system gives pupils three years of middle education before entering secondary school. "This has resulted in low-quality education and a high drop-out rate". (Benmoussat 2003: 114). By the mid1980s, Arabisation had begun to produce some measurable results. In the primary school, instruction was in MSA; however, French is still introduced as a compulsory foreign language starting from the third year of primary school. In secondary schools, Arabisation was conducted on a gradual basis. At the university level, Arabic was also integrated gradually in social sciences, law and economics, but scientific fields like biology, medicine, physics and mathematics were all, and still is, taught in French.
- From 2001 to 2002: On April 20th, 2001, the 'Cultural Berber Movement' was created as an opposition to the Arabisation of the education system and in response to the actual president Abdel Aziz Bouteflika's refusal to recognize officially the Tamazight language. In fact, the Berbers demanded the recognition of the Kabyle dialect as a primary national language; respect for Berber culture, and greater attention to the economic development of Kabylia and other Berber homelands. Hence, at the beginning of October 2001, president Bouteflika declared that Tamazight would be a national language of Algeria.
- From 2002 until now: In February, 2006, president Bouteflika ordered 40 French-language schools to be closed for causes of 'linguistic deviation' and 'anti-nationalism'. A few days later, the Algerian government granted the schools an exceptional additional time until the end of June 2006 to conform the law which makes them obliged to teach the same programmes as the public schools. The law remains partially applied and most directors of the French private schools posit that the purpose of their schools was to form Arabic-French bilinguals, so that they can follow normally their studies at the university where several streams are conducted in French. Therefore, parents who can afford educating their children in private French schools prefer to enroll them in these schools in order to ensure a bilingual education for them. Paradoxically, MSA is assigned a higher status in Arabisation over the remaining linguistic varieties present in Algeria, mainly, dialectal Arabic, the different Berber varieties and French.

ISSUES OF ARABISATION

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

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

The programme of Arabisation declared by the first president Ben Bella and his successors has encountered many

obstacles. These various obstacles do not merely come out on the political and socio-cultural levels, but also on the linguistic level. In an analysis of the language policy in Algeria, Granguillaume (1998: 69) affirms that it has to face two conflicts: the first one lies between the literary language and French and the other is between Arabic and the indigenous varieties.

La mise en œuvre de la politique linguistique recelait deux conflits: l'un entre la langue arabe (littérale) et la langue française : l'autre masque entre cette langue arabe et les langues de la quotidienneté.[2]

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

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

The Arabisation of the administration was also facing serious obstacles, as the institutions were run by a large number of Algerian employees who mastered French both in its written and spoken forms. In 1971[3], Arabisation was made compulsory for all grades in the administration. As a result, many functionaries switched to other professions due to their lack of proficiency in Arabic.

FAILURE OF ARABISATION

In spite of the efforts spent by decision-makers for the implementation of MSA in the Algerian educational and administrative system, the Arabisation process had been subject to criticism and was accused to have no scientific basis, and as responsible for the decline in pupils' educational achievements in general.

The educational system entered a phase of a steep decline from 1986 with the decrease of the country's financial resources: lack of means of documentation and total arabisation contributed to the breakdown of the arabised education (Grandguillaume, 2002). Entellis (1981:197) shared this opinion when he writes that: "Too many young people may be emerging from secondary schools with an incomplete command of both literary Arabic and functional French".

Taleb-Ibrahimi K. (1997: 50) shares the same viewpoint when she declares that: "The Algerian school does not produce bilinguals but semi-linguals without a good command of either language" (translation is mine).

The reality is that Algerian policy makers themselves have witnessed shortcomings and weaknesses of the Arabisation procedure. Indeed, as Dendane (2007: 91) argues, one of the important reasons for the malfunction of

[2] The implementation of the linguistic policy contained two conflicts: the one between the Arabic language (Literary Arabic) and the French language: the other, hides between this Arabic language and daily languages. (Translation is mine).
[3] The decision of January 20th 1971 stated that the knowledge of the national language would be compulsory.

Arabisation in Algeria […], is that the process has always been decided by the authorities not on a linguistic basis, but on political and ideological grounds.

Concerning the issue of the linguistic aspect of Arabisation, it is noteworthy that the tardy progress is mainly due to the bad organization of the 'Arabising' structures namely , the feeble pedagogical drilling and the lack of the necessary proficiency from the part of teachers for such a task. Another reason that engendered more difficulties in the implementation of the Arabisation process lies in the discrepancy between everyday speech of the Algerian population and MSA which was imposed by policy makers for Arabisation policy. In addition, the profound influence of French on many Algerians' everyday linguistic practices has led the French language to receive high prestige evaluations until recently. What is more, is that the Arabisation policy implemented by the Algerian government which major aim was to remove French thoroughly failed? From a quantitative viewpoint, today's Algeria is the second largest French- speaking community in the world (Benrabah, 2007: 194).The co-existence of two varieties of Arabic clearly incarnates the phenomenon called 'diglossia' and the pervasive use of French has created a state of bilingualism.

CONCLUSIONS

To bring this paper to a close, I would say that arabisation was a policy imposed by a government that was vulnerable to pluralism presumably in the most essential sectors, be it cultural, political or linguistic. In fact, French was so deeply rooted in Algeria -in the most significant domains especially in education and administration- that the implementation of Arabic as the sole and unique language needed and still needs to move to the direction of reforms from the part of Algerian policy-makers for, Arabisation was and still is considered as a 'real failure'. Undeniably, Algeria seems to need more than one cultural language which seeks to impose the predilections of one subgroup onto anybody. Such reform would have a positive impact on the redefinition of the Algerian personality and identity.

REFERENCE

1. Benmoussat, S. (2003). Mediating Language and Culture: An Investigation Analysis of the Cultural Dimensions in the Algerian Newly Designed ELT Textbooks. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Tlemcen, Algeria: Aboubakr Belkaid University.
2. Cooper, R. L., (1989). *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
3. Dendane, Z. (2007). Sociolinguistic Variation and Attitudes towards Language Behaviour: The case of Tlemcen Arabic. Doctoral Thesis. Algeria: Oran University.
4. Demi, A. (2009). Ecolinguistic Implications in Language Change: Towards a New Paradigm in the Study of Lexical Variation in Ghazaouet Spoken Arabic. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Tlemcen University.
5. Entelis, J.P. (1981). Elite political culture and socialization in Algeria: Tensions and discontinuities". Middle East Journal, Vol.25, 197-207.
6. Granguillaume, G. (1998). 'Langues et Représentations Identitaires en Algérie'. In Gonzale, J.J (ed.) pp 65-78.
7. Grandguillaume, G. (2002). Les enjeux de la question des langues en Algérie, in Bistolfi, R. &Giordan, H. Les Langues de la Méditerranée. (pp 141-165). Paris : Les Cahiers de Confluence, L'Harmattan.
8. Kaplan, R. And Baldauf, R. (1997). *Language Planning from Practice to Theory*. Clevedon: MultilingualMatters.

9. Taleb Ibrahimi, K. (1997). *"Les Algériens et Leur (s) Langue(s)"*. Algiers, Algeria: El-Hikma editions.

10. Taleb-Ibrahimi, K. (1997). L'Arabisation lieu de conflits multiples, *Reflexions,* /.Elites et questions identitaires. Alger: Casbah Editions. 39-61.