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**Aspects of Modern Standard Arabic Use in
Everyday Conversation:
The Case of School Teachers of Arabic in Tlemcen**

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Sociolinguistics*

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Dedication

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my spirit's father, to whom I express here a word of love and memory, and to my dearest mother who has never stopped loving me and continuously helping me to keep my spirit up. My heartfelt thanks are addressed to my brothers: Ali, Khaled, and Mohamed, my sister: Amel and my beloved Khawla for their never-ending patience and precious advice. Many thanks for their moral support.

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Abstract

Based on the Revisited version (1991) of Ferguson's classical diglossia, this research work aims fundamentally at examining the linguistic behaviour of our Arabic language teachers in a situation of diglossia; where the high variety, Modern Standard Arabic (hereafter MSA) and the low variety, the Algerian Arabic (AA, henceforth) are interchangeably used for different communicative purposes, highly governed by their situational contexts. MSA is, thus, the prestigious variety and it is reserved for literary purposes and formal uses; while, AA has no official status. The former is used in media, education, and administration. The latter, on the other hand, is reserved for daily speech and informal settings.

Accordingly, individuals interact in informal situations using the L variety; however, this seems not to be always the case; mainly with those Arabic language teachers who often switch from L to H, the language of instruction, during their informal talk when interacting out of a classroom context, i.e., with colleagues, friends, or within family members.

Through the use of different methods for data collection and elicitation techniques, this empirical work is based on defining the social forces that motivate Arabic language teachers to select which code of their verbal repertoire to use. In particular, by means of a set of research tools, the current research will try to display that the diglossic code switching phenomenon in daily speech is a characteristic of Arabic language teachers at all levels of education; whether at Primary, Middle, or Secondary Schools. Yet, it is believed that our experienced teachers seem to use MSA much more than fresh Arabic language teachers. It has been hypothesized, therefore, that positive attitudes towards MSA and some negative attitudes towards AA, in addition to the topic discussed, are the determinant factors behind our teachers' linguistic behaviour in daily life communication.

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abstract	iii
Table of contents.....	iv
List of Acronyms	vii
List of Phonetic Symbols	viii
List of Tables.....	xi
List of Figures	xii

General Introduction	1
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CHAPTER ONE: Sociolinguistic Key- Concepts: Views and Issues

1.1. INTRODUCTION.....	5
1.2. LANGUAGE Vs DIALECT	5
1.2.1. Language Defined	5
1.2.2. Dialect Definition.....	6
1.2.2.1. Regional Dialects	8
1.2.2.2. Social Dialects.....	9
1.3. LANGUAGE POLICY	11
1.3.1. Activity Types of Language Policy.	12
1.3.1.1. Status Planning.....	13
1.3.1.2. Corpus Planning	14
1.3.1.3. Acquisition Planning.....	16
1.4. SOME ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE CONTACT	17
1.4.1. Diglossia.....	17
1.4.2. Code Switching	22
1.4.2.1. The Structural Approach to Code Switching	24

1.4.2.2. The Psycholinguistic Approach to Code Switching.	27
1.4.2.3. The Sociolinguistic Approach to Code Switching.....	28
1.5. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES.....	32
1.6. CONCLUSION.....	34

CHAPTER TWO : The Linguistic Situation in Algeria

2.1. INTRODUCTION.....	36
2.2. ALGERIA: A LINGUISTIC AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	36
2.2.1. Algeria in the Pre-colonial era	37
2.2.2. Algeria during the French Occupation.....	39
2.2.3. Algeria after Independence	41
2.3. ARABIZATION OF EDUCATION	42
2.4. LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES IN ALGERIA	46
2.4.1. Arabic	47
2.4.2. French.....	53
2.4.3. Berber	54
2.5. ALGERIA: AN INTRICATE DIGLOSSIC CODE SWITCHING SITUATION.....	55
2.5.1. Diglossia.....	56
2.5.2. Code Switching	60
2.6. TLEMCEN: A GEO-LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND ACCOUNT	63
2.6.1. The Geographical Location of Tlemcen	63
2.6.2. Linguistic Features of Tlemcen Spoken Arabic.....	65
2.7. CONCLUSION.....	67

CHAPTER THREE : Aspects of MSA Use in Daily Life Conversation

3.1. INTRODUCTION.....	69
3.2. SAMPLING AND STRATIFICATION: DESCRIPTION OF THE TARGET SITUATION.....	69

3.3. RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS.....	71
3.3.1. Questionnaire	72
3.3.2. Interview.....	73
3.3.3. Recording	74
3.4. RESEARCH RESULTS.....	74
3.4.1. Questionnaire Results: Attitude as an incentive paradigm	75
3.4.1.1. Quantitative Analysis	75
3.4.1.2. Qualitative analysis	83
3.4.2. Interview Results: Experience as a source of influence.....	85
3.4.2.1. Quantitative Results	85
3.4.2.2. Qualitative Results	91
3.4.3. Recording Results: Topic as a code Determinant.....	95
3.5. DATA INTERPRETATION.....	103
3.5.1. Questionnaire Results Interpretation.....	103
3.5.1.1. Quantitative Results	103
3.5.2.2. Qualitative Results	106
3.5.2. Interview Results Interpretation.....	106
3.5.3. Recording Results Interpretation.....	108
3.6. GENERAL RESULTS INTERPRETATION.....	110
3.7. CONCLUSION	112
General Conclusion	114
Bibliography	118
Appendices	130

List of Acronyms

AA: Algerian Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic

H: High variety

L: Low variety

LP: Language Policy

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

MLF : Matrix Language Frame

ML : Matrix Language

EL : Embedded Language

List of Phonetic Symbols

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

- **Consonant:**

	<u>Tlemcen Arabic</u>	<u>English Gloss</u>
➤ Plosive consonants		
[b]	[bNnt]	‘room’
[t]	[taab]	‘he repented’
[d]	[darwaq]	‘now’
[k]	[kla]	‘he ate’
[ʎ]	[ʎomra]	‘moon’
[♦]	[ba♦a♦a]	‘potatoes’
[↓]	[↓ba⊗]	‘hyena’
[q]	[qaal]	‘he said’
[☞]	[☞→dGN]	‘come!’
➤ Flap Consonant		
[r]	[rukba]	‘knee’
➤ Nasal Consonant		
[m]	[mlNN⇔]	‘good’
[n]	[n⊗as]	‘he slept’
➤ Lateral Consonant		

[l] [lNNl] 'night'

➤ **Approximant Consonants**

[w] [waalu] 'nothing'

[j] [jBdd] 'hand'

➤ **Fricative Consonant**

[f] [farNNna] 'flour'

[s] [sNNf] 'sword'

[z] [zNNt] 'cooking oil'

[G] [Grab] 'he drank'

[F] [FbBl] 'mountain'

[x] [xaaf] 'he feared'

[س] [س urbaal] 'sieve'

[ح] [ح bBl] 'cord'

[خ] [خ abba] 'he took'

[ز] [ز rab] 'he escaped'

[ر] [ر ب ب ب] 'he blew'

[ر] [ر ب ب ب ب ب e] 'hornet'

• **Classical Arabic Consonants**

	<u>CA</u>	<u>English Gloss</u>
[ل]	[laur]	'bull'

[J]	[JN ʔ]	'wolf'
[d]	[mauḍN ʔ]	'place'
[J]	[Jʔhr]	'back'

- **Vowels:**

- **Vowels of plain consonant**

Short Vowels:

[N]	→ [xudmN]	: 'knife'
[u]	→ [kursN]	: 'chair beans'
[a]	→ [ʔall]	: 'he opened'

Long vowels:

[NN]	→ [sNNf]	: 'sword'
[uu]	→ [fuul]	: 'broad beans'
[aa]	→ [baab]	: 'door'

- **Vowels of Emphatic Consonants**

Short vowels:

[e]	→ [▪ejjʔ]	: 'he cried' 'tomatoes'
[ʔ]	→ [foʔ]	: 'towel' 'wall'
[ʔ]	→ [Gʔʔ]	: 'he danced' lasted'

Long vowels:

[ee]	→ [ʔomʔeeG]	
[ʔʔ]	→ [▪ʔʔr]	
[ʔʔ]	→ [ʔʔʔ]	: 'it'

List of Tables

Table 1.1. Grosjean’s List on Factors Influencing Language Choice.....	31
Table 2.1. Domains of Language Use in Algeria. (Queffélec, <i>et al.</i> 2002:103)....	59
Table 3.1. Sampling and stratification of informants.....	71
Table 3.2. Code Use in the classroom by Teachers of the Arabic language.....	75
Table 3.3. Variety preference in watching TV among Primary, Middle, and Secondary School teachers.....	76
Table 3.4. Arabic language teachers’ competence in MSA.....	77
Table 3.5. Teachers' attitudes towards MSA.....	78
Table 3.6. Attitudes towards AA use in class.....	80
Tables 3.7. Attitudes towards good speakers of MSA.....	80
Table 3.8. MSA Use in everyday life conversation among Arabic language teachers.....	82
Table 3.9. Primary School Teachers’ Frequency of MSA Use in daily speech.....	86
Table 3.10. Middle School Teachers’ Frequency of MSA Use in everyday life....	86
Table 3.11. Secondary Teachers’ Frequency of MSA Use in daily conversation...	86
Table 3.12. Arabic language teachers’ MSA Use in relation to participants.....	90
Table 3.13. Topics discussed in relation to the code of discourse.....	97

List of Figures

Figure 2.1. Badawi's Diagram (1973): "Levels of Egyptian Arabic"	57
Figure 3.1. MSA Vs AA use by Arabic language teachers in class.....	76
Figure 3.2. Arabic language teachers' variety preference in watching TV.....	77
Figure 3.3. Competence in MSA.....	78
Figure 3.4. Arabic Language Teachers' attitudes towards MSA in comparison with AA.....	79
Figure 3.5. Attitudes towards Pupils' AA Use in Classroom interaction.....	81
Figure 3.6. Attitudes towards good speakers of MSA.....	81
Figure 3.7. MSA Use by Arabic Language Teachers in Daily Conversation.....	82
Figure3.8. Beginner Primary School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation.....	87
Figure 3.9. Experienced Primary School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation.....	87
Figure 3.10. Beginner Middle School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation.....	88
Figure 3.11. Experienced Middle School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation.....	88
Figure 3.12. Beginner Secondary School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation.....	89
Figure3.13. Experienced Secondary School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation.....	89
Figure 3.14. Experienced Teachers' MSA Use in correlation with participants...	90
Figure 3.15. Beginners Teachers' MSA Use in correlation with participants.....	91

General Introduction

General Introduction

One of the most important issues that characterizes the Algerian speech community is the co-existence of two or more varieties of the same language. The relationship between these varieties, indeed, leads to a linguistic phenomenon termed as *diglossia* (Ferguson 1959b), where two different varieties of the same language are used in different domains to fulfill different functions. Modern Standard Arabic occupies the high status and is named “H variety” while Algerian Arabic is considered of having a lower status and is named “L variety”. H is reserved to formal contexts like public meetings, scientific conferences, and television broadcasting and fits all educational and administrative purposes in general. AA, on the other hand, is used in everyday speech interaction, and thus, in more relaxed settings: at home, workplace, and among friends. These varieties’ function, however, may be in some cases overlapped; speakers may code switch from one variety to another for a given communicative purpose. One may use AA in a formal setting and may at the same time include some forms from MSA in an informal context, as it is the case of our Arabic language teachers, as we shall see and investigate in the present dissertation.

Hence, the present research work includes a classification of the phenomenon in terms of ‘internal’ code switching (hereafter CS) which is of a diglossic nation, i.e. switching back and forth between the H and L varieties. More precisely, our concern, here, is about code switching as a ‘process’ rather than ‘a product’. This does not attempt at describing all the possible switches from L to H but rather to diagnose the reasons that stand behind the Arabic language teachers’ use of MSA, to which they stick even within an informal linguistic situation. Arabic language teachers at «Tlemcen Primary, Middle, and Secondary Schools»; notably, the downtown Tlemcen schools, Abou- Tachefine schools, and Oudjlida schools, have been chosen as a sample population to restrict the field work.

In an attempt to understand teachers’ linguistic behaviour and to examine the reasons behind such a linguistic phenomenon, the following overall question is

raised: Why do our Arabic language teachers at Tlemcen schools switch to MSA in informal situational contexts?

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

1-What are our Arabic language teachers' attitudes towards AA?

2-Which type of Arabic language teachers (experienced Vs beginners) tend to use much more MSA in informal contexts?

3-Do our Arabic language teachers use MSA in any informal talk?

To tackle these questions, the following hypotheses are advocated:

1-There might be positive attitudes towards MSA and some negative attitudes towards AA.

2-Experienced Arabic language teachers seem to use MSA much more than beginners.

3-It could be also hypothesized that Arabic language teachers tend to use MSA according to the topics discussed.

Our study is structured all along three chapters. The first chapter is rather theoretical. It tries to define some basic sociolinguistic concepts, upon which this research work is interwoven; the notion of language, dialect, language planning, and diglossia. This chapter also gives a general review on the phenomenon of CS in the light of Blom and Gumperz (1972) 'Social Meaning and Linguistic Structures'. The second chapter; whereas, exposes a brief reflection on the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria with the aim of showing the conflicting interplay between the linguistic varieties available in the Algerian speech community as a whole, and the linguistic

phenomena; notably, diglossia, that linguistic phenomenon characterizing almost the whole Arabic speaking world, is widely observed after launching the process of Arabization, few years after independence, and CS which is, in fact, considered as one of the unavoidable consequences of varieties contact situations. Then, it gives an overall geo-linguistic overview of the speech community of Tlemcen. That is, it will try to map geographically and linguistically the different linguistic varieties. The third chapter, which is practical in form, demonstrates the methods and research instruments used in the field work; mainly questionnaires, interviews, and recordings, in order to come eventually to a set of data reliability which will be analyzed and interpreted in the same chapter.

Chapter One: Sociolinguistic Key- Concepts: Views and Issues

- 1.1. Introduction
- 1.2. Language Vs Dialect
 - 1.2.1. Language Defined
 - 1.2.2. Dialect Definition
 - 1.2.1.1. Regional Dialects
 - 1.2.2.2. Social Dialects
- 1.3. Language Policy
 - 1.3.1. Activity Types of Language Policy
 - 1.3.1.1. Status Planning
 - 1.3.1.2. Corpus Planning
 - 1.3.1.3. Acquisition Planning
- 1.4. Some Aspects of Language Contact
 - 1.4.1. Diglossia
 - 1.4.2. Code Switching
 - 1.4.2.1. The Structural Approach to Code Switching
 - 1.4.2.2. The Psycholinguistic Approach to Code Switching
 - 1.4.2.3. The Sociolinguistic Approach to Code Switching
- 1.5. Language Attitudes
- 1.6. Conclusion

1.1. Introduction

The present chapter, mainly introductory in form, is devoted to provide the reader with some definitions to a set of key-concepts which are thought to be relevant to our study. It draws a distinction between language and dialect and compares their different interrelationships leading to the notion of language policy.

As its title indicates, this sociolinguistic research has as a major aim, to examine our Arabic language teachers' diglossic CS from a L to a H variety in everyday conversation. Thus, this chapter presents and synthesizes literature about these two interesting concepts: diglossia and CS, ending up with a survey about language attitudes.

1.2. Language Vs Dialect

The subject of linguistic varieties is dependent on a matrix of inter-related factors: historical development, standardization, the speakers' attitudes, social networks and so forth. Yet, the difference between languages and dialects is the most wondering and critical question among theorists as it appears easy at first glance; in real situations, however, is completely difficult and a troubling matter. The present section is devoted to define both key-concepts; language and dialect, as a review about their different but interlinked definitions is thought to be very helpful in such subject of inquiry.

1.2.1. Language Defined

Language has been studied by various disciplines and in widely contrasting ways. Users of language are essentially speakers of dialects, language then can not linguistically always be conceived as a totally independent notion. Speaking dialects, in contrast, are dialects of a language and the standard language is originally a dialect and so no dialect is in any way superior to any other

According to Haugen (1966:23), we can say 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)”**.

Hence, Haugen's view is that language is the super-ordinate variety that can be used without reference to dialects, but dialects are meaningless unless there is a language to which they can be said to belong. Linguistically speaking, dialects are usually regarded as varieties of a language, that is, subdivisions of a particular language.

Both terms, in fact, are usually perceived as non-technical notions by scholars, but in popular usage, laymen assume that these terms refer to actual entities that are clearly distinguishable and therefore, enumerable. Lay speakers distinguish between language and dialects in an ambiguous way: a language like English, for example, is larger in size than a dialect. In other terms, **“a variety called a language contains more items than one called a dialect”**. (Hudson, 1996:32).

English speakers, for instance, think of today's Standard English as more prestigious and larger in size than some other regional or social dialects (Yorkshire English, Leeds English,...) though it is no more than the standard variety¹ of the language developed out of the English dialects used in and around London by speakers at the Court, by scholars from the universities and other writers. In this respect, Hudson (1996:32) says:

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.

1.2.2. Dialect Definition

Dialect has become a familiar term that many disciplines endeavour to define. It is always considered as the subordinate term in comparison to language. The term dialect was first coined in 1577 from *dialectus* a Latin word to mean "way of speaking".

¹ Jean Dubois (2000 :440) defines a standard variety as follows:

“ Le standard, d'une manière générale, est une langue écrite elle est diffusée par l'école, par la radio, et utilisée dans les relations officielles”.

This sociolinguistic concept has been, in fact, differently defined by various subject specialists. A dialect, on the light of Trudgill (1992:23) is:

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

As a denotative definition, Longman dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics, 4th edition, (2010:166) defines the word dialect as:

A variety of language, spoken in one part of a country (regional dialect), or by people belonging to a particular social class (social dialect or or SOCIOLECT), which is different in some words, grammar, and /or pronunciation from other forms of the same language.

This, indeed, displays how precise and comprehensive a dictionary definition is universally shaped and expressed, describing the notion of dialect as a sub-variety of language; stressing the differentiation between regional and social dialects, in terms of the underlying dimensions: grammar, vocabulary as well as aspects of pronunciation.

Differently put, a number of researchers have respectfully highlighted the idea of dialect in a more contextual setting. Carter (1993:20), in his *Introducing Applied Linguistics*, writes: **“a dialect refers to a variety of the language that is identified geographically or socially by certain vocabulary or grammatical features”**. In other words, dialects imply the use of a variety of a language in a given society in one region or another. Just as every body belongs to a given area and possesses a given social and a particular background, every body speaks a particular dialect.

According to Crystal (1997:114), dialect is **“a regionally or socially distinctive variety of language”**. Matthews (1997:96), in his part, claims that it is **“any distinct variety of a language, especially one spoken in a specific part of a country or other geographic area”**. Trask (1999:75) suggests **“a more or less identifiable regional or social variety of language”**. All scholars agree that dialect is a variety of language which can be either social or regional

Moreover, dialects are regarded as dialects of a given language, that is, subdivisions of a particular language; for example, the Algerian dialect of Arabic and the Cockney of English. Popular culture thinks of a dialect as a substandard, low status, often rustic form of language, usually associated with peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking prestige. The differences in dialects can be related to geographical and social boundaries.

1.2.2.1. Regional Dialects

Sociolinguistically speaking, a regional dialect is considered as a form of language spoken in a particular geographical area, i.e. it is a variety associated with a given regional place. Dialects tend, differ from one another the more distant and isolated they are geographically.





In this regard, Wardhaugh (2006:43) argues that:

as you travel throughout a wide geographical area in which a language is spoken, [...] you are almost certain to notice differences in pronunciation, in the choices and forms of words, and in syntax.

In other terms, regional dialects tend to show minor differences from their neighbours and greater differences from distant varieties.

The study of regional dialects gained a major role in historical linguistics. It was long obvious (and sometimes troubling) that people who spoke what they considered the same language had different words for the same thing or different pronunciations for the same word.

Since dialectology is the search for spatially and geographically determined difference in various aspects of language for each village or region to be studied, the dialect geographer may draw a line between the area where one item is found different from the other areas; showing a boundary for each area called an “ISO

GLOSS”. For example the phrase “he said to me” is pronounced as / all / in Tlemcen and as / kall/ or / qall / in other regions.

For such findings, many dialectologists have drawn the conclusion that each item has its own distribution through the population of speakers. Then, there is no reason to expect different items to have identical distributions.

1.2.2.2. Social Dialects

Dialect differences are not only geographical; boundaries can be of a social nature. In this vein, Romaine (2000:2) points out **“social dialects say who we are, and regional dialects where we come from”**. Accordingly, the term dialect can also be used to describe differences in speech associated with various social groups or classes which are different from the regional ones. By the way, Yule (1985:24) declares that **“social dialects are varieties of language used by groups defined according to class, education, age, sex and a number of other social parameters”**.

Social dialects are conditioned by such social factors and others as: occupation, place of residence, education, ethnic origin, cultural background, and religion. **“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”** Hudson (1996:42).

In short, these variations imply that dialogues, which are the typical application of speech, should be regarded as a complex social interplay between agents. It is hard to argue with the propositions that speech variation should be based on just social and regional dialect; but the acceptance of their validity as sources of complexity. It has been also remarked that one's occupation may practically have an impact on his verbal performance when interacting with people generally sharing the same profession with him. Such an idea will be more detailed in the following sections as it is the concern of the present research.

Typically, most people refer to linguistic varieties which are not written as 'dialects'; whereas, the standard form of their country is usually seen as prestigious used in formal settings and regarded as 'language'. This fact can be noticed, for instance, with most Algerian individuals who see MSA as the most 'prestigious', 'correct' and 'pure' variety for religious, literary and cultural reasons, while their colloquial and regional dialects are regarded as 'non-prestigious', 'general' or 'common' dialects used for day-to-day interaction. Thus, **“because of its wider functions”, a standard language “is likely to be embraced with a reverence, a language loyalty, that the dialects do not enjoy”**. Haugen (1966:415)

Yet, this linguistic viewpoint stands on the fact that a standard language cannot legitimately be considered better than other varieties. Any attitudes towards non-standard dialects are attitudes which reflect the social structure of society. In this sense, Trudgill (2000:8) asserts that:

The scientific study of language has convinced scholars that all languages, and correspondingly all dialects, are equally 'good' as linguistic systems. All varieties of a language are structures, complex, and rule-governed system which are wholly adequate for the needs of their speakers.

As a matter of fact, one may deduce that there are no universally accepted criteria to characterize language and to distinguish it from dialect. Although a number of rough measures exist, which sometimes render contradictory results, any distinction is therefore a subjective one.

For avoiding all bias and prejudice in sociolinguistics studies, sociolinguistics proposed the use of the neutral term 'variety' for **“...it does not carry the usual implications associated with words like 'language' and 'dialect' and covers the most diverse situations...”**, as Duranti (1997:71) affirms. Nevertheless, there are other problems related to politics, i.e. it is

concerned with the social status of a dialect if it may become a language or vice versa. This interplay of status is connected with an interesting sociolinguistic issue, notably that of language policy.

1.3. Language policy

Language planning is a deliberate effort made by governmental, official or other influential institutions aiming at establishing which language varieties are used in a particular community, directing or influencing which language varieties are to be used for which purposes in that particular community. Clare Mar Molinero (2001:131), a lecturer in Spanish and sociolinguistics in the School of Modern Languages at Southampton University, suggests -as a synthesis of the growing literature on language planning- that **“language planning aims deliberately and consciously to influence or change individual and/or societal language behaviour”**.

Language planning was first introduced by Weinreich, however, the regular failure of national planning activities by the late 1980's (Spolsky, 1998) seems to have encouraged the more neutral-seeming term, language policy (hereafter LP) and sometimes it is called: 'language engineering' or 'language management'.

LP is a very wide field that covers a large practices and it has been defined differently by various specialists. Schiffman (1996:3) defines it simply as **“the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting [a] community's relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential”**. These positions and principles can be either overt by stating them in a formal document or law, or covert, i.e. they have neither written nor formal form and they reflect, however, in popular attitudes. Additionally, Karam (1974:105) indicates that it is **“an activity which attempts to solve a language problem usually on a national scale, and which focuses on either language form or language use or both”**. (Quoted in Benghida, 2006: 37)

Language policy goals differ depending on the nation or organization, but generally include attaining national unity, improving communication and education,

and achieving language maintenance. In this vein, Nahir (1984) offers an eleven-point classification of language planning goals:

1. Language purification (to remove foreign elements, or “errors”).
2. Language revival (to restore “a language with few or no surviving native speakers” as “a normal means of communication”).
3. Language reform (to improve effectiveness).
4. Language standardization (to turn “a language or dialect spoken in a region” into one “accepted as the major language”).
5. Language spread (to expand the domains and speakers of a language).
6. Lexical modernization (to create terminology).
7. Terminology unification (to standardize existing terminology).
8. Stylistic simplification (to make technical or legal language comprehensible, and reduce bureaucratese).
9. Interlingual communication (through planned languages, translation and interpretation, etc.).
10. Language maintenance (to preserve the domains in which a language is used).
11. Auxiliary code standardization (to create norms for language-related activities, e.g. transliteration and transcription)

Quoted in Ball, M.J. (2005: 122-123).

1.3.1. Activity Types of Language Policy

Accordingly, Language planning has been, in fact, divided into three types labeled respectively: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning.

1.3.1.1. Status Planning

Status planning is a purely political issue undertaken by policy makers. It is the allocation or reallocation of a language to functional domains within a society, i.e. any official attempt to determine which language or languages is/are to be used in various public functions, by government, the legal system, the media, and the educational system. In Hoffmann's terms (1991:207) status planning **"...concerns decision-making processes regarding the status and function of particular languages or varieties, as well as the allocation of state resources"**.

Specialists have proposed various labels for this area of study, Neustupny (1970) speaks of a "policy approach", while Jernudd (1973) and Trudgill (1992) discuss "language determination". Rubbin (1983), for his part, suggests that the term "allocation of language use" would be more useful, as at is the case of Cobarrubiabs (1983) who refers to "allocation of language function" for a language in a given speech community².

Strictly speaking, language status is the position or standing of a language vis-à-vis other languages. A language garners status according to the fulfillment of a number of attributes. Kloss and Stewart (1968) establish four common attributes that relate to language status:

1. The origin of language used officially: whether a given language is indigenous or imported to the speech community.
2. Degree of standardization: the extent of development of a formal set of norms that define "correct" usage.
3. Juridical status: as a result of language planning decisions, a language may be recognized as:
 - a) a sole official language
 - b) a joint official language
 - c) a regional official language
 - d) a promoted language
 - e) a tolerated language or,
 - f) a proscribed language
4. Vitality or the ratio: the percent of users of a language to the total population. Kloss and Stewart both distinguish six classes of statistical

² Ideas cited in Hoffman, C (1991:207).

distribution and the first class is for the highest level of vitality. Yet, this factor does not actually say much about the status of language and should be considered in conjunction with the other factors.

Hoffman (1991:209)

Once a language has been fixed as appropriate for use in a specific situation, i.e. an official one, its structure has to be fixed or even modified. This task is referred to as corpus planning.

1.3.1.2. Corpus Planning

Corpus planning is a purely linguistic activity, referring to the intervention in the form and structures of the language. Corpus planning activities often arise as the result of beliefs about the adequacy of the form of a language to serve desired functions. This task is often undertaken by “**...national language planning agencies, whose role differs according to the situation**” Wright, S (Quoted in Llamas, *et al.*2006:165).

Corpus planning and status planning, though they are different in their activities, cannot be separated and they occur one after the other. In this respect, Kloss (1969:81) provides a distinction between corpus and status planning by stating that the former refers to “**...all actions aiming at modifying the nature of the language itself**” while the latter “**is concerned with whether the social status of a language should be lowered or raised**”. (Quoted in Coulmas,1997:303).

Corpus planning is fundamental in any language planning process, so that some theorists have stressed and showed the importance of its activity before the implementing phase and concentrated on it in defining LP. In this regard, Gorman (1973:73) defines LP as “**measures taken to select, codify and, in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon**” (Quoted in Benghida, 2006: 37). It refers to changes made in morphological or syntactic structure, vocabulary or spelling, it may even include the adoption of a new script.

Ferguson (1968) speaks of language development rather than corpus planning and he describes its three basic stages as: graphization, standardization and modernization. *Graphization* refers to development, selection and modification of scripts for a language, i.e. adopting a writing system. Linguists may use an existing system or may invent a new one. The Ainu of Japan³, for example, chose to adopt an existing system of the Japanese language' Katakana syllabary. The latter is modified and used as a writing system for the Ainu language. Sometimes, the writing system of a language can be regraphicized on the basis of political reasons as it is the case of the Turkish who substituted the Arabic script by the Roman one for cutting the links with Ottoman identity and to be clustered to Europe.

Another important aspect of corpus planning is the process of *standardization*. When a variety is chosen, it must be codified, i.e. “...**choosing a standard form and enshrining this in dictionaries, grammars and orthographies**” (Molinero, 2001:180). If a language needs to expand its vocabulary, it passes through modernization.

Modernization or *intellectualization*, as it is termed by Trudgill (1992:40), is undertaken to enable language speakers to speak and write about topic in modern domains. It refers to the activity of creating new lists and glossaries to describe new technical terms. This latter can be borrowed from other languages or by coining and compounding elements from the language that is being modernized. This language, however, cannot be used in schools without passing through the implementation phase; acquisition planning.

1.3.1.3. Acquisition Planning

³ Idea mentioned in: <http://www.wpel.net/v13/v13n1coronell.pdf> , accessed to on November 15th, 2011

Acquisition planning is a third activity that has been recently added by Cooper (1989) besides status planning and corpus planning; in which a national state or local government system aims to influence aspects of language, such as: language status, distribution and literacy through education. Its activity lies in **“increasing the number of users-speakers, writers, listeners or readers”** (ibid: 33) of a language at the expense of another one. That is, all efforts made by politicians -the ruling elite- in order to spread the use of a specific language or languages in a specific speech community.

Cooper stressed on the point that acquisition planning and status planning are two distinctive activities. He (1989: 120) argues that **“status planning is an effort to regulate the demand for given verbal resources”** whereas **“acquisition planning is an effort to regulate the distribution of those resources”**. In the same vein, Molinero, (2001:131) differentiates between the two terms by stating that whereas status planning focuses **“on the way society thinks about the language”**, acquisition planning **“focuses on how it is learnt”**.

The term acquisition planning can be also known as ‘Language Education Policy’. Kaplan& Baldauf (2003), in their turn, named the term ‘Language-in-Education Policy’. They associate it with education since the latter is considered by many theorists as **“a microcosm of society and both reacts to its concerns and proacts in order to influence society”** (Molinero, 2001:158). Moreover, acquisition planning is an activity that develops status planning by identifying the ways in which language use will be expanded in certain domains such as: education, workplace, media, organizations and religious domains.

Education is arguably the most important aspect of LP; **“of all the domains for LP, one of the most important is the school”** (Spolsky, 2004)⁴. This is explained by the fact that children, for instance, in schools are taught a new language in stead of

⁴Spolsky, B. (2004). Language Policy. In <http://www.actfl.org/public/languagepolicykeynote.pdf>

their mother tongue which enhanced status planning. Then, corpus planning will be reinforced by teaching them the prescribed form of this language. After that, acquisition planning, though it faces some problems, is centrally realized through education programmes for children as well as adults (Molinero, 2001). What emphasizes the role of education in LP is “...**the use of the education system by language planners to expand the knowledge of a targeted language**” (Molinero, 2001: 180) from school, a formal context, to the daily speech where the mother tongue is used. This distinction of function, thus, leads us to speak about an interesting sociolinguistic phenomenon known as ‘diglossia’.

1.4. Some Aspects of language Contact

The interplay between linguistic varieties, generally, gives birth to some resulting language contact phenomena which among here we site the diglossic and code switching situations.

1.4.1. Diglossia

The term ‘diglossia’ was first tackled by the German linguist Karl Krumbacher in his book ‘Das Problem der Modernen Griechischen Schriftsprache’ (1902) where he studied the language situations of the Greek and the Arabic (Zughoul, 2004:201). The commonly view, however, is that the term ‘diglossie’ was first coined by the French linguist and anthropologist William Marçais (1930-1931) in an article where he defined the situation of the Arab world as (ibid:401): **“the competition between a learned written language and a dialect sometimes exclusively spoken”**⁵.

The term diglossia was later on introduced to English literature on sociolinguistics by the American linguist Charles Ferguson (1959) in an article,

⁵ Personal translation to the original quotation: “la concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire parfois exclusivement parlée”.

which is now regarded as the classic reference; called «Word» to refer to a situation where two varieties of the same language co-exist. In his article, Ferguson identifies four language situations which show the major characteristics of the diglossic phenomenon: Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German and French based Haitian Creole. Ferguson (1959:245) defines diglossia as:

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

Ferguson raises the point that diglossic speech communities have a high (H) variety that is very prestigious and a low (L) one with no official status of the same language which are in a complementary distribution. H is a superposed standard variety and it is reserved for literacy, literary purposes and for formal, public and official uses. It is never used in informal interaction, contrary to the L variety, which is often an unwritten dialect used in ordinary conversation.

Ferguson's definition to diglossia, however, seems to be a simple suggestion that has lacked afterwards clarity. Ferguson, in fact, himself has acknowledged the weak points in a more recent article which he has entitled "Diglossia Revisited" (1991) where although he gave new supports to his original article, but he specified that **"his definition for diglossia was putative"** (Freeman, 1996).

Linguistically speaking, there is a considerable difference between H and L varieties as it is noticed by Romaine (1994:46):

The high and low varieties differ not only in grammar, phonology, and vocabulary, but also with respect to a number of social characteristics namely: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization and stability.

Romaine (1994) stresses the point that grammar is one of the most striking differences between H and L varieties. Linguists agree that the H variety has grammatical categories not present in the L variety and an inflectional system of nouns and verbs which is much shrink or totally absent in the L variety. For example; in H there are many complex tenses and rules to follow, but in L we use simple phrases without paying attention to the tense or the grammatical structure.

Lexis is also different. The dimension of vocabulary of H and L forms is equal but with variation in form and differences in use and meaning. The H form contains some technical terms and learned expressions that do not have their regular equivalents in L, and the L form consists of some expressions and names of homely objects that do not exist in the other form. Moreover, many pairs of words may occur, referring to common objects or concepts, where the meaning is roughly the same.

The two varieties are not only different in terms of structural features but, also in terms of some social features that characterize diglossia. Ferguson (1959) considers, “...**one of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function of H and L**” (Giglioli, 1972:235). Function refers to the use of one variety in a given social situation and not the other; in a public meeting, for example, only H is appropriate whereas in family, friends and colleagues conversation L is fittingly used.

As far as prestige is concerned, H is somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts and the like (Huebner, 1996:29). H has greater prestige than L and is often regarded as more aesthetic, even if it is less intelligible. It is generally associated with a body of important literature and carries

with it the prestige of a great tradition or religion. It is more stable, being protected from change by its association with writing.

Literary heritage is another feature used by Ferguson to describe diglossia. There is a considerable body of literature written in the H variety. This H written variety is of course codified and thus standard, i.e. there are grammar books, dictionaries, treatises on pronunciation, styles, and so forth of the H variety. By contrast, **“there are no well established spelling rules for the L variety and it is difficult to write in it”** (Fasold, 1993:37).

H and L are also distinct at the level of language acquisition. The L variety is learned by children and adults without instruction while H is chiefly accomplished **“by the means of formal education, whether this can be traditional Qur'anic schools, modern government schools, or private tutors”** (Huebner, 1996:30). Romaine, in her turn, supports and explains this distinction by stating that (1993:33):

The separate locations in which H and L are acquired immediately provide them with separate institutional support systems. L is typically acquired at home as a mother tongue and continues to be used throughout life. Its use is also extended to other familiar and familiar interaction. H on the other hand, is learned later through socialization and never at home. H is related to and supported by institutions outside the home.

(Quoted in Dorni, 2009:73).

Diglossia is a typically stable phenomenon. It persists for centuries and the two varieties last in complementary distribution. Yet, a communicative tension may occur between them due to a number of factors. The spread of literacy, for instance, may lead many intellectuals to switch to H while using L. This case is named as **“...intermediate forms of the language as: Greek mikti, Arabic al-lughah al-wusta, Haitian créole de salon”** (Huebner, 1996:31).

Moreover, later on the term diglossia has been extended to cover situations which do not count as diglossic according to Ferguson's definition. The linguist

J.A. Fishman (1967) proposed an extended version of diglossia. He claims that the term **“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”**.

Fishman refers to Paraguay as an example. In Paraguay, Spanish is the H variety used in education and government, and Guarani, an Indian language totally unrelated to Spanish, is the vernacular spoken mainly in the villages and used in cities as a mark of informality. Myers-Scotton (1986) proposed to label Fishman’s concept as “Extended Diglossia” to differentiate it from “Narrow Diglossia”. Similarly, Kloss (1996:138) terms the former as “out-Diglossia” in contrast with the latter “in-diglossia”.

The existence of a diversity of varieties in the same speech community leads to the consideration of more complex relations between languages that include other kinds of diglossia. Abdulaziz Mkhilifi (1978) expanded the concept to situations including three languages which he termed as ‘Triglossia’. He gives the example of Tanzania where there is a L variety, Swahili a H variety and a third one is English which is higher than Swahili.

This terminology variation continues and becomes more complex by Platt’s (1977) description of ‘Polyglossia’ (Muller & Ball, 2005:61). He studies the case of Malaysia where numerous languages co-exist; Malaysian English and Bahasa Indonesia as two H varieties and more than one L variety, in addition to the existence of a ‘dummy high variety’⁶. A diversity of examples is found but we are not going to include all of them as it does not best fit our objectives. The present research work, however, deals with the classical definition of diglossia where two varieties of the same language co-exist; H for formal contexts while L for daily interaction. Yet, the latter may contain some elements from H. Hence, this issue

⁶ Muller & Ball (2005:61) defined a dummy high variety as: “a language that most speakers look up to as a prestige language but which is in fact hardly anyone can actually speak”. In the case of Malaysia, the dummy high is Mandarin Chinese.

paves us to witness that diglossia and code switching, though appeared to be separate, but often two related fascinating fields as we shall see in the next section.

1.4.2. Code Switching

Code switching (hereafter CS), a type of discourse that occurs as a natural outcome of language contact and an inevitable consequence of bilingualism⁷, has attracted linguists' attention and been studied from a variety of perspectives. Scholars do not seem to share a single definition of the concept, and this is perhaps inevitable, given the different concerns of formal linguists, psycholinguists, sociolinguists, anthropo-linguists and so forth. Many scholars use a definition of CS similar to Heller's (1988a:1): **“the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode”**; Auer (1984:1), for example, sees it as **“the alternating use of more than one language”**; while Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) define CS as: **“the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation”** (Quoted in Boztepe, 2008 : 4). Whatever the definitions are, it is obvious that any one who speaks more than one language switches between them or mixes them according to certain circumstances.

On the light of Trudgill' quotation (1992:16) CS is, however: **“the process whereby bilingual or bidialectal speakers switch back and forth between one language or dialect and another within the same conversation”**. Such a definition clearly denotes that CS can occur in a monolingual community, or in a plurilingual speech collectivity. In a monolingual context, CS relates to a diglossic situation where speakers make use of two varieties for well-defined set of functions: a H variety, generally the standard, for formal contexts, and a L variety typically for everyday informal communicative acts. In addition to alternation between H and L varieties, speakers may also switch between the dialects available to them in that community via a process of CS. *In such a case, i.e. monolingual context, CS is*

⁷ Bilingualism means the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual, i.e. **“the practice of using alternatively two languages”** (Weinreich 1953). We give just a simple definition about bilingualism as it is not the concern of our fieldwork.

classified as being ‘internal’, as the switch occurs between different varieties of the same language. In a multilingual community, the switch is between two or more linguistic systems. This is referred to as ‘external’ CS.

Yet, not all researchers use the same terms for CS in the same way (Boztepe,2008:4), some of them view CS as restricted into mixing two languages whereas others suggest the terms: ‘code alternation’ or ‘insertion’⁸ or they have include even style shifting. This terminology about CS reached the dilemma of distinguishing between CS and borrowing, a more complicated issue, by proposing different models and approaches. Yet, Eastman (1992:1) neglects all these distinctions by stating that: **“efforts to distinguish code switching, code mixing and borrowing are doomed”** and that it is crucial that we **“free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch”**. (Quoted in Boztepe, 2008 : 8).

Hence, in the present research work, the researcher is not going to speak about this distinction as well as borrowing as it is not the interest of our fieldwork. When a speaker in general or a teacher in particular uses H where L should be used, it is a case of CS rather than borrowing. More precisely, CS here is taken simply as: **“alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation”** (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:1). In other words, we take CS as Gumperz (1982:59), the first who introduced the term CS and one of the most outstanding figures in the field, said: **“the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two, different grammatical systems or subsystems”**. In these two quotations, CS is used as an umbrella to cover the phenomena of alternating between languages or dialects of the same language within the same conversation.

⁸ Code alternation is used by Auer (1995) to refer to instances of one language being replaced by the other halfway through the sentence, and insertion correlates with occurrences of single lexical items from one language into a structure from the other language. We give just an idea about them as our basis is code switching.

Studies of CS can be divided into three broad approaches: structural, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. More precisely, CS is studied as a product, as a process and as a social phenomenon as it will be explained below.

1.4.2.1. The Structural Approach to Code Switching

Studies on this approach are looking for what constitutes CS. In other terms, this approach attempts to answer questions beginning with the word *'what'* taking CS as a product (Muller and Ball: 2005). It attempts to describe the grammatical aspects of one's speech yet still have reached any agreement. **“Research in this field”**, as Gardner-Chloros & Edwards (2004:104) stated, **“has largely concentrated on finding universally applicable, predicative grammatical constraints on CS, so far without success”**. (Quoted in Namba, 2007: 68).

In studying linguistic restriction on CS, some scholars have tried to present models so as to provide accurate explanations for such constraints. The most common approaches are those of Poplack and her associates⁹, Chomsky's generative and the third is Myers Scotton Structural model as we shall see below.

Poplack's *'Linear Order Constraint'*, where she argued for the word-order equivalence, is an early but influential work and contribution to the linguistic aspect of CS. Poplack, in her theory, proposed two constraints when examining Spanish/English bilinguals (1980) called: 'the equivalence constraint' and the 'free morpheme constraint'. Switches, in the equivalence constraint, from one code to another do not violate a syntactic rule of either language. It tends to occur at **“points around which the surface structure of the two languages map on to each other”** (Poplack, 1980: 586). Hence, this constraint emphasizes that CS is almost likely to occur where the two codes share the same word order. Yet, it is criticized by many theorists, and numerous counter examples have been provided like

⁹ Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood (1987), Sankoff and Poplack (1981), and Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan (1990). For abbreviation purposes, these authors are referred to as Poplack and her associates.

French/Moroccan Arabic (Bentahila and Davies, 1983) and English/Japanese switching (Nishimura, 1997)¹⁰ which are distant in their sentence elements' order, i.e. in terms of their structure.

The free morpheme constraint, on the other hand, prohibits switching between a lexical item and a bound morpheme. In other words, **“codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme”** (Poplack, 1980:585). Counter examples are also cited opposing this constraint theory especially from agglutinative languages¹¹ such as Turkish and other examples that violate the free morpheme constraint.

Unlike Poplack' model, a variety based on Chomsky's generative grammar was proposed. Chomsky's theory focused on phrase structure as the source of constraints. Consequently, the Government and Binding frame work allows any switch within a maximal projection, i.e. between verb (V) and its NP (Object). Yet, this switch is possible in counter instances cited by Romaine (2005) in her Panjabi/English data, or by Myers Scotton (1993a) in her Swahili/English corpus.. As a result, the proposals based on Government Binding theory **“operating at a level which is too ‘purely syntactic’, or too close to the surface”** (Namba, 2007:70)

In contrast, Myers Scotton proposed perhaps the most detailed model, a non-linear one, which is constructed on a more psycholinguistic speech production theory. She named it the ‘Matrix Language Frame Model’ (or MLF for short). It is currently one of the most influential models **“to account for the structures in intrasentential CS”** (Myers Scotton, 1993a:5).

Myers Scotton worked on a Swahili/English corpus. She takes her insights from Joshi's (1985) asymmetry model. Therefore, her MLF model is based on the notion that there is an asymmetrical relation between a ‘Matrix Language’ (ML)

¹⁰ Idea mentioned in (Namba, 2007 :69)

¹¹ Agglutinative languages partially because, in such languages, each component of meaning is productively expressed by its own morpheme, which are then affixed to the stem.

and an ‘Embedded Language’ (EL) in CS. The ML is proposed to play the dominant role in CS and **“is responsible for constructing the morpho-syntactic order of the CS sentences”**, whereas the EL is **“less active and plays a restricted role in CS”** (Lotfabbadi, 2002:54). In Myers' MLF work (1993a, 1995), the ML provides the grammatical frame in mixed constituents, i.e. the morpheme order and the system morphemes (Muller & Ball, 2005). By the way and based on the asymmetry principle, Myers Scotton (1993b:4) provides a technical definition for CS as being:

...the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation.

Under the MLF model, there can be three constituents explained by Myers Scotton (1997:221):

- 1) Mixed constituents (ML + EL constituents) contain content morphemes from both the ML and the EL, but have a grammatical frame from the ML.
- 2) Similarly, ML islands have a ML grammatical frame but all morphemes come from the ML.
- 3) EL islands are morphemes coming from EL and framed by its grammar.

What is striking is that researchers of the structural approach identified two main types of CS: intrasentential and intersentential CS. The former takes place within a sentence and/or clause or even word boundaries, with no apparent change in topics, interlocutor, or setting. It may be a process of inserting a noun, a verb, or even a clause, in a complex sentence (Poplack, 1980); it is often referred to as ‘code mixes’ or ‘code mixing’. The latter, however, refers to CS occurring outside the sentence and/or the clause level, **“between sentences”** (Myers Scotton, 1995:4).

In this vein, Mc Laughlin (1984) differentiated between CS and code mixing by referring to the first as **“language changes occurring across phrase or sentence boundaries”**, whereas the second **“takes place within sentences and usually involves**

single lexical items” (Hoffman, 1991:110). Some scholars suggested the term code mixing or language mixing (Auer, 1993) for the psycho-linguistically conditioned type, i.e. the psycholinguistic approach.

1.4.2.2. The Psycholinguistic Approach to Code Switching

This approach is not prompted by the system as in the structural approach but by the processes occurring in the speakers’ brain. In this vein, Weinreich (1953) classifies three types of bilingualism according to the way languages are stored in bilinguals’ brain. Coordinate bilinguals “...**had learned each language in separate contexts, and so kept them distinct**” (Spolsky, 1998:48) whereas compound bilinguals acquired the two languages in the same context. Therefore, as Bialystok, (2003:101), a Professor of Psychology at York University, stated “...**the two words converge on a single combined concept**”. Subordinate bilinguals, however, are those who acquire one language and the other language is interpreted through the stronger one.

Furthermore, a diversity of bilingual production models has been presented. Yet, the investigator is not going to discuss them in details as it is not the focus of the present dissertation. Green explains in his model (1998) the mental switch mechanism of normal as well as brain-damaged monolinguals and bilinguals (Namba, 2007:67). He asserted that the chosen language must be ‘selected’ and the other one ‘inhibited’.

Grosjean (1997) also proposed the ‘*Language Mode Model*’ where he argues that bilinguals’ languages can be ‘activated’ or ‘deactivated’ independently or simultaneously to a certain extent, taking in the mental switch both the speaker and the hearer into account. Bilinguals, for instance, when interacting with each other switch of course more than interacting with monolinguals who have only one variety in their mental dictionary as it is explained by Grosjean (ibid:227):

Bilinguals find themselves in their everyday lives at various points along a situational continuum that induces different language modes. At one end of the continuum, bilinguals are in totally monolingual language mode, in that they are interacting with monolinguals of one - or the other -of the languages they know.

He adds,

At the other end of the continuum, bilinguals find themselves in a bilingual language mode, in that they are communicating with bilinguals who share their two (or more) languages and with whom they normally mix languages (i.e., code - switch and borrow). These are endpoints, but bilinguals also find themselves at intermediary points, depending on such factors as who the interlocutors are, the topic of conversation, the setting, the reasons for exchange, and so forth.

Quoted in Namba (2007 : 68)

These factors, indeed, lead us to move towards the sociolinguistic approach.

1.4.2.3. The Sociolinguistic Approach to Code Switching

The role of sociolinguistic studies is to answer the broad general question: ‘why do bilinguals switch languages?’. In other words, sociolinguistic research deals with CS as a process. By the way, it is wiser to return to Muller and Ball’s distinction (2005:51) between CS as a product or a process who stated that a first distinction is **“whether our focus of analysis is going to be the language (talk, writing) produced, and preserved in some medium [...], or the process of producing language”**. More precisely, CS as a product attempts to solve the question ‘where does CS occur, and how it is patterned’, i.e. it identifies syntactic and morpho-syntactic constraints on CS; it also investigates the possible role of CS in textual organization, stylistic features or levels of formality. CS as a process, which is the concern of our research work, deals primarily with CS as a ‘behaviour’, i.e. an aspect of a speaker's linguistic ‘performance’, influenced by different factors such as: topic, attitudes, competence and so forth. This **“distinction”**, however, **“becomes sometimes blurred in language research”** (Muller & Ball, 2005: 52).

In dealing with CS as a process, sociolinguistic studies have been conducted from two levels: macro and micro levels. The macro level was adopted by Fishman (1965) in his referential work 'Domain Analysis'. Fishman focuses on **“the correlation between code choice and types of activity”** (Boztepe, 2008:12).

This differs considerably from Blom and Gumperz (1972) micro approach that identified two types of code choice: *situational* switching and *metaphorical* switching. Situational CS, as its name implies, depends on the situation, i.e. the language used in formal situation is different from the one used in informal one. It is very clear that, for many parts, the social context defines the linguistic choice, and such a choice is controlled by social rules that have been become integrated part of the daily linguistic behaviour of individuals as a result of experience. This type of CS is different from diglossia. In diglossic communities, people are aware when switching from H to L or vice versa while CS is often quite subconscious. Wardhaugh (2006:104) summarizes this idea by stating that **“diglossia reinforces differences, whereas CS tends to reduce them”**. Metaphorical CS, on the other hand, occurs according to changes in topic rather than the social situation. Here, it is **“the choice of language that determines the situation”** (Hudson, 1996:53). Metaphorical switching is then topic-related.

Amazingly enough, in this type of language modulation, some topics might be discussed in either code. However, because the choice encodes certain social values, the selection gives a distinct flavour of what is said about the topic.

One striking feature revealed from Blom and Gumperz research (1972) is that metaphorical switches were subconscious. Instances of this type were taken from students who were native to Hemnesberget and thus native speakers of Ranamal. The experiment, for more spontaneity and no pressure, was conducted in an informal setting in the home of one of the informant where spontaneous interaction was present. With the use of some elicitation strategies, Blom and Gumperz could ensure a wide range of topics to be discussed. As they reported, the student spoke in their dialect when speaking about casual topics like drinking habits, and switched to the standard variety when tackling more academic topics. Once the informants

listened to the recordings of their conversations, they not only were appalled that their speech had diverged from their dialect, but they also promised to refrain switching during future discussions.

Unlike the two preceding types, at which switching corresponds to a point where the situation or topic changes, *Conversational CS* was added to CS terminology to describe functions. This type of switching takes place in random way and does not consider the context in which it may occur but rather the structure of utterances. In a stretch of speech between bilinguals, for instance, it is not surprising that speakers start with one language then adopt few words from the other then go back to the first for a few more words and so forth. Consequently, such a type, which is also known as *code mixing*, demands participants who have a 'reasonable' proficiency in the codes involved for a better comprehension. Auer (1988) developed Blom and Gumperz works and introduced the '*Conversation Analysis Approach*' in which he insists on interpreting CS in relation with its sequential environment by stating that (ibid:116):**“any theory of conversational code-alternation is bound to fail if it does not take into account that the meaning of code-alternation depends in essential ways on its ‘sequential environment’”**. Quoted in (Boztepe, 2008 :12)

Gumperz (1982) makes a distinction between the codes in switching: the 'we code' and the 'they code' which denotes particular types of social relationships. The former relates to choice of language in in-group relations while the latter in out-group relations. He describes them in terms of their primary function, i.e. solidarity. The following table, provided by Grosjean (1982: 136)¹², summarizes a set of concise factors that potentially explain speakers' code choice:

¹² Mentioned in (Boztepe, 2008 :17)

FACTORS INFLUENCING LANGUAGE CHOICE

<i>Participants</i>	<i>Situation</i>
Language proficiency	Location/Setting
Language preference	Presence of monolinguals
Socioeconomic status	Degree of formality
Age	Degree of intimacy
Sex	
Occupation	<i>Content of Discourse</i>
Education	
Ethnic Background	Topic
History of speakers' linguistic interaction	Type of vocabulary
Kinship relation	
Intimacy	<i>Function of Interaction</i>
Power relation	
Attitude toward languages	To raise status
Outside pressure	To create social distance
	To exclude someone
	To request or command

Table 1.1. Grosjean's List on Factors Influencing Language Choice

As an attempt to incorporate the macro and micro perspectives, Myers Scotton (1993b) introduced her “*Markdness Model*” as a complementary device to “**account for CS by proposing that speakers have unmarked and marked choices available to them when they speak**” (Wardhaugh, 2006:109-110). These choices are considered by Scotton (1980:360) as “**individually motivated negotiations**” whose success only depends on the degree of awareness and adequate use of “**the communally recognized norms**” (1983¹³:123) which establish the meanings of the choices in different types of talk situations¹³.

Under her Markedness model, Myers Scotton lists three maxims of code choice: ‘the unmarked choices’ are expected and do not produce any special effect

¹³ Quoted in Dendane (2007 : 123)

whereas ‘marked choices’ are **“unusual, un-expected and encode the speaker's social disapproval”** (Lotfabbadi, 2002:19). The third maxim is ‘the exploratory choice’ which is assigned to **“ ‘explore’ or to ‘negotiate’ the unmarked choice between interlocutors when the choice of code is not clearly apparent”** (Smith, D.J. 2002:5). Attitudes towards distinctive varieties are also an incentive factor of code choice as we shall see in the next section.

1.5. Language Attitudes

Language attitude is one of the most important topics in the social psychology of language and one of the central factors that engender linguistic variation which in turn may lead to language change. The concept of language attitude is used broadly to mean **“any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties and their speakers”** Ryan *et al.* (1982:7)¹⁴.

Daily speech interactions may have a set of different language varieties. Speakers, on their turn, may have different attitudes towards these surrounding varieties. Such attitudes, as Trudgill (1992:44) points out, **“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”**.

Attitudes may also fluctuate from one’s level of education and personality traits to another. Students from the Islamic Department, for instance, and others from the French Department could have different attitudes towards MSA and French. Regarding the first group, the majority of them may give positive evaluation of MSA and negative or neutral claims towards French. The second group, however, may favour French. Teachers, in their turn, may have divergent linguistic change. A teacher of the Arabic language, for example, may have positive evaluations of MSA unlike a French language teacher who may have less positive reactions towards MSA and more evaluations of French.

¹⁴ Quoted in Dendane (2007 : 258).

Accordingly, MSA, the supra-language associated with religion, literature and education in the Algerian speech community, is not used in ordinary speech interaction. Yet, Arabic language teachers remain strong enough to continually revitalize its use in their daily speech, the concern of the present research work, whatever negative attitudes it may bear. Language change may be explained in terms of objective linguistic change or speakers' subjective reactions. In this respect, Labov (1972a:162)¹⁵ put forwards two approaches:

The indirect approach to this problem correlates the general attitudes and aspirations of the informants with their linguistic behaviour. The more direct approach is to measure the unconscious subjective reactions of the informants to values of the linguistic variable itself.

Hence, because attitudes are a mental construct, there was much methodological debate concerning the research data that will be used. There are essentially three research approaches, usually termed: '*the societal treatment approach*', a broad category that typically includes observation, and '*the direct approach*' which is much used in larger-scale and it involves simply asking people to report self-analytically what their attitudes are. (Llamas, C *et al.* 2006)

The third approach is '*the indirect approach*'. It is a technique called "the Matched Guise Technique" proposed by Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert *et al.* 1960), and then developed later on in Lambert 1967, Gardner and Lambert 1972¹⁶. This procedure allows the researcher to unveil the unconscious attitudes of the respondents by making them listening to a record text. The same text is performed in different guises. The informants will then ask to guess about the speakers in the guises by filling a questionnaire. Regarding this field work, the research approach that has been used will be explained in the next chapters of this inquiry.

¹⁵ Quoted in Dendane (2007 :290)

¹⁶ Quoted in Edwards, J (1982 :22)

1.6. Conclusion

The aim of the present chapter has been to introduce a theoretical view about some sociolinguistic key-concepts relating to the fieldwork, among them: LP. This latter touched many spheres; mainly education where the language of instruction is MSA whereas AA is kept for daily conversation. Observation of daily Arabic language teachers' speech might, however, reveal that these informants tend to insert some of MSA even out of classroom courses. They switch from L to H in informal contexts when interacting with their colleagues, friends, and even within family members. Such a linguistic behaviour and the reasons that stand behind it will be tackled more in the two following chapters.

Chapter Two: The Linguistic Situation in Algeria

2.1. Introduction

2.2. Algeria: A Linguistic and Historical Background

2.2.1. Algeria in the Pre-colonial Era

2.2.2. Algeria During the French Occupation

2.2.3. Algeria After Independence

2.3. Arabization of Education

2.4. Linguistic Repertoires in Algeria

2.4.1. Arabic

2.4.2. French

2.4.3. Berber

2.5. Algeria: An Intricate Diglossic Code Switching Situation

2.5.1. Diglossia

2.5.2. Code Switching

2.6. Tlemcen: A Geo-Linguistic Background Account

2.6.1. The Geographical Location of Tlemcen

2.6.2. Linguistic Features of Tlemcen Spoken Arabic

2.7. Conclusion

2.1. Introduction

Dialectological studies and sociolinguistic empirical works are not that exhaustive in the Arabic world, including Algeria as a case of Maghrebi countries. The only and scarce works available actually are those which were under the French or the English rule. These works, though they are of valuable esteem, and though they include large amounts of data and information on Arabic dialectology, remain still scarce, as language is not static; it evolves through time. Because of the creative aspect of human language, and despite the numerous efforts to raise linguistic problems in the Arabic nation, linguistic inquiries that coincide with the actual linguistic facts and the sociolinguistic realities are still be needed.

The present chapter, therefore, involves two parts. The first one highlights the linguistic situation in Algeria, introducing a review about language repertoires and the conflicting interplay between these languages which lead the situation to sound quite intricate. It also focuses on the most decisive historical fact that characterizes the Algerian speech community as well as those of the other Maghrebi countries in North Africa, that is to say Arabization and diglossia. The second chapter, however, sketches out the speech community of Tlemcen; it gives a brief geographical, socio-historical and linguistic overview of the town where the data were collected.

2.2. Algeria: A Linguistic and Historical Background

Algeria, in fact, witnessed a number of successive invasions that affected the country culturally, and that its traces are still visible in today' s Algerian Arabic vernaculars. The longest and the most effective invasion is the French colonialism which is considered as the most important factor and, thus, regarded as a reference in dividing Algerian history into three prominent eras: pre-colonial Algeria, Algeria during and after the French occupation.

2.2.1. Algeria in the Pre-colonial era

It is commonly agreed among historians that the original inhabitants of Algeria were the Berbers¹⁷ who were commonly found and located all along the Northern coast of Africa. Because of that the area was known as the Barbary Coast. Berbers spoke the Tamazight language which gradually gave birth to the different Berber varieties present today in Algeria.

According to historians of middle ages, the Berbers were divided into two branches¹⁸ (Botr and Banés), descended from Mawigh ancestors, who were themselves divided into tribes, and again into sub-tribes. The large Berber tribes or people are: Sanhadja, Houras, Masmouda, Kutama, Awarba, and Berghwata. However, the history of the country started officially only with the arrival of the Phoenicians who had established settlements on the coast of Algeria.

After 1000 BCE, the Carthaginians also began establishing settlements along the coast. The Berbers seized the opportunity to become independent of Carthage; however, the Punic language¹⁹ left its traces visible in the modern Berber varieties. The Carthaginian state declined because of successive defeats by the Romans in the Punic Wars, and in 146 B.C the city of Carthage was destroyed. As Carthaginian power waned, the influence of Berber leaders in the hinterland grew. By the second century B.C., several large but loosely administered Berber kingdoms had emerged.

¹⁷ Collyer, M. FMO Country Guide: Algeria. In:
[http:// www.forcedmigration.orgguidesfmo023fmo023.pdf](http://www.forcedmigration.orgguidesfmo023fmo023.pdf)

¹⁸ [http:// www.suite101.com/content/early-inhabitants-of-algeria-a107337](http://www.suite101.com/content/early-inhabitants-of-algeria-a107337) accessed to on february, 10th, 2011 at 16:35.

¹⁹ A Semitic language close to Hebrew was the language of the Numides kings at that time, and, therefore, the official language of Carthage. Historically, Berbers have been known by variously terms, for instance, as «Meshwesh» or «Meshewesh» by the Egyptians, the «Libyans» by the ancient Greek, as «Numidians» and «Mauri »by the Romans, and as «Moore» by medieval and early modern Europeans.

Berber territory was annexed to the Roman Empire in A.D. 24. Increases in urbanization and in the area under cultivation during Roman rule caused wholesale dislocations of Berber society, and Berber opposition to the Roman presence was nearly constant. The prosperity of most towns depended on agriculture, and the region was known as the “granary of the empire”. Christianity arrived in the second century. By the end of the fourth century, the settled areas had become Christianized, and some Berber tribes had converted en masse. Vandals occupation which coincided by the fall of the Romans was not sufficiently long (455-533). Even though they used their Germanic language and the Gothic script as well as Latin in the fields of legislation and diplomacy, they were disappeared by leaving practically any influence in the language of the Mountainous Berbers, **“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)

The arrival of the Arabs in the 7th century was a turning point in the history of all Northern African countries, including Algeria. The Arabs brought Islam and the Arabic language which had a profound impact on North Africa. The new religion and language introduced changes in social and economic relations and provided a rich culture and a powerful idiom of political discourse and organization, which paved the way to the dominance of Arabic over the other already existing language varieties. With the coming of these Arab invasions of the 7th and 8th centuries, the Berber of the cities started to adopt Arabic gradually while the Berber of the mountains stick to their ancestral languages and the greatest cultural impact on Berber came until the 11th century with the coming of the tribes of ‘Banu Hillal’ when Berber would start its decline and Arabic became deeply rooted in Algeria. (Berrabeh, 1999)

For three hundred years, Algeria was a province of the Ottoman Empire and was controlled by one leader called "Dey". Subsequently, with the institution of a regular Ottoman empire, Turkish was the official language and Arabs and Berbers

were excluded from government's posts²⁰. That is, the Turks refused any assimilation with the Arab-Berber population and they remained a distinct community living like foreigners in North Africa, until 1830. In commerce, the Turks, the Algerians and Europeans used a variety as a Lingua Franca²¹ to communicate, which includes Spanish vocabulary, elements of Turkish and of the syntactic shapes inspired from Arabic; the fact that explains the existence of many Greek words in the Algerian speech community today.

The Spanish presence is historically and linguistically clearly attested particularly to the West and on the coastal areas which were known as a commercial route for Spanish, Italian, British and Levantine sea-traders. The Spanish presence in Algeria was a way of neutralizing the Turkish piracy harboured by the North African coastal shelters. It is, therefore, necessary to mention that the Spanish presence triggered a fertile process of lexical borrowing that pervaded the vernacular (Zoulikha Bensafi, 2002:831). What complicates the issue more and more is the French occupation in 1830 which makes the linguistic situation in Algeria more intricate.

2.2.2. Algeria during the French Occupation

Unlike the other Maghreban countries, Morocco and Tunisia which were controlled just as protectorates and lasted for much less time, French colonialism in Algeria continued for a long period; more than 130 years. Algeria was considered as a province of France by the French Government. This latter aimed at acculturating Algerians, and steadily erasing their Arabo-Islamic identity, and imposing their language as **"the only official language of civilization and advancement"** Bourhis (1982:44).

²⁰ [http : // www.mongabay.com/reference/new_profiles/788.html](http://www.mongabay.com/reference/new_profiles/788.html) accessed to on February, 27th, 2011 at 17:46

²¹ A shared language of communication used by people whose main languages are different.

The French policy was, indeed, so strong and it was undertaken by a combination of force, violence and disease epidemics which led to the beginning of the decline of the indigenous Algerian population by nearly one-third from 1830 to 1872. The conquest, however, was slow because of the intense resistance led by *Emir Abdelkader*. It was only by 1848 that nearly all Northern Algeria was under French control, and the new government declared the occupied lands as integral part of France. Three civil territories: Algiers, Oran, Constantine were organized as French departments, i.e. as local administrative units under a civilian government. Algeria, therefore, was immediately perceived like a 'colony of settlement' at the same time they attempted to apply a kind of a "human genocide" and a "cultural cleansing".

At the beginning, it was hard somehow to de-arabize Algeria completely because traditional teaching of Koran and Arabic in Koranic schools and mosques was still strong. At the same time, French-teaching schools were established quickly in order to introduce the French language. As a matter of fact, many Algerians were obliged to attend French schools due to the lack of Arabic educational institutions. The most important goal of the French government, then, was to conquest and dominate the country totally and definitively by de-arabizing it and implementing the French school.

Though the Algerian people resisted this strategy until the beginning of the 20th C, their resistance started to collapse and became weaker. As a consequence, people especially in urban cities decided to send their children to French schools in order to avoid illiteracy and to seize the opportunity to enter the modern world through the French language while the majority of Algerian families preferred to let their children grow in ignorance.

The French occupation was long and so brutal; however after the First World War (IWW), the value of nationalism and anti-colonialism raised among Algerians. In the early morning hours of November 1954, the National Liberation Front «FLN» launched attacks throughout Algeria calling for independence.

The referendum was held in Algeria on July 1st, 1962 and Algeria's independence was formally on July 5th, 1962. Yet, in spite of declaring MSA as the official and national language, French resisted in many spheres such as: education and administration and left its traces deeply in the AA and Berber which were the spoken varieties used by the indigenous population.

2.2.3. Algeria after Independence

After a long and a brutal war (1954-1962), Algeria was declared as an independent state which is characterized by a linguistic diversity. Therefore, the state must be unified with a single religion, a single language, and a single political party.

Algeria's first president was the FLN leader "Ahmed Ben Bella" who announced that **“Arabic is the national language of independent Algeria”** in his famous speech on October 5th, 1962 (Benmoussat, 2003). The Algerian political power recognized Arabic as the official language and Islam as **“religion of state”** as two pillars that shape the Algerian identity.

Hence, the new nation refused any status with French, Berber or even AA. AA and Berber were excluded from the Algerian LP; the former because it lacks standardization and the latter, too, could not become a standard language because of its colloquialism (Boukous, 2002). Even if, for instance, policy makers approached the idea of AA as being an official one, a big internal problem will be created of which variety will be standardized: AA of Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Tlemcen, or of Sahara since each speech community in Algeria, though there is a mutual intelligibility, has its own variety and this soon torn the Algerian nationalism apart.

The Berber varieties, too, in order to be standardized, have first to be unified on the one hand. Their lacking of script has always been a source of disagreement

among specialists on the other; policy makers should use whether the Latin script, the Tifinagh, or even the Arabic script. Consequently, the Algerian authorities claimed that AA and Berber were “impure” languages because they contained so much French words as well as “inappropriate” to be considered as national symbols of the state.

Not surprisingly, policy makers of Algeria had defended Arabic to regain its prestige and attempted to reinforce MSA as the official language of the state. They had also aimed at elbowing out the French language that had pervaded all walks of life during the French period and even after independence when bilingualism grew more and more. (Bensafi, 2002)

Another question is raised in this era which concerns language of instruction, i.e. which language will be used in Algerian schools. As Hartshorne (1987:63)²² points out:

Language policies are highly charged political issues and seldom if ever decided on educational grounds alone... this is particularly true of the experience of bilingual and multilingual countries, where decisions on language in education have to do with issues of political dominance, the protection of the power structure, the preservation of privilege...

In this respect, which language should be used as a medium of instruction and as a national one in the state: French which was considered as a symbol of “dark years of colonialism” or Arabic “language of Quran and of identity”.

Consequently, as a matter of fact, Algerian decision makers decided to restore Arabic as a language of Algeria, a process which is referred to in literature as « *Arabization* » or « *re-Arabization* ».

²² Quoted in Benmoussset, 2003.

2.3. Arabization of Education

Algeria absorbed an extreme and heavy colonial impact since the French controlled many spheres; namely education, government, business, and most intellectual life for 132 years. They attempted to suppress Algerian cultural identity and remolded the society along French lines. Shortly after independence, therefore, Algerian decision makers launched a simple and a rapid language policy that tried to reinforce MSA as an official language of the state in many sectors, notably that of education through acquisition planning. Such policy was named as the «Arabization policy»; a term referring to the process of restoring and generalizing MSA as a language of utilized for instruction, as well as public administration, formal written form and media in general.

Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:191) asserts that arabization:

Est une de nos options fondamentales. Il ne s'agit pas de refuser le dialogue avec les autres peuples et les autres civilisations, il s'agit de redevenir nous-mêmes, de nous enraciner dans notre sol et dans notre peuple, pour mieux assimiler ensuite ce que les autres peuvent nous apporter d'enrichissement²³

The Algerian president Houari Boumedienne (1974), who initiated the most radical processes and who decided upon complete arabization as a national goal declared that:

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

Quoted in (Benghida, 2

²³ Personal translation: is one of our fundamental options. It is not a matter of refusing the dialogue with other people and other civilizations, it is, however, a matter of becoming we same, in order to root in our soil and our identity; for better assimilating what the others can bring us of enrichment.

The focus on Islam and the Arabic language continued in the new Algerian state as a means for cementing unity and, importantly, distancing the Algerian nation from France (Grandguillaume, 1983& Stora, 1994, 2001)²⁴. Article 5 of the 1963 constitution made Arabic the sole national and official language of the Algerian state. Then, the National Charter of 1976 stressed the importance of the Arabic language in the definition of the cultural identity of the Algerian people because **“[the Algerian] personality cannot be separated from the language which expresses it”**. Quoted in Benghida, 2006:)

In deed, the action of Arabization aimed at imposing the single use of Arabic by prohibiting the use of any foreign language particularly French and even Berber which are excluded from LP. There are close to thirty (30) laws regulating the official use of language in Algeria today. Among them, article 11, for example, stresses on the fact that all administrative correspondence must be conducted in Arabic, article 18 orders that TV broadcasts, declarations, conferences and interventions be conducted in Arabic. Article 32, on the other hand, states that whoever signs an official document edited in a language other than the Arabic language is liable to a fine of 1000 to 5000 DA. If the breach is repeated, the fine is doubled. (Mouhleb, 2005:13)

The policy of arabization touched many spheres: administration, media, and government, in addition to other economic spheres. Education, which is the concern of our research work, is one of the spheres of arabization where significant measures have been taken.

Arabization was introduced slowly, in schools, starting with the primary school and in the social sciences and humanities subjects. By the 1980's, MSA began to be introduced as the language of instruction in the entire primary school in some grades and some subjects at secondary level. It is the article 15 of the law N 91-05 of January 16th, 1991 which impules the exclusive teaching of the Arabic language.

²⁴ Mouhleb, N. (2005:9-10)

Article 15:

L'enseignement, l'éducation et la formation dans tous les secteurs, dans tous les cycles et dans toutes les spécialités sont dispensés en langue Arabe, sous réserve des modalités d'enseignement des langues étrangères”²⁵.

By the mid 1980's, arabization had begun to produce some measurable results. In the primary school, instruction was in Literary Arabic; however, French is still introduced as an obligatory foreign language from the third year of primary school. At the secondary level, arabization was conducted on a grade-by grade basis. In the universities, too, Arabic was introduced in a gradual way in Social Sciences, Law and Economics but French continued to be used in scientific, medical, and technological streams.

As a consequence, the state was caught in a language dilemma and many conflicts generated in the interaction between two majors groups: the “*Traditional*” and the “*Modernizers*”. The Traditional group calls for authenticity and national culture that can be achieved through the Arabic language. More precisely, they calls for MSA which has always been considered a crucial medium of instruction since it is the language of prestige and the first marker of Arab nationalism, and it is the most potent symbol of Arab-Islamic and its transmission. Whereas, the second group, Modernizers or “*Western educated*” believe that Arabic was unfit for teaching the modern sciences and continue to say that the development of the country can be achieved only through French. These kinds of hostilities towards Arabic, French or another language are mostly based on emotional, political, and ideological factors and not only on linguistic consideration. (Benghida, 2006).

Most of the ‘élite’ enrolled their children in private French schools in order to ensure a bilingual education for them; however the government abolished private

²⁵ Personal translation: Teaching, education and training in all sectors, all the cycles and in all the specialties are exempted in the Arabic language, subject to the methods of foreign language teaching.

schools and had replaced all the schools under its control. In February 2006, President AbdelAziz Bouteflika has ordered 42 private French-language schools to be closed and the minister of education threatened to close the schools which would not conform to the official program, in particular with a teaching to 90% in Arabic.

Moreover, the « *Berber Cultural Movement* » was created as an opposition to the arabization of the education system and the government bureaucracy. In recent years, conflicts has broken out in Kabylie, a region of Algeria inhabited in large part by the Kabylie Berbers, in which one of the demands was equal footing with Arabic for their language. They demanded recognition of the Kabyle dialect as a primary national language; respect for Berber culture, and greater attention to the economic development of Kabylie and other Berber homelands.

In spite of the attempts of implementing MSA in the Algerian educational system, the arabization process has been subject to criticism and accused to have no scientific basis and was viewed as a responsible for the decrease in pupils' achievements and schooling. Algerian policy makers themselves have recognized weakness and shortcomings of arabization. They have reported many controversies.

Taleb Ibrahimi, (1981:96), the minister of education from 1965 to 1973, a fervent advocate of Classical Arabic admits (in 1966) that arabization suffers from improvisation (Dendane, 2007:90). Arabization has often been criticized for taking decisions without a well-planned organization at the level of application of these decisions.

In this line of thought, one may deduce that language planning in Algeria has been a highly debate process which caused, in fact, a state of “bilinguism” in most Algerians, the spreading of Arabic through teaching and media was a measure to please the great defenders of homogenous arabization. But, it was far from realistic as bilingualism was indeed societal (Bensafi, 2002:831). Since Arabic could not replace completely French, the latter continues to be regarded as necessary for social and professional success and to be spoken at homes. Its presence and impact

is clearly noticed in the every day Algerian Arabic vernacular through heavy lexical borrowing which makes the linguistic situation in Algeria very intricate.

2.4. Linguistic Repertoires in Algeria

In Algeria, the linguistic situation is complex. Its complexity lies mainly in the co-existence of more than one variety. The different languages characterizing the Algerian linguistic situation are Arabic, having two forms: Modern Standard Arabic, and Algerian Dialectal Arabic, in addition to French, and Berber (Tamazight). Throughout this analysis, we shall shed light on today's Algerian linguistic repertoire with the aim of showing the dynamic conflicting interplay between its linguistic varieties: Arabic, French and Berber.

2.4.1. Arabic

Algeria defines itself as a part of the Arabic and Muslim world, *El- Oumma El-Arabiyya*. The majority of the population uses a vernacular variety of Arabic. Arabic is the major, national and official²⁶ language of the state, and it usually appears under two forms: Classical Arabic (CA) /Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Dialectal or Algerian spoken Arabic (AA).

CA is identified as the language of the Koran and the language of pre-Islamic poetry. It is said to have stemmed from the Arabic variety spoken by the Quraish tribe in Mecca. It has acquired its prestige by virtue of the fact of being used in social, commercial and cultural events by the different Arab tribes, of the Arab peninsula, who used to meet in Mecca on regular occasions before the coming of

²⁶ All three Algerian constitutions (1963, 1976, 1989) proclaim that "Islam is the religion of the state" and that "Arabic is the national and official language of the state". Bouamrane, A.(1990:52).

Islam such as the Hedjj or the pilgrimage period, and " su:q ʔuka:ʔ "27 where well-known Arab writers and poets used to gather to read their long poetic verses " el muʔallaqa:t ". Indeed, the introduction of the Arabic language during the 7th century was crucially fundamental for the future profile of North African populations as they have undergone irreversible transformations from the religious, linguistic and socio-cultural standpoints. CA succeeded in absorbing many indigenous Berber varieties except in a few remote mountainous and Sahara areas.

In this line of thought, CA is described by Marçais (1960:566) as a language which:

...had an extremely rich vocabulary, due partly to the Bedouins' power of observation and partly to poetic exuberance; some of the wealth may be due to dialect mixture. It was not rich in forms or constructions, but sufficiently flexible to survive the adaptation to the needs of a highly urbanized and articulate culture without a disruption of its structure.

Quoted in Dorni (2009: 38).

MSA which takes its normative rules from CA is regarded as the idealized and highest form. It is the official language of education, news reporting, media, wider written communication within the Arabic-speaking world, and formal contexts in general. In Algeria, MSA is generally the language of official domains, government and institutions and it is used for religious and literary purposes.

MSA and CA are often used confusingly in literature to refer to the variety of Arabic used in the written form. The Arabic Fusʔa is used to refer to the language which is grammatically virtually identical with the Arabic of the Koran. However, MSA varies across the territories where it is used and according to individuals themselves depending on their language proficiencies.

In phonology and syntax, MSA is quite similar to CA except for the lack of inflectional systems in nouns and verbs which makes a difference in pronouncing the end of words. In lexis, for some MSA approximates CA, and for others a more

²⁷ <http://www.sooqokaz.com/content/history/history.html>, " Tārikhu Souk Okādh ", accessed to on January 28th, 2009.

restricted vocabulary and a distinct style are approximately used for religious, educational and administrative purposes.

More precisely, CA is different from MSA in a number of points, but the most prominent one sees CA as a synthetic variety while MSA is rather considered as an analytic one (Derni, 2009). In other words, in CA there are special case endings known as ‘el-harakaat’²⁸ which are placed at the end of words to indicate their functions in the sentence while in MSA the function of words is determined in terms of their order in the sentence due to the loss of these case endings or ‘el-i’raab’

AA, ‘El-Amia’ or ‘E-Darija’, on the other hand, is the spoken variety and is restricted to informal contexts as it best fits casual conversation. It is spontaneously used by Algerian individuals to express their feeling thoughts and to communicate.

AA dialects, too, differ at the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical level in relation with the geographical region in which it is used. This variation has also to do with historical facts. North Africa in general and Algeria in particular has been arabized in two different periods. The first period began with Muslim conquerors in 641 AD. It was the sedentary dialects that were implanted by these invasions. The second wave of Arab conquerors *Banu Hilal* began in the mid-eleventh century and lasted around 150 years. The Bedouin dialects that were brought to the century are the source of most of the rural dialects in North Africa today. This kind of Arabic had an important ethnic contribution on the Algerian dialects. They are found everywhere except in the regions where the urban dialects are spoken and in the isolated mountains of the Berberophones.

In traditional dialectology, AA was viewed as Sedentary Vs Bedouin. The Algerian sedentary dialects are divided into two inter-linked types: the mountain or the village dialects and the urban ones. The village dialects as Djidjelli, Mila and Collo in the east in addition to Ghazaouet speech community and Swahlia in the

²⁸ These case endings are: the nominative case which is referred to by the vowel [u], the accusative which in its turn represented by the vowel [a], and the genitive one by the vowel [N].

west. Whereas the urban dialects are implanted in the long established cities of: Tlemcen, Nedroma, Algiers, Cherchell, Meliana , Medea and Dellys (Bourdieu, 1961).

A set of features had been studied by Millon, C (1937), Cantineau, J (1938) and Marçais, P (1960). Though the work is very old, they are considered as the most eye-catching features of the sedentary dialects (Benrabeh, M., 1989). Cantineau's study (1938:82) reveals that **“only a mute pronunciation has a decisive meaning: all the sedentary dialects and only the sedentary dialects have this pronunciation”**²⁹. According to Cantineau (1938), the most salient phonetic difference opposing Bedouin and sedentary Algerian dialects lies in the pronunciation of the Arabic morpheme /q/. Thus, the uvular /q/ is pronounced either as a velar [k] in Ghazaouet, and Djidjelli, as a glottal stop [ʔ] as in Tlemcen or [q] as Algiers, and Nedroma. Thus, we have the following realizations for the word /qal/ meaning “say”: [kal], [ʔal], or [qal].

The substitution of the interdental /θ/, /ð/, and /ʃ/ by the sounds: [t], [d], [ʔ], and [ʃ] respectively like the realization of the word /θaum/ as [tuum]: ‘garlic’, and the word /Jalaam/ as [Bʃʃlaam] for ‘darkness’. Another consonantal feature is the realization of the phoneme /F/ as [F] or [dF]. Laraba (1983) classifies [dF] as a free variant of /F/ (Benrabeh, M., 1989). The phoneme /F/ sometimes is realized as [ʃ] when the word consists of either a voiceless fricative /s/ or a voiced sibilant /z/ as in [ʃlBs] meaning ‘sit down’. Another identifier can be found in this type of dialects is the pronunciation of the diphthongs /au/ and /aN/ as long vowels [uu] and [NN] respectively, like in [ʔuuG] for: ‘court yard’ and [ʔNNn]: ‘eye’. The aspirate /h/, too, sounds feeble, approximately inaudible. This feature is obviously noticeable in the case of the following affixes: [ha], [hu], and [hum] when they are

²⁹ Personal translation of the original quotation: « Seule une prononciation sourde du qaf a un sens décisif : tous les parlers de sédentaires, et seuls les parlers de sédentaires ont cette prononciation ».

preceded by a consonant like in the speech of Nedroma as the word /FaarBha/ is realized as [Faara]: ‘her neighbour’.

Moreover, a set of morpho-syntactic characteristics has been found in the sedentary dialects. The most prominent one is the fact that no-gender distinction is used in the second person singular as in: Tlemcen, such as /xuud/ which means ‘take!’ addressing both feminine and masculine speakers, the use of forms like /ntuman/: ‘you’ and /human/: ‘they’, a more frequent use of diminutives as in [mfNNte⇒]: ‘little key’, in addition to the use of the suffix [→jBn] to mark duality. People say, for example, [jum→jBn] for ‘two days’.

Syntactically, the sedentary dialects are characterized by an excessive use of these prepositions: {dN}, {BddN}, {dNal}, and {nta⊗}. In addition to all these peculiarities, the sedentary dialects share remarkable common instances of vocabulary. Here are some words that are likely to be found in almost all Algerian sedentary dialects as Tlemcen, which is our area of research: [⊗→sBm] or sometimes [wasBm] of ‘what’, [xaaj] of ‘my brother’, [⊗Bbba] of ‘he took’ and [l→⇒ebb] of ‘never mind’.

The Bedouin dialects, on the other hand, are spoken everywhere in Algeria except in the regions where the sedentary dialects were implanted long before the arrival of *Banu Hilal* (Arab Nomads) invasions of the mid-eleventh century. Consequently, rural speech is widely spoken in the department of Oran, central and Eastern Algeria and in the South where the sedentary speech is absent.

As far as the sedentary dialects, the Bedouin ones also share a set of characteristics which constitute a common core of the different varieties presenting this type of AA according to Marçais, Ph (1960) and Dhina, A (1938). The most obvious one is the voicing of the back velar [ʕ] in contrast with the glottal stop, the uvular/q/ and the voiceless plosive [k] in sedentary dialects. The word /qalb/ which means ‘heart’ is thus realized as [ʕalb]. One can say that this realization is a marker of the Bedouin dialects.

A fair retention of the interdentalals [ʃ], [ʒ], [ɖ] and [ʒ] is found in the Bedouin dialects as in [ʃaʊm]: ‘garlic’ and [ʒhar] which means ‘back’. There is also a fair retention of the diphthongs [aʌ] and [aʊ] like [baɪ ɖ]: ‘eggs’ and [lʃaʊn]: ‘help’. In Bedouin speech, there is the use of /nta/ or /ntaaja/: ‘you’ to address the singular masculine and /ntʌ/ or /ntʌja/: ‘you’ when addressing the singular feminine, in addition to the use of the preposition /ntaʃ/ and the classical method of direct connection: "El-Edhafa" as in the following example: /lʃam ntaʃ IB xruuf / meaning ‘meat of the sheep’.

These are the main characteristics of both Sedentary and Bedouin dialects covering the Algerian territory. Their classification reveals a paradoxical and a confounding reality. Though Cantineau, Marçais and Dhina had classified them according to their characteristics and their geographical distribution, Algerian vernaculars still need further linguistic research about the dynamics of language use.

In a recent ecolinguistic study³⁰, however, carried out by (Cadora 1992), Bedouin features may be replaced by the sedentary ones or *vice versa*, depending on the circumstances under which linguistic forms evolve. Cadora has taken the Village dialect of Ramallah, a Palestinian town, as an instance of this ecolinguistic study where rural features are subject to change and have been replaced by urban ones from the prestigious dialect of Jerusalem. He highlights the point that the potential growth in the social and economic life of the most Arab world communities, as a general trend, results in a linguistic change from rural to urban.

³⁰ Ecolinguistic is the study of language according to the environment it is used in. The term emerged in the 1990's as a new paradigm of language study that speculates not only the intra- relations, the inter-relations, and the extra-relations of language and environment, but also combinations of these relations

The decline of a sedentary community, on the other side, leads to a similar change in ecolinguistic structure from urban to rural³¹.

A look at the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria reveal that AA dialects have been developing remarkably since the actual performance of the Algerian speakers is in many instances characterized by variation. Linguistically speaking, all AA varieties represent complex systems equally valid as a means of interaction in their speech communities. Thus, there is no need to minimize any Algerian urban or rural variety since it is a useful means for communication at least in its domains of use.

Hence, as Algeria witnessed a period of colonialism, this latter left its traces in the Algerian speech community. From a lexical point of view, the Turkish influence can be traced in words like: /maʔadnous/ for: ‘parsley’, /branjja/ for: ‘aubergine’, and /ʔBbsN/ for: ‘plate’. Spanish words can be detected in words like /fNGʔ/ for: ‘feast’, /sberdi:na/ for: ‘trainer’, /boʔado/: ‘lawyer’, and /es-sBkwNla/: ‘primary school’. In addition to the presence of a great number of words which are of Berber origin such as: /zellif/ for ‘the head of a sheep’, /fellus/ for ‘chick’, and /fekruun/ for ‘tortoise’. (Benghida, 2006).

French, indeed, has the largest lexical influence. Many French words are integrated to the Algerian Arabic as /kuzNNna/ from the French word "cuisine" meaning ‘kitchen’, /mNzNrNja/ from the French word (mizère) meaning ‘misery’. As a matter of fact, many hesitate to identify AA as a true Arabic variety because it contains significant amounts of French. Nevertheless, other Algerian linguists like Benrabah (1992b, 1993, 1999) see AA as the best instrument for achieving modernity and reaching an authentic Algerian identity. Benrabah proposes to use this language **“as teaching medium to make pupils feel more comfortable with its use. Pupils, in a natural order of language learning, learn to listen and to speak before they learn to read and write”** (Benghida, 2006: 36). So, the first language Algerian pupils hear and learn to speak is Algerian Colloquial Arabic and not the so-called MSA or CA.

³¹ The present work gives just a very brief overview about Cadora’s study as it is not our main concern.

2.4.2. French

French has been perceived as a threat to Arabic and the culture it conveys, as it was imposed by the colonists. The Algerian social and cultural structures have been violently shaken up by the French policy as it is reported by Taleb Ibrahimi, (1997:42-43):

Le Français, langue imposée au peuple Algérien dans la violence, a constitué un des éléments fondamentaux utilisés par la France dans sa politique de dépersonnalisation et d'acculturation à l'égard de l'Algérie.³²

Therefore, the Algerian population was deeply influenced linguistically to the extent that today more than forty years after the independence (1962), French continues to play an important role in spoken as well as written domains. Hence, with French a deeply-rooted language in Algeria, it has long become a linguistic tool that many Algerian individuals use in most sectors of administration and education and for day-to-day interaction especially among young educated people.

Moreover, French loanwords take part in both dialectal forms of AA and Berber varieties. It is also evident that today's younger generations show positive attitudes towards this language for its association with progress and modernism. Many Algerians, therefore, switch consciously and purposefully to French in their speech in order to sound more 'open-minded', 'intellectual', and 'civilized'. The contact between the French and the Algerians led to a contact between their languages, which, in turn, resulted in various kinds of linguistic phenomenon, not least bilingualism and also its associates, i.e. code switching.

Even after more than four decades since the departure of the colonist, and despite the acid resistance spelled out of the arabization policy, French is still

³² Personal translation: French, language imposed in violence to the Algerian population, is constituted one of the fundamental elements used by France in its policy of depersonalization and acculturation according to Algeria.

kicking, alive, and constitutes an important component of the present-day Algerian sociolinguistic profile³³. Therefore, two conflicting views are to exist in analyzing the linguistic situation in Algeria. One held by politicians, is that Arabic is the national language of the country and French is a foreign language. In other words, the political view considers Algeria as a monolingual speech community, while the linguistic view considers it as a bilingual one. Furthermore, linguists go further when they assert that Algeria is a multilingual country on the basis of the existence of another indigenous variety “Berber” spoken mainly in ‘Greater Kabilia’, in the ‘Aures’ range and in some scattered areas in the South. (Benmoussat, 2003:101).

2.4.3. Berber

The Berber variety is not much used. The major Berber groups are the ‘Kabylia’ Mountains East of Algiers, the ‘Chaouia’ of the ‘Aures’ range South of Constantine, and other scattered groups in the South including the ‘Mzab’ and ‘Touareg’. Yet, the Berber variety has recently been (2002) granted the status of a national Algerian language which makes Algeria qualified as a multilingual country. One must bear in mind that these Berber varieties have been preserved in those regions in spite of the widespread arabization which accompanied the Muslim settlements that took place mostly during 7th the 8th and the 11th century.

Though Tamazight is recognized as having existed for more than 5,000 years ago, it has never been codified by the state. Many efforts have been made for the elaboration, standardization and codification of Tamazight. For example, Salem shaker and mouloud Mammeri tried to develop a standardized grammar in the 1980s (Benghida, 2006). Politically speaking, Berber is recognized as a national language. But, Berbers are not content with this situation because they seek equality between the status of Arabic and Tamazight. Additionally, the constitutional amendment did not change any condition in the principles of the Algerian society, there was no more than a formal recognition of the language

³³ A sociolinguistic profile is a special summary description of language situation based in part on a series of indices and classifications.

existence and no positive action has been undertaken in favour of Berber. The latter continues to be a hindrance to the promotion of Arabic and seen as setting off internal divisions.

2.5. Algeria: An Intricate Diglossic Code Switching Situation

The Algerian linguistic situation is very intricate. Its intricacy lies in the co-existence of more than one language. Many factors have been responsible for such complexity; some being historical, other political, and some other socio-cultural. As a result of the diverse events that the country has gone through, the Algerian speech community has acquired a distinctive sociolinguistic situation that is characterized by dynamic speech variation. Variation, both intra- and inter-lingual can be clearly attested in individuals' day-to-day linguistic behaviour: the Algerian speech community not only reflects the intra-lingual features of a diglossic situation where two varieties (MSA and AA) of the same language are in a functional distribution (Ferguson 1959³), but also the conquest linguistic phenomena of an inter-lingual situation that occurs when distinct languages are in contact, i.e. code switching.

2.5.1. Diglossia

One of the most prominent facts about the linguistic situation in all Arabic – speaking communities in general, and in Algeria in particular is the co-existence of two varieties of the same language, each one used for specific functions with clearly defined roles. Ferguson (1959) describes the superordinate language, what he calls the “High variety”, or the H as a:

superimposed variety, [...] which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used

by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

(In Giglioli, 1972:245)

Unlike most Arab countries, the Algerian diglossic case is particular since the L variety is not very close to the H one; illiteracy and colonialism are the main factors that maintain the gap between L and H. The former is a local form of Arabic called: Informal or colloquial variety which is the natural medium of interaction between speakers. It is used in informal contexts: home, workplace, market, among friends and acquaintances. The latter is MSA which takes its normative rules from CA. It is used in formal situations for high functions such as: public meetings, scientific conferences and educational purposes.

The two varieties, however, may overlap to varying extents in a semi-formal setting. Speakers, mainly educated ones, may switch, for a shorter or a longer period of time, to the H variety, or they mix the two varieties in the same conversation. This kind of speech is called ‘the middle variety’, as it is explained by Al-Toma (1969:5),

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

This seminal notion has, in fact, raised and reinforced many studies around Arabic, such as Blanc (1960), El-Hassan (1977) and Meiseles (1980)³⁴, who agree on characterizing Arabic in three or more varieties

The following diagram has been proposed by Badawi (1973)³⁵, an Egyptian linguist of the American University of Cairo, to attempt to explain how the linguistic system in Arabic works. This diagram may be applicable not only to the situation in Egyptian Arabic, but it may well be regarded similar to a certain extent to the Algerian context [as far as diglossia is concerned].

³⁴ Mentioned in Benali Mohamed (1993:4)

³⁵ Mentioned in Dendane (2007:70)

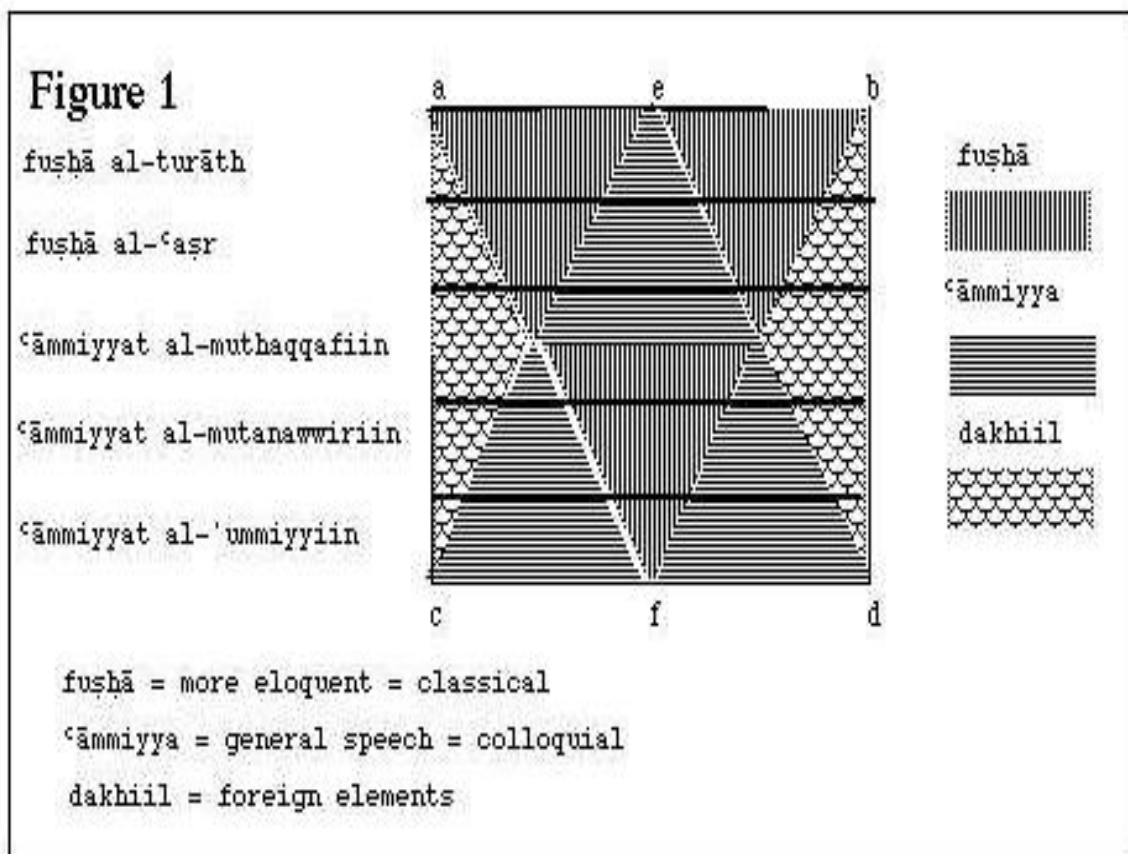


Figure 2.1. Badawi's Diagram (1973): "Levels of Egyptian Arabic"

Badawi's model shows important features that characterize, more or less in the same way, the Arabic language situation prevailing in today's Arab world. The hierarchical continuum comprising five levels, from top to bottom, translated into English mean: **“the Classical Language of Tradition, the Modern Classical Language, the Colloquial of the Educated, the Colloquial of the Enlightened, and the Colloquial of the Illiterate”**.(Freeman, 1996).

The first one refers to CA as used in the Quran, the second refers to MSA as used in formal settings. The third refers to Educated spoken Arabic, then a kind of "elevated" spoken Arabic and finally colloquial Arabic. Dendane (2007: 71).

An other prominent feature is that in this five level model, every level includes mixing from all the other elements of the system as it is stated by Freeman (1996), i.e. there is a mixture of the varieties at all five levels with different amounts of interweaving, and with a more or less significant use of foreign elements called

dakhil in Arabic which means borrowings. The amount of borrowings increases in MSA in comparison with CA; these borrowings are often as a result of the contact of Arabic with other languages, mainly during colonialism. As a result, many elements come from French or English and become recognized in MSA during its modernization by policy makers.

Bouhadiba (1998) also attempts to explain the ‘penetration’ of everyday speech by French in terms of dosage. So, insisting on the emergence of an Arabic continuum and the difficulty in delimiting its varieties on the one hand, and the strong implantation of French lexical terms in the dialectal varieties on the other, he writes (ibid.1-2):

La réalité linguistique actuelle telle qu' elle se présente à l'observation Est caractérisée par un continuum de l'arabe où 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 où le français est fortement implanté au niveau lexical...³⁶

Quoted in Dendane (2007:71)

A synopsis of language use in Algeria and domains of use can be illustrated in the table below. This latter is based on the works of Queffélec, et al. (2002)³⁷:

	LANGUAGE USE
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³⁶ Personal translation: The current linguistic reality as it presents itself to observation is characterized by a continuum of Arabic whose varieties of the language are sometimes difficult to delimit: Classical Arabic, literary Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Spoken educated Arabic, dialectal varieties with Arabic 'dosage' but in which French is strongly implanted at the lexical level.

³⁷ Mentioned in Derni (2009 :77)

Domains of use	Spoken Medium						Written Medium					
	AA	MSA	CA	French	Berber	English	AA	MSA	CA	French	Berber	English
Political Speech	-	+	+	+/-	-	--	--	+	+	+	--	-
Administration	+	-	-	+	-	--	--	-/+	-/+	+/-	--	-
Religion	+	+	+	-	-/+	--	--	+	+	-	-	-
Education	-/+	+	-	+	-	+	--	+	+	+	-	+/-
Documentation							--	+	+	++	--	+
Economy/Industry	+	-	-	++	-	+	--	-	-	++	--	-/+
Edition							--	+	-	++	--	-
National Press	-/+	+	++	++	-/+	--	-/+	+	-	++	--	-
Foreign Press							--	-	-	++	-	--
Advertisements	+	+	-	-	-/+	--	-/+	+	-	+	-/+	--
Public Bills							--	+/-	-	+	-/+	-/+
Radio Programmes	+	+	-	+	+	--						
TV Programmes	-/+	+	+	+	-/+	-						
Cinema	+	+/-	-	+	-	-						
Theatre	+	-	-	-	-/+	-						
Daily Conversation	++	-	-	+/-	-/+	-						

Table 2.1. Domains of Language Use in Algeria. (Queffélec, *et al.* 2002:103)

As a result, the Algerian context raises a situation which is more composite than that of Ferguson' Arab world (see Section 1.4.1). The intricacy of the Algerian speech community is made by the use of four varieties in correspondence to two settings, namely a formal and an informal one. The varieties involved are: AA, MSA, French, and Berber. The Algerian speaker, so, may use French as H for educational and other prestigious domains and AA as L for more informal, primarily spoken domains though they are unrelated genetically. There are other possible distribution for H and L; MSA can be used as a H variety whereas Berber as a L one or French as H while Berber as L which are known as interlingual diglossia. (Derni, 2009)

Additionally, Meisless (1980) recognizes four varieties of contemporary Arabic and Literary or Standard Arabic, Sub Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic and Basic or Plain Vernaculars. Differently put, the use of more than two linguistic varieties is referred to as "Polyglossia" (Platt, 1977).

However, French is not used only for formal purposes. It is so deeply rooted in the Algerian society, under varying degrees of comprehension and actual use, and widely appears through the use of borrowings and morphological combinations in informal settings. The mixing of French structures with Arabic has become an inherent characteristic in the linguistic behaviour of Algerian speakers.

2.5.2. Code Switching

CS, the alternative use of two or more codes, is a hallmark of multilingual communities world-wide. Hence, being a community where a myriad of language co-exist, CS prevails the sociolinguistic behaviour of most Algerian speakers. It is very easy to notice the switching from one code to another by a mere exposure to a natural and spontaneous conversation between individuals. Because of some historical factors, CS is usually between Arabic in its two forms MSA and AA (or/ and Berber) and French.

Even though there has been more than forty years after the departure of the French colonizers, French has deeply rooted in the Algerian society and continues to play an important role in all fields. Most Algerians, even children and uneducated people switch back and forth from AA to French in their daily utterances. It may be nearly impossible to hear a whole conversation without French words or expressions and where the three types of CS distinguished by Poplack (1980) can be heard as it is shown in the following examples: (French italicized)

- *Extra-sentential Switching* refers to the insertion of a tag or a ready-made expression as in the following instances:
 - 1) *Je crois* had $\blacklozenge \square \text{q}$ ra mbale \boxtimes a (I think that this road is closed).
 - 2) ☞ had ☞ *c'est déjà beaucoup* (just this, It's enough)

In both examples above, the French expressions can be inserted in any utterance without changing syntactic rules of both languages.

- *Inter-sentential switching* where the switch occurs at sentence and/or clause boundary. This switch seems to occur more by educated people in comparison with extra-sentential one as it depends on the fluency in both languages. Consider the following example:

had[Ⓜ] sa[Ⓜ]t→j★n wana m[Ⓜ]a la révision et enfin je n'ai compris rien que le titre.

(It is more than two hours I am revising and I have understood nothing only the title).

- *Intra-sentential switching* involves switching within the clause or sentence boundary as in: ran[Ⓜ] Ⓜala[Ⓜ] la mairie nxarrad[Ⓜ] les papiers ba[Ⓜ] n inscri
(I am going to the town hall to get some papers to enroll).

Moreover, for many individuals, French is the language of civilization and more prestige. As a consequence, many Algerian speakers switch consciously to French and on purpose in order to sound more 'civilized'; especially those who live in the cities like: Oran and Tlemcen where the educational level is higher in comparison with people living in the countryside. That is, the degree of bilinguality depends on the educational level of the speaker: the higher educational level has, the more and larger stretches becomes.

A long list of French words is used excessively by Algerian speakers, both literate and illiterate ones to the extent that the listener may be confused if it is French or Arabic such as: *ça va, ça y est, c'est bon, c'est trop, déjà, normal, jamais, grave*. New items, too, are widely used nowadays, especially among youth and teenagers. These new items are due to the technology development as they have no equivalent in AA like: *flexy, chater, connecter, activer, imprimer, taper, site, email*, etc. This excessive use of French in daily speech resulted in a semantic shift, i.e. the Algerian individual may use a French word or expression but it does not mean the original meaning as used by French native speakers. Today, it is largely noticed and heard

people saying, for example, /rak f^hNm/, /foor/, /numNrNNk/, or /bumba/ from the French words: *film*, *fort*, *numérique*, or *bombe* respectively to mean 'you are so beautiful'. It is the case of both educated and uneducated individuals. Many other instances are found in the Algerian society that strengthen "external CS", i.e. the switch from AA to French.

On the other hand, since Algeria is diglossic community, "internal CS", which occurs between two varieties of the same language (between H and L varieties), is also a common trait in the daily speech. After the arabization process, many individuals, indeed, switch from AA to MSA or the inverse from MSA to AA. That is a mixture of H and L in one conversation which is called the middle variety.

What is strange is the use of AA in a situation where Ferguson claims that only H is appropriate as: education, media, the court of justice and so forth. Middle and Secondary School pupils, for instance, switch to AA during a classroom interaction, where only MSA is supposed to be used. Most adolescents, indeed, switch to AA and avoid MSA, a linguistic behaviour which is according to them associating with primary school learners who sound childish.

After the process of arabization, however, the degree of using MSA has developed excessively especially those educated in the Arabized School who prefer using MSA in all situations. It has become, therefore, customary to hear people saying: /ssalaam/ and /le^hla sa^hNNda/ or /l^hla mabruuka/ in stead: of *salut* and *bon nuit*, also saying: /^hlab/, /^hst^hd^haa^h/ and /qad^hjjja/ in stead of the French words: *demande*, *convocation*, and *affaire*. Many intellectuals switch purposefully to MSA as it is the marker of Arab-Muslim identity. Besides, they teach their children to speak MSA in order not to loose their identity. The French words *cahier*, *cartable*, and *stylo*, for example, have been replaced by the Arabic: /kurraas/, /m^hfa^ha/, and /qalam/ respectively.

Larger stretches of H is nowadays obviously noticed by intellectuals who use MSA in their works such as: religious people, lawyers and teachers, especially Arabic language teachers who switch to MSA, the language of instruction, when interacting with colleagues, friends and even within family and this is the concern of the present research work. The reasons behind Arabic language teachers' behaviour will be analyzed in the next chapter.

2.6. Tlemcen: A Geo-Linguistic Background Account

As the research work and the data are dealt with and collected in the speech community of Tlemcen, it would be important and useful to provide the reader with a general overview of that speech by exposing briefly its geography, history and population, in addition to the most significant linguistic features of Tlemcen variety.

2.6.1. The Geographical Location of Tlemcen

Tlemcen, (in Arabic *تلمسان*, in Tamazight *Tilimsane*) which signifies “*poche d'eau captée*”, a town in the North West of Algeria. It is located in the frontier of Morocco, 76 Km far from the East of Oujda, a Morocco town, 70 Km from the South West of Oran, 520Km from the South West of Algiers, and 40Km from the sea. Tlemcen is considered by Si Kaddour Benghabrit as “*la perle du Magreb*”³⁸. It is the chief town of a wide district exporting olive, corn and flour, wools and Algerian onyx. It has a population of (2002) 132.341 inhabitants.

Regarding the name Tlemcen, there exist several hypotheses on the etymology of the word Tlemcen. The first hypothesis says that the word is quoted for the first time by Tabari who mentioned the name when speaking about ‘Banou Ifren’. Afterward, Ibn Khaldoun rejects the existence of the city of Tlemcen before its

³⁸ <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tlemcen> , accessed to on 11th, March 2011 at 16:54

foundation by the Banu Ifren. However, the city was originally the 'Kalaa of Tlemcen', led by Banu Ifren and was called 'Agadir', meaning fortress in Berber.

Ibn Khaldoun's brother, Ibn Khaldoun Yahya, argues that Tlemcen means "the desert and tell". Another hypothesis explains the etymology of Tlemcen by the meeting of two ancient cities of 'Agadir' meaning "attic" and 'Tagrart' meaning "stone". Other information on the origin of the name Tlemcen, which was long the capital of central Maghreb, claim that no text has supported one or the other assumptions.




Tlemcen is characterized by fundamental features. The most important one is its strategic geographical situation, water-springs and fertile lands which indeed attracted people and helps the town to be one of the largest cultural and economic centers in North Africa (Dendane, 2007:157). It also knew long and successive invasions: the Berbers whose existence is so extensive; fundamentally justified by the great amount of vocabulary found in Tlemcen variety. Then, the Romans in the 2nd century. After that, the Islamic invasions started to take place in the 7th century and a large state stretching its expansion from the East to the West; Tlemcen was opened by the Arabs headed by Okba Ibn Nafi. This invasion had a significant impact on the Berber customs and traditions by spreading both Islam and the Arabic language. Yet, the most prospering and flourishing period of the town is the one under the reign of the Zianids and its civilization between 13th and 16th century when it became the capital of the Central Magreb. Tlemcen now (2011) is becoming the capital of the Islamic culture; opening the doors for all cultures along the Arab-Islamic territory. In this vein, [Georges Marçais](#) asserts ³⁹: **“Tlemcen speech community was polite, devout and cultivated”⁴⁰.**


³⁹ [http : // fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tlemcen](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tlemcen) , accessed to on 11th,March 2011 at 16:54

⁴⁰ Personal translation to the original text : **“La société tlemcénienne était : polie, dévote et cultivée”**.

The well known monuments and places in Tlemcen are: ‘Jamaa –el- Kebir’ was built in 1136 A.D, ‘Jamaa-el-Halwi’ dating from 1353A.D is outside the walls of the town. ‘Mansourah’, which is about 12 meters in the West of Tlemcen, owes its foundation to the attempts of the Beni-Marin rulers of Morocco to extend their sovereignty, ‘El-Eubbad’, ‘El-Mouchouar’ and ‘Lalla Setti’, etc. Tlemcen includes a number of villages near the city as: ‘Abou-Tachefine’ and ‘Oudjlida’ where most of the data of the present research work are collected. The former is a village which took the name ‘ *Bréa* ’, a name of the general ‘Jean Baptiste Fidèle Bréa’(1790-1848)⁴¹ during the period of colonialism and it has been named *Abou-Tachefine* after independence. The latter, however, is a new district in the suburbs of Tlemcen. They are two neighbouring villages near the city where a melting point of a diversity of people co-exist, and consequently, a diversity of language varieties.

2.6.2. Linguistic Features of Tlemcen Spoken Arabic

On the basis of dialect classification made by Cantineau, J(1937-40), Millon, C (1937) and Marçais, Ph (1960) (see section 2.4.1) and applying it to the variety of Tlemcen, one may say that this variety is an urban one characterized by highly conservative social and cultural features that are reflected in Tlemcen population. As a result, Tlemcen speech has nearly the same characteristics as all other urban dialects though slight differences can be noticed. The strongest and the salient feature is the realization of the CA phoneme/q/ as a glottal stop // unlike other urban dialects; a feature which indicates that the speaker is a native of Tlemcen: «s⇒aab atl utl★k» as it is affirmed by (Dendane, 1993:34).

Yet the recent investigation that have been undertaken in the speech community of Tlemcen (ibid: 69-70) shows that a very high rate of male speakers tend to avoid the stigmatized feature of [] when interacting with rural speech users. The most obvious reason, it appears, which accounts for such speech attitude in that Tlemcen speech as a whole and its use of the glottal stop in particular is regarded as an “effeminate” stigma, i.e. women stick to these characteristic of Tlemcen speech

⁴¹ <http://abraflo.free.fr/BreaPages/Brea.htm> , accessed to on 21st, March 2011 at 15:05.

whatever the situation may be. Another consonantal feature is the substitution of the interdentalals /θ/, /ʃ/, /ð /, and /ʒ/ by the sounds: [t], [d], [◆], and [▼] respectively. The word /baiḍaa/ (بَيْضَاءُ), for instance, is realized as [b◆ʒ] for ‘white in feminine form’. There is also the drop of the feminine ending {i} in the verb forms, Tlemcen speakers for example say [roo⇒] instead of [roo⇒ʒ] for: ‘you come’ to address both sexes.

Additionally, there is no gender distinction in the second person singular, that is [ntʒna] is used to address both feminine and masculine speakers. In certain contexts, however, it is commonly noticed that Tlemcen speakers, mainly male ones (ibid:57) switch to /nta/ or /ntʒ/ either to make themselves understood or to avoid the stigmatized form [ntʒna]. Tlemcen speech is characterized by the use of a specific plural morpheme of a certain nouns class and which is kept unchanged by native Tlemcen speakers as in: [mfaata⇒] in contrast to rural dwellers [mfatNN⇒] for ‘keys’. To mark duality, the suffix [→j★n] is used as: [Gahr→j★n] meaning ‘two months’.

In this respect, there are common instances of lexical items which are specific to Tlemcen variety. The most known are: [kam★l], [as★m], [ebbʒ], and [xaaj] meaning ‘all’, ‘what’, ‘take!’, and ‘my brother’ respectively. These are the most characteristics of this speech community. Though it is not our concern to speak deeply about Tlemcen linguistic features, the researcher attempts to give the reader a general view about the community and its speakers as teachers are of course part of the population. Yet, the mobility of speakers of different dialects from one place to another, from the countryside into larger cities and due to the dynamics of language, many Tlemcen lexical items are replaced by rural ones when interacting with rural speakers as /ndNr/ in stead of /naʒmal/. This sociolinguistic behaviour, hence, leads to so many questions: will Tlemcen dwellers exhibit the trait of conservatism and defend the linguistic items of their vernacular or will the rural interference impose some of their features or will the intellectuals and educated people encourage the use of MSA as an Arabic identity marker in all situations?

2.8. Conclusion

Historical, socio-cultural, and political factors, all together contribute in making the Algerian community full of linguistic intricacies worthy of scientific research. From the one hand, the relationship between MSA (H) and AA (L) denotes a classical diglossic context, while the combination between French (H) and AA (L) posits a case of extended diglossia. The interplay between H and L and the persistence of French as a functioning language, thus, resulted in making of Algeria an intricate multilingual speech community where different instances of code switching exist.

After the arabization process, MSA, the prestigious variety, has been given importance in LP by the virtue of being the language of Arab-Islamic identity. AA, on the other hand, is considered of a lesser importance and the spoken variety that used in daily communication. In other terms, H and L are defined as complementary in the original definition of diglossia. Yet, it is quite common to hear Algerian speakers switch between these two codes. One may use L in a formal setting or may include H in his/her everyday conversation and mix it with L. This diglossic code switching phenomenon becomes observable and commonly noticed among intellectuals such as religious people and teachers especially Arabic language teachers. Consequently, after introducing language repertoires and the conflicting interplay between these languages and drawing a brief overview about Tlemcen speech community, the investigator shall attempt in the following chapter to shed light on MSA use by Arabic language teachers in daily conversation and analyzed the reasons that stand behind this linguistic behaviour. For doing so, the research instruments used will be exposed and the data obtained will be interpreted, analyzed and scored in tables, and represented in the form of graphs and figures in chapter three.

Chapter 3: Aspects of MSA Use in Daily Conversation

3.1. Introduction

3.2. Sampling and Stratification: Description of the Target Situation

3.3. Research Instruments

3.3.1. Questionnaire

3.3.2. Interview

3.3.3. Recording

3.4. Research Results

3.4.1. Questionnaire Results : Attitude as an incentive paradigm

3.4.1.1. Quantitative Analysis

3.4.1.2. Qualitative Analysis

3.4.2. Interview Results: Experience as a source of influence

3.4.2.1. Quantitative Results

3.4.2.2. Qualitative Results

3.4.3. Recording Results: Topic as a code Determinant

3.5. Data Interpretation

3.5.1. Questionnaire Results Interpretation

3.5.1.1. Qualitative Results

3.5.2.2. Qualitative Results

3.5.2. Interview Results Interpretation

3.5.3. Recording Results Interpretation

3.6. General Results Interpretation

3.7. Conclusion

3.1. Introduction

This chapter is a practical in form. That is, it relates the theory mentioned in the two preceding chapters to a concrete situation. Therefore, a set of research instruments is used in order to gather and realize a set of objective results. These results have been, then, analyzed and interpreted by means of graphs and figures.

3.2. Sampling and Stratification: Description of the Target Situation

The present research attempts to shed light on aspects of MSA use by Arabic language teachers in everyday conversation. It is concerned with teachers' diglossic CS from AA to MSA that occurs in daily speeches with their colleagues, friends and even within family members. This linguistic behaviour is not taken as a product, but rather as a process. In other terms, it does not attempt to describe all the possible switches in everyday conversation but rather to look for the reasons that stand behind the Arabic language teachers' use of MSA in informal contexts, through the answer to the following question: "Why do our Arabic language teachers switch to H while using L?" the distinction between CS as a product and as a process is made in sub-section 1.4.2.3.

To answer this question, one may suggest a set of reasons following Grosjean's list on factors influencing language choice (see section 1.4.2.3.). Thus, to restrict the fieldwork, three reasons have been chosen to be tested, namely: teachers' attitudes towards AA and teachers' teaching experience. The second reason leads us to divide the participants into two groups: Experienced teachers Vs Beginners; in order to show who use more MSA than the other, relating it to the third reason which is mainly concerned with the topics discussed. That is to say, do teachers use MSA in any talk, or there are certain topics that lead them to switch to this variety?

Our fieldwork, hence, tries to shed light on code switching that happens in daily speeches towards MSA. Arabic language teachers at Tlemcen schools were chosen as a sample population to restrict the fieldwork. This sample population

has been chosen on the basis of two reasons: objective motivations and subjective ones.

The objective motivation is the fact that Tlemcen is a quite large city in the West of Algeria. It is a melting pot of a diversity of people, and thus, a diversity of language varieties. Some teachers at Tlemcen schools are, consequently, speakers of a sedentary variety while others speak a more Bedouin variety (see section 2.4.1).

Subjective motivations, however, lie first and almost in the fact that the town of Tlemcen is the researcher's place of residence. What helps more is that the researcher occupies the job of English teacher in the Secondary school which is taken as a part of the sample population where she observes directly this phenomenon and can directly get in touch with the participants. Here, the observer's paradox is reduced because the teachers can be observed directly by the researcher and speak spontaneously as speaking with their friends.

All the three primary schools and two Middle schools have been chosen on purpose from Abou-Tachefine, the researcher's living region, since most teachers if not all are the researcher's neighbours or her teachers during her first years of study. As a result, it was easily for her to get regularly in touch with them even at home. The other schools, Middle and Secondary, are taken from other different areas of Tlemcen in order to achieve reliable and representative data which constitute the subject matter of inquiry.

The data used for this research come from a sample of thirty six participants. The informants were neither stratified by gender nor by age. Our concern, however, is their teaching level; whether primary, middle or secondary school teachers and their teaching experience (see table 3.1 below). As a consequence, the informants were divided into two groups: beginners -having less than ten (10) years in teaching- and experienced -having ten and more years of teaching experience -.

Teaching Experience Teaching Level	Beginners	Experienced	Total
	Less than 10 years	10 years and more	
Primary	4	8	12
Middle	4	8	12
Secondary	6	6	12
Total	14	22	36

Table 3.1. Sampling and stratification of informants

More precisely, three schools were chosen for each level. In other terms, there are three Primary schools, three Middle schools and three Secondary schools. From each school, twelve teachers were chosen mixing them in terms of gender. The three Primary schools are from Abou-Tachefine called as follows: Abadji Mahmoud Primary School, Abou-Abdallah Primary school and Hassan E-RRachidi Primary School. Two Middle schools are also from Abou-Tchefine (the two available in this region): Sedjelmaci Middle school and El-Habbak Middle school. The third one is: Oudjlida Middle school. The Secondary schools, on the other hand, are: Oudjlida Secondary school which is a new district, Yaghmoracen Ben Zian Secondary school, the most ancient one, and where the researcher occupies the job of a teacher, and Ahmed Ben Zekri Secondary school which is located in Tlemcen centre.

3.3. Research Instruments

The data needed in this fieldwork are gathered by means of questionnaires and interviews which are used to elicit data explicitly from the informants. A third perspective is recording which may lead to yield more valid and authentic data and a direct study of the linguistic setting.

3.3.1. Questionnaire

The questionnaire has become one of the most used means of collecting information. Questionnaires are “**printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously**” (Seliger& Shohamy, 1989:172). This technique is related to the first hypothesis. It is, in the present case, used to collect data which elicit the informants' attitudes towards AA and MSA at the same time. As previously mentioned, other techniques have been used to determine the way people evaluate languages, dialects and styles, some being direct like few questions in our field work, others being indirect. The technique used for examining attitudes towards a particular variety is the ‘matched guise technique’ proposed by Lambert and his collaborators 1960 and developed later on in Gardner and Lambert 1972 (see section 1.5). It allowed researchers to reveal unconscious feelings about a particular language and attitudes toward its speakers.

Yet, in a more recent research made by Garrett *et al.* (2003), when studying attitudes towards Welsh English dialect, data were collected from teachers and teenagers all over Wales by using the direct method and not the indirect one. Moreover, Huguet (2006)⁴², too, used the direct method when studying attitudes of Secondary school students in two bilingual contexts in Spain, notably Asturias and Eastern Aragon. In a newly produced work, Garrett (2010), a Senior lecturer in the Centre for Language and Communication Research and a teacher of sociolinguistics, language attitudes and persuasive communication at Cardiff University, UK, insisted that:

Despite the productiveness of the matched and verbal guise technique, it is fair to say that the direct approach has probably been the most dominant paradigm if one looks across the broader spectrum of language attitudes research.

Garrett, 2010:159

⁴² Idea mentioned in (Garrett, 2010).

Garrett asserted that direct approach questionnaires have featured a great deal in the language education field, mainly, when examining teachers' and learners' attitudes. Therefore, the present work tackled teachers' attitudes by following Garrett's direct method questionnaire which has been used as a primary research tool to determine our Arabic language teachers' competence and attitudes towards AA and MSA.

The questionnaire was addressed to thirty six informants. These participants were asked to report their answers by themselves which has allowed the researcher not only to avoid discomfiture and influence, but also to gain time. The researcher, however, has decided to be present on many occasions, guide and assist the participants through answering the questions provided in the questionnaire. This is in fact to, for the simple reason, avoiding any kind of ambiguity.

The questionnaire elaborated to undertake this research work was divided into two parts. The first one involves information about educational level, teaching level, and teaching experience of the participants. It was intended to explore these aspects in order to analyze the data obtained from the questionnaire and to explain teachers' attitudes towards AA.

The second part, which is devoted to show Arabic language teachers' attitudes towards AA as well as towards MSA in their daily speeches, includes eight questions. Both open and closed questions were used, comprising yes – no questions and multiple choice questions. Since the informants are teachers of the Arabic language and because of the research work dealt with MSA use, the questionnaire was written in Standard Arabic to facilitate the task.

3.3.2. Interview

Unlike a questionnaire, the interview is “**time consuming**” (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989:166). The researcher herself participated through giving questions, and

seeking to reach the linguistic forms she has fixed as a goal in mind. The importance of the interview is highlighted by Cohen *et al.*(2000:267):

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.

This simple technique that Labov (1970) refers to as '*rapid and anonymous interviews*' is devoted to the second hypothesis. It takes different teachers with variant teaching experiences and checks this parameter and its impact on the use of MSA in daily life conversation. The interview contains seven questions. Some questions were close ones and others being open questions. Therefore, this is rather a semi-structured interview. Twenty interviews were recorded; whereas, for sixteen of them, the researcher takes solely notes as the participants, mostly women, refused to be recorded.

3.3.3. Recording

For the sake of getting pure data for the present research work, many conversations have been recorded by the use of a hidden mobile or a sound cassette in different contexts: at school (far from classroom courses), at home and among friends. Some of them have been recorded by the researcher and sometimes 'a friend of friend procedure' is used, i.e. in certain contexts where it is better for the researcher not to be present or she cannot be present, the conversation is recorded by other persons whether by other teachers or by relatives at home. The recorder has to be hidden carefully without impeding the recording procedure in order not to influence the participants.

3.4. Research Results

In the following section, the results are systematically exposed and treated both quantitatively and qualitatively, in an attempt to validate our research hypotheses.

3.4.1. Questionnaire Results: Attitude as an incentive paradigm

Thirty six questionnaires were distributed to 36 Arabic language teachers from three distinctive levels: primary, middle and secondary schools; 12 teachers from each level. From the Secondary level, we chose 6 experienced teachers who have 10 or more than 10 years in teaching and the other 6 teachers were beginners whose teaching experience is less than 10 years. In the primary school, however, the majority were experienced, i.e. having 10 teaching years or more. Because of some constraints, both in Primary and Middle Schools, 8 experienced and only 4 beginners have been chosen as the majority of the selected informants were having ten teaching years and more. The questionnaire yielded quantitative as well as qualitative data. In this vein, Johnstone (2000:37) reports that **“the analysis phase of sociolinguistics research is often quantitative as well as qualitative”**. The quantitative approach relies on experimental and statistical techniques to describe aspects of language use through tables and figures whereas the qualitative approach is used for exploratory purposes or explaining quantitative results. In this research design, qualitative and quantitative methods are adopted to complement each other and promote the validity of both.

3.4.1.1. Quantitative Analysis

The following table and its corresponding diagram summarize scores concerning the question of which code is used in classroom by Arabic language teachers:

	Reporting to use MSA only		Reporting to use AA only		Reporting to use both MSA and AA	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Primary School Teachers	8	66.7%	0	0%	4	33.3%
Middle School Teachers	7	58.3%	0	0%	5	41.7%
Secondary School Teachers	8	66.7%	0	0%	4	33.3%

Table 3.2. Code Use in the classroom by Teachers of the Arabic language

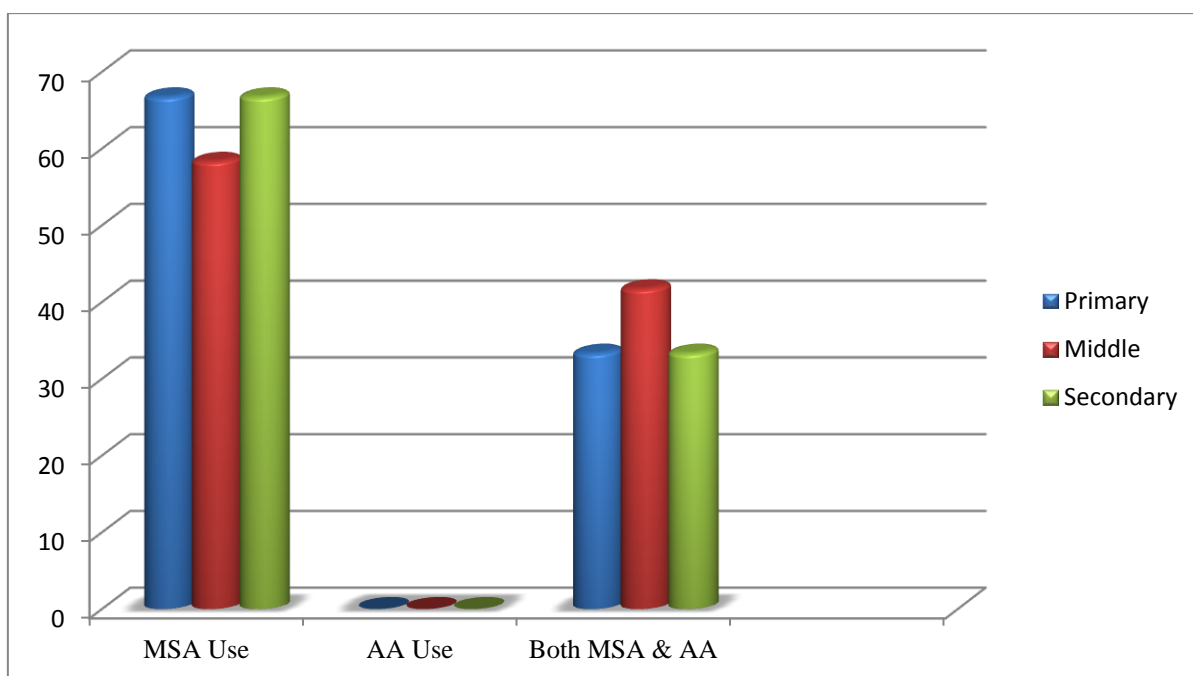


Figure 3.1. MSA Vs AA use by Arabic language teachers in class

In the second question, Arabic language teachers were asked in which variety they prefer to watch different programs on TV, AA or MSA. This TV activity has been intentionally chosen as it is not necessarily related to their teaching domains in order to show their attitudes towards MSA outside classroom and school settings. Surprisingly, the same results have been noticed by teachers of the three levels. The following table and figure represent clearly the results obtained:

	Movies		News		Programmes		Documentaries	
MSA	7	58.3%	12	100%	8	66.7%	11	91.7%
AA	5	41.7%	0	0%	4	33.3%	1	8.3%

Table 3.3. Variety preference in watching TV among Primary, Middle, and Secondary School teachers.

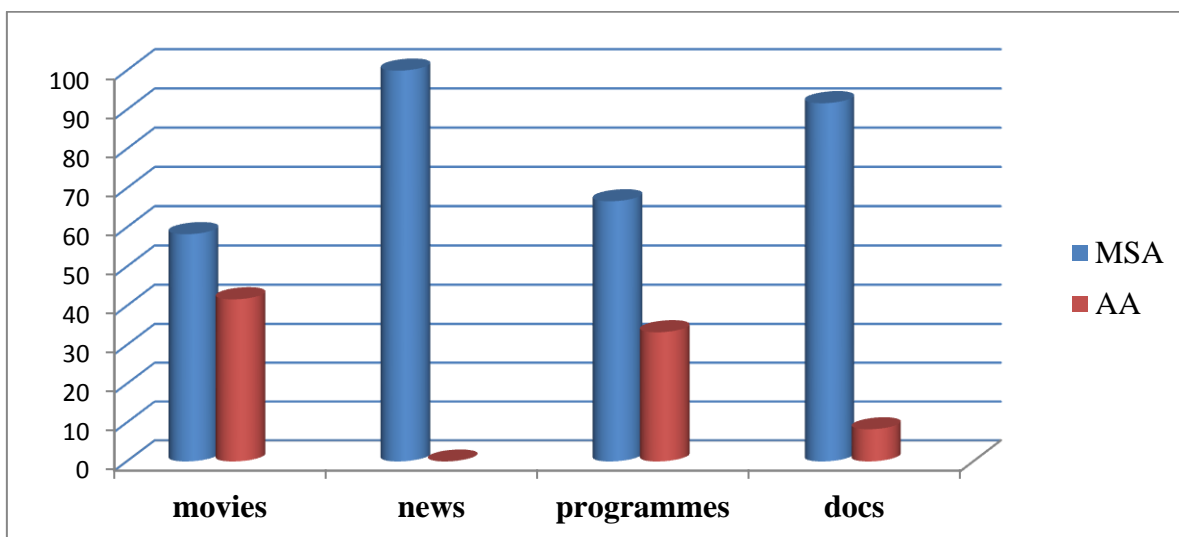


Figure 3.2. Arabic language teachers' variety preference in watching TV.

A scale-rating is presented to the informants in the third question in which the Arabic language teachers were asked to rate their proficiency in MSA from “very good” to “very bad” as shown in the following table and figure:

	Very good		Good		Average		Bad		Very bad	
Primary	9	75%	3	25%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Middle	10	83.3%	2	16.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Secondary	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%

Table 3.4. Arabic language teachers' competence in MSA.

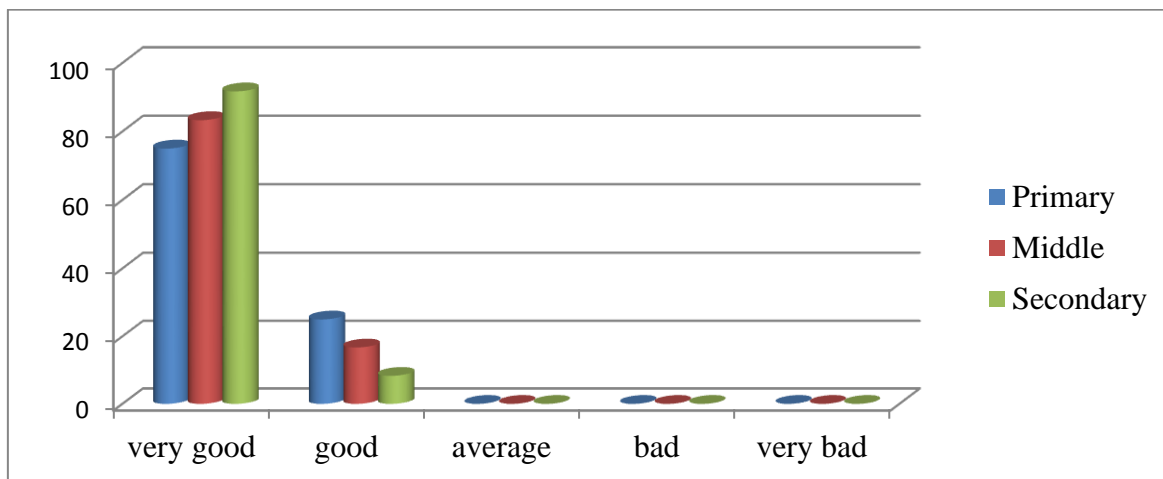


Figure 3.3. Competence in MSA.

By the way, a comparison is made between MSA and AA in order to show teachers attitudes towards MSA as apposed to AA. More precisely, the following table presents the statistics about Arabic language teachers' attitudes towards MSA in comparison with AA:

	MSA is beautiful 100%	70%	50%	30%	MSA is ugly
Primary School Teachers	75%	16.7%	8.3%	0%	0%
Middle School Teachers	91.7%	8.3%	0%	0%	0%
Secondary School Teachers	66.7%	16.7%	16.6%	0%	0%

Table 3.5. Teachers' attitudes towards MSA

These results can be noticed more obviously in the figure below which shows the attitudes of the informants towards MSA in comparison with AA:

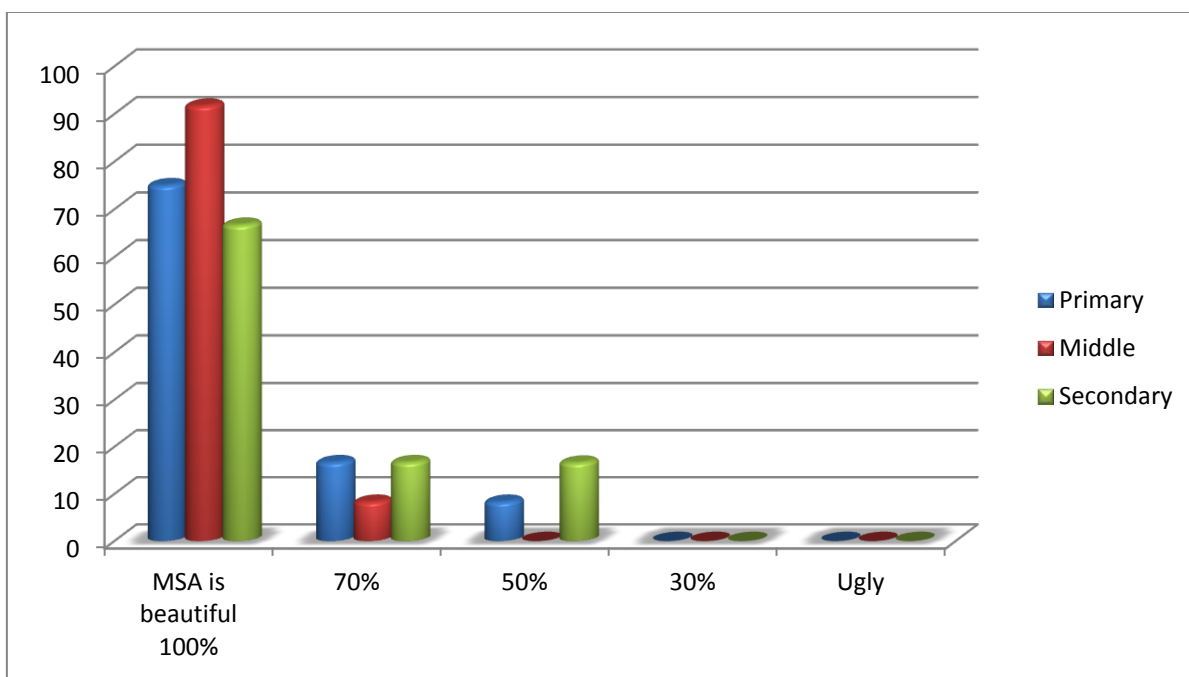


Figure 3.4. Arabic Language Teachers' attitudes towards MSA in comparison with AA

Questions number five and six aimed also at determining the respondents' attitudes. They are, however, presented to the informants in the form of what is called open-ended questions, as teachers are allowed to give their own opinions and standpoints. They are, in fact, asked to give their own impressions they had toward

a pupil who uses AA within a classroom interaction, as opposed to the one who masters MSA. Up to now, all the questions asked were direct ones from where quantitative results could present ideas about teachers' preference and competence in MSA and they could also give us a hint of the different attitudes. Questions five and six, as a space where teachers can express themselves freely, are crucial in allowing us to understand the different attitudes towards the two varieties AA and MSA, mainly attitudes towards their speakers. These two questions were analyzed both quantitatively, i.e. by counting the number of positive and negative answers each teacher had on his/her pupils' proficiency, and qualitatively by analyzing what they actually said.

Arabic language teachers' attitudes towards using AA by their pupils and towards good speakers of MSA, during a classroom interaction are expressed quantitatively and respectively in the tables below:

	Teachers' Attitudes Towards AA Use in Classroom Interaction					
	Positive		Negative		Normal	
Primary	0	0%	9	75%	3	25%
Middle	0	0%	10	83.3%	2%	16.7%
Secondary	0	0%	8	66.7%	4	33.3%

Table 3.6. Attitudes towards AA use in class

	Teachers' Attitudes Towards good speakers of MSA					
	Positive		Negative		Normal	
Primary	8	66.7%	0	0%	4	33.3%
Middle	10	83.3%	0	0%	2	16.7%
Secondary	12	100%	0	0%	0	0%

Tables 3.7. Attitudes towards good speakers of MSA

Figures 3.5. and 3.6. clearly show Arabic language teachers' attitudes towards the use of AA in classroom interaction and attitudes towards pupils who master MSA use respectively:

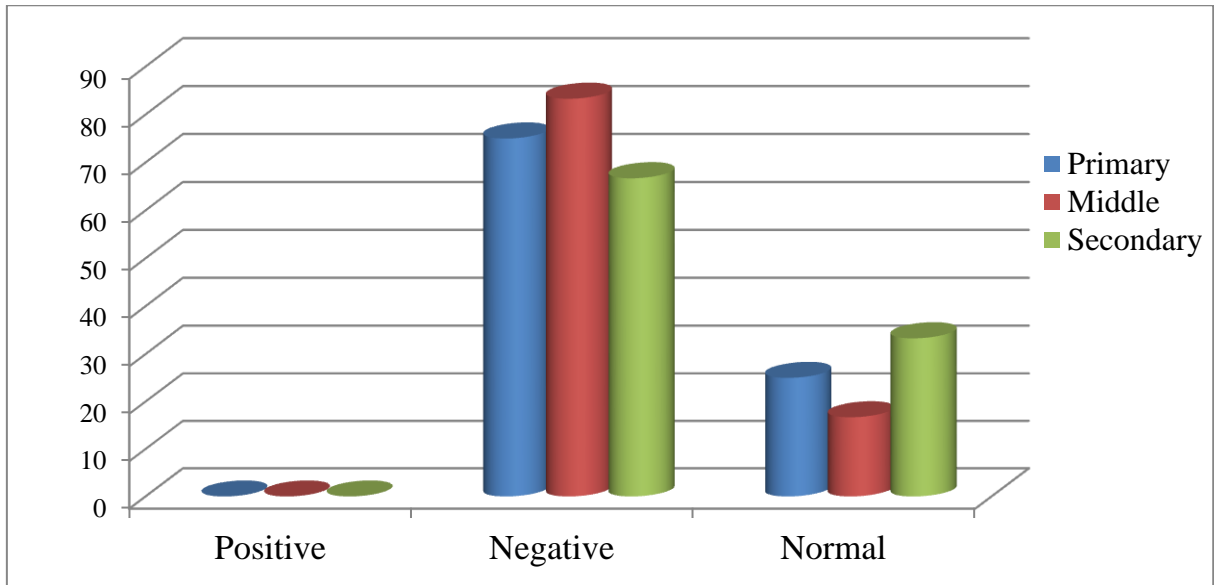


Figure 3.5. Attitudes towards pupils' AA Use in classroom interaction.

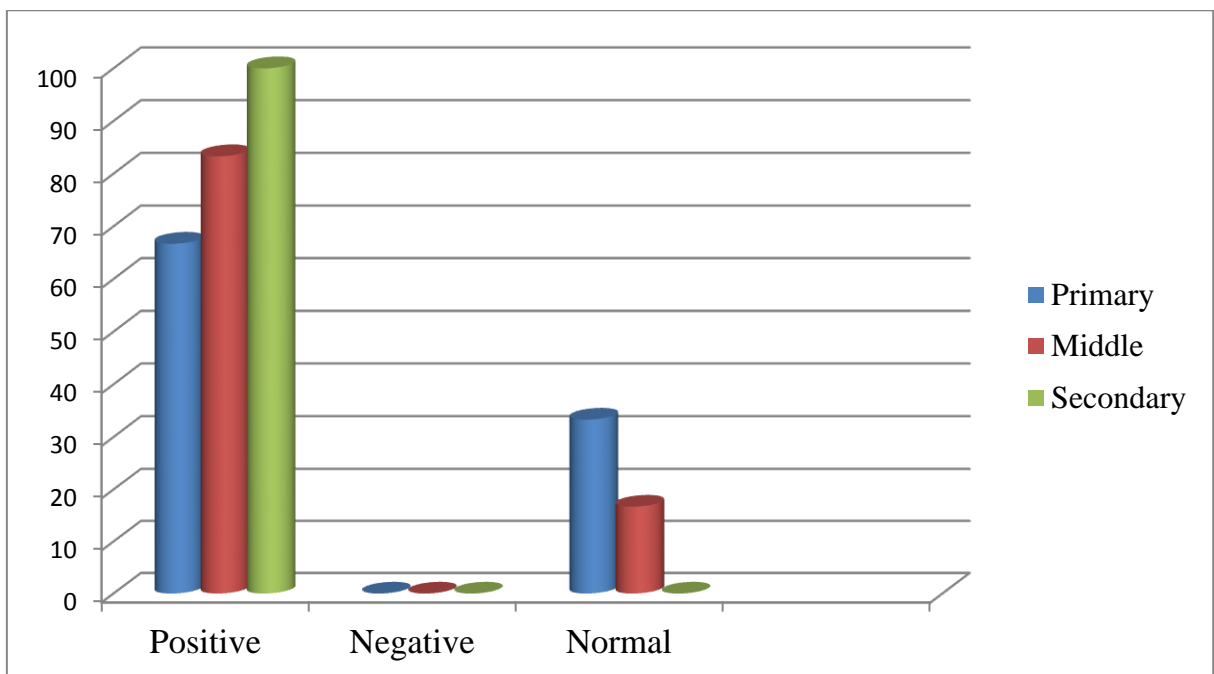


Figure 3.6. Attitudes towards good speakers of MSA.

In the question number seven, Arabic language teachers were asked whether they use some of MSA forms in daily speech or not. The results of such question can be very important to our hypothesis as it completes what we were trying to obtain from the preceding questions. Since the preceding questions tried mainly to determine teachers' competence and to give an overview of their attitudes towards the two varieties, the present question aims at determining the results of such factors on everyday use. The table below displays the statistics obtained:

	Yes		No	
Primary	11	91%	1 beginners (1 years in teaching)	8.3%
Middle	11	91%	1experienced (23 years in teaching)	8.3%
Secondary	11	91%	1beginners (3 years in teaching)	8.3%

Table 3.8. MSA Use in everyday life conversation among Arabic language teachers.

The following figure shows the percentage of the participants who include MSA in their daily conversation:

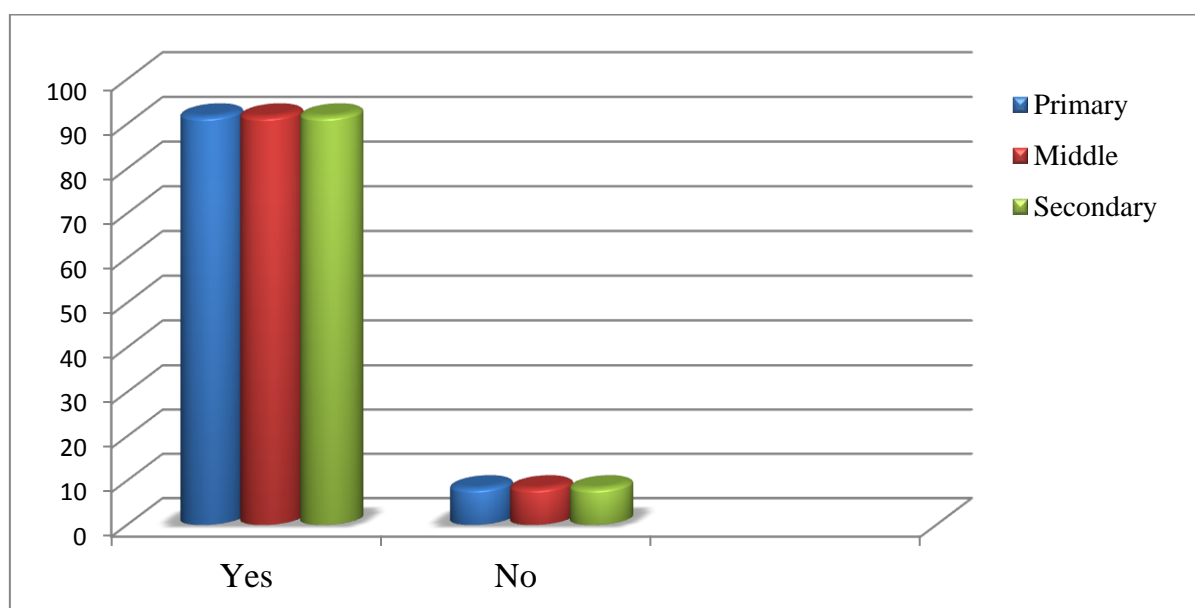


Figure 3.7. MSA Use by Arabic Language Teachers in Daily Conversation.

The majority of the informants stressed on their positive attitudes towards MSA and on the phenomenon of diglossic CS in their daily speeches from AA to MSA. Two (02) female beginner teachers only, whose teaching experience ranges from 1 to 3 years, do not agree with them in addition to one (01) male experienced having 23 years of teaching. The latter explained that his family members are non-intellecutuals and they can not understand too much MSA. Thus, he was obliged to talk with them only in AA. Moreover, regarding the reasons that stand behind teachers' attitudes; whether positive or negative ones, the following qualitative reasons have been presented.

3.4.1.2 Qualitative analysis

The results presented above by all informants whether of primary, middle or secondary schools are nearly the same. In other words, in the answers obtained about their attitudes towards MSA and AA, though there are some exceptions, there is not a big difference between an Arabic teacher of Primary, Middle or Secondary school. Yet, what is interesting in the study is that he or/she is a teacher of the Arabic language.

Attitudes towards pupils who use AA in the classroom ranged from negative statements to normal ones. Negative attitudes towards AA were more than the normal ones. The causes behind these attitudes were expressed by statements like:

- MSA is the language to be used in the classroom and not AA.
- In order to become fluent in MSA.
- In order to fight AA use.
- To acquire linguistic terms and expressions in MSA and be eloquent.
- It is the session of Arabic.
- I am a teacher of Arabic, so I do all my best to teach them MSA, it is our aim.
- In order to limit AA use and spread and reserve MSA; the Quran language.

Normal statements were expressed like:

- Pupils are still young (in Primary school).

- To give the learner the opportunity to express his/her ideas as he/she is lacking fluency in MSA.

In the question about attitudes towards the acceptance of AA as being the official variety of the state, all the statements (100%) are negative by stating: ‘No’ and ‘Never’ by all teachers of the three levels: Primary, Middle, and Secondary School teachers. Regarding the reasons behind these negative attitudes, many viewpoints have been exposed; ranging from negative statements towards AA to beautiful and positive ones towards MSA. Some teachers reinforce their answers with poems in order to insist and prove their positive attitudes towards MSA.

The negative statements were like:

- AA is a dialect and not a language.
- Each region has its own dialect, so each one wants its dialect to be officialised and this leads of course to a national struggle.

The positive statements were like:

- MSA is our identity.
- The force of the state lies in its language.
- We can not omit the origin and the core and reserve the Pell.
- My wish is to get use to MSA in all situations, even in daily speech.
- A female Secondary School teacher, having twenty six (26) years of experience, answered by saying a poem:

/ ana # el+ ba-ro # fNN # a-GaaNhN # add-rro # kaamNn/

/fahal # sa-aluu # el + awwaa # an #

faatNN/.

(أنا البحر في أحشائه الدر كامن
فهل سألوا الغواص عن صدقاتي)

- Another Primary school teacher, who has thirty (30) years of experience, replied by the same way. She said: / lu-atNN lu-ata el-amCaadN mun-ju ja-robNn wa INsaanN el-aqqN mNn ahdN annabNjjN maC-duhaa maCdNN w

taarNNxu abNN luatu arramaaN fNN qurbaanNhN wa
 INsaanN el-waJN fNN tNbjaaNn naanu Gaabun arabNjjun
 munu azzamaanN albaNNdN lajsa narAA bNsNwaa
 aAAAdN INsaanaa ajju maCdNn INbNlaadNn laa taaru
 tatanaaGaa bNINsaanNn mustaarNn wa banawhaa fuaa
 alalsunN/.

(لغتي, لغة الأمجاد منذ يعرب و لسان الحق من عهد النبي, مجدها مجدي و تاريخ أبي , لغة الرحمن
 في قرآنه و لسان الوحي في تبيانه , نحن شعب عربي منذ الزمن البعيد ليس نرضى بسوى الضاد لسانا
 , أي مجد لبلاد لا تغار , تنتاجى بلسان مستعار و بنوها فصحاء الألسن).

3.4.2. Interview Results: Experience as a source of influence

Thirty six Arabic language teachers were interviewed from the three levels too.
 12 Primary school teachers: 4 beginners whose teaching experience ranges from 3 to 4 years, and 8 experienced who have between 14 to 33 years of experience. 4 beginners in the Middle School having from 2 to 3 years of teaching and 8 experienced whose teaching experience is from 15 to 30 years. Concerning the third level, Secondary school, 4 beginners were interviewed having from 4 to 9 years of experience. The experienced were 8 whose experience ranges from 20 to 30 years.

The interview contains seven questions; seeking to check the second hypothesis which is: teachers' teaching experience as a source of influence. The interview includes two questions about the third hypothesis, which are considered as introductory questions to the next section (see section 3.4.3). It yielded quantitative as well as qualitative data.

3.4.2.1. Quantitative Results

The data collection clearly shows the frequency of Arabic language teachers' use of MSA in their daily speech which has been exposed in the following tables including both beginners Vs experienced teachers at the three levels:

❖ **Primary School Teachers**

Frequency	Beginners	Percentages	Experienced	Percentages
Always	0	0%	2	25%
Often	0	0%	4	50%
Sometimes	4	100%	2	25%
Seldom	0	0%	0	0%
Never	0	0%	0	0%

Table 3.9. Primary School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in daily speech.

❖ **Middle School Teachers**

Frequency	Beginners	Percentages	Experienced	Percentages
Always	0	0%	1	12.5%
Often	0	0%	5	62.5%
Sometimes	3	75%	2	25%
Seldom	1	25%	0	0%
Never	0	0%	0	0%

Table 3.10. Middle School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in everyday life.

❖ **Secondary School Teachers**

Frequency	Beginners	Percentages	Experienced	Percentages
Always	0	0%	0	0%
Often	1	25%	4	50%
Sometimes	0	0%	2	25%
Seldom	3	75%	2	25%
Never	0	0%	0	0%

Table 3.11. Secondary Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in daily conversation.

The following graphs clearly show the extent to which the respondents (beginners Vs experienced) use MSA in their daily conversation:

❖ **Primary School Teachers**

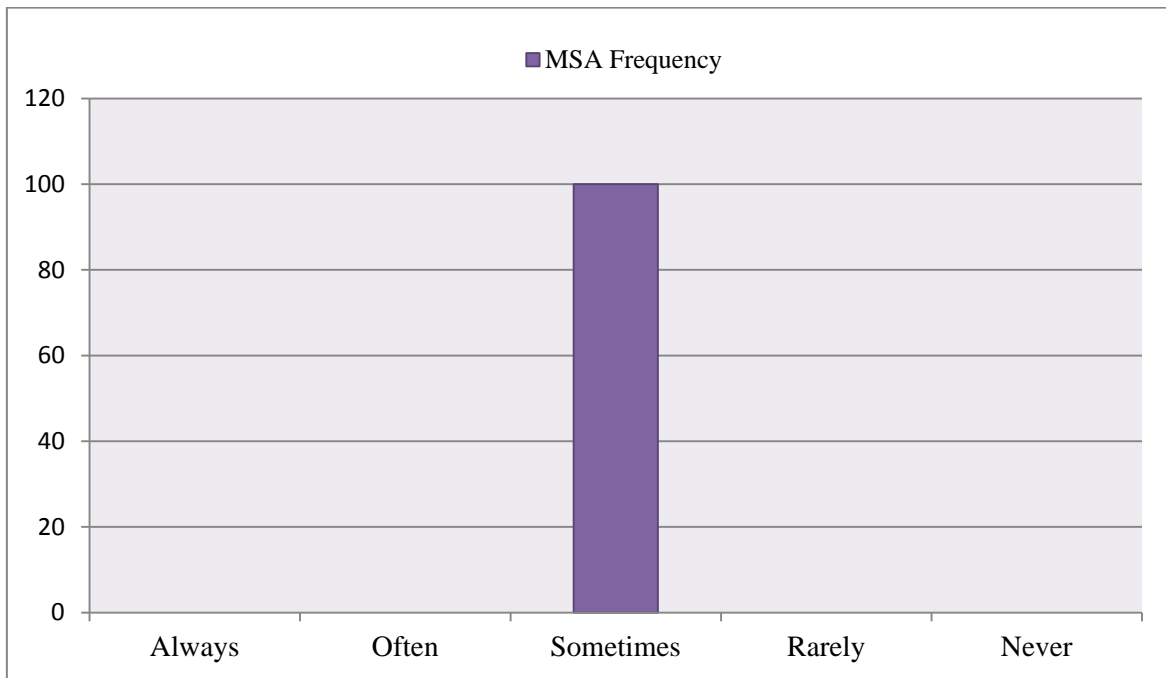


Figure 3.8. Beginner Primary School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation

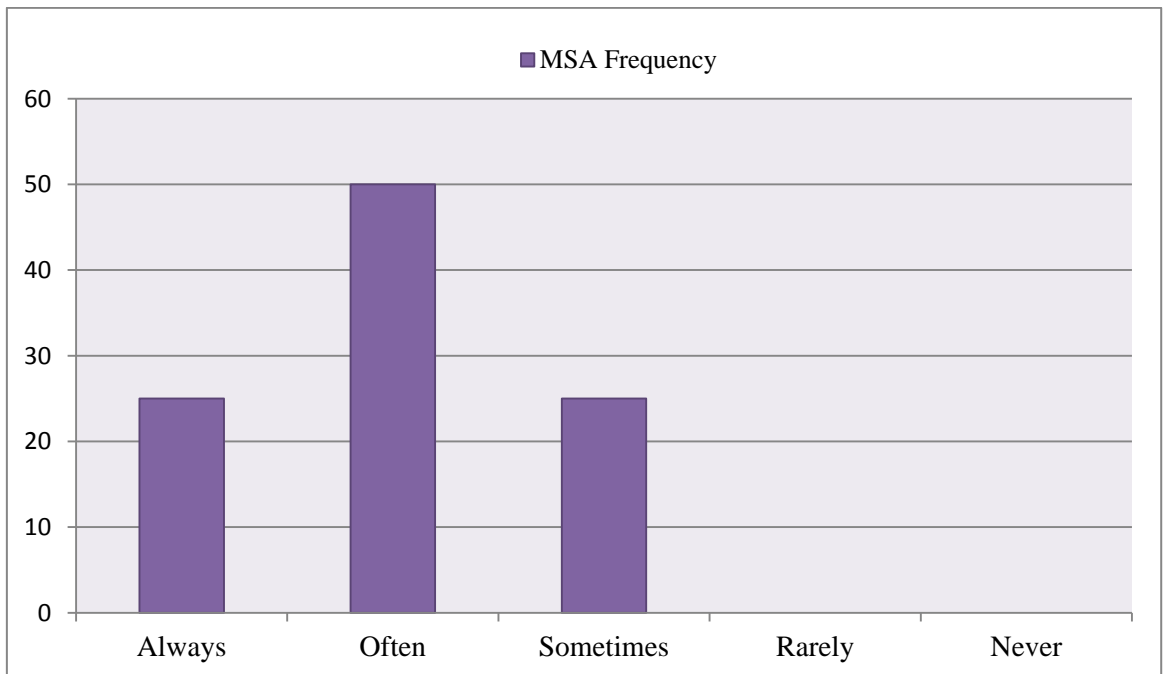


Figure 3.9. Experienced Primary School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation.

❖ **Middle School Teachers**

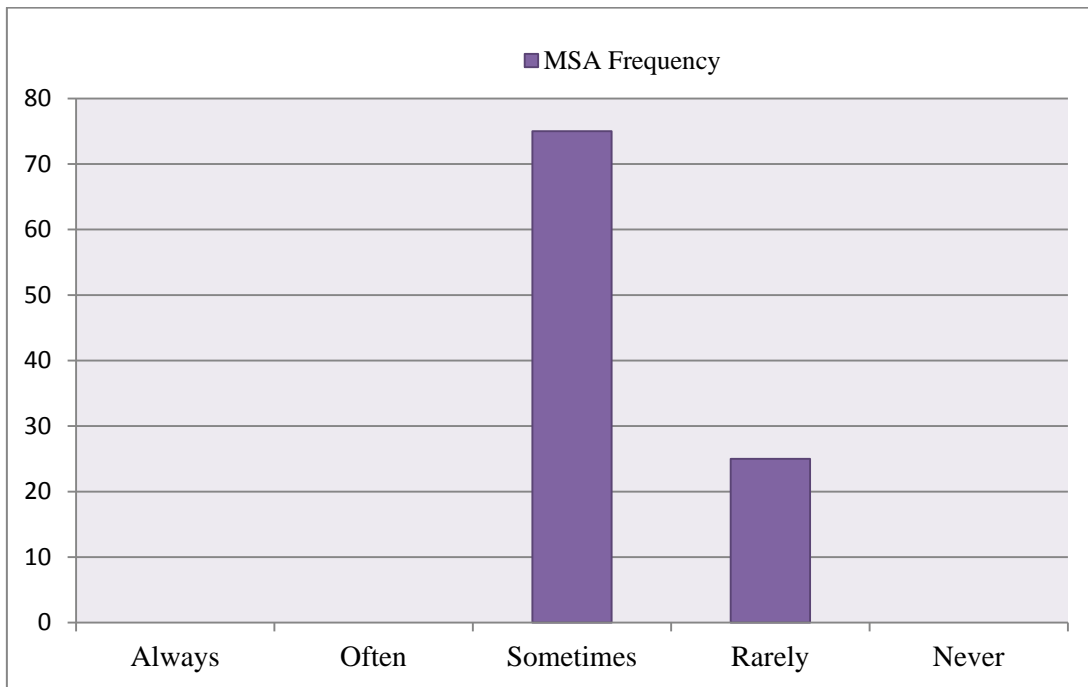


Figure 3.10. Beginner Middle School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation

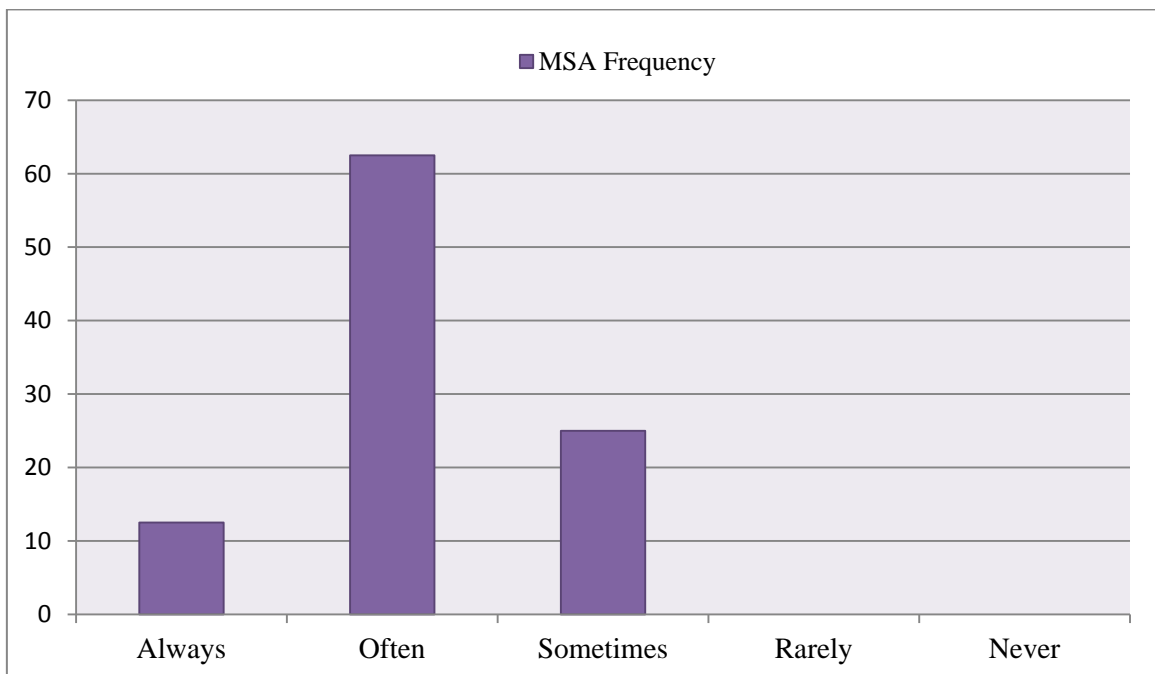


Figure 3.11. Experienced Middle School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation

❖ **Secondary School Teachers**

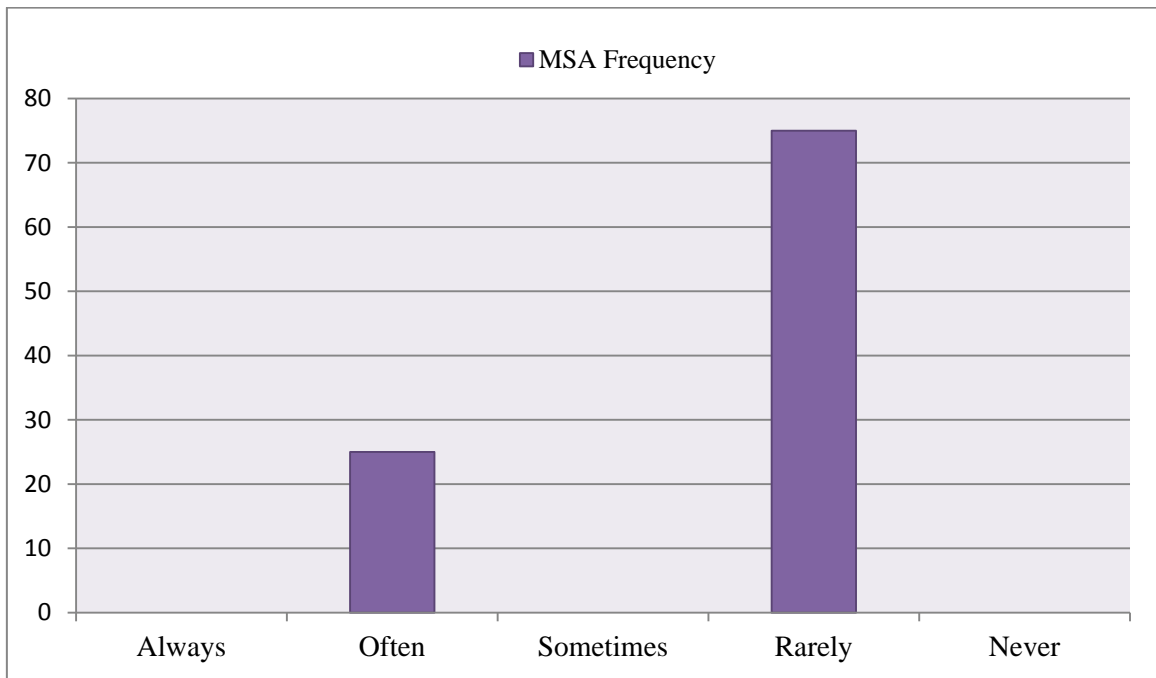


Figure 3.12. Beginner Secondary School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation

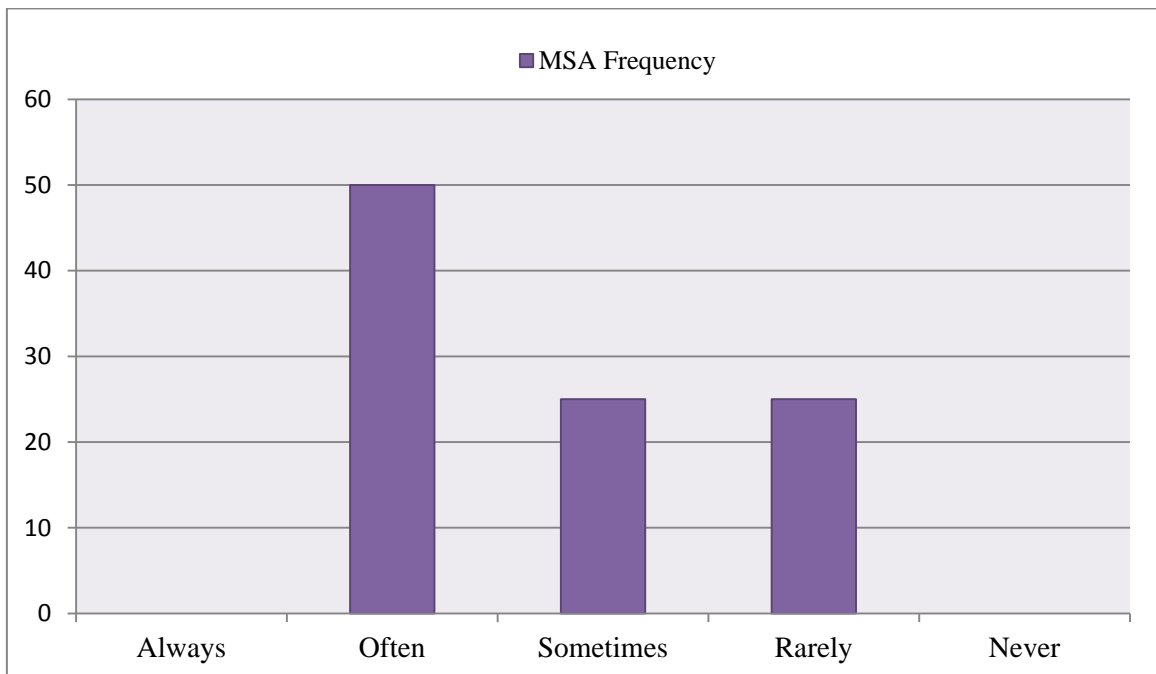


Figure 3.13. Experienced Secondary School Teachers' Frequency of MSA Use in Daily Conversation

When Arabic language teachers asked with whom they use more MSA, the following results have been found:

Teaching experience Schools	Friends at school		Friends in street		Family members	
	Experienced	Beginners	Experienced	Beginners	Experienced	Beginners
Primary	65%	100%	5%	0%	30%%	0%
Middle	80%	100%	10%	0%	10%	0%
Secondary	50%	100%	10%	0%	40%	0%

Table.3.12. Arabic language teachers' MSA Use in relation to participants.

These results can be obviously seen in the following graphs which show Primary, Middle, and Secondary school teachers use of MSA at variant settings by different speakers:

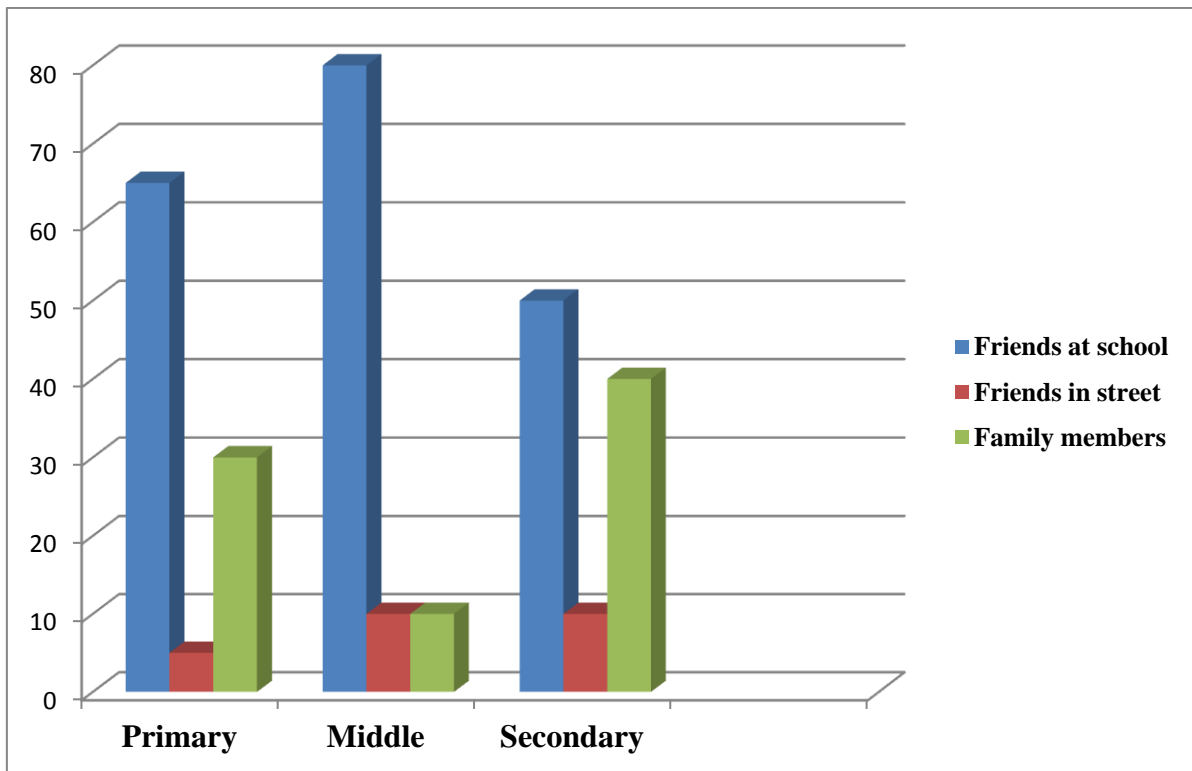


Figure 3.14. Experienced Teachers' MSA Use in correlation with participants

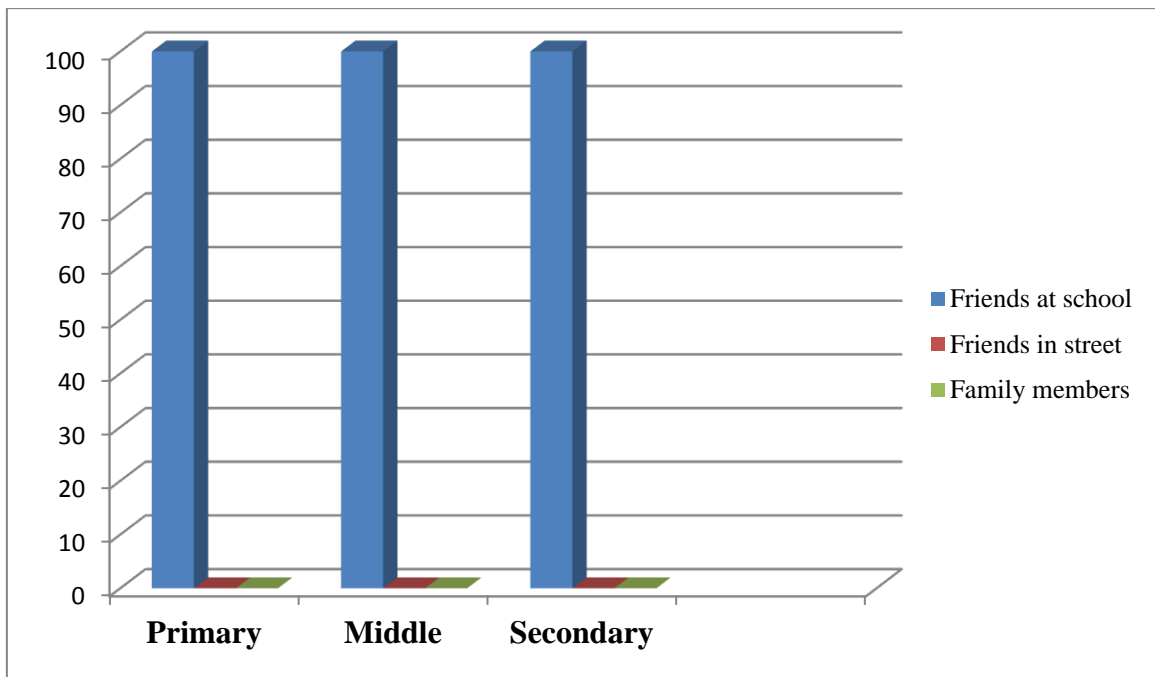


Figure 3.15. Beginner Teachers’ MSA Use in correlation with participants.

In addition to these results, almost all teachers; whether Primary, Middle, and Secondary ones, notably experienced added besides the three choices (friends at school, friends in street or within family members) that they used MSA more with educated persons. Regarding the results of questions 4 and 5 (see Appendix B) which are put as introductory questions to the third hypothesis, all teachers insist that they do not include MSA in all topics but solely in particular talks. This standpoint reinforces our hypothesis which will be more explained in section 3.4.3.

3.4.2.2. Qualitative Results

When asking the teachers if they use MSA with their family members at home, the following answers have been given:

➤ *Beginner Vs Experienced Primary School Teachers*

A female teacher who has 4 years of teaching answered: *‘sincerely, I don’t use it at home. We don’t get to use it’*. Another female teacher who has 4 years in teaching reported: *‘the members of the family among whom I live are illiterate, so I can’t use MSA’*. A third female teacher who has 30 years of experience, even before

to administer to her the questionnaire, just while introducing her to the topic, she said:

'Oh! It is really the topic that I like to discuss about it. I like Arabic Fu^u→a, I like topics talking about it. We, as Arabic language teachers, are really very proud with our pupils who make research in these topics. Oh, yes! I really love Allu^u→a -El-Arabia - El-Fu^u→a.'

Additionally, when tackling this question, whether she uses MSA at home or not, she answered: *'of course, I use it everywhere. It is a part of my life. I use it too much, especially with my children as they are children of an Arabic language teacher who has thirty years of experience in teaching Arabic.'*

She added:

'Today morning, I was in a hurry and I said to my daughter:

/bN sur^u→a NrtadN l-mN^u→zar naawNINNnN l-→N^u→aa^u→ hal kullu ^u→adawaatNk fN l-mN^u→fa^u→/' (means: Quickly, wear your pinafore, give me my shoe, do you put all your books in the schoolbag)⁴³.

'until my daughter laughed and told me: /ummN, na^u→nu lasna fN l-qNsm/' (Mother, we are not in the classroom). It seems that both the mother and her daughter use MSA spontaneously without paying attention).

Moreover, almost all experienced participants answered that they use MSA at home, except one male who, though having twenty six (26) years of experience, do not make use of MSA as his wife is emigrant and can not easily understand Arabic.

The main causes behind using MSA at home by experienced teachers might be summarized in the following sentences, as expressed by their authors:

- To provide our children with linguistic terms.
- It is a habit.
- I speak it spontaneously
- Religious women speak with Allu^u→a -El- Fu^u→a.
- I am accustomed to MSA, so for me it becomes a habit.

⁴³ All the examples will be accompanied by a somehow personal translation into English

- Long teaching experience.
- Big experience.
- To conserve our national language.
- To help my sons in acquiring good and correct expressions in MSA.
- I get to use it through time.

➤ ***Beginner Vs Experienced Middle School Teachers***

Regarding teachers of that level, the following interview results have been drawn:

- *Beginners*: all the four teachers pointed out, 'we do not use MSA at home.' When they were asked why, a teacher with 3 years of teaching experience replied: 'the educational level of my family members does not correspond to my level. So, I can't interact with them in MSA'. A second teacher having also 3 years in the domain of teaching said, 'I use it except if need be.'

- *Experienced*: two teachers having between 15 and 20 years of experience announced: 'we do not use MSA at home except for some words which are spoken spontaneously as the majority of our time is spent in class where MSA is used'. The causes presented behind this linguistic behaviour are cited in the following answer by both teachers: 'our family members are illiterate and can not interact in MSA. Thus, we are obliged to use AA with them. The other six (6) experienced teachers, however, reported that they use MSA at home by stating the following arguments:

- I get to use it.
- I speak it nearly all the day at class. Therefore, many words are spoken spontaneously and sometimes on purpose as I like it.
- To teach our children.
- To make our family members aware of MSA importance and rank status.
- I am a teacher of Arabic language so I become accustomed to it.

➤ ***Beginner Vs Experienced Secondary School Teachers***

Most of the teachers' answers and viewpoints can be illustrated with the following content:

- *Beginners*: two teachers, having 4 years in teaching, advocated: *'we do not use it as the educational level fluctuates from one to another. Our family is not intellectual'*. A third teacher, having 7 years of experience, announced: *'yes, I speak MSA at home. I speak it spontaneously. My mother, too, is a teacher of Arabic and my father is an intellectual person. We speak it so much at home'*. The fourth teacher has 9 years of experience. She taught two years at Primary school, two at Middle school and five years at Secondary school. She said: *'yes, I use it. I feel myself relaxed and at ease when speaking in MSA'*.
- *Experienced*: two teachers, having between 25 and 30 years of experience, expressed that they do not use it at home as their family members are uneducated. Another one, having 20 years in teaching, replied: *'sometimes, according to circumstances. Yes, it is according to whom we are speaking to'*. The remaining five teachers whose educational experience ranges from 20 to 30 agreed that MSA is a part of their lives and they use it at home with their children whether spontaneously as they are teachers of Arabic or purposely in order to help their children acquire it.

When asked to cite some of these expressions that they use it too much at home, all teachers of the three levels have presented approximately the same example. These examples are:

/mNndNNI/ : 'handkerchief'

/tNIfaaz/ : 'television'

/haatNf/ : 'telephone'

/naafNda/ : 'window'

/axbaar/ : 'news'

/maaⓈNda/ : 'round table'

/qalam/ : 'pen'

/ⓈabGuur/ : 'chalk'

/kurraas/: ‘copybook’

/kitaab/: ‘book’

/xaffN↓ e■+■a†t/: ‘lower the sound’

/maaJa darasta l yB†m /: ‘what did you learn today?’

/↩N↩heb wa ta↩aala bN ■ur↩a/: ‘Go and come back quickly’

/na↓↓Nm waqtak/: ‘organize your time’

/raaC↩ ↓Kroosak/: ‘revise your lessons’

/↩a↩aanaka llaah/: ‘may God help you’

/allaaho yar↩aak/: ‘may God protect you’

/kul bNyamNNnNk/: ‘eat with your right hand’

/hal ↩anCazta l waaC Nb/: ‘are you doing your exercises?’

/madra■A/: ‘school’

/⇒N↩AA↩/: ‘shoes’

/qalNNlan/: ‘little’, /kaNNran/: ‘much’

/na↩am/: ‘yes’, /Gukran/: ‘thanks’, /↩Ab↩an/: ‘of course’.

3.4.3. Recording Results: Topic as a code Determinant

This aspect will be discussed in the light of *Gumperz's semantic model*. In blom & Gumperz's (1972) ‘Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures’, metaphorical switching considers that a topic is entirely discussed in one code or another (see section 1.4.2.3.). Such switching demands a competence in either code. Consequently, participants' selection in the experiment mentioned below is based on their linguistic capabilities.

The experiment was conducted, thus, with experienced teachers who have ten or more years in teaching the Arabic language. They, therefore, have developed a significant proficiency, that, though with varying degrees, enables them engage in conversations requiring only MSA and keep talking MSA during the whole speech exchange.

Modeled on Blom & Gumperz's (1972) work in Hemnesberget, Norway, the recordings were carried out in informal context. Three friendly meetings were arranged. The first meeting was held with a female Primary School teacher at home, the second with a female Middle School teacher at the school's yard. The third one was arranged with a male Secondary school teacher at a cafeteria near the school. All the meetings were in a good time in order not to impede the recording procedures. The three teachers have more than fifteen years of teaching experience. These informants are referred to them as (A, B, and C) respectively; in addition to the researcher (R) who is actually an acquaintance of the two first informants. The third meeting is tackled by a friend of friend procedure, referred to as (F), so that not to influence the informant. All the respondents know each other. Hence, this fact is, from a methodological stand point, of prime importance since self-recruitment among the group and spontaneity in interaction were predominant.

The fact that Algeria is classified as a diglossic community, in natural informal settings, and because the objective of the experiment is to verify the validity of the idea that code choice in everyday conversation is topic-related, these conversations among our respondents were discretely recorded. The researcher initiated the discussion of the two first recordings and the friend initiated the third one. Whenever a point had been discussed for some time, it was the researcher's or friend's duty to intervene via injecting new questions or asking for explanations. In doing so, unlike Blom and Gumperz (1972), the investigator would predictably influence the participant's code choice. All the interventions were in AA and the teachers were free to choose one of the codes, notably AA and MSA.

The results show a complete alternation from AA to MSA then vice versa. Table 3.13. below displays the range of topics discussed and the code choice for each topic:

	Topic
--	--------------

Variety	Drink	School program	Students' behaviour	Education	Cloths	Religion	Sport	Music
AA	x		x		x		x	x
MSA		x		x		x		

Table 3.13. Topics discussed in relation to the code of discourse.

The following examples show excerpts revealed by data in relation to some topics by Arabic language teachers of the three levels (for more examples, check Appendix C).

➤ **Topic 1:** Drink⁴⁴

(C): *wa ⇒ ad lkas nta* ☒ *press m* ☒ *ak* (Give me a cup of coffee)

➤ **Topic 2:** School program

R: KNfaaG rakom m ☒ a lprogram ?

(How are you doing with the programme?)

(A): albarnaamaC* mukta☞ C*Nddan wa jafuuqo qudrat ttNImN☞ I ☒ NImNijja. I ☒ amal nta ☒ lqNsm w nta ☒ ddar wa Nlla laa nata ⇒ a ■ ■ Al ☒ ala nataa ☞ NC* C*ajjNda.

(Programme is very condensed. It exceeds the pupils' educational capacities. They should work at home and in class in order to obtain good marks).

(C): albarnaamaC* jasNNru ☒ ala watNNratNn mu ☒ ajjana ☒ /a ⇒ saab lbarnaamaC w lba ☒ ↓ muta ☞ axxNr. ☞ atta ☞ axxuru mutafaawNt.

⁴⁴ The items in italics are answers given by the Arabic language teachers in AA or French words which are also integrated into AA speech.

(Some teachers follow the programme organization and others are somehow late. Retardation is fluctuating).

➤ **Topic 3:** Pupils' behaviour

(R): waG rajak f★ssuluuk nta ttalamNNd ? (How do you see pupils' behaviour?)

(B): l axlaaq yba mabqaatG. Kull juum n ybullhom rwa simple laG rakom ta AAl ybo G arkom. laG INkom had Im★G A w had★GGN. allah jBCNb lxNNr.

(Nowadays, there are no more morals. Everyday, I advise them to be simple. Why do you come and your hairs this way. God bless us.

➤ **Topic 4:** Exam results

(A): annataa NC kaanat a san mNna lfa IN l awwal a san mNna ssaabNq. Hunaak ta Awwur mal uu wa haa aa bNlmumaarasa ljawmNjja.

(The results were better than the first term. There is a remarkable improvement with daily work).

(R): wkNfaaG raha l aala darwak? (And how is it now?)

(A): l aan ana laa aquul annN raa Nja mN a bNlmN a wa Nnnama raa eya taqrNNban sNttuun bNlmN a w mazaal hunaak Guhd kabNNr jub al mNn Araf lmu allNma wa mNn Araf ttalaamNN litta a ol ala nataa NC asana wa takuun fN lmustawa lma loob. hunaak ba ↓ l awINjaa laa jasta ee un mutaaba at abnaa NhNm li ana lbarnaama C l adNNd jafuuqo quduraatNhNm l INlmNjja Nilla lqalNNI mNnhum man ma ah mustawa C ajjNd albakaloorNja aw ttaasN a amma lbaqNjja laa jasta ee un mutaaba at ttNlmNN wa ana asta efu ma ahum.

(Now, I am not saying that I am satisfied 100% but approximately 60%, still a big effort should be given on the part of the teacher and the pupils too in order to get good results. There are some parents that cannot follow and guide their children in their studies as the recent programme is higher than parents' educational capacities; solely who have a B.E.M or Baccalaureate degree. The others, hence, cannot help their children and I am really imploring them).

(B): nataa NF lfa l awwal kaanat sajjN a xaa tan bNnnNsba INlqNsm lmas uula an bNrra m mNn anna lmaw uu kaan basNN FNddan.

(Though the exam was very easy, first term results were bad; especially pupils in my responsible class)

(R): w kNfaaG baG tat assan nataa NF? (And, how will the results be enhanced?).

(B): nuka NF l a maal lmanzNINjja attafNNzaat nzNd nuq ma alan f lfr wa Ndfatan Nla l Nqaab.

(We condense homework, catalyses; add one point, for instance, in the exam, in addition to punishment).

(R): wa darwak kNfaaG raha? (And now, how is it?)

(B): bNnnNsba lihaa lfa l nntaa NF fNNha wq muqaaranatan ma a lfa l awwal.

(Concerning this term, results are better than the first one).

(C): nataa NF llua l arabNja fN lfa l awwal lam takun fN lmustawa lma loob xaa tan fN l aqsaam nnNhaa Nja wa xaa tan l NlmNjja.

(Results of the first term exam of the Arabic language were not good, mainly scientific classes who have the baccalaureate exam).

(F): w kNfaaG darwak? (How is it now?)

(C): wa lannan jabdu annaha fNN ta⇒assun fNNf ta⇒assun wa laakNn
ajr kaafNn.

(Now, there is a slight improvement but not sufficient).

➤ **Topic 5: Clothes**

(B): l bsa ⇒addN* wa laa ⇒araF ybaajal kunt nah ↓r ⊗ lNNhum. haduuk
slim lN rahom jallabsuuhum yultulhum roo⇒o Guufu l arb lakaG wa⇒da
bat ta♦♦wwar w labsat FBllaba w lla libaas Gar⊗N ybaa⊗ ⇒a♦♦o
rNsaanhum.

(Concerning pupils' clothes, it is a catastrophe. I was talking about them. I advise girls to be careful in order not to derivate from our religion. I give them the example of foreign girls).

➤ **Topic 6: Religion**

(R): kNfaaG t⊗allmN drarN ■■laat? (How do you teach pupils to pray?)

(A): tu⇒abbNbNnahu fN ■■laat tqarrbNNh tGawqNNh fN adaa ■■laat
nat⇒aawru m⊗aah nqullah hal tu⇒Nbb tta⇒addu* ma⊗a llaah kajfa
tata⇒adda* ma⊗a llaah jquul ma*alan ana laa araa llaah nqullah anta
laa taraah wa laakNn huwa jaraak.

(We should teach them to pray in an easy and affective way. We tell them, for instance, that if we pray, we will be near of God and that God is with us and see us everywhere and God like who pray).

(B): ■■laat ⊗Nmaad ddNNn hNja l asaas.

(Prayer is the important pillar of religion).

(F): bNnnNsba IN■■laat laazam t★⊗almu wlaadkum w★lla bba⇒adhum
jat⊗allmu?

(Speaking about prayer, should children learn it alone or should their parents teach them?)

(C): ⊗allNmu ↵awlaadakum fNN sab⊗Nn wa ↓★rNbuuhum ⊗alajha fNN
⊗aGrNn laazam lw★lad *jatrabba man* ⊗and *waaldNNh w jaaxud man* ⊗and
waaldNNh ImabaadN↵ I↵awwalNjja INddNNn wa lil⇒ajaat kullNhaa bNma
fNNha ■■■llat llatN hNja ⊗Nmaad ddNNn wa llatN haFartumuuhaa.

(Teach your children prayer at the age of seven years old and beat them at the age of ten years old. Children should learn from the parents all the first principle of religion, notably prayer which is now seemed to be vanished).

➤ **Topic 7: Sport**

(F): tabba⊗at l hond kNfaaG Faatak l'equipe tta⊗na?

(Do you watch the handball match, how was it?)

(C): *l'Algerie kanu FajbNnha tta⊗ b★■■↵⇒ wa kNfaaw lttalN xarFu
bG★mta tunas ddat lkas mais l'essentiel G★rrfuuna.*

(Algeria was good. Though, it didn't win the World Cup. Tunis won, but it doesn't matter as they honor us).

Three recordings have been tackled. During each recording, which lasted around forty minutes, there was no change in the ecological environment or in the informants, but only a wide range of topics have been covered and discussed. The table (1.13) above shows three metaphorical switches to MSA. The code of discourse changes whenever the topic discussed change. MSA is used to talk about all topics relating to education, religion, politics, i.e. topics that are related to teacher's field of interest, whereas AA is devoted to discuss all other topics. In this situation, code choice is constrained by the type of the topic. These are almost the

same findings Blom and Gumperz arrived at in their 1972 paper, referring to such type of language behaviour as “metaphorical switching” (see section 1.4.2.3).

In order to see whether the phenomenon metaphorical switching characterizes only informal contexts or it extends to cover even formal settings, another experiment was conducted in a formal context. This latter is the classroom where the appropriate variety used is supposed to be MSA as it is the session of the Arabic language, even when there is ambiguity, clarifications are in MSA too. This experiment relied completely on our observation or (supported by data recording).

Although the lesson was conducted in MSA, what was noticed is that the teacher at a Secondary school level, while reading a text, made a pause and talked briefly about a topic entirely different (talking about ‘sheep’ as it is the occasion of ‘Aid- El-Adha’) addressing his pupils in AA by saying:

/ kaG xarfaan w★lla! had l⊗am dda⊗wa marahaG ta⊗Fab laswaam rahanar wa lm★skNNn mu⇒aal j★⊗ajjad /, (meaning that Aid-Ad⇒a’s sheep, this year, is very expensive and poor people would probably not be able to buy it).

The same linguistic behaviour is noticed by a Middle school teacher conducting a lesson in MSA. This teacher, too, made a pause and spoke about a handball match he had watched the day before. He addressed his pupils in AA in this way:

/lawlaad kaanu lbare⇒ Fajbinha fal hond wa ddinaha lma■♯r w darwak lkas rah nta⊗na/. (Our handball players yesterday were pretty good, and Egypt was defeated. Now, the cup is our).

Then, pupils of each level were enthusiastic, too, and showed a great deal toward both topics commenting on the sheep’s expensiveness and the handball match. Their comments were in AA. Hence, there was no apparent change in the setting, both the teachers and their pupils switched codes when the topic changed. This happened in a formal context where solely MSA is expected to be used.

Consequently, the idea, that code switching can be highly motivated by the topics discussed, is quite confirmed through these two experiments. Metaphorical

switching, indeed, is topic-related whereas situational switching, which coincide with changes in the context, does not relate to the present research work.

3.5. Data Interpretation

In this part of the work, the research data will be carefully handled to be interpreted

3.5.1. Questionnaire Results Interpretation

At this level, the results will be first quantitatively dealt with, then qualitatively approached.

3.5.1.1. Quantitative Results

All informants claimed that the linguistic code used in classroom is MSA as it is a session of Arabic. AA is sometimes integrated for explanations especially by Primary language teachers who claimed that they should use AA in some cases as their pupils are still young; not yet well matured. Yet, Middle and Secondary teachers; especially experienced ones, though including some AA during a classroom interaction, they suggested that AA should not be used during the Arabic session, and that the only linguistic code to be used is MSA as it is programmed (See section 2.3.).

The most salient fact that can be drawn, when observing the results which concerned their preferences in watching TV, is the excessive presence of MSA among Arabic language teachers' choice. It might be well considered then that our informants have been chosen to teach the Arabic language on the basis of the value they give it to this language. This value leads, of course, to distinctive linguistic behaviours not only in school settings but also in everyday practices. The data presented above, in fact, show that experienced Arabic teachers may have positive attitudes towards MSA more than with beginners; an idea that will be more explained in section 3.5.2.

The striking fact observed in the analysis of the results representing teachers' proficiency in MSA is that the more experienced teachers are, the more the linguistic attitude is positive; and the more beginners are, the more the linguistic attitude is apparently negative. It is observed that in the column 'very good', there was a remarkable reservation in the part of experienced teachers as having more teaching experience which obviously affect their respective language use. In contrast, it is witnessed there is a 0% in the column 'weak' or 'very weak' proficiency in the part of all teachers of the three levels. This fact once again demonstrates the positive attitudes all Arabic language teachers have towards MSA. This high proficiency in Arabic is obviously related to their noticeable professional experience and level of education.

In order to avoid obtaining random data concerning attitudes towards MSA and AA, we asked a more direct and precise question (N^o4) which requires comparing the two codes (see Appendix A). Hence, all teachers agree that MSA is more aesthetic and prestigious than AA. These results did not contradict with the following finding of questions 5& 6.

Concerning the question related to teachers' attitudes towards their pupils who use AA, the majority advocated negative reactions. The reasons behind these negative attitudes seem nearly to be the same by teachers of the three levels; whether in order to be more fluent in MSA which is the language of the Quran or as they are teachers of Arabic so they do all their best to teach their pupils MSA for acquiring and use it as much as possible, even if pupils do some errors. MSA is among the pillars of teachers' identity and thus for diminishing AA use. Yet, few teachers, about 25%, both beginners and experienced ones showed normal attitudes towards using AA in classroom. They claimed that they ought to give the pupils the opportunity to speak and to express their feeling freely, mainly Primary school pupils.

As expected, the results show that Arabic language teachers display more positive attitudes towards good speakers of MSA, because, for them, MSA is the language of instruction and the language that will lead to success. However, the majority of attitudes towards AA seem to be negative. This may be explained by the fact that the job of teaching a language, notably the Arabic language in this case, plays an important role, in affecting Arabic language teachers' attitudes which have proved to be a strong incentive for using or avoiding certain varieties or languages.

As far as the question asked about using some MSA expressions is concerned, almost all the informants have agreed on the fact that there is a switch to MSA in daily speech and vice versa. That is, all respondents stated that they sometimes include some AA in a formal context, a point that will be explained more in the next sections.

In the last item of the questionnaire, teachers are asked to choose one of the two varieties; whether they accept AA as an official variety in Algeria or not. All the results obtained show disagreement by saying 'never'. Almost all attitudes indicate that AA is only 'the pell' whereas 'the core' is MSA. Teachers of the three levels, therefore, reported negative claims towards AA as it has no official status.

Negative attitudes towards AA are crystal clear in the data gathered. Most of teachers of the three levels; both experienced and beginners consider AA use as 'nation, education and culture destroying'. They, on the other hand, believe that MSA is 'a sign of prestige', 'the core', and 'one of the pillars'. A great percentage of teachers, mainly experienced ones claim to use MSA in everyday conversation and suggest if this linguistic behaviour will be expanded, not only among Arabic language teachers, but among all speakers of the speech community. These facts reinforce the hypothesis that on the whole Arabic language teachers have positive attitudes towards MSA and some negative attitudes towards the use of AA.

3.5.2.2. Qualitative Results

The behaviour of telling poems in MSA where they applause this variety reveals how much MSA is high and prestigious. It is the preferred variety of Arabic language teachers. They relate its use with the feeling of relax and easiness in their everyday life even with their children. This linguistic behaviour has not been found solely in questionnaire's results; but with all the remaining research instruments during the inquiry where these attitudes will be more obvious.

3.5.2. Interview Results Interpretation

When asked about the frequency of CS to MSA in everyday conversation, no respondent check the use of a single code, be it MSA or AA. This is normal since ordinary interactions outside the class are conducted in AA. Similarly, they do not use solely AA in daily speech for certain reasons that have been diagnosed in this inquiry. The informants of each level have been divided into two distinctive groups: beginners Vs experienced.

Almost all fresh teachers at the Primary School agreed that they sometimes switch to MSA. Similarly, 20% experienced teachers, having 15 years in teaching, also affirmed that they sometimes include MSA when interacting. 40% experienced whose teaching experience ranges from 15 to 30, assumed that they often use MSA. The rest 20% of experienced teachers stressed that they always include MSA in their everyday talk as they want to differentiate themselves and to show their competence and fluency in this variety. Those teachers have from 30 to 32 years of experience. Hence, it is clear that the frequency of switching from AA to MSA out of classroom interaction is raising with the rise of the teaching experience of each Arabic teacher.

25% of new teachers at Middle school claimed that it is rarely to include MSA in their daily speeches. They had 3 years in teaching. 75% of them, having 4 years of experience, announced that they sometimes use MSA. Experienced, on the other hand, 25% of them whose teaching experience is from 20 to 30 years also sometimes use MSA as a communicative language. 62.5 of them, having from 15 to 24 years in teaching, said they often cope with MSA and only 12.5, who have 30 years of experience, asserted that they always use MSA. What is noticed is that there are some teachers, though have thirty years of experience, their frequency in CS is less than ones having only fifteen years. In this case, illiterate individuals interrupt this linguistic behaviour of Arabic language teachers and obliged them to switchback to AA, i.e. the mother tongue.

Accordingly, 25% beginner teachers of Secondary school, having 9 years of experience, stressed the point of switching usually to MSA seeing it as a 'sign of politeness' and 'easiness', especially as all the family members are intellectuals. Experienced teachers' answers ranged from seldom to often, i.e. the more their teaching experience raised, the more MSA is used; except two teachers having between 20 and 30 years of experience advocated that they use it with educated persons but not with family members as their educational level is low. All teachers, indeed, affirmed that they use MSA with other teachers of the Arabic language or with intellectuals more than with ordinary speakers.

These findings, however, drew our attention that participants too play an important factor in this diglossic code switching phenomenon from AA to MSA in every day conversation. That is, Arabic language teachers of the three levels have a special feeling to be different from other individuals in general and teachers of other languages in particular. They insist to show that they are more fluent and competent in MSA, as it is the language taught and spoken all the day in class. Intellectuals and educated individuals, hence, encourage and reinforce teachers' desire of interaction in MSA, and consequently of CS phenomenon.

The results of all teachers of three levels, though are different somehow in percentages, are identical. Data gathered stressed the point that experienced teachers do switch to MSA in daily interactions more than beginners do. One might agree that experienced teachers have the tendency to have more ‘language awareness’ than beginners on the one hand. In other words, they have the desire to be identified with intellectuals who reinforce and increase the Arabic language teachers’ linguistic behaviour. The long teaching experience, on the other hand, seems to create among them subconscious and a natural tendency to switch to MSA. MSA use, indeed, becomes part and parcel of teachers’ speech and even of their children’ lexicon.

When teachers asked to list some words that get to be used at home, all teachers listed nearly the same words. Words that are familiar with them in class. Consequently, words such as : /bNru/ ‘desk’, /ʔablu/ ‘blackboard’, /kulNNC/ ‘school’, /kajjN/ ‘copybook’, /ʔaffBʔ/ ‘matter’, /skaat/ or /sNlons/ ‘silence’, /lxadma/or /ʔxavaN/ ‘work’ are substituted respectively and unconsciously by : /maktab/ , /ʔabbuura/, /madrasa/, /kurraas/, /qadNyya/, /e+ʔamt/, and /al+ʔamal/.

The long teaching experience, indeed, pushed teachers to use terms spontaneously in MSA. As a result, will this fact realize or reinforce the Arabization issue in the Algerian Dialectal Arabic? Could those teachers convince other individuals to use MSA in daily conversation? Could MSA replace AA one day and become the communicative variety among speakers of the same speech community?

3.5.3. Recording Results Interpretation

The data collected from the two experiments may be discussed in terms of the reasons beyond CS. As metaphorical switching is not predictable, it is up to the speaker to decide upon the code to be used. More precisely, being fluent and competent in MSA, as they are Arabic language teachers, and in AA, their mother

tongue, encourage and give them the option to choose the variety through which they may want to discuss a topic.

All the topics discussed are closely related to one another. For more spontaneity in the conversations (see Appendix C), thus, the recording began with greeting where a mix of AA and MSA is clearly noticed. The questions asked smoothly drive each teacher to shift from a general topic about drinks (topic 1) to indulge in an educational discourse asking about the school programme. Respondents are, then, enthusiastic to talk about another topic which is pupils' behaviour (topic 3). They, in a coherent way, pushed to move from topics about exams and results (topic 4), cloths (topic 5) to a religious subject bridged by a question that demands religious explanations. This conversation ended with topic discussing sport and music.

Table 3.13 indicates that AA is used to tackle purely personal subjects, sharing knowledge and views as AA is the participants' mother tongue. MSA is adopted simultaneously for certain purposes. Switching to MSA echoes two important facts. First, Arabic language teachers of the three levels have the desire and tendency to be identified with intellectuals. They, therefore, show their belonging to a literary teaching stream via adopting MSA which is tightly associated with this site. Secondly, the topic talking about 'pupils' behaviour' is regarded as an interesting subject. Nevertheless, the informants prefer to discuss the topic in AA.

What is noticed consequently is that their switch to MSA is only to tackle subject matters related to education and religion in general and with things they dealt with in class in particular; whether at Primary, Middle or Secondary schools. Arabic language teachers become familiar and have knowledge in these fields of education. This fact, however, pushed them to have a natural, may be even subconscious, tendency to switch to the variety characteristic of such types of topics. Arabic language teachers may also prefer to continue discussing these kinds of subjects in MSA purposefully. That is to say, with consciousness as they are experienced and advanced teachers. They assert that they feel at ease to talk about literary and educational topics in MSA.

Yet, in the second session when Middle and Secondary school teachers and even the pupils switch from MSA to AA, is not the same case. Both topics ‘Aid El-Ad⇒a’ and the handball match could be discussed in either code and the participants could be able to talk about these events without recourse to AA. In this sense, the code choice gives a particular social value and a special flavour that encourages pupils to react with more enthusiasm than using MSA. Arabic language teachers’ switch was not met in these two experiments solely but during the whole inquiry with the remaining research instruments. Consequently, the obtained results should be synthesized and linked together in order to come to a reliable answer concerning our research hypotheses.

3.6. General Results Interpretation

This empirical research work provided us a closer picture to Arabic language teachers’ interaction in daily life by including MSA in a setting where AA is used. It, consequently, carries out observations concerning the Arabic language teacher as a psychological being as well as a social one. In other words, it could unveil the psychological motives of teachers’ linguistic behaviour in ordinary speech and the social psychological reasons lying behind it.

At the psychological level, it has been observed that the job of an Arabic language teacher in general and the long teaching experience in particular give the Arabic language teachers a psychological change that reflected their linguistic behaviour. Beginner teachers, hence, do not show a noticeable change in their communicative language.

Accordingly, teachers of the three levels indicate the same psychological change in their linguistic behaviour. More precisely, the change does not rely on which teaching level teachers are. The important point is that s/he is a teacher of the Arabic language. The frequency of this change depends on the long teaching experience of those teachers. As a result, experienced Arabic language teachers

express a certain linguistic awareness of which code to use in order to express their social identity and belonging. Many expressions are, in fact, used consciously; notably terms that they got to be used in class as: /INqaa/ ‘meeting’, /muṭamar/ ‘conference’ or /NxtNbaar/ ‘exam’. These words are heard as: /ʔondNvu/, /konfiʔons/ and /kompo/ respectively in ordinary conversation; a point which is related to LP. This issue is advocated by Molinero, (2001:31), who affirms that **“language planning aims deliberately and consciously to influence or change individual and/or societal language behaviour”** (see section 1.3.).

At a larger scale, it may be asserted that MSA/AA code switching relates to the speakers’ mental image of the code they speak and their attitudes towards it. Though, associated with class and official contexts and is not the variety of daily conversation, MSA, receives a set of positive attitudes on the part of Arabic language teachers both beginners and experienced. MSA is viewed as ‘aesthetic’ and ‘intellectuals’ variety’. The fact of being a teacher of the Arabic language creates among them a psychological reality towards MSA. Despite the fact that AA is the variety in which daily interaction is coped, the majority of the informants, if not all, mainly experienced ones show some negative attitudes towards AA and see it as a ‘lower variety’ in comparison to their educational and literary level.

Positive attitudes can be also related to LP as MSA is the language of education. By the way, education is considered by Molinero (2001: 158) as **“microcosm of society and both reacts to its concerns and proacts in order to influence society”** (see section 1.3.1.3). Hence, Arabic language teachers still view MSA as a language of ‘high status’ and ‘a symbol of prestige’, mainly with educated people.

One may observe that those teachers use MSA with another Arabic language teacher or intellectuals or literate family members more than laymen speakers. Teachers, thus, prefer to drive all the conversation in MSA as they want to create a special social status which is higher and raised. This high conversation, however,

may be interrupted if the other participants are illiterate and the teacher should switchback to AA.

Participants, consequently, are also seen as social forces that motivate teachers' choice. This point can be interpreted in the light of 'the Markdness Model' (see section 1.4.2.3). Myers Scotton Markdness (1993a) assumes that when conversational participants are competent in the community languages, speakers' choice of the language is determined by their desire to index a set of 'Rights and Obligations' entailed by the choice of that language. The theory states that in each conversational encounter, there is unmarked (expected) language choice for each participant and that this choice indexes the appropriate 'Rights and Obligations set' in that social context. Any code choice is indexical of norms of society at large. Yet, norms only determine the negative markdness of choices.

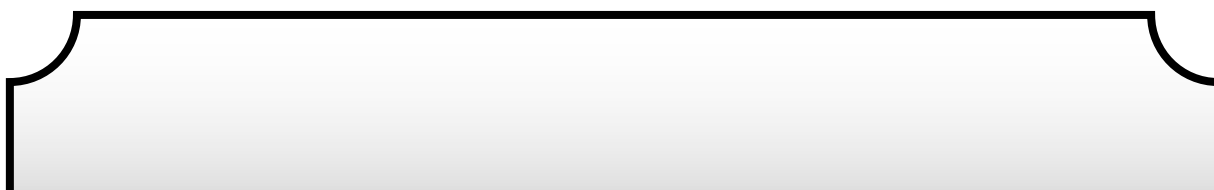
Changes in topics, on the other hand, push teachers to switch to a certain code. Arabic language teachers are familiar with literary, educational and religious subjects. Therefore, metaphorical switching as named by Gumperz (see section 1.4.2.3) characterizes teacher's linguistic behaviour.

3.7. Conclusion

In a community where almost all members have access to two codes, individuals will sometimes prefer one over another. Language choice is for the most part patterned and predictable, though in certain cases, switching to such a code is unpredictable, i.e., may be even subconscious. It is evident that attitudes towards a certain code, long period of teaching and the topic discussed, alongside the ecological surrounding, are all strong social triggers that dictate code selection.

The majority of Arabic language teachers, mainly experienced ones displaced positive attitudes towards MSA. They extend this attitude to all informal settings. They view it as 'a symbol of high level and more aesthetic interactions' related

solely to Arabic language teachers. MSA is used even at home with educated family members.



General Conclusion

Diglossia covers all situations where two different varieties co-exist in the same speech community, one as a high variety and the other as a low variety. The present research work, however, dealt with the classical definition of diglossia (Diglossia Revisited, 1991) where two varieties of the same language co-exist within the same speech community. In Algeria, MSA is used as a high variety while AA is a low one. Regarding the frame of LP, MSA is to be used in all formal and official situations such as: media, administration and education. AA, in its turn, is the

communicative variety, and thus any daily conversation should be undertaken in AA. Yet, in actual interactions; namely Arabic language teachers' interaction, MSA is included for a set of reasons. Exploring these reasons has been the concern of our fieldwork.

A set of research instruments is administered to the sample population of Arabic language teachers of the three levels: Primary, Middle, and Secondary school teachers. The questionnaire and the interview have been used as two elicitation tools. The third perspective was recording which adopted a direct observation of the linguistic setting. These research procedures could yield a set of data that are analyzed and synthesized in order to come eventually to answer the research inquiry on the causes lying behind Arabic language teachers' switch to MSA in daily conversation.

In this empirical work, consequently, it has been able to deduce some remarkable results in relation to our general research question. The majority of Arabic language teachers have been observed to switch to MSA when interacting in informal setting. The fact of being a teacher of the Arabic language and teaching MSA for a number of years seems to have created a psychological change that reflects their linguistic behaviour.

Experienced teachers, hence, express a certain linguistic awareness of which code to use in order to express their social identity. They view MSA as the prestigious and aesthetic variety, even for daily life communicative purposes. This attitude drives them to interact purposefully in MSA in order to create a special interaction with 'high status' which is special for Arabic language teachers in informal settings. Apparently, CS is therefore performed with the aim of showing skillful management, manipulating both varieties and making the expressions aesthetic. CS can be also used for clarification, by which speakers can avoid confusion and express themselves clearly; for accommodation, when they seek convergence and approval in social encounters; for quoting, by which they can resolve what happened vividly, and at the same time, guarantee authenticity; and for emphasis, when they stress a point or a fact.

Teachers' diglossic code switching phenomenon is conceived to be the result of more affective reasons that are responsible for their linguistic behaviour. Teachers tend to avoid AA use even in daily conversation, showing some negative attitudes toward this variety which is the medium of interaction between all speakers. They view MSA as being the appropriate variety for them in order to show both their fluency and accuracy. Thus, their use of MSA in everyday interaction is of affective reasons rather than linguistic.

Despite of its association with class and more formal situations solely, MSA receives a set of positive attitudes by all Arabic language teachers of the three levels, both beginners and experienced. MSA is the preferred variety by most Arabic language teachers in daily conversation. Teachers view MSA as 'a symbol of prestige', of 'high interaction and more aesthetic' that is quite reserved to their profile. They, in this sense, show a desire and a tendency to be identified with intellectuals and express their belonging to a literary and teaching field. This desire, however, is divergent from one teacher to another. In other words, experienced teachers are more affected by the long period of experience. Such a consideration, indeed, appears to lead more experienced teachers to switch to MSA in daily conversation more than beginners do. Arabic language teachers use CS as a conversational strategy to enhance communication which may be interrupted in certain cases. To put it differently, educated individuals encourage teachers to switch to MSA; whereas, uneducated speakers limit teachers' linguistic behaviour by driving them to switchback to AA. That is to say, participants can be also an affective element that determines teachers' code choice.

The topic discussed, on the other hand, stands out as a trigger that operates to influence teachers' language of discourse. Arabic language teachers are familiar with certain topics relating to education, literary and some religious subjects. Thus, they have a natural, may be even subconscious, tendency to switch to the characteristic of such types of topics. This kind of metaphorical switching is, therefore, determined by attitudes towards the codes and the associations allocated to these codes. Consequently, at last and not the least, the question that remains is

that will experienced Arabic language teachers reserve their linguistic behaviour? Will their MSA use slowly extend to all speakers of the speech community in the future? Or will technology development of recent years be an obstacle to this linguistic behaviour and impose on teachers to switch more to other languages rather than MSA?



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Appendices

A decorative icon of a rolled-up scroll with the text "APPENDIX A" written on it.

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

الجنس : ذكر أنثى

الاسم:.....اللقب:.....

مستوي التعليم.....

مدة التعليم:

مؤسسة التعليم: ابتدائي إكمالي ثانوي

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

(1) ماهي اللغة التي تستعملها في القسم:

اللغة العربية الفصحى الدارجة كلتاها

(2) هل تفضل مشاهدة البرامج التلفزيونية الآتية باللغة الفصحى أو تفضل أن تكون بالدراجة:

الأفلام	الأخبار	الحصص	أشرطة وثائقية

(3) كيف تقدر كفاءتك في اللغة العربية الفصحى:

جيد جدا	جيد	متوسط	ضعيف	ضعيف جد

(4) كيف تعتبر اللغة الفصحى مقارنة بالدراجة :

جميلة 100% 70% 50% 30% بشعة

(5) ما رأيك في التلميذ(ة) الذي يتكلم بالدراجة في القسم:

لماذا

.....
.....

6) ما رأيك في التلميذ(ة) الذي يجيد التحدث باللغة العربية الفصحى:.....

لماذا.....

.....
.....

7) هل يحدث لك أحيانا أن تستعمل الفصحى في حديثك اليومي:

نعم لا

لماذا.....

.....
.....

8) هل تقبل أن تصبح الدراجة لغة رسمية في الجزائر:

نعم لا

لماذا.....

.....
.....

شكرا على تعاونكم

Questionnaire translated in English

First name:..... Family name:..... Gender : masculine feminine

Educational level :.....

Teaching experience:.....

Teaching School: primary middle secondary

The following information are needed in a scientific study, please answer the following questions by putting a cross (x) or adding other answers if necessary:

1) What is the code used in classroom? MSA AA Both

2) Do you prefer watching TV programmes in MSA or you better prefer them in AA?

	Movies	News	Programmes	Documentaries
MSA				
AA				

3) How do you consider your competence in MSA?

	Very good	Good	Average	Bad	Very bad
MSA					

4) How do you consider MSA as opposed to AA?

Beautiful 100% 70% 50% 30% ugly

5) How do you consider the student who speaks AA during a classroom interaction ?.....

Why?.....

6) How do you consider the student who speaks MSA very well?.....

Why?.....

7) Do you sometimes use some MSA expressions in your daily speech?

Yes

No

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

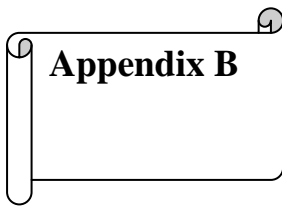
8) Would you accept that AA becomes an official language in Algeria?

Yes

No

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

*** Thanks for your collaboration***



Interview

الاسم:.....:اللقب:.....
.....:مستوي التعليم
.....:مدة التعليم
مؤسسة التعليم: ابتدائي إكمالي ثانوي

(1) هل تستعمل اللغة العربية الفصحى في حديثك اليومي:

- دائما غالبا أحيانا نادرا أبد

(2) مع من تستعمل اللغة الفصحى أكثر:

- زملائك داخل المدرسة زملائك في الشارع عائلتك في البيت

(3) في رأيك من يستعمل الفصحى خارج القسم أكثر:

- أستاذ مبتدئ أستاذ ذو تجربة

لماذا.....

.....

.....

(4) ماهي المواضيع التي تستعمل فيها الفصحى:

- كل المواضيع مواضيع خاصة

(5) اذكر بعض المواضيع التي تستعمل فيها الفصحى :

.....

.....

.....
6) في البيت، هل تستعمل الفصحى مع عائلتك:

نعم لا

لماذا.....
.....
.....

7) أعط بعض الأمثلة عن المفردات التي تعناد على استعمالها في البيت بالفصحى:

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

Interview translated in English

First name:..... Family name:..... Gender : masculine feminine

Educational level:.....

Teaching experience:.....

Teaching School: primary middle secondary

1) Do you use MSA in daily conversation?

Always often sometimes rarely never

2) Do you use MSA more with?

Colleagues at school friends in street family members

3) In your opinion, who use more MSA out of a classroom interaction?

Experienced teacher beginner teacher

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

4) What are the topics discussed in MSA in daily speech?

All topics some topic

5) Cite the topics discussed in MSA:

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

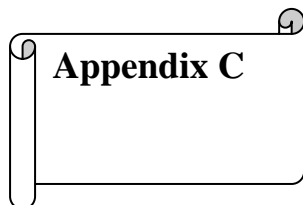
6) Do you speak MSA at home?

Yes No

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

7) Cite some MSA words or expressions used at home:

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



Recording

Topic as a code determinant : three teachers (one teacher from each level) + the interviewer (R: the researcher herself) or (F: a friend). The recordings' questions

were the same for the three teachers. Three friendly meeting were arranged. The first meeting held with a female Primary School teacher at home, the Second with a female Middle School teacher at the school's yard. The third one was arranged with a male Secondary school teacher at a cafeteria near the school.

NB: this part provides excerpts from the three recordings. French utterances are not transcribes. They are in italics.

➤ **Topic one: Drink**

(C): wa⇒ad lkas nta⊗ press m⊗ak

➤ **Topic two: School program:**

R: KNfaaG rakom m⊗a lprogram ?

(A): albarnaamaC mukta⊗ C Nddan wa jafuuqo qudrata ttNINmN⊗N ⊗NImNjja. l⊗amal nta⊗ lqNsm w nta⊗ ddar wa Nlla laa nata⇒a■Al ⊗ala nataa⊗NC C ajjida.

(C): albarnaamaC jasNNru ⊗ala watNNratNn mu⊗ajjana ⊗/a ⇒saab lbarnaamaC wa lba⊗↓ muta⊗axxNr. ⊗atta⊗axxuru mutafaawNt.

➤ **Topic three: Pupils' behaviour:**

(R): waG rajak f ssuluuk nta⊗ ttalamNNd ?

(B): l⊗axlaaq ḡba⊗ mabqaatG. Kull juum nḡulhom rwa⇒o *simple* ⊗laG rakom ta⊗Alḡo G⊗arkom.⊗laG ⊗INkom had lmaG⊗A w had★GGN. allah jBC*Nb lxNNr.

➤ **Topic four: Exam results**

(A): annataaNG kaanat aasan mNna lfaIN l awwal aasan mNna ssaabNq. Hunaak taAwwur maluu wa haaaa bNlmumaarasa ljawmNjja.

(R): wknfaaG raha l aala darwak?

(A): l aana laa aquul annN raaNja mN a bNlmN a wa Nnnama raaeya taqrNNban snttuun bNlmN a w mazaal hunaak Guhd kabNNr jubal mNn Araf lmuallNma wa mNn Araf ttalaamNN litta aol ala nataaNG asana wa takuun fN lmustawa lma loob. hunaak ba ↓ l aawINjaa laa jasta ee un mutaaba at abnaa NhNm li anna lbarnaamaC ICadNNd jafuuqo quduraatNhNm l NlmNjja Nilla lqalNNI mNnhum man ma ah mustawa C ajjNd albakaloorNja aw ttaasN a amma lbaqNjja laa jasta ee un mutaaba at ttNlmNN wa ana asta efu ma ahum.

(B): nataaNF lfa l awwal kaanat sajjN a xaa tan bNnnNsba INlqNsm lmas uula an h bNrra m mNn anna lmawuu kaan basNN FNddan.

(R): w knfaaG baG tat assan nataaNF?

(B): nuka**Nf l a maal lmanzNINja attafNNzaat nzNd nuq ma alan f lfr wa N ↓ fatan Nla l Nqaab.

(R): wa darwak knfaaG raha?

(B): bNnnNsba lihaa a lfa l nnataaNF fNNha wq muqaaranatan ma a lfa l awwal.

(C): nataaNF llua l arabNja fN lfa l awwal lam takun fN lmustawa lma loob xaa tan fN l aqsaam nnNhaa Nja wa xaa tan l NlmNjja.

(F): w knfaaG darwak?

(C): wa la'annan jabdu 'annaha f'inn ta'assun 'af'inn ta'assun wa laak'nn 'ajr kaaf'nn.

➤ **Topic five: Clothes**

(B): l'bsa 'add' wa laa 'ara' y'baajal kunt nah' 'innhum haduuk slim in rahom jallabsuuhum gutulhum roo' Guufu l'ar' b laka' wa' da b'at ta'wwar w labsat fillaba w' lla libaas gar' y'baa' 'a' rnsaanhum.

➤ **Topic six: Religion**

(R): k'naa t'allm' drar' 'laat?

A): tu'abb'nb'nahu f' 'laat tqarrb'nnh t'gawq'nnh f' 'adaa' 'laat nat'aawru m'aah nqullah hal tu'nb' tta'addu' ma'a llaah kajfa tata'adda' ma'a llaah jaquul ma'alan 'ana laa 'araa llaah nqullah 'anta laa taraah wa laak'nn huwa jaraak.

(B): a'laat 'nmaadu dd'nn h'nja l'asaas.

(F): b'nn'nsba in'laat laazam t'al'mu wlaadkum w' lla bba'adh'um jat'al'mu?

(C): 'all'nmu 'awlaadakum f'nn sab'nn wa 'r'nbuuhum 'alajha f'nn 'agr'nn laazam lw'ld jatrabba man 'and waald'nnh w jaaxud man 'and waald'nnh imabaad' l'awwal'njja indd'nn wa lil'ajaat kull'nhaa b'nma f'nnha 'llat llat' h'nja 'nmaad 'add'nn wa llat' ha'fartumuuhaa.

➤ **Topic seven: Sport**

(F): tabba'at l'hand k'naa' f' faatk l'equipe ta'na?

(C): *l'Algerie kanu FajbNnha tta⊗ b★▪▪✌⇒ wa kNFaaw lttalN xarFu
b★G★mta tunas ddat lkas mais l'essentiel Garfuuna.*

➤ **Topic eight: music**

R: wal musNqa jadra tass★m★⊗u w★lla xa◆ekom ?

A : ma⊗andNG lwaqt w mansma⊗★G.

B: nab☞N GarqN bazzaaf baG nrNjja⇒ rasN w★lla *sentimental*

C: *nasma⊗ w des fois f★↓↓↓✌r nabqa n☞annN qa▪▪✌☞Nd ta☞
lmutanabbN w★lla nasma⊗ bazzaaf GGa☞bN..*

Abstract:

This research work endeavours to examine the phenomenon of code switching by Arabic language teachers from Algerian Arabic to Modern Standard Arabic in daily life conversation. It attempts to diagnose the reasons that stand behind this linguistic behaviour. It takes Tlemcen school teachers as a case study.

One of the most important issues that characterizes the Algerian speech community is the co-existence of two or more varieties of the same language. The relationship between these varieties, indeed, leads to a linguistic phenomenon termed as *diglossia* (Ferguson 1959b), where two different varieties of the same language are used in different domains to fulfill different functions. Modern Standard Arabic occupies the high status and is named “H variety” while Algerian Arabic is considered of having a lower status and is named “L variety”. H is

reserved to formal contexts like public meetings, scientific conferences, and television broadcasting and fits all educational and administrative purposes in general. AA, on the other hand, is used in everyday speech interaction, and thus, in more relaxed settings: at home, workplace, and among friends. These varieties' function, however, may be in some cases overlapped; speakers may code switch from one variety to another for a given communicative purpose. One may use AA in a formal setting and may at the same time include some forms from MSA in an informal context, as it is the case of our Arabic language teachers, as we shall see and investigate in the present dissertation.

Hence, the present research work includes a classification of the phenomenon in terms of 'internal' code switching (hereafter CS) which is of a diglossic nation, i.e. switching back and forth between the H and L varieties. More precisely, our concern, here, is about code switching as a 'process' rather than 'a product'. This does not attempt at describing all the possible switches from L to H but rather to diagnose the reasons that stand behind the Arabic language teachers' use of MSA, to which they stick even within an informal linguistic situation. Arabic language teachers at «Tlemcen Primary, Middle, and Secondary Schools»; notably, the downtown Tlemcen schools, Abou- Tachefine schools, and Oudjlida schools, have been chosen as a sample population to restrict the field work.

In an attempt to understand teachers' linguistic behaviour and to examine the reasons behind such a linguistic phenomenon, the following overall question is raised: Why do our Arabic language teachers at Tlemcen schools switch to MSA in informal situational contexts?

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

1-What are our Arabic language teachers' attitudes towards AA?

2-Which type of Arabic language teachers (experienced Vs beginners) tend to use much more MSA in informal contexts?

3-Do our Arabic language teachers use MSA in any informal talk?

To tackle these questions, the following hypotheses are advocated:

1-There might be positive attitudes towards MSA and some negative attitudes towards AA.

2-Experienced Arabic language teachers seem to use MSA much more than beginners.

3-It could be also hypothesized that Arabic language teachers tend to use MSA according to the topics discussed.

Our study is structured all along three chapters. The first chapter is rather theoretical. It tries to define some basic sociolinguistic concepts, upon which this research work is interwoven; the notion of language, dialect, language planning, and diglossia. This chapter also gives a general review on the phenomenon of CS in the light of Blom and Gumperz (1972) 'Social Meaning and Linguistic Structures'. The second chapter; whereas, exposes a brief reflection on the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria with the aim of showing the conflicting interplay between the linguistic varieties available in the Algerian speech community as a whole, and the linguistic phenomena; notably, diglossia, that linguistic phenomenon characterizing almost the whole Arabic speaking world, is widely observed after launching the process of Arabization, few years after independence, and CS which is, in fact, considered as one of the unavoidable consequences of varieties contact situations. Then, it gives an overall geo-linguistic overview of the speech community of Tlemcen. That is, it will try to map geographically and linguistically the different linguistic varieties. The third chapter, which is practical in form, demonstrates the methods and

research instruments used in the field work; mainly questionnaires, interviews, and recordings, in order to come eventually to a set of data reliability which will be analyzed and interpreted in the same chapter.

Moreover, the first chapter, mainly introductory in form, is devoted to provide the reader with some definitions to a set of key-concepts which are thought to be relevant to our study. It draws a distinction between language and dialect and compares their different interrelationships leading to the notion of language policy.

As its title indicates, this sociolinguistic research has as a major aim, to examine our Arabic language teachers' diglossic CS from a L to a H variety in everyday conversation. Thus, this chapter presents and synthesizes literature about these two interesting concepts: diglossia and CS, ending up with a survey about language attitudes.

The aim of the present chapter has been to introduce a theoretical view about some sociolinguistic key-concepts relating to the fieldwork, among them: LP. This latter touched many spheres; mainly education where the language of instruction is MSA whereas AA is kept for daily conversation. Observation of daily Arabic language teachers' speech might, however, reveal that these informants tend to insert some of MSA even out of classroom courses. They switch from L to H in informal contexts when interacting with their colleagues, friends, and even within family members. Such a linguistic behaviour and the reasons that stand behind it will be tackled more in the two following chapters.

Dialectological studies and sociolinguistic empirical works are not that exhaustive in the Arabic world, including Algeria as a case of Maghrebi countries. The only and scarce works available actually are those which were under the French or the English rule. These works, though they are of valuable esteem, and though they include large amounts of data and information on Arabic dialectology, remain still scarce, as language is not static; it evolves through time. Because of the creative aspect of human language, and despite the numerous efforts to raise

linguistic problems in the Arabic nation, linguistic inquiries that coincide with the actual linguistic facts and the sociolinguistic realities are still be needed.

The second chapter, therefore, involves two parts. The first one highlights the linguistic situation in Algeria, introducing a review about language repertoires and the conflicting interplay between these languages which lead the situation to sound quite intricate. It also focuses on the most decisive historical fact that characterizes the Algerian speech community as well as those of the other Maghrebi countries in North Africa, that is to say Arabization and diglossia. The second chapter, however, sketches out the speech community of Tlemcen; it gives a brief geographical, socio-historical and linguistic overview of the town where the data were collected.

Historical, socio-cultural, and political factors, all together contribute in making the Algerian community full of linguistic intricacies worthy of scientific research. From the one hand, the relationship between MSA (H) and AA (L) denotes a classical diglossic context, while the combination between French (H) and AA (L) posits a case of extended diglossia. The interplay between H and L and the persistence of French as a functioning language, thus, resulted in making of Algeria an intricate multilingual speech community where different instances of code switching exist.

After the arabization process, MSA, the prestigious variety, has been given importance in LP by the virtue of being the language of Arab-Islamic identity. AA, on the other hand, is considered of a lesser importance and the spoken variety that used in daily communication. In other terms, H and L are defined as complementary in the original definition of diglossia. Yet, it is quite common to hear Algerian speakers switch between these two codes. One may use L in a formal setting or may include H in his/her everyday conversation and mix it with L. This diglossic code switching phenomenon becomes observable and commonly noticed among intellectuals such as religious people and teachers especially Arabic language teachers. Consequently, after introducing language repertoires and the conflicting interplay between these languages and drawing a brief overview about Tlemcen

speech community, the investigator shall attempt in the following chapter to shed light on MSA use by Arabic language teachers in daily conversation and analyzed the reasons that stand behind this linguistic behaviour. For doing so, the research instruments used will be exposed and the data obtained will be interpreted, analyzed and scored in tables, and represented in the form of graphs and figures in chapter three.

The third chapter is a practical in form. That is, it relates the theory mentioned in the two preceding chapters to a concrete situation. Therefore, a set of research instruments is used in order to gather and realize a set of objective results. These results have been, then, analyzed and interpreted by means of graphs and figures.

In a community where almost all members have access to two codes, individuals will sometimes prefer one over another. Language choice is for the most part patterned and predictable, though in certain cases, switching to such a code is unpredictable, i.e., may be even subconscious. It is evident that attitudes towards a certain code, long period of teaching and the topic discussed, alongside the ecological surrounding, are all strong social triggers that dictate code selection.

The majority of Arabic language teachers, mainly experienced ones displaced positive attitudes towards MSA. They extend this attitude to all informal settings. They view it as ‘a symbol of high level and more aesthetic interactions’ related solely to Arabic language teachers. MSA is used even at home with educated family members.

This empirical research work provided us a closer picture to Arabic language teachers’ interaction in daily life by including MSA in a setting where AA is used. It, consequently, carries out observations concerning the Arabic language teacher as a psychological being as well as a social one. In other words, it could unveil the psychological motives of teachers’ linguistic behaviour in ordinary speech and the social psychological reasons lying behind it.

At the psychological level, it has been observed that the job of an Arabic language teacher in general and the long teaching experience in particular give the

Arabic language teachers a psychological change that reflected their linguistic behaviour. Beginner teachers, hence, do not show a noticeable change in their communicative language.

Accordingly, teachers of the three levels indicate the same psychological change in their linguistic behaviour. More precisely, the change does not rely on which teaching level teachers are. The important point is that s/he is a teacher of the Arabic language. The frequency of this change depends on the long teaching experience of those teachers. As a result, experienced Arabic language teachers express a certain linguistic awareness of which code to use in order to express their social identity and belonging. Many expressions are, in fact, used consciously; notably terms that they got to be used in class as: /INqaa/ 'meeting', /mutamar/ 'conference' or /NxtNbaar/ 'exam'. These words are heard as: /ondNvu/, /konfions/ and /kompo/ respectively in ordinary conversation; a point which is related to LP. This issue is advocated by Molinero, (2001:31), who affirms that **“language planning aims deliberately and consciously to influence or change individual and/or societal language behaviour”**.

At a larger scale, it may be asserted that MSA/AA code switching relates to the speakers' mental image of the code they speak and their attitudes towards it. Though, associated with class and official contexts and is not the variety of daily conversation, MSA, receives a set of positive attitudes on the part of Arabic language teachers both beginners and experienced. MSA is viewed as 'aesthetic' and 'intellectuals' variety'. The fact of being a teacher of the Arabic language creates among them a psychological reality towards MSA. Despite the fact that AA is the variety in which daily interaction is coped, the majority of the informants, if not all, mainly experienced ones show some negative attitudes towards AA and see it as a 'lower variety' in comparison to their educational and literary level.

Positive attitudes can be also related to LP as MSA is the language of education. By the way, education is considered by Molinero (2001: 158) as **“microcosm of society and both reacts to its concerns and proacts in order to**

influence society". Hence, Arabic language teachers still view MSA as a language of 'high status' and 'a symbol of prestige', mainly with educated people.

One may observe that those teachers use MSA with another Arabic language teacher or intellectuals or literate family members more than laymen speakers. Teachers, thus, prefer to drive all the conversation in MSA as they want to create a special social status which is higher and raised. This high conversation, however, may be interrupted if the other participants are illiterate and the teacher should switchback to AA.

Participants, consequently, are also seen as social forces that motivate teachers' choice. This point can be interpreted in the light of 'the Markdness Model'. Myers Scotton Markdness (1993a) assumes that when conversational participants are competent in the community languages, speakers' choice of the language is determined by their desire to index a set of 'Rights and Obligations' entailed by the choice of that language. The theory states that in each conversational encounter, there is unmarked (expected) language choice for each participant and that this choice indexes the appropriate 'Rights and Obligations set' in that social context. Any code choice is indexical of norms of society at large. Yet, norms only determine the negative markdness of choices.

Changes in topics, on the other hand, push teachers to switch to a certain code. Arabic language teachers are familiar with literary, educational and religious subjects. Therefore, metaphorical switching as named by Gumperz characterizes teacher's linguistic behaviour.

Diglossia covers all situations where two different varieties co-exist in the same speech community, one as a high variety and the other as a low variety. The present research work, however, dealt with the classical definition of diglossia (Diglossia Revisited, 1991) where two varieties of the same language co-exist within the same speech community. In Algeria, MSA is used as a high variety while AA is a low one. Regarding the frame of LP, MSA is to be used in all formal and official situations such as: media, administration and education. AA, in its turn, is

the communicative variety, and thus any daily conversation should be undertaken in AA. Yet, in actual interactions; namely Arabic language teachers' interaction, MSA is included for a set of reasons. Exploring these reasons has been the concern of our fieldwork.

A set of research instruments is administered to the sample population of Arabic language teachers of the three levels: Primary, Middle, and Secondary school teachers. The questionnaire and the interview have been used as two elicitation tools. The third perspective was recording which adopted a direct observation of the linguistic setting. These research procedures could yield a set of data that are analyzed and synthesized in order to come eventually to answer the research inquiry on the causes lying behind Arabic language teachers' switch to MSA in daily conversation.

In this empirical work, consequently, it has been able to deduce some remarkable results in relation to our general research question. The majority of Arabic language teachers have been observed to switch to MSA when interacting in informal setting. The fact of being a teacher of the Arabic language and teaching MSA for a number of years seems to have created a psychological change that reflects their linguistic behaviour.

Experienced teachers, hence, express a certain linguistic awareness of which code to use in order to express their social identity. They view MSA as the prestigious and aesthetic variety, even for daily life communicative purposes. This attitude drives them to interact purposefully in MSA in order to create a special interaction with 'high status' which is special for Arabic language teachers in informal settings. Apparently, CS is therefore performed with the aim of showing skillful management, manipulating both varieties and making the expressions aesthetic. CS can be also used for clarification, by which speakers can avoid confusion and express themselves clearly; for accommodation, when they seek convergence and approval in social encounters; for quoting, by which they can resolve what happened vividly, and at the same time, guarantee authenticity; and for emphasis, when they stress a point or a fact.

Teachers' diglossic code switching phenomenon is conceived to be the result of more affective reasons that are responsible for their linguistic behaviour. Teachers tend to avoid AA use even in daily conversation, showing some negative attitudes toward this variety which is the medium of interaction between all speakers. They view MSA as being the appropriate variety for them in order to show both their fluency and accuracy. Thus, their use of MSA in everyday interaction is of affective reasons rather than linguistic.

Despite of its association with class and more formal situations solely, MSA receives a set of positive attitudes by all Arabic language teachers of the three levels, both beginners and experienced. MSA is the preferred variety by most Arabic language teachers in daily conversation. Teachers view MSA as 'a symbol of prestige', of 'high interaction and more aesthetic' that is quite reserved to their profile. They, in this sense, show a desire and a tendency to be identified with intellectuals and express their belonging to a literary and teaching field. This desire, however, is divergent from one teacher to another. In other words, experienced teachers are more affected by the long period of experience. Such a consideration, indeed, appears to lead more experienced teachers to switch to MSA in daily conversation more than beginners do. Arabic language teachers use CS as a conversational strategy to enhance communication which may be interrupted in certain cases. To put it differently, educated individuals encourage teachers to switch to MSA; whereas, uneducated speakers limit teachers' linguistic behaviour by driving them to switchback to AA. That is to say, participants can be also an affective element that determines teachers' code choice.

The topic discussed, on the other hand, stands out as a trigger that operates to influence teachers' language of discourse. Arabic language teachers are familiar with certain topics relating to education, literary and some religious subjects. Thus, they have a natural, may be even subconscious, tendency to switch to the characteristic of such types of topics. This kind of metaphorical switching is, therefore, determined by attitudes towards the codes and the associations allocated to these codes. Consequently, at last and not the least, the question that remains is

that will experienced Arabic language teachers reserve their linguistic behaviour? Will their MSA use slowly extend to all speakers of the speech community in the future? Or will technology development of recent years be an obstacle to this linguistic behaviour and impose on teachers to switch more to other languages rather than MSA?

الملخص:

فحوى هذه الأطروحة ظاهرة سوسiolغوية تتعلق بأساتذة اللغة العربية الذين يتميزون باستعمال العربية الفصحى خارج القسم أيضا, أي في حياتهم اليومية: مع زملائهم الأساتذة, زملائهم في الشارع, و كذلك مع أفراد العائلة. تحاول الأطروحة تحليل أسباب هذا السلوك اللغوي لأساتذة اللغة العربية بتلمسان, آخذة بعين الاعتبار مواقف الأساتذة تجاه العربية الفصحى و الدارجة, الخبرة المهنية, و كذا موضوع الحديث كعوامل رئيسية.

كلمات مفتاحية: السياسة اللغوية – الازدواجية اللغوية – التناوب اللغوي – المواقف – الخبرة المهنية –

الموضوع.

Résumé :

Ce travail de recherche tente d'examiner le phénomène d'alternance codique présent dans l'interaction des enseignants d'Arabe, de l'Arabe Algérien vers l'Arabe Modern Standard dans leurs vie quotidienne. Il tente aussi d'analyser les raisons de ce comportement linguistique d'enseignants d'Arabe à Tlemcen. A l'aide de certains outils de recherche sociolinguistique, cette recherche démontre que les attitudes vers l'Arabe Algérien et l'Arabe Modern Standard, l'expérience professionnelle, ainsi que le sujet d'interaction sont pratiquement des facteurs responsables de ce comportement linguistique.

Mots Clés: La politique linguistique - la diglossie- l'alternance codique- les attitudes- l'expérience professionnelle -le sujet.

Abstract :

This research work endeavours to examine the phenomenon of code switching by Arabic language teachers from Algerian Arabic to Modern Standard Arabic in daily life conversation. It attempts to diagnose the reasons that stand behind this linguistic behaviour. It takes Tlemcen school teachers as a case study. By means of a set of research tools, this sociolinguistic inquiry has hypothesized that the determinant factors are: attitudes towards MSA and AA, the teaching experience, and the topic discussed.

Key words: language policy – diglossia – code switching – attitudes – teaching experience – topic.