Dialect Use in Classroom Interaction
The Case of Ouzidane Middle School Pupils

Dissertation submitted to the Department of English in candidacy for the Degree of
MAGISTER in Sociolinguistics

Presented by   *Under the Supervision of*

Miss Lamia BENADLA   Dr. Zoubir DENDANE

Members of the jury:

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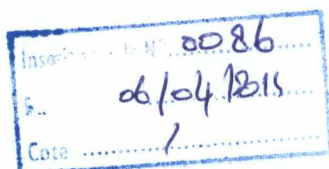
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Abstract

The present dissertation aims at examining an educational setting in a situation of diglossia, a linguistic phenomenon that characterizes Algeria and all Arabic-speaking countries with the co-existence of two varieties of the same language: the High variety, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA hereafter) is specialized for formal domains such as the Administration and Education and is assigned an official status while Algerian Arabic is the Low variety (AA hence forth) used in everyday speech interaction and thus for more relaxed settings like family and friends.

MSA is the language of education and, according to the Algerian language policy. It is to be used in classroom settings. However, this is not always the case in real classroom interaction. Teachers and learners often switch from H to L during their classroom talk. The present work attempts to shed light on learners' linguistic behaviour when interacting with their teachers. It adopts the sampling method and takes as its locus 'Ouzidane' Middle School situated in the suburbs of Tlemcen, a big town in the west of Algeria.

To approach a number of questions, the research, which is embodied in three chapters, attempts to characterize the reasons for pupils' unwilling behaviour as to the use of MSA, the official school language in classroom interaction. In particular, by means of a number of research tools, we will try to show that the phenomenon of the reluctant use of MSA is not characteristic of all levels at school; rather, while primary level pupils are eager to interact in the school language, middle school pupils start to show some negative attitudes towards MSA and the older they get the less importance they give to its use in class. We hypothesize that weaknesses in practice and thus lack of fluency in MSA, on the one hand, and negative attitudes towards the language on the other are responsible factors for pupils' behaviour in classroom interaction.

Acknowledgements

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

- ➤ AA: Algerian Arabic
- ➤ CA: Classical Arabic
- ➤ CIA: Classroom Interaction Analysis
- ➤ CS: Code Switching
- ➤ DA: Discourse Analysis
- ➤ EM: the Extended Model
- ➤ H: High Variety
- ➤ HIG: High Input Generators
- ➤ IRF: Initiation, Response and Feedback
- ➤ LIG: Low Input Generators
- ➤ L: Low Variety
- ➤ LP: Language Policy
- ➤ L1: The first learner.
- ➤ L2: The second learner.
- ➤ MLF: Matrix Language Framework
- ➤ MSA Modern Standard Arabic

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Chapter 3: Diglossic Code Switching in Classroom Interaction

General Introduction

One important issue that characterises the Algerian formal education is that the language that is prescribed in the official text as the language of instruction is different to a certain extent from the pupils' mother tongue, though both varieties bear the name 'Arabic'. This situation has been termed as *diglossia* (Ferguson 1959b). Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) has the high status and is named '*H-variety*' while Algerian Arabic (AA) has a lower-status and is referred to as '*L variety*'. H and L are said to be used for complementary functions, i.e. each serves its special functions. H is reserved for formal functions like education, religious speeches, the administration and the media. It is seen as a *language* that enters in the frame of *language planning*. L, on the other hand, is considered of a lesser importance; it is often regarded as a *dialect* and is used in everyday communication. However, the two varieties may overlap in functions; speakers may *code switch* from one variety to another. One may use some forms from MSA in everyday interaction or include some AA in a formal setting as in the media or in classroom interaction, as we shall see in this dissertation.

The present research attempts to shed light on dialect use in classroom interaction, switching from MSA to AA. We adopt an analytic approach to tackle the problem of using AA while interacting with the teacher in class. Our concern, here, is about 'code switching as a process' in classroom interaction rather than as 'a product'. We do not attempt to describe all the possible switches in the classroom but rather to diagnose the reasons that stand behind the pupils' use of AA and their apparent rejection of MSA, the school language. Pupils at "Ouzidane Middle School" have been chosen as a sample population to limit the scope of the fieldwork.

In an attempt to understand pupils' behaviour and to treat the issue, the following overall question is raised: 'Why do the pupils at Ouzidane Middle School switch to AA during classroom interaction?

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

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and Flemish which, though mutually intelligible, they are considered as two distinct languages on political grounds, in spite of being two Netherlandic dialects.

Similarly, the English frequently refer to Americans as speaking the "American dialect" since speakers of American and British English understand each other. Yet, Americans differentiate their language from British for being two political entities. They restrict the use of the term dialect to refer to regional dialects as New England, Midwestern, and Southern, as well as Appalachian, Black English, Bostonian, and so forth.

To overcome the controversy of mutual intelligibility as a criterion to distinguish the term dialect from language, the possession of literature is proposed as another criterion that characterizes language. Ennaji and Sadiqi (1994: 68), in this line of thought, explain that a language "…must have its own legacy and literature", while a dialect often lacks such a heritage, though many dialects may possess "…some kind of literature, oral if it is not written, or both". (ibid.)

1.1.2. Language Definition

This last claim draws our attention to a very important fact about language; that literature should be written reveals the primordial importance of writing in the recognition of a linguistic variety as a language and of its standardisation in its political or national representation. Collins and Blot (2003:9) stress the role of writing systems in giving prestige and stability to a language in the history of mankind while oral languages soon die or change. They argue that "the invention of writing was the greatest movement by which mankind rose from barbarism to civilisation" (ibid.). Since writing is associated with civilization and advancement, language is assigned a better social status while those who do without it live in low conditions and are under-valued.

The written nature of language, on the other hand, provides it with stability. In this respect, Collins and Blot (2003:55) exemplify with the case of the Qur'an for Arabic which kept its meaning fixed and remained unchanged, which makes it

'flexible' and thus 'vital'. Hudson (1996:32) points out, in this vein, that "It is probably fair to say that the only kind of variety which would count as a 'proper language' is a standard language". He insists on the fact that a language should be made to the importance of the process of language planning in language recognition. In fact the prestige associated with writing because of being tight to literacy or religious heritage has been transmitted to written languages and has, in turn, made them prestigious.

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. Dialects are not recognized as literary languages, and often their speakers do not have a state of their own, as opposed to languages that are recognized by the state and represent the dominant group which claims not only to be the state, but also that their language is the correct form of expression. As Haugen (2003:413) states, "…they cannot say only *'l'état c'est moi'*, but also *'le language c'est le mien'*".

1.1.3. Approaches to Dialect and Language Investigation

The difference between language and dialect has nothing to do with an inherent 'superiority' in language or 'inferiority' in 'dialect' since both are able to express ideas. Any prestige assigned to a language variety is purely social, not based on linguistic grounds. From a linguistic standpoint, thus, any linguistic code which is able to convey meaning and serve as a means of communication in a given speech community is neither inferior nor superior to any other linguistic code. The difference lies in the social perception of that linguistic code, solely.

Hymes (1992:2) reminds us of the difference between actual and potential equality among language varieties, be they languages or dialects, and that while all languages are potentially equal, they are for social reasons, not actually so. In the same line of thought, Yule (1996:228) states that "from a linguistic point of view, no one variety is better than another, from a social point of view […], however, some do become more prestigious."

Language is approached from two angles, an objective linguistic theory and a social evaluative theory, as the two figures below[2] display.

The Language

↓

Good language

↓

Ordinary language

Dialects ←   → Errors
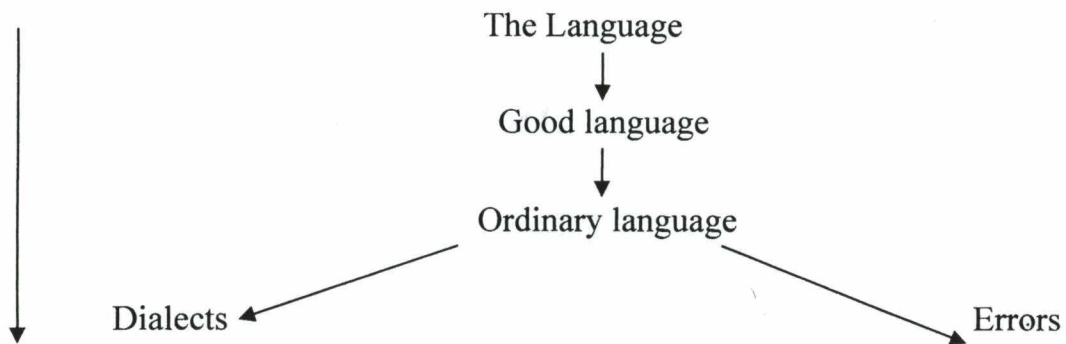
Figure1.1: A linguistic theory of language

The Language

Dialect 1   Dialect 2   Dialect 3 …etc.

Idiolect 1   Idiolect 2   Idiolect 3…etc.
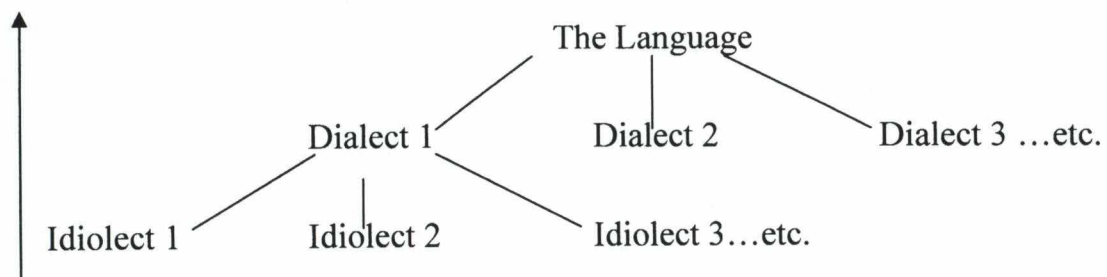
Figure 1.2: A folk theory of language

Preston and Robinson (2005:147) clarify the two theories using the above figures and explain:

> In the linguistic theory, one moves up (and away from) the concrete reality of language as a cognitively embedded fact in the capacities of individual speakers to the social constructions of language similarity.

They explain the framework vision of linguistic theory. It takes real and concrete language as used by individuals, idiolects, as a starting point. Observing a set of idiolects allows specialists to draw the linguistic boundaries of dialects, then

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[2] The two figures are quoted in Preston and Robinson (2005:148).

languages that embody these dialects. It begins from a concrete use of language to a more abstract level of analysis, to figure, eventually, the picture of language.

In parallel, they use a psycho-sociological analysis to draw the folk theory of language. The layman conceives language as a abstract reality that includes good language and bad language, in addition to ordinary language. It associates the former with prestige and the latter with errors. It often considers all what goes out of the rules of 'good language' as negative. It has, thus, the opposite way of vision, in comparison with the linguistic theory, i.e. from top to down, that is, from a platonic, extra cognitive reality of language such as English, French or Arabic, to ordinary language that includes dialects, errors, and all forms of real language use, often viewed as deviating from the rules of 'platonic language'.

Indeed, linguistic and social visions of language are opposing each other and may lead to a serious consideration of language and dialect. Linguistically, a language can move to the status of a dialect if it witnesses a shift of its speakers to a more prestigious language while a dialect may become a language if it acquires a given social prestige. This change in social status is in direct relation with language policy, a concept that will be detailed in the next section.

1.2. Language Policy

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

1.2.1. Language Policy Definition

Policy makers are responsible for taking appropriate decisions concerning language choice and functions. This task is referred to as language planning, though one might come across a diversity of terms in the literature: language policy (LP henceforth), language engineering, language development, language management,

language treatment or glottopolitics (Rahman 1999:235). In spite of this diversity, these terms all refer to

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

Hence, LP is goal-bound; no LP occurs without a definition and explicit future objective to achieve. In an organized set of decisions, decision makers aim at attaining national unity or improving communication and education (Trudgill 1992) through giving prominence to speakers of a privileged language or excluding a minority group.

Therefore, one might deduce that LP components are, as cited by Christian (1988:191),

- Intervention in events to influence language future use.
- Explicitness in decisions, which are pro-active rather than reactive.
- Goal oriented: towards a definite goal.
- Systematic: A careful analysis of the present situation and defining what to do in a sequence of activities.
- Choice among alternatives: choice of a language among many because of the belief that 'one language as an official unifies a nation' (Christian 1988: 197). We speak of LP when there is more than one language in the speech community.
- Institutionalization, which is any effort to handle a variety in specialised bodies, often sponsored by the state or specialised organisations.

The term LP was first introduced by Weinreich, though some theorists preferred to substitute it by a more neutral term, 'Language Policy' (Sposky: 1998).

Cooper (1989:95) gives a narrower definition of the term, alluding to the set of activities necessary to handle in LP: "LP refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes." It is meant by 'efforts' the decisions taken by policy makers to develop a language and to implement it for specific functions. These three actions refer, respectively, to status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning.

1.2.2. Activities of Language Policy

Language policy appears in a set of decisions and procedures in order to reach an explicit goal. Theorists of the field agree on defining three dimensions of LP:

1.2.2.1. Status Planning

As its name implies, it refers to the decisions taken by policy makers, usually the powerful, as the assignment of a given language. In Gorman's terms (1973:73)[3], status planning is regarded as the, "…authoritative decisions to maintain, extend or restrict the range of uses (functional range) of a language in particular settings.'

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

Therefore, status planning is a purely political issue undertaken by policy makers and does not reflect any inferiority or superiority in the linguistic code *per se*. It deals with language as a static object. This explains the terminology in Hamers and Blanc (2000) who call it 'external planning', as opposed to 'internal planning' which deals with the internal structure of the language. It attempts to describe it and even modify it. This task is referred to as 'Corpus planning'.

1.2.2.2. Corpus Planning

A language cannot serve the functions that it has been assigned to if it is not prepared internally. This activity can only be accomplished with the linguists'

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[3] Quoted in Rahman (1999:237)

intervention; they manage to decide upon 'appropriate' forms of the language and define its structures. It is their task to make a language written and take care of its spelling. They manage to provide documentation in the chosen language. This task is often accomplished by official specialized academies though part of the task can be handled by learned men.

Corpus planning is of prime importance in any language planning process, so that some theorists have emphasized it in defining LP. Haugen[4] (1959:8) defines LP as, "The activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in non-homogeneous speech community." Haugen shows how the activity of corpus planning is important before the implementation phase. (To be developed below, in section 1.3.2.3.). Basically, he describes the phases making up corpus planning which begins with graphisation or regraphisation to provide a written form for the language. It, then, passes through standardization, modernisation and renovation.

Since the graphic system is important in any written language, linguists manage to select a vehicle by which they graphicise the language. Their choice often falls on an ancient script in order to emphasize the authenticity of the language. They may also prefer to use the Roman script for westernisation or to suit modern technology, mainly computers. The written system of a language may even be regraphicised for purely political reasons, since language is a political symbol. An illustrative example is the case of Russian which moved from the Roman script to the Cyrillic to reinforce Russian identity and to move away from European links. Another famous example is the Turkish substitution of the Arabic script by the Roman script in order to break the links with the Ottoman identity and to be clustered to Europe and the Western world.

Standardization is a procedure which makes a linguistic variety, often the *élite*'s mother tongue become a standard language. It defines one conventional form of pronunciation, spelling, vocabulary and grammar to cite in specialized books and dictionaries. Linguists attempt to control concepts and define vocabulary meanings. If

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

they do not find expressive terminology for new concepts they move on to modernisation.

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

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

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

leaders oppose the use of words from English in French and prefer French words origin.

Thus, a language should be prepared in order to be appropriate for technical and scientific use before any implementation. However, it can be modified to suit it better after being in use in schools and universities. Education, the media and legislation might lend a hand in this mission (Christian 1988), mainly in innovating new terms or popularizing a new linguistic form. Hence, the activity of acquisition planning interacts with corpus planning as it has to do with status planning. The next section attempts to define it and to show this relation.

1.2.2.3.   Acquisition Planning

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

The question of planning, being strongly tied with political decisions, has long been associated with status planning by many theorists among whom Fishman and Trudgill can be cited. The latter, for instance, chooses to split LP into two activities instead of three; Status planning and Corpus planning (1992:47). In the same line of thought, Wardhaugh (2006) includes functions assigned to a given language as well as language rights in education under his definition of status planning.

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

All in all, language acquisition planning encompasses all attempts to "increase the number of speakers of a language at the expense of another language (or languages)" (Nahir, 1984:365)[5]. These attempts may be in the form of government formulas, laws to specify the use of a language in specific domains. Spolsky (2004) enumerates the possible domains for acquisition planning; the workplace, religious organizations, the media, and especially education.

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

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

The media, too, play a role in LP, especially news broadcasting. The majority of TV channels launch news in one imposed language and they never do it in the vernacular. The majority of newspapers in the world are written in the standard, often in a defined-in-law language.

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

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[5] in Rahman (1999: 236).

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

Thus, LP is assigning a language to a defined set of domains often formal ones, and leaving vernaculars for less formal use. This distinction of functions in a speech community has been labelled 'diglossia' by Ferguson (1959).

1.3. Diglossia

The term 'diglossia' is used to classify communication situations in societies that make complementary use of two languages or language varieties. These exist side by side throughout the speech community, each being "assigned a defined social function" (Trudgill, 2000:113). This linguistic situation was first tackled by the German linguist Karl Krumbacher (1902) in his study about the origin, nature, and development in Arabic and Greek linguistics (Zughoul, 2004). The term *'diglossie'* was later coined by the French linguist William Marçais (1930/ 1931) to describe the 'competition between a highly codified language and its widely spoken variety used in everyday conversation' (Ennaji and Sadiki 1994:83).

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

1.3.1.   Classical Diglossia

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

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

> Ferguson (1959:245)

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

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

Function refers to the use of one language variety in a given social situation and not the other. Ferguson (1959)[6] views: it as, "...one of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function." He exemplifies the use of *al-Fusha*, the H variety for Arabic, in sermons in mosque, opposed to L, *al'aamiya,* which is never

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[6] in Giglioli 1973:236).

used instead of H, and is spoken among friends, colleagues and family. This association with formality and informality affects social attitudes towards H and L.

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

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

The only possible acquired language as a mother tongue by children is L; "no one acquires H as a mother tongue; H is learned through school". (Hudson, 1996:50). H learning is similar to second language learning as the child learns its speaking and writing in school.

H should be a written language in order to be used in schools. It should be codified in books and well defined in dictionaries. In other words, H, being a standard language, it is preserved and stable. Stability is another feature used by Ferguson to describe diglossia. It lasts for centuries with clear-cut and complementary functions for all of H and L. However, there might be instances showing the overlap of the two varieties. Due to the spread of literacy, intellectuals may switch to H while using L, especially those educated in H and those using it daylong in their workplace. Ferguson illustrates this phenomenon by the appearance of *'Greek mikti'*, *'Arabic Allugha-alwusta'* and *'Haitian Creole de Salon'*.

In addition to social differences, H and L display linguistic contrast at the level of grammar, lexicon, and phonology. H grammar is often more complex than L with more complex tense system and syntax. The lexicon in diglossia is characterized by duality, i.e. two signifiers for one sign, in Saussurean terms. To clarify the idea, here is

an example in Arabic, Egyptian children call 'a car' /sajja:ra/ at school and /ʕarabijja/ outside. Although, there might be a shared lexicon between H and L, it is often pronounced differently. The phonology of H and L is two different systems; there might be sounds present in H and not L and vice versa. An illustrative example from Arabic is the phoneme /q/ which is pronounced as [g], [q], [k] or [ʔ] depending on the dialect.

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

1.3.2. Extended Diglossia

Fishman (1967) extends diglossia to cover instances where H and L are genetically unrelated. He refers to Paraguay, where Spanish, a Latin origin language, occupies H functions, while *Guarani,* an Indian language, plays the role of L (Hudson 1996:50).

Gumperz (1964) re-extends the concept of diglossia to describe all linguistic situations where two or more varieties are used under distinct circumstances. This is found almost in all societies, including France and Britain. He argues that the language used at school and in family interaction in France is so contrastive that they sound to be two different varieties. He includes language – dialects relationship within diglossia in which the first is H and the second is L. This situation is described in a more exact term by Haugen[7] (1962) as, *'Schizoglossia'*.

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

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

variation in the theory of diglossia, calling them 'functional dialects' (Haugen, 2003:417).

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

This terminological variation and concept extension paved the way to the elaboration of more complex definitions. Abdulaziz (1978) uses the term 'triglossia' to name situations where there are three varieties in practice: one H and another L and a third that is 'higher' than H and is devoted to special functions, often more formal situations. Romaine (2000) exemplified this situation by Tunisia, where L is dialectal Arabic and the H varieties are MSA and French. This term led Platt (1977) to the consideration of situations where there are more than three varieties. It is named 'Polyglossia'; one H and several L varieties are present. Muller and Ball (2005:61) give the example of Malaysia.

Fasold (1984:44-50) lists a narrower terminology to describe more complex situations such as 'double overlapping diglossia', 'double nested diglossia' and 'linear polydiglossia' as types of multiple language polyglossia. This terminology is not to be developed in the present work since it does not serve our objectives. Citing it is just to show the degree of heterogeneity of the concept of diglossia in the literature. Yet, many theorists prefer to rely on the classical definition of diglossia. Their argument is that Fishman's theoretical framework as well as Fasold's make diglossia become "…an aspect of essentially all language situations and then no longer refers to a type of language situations." (Huebner, 1996:19).

However, one cannot deny that classical diglossic situations are becoming less frequent in the world. The argument here is that in the original definition by Ferguson (1959), H and L are in complementary use, i.e. H is never used in an informal context

such as family interaction. L, too, should never be used in a formal situation like a lecture at University or in the President's speech. Intellectuals may use H in their everyday interaction because of the spread of literacy. On the other hand, dialect awareness raised in the world by minorities has resulted in a kind of acceptance of switching from H to L to express solidarity or simply to be understood by the audience. The section below clarifies the concept of code switching and relates it to diglossia.

1.4. Code switching

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

1.4.1.　Definition of Code Switching

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

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

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

(1992: 1)[8] advocates, "efforts to distinguish code switching, code mixing and borrowing are doomed". Eastman proposes to neglect the distinction between CS and borrowing because it is sometimes useless. Our work, for instance, does not need stressing such a distinction because any borrowing from L to H is cited in specialised books and dictionaries. Thus, if a speaker uses L where s/he should use H, it is usually a CS rather than a borrowing.

CS is used by all speakers, either as bilinguals or monolinguals in style shifting. Yet, it has long been a stigmatized form in conversation (Boztepe: 2008). It has been associated with semi-lingualism; code switchers lack mastery of both codes. It was the source of inspiration of the deficit hypothesis in USA and Britain.

However, recent research has shown that these views are misleading. New dimensions have been taken when dealing with CS. It is sometimes used, according to De Kleik (2006: 602), as a tool "...to examine the relative linguistic abilities of the interlocutors". Similarly, Chung (2006) supports CS, claiming that it serves as an important communicative strategy. CS, according to Ayemoni (2006: 91), may reveal: "...group identity, poetic creativity and expression of modernization".

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

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

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

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

1.4.2. Approaches to Code Switching Investigation

CS has been the centre of interest of many theories from different fields.

1.4.2.1. The Structural Perspective on Code Switching Investigation

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

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

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

A variety of other studies relied on Chomsky's generative theory in CS, focussing on phrase structure as the source of constraints. In this respect, 'the

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Government and Biding framework' came to prohibit any switching between V and its NP, i.e., between verb and object. However, Romaine (2005) gives counter examples from Punjabi /English data.

Opposing the generative model and relying on a more psycholinguistic speech production theory, Myers-Scotton (1993a) puts forward her 'Matrix Language Frame Model, or MLF for short. She worked on a Swahili /English corpus to develop her theory on intra-sentential CS. Since its first proposal in Myers-Scotten (1993a), after a set of modifications, MLF became a referential work in CS studies. Relying on Joshi's principle of asymmetry, she views CS as:

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

<div align="right">

Myers-Scotten (1993b:4)

</div>

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

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

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

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

The structural approach to CS brought so much to the field. It could set a diversity of notions and describe different types of CS as a product. It could draw the difference between intrasentential CS and intersentential CS. The former refers to "switches occurring at the lexical level within a sentence' (Hoffman, 1991: 104). It is

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

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

1.4.2.2. The Psycholinguistic Perspective on Code Switching Investigation

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

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

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

1.4.2.3. The Sociolinguistic Perspective on Code Switching Investigation

The sociolinguistic study of CS deals with it as a process, i.e. it attempts to answer questions like: 'why do bilinguals switch?' (Müller and Ball: 2005). 'Interpretive sociolinguistics' according to Le Page (1997: 31), "… starts from the observation of linguistic behaviour and interprets it in terms of social meaning". It relates language as a product to its social presumed interpretation.

The sociolinguistic approach tackles CS at two levels: macro and micro levels. Wardhaugh (2006: 101) shows the difference between the two scales in his definition of CS:

> CS can arise from individual choice or be used as a major identity marker for a group of speakers who must deal with more than one language in their common pursuits.

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

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

the conversation, the topic and the setting. This reflects his often-quoted questioning on 'who speaks what language, to whom and when?' (1972).

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

Other models were developed out of Blom and Gumperz works. Auer (1988)[9] introduced the Conversation Analysis approach in which he insists on interpreting CS in relation with its sequential environment. The focus is, then, on the individual's choice of code in a special situation as an act of identity.

Gumpez (1982), too, referred to the 'we-code' vs. the 'they-code' to describe the two codes in terms of their function; solidarity for the code used in group relations as opposed to the one used in out-group communication. Code choice occurs in relation with a set of factors. Grosjean (1982: 136) summarises these factors in relation with participants, situation, and content of discourse in addition to function of interaction. Participants would choose a particular code in relation with their language proficiency, language preference and social factors such as age and sex. Their history of linguistic interaction, kinship relation, intimacy, power relation and attitudes towards languages, all define their code choice. The situation depends on the setting, and degree of formality or intimacy. Function interaction can be to raise the status, to create a social distance, to exclude someone and to request or command (ibid.)[10]

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

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

choices to negotiate interpersonal relationships" (Myers-Scotton, 1990 : 58)[11]. She considers CS as a means of defining or refining relations and situations relying on social motivations. Her model involves three maxims for code choice. 'The unmarked choice' is "…often not the language of greater socio-political prestige in the larger community" (Myers-Scotton, 1997: 231).

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

Similarly, Milroy (1981) links macro and micro-level in her 'social network theory'. She views CS as a sign of solidarity and group interaction. Speakers tend to switch to the language of the interlocutor, not just to facilitate communication but also to express solidarity in the sense to make them feel part of the same group. Interlocutors, then, may use one code instead of the other to consolidate the feeling that they speak the 'we-code'.

1.4.2.4.   An Eclectic Approach to Code Switching Investigation

CS is a cross disciplinary concept. It has been tackled by the structural approach to define its possible grammatical constraints. Gardner and Edwards (2004: 126)[12] make the following comment:

> Although syntax plays an important role in CS, it cannot be assumed a priori that the constructs of syntacticians are the best means for characterising the processes of performance data such as CS.

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

They assume that syntactic analysis, though important in CS studies, is useless if not linked with other approaches such as psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. These two, in turn, should collaborate "...to develop models of processing and production which can handle code switching" (Romaine, 1995: 180).

Thus, the three approaches cited above are complementary, in the sense that all of them contribute in building an overall theory of CS. They should take from one another to develop a better understanding of this paramount phenomenon.

Recent work considers different frame works, such as Boztepe (2008:20), which encourages "more ethnographic studies of bilingual classroom interaction". Such studies "are needed", he claims, explaining that they may "link micro level analyses of classroom interaction with broader questions of social reality" (ibid.). The present work attempts to tackle this inquiry, shedding light on diglossic switching in classroom interaction which is defined in the next section.

1.5. Classroom Interaction

Classroom interaction is the process in which teachers and learners have a reciprocal effect upon each other through what they say and do in class. It embodies verbal messages transmitted within the educational setting to ensure successful communication. Interaction is defined by Grice[13] as

> [...] an overt interaction between two or more agents, one meaning something by a certain action in a certain context and the other inferring from the observation of that action to its presumed meaning.

Interaction, thus, includes, in our context, two communicating agents: the teacher and the learner, negotiating meaning to achieve educational objectives in the educational setting.

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[13] Quoted in Teressa (1999: 421).

1.5.1. The Teacher

The teacher is a part and parcel element in the educational system. S/he does most of the talking, chooses the topic of discussion and appoints who should talk (Tsui 1995). S/he plays the role of stimulus in classroom interaction, asking questions and providing inquiries for learners. S/he also provides feedback after the learners' answers.

Questions symbolize a very important aspect of classroom talk because they check understanding. Tsui (ibid: 23) distinguishes open and closed questions to refer to reasoning questions, mainly 'wh questions' and restrictive ones, respectively. She makes another distinction between display questions, in which the teacher knows the answer and is checking his/ her learners' comprehension, and referential questions that require from learners to provide information.

Another aspect of teachers' talk is modifying their input, especially language teachers. Most theories agree on the fact that teaching a language is more difficult than any other subject. Yu (2008:48) explains that the difficulty lies in producing the target language while explaining the material simultaneously. Teachers tend to simplify their production of language phonetically and grammatically, choosing easier syntax and vocabulary.

Teachers use a set of negotiation strategies to keep communication going on such as confirming in order to check if the speaker has understood what has been said through repeating or paraphrasing. They also use clarification request, repetition request and comprehension check to ensure that communication takes place.

Flanders (1970) distinguishes *democratic* and *integrative* teaching patterns. In the former, he introduces the concept of *indirect teaching* in which lecture time is minimized to maximize discussion time. In indirect teacher talk, s/he accepts feelings, acknowledges students' expressed emotions in a non-threatening manner, and praises learners, providing positive reinforcement of their contribution. S/he

accepts their ideas and clarifies and develops their contribution, often in a non-evaluative manner. The teacher's task then is to solicit information or opinion, including them within the lecture. S/he presents information and gives directions. S/he supplies suggestions and criticizes or justifies authority and may even offer negative evaluation of students' contribution. S/he might place emphasis on his/her authoritative position in which students have the right to answer questions in a predictable manner.

Therefore, teaching is not an easy task but rather a complex task that is an effort demanding activity. It decides on the degree of a lesson's success. However, this one relates not only to teacher, but to learner as well. Tsui (1995:22) explains how teacher and learners interact in the following words:

> The classroom is not a place where the teacher just carries out predetermined routines, but rather a place where various elements interact. These elements are the students and the teacher including their educational and social backgrounds, experience, knowledge and expectations.

1.5.2. The Learners

Learners are the other agent of classroom interaction. They bring with them their social, psychological and educational background into the classroom. Their role varies from democratic classrooms, in which they are given power and assigned responsibility to restrictive classrooms, in which they have to sit passively, waiting to be 'spoon-fed' by their teacher. Most studies of classroom interaction have come up with the result that learners' talk is minor compared to the teacher's in class. This fact has been proved to be responsible for their educational failure, especially in language classrooms. Learners keep silent in classroom talk because of internal reasons or external ones. They do not participate for psychological factors such as anxiety or personality traits or for the nature of the topic discussed which is often imposed and monopolized by the teacher.

Allwright and Bailey (1994:164) explain that there are people who 'are not receptive for the idea of communication' in comparison with others. So, their

interaction in class is minor because they lack 'self-confidence and self-esteem' and they feel 'uncomfortable with face-to-face communication'. In Seliger's terms (1977)[14], there are high input generators (HIG) who participate and advance in their learning and low input generators (LIG) who deprive themselves from learning.

Some learners do not participate in classroom interaction, simply because they ignore the importance of interaction for their learning .Their ignorance is because their teachers have answers from 'only academically better students' (Aschalew, 2006 :56), while the rest of the classroom is marginalized. Thus, teachers have a hand in the students' lack, or even absence of talk in classroom .In this respect, Chick (1996:21) shows how black pupils in his study were discouraged from asking questions or participating actively in learning. He explains that it is regarded as impolite and even subordinate to ask questions or make suggestions in class.

Teachers and learners are not the sole elements making up classroom interaction. Other elements can decide on how interaction takes place. Allwright and Bailey (1994:19) suggest considering, in addition to participants, topic and atmosphere and even the language or code used.

1.5.3. Other Components of Classroom Interaction

Topic choice defines interaction patterns, depending on the degree of mastery of the relevant vocabulary related to the topic. Internal factors, too, affect topic handling in conversation in classroom, particularly, learners' motivation and attitudes towards the topic. If they feel that it is out of their concern, or they find it ridiculous, they will not make any effort to express their opinion about it. If the topic relates to a social taboo or a personal negative experience for the learner, they will prefer to keep silent rather than tackle it. The teacher's dealing with the topic, too, affects learners' reaction to it. Relaxed atmosphere encourages learners to take part in classroom interaction while a rigid and frozen atmosphere excludes them and

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[14] Quoted in Tsui (1995: 19).

makes them passive. Walberg (1986)[15] found in a study that the former style is more effective in terms of pedagogical achievements in comparison with the latter. The atmosphere is affected by the setting of the lesson, time and place, timing allotted for the lesson and materials used in presenting the lesson.

The language variety used, or what is referred to as 'code', deeply affects classroom interaction patterns. The way the teacher asks questions and the diction selected defines the way learners answer. Each move relates to the previous and the next move in classroom. Classroom setting is a social one that is conducted through the social medium of language in its numerous forms. In other words, as Hudgins *et al.* (1981:1) suggest that "the process of teaching should be thought of as a type of everyday social interaction, rather than as a specialized type of human behavior". This consideration permits other scientific scopes, such as psychology, sociology and linguistics, to cope with classroom phenomena. In other words, "The educational process as a social interaction or a communication between the teacher and the learner has several dimensions" (ibid) and has been tackled by several approaches.

1.5.4. Classroom Interaction Approaches

Ruby (2008) cites three prominent approaches: classroom interaction analysis (CIA), Conversation Analysis (CA) and Discourse Analysis (DA).

1.5.4.1. Classroom Interaction Analysis

Classroom interaction analysis was pioneered by Flanders' model (1970). It was developed to characterize students' and teacher's verbal behaviour. It came with the rule of two thirds. Two-thirds of classroom time are talk. Two-thirds of it are monopolized by teacher's talk while one third is devoted to learners' talk. CIA includes a set of categories each being defined clearly. Flanders' observational tool attempts to classify the verbal behaviour of teachers and learners according to these pre-set categories advise

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[15] Quoted in Kalu (2008 :59).

This observational tool was later developed to include even psychological and social setting such as showing solidarity and raising others status. However, it was sharply criticized and not recommended for focusing only on quantitative data filled in the observation matrix and neglecting qualitative data that might be sometimes important. It also considers pre-set categories that may dismiss more important parts of the lesson. They are also taken as independent islands, as Tsui explains (1995:102), with no relation bridging them. In order to overcome the traditional approach shortcomings, discourse analysis was proposed.

1.5.4.2.   Discourse Analysis

DA was first introduced by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). Its concern was to define turn-taking rules and interaction patterns (Jasmine 2006). It seeks to describe and explain linguistic phenomena in terms of '…the affective, cognitive, situational and cultural contexts of their use' (He 2003: 429). In other words, it attempts to identify linguistic resources asking the question: 'Why is language used in the way it is used in the classroom? '

Formerly DA discussed moves, as explained by RUBY (2008:3), according to functions like informing, directing, eliciting and checking progress, whereas more recent works insist on checking process-product relationship. It draws the relation between questions and answers. Its development made it a necessity in classroom research as a tool to develop learning in general (Cots, 1995) and language classroom in particular (McCarthy, 1991). Classroom observation for DA relies on coding categories and observing the lesson simultaneously. This method makes the task of observation difficult, if not impossible to accomplish. To solve this problem, a more elaborated tool for classroom observation was set, relying on ethnography of speaking. It has been termed conversation analysis (CA).

1.5.4.3.   Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis is connected with social sciences. Lê (2005: 4) defines it

as:

> A common verbal activity studies in sociology, psychology and linguistics (…) [It] focusses on what is a conversation? What are the principles that underlie a conversation? How does it work? And what are its functions?

CA draws its inquiries on sociology and sociolinguistics and views classroom interaction as "…a busy, confining verbally demanding decision oriented and intense mini-society or subculture" (Hudgins, *et. Al.*, 1983:1). It seeks to check the interlocutor's communicative competence in the social setting of classroom. In other words, it describes "how interlocutors set up or constitute contexts that allow them to make sense of one another's messages" (Chick, 1996: 23). It considers teacher and learner as communicating agents sharing a set of rules that should be defined.

This approach has introduced a whole branch in sociolinguistics labelled by Gumperz (1982a) as 'Interactional Sociolinguistics'. This approach precedes classroom observation without imposing categories but by attempting to access the interpretive or inferential processes of the participants by repeatedly playing the video and giving interpretations to the details of discourse. Another characteristic of this approach is analysing data from 'the participants' perspective'. This makes it more naturalistic and even "superior to the remaining approaches" (Tsui, 1995:109).

Hence, classroom interaction studies are important in developing education. They can be used as a focal point on which stands language policy development. They can also serve as a diagnostic tool which explores human interaction dynamics and handle it from different angles in general and diglossic practices in our case.

1.6. Conclusion

Diglossia is a linguistic situation in which the H variety is given importance over the L variety via LP decisions. This latter touches different spheres particularly education. One of LP applications is to decide which code to use in the classroom as a language of instruction. However, the analysis of actual classroom interaction might reveal that participants in communication often deviate from the norm and switch codes. They might use the L variety in their classroom practices. Such a linguistic phenomenon is to be tackled in a more practical situation in later chapters.

2.1. Introduction

Akin to the other North African countries, Algeria has been witnessing a dilemma of languages. This thorny issue comes to the surface as soon as one attempts to draw a panoramic picture of the existing language varieties and to figure their status. What strikes at first glance is the view put forward by politicians claiming that Algerian sole official language is Arabic. However, what is crystal clear is that there is more than MSA in the Algerian sociolinguistic map due to its historical heritage. The present chapter attempts to give a macro view of the linguistic situation in Algeria as a whole with focus on the Algerian language policy and diglossia.

2.2. The Historical Background

Algeria has been a melting pot of civilisations and a crossing point of several invasions. These are exposed within three prominent eras: before the French colonisation, while and post French colonialism. One might wonder why the French occupation has been taken as a reference in dividing the Algerian history. It can be asserted that the French invasion was the most important factor to decide upon the current linguistic situation in Algeria

2.2.1. Pre-Colonial Algeria

There is a general agreement among historians that the original inhabitants of the country were the Berbers. These spoke the Tamazight language which gave birth to the Berber varieties present today in Algeria. As of highest Antiquity (II thousand-year-old), Algeria was the cradle of a Berber civilisation, but the history of the country started officially only with the arrival of the Phoenicians who founded commercial counters. The Carthaginians followed and took again these same counters while developing various coastal activities, leaving the interior of the grounds to the Berber ones. Punic, a Semitic language close to Hebrew, was the language of the Numides kings, and therefore the official language of Carthage. As the Punic language was preserved a long time in Algeria, its traces remain still visible in the Berber modern varieties

In the first century before our era, the Romans occupied North Africa and transmitted their civilisation to the local populations. However, they could never 'Latinize' the Berbers, the Maures, who took refuge in the mountains. Deeply attached to their language and their traditions, the Maures remained the eternal rebellions (Derraji, Y. and Queffélec, A., 2002: 11). Later, at the time of the advent of Christendom, the Berbers resisted even against Christianisation which was vainly generalized in all North Africa. Thus, the Berbers succeeded in resisting against the Romanisation and Christianisation as well.

The fall of the Roman Maghreb coincided with its occupation in 455 by the Vandals who used their Germanic language and the Gothic script as well as Latin in the fields of legislation and diplomacy. The Vandals never mixed with the local populations and did not have any influence on the language of Berbers who lived in the mountains. It should be stressed that their presence did not seem sufficiently long (455-533) so that an interbreeding occurs on a large scale. In 533, eliminated by Byzantines, the Vandals disappeared by leaving practically no trace of their passage. But the survivors found refuge in living with the Berbers of Kabylia, and they at that time were assimilated to them.

As for the Byzantines, they hardly had time to be organized, because they had to face the Arabs who broke on the area. The arrival of the Arabs in order to spread Islam in the seventh century AD (first century Hidjra) was a turning point in the history of Algeria as well as to all the North African countries in general. The Arabs brought not only religion and socio cultural principles, but also their language which spread in sedentary areas in Algeria. The new widespread religion at that time paved the way to the dominance of Arabic over the other already existing language varieties.

As a whole, the Berbers adopted Islam very quickly, but preserved their languages, at least those living in the countryside or the mountains. For a long time, Berber, Latin, Arabic and Punic coexisted in North Africa. Inscriptions attesting the use of written Latin were found to the 11th and 12th centuries (Benrabeh, M., 1999: 33). The establishment of Arabic and Islam was carried out by the mosques. Then, the

Berbers of the cities adopted Arabic gradually, regarding this language as 'a divine idiom'. For the Berbers of the mountains, the use of Arabic was limited. They continued to speak their ancestral languages. It is only after the 11th century that Berber would start its decline. Arabic became deeply rooted in Algeria with the coming of Banu Hillel (ibid. 37).

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

Turkish and Spanish, too, had their contribution to the linguistic diversity of the area. Until the 16th century, Algeria became a province of the Ottoman Empire and was controlled by one 'Dey'. During the Turkish occupation, Algeria lived in a great autonomy, under the authority of a military power exerted by the Dey and controlled by the Turkish militia. Like the Vandals before them, the Turks refused to be assimilated to the Arab-Berber populations. For three centuries, they never sympathized with these Arabic- speaking people. They remained a distinct community living like foreigners in North Africa, until 1830.

The reason behind this behaviour is that the Turkish presence in Algeria was not the fact of presence of a colonial type. The Turks present in Algeria were only those who belonged to the ruling elite as well as soldiers. Nevertheless, a certain number of Turks, ended up with marrying indigenous women of these unions were born Kouloughlis, word coming from Turkish, *qul oghlu*, meaning "wire of slave" (Benrabeh, M., 1997: 41). Still today, many Algerians have Turkish origins and preserved their names of Turkish origin. But Arabic which was established definitively

in Algeria was not the Arabic of the Koran. It was rather regionalised Arabic; an Algerian Arabic influenced by Berber, Latin and Turkish.

During this time, the official language of the country was the Turkish 'Osmanli'. As the population was unaware of this language, the Turkish civil servants had to have recourse to interpreters to communicate in Berber and Algerian Arabic with the majority of the population. In parallel, a variety developed between the Turks, the 'Algerians' and the Europeans, including Spanish vocabulary and elements of Turkish and of the syntactic shapes inspired from Arabic, used as a lingua Franca in commerce. It is especially by this language that Algerian Arabic acquired its Latin origin words, in particular in the field of navigation, naval artillery and fishing.

This common language continued to exist after the French conquest in 1830. This linguistic diversity contributed to make of Algerian Arabic a different variety from the Arabic of the Middle East. The geographical distance, time and the socio cultural context accentuated the divergence of Algerian Arabic from Middle East Arabic. What clouds further the issue is the French colonisation of Algeria in 1830, which lasted 130 years and has been assumed to be a prominent factor in complexing the linguistic situation in Algeria.

2.2.2. Algeria during French Colonisation

One of the crucial tenets of French colonialism in Algeria was to acculturate Algerians and to erase their Arab-Islamic identity. France considered Algeria as French department and claimed that 'Algeria is French'. France did all what could be done in order to reach the aim of colonising the Algerian personality. Language, being an important pillar of culture, was eradicated politically from Algeria. At that time, the Europeans believed that their civilisation was higher.

The conquest of Algeria was long, contrary to Morocco and Tunisia where some agreements were enough to impose a 'protectorate'. In Algeria, the conquest was undertaken by force, village after village. The resistance of the famous Emir Abd el-Kader, later, delayed the full French occupation of Algeria for eighteen years.

The French Army succeeded in occupying all the country only in 1847, when Abd el-Kader surrendered the weapons. Certain cities were devastated by the French troops; Algiers, Constantine, Médéa, Miliana, Tlemcen, and so forth. The methods used by the French Army were generally brutal and their expansion was at the expense of the Arab-Islamic civilisation. They attempted to apply a kind of 'human genocide' as well as a 'cultural cleansing'.

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

Although the French occupation could increase the number of Algerians and decrease the number of settlers in the colony, it was very hard to completely de-arabise Algeria due to schools of Koran until 1880. In general, the Arabs attended their Koranic Arabic schools in a parallel system of education (Dendane, 2007: 82). Indigenous education was financed by the local communities, not by the central power. Therefore, people, especially in urban centres, were obliged to send their children to French schools because of a lack of any educational institution in Arabic. The latter was restricted to oral use in its dialectal forms. Indeed, "the Arab, in 1830, could read and write. After one half-century of colonization, he stagnated in ignorance [16]". Until the beginning of the 20th century, the Algerians resisted the French colonial model. While some rich families sent their children to the Middle East, the majority of the Algerians preferred to let their children grow in ignorance. Boutefnouchet[17] (1982: 38) explains this reaction:

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[16] My translation: Quoted in Lacheraf, M. (1974:14).

[17] Quoted in Guessoum, A. (2002: 192)

1. Do the pupils switch to AA because of their weakness in MSA?
2. What are the pupils' attitudes towards MSA?

To tackle these questions, the following hypotheses are proposed:

1. The pupils lack the necessary fluency in MSA to communicate effectively in classroom oral work.
2. Some negative attitudes towards MSA on the part of the pupils are responsible for their use of AA with their teachers in classroom interaction.

The present research is, thus, handled in three chapters. The first chapter is devoted to defining some key concepts of the work, mainly language planning, diglossia, language and dialect as well as code switching and classroom interaction. It attempts to display theorists' definitions of these concepts and relate the macro level of sociolinguistics to the micro one. The second chapter relates these concepts to the actual linguistic situation in Algeria. It has a glance at the historical events that define the linguistic diversity found in Algeria. Then, it exposes the language policy undertaken in Algeria in relation to the two linguistic codes in question. It, finally, tackles language practices in the actual sociolinguistic situation. The research work is concluded by fieldwork investigation. A set of research instruments is used in order to obtain reliable data. Through examining the linguistic behavior of the sample population from different angles, objectivity and exactness are approached. Questionnaires, interviews, observation, fluency test and the matched guise technique are the data collection procedures used in the fieldwork in order to come, eventually, to a set of data which are analyzed and interpreted in the third chapter.

> *La relation du dominé à la langue de l'occupant est toujours négative. Le dominé rejette l'apprentissage de la langue du dominateur ; car c'est la langue de l'athéisme, c'est la langue de la défaite.*

He clarifies the psychological feeling of a dominated person and his attitude characterised by hatred and rejection of the language of the dominator.

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

However, Algerian nationalism developed after the First World War not only within the urban Muslim middle-class, but also in the factories of France where the Algerian workers, in contact with their French colleagues, learned how to defend their rights within the trade unions and of the French Communist Party. In other words, the French language contributed paradoxically to Algerian nationalism. The situation in Algeria had seriously worsened: *le Front de liberation national (FLN[18])* launched the beginning of a National liberation liberating war led by the ALN[19] in November 1954, calling for 'independent Algeria'.

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[18] The National Liberation Front
[19] The National Liberation Army

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

2.2.3. Independent Algeria

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

In September 1962, Ben Bella was elected President of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. He suspended the Constitution of the country in October 1963 and Islam was issued "religion of State". The choice of Islam was automatic and 'logic' since it is the most important 'glue' that binds the Algerian nationalism together.   It is in Islam that the Algerian power has drawn its legitimacy. In the Moslem states, Islam is legitimating; as classical Arabic is the vehicle of the Koran. Therefore, in order to be recognized like legitimate, the Algerian political power was to recognize Islam and the Arabic language as two pillars that hold the Algerian identity. In short, as Gonzale, J.J. (1998:12)[20] states it, "Arabic is the language that has permitted to a population to be able to say 'we' opposing colonialism".

The Constitution of 1962 declared in its article 3:

Arabic is the national and official language.

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[20] My translation of the quotation: "l'Arabe a permit à un people de pouvoir dire 'nous' en s'opposant au colonialisme".

The new nation refused any statute with AA or Berber, or especially French. CA[21] choice was then 'logic' not only because all formerly-colonised Arab countries did so, but also because no variety of the present varieties in the Algerian linguistic scene could pursue the mission of restoring the Algerian identity.

AA was excluded from the Algerian LP on the basis of its lacking standardisation. Calling for its standardisation would have delayed the urgent need for the building of the new independent state. Even if this idea had been approached, it would have been handicapped by the question of which variety to standardise: AA of Algiers, Oran, Tlemcen or the Sahara. In the definition of a dialect in section 1.2., we have seen that a dialect may embody a set of adjacent dialects. These are difficult to assign clear-cut boundaries. Choosing one geographical dialect among the others would have created an internal problem and could have torn the Algerian nationalism apart.

Indigenous varieties of Berber origin, too, were put aside from LP in independent Algeria in spite of the fact of being the mother tongue of many Algerians throughout the country. Berber is a language variety from which four Algerian dialects derive: such as Kabyle, Chaouia, Chenoua, and Tamazight. It is the only remaining living language of the Hamitic family (Boukous, 2002). It resisted against shift to many other powerful languages like the Punic. This resistance is due to its native speakers' attachment to their own language and culture. However, it could not become a standard language because of its colloquialism (ibid.) Boukous (2002:269) explains:

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

Indeed, the oral nature of Berber stands as a barrier in front of assigning it as an official language. Its lack of script has always been a source of disagreement among specialists; whether to use the Tifinagh or the Latin script or even the Arabic script. Hence, in order to be standardised, Berber dialects should be unified. In addition, the

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[21] CA, here, is used as a generic term to refer to authentic Arabic as used in Koran as well as to MSA. This controversy will be developed later in section 2.4.1.

Algerian authorities decided that AA and Berber were "impure" languages because they contained foreign words, thus, 'inappropriate' to be national symbols of the state.

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

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

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

2.3. The Algerian Language Policy

The Arabisation policy was an action of great importance in the Algerian LP and a priority in the post- independent period, especially in education.

2.3.1. The Policy of Arabisation

It is necessary to note that shortly after independence the public administration of the country remained completely franchised[22], in spite of all the anti-French speeches that spread at that time. The Algerian civil servants trained by France constituted a frightening force of resistance to the Arabisation policy. Since Algeria could not do without its civil servants, it was thus necessary to compose with them and to proceed by stages. About thirty laws were passed within the Arabisation policy, but none seems to be completely respected.

In a more particular way, one can quote from Taleb Ibrahimi, K. (1997:191-215) the decree of bearing May 22nd, 1964 on Arabisation of the administration, the ordinances No 66-154 and No 66-155 of June 8th, 1966 on justice, the ordinance of April 26th, 1968 on the obligatory knowledge of Arabic for the civil servants, the circular of the Ministry for the Interior of July 1976 on posting, the new law No 05-91 on the generalization of the use of Arabic, promulgated language on January 16th, 1991 (adopted on December 27th, 1990) and schedules it No 96-30 of December 21st, 1996, which comes to modify some articles of the law No 05-91 and 'to supplement it'.

However, the law carrying generalization of the use of the Arabic language, which was promulgated on January 16th, 1991, 'deactivated' in 1992, then was reactivated on December 17th, 1996, but was put into force only on July 5th, 1998. Law No 91-05 of January 16th, 1991 bearing generalisation of the use of the Arabic language is without precedent since independence. This law aimed at excluding the use and the practice of French in Public administration, the world of education (including the universities), hospitals, and socio-economic sectors. It also aimed at

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[22] This term is used throughout the work as a verb meaning 'to make something become French, or someone speak French'.

marginalising the Franchised elite formed primarily in the Algerian schools of public administration and representing the technical and scientific framing of all the branches of industry. Ultimately, the law of 1991 imposed the single use of the Arabic language, prohibited all 'foreign languages' and imposed a heavy penalty upon those who produce an official document in a language other than Arabic.

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

2.3.2. The Arbisation of Education

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

Because on 1962, Algeria was deprived of competent teachers in Classical Arabic, the government imposed only seven hours of teaching of Arabic per week in all the schools. This number passed to 10 hours per week in 1964. To solve the problem of the shortage of teachers, it was necessary to recruit thousands from Egypt and Syria (Benmoussat, S., 2003: 103/104). This action caused at that time many controversies and resistance in the educational sphere. Since 1989, MSA is the only language of teaching during the entire primary and the secondary education. It is the

article 15[23] of the law N 91-05 of January 16th, 1991 which impulses this exclusive teaching of the Arabic language.

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

French, however, is introduced as an obligatory foreign language as from the third year of primary school and, thereafter, until the end of the secondary level. Moreover, in higher education, French remains largely present, particularly in scientific and technical disciplines. The Arabisation of the universities was slowed down since the students revolted because their Arabic diplomas did not offer them job opportunities.

Since 1971, MSA has replaced French as the medium of instruction in primary schools (Benmoussat,   2003). The use of MSA as a language of instruction in schooling   was not welcomed by the French elite. This trend has been in constant conflict with Arabophones who call it *hizb fransa*, i.e. 'France party' (Granguillaume, 1998: 70). The latter often claims that Arabic implementation in the educational system was responsible for the decrease in the quality of schooling in national education. On the other hand, the Arabic trend encouraged Arabic reinforcement in education as a step forward in the mission of Arab- Islamic identity restoring.

Analysing the Algerian LP, Granguillaume (ibid: 69), states that it had to face two conflicts, one flagrant, which we have been exposing in the few last lines, between written Arabic and French. The other conflict is veiled, which is between Arabic and the indigenous varieties. This issue is tackled in section 2.4. He   reports, in this respect:

> *La mise en oeuvre de la politique linguistique recelait deux conflits: l'un, entre la langue arabe (littérale) et la langue française: l'autre, masqué entre cette langue arabe et les langues de la quotidienneté.*

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[23] My translation : The original text is in French: '*Article 15: L'enseignement, l'éducation et la formation dans tous les secteurs, dans tous les cycles et dans toutes les spécialités sont dispensés en langue arabe, sous réserve des modalités d'enseignement des langues étrangères.*'

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

However, even Arabicists have recognized weaknesses and shortcomings of Arabisation. They have reported many controversies. It has thus been described as chosen and applied in a hazardous and improvised way. Taleb Ibrahimi, A. (1981:96)[24], the minister of education from 1965 to 1973, a fervent advocate of Classical Arabic admits (in 1966) that Arabisation suffers from improvisation. It has often been criticized for taking decisions without a well-planned organization at the level of application of these decisions.

Lastly, one counts in Algeria nearly 380 private schools, of which a hundred for primary education teaching. These establishments are found in cities like Algiers, Tizi-Ouzou, Annaba, Setif, Bejaia, Constantine, etc. The language of teaching is French in these establishments. In the seventies, the government abolished private schools and had placed all the schools under its control. The number of pupils registered in these private schools increases year by year. According to the Minister for Education, they are nearly 25 000 pupils throughout the country. The Algerian government envisaged a law whose implementation was to be in the Autumn 2005. The Minister for Education threatened to close the schools which would not conform to the official programme, in particular with a teaching of 90 % in Arabic.

Less than one year after his warning, president Bouteflika passed to the acts while closing, in February, 2006, more than 40 French-speaking private schools of Kabylia for causes of 'linguistic deviation', Franchising, and 'anti-nationalism'. Actually, these establishments were shown "to Franchise the school and to Franchise

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[24] Quoted in (Dendane, 2007: 90).

Algeria, in an anti-Arabic and thus anti-Islamic picture'. This operation of force was carried out by the police in many localities; it intervened following a presidential ordinance which required teaching 'obligatorily in the Arabic language in all the disciplines and on all the levels'. A few days later, the Algerian government granted to the schools closed an exceptional additional time until the end June 2006 to conform to the law which makes them obliged to teach the same programmes as the public schools.

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

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

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

2.4. Diglossia in Algeria

Being a nation belonging to the Arab world, Algeria is characterised linguistically by a diglossic situation in which CA/ MSA represent 'H' and colloquial forms, mainly AA and Berber varieties occupy the status of 'L' (see section 1.4.). According to Ferguson's original definition of diglossia, H and L are genetically related. Indeed, CA/ MSA and AA are related in terms of linguistic structure. However, Berber varieties fall into Fishman's model of diglossia because they do not share the same linguistic origin as CA/ MSA. The sub-section below attempts to draw H and L boundaries and to contrast them.

2.4.1. The High Variety in Algeria

The rise of Arabic to the status of a major world language is associated with the rise of Islam as a major world religion. Before the appearance of Islam, Arabic was a minor member of the southern branch of the Semitic language family, used by a small number of largely nomadic tribes in the Arabian peninsula, with an extremely poorly documented textual history. Within a hundred years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be upon Him), sent by God to deliver the Islamic message, Arabic had become the official language of a great empire whose boundaries stretched from Central Asia to the Atlantic Ocean, and had even moved northward into Europe.

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

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

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

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and CA are often used confusingly in the literature to refer to the variety of Arabic used in the written form. The Arabic term *fuṣḥà* is used to refer to the language which is grammatically virtually identical with the Arabic of the Koran. However, an objective observer notices from first glance that the language used in ancient times in the era of the Prophet Mohammed is different in some respects if compared to the language used today in official documents, the president's speech or news announcement. No Arab president uses nowadays terms like /bulahnijja/ (comfort) or /ɣula:m/ (a child) in his speech, or any other similar 'antic words' that the layman cannot understand. Similarly, no news announcer might use complex grammatical structures as those in the Koran; otherwise, s/he would sound 'strange' and 'unintelligible' to the audience.

On the other hand, one may never hear words like /tilifu:n/ (telephone) or /dustu:r/ (Constitution) in a Koranic verse or in a 'hadith' (the reported words of Mohammed) with the meaning currently used. This controversy has opened the way for much discussion among theorists. Some claim that CA is a 'dead language' since

'no speaker uses it in everyday communication' and prefer to call CA MSA, the standard variety used nowadays. Another trend rejects sharply their assertion of the death of CA. They argue that one might come across words and structures in current literary works like poetry similar to those used in the ancient times. They, put, beside, that people use CA when reading the Koran daily and that they can understand 'Hadith', so CA is a language that is characterized by vitality.

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

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

This middle variety is a much classicized version of dialect or a much colloquialised version of MSA used primarily by educated people. It is, however, questioned whether this is a stable form or a set of ad hoc accommodation strategies between educated speakers or just an unsuccessful attempt at speaking MSA. One might dare to wonder if it is a current language change in progress for Arabic in a way that makes the Arabic dialects moving closer to each other and to MSA at the same time, while MSA continues to be simplified and move in the direction of the dialects. This seminal notion has raised many studies around Arabic, such as Blanc (1960), El-

hassan (1977) and Meiseles (1980)[25]. All these agree on characterising the Arabic varieties in three or more.

In an attempt to show how the linguistic system of Modern Arabic works, Badawi, an Egyptian linguist of the American University of Cairo, has offered us the diagram in Figure 1[26] to characterise Arabic in Egypt. This diagram may be applicable not only to the situation it has been described for, but also to the entire Arab world, including Algeria.

Figure 1

fuṣḥā al-turāth

fuṣḥā al-ᶜaṣr

ᶜāmmiyyat al-muthaqqafiin

ᶜāmmiyyat al-mutanawwiriin

ᶜāmmiyyat al-'ummiyyiin

fuṣḥā = more eloquent = classical

ᶜāmmiyya = general speech = colloquial

dakhiil = foreign elements
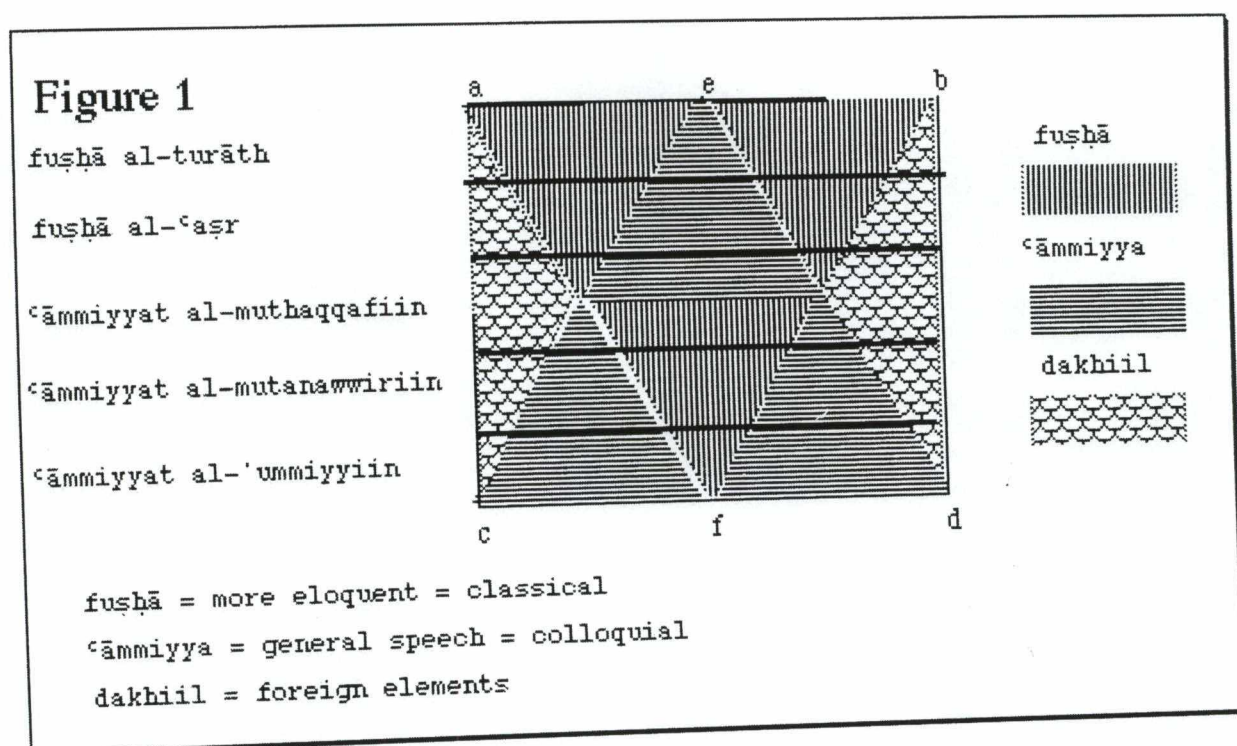
Figure2.1: Badawi's Diagram "Levels of Egyptian Arabic"

Freeman, A. (1996) translates into English the names of the five levels, from top to bottom as follows: 'the Classical Language of Tradition, the Modern Classical Language, the Colloquial of the Educated, the Colloquial of the Enlightened and the Colloquial of the Illiterate.' He explains that in this five level model every level includes mixing from all the other elements of the system. The first one refers to CA as used in the Koran. The second refers to MSA as used in formal domains, for example by news announcers. The third refers to the middle variety as used by the

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[25] Quoted in Benali Mohamed. (1993: 4).
[26] Quoted in Dendane. (2007: 70)

educated elite and which shares many elements with MSA. The forth variety contains very few elements from MSA while the fifth contains 'pure' colloquial forms.

Contrary to the traditional model of Ferguson (1959) of H and L, in this model, in Meiseles' terms (1980:121), "we cannot say where one variety stops and the other begins". It is different from Ferguson's description of diglossia which states that the two forms are in complementary distribution. In this picture we can see that even the speech of the illiterate contains elements of the High variety (*fusha*). Badawi's model also takes into consideration what is termed as '*eddakhil*', i.e. borrowings which are often neglected in other studies. The amount of borrowings increases in MSA in comparison with CA. these borrowings often result of the contact of Arabic with other languages, mainly during colonisation.

Many elements come from French or English and become recognised in MSA during its modernisation by policy makers. Here, one might notice that the borrowing depends on which Arab country it is; each country uses borrowing according to its historical background. An illustrative example may be given in this respect for the anagrams /si:da/ and /i:dz/ borrowed from French and English respectively to refer to the AIDS illness. The former is exclusive to the Maghreb area while the latter is used most in the Middle East. A long list of similar examples can be found in the scientific and technical terms. Another example is that of telling the months, in Algeria books used in education use the term /u:t/ to refer to the month 'August' and never use the term /uɣustəs/ as used in many eastern Arab countries. So, relying on these observations can one refer to Algerian MSA, Moroccan MSA and so forth? And if so, can one forecast a future divergence among these MSA varieties, especially if there will be borrowings from other linguistic varieties in the remote future?

For Algeria, the problem is more acute not only because of the intervention of Arabic-French bilingualism, but also the consideration of the Berber varieties. The latter are recognised by the Constitution as being one element of the Algerian identity and are assigned the status of a national language but not an official one. This status has been gained after many protestations among Berbers. These, however, still protest

and call for more linguistic rights. They want their language to be both a national and official language.

In this situation it is up to the ruling elite to find a solution that keeps the national unity from falling apart. To calm down the situation, will the Algerian policy makers dare to include some elements from Berber into MSA to form a kind of an Algerian language? If not, how can one interpret the insertion of the word /fala:li:s/ (chicks) in the first year primary school' book of Arabic in spite of being borrowed from Berber. Is it just a mistake made by the textbook writers or is it done on purpose? Is it a sign of a future Algerianism in MSA, in which AA will be used in writing? If this will ever happen, how will policy makers handle the activity of standardisation? Which Algerian variety to take in this process? Does it mean that Algeria will no more remain a diglossic situation in which AA and Berber represent L? These questions are hard to answer for the moment and currently the Algerian situation is still diglossic in which MSA remains the H and AA or Berber make up the L.

2.4.2. The Low Variety in Algeria

As mentioned in the above section, L is either AA or Berber varieties. It depends on which area one considers. We focus on AA in the present research because the area we are concerned with is within the AA sphere and not the Berber one. However, reference should be made to Berber varieties in order to have a panoramic view of the linguistic situation in Algeria. The map below displays the linguistic distribution of AA and Berber Varieties in which we notice that AA is the majority spoken-variety if compared with some scattered Berber-speaking areas.
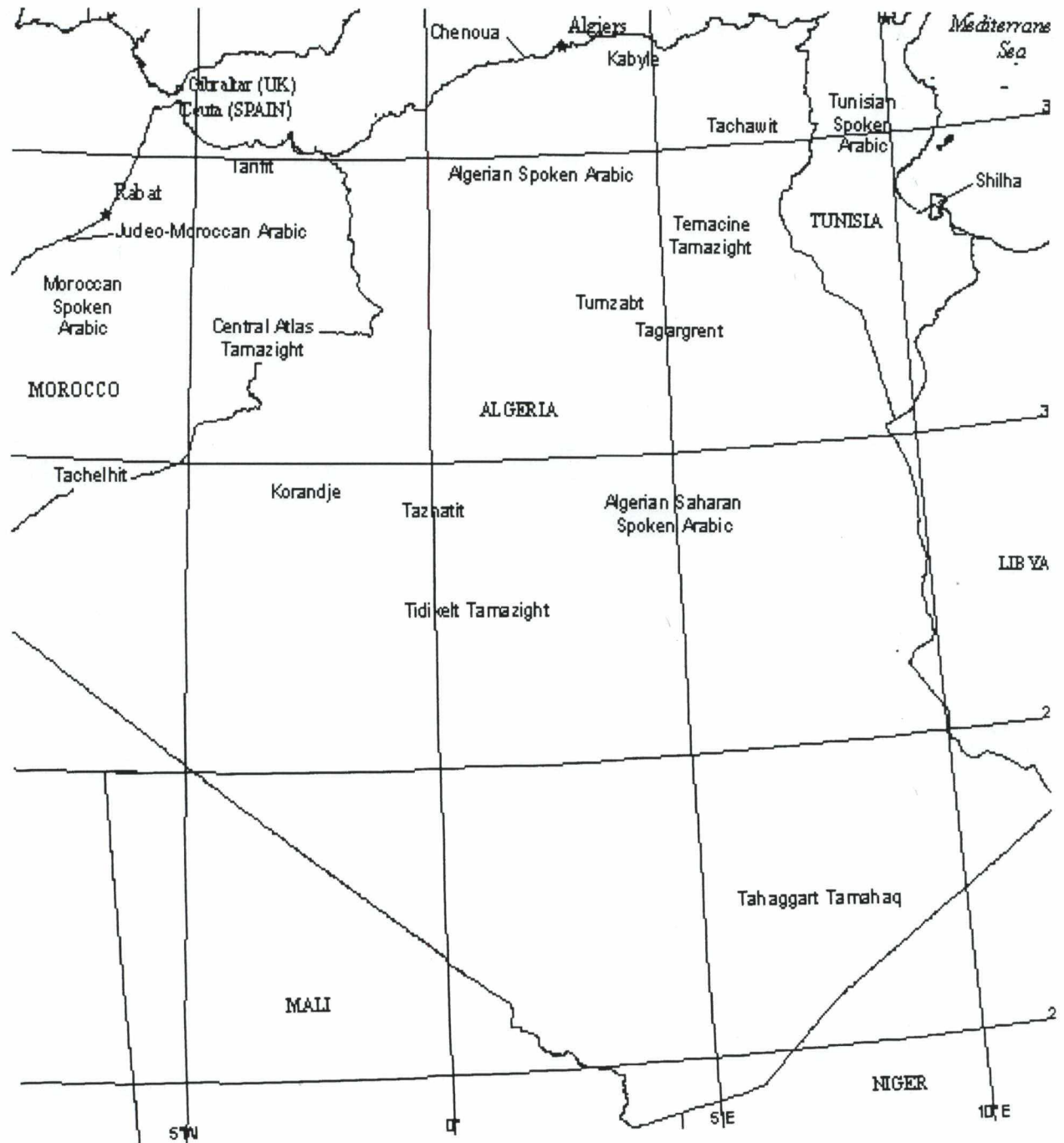
Figure2.2: Geographical distribution of the Algerian indigenous varieties[27]

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[27] The map is extracted from the website: **Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com/**

2.4.2.1. Berber

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

Since the beginning of the Nineties, Berber groups have revolted against the ruling elite, aiming at recognizing the Berber, the Tamazight in particular, as national language as well as Arabic. These demands never had only one chance to be adopted, but they remain significant. Moreover, the Berber heads are convinced that the law on the Arabisation was conceived with any consultation of the Berbers who did many efforts to require the abrogation of law of 1991 on the Arabisation. For them, this law constitutes an attack against Algerian cultural diversity and the civil right to be expressed in the language of their choice and of the way in which they wish it.

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

One of the main Berber claims is that Algeria must get rid of its Arab-Islamic ideology which considers that 'linguistic diversity is a danger to the national unity and a germ of division, and that only the unilingualism can guarantee this national unity'.

However, taking into account the attachment to the Arabity and of anti-Berberism, as well on behalf of the political authorities, the search for a solution is likely to borrow the way of confrontation rather as that of the compromise. In fact this behaviour is not particular to Algeria since many countries, if not the majority, have similar internal language conflicts. France, for instance, still ignores indigenous varieties like Breton and Basque and claims officially that French is the sole legitimate official language of France. Language conflicts, thus, are not particular to Algeria but rather a universal problem known even in countries claimed to be 'democratic' than Algeria.

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

> Article 1[28]
> It is added article 3 (a) thus conceived:
> "Art. 3 (a). - The Tamazight is also a national language.
> The State works for its promotion and its development in all its
> linguistic varieties of use in the national territory."

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

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[28] My translation of the French text: *Article 1er :*
Il est ajouté un article 3 bis ainsi conçu :
«Art. 3 bis. - Le tamazight est également langue nationale.
L'État oeuvre à sa promotion et à son développement dans toutes ses variétés linguistiques en usage sur le territoire national.»

2.4.2.2.   Algerian Arabic

As explained in Ferguson's theory, L is not considered as existing and is never viewed as a real language. For this reason, AA has no similar problems to those arisen by Berbers. AA is 'under-valued' by its speakers. Hence, it had long been neglected by researchers in Dialectological studies. Sociolinguistic empirical works are quite limited in the Arabic world including Algeria. Few works were conducted by foreign scholars during the French or the English occupation of the Arab countries. The French coloniser, for instance, appointed special dialectologists like Marçais and Cantineau to draw grammar rules of the Maghribi dialects. The aim was to raise dialect awareness among its speakers and thus to widen the gap among them through encouraging them to speak AA as opposed to other Arabic dialects.

AA characteristics have been described by Marçais, W. (1902). Though the work is very old, AA has kept most of its characteristics which are "the lengthening of the *hamza*, i.e. the glottal stop when being inside a word and it is realized as a long vowel' (ibid: 20). He gives the examples of the Arabic words /saʔala/, /muʔmin/ and /biʔr/ which are realized as [saːl], [muːmən] and [biːr] to mean 'ask', 'believer' and 'a well' respectively.

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

AA dialects differ at the level of phonology, morpho-syntax and lexicon in relation with the geographical region in which it is used. This variation, also, has to do with historical facts. North Africa in general and Algeria in particular have been

Arabised within two periods. The first period began with the arrival of Muslims in 641 A.D. during which the *sedentary* dialects spread. The second wave of Arabs called: *Banu Hillal* in the 11th century lasted around 150 years. Their *Bedouin* dialects that were brought to the country are the source of the most rural Arab dialects in North Africa today. They are found everywhere except in the regions where the urban dialects are spoken and in the isolated mountains of the Berbers (Bourdieu 1961).

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

According to Cantineau, J. (1940) the pronunciation of the Arabic morpheme /q/ decides on whether the dialect is a sedentary or a Bedouin. Thus, the most distinctive feature of sedentary and Bedouin speech is /q/ realization. In Sedentary Dialects, the uvular /q/ is pronounced either as a velar [ƙ] like in Ghazaouet, the mountains of Msirda and Trara, and Djidjelli, as a glottal stop [ʔ] like in Tlemcen or as [q] as in Algiers and Nedroma.

The substitution of the interdentals /θ/, /ð/,/ḍ//and/ / by the sounds [t], [d], [t], and [d] respectively like the realization of the word /θaum/ as [tu:m] meaning garlic, the word /ðuba:b/ as [dəbban]; 'flies', and the word /baida:ʔ/ as [beçta] for 'white in feminine form', as well as / ḍ̱ala:m/ as [əḍla:m] for 'darkness'. The phoneme /dʒ/ is, too, subject to variation. It is realized as [ʒ] or [dʒ] and sometimes is realized as [g] when the word contains a sibilant or a fricative like in the example [gləs] instead of /idʒlis/ meaning: 'sit down'. Another phonetic

characteristic which is rare is the realization of the aspirate /h/. It sounds, approximately, feeble and almost inaudible in some places like the speech of Nedroma like in the example /qa:la laha:/ is realized as [qa:lla] "he told her".

Sedentary dialects have a set of morpho-syntactic characteristics. The most prominent one is the fact that no gender distinction is used in the second person singular as in Tlemcen, such as /ʔu:l/ meaning "say!" addressing both feminine and masculine speakers. The use of forms like [ntuman] "you" and [huma:n]:"they" can also be found. There is also the use of the suffix [ajən] to mark duality. People say for instance: [jumaajən] for "two days", and [zwidʒtaajən] for "two pairs". In terms of Syntax, an excessive use of these prepositions: {di}, {əddi}, {djal}, and {ntaç}. The sedentary dialects share remarkable common instances of vocabulary. Here are some examples which are specific to places considered to speak sedentary dialects in the area of Tlemcen: [ʔæsəm] or sometimes [wa:səm] of "what", [xa:j]: "my brother", [əçməl] for "do!", and [ji:h] or [ʔi:h] for "yes" (Dendane, 1993: 72).

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

Other phonetic identifiers can be found in this type of dialects. There is a fair retention of the interdentals [θ], [ð]and [ð̣], as in [θaum]: "garlic" and [ð̣har] meaning "back". There is also a fair retention of the diphthongs [ai] and [au] like in the

following examples: [baiḍ] "eggs" and [sawm] "fasting". There is the use of [nta] or [nta:ja] instead of the Arabic pronoun /anta/ that is "you" to address singular masculine and [nti] or [ntijja] for the pronoun /anti/ to mean "you" when addressing the singular feminine.

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

It is agreed on that many varieties of AA are influenced in a heterogeneous way by other languages; for example, Berber, French, Spanish, Turkish and Italian. In its current form, this AA reflects the various stages which it crossed during its history. From the lexical point of view, one notes the presence of a long list of Berber origin words such as [zelli:f] for "sheep's head", [fekru:n] for "tortoise", [fellu:s] for "chick", and [xəmmal] "to clean", etc, and a great number of other words drawn from the vocabulary of agriculture, the breeding and toponymy. Words like [təbsi] for "plate", [maʂʂadnu:s] for "parsley", [branijja] for "aubergine", and [boqre:j] for "kettle", etc, testify to the influence of Turkish in AA. Before the arrival of the French, Spanish words entered the language, for example, [fi:ʃta] ("festival"), [sbərdi:na] "trainer", [boga:do] ("lawyer"), [əsskwila] for "primary school".

(Berrabeh, M., 1997:40)

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

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

2.5.   Code Switching in the Algerian Context

CS is a defining aspect of any multilingual speech community. Algerian linguistic interaction is often described to be a mixture of language varieties. Algerian speakers usually do not stick to one code in everyday interaction but they use AA, (or Berber in the Berber spheres) mixed with French or MSA.

2.5.1. Algerian Arabic/ French Code Switching:

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

in AA to the extent that they become considered as Arabic, especially by illiterate people.

For example, everyone in Algeria calls the car [lo:to] or in some areas [tonobi:l] from French *l'auto*, or *automobile*, respectively. No one calls it in Arabic [sajja:ra], except those Arabists who make an effort to abandon French origin words in their speech as an action of pro Arab-Muslim identity. The mobile is called by everyone [portabl] and very few use the Arabic equivalent [naqqa:l]. Expressions like *ça y est*, *ça va*, *normal*, *jamais*, *déja*, and *grave* are understood and used even by illiterate people. If one wanders in Algerian streets, s/he may, very often, come across written public signs both in Arabic and French. S/he will not find his way if he asks people where is [ʃa:riς al ʔistiqla:l] 'the independence street', but everyone can show the way to *la rue de France* in Tlemcen.

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

French is so spread in Algeria, but one often comes across a kind of 'Algerian French'. Many French expressions are adopted in AA to the extent that they witness a semantic shift, i.e. they lose their original meaning as used by native speakers of French. This is the case of not only old illiterate people, but of many literate ones. Algerian speakers, for instance, use the word [ssi:li:ma] from the word *cinéma* to refer to the meaning of 'a scandal'. They use also the word [feno:mɛn] from the French word *phénomène* to describe a person who has a sense of humour. Many people, especially young ones, use words like, *normal, vrai* and *grave*, excessively, where it

can be used and where it cannot. A large number of examples can be found within slang variety spread among youth and teenagers.

Very few people, however, can handle a whole conversation in French. And many cannot produce a large stretch of speech in it. Indeed, the degree of bilinguality among Algerians is a continuum that ranges from few adopted words to whole conversations in French. This continuum is in direct relation with the geographical origin of the speaker; in some places like Algiers and large cities, people use more French in comparison with those living in the countryside and small towns. One can relate to other factors, like age and gender; female speakers use more French than males, whereas age is misleading because it depends on the educational and family background.

The degree of bilinguality has to do, thus, with the educational level; the higher one's educational level, the larger are stretches in French. Here, many specialists intervene to raise a set of controversies. Many claim that this can be the case for the bilingual school, i.e. those educated in French in post colonial Algeria. However, the Arabised school has been accused to be responsible for the decline of the degree of bilinguality among the youth. Some Arabisation enemies may even assert that it is responsible for failure in the Algerian educational system and 'semi bilingualism' among young Algerians. Many criticise the Algerian students of not being able to master neither French nor Arabic (MSA) and prefer to send their children to French speaking private schools.

Yet, if we listen carefully to those educated in the Arabised school, we realise that many speakers switch rather to MSA on many occasions. If s/he does not find a ready word in MSA, or AA, s/he takes it from French, or any available code s/he knows that the involved people in the conversation can understand. Can one call this a pragmatic failure? Or it is just a strategy of conversation which can be included within strategic competence? Can one speak of a kind of Algerian-French pidgin, since its speakers mix the two codes to form a special code? Can one refer to this mixed variety as Algerian French since it has its special significance among Algerians different from that shared among French native speakers? Another important question is posed in this

respect: is this bilingual situation a stable situation or will it disappear one day from the Algerian linguistic repertoire because of the Arabisation policy undertaken in Algeria? And if so, will MSA replace French in all spheres, mainly in everyday communication, especially because there are indices of the spread of a middle language due to a diglossic code switching?

2.5.2. Algerian Diglossic Code Switching

In Ferguson's original proposal of diglossia (1959), he states that H and L are in complementary distribution, i.e. when one is used the second is not. He has, however, revised his theory and recognized the appearance of a third variety called the middle variety, which is a mixture of H and L. It has become customary to hear people saying [əlforṣa] for 'opportunity' in their everyday speech when they do not find an expressive word in L. It has become common to hear a speaker saying [mʃiːt b sorça faːʔiqa] to mean 'I went in a very high speed' or to say [ma tesbaqʃ əl ʔahdaːθ], which is an Arabic idiomatic expression equivalent of the English proverb 'Do not cross the bridge till you come to it'.

Larger stretches of H can be found mixed with L in some intellectuals' speech, especially those who use MSA in their works such as teachers and religious people. Arabised students, too, tend to switch unconsciously to MSA. Some people, on the other hand, attempt to use the maximum of MSA in their speech in order to retain their Arab- Muslim identity. For these, the use of any code other than MSA is a loss of identity and a disappointment to Islam and to the language of 'paradise'. So, you find parents who ask their children to call their father and mother as [ʔabi] and [ʔummi] instead of [bb'a] and [mm'a] as in AA in order to emphasize their Arab identity.

On the other hand, due to globalization and the recognition of dialects' rights in the world, there has been a kind of tolerance of the other way switching; that is, using L when H is supposed to be used like in the media, president's speech, literature, writing, education and in the court of justice. This kind of tolerance has been rejected

for decades, but people nowadays, very often switch to L either because they lack fluency in H, they want to sound free, to strengthen the feeling of solidarity with the audience or simply they feel 'lazy' so they do the least effort they can.

Bouteflika, the current President of Algeria often, tends to use AA expressions in his speech. You may hear him say [bə rrzāna tmbāς əṣṣōf], a typically Algerian idiomatic expression meaning that one should deal with his problems wisely. He often uses similar expressions not because he lacks fluency in MSA or feels lazy, but to sound 'Algerian', one among the people. Many playwrights tend to write in AA. A trend raised by Kateb Yassine called 'colloquialism' in the aim of being near the audience hearts. The News is the only sphere in which diglossic switching is rare, except when news announcers use expressions like [sahha ςi:dkom] to wish a happy feast to the Algerians in Algerian terms.

The use of colloquialism has become flagrant in the domain of advertising. What is striking is the use of AA as written in the Arabic script, inventing a number of letters to represent the sounds that exist in AA but not in MSA like [g] which is written as the Arabic letter ق for [q] adding it a third dot to give new letter ڨ . This convention came on the basis that the sound [g] is a realization of the phoneme /q/ in AA. It has become usual to see advertising signs in the street exposing expressions like the expression used by the mobile company 'Nedjma' that means 'to all networks': نحوڨع الشبكات. We notice in this ad the mixing of AA and MSA in the Arabic script in one sentence. A similar example is used by a competing Mobile company called Mobilis, which whenever they introduce a promotion of free calls, they use the word 'باطل', an AA word that means 'free'. Tens of examples can be found in this phenomenon that signs the rise of a new kind of AA script.

Very often one might hear the judge who switches to AA in the court and many teachers claim that they use AA in their classroom interaction. Learners, too, at all levels use AA even in the Arabic session with a teacher who speaks MSA. Pupils might tell their teachers for instance [nəmsah assabbōra] instead of /hal amsahu aṣṣabbu:ra/ to ask the permission to erase the board. Here, the word /hal/ is not used

because it is not used in AA. And the conjugation of the verb /masaha/ (to erase) is following AA grammar rules. One might even observe in some cases that learners of a certain age avoid MSA use. This behaviour is quite strange if compared with Ferguson's claims about H which is always more prestigious in comparison with L. This situation is also controversial if compared with other countries in the world in which dialectal forms are avoided where they are not usually used. This is the concern of the fieldwork of the present research work.

2.6. Conclusion

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

Chapter 3: Diglossic Code Switching in Classroom Interaction

3.1.   Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the fieldwork of this research work. It attempts to relate the theory and analysis mentioned in the two previous chapters to a actual situation. It uses a set of research instruments to gather a set of objective results. These are, eventually, analysed and interpreted as objectively as possible.

3.2.   Research Objectives and Motivations

One might think of the objective of including literature about LP and diglossia as concepts in the literature review of the present work. These two concepts are often included in macro-sociolinguistic studies. This research is also concerned with a micro-sociolinguistic phenomenon, interaction in classroom in relation with some social factors. Hence, it attempts to relate both macro and micro approaches to sociolinguistics. This is done through describing LP. Then, it checks its application in actual situations. It, finally, attempts to analyze its findings and relate them to LP.

Another aspect worth mentioning about this research work is its concern with diglossic code switching in classroom interaction. It does not take this linguistic behaviour as a product, but rather as a process. In other words, it does not aim at describing switches from MSA to AA in classroom interaction linguistically but rather quotes from this phenomenon to use it as a means to answer the question 'why do pupils switch to L while using H?' The distinction between CS as a product and a process is made in sub-section 1.5.2.3. (in p 22 and in p25)

To answer this question, one might propose a number of reasons such as those cited in Grosjean (1982) (see section 1.5.2.3.). Yet, to restrict the field of research, two reasons are chosen to be tested, namely, pupils' fluency in MSA as well as their attitudes towards it. The former reason was restricted to their fluency test instead of a whole language test because the concern of the study is oral interaction rather than written production. Though teacher and learners are both participants in classroom interaction, the focus here is particularly on pupils' speech. It concentrates on cases in

which the teacher uses MSA with no switch to AA while the pupils' answer is in AA or they mix both codes in one utterance.

The present research, hence, attempts to shed light on code switching that occurs in classroom interaction from MSA to AA. It adopts an analytic approach to tackle the problem of using AA while interacting with the teacher in class. Pupils at Ouzidane Middle School were chosen as a sample population to limit the scope of this study. The choice of the sample population came on the basis of two reasons: objective motivations and subjective ones.

The objective motivation is the fact that Ouzidane is a village in the suburbs of Tlemcen (a quite large city in the West of Algeria). Being near both the city and the countryside makes it a melting pot of a diversity of people, and thus, a diversity of language varieties. Hence, the pupils at Ouzidane middle school do not share the same regional linguistic variety. Some are speakers of a Bedouin variety while others speak a more sedentary-like variety (see section 2.4.2.2.). The middle school is a newly established institution and its pupils come from different educational backgrounds. If a group of speakers shares the feeling of solidarity, they tend to use a variety that represents their group membership, as claimed in Maisonneuvre (1971: 36). In our case, the feeling of being members of a social group is reduced. Thus, the possibility of using AA in class in order to express a group membership is reduced as well.

On the other hand, subjective motivations lie in the fact that the researcher is a teacher of English in the school and can easily get in touch with the sample population. The observer' paradox is reduced because the pupils can be observed directly by their teacher. The sample population is presented in the next section.

3.3. Sample Population

The sampling method is used to limit the fieldwork. It deals with pupils that study in the same middle school that is situated in the suburbs of Tlemcen. The place is called 'Ouzidane'. It is a district situated 10 Km far from Tlemcen centre. It represents an urban agglomeration witnessing the phenomenon of urban sprawl as

many families have moved in from a diversity of places, speaking different dialects of Arabic and gathered around the original buildings in a random way. One may come across people who might have come from Eastern Algeria like Annaba, Constantine, from the centre of the country like Chlef, or even from the Oranie province or the South; places like Relizane, Mascara, Mostaganem, and Naama. Even those who are from the department of Tlemcen range from different geographical places.

These facts are reported to refer to the linguistic diversity of the sample population. The majority of the informants speak a variety that is near to a Bedouin dialect, which may interfere in many respects with their home dialect. In other words, there is a general agreed-on variety accepted among the informants that is characterized with Bedouin features. Those who have lived for a long time in Ouzidane, and who are said to be original inhabitants of the area, speak a dialect that is quite similar to Tlemcen variety, which is characterized with the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] as a realization of the Arabic phoneme /q/. However, their linguistic variety includes interference with the Bedouin dialects features in many respects.

The major economic activities found in the area are agriculture and traditional dressmaking like 'el-mejboud' and 'el-fetla', kinds of handcraft made of golden threads. There are also builders and shepherds. There are however many intellectuals who reach higher educational levels. Reference is made to the general occupational types to draw our attention to the heterogeneity of the educational and occupational backgrounds of the informants' parents because this may have an impact on their linguistic behaviour. Parents who are educated in MSA, for instance, may raise their children in a more 'MSA- speaking' background compared with illiterate parents. Frenchised parents, on the other hand, may transfer their language attitudes to their children. This idea is reinforced by the psycho-sociologist Glen (1975: 78) who claims that parents influence their children's attitudes towards language.

Ouzidane Middle School is a newly established school, in service since September 2008 and including three levels: first, second, and third years. The general number of registered pupils exceeds 500. The present research attempts to study 12 per

cent of the whole population, i.e. 60 informants. The method of sampling is thus random because, as Milroy (1997:19) clarifies: "…anyone within the sample frame has an equal chance of being selected". It also attempts to be representative in a way that is "…broadened to include different types of language as well as types of speakers" (ibid: 21). That is, it tries to collect a maximum amount of data from all types of speakers. The number of inquiries may change throughout the fieldwork depending on each research instrument for some reasons that will be clarified in section 3.4.

First year pupils come from several primary schools. They also come from different educational backgrounds; some have been included within the late educational reform and studied 5 years in primary school while others belong to the old educational system and studied 6 years. What makes this range more diverse and random, some pupils are repeating first year AM and come from other middle schools. In one class, the pupils are aged between 10 and 15. The majority of second and third year pupils were registered in another middle school called 'Habi Aissa middle school' while some followed their previous studies in a number of middle schools in Tlemcen.

Therefore the sample population is mixed in terms of gender, educational background (previous educational system vs. educational reform), and educational history, i.e. previous school. Their age ranges from 10 to 17 years old. Their families' origin as well as the socio-economic status and parents' educational levels are diverse. However, they share the fact of being part of the national program and they are part of an educational reform that includes a four- year studies period concluded with a national exam called 'BEM' at the end of their curriculum in the Middle School. They study different compulsory subjects with different teachers.

Mathematics, Physics, Biology, Social Sciences, Sports, Arabic and Islamic Education are supposed to be taught in MSA as a medium of instruction. The pupils learn French and English as foreign languages. However, both teachers and pupils agree that none of these subjects is held in a single linguistic code. There is CS from both parts of classroom interaction. To obtain a clearer picture of this linguistic

behaviour, a set of research instruments is used in order to serve us to answer the inquiry objectives.

3.4.   Research Instruments

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

3.4.1. The Questionnaires

Seliger & Shohamy (1989: 172) define questionnaires as "printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously". They are, in the present case, used to collect data about the informants to draw their profile and decide about the factors are responsible for their linguistic behaviour. It also attempts to elicit the informants' awareness of their attitudes. Sixty copies of the printed questionnaire in MSA are randomly distributed to pupils in different classes. We had to tell them that these are the possession of a student at the university so that they will not answer in a way to please their teacher.

The questionnaire is composed of ten questions arranged in three sections (See appendix A). The first part embodies five questions about the informant's profile: gender, age, their mean grades and educational background in addition to their class level. These are the social factors that have been assumed *a priori* to be responsible for their linguistic behaviour.

The second section is devoted to check whether they use AA in the classroom and if they have awareness of code differences. This is accomplished via two multiple choice questions and one open ended question.

The last section directly attempts to touch the research question using two open-ended questions. The first asks the question using 'your mates' instead of 'you' to avoid embracing the respondent and to elicit the attitudes of the group rather than personal opinions. The last question, too, attempts to draw general attitudes of the group towards those who use MSA. To accomplish questionnaires missed points, interviews are used simultaneously with the questionnaire.

3.4.2. The Interviews

Contrary to questionnaires, interviews are, in Seliger and Shohamy's terms (1989: 166), 'time consuming' since they are oral. They are often held in combination with questionnaires to reach more reliable results (ibid: 172). Some are held with some pupils and teachers to get a closer view of the situation and in order not to be misled by the researcher's subjectivity. Three teachers are exposed to a structured interview following an interview schedule (see appendix2). Five pupils, in parallel, are interviewed on the basis of simple questions like 'Is the lesson held only in MSA?'; 'Who uses AA in class?', and 'Why do pupils behave like that?' This is rather an unstructured interview with unpredictable answers.

3.4.3. Observation

Classroom observation is not of the type called by Wallace (1991:62) 'professional action observed', i.e., it is not held for educational purposes. The aim of direct observation in the classroom is to describe the different patterns of switching to AA. Berthier (1998:13) explains how to handle a classroom observation without affecting the subjects; and watching them in a discreet manner, the observer should sit at the back in the classroom to be 'forgotten'[29]. This way of observing the subjects in

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[29] The original text in French " L'observateur non-engagé observe discrètement les sujets. En se faisant oublier par exemple assis au fond d'une classe".

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an investigation is reliable in scientific research; Wallace (1991) compares this to a sport situation where the spectator sees most of the game contrary to the participants.

In our research work, we have attended one lesson of Arabic and taken written notes on the pupils' linguistic behaviour. Another method of observation is used for third year pupils; two female participants, sitting far from each other in the classroom in order not to be influenced by each other, are asked to take remarks on the lesson of Arabic and another in social sciences and to write their mates' utterances 'exactly the way they are spoken'. These data are compared and only similarities are taken into account. Some realistic remarks are taken during our supervision in the exams. Since I am a teacher of English in the school, I can hear a natural teacher/pupil interaction, when the teacher enters to explain ambiguous questions, or during an ordinary lesson when passing near a classroom.

3.4.4. The Test

In order to verify the pupils' fluency in MSA, a test is administered. It is used as a diagnostic tool to know their ability to communicate effectively using only MSA. We notice that the pupils' code switching from MSA to AA in third year is more than first year level pupils. For this reason, the third year pupils are tested and not the first year ones. Being oral, the test is difficult to be handled with sixty pupils in terms of time and effort, especially for the reason that the idea of the test will spread among pupils and they can prepare themselves in a way that makes the data unnatural. All of fifty pupils have been tested alone by the researcher with the presence of no one else. Hence, it bears the idea of increasing the informants' need of using only MSA as a focal point. Before the test, they are asked to imagine themselves with a teacher of Arabic, so they should do their best to show their linguistic ability in MSA. Section two precedes section three with the purpose of increasing the pupils' consciousness to make an effort to use MSA.

The test is composed of three sections (see appendix B). The first section consists of direct questions to know the informant's factors; mainly gender, age, and educational achievements. The second section is a self-evaluation question. It requires

the respondents to rank their linguistic abilities in MSA. They should choose which level they are in the four skills from excellent to weak. This type of question often reflects one's attitudes towards a language. These are also tested via the use of the matched guise technique. The third section is composed of three fluency levels. The first requires the use of one word. The second makes the respondents use a small utterance like a sentence. The third level demands a larger stretch of speech; at least two sentences.

3.4.5. The Matched Guise Technique

This technique was proposed by Lambert and his collaborators (1960) then developed later on in Lambert (1967), Gardner and Lambert (1972)[30]. Giles and Billings (2006:189) explain the matched guise technique as a "procedure [...] built on the assumption that speech style triggers certain social categorizations that will lead to a set of group-related trait-inferences".

This method is, hence, designed to uncover the informant's attitudes towards language varieties by making them listen to a dialogue or a speech presented by one person in two or more different guises so as to make them feel it is performed by different people. The respondents are then asked to guess about the speakers in the guises by filling in a questionnaire.

The sample population is exposed to two guises, one in MSA and the other in AA in the form of a conversation between a teacher and a learner; no detail is given about the age, gender and educational level of the performers (see appendix D). They have been told that these two dialogues had been noted in two courses of a given subject in a given study level and by a given learner that we do not know his/her age or gender. The two guises are read aloud by the researcher then they have been asked to guess who could have said what their teacher is reading.

The number of matched guise technique questionnaires distributed to the pupils is re-extended from 60 to 70 because we noticed that a large number of profile

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[30] Quoted in Edwards, J (1982:22).

questionnaires dismissed. Thus, we thought that having a larger number of distributed questionnaires would be more reliable. Also, in the profile questionnaire results, there was no apparent impact of the factor of educational background on the respondents' answers. Therefore, this social factor was excluded from the inquiry.

The matched guise technique questionnaire is composed of two sections. The first requires personal information from the informant's: age, gender and level. The second deals with elicitation of information about the two learners in the two short dialogues read aloud by the researcher, with L1 answering his/ her teacher in AA and L2 responding in MSA. The informants have to guess the gender and age range of L1 and L2 from a proposed set of ages and know who is younger than the other. They have to guess their average grades, too. Each age range, gender and grade is provided with a third option; "I don't know" to know if there is a relationship between these factors and the code choice. The last question proposes a set of adjectives that were extracted from the profile questionnaire results. Each adjective is provided with three options, "yes", "no", and "I don't know".

3.5.   The Results

The above cited research instruments yield results that are presented, analysed and interpreted. Scientific research should respect the three criteria of empiricism, objectivity and exactness. The present work insists on drawing quantitative results from each research instrument to approach exactness. It also takes into consideration some qualitative remarks that will enrich the gathered data and give the work a more analytic nature rather than a mere descriptive one.

3.5.1. The Questionnaire

Out of the 50 distributed questionnaires, only 32 were taken into account out of which there are 21 boys and 11 girls. Their ages range from 11 to 17 and their average grades are between 5.4 and 17.04 out of 20. Eighteen were dismissed because some pupils answered exactly the same answer and we could guess that they copied one from the other, so only one was taken to avoid exaggeration in results. Some were

afraid of the teacher or took it non-seriously, so answered in a random way or just left it unanswered. Some of the first year pupils had an unreadable handwriting so that the researcher could not guess what was written. We have decided, however, that 32 questionnaires were enough and the obtained data were reliable because more data would surely lead to a kind of redundancy. Another reason to keep the number in spite of being less than 10% of the whole population is that pupils told one another about 'the questionnaire of the teacher of English', and some even came to ask about it. This social network may have influenced the data that will be gathered from additive questionnaires. The questionnaire yielded quantitative as well some qualitative data

3.5.1.1 Quantitative Analysis

The following table displays statistics about the question as to which code is used in class, as reported by the pupils.

	Reporting to use AA		Reporting to use MSA		total
Girls	8	72.8%	3	27.2%	11
Boys	5	23.8%	16	76.2%	21
total	13	40.6%	19	59.4%	32

Table 3.1: Code use in the classroom
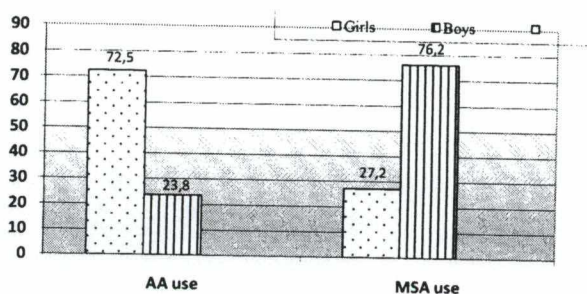
Figure 3.1 AA vs. MSA use in class by gender

The table below exposes the informants' reporting about the frequency of their use of AA in classroom interaction.

Frequency	Absolute number of pupils	Percentage
Always	0	0
Often	8	25%
Sometimes	18	56.2%
Rarely	6	18.8%
Never	0	0

Table 3.2 Frequency of AA use in classroom interaction

The following graph clearly shows the extent to which the informants use the Algerian dialect in class.
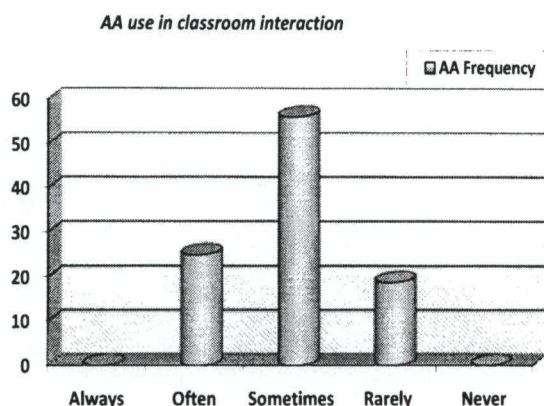
Figure 3. 2 Pupils' frequency of AA use in classroom interaction

All informants reported that the phenomenon of diglossic code switching in classroom is not related to a given subject but occurs in almost 'all subjects'. In the question about the reasons behind their switch, no one related it to the teachers' linguistic behaviour but 10% agreed on the fact that they lack MSA mastery or fluency in addition to other qualitative reasons that will be discussed below.

3.5.1.2 Qualitative Analysis

No apparent relationship was found between the respondents' answers and their class level (1st year versus 3rd year because first year grade includes repetitive pupils whose age may reach 17 years old). The only result worth mentioning is that first year pupils made some effort to answer the questionnaire in MSA in spite of the many linguistic deficiencies they have, whereas third year pupils, both boys and girls, included AA written in the Arabic script, often slang words. Attitudes towards the pupil who answers in MSA ranged from positive to negative statements.

The positive ones were expressions like:

- o 'It is a nice thing'.
- o 'He is an intellectual'.
- o 'He learned Koran'.
- o 'He is polite'.
- o 'He knows how to study and wants to succeed'.

The negative ones were more than the positive ones. They include attitudes like:

- o 'He is childish'.
- o 'He is narrow-minded'.
- o 'He is stupid'.
- o 'We laugh at him and we think he is a clown'.
- o 'He is not normal, he is showing-off'.
- o 'He is playing to be a philosopher'.
- o 'We hate him and he gets on our nerves'.
- o 'We mock at him'.
- o 'He is a coward and not a man'.

3.5.2. Interview Results

Some interviews were conducted with pupils and others with teachers

3.5.2.1. Pupils Interview Results

Five pupils were asked about their linguistic behaviour: three girls and two boys. The first girl, a second year pupil, is 12. When asked about her linguistic behaviour, especially using MSA or AA in the classroom, she answered:

'I personally love Arabic fuṣḥā and like to learn to use it, especially when I was in the primary school where I felt very proud of addressing my teacher in 'al-fuṣḥā'. However, in the middle school, I avoid using it in class, when answering my teacher, even if he asks me in it. I feel ashamed to use it because my mates will make fun of me. They will think I am childish and old-fashioned.' Then she added *'I sometimes like to use 'dariža'* (the dialect) *when answering my teachers. I want to show them that I am free'.*

Another girl aged 15, third year level, said about MSA: *'I feel ashamed to use fuṣḥā. I am trying to avoid all words that are in Arabic from my speech habits. I try to substitute them by words from French in order to sound more intellectual, as if I studied at the university. If one of my mates speaks just in Arabic fuṣḥā, we laugh at him and we think that he is not civilized and childish'.*

When asked about the reason why some pupils use AA in classroom instead of MSA, the third girl, a first year pupil aged 11, said: *'I personally do my best to answer my teachers in fuṣḥā. If I ever switch to dariža, it is only because I forget when I am in a hurry to give the right answer. There are, however, some pupils who use dariža on purpose'.* I asked her who those pupils were and she replied: *'Pupils like Mahmoud and... and others* (She mentioned some names) *... I think that this is the case of boys though there are some girls who do so'.* I asked her 'Why do they behave so according to you?' she answered *'I think that they do that because they spend so much time in the*

street; this is why they speak the language of the street. I think that they want the others to be like them, to be of the same type as them!! Of their group'

Boys were interviewed too. One boy aged 13, who studies at second year, was posed the question 'Do you use MSA or AA when answering your teacher in class? His answer about MSA was: *'I never use it! Do you think that I am in primary school? I don't know to express myself in Arabic. Well I know but I don't'.* Another boy, aged 15 years old and registered in 1ˢᵗ year, was asked 'Do you use al- fuṣḥā when answering your teacher of Arabic or AA?' His answer was *'of course, I use al- fuṣḥā'.* The second question asked by the teacher was 'What about your mates?' The answer was *'it depends: some use al fuṣḥā, others don't'.* His answer to the question 'Why do they answer in AA?' was *'...because, I don't know... maybe because they don't know it'.* I asked him then 'Do you laugh when someone uses MSA in answering his teacher?' He said *'no, we don't'.* I told him 'why did you laugh when your friend X answered me in fuṣḥā, then? I saw you laugh'. He laughed then he said *'I don't know... he is strange... he is ridiculous... he is like a child'*

3.5.2.2. Teachers Interview Results

In order to get a better view of classroom interaction, three teachers of Arabic were asked about their pupils' behaviour. These teachers were formerly at the primary school then have moved this year to middle school. The three teachers mentioned that they use MSA when teaching and that they rarely switch to AA. They all agreed that some of their pupils try to avoid answering them in MSA. One teacher reports: *'I was a teacher at the primary school. My pupils could express themselves and communicate effectively at the fourth year level. When I became a teacher at the middle school, I can say that some pupils answer me in the dialectal form. I try to ask the question again in fuṣḥā (MSA) to get the answer in fuṣḥā but they keep on answering in dariža (AA), or to use a kind of Arabic full of adapted words from dialect to make their friends laugh'.* She then added *'I noticed that this is increasing the more one moves to higher levels; third year pupils switch more than first year pupils'.*

For research objectivity, real observed data had to be collected in order to compare them with the informants' claims in elicited data because these can report 'misled' claims which are influenced by their subjectivity.

3.5.3. Classroom Observation Results

The data were collected from two different classes, a first year class and a third year one since reference has been made by a teacher to the contrastive variation found in these two classes. Two observation sessions were organised for first year pupils. One was held in the Arabic lesson and the other in exams' supervision.

In the Arabic lesson of reading comprehension, the topic was pollution and the timing of the observation was an hour. It was noticed that the teacher was using MSA most of the time. In order to check if she did not accommodate her speech in the presence of the observer, a pupil was asked 'Was the teaching of your teacher today as usual?' and she said 'Yes'. Then I asked her 'Does she usually use al-fuṣḥā or dariža in her lesson?' The pupil told me that she always uses MSA in her teaching and she rarely includes a word in AA, except when some pupils do not understand a word in MSA.

Most pupil-teacher interaction was in MSA and whenever pupils answered their teacher, they attempted to produce whole sentences in MSA. Most interactions were characterised by both fluency and accuracy. The majority could answer their teacher in long stretches in MSA with a very accurate use of the language. Even if some made mistakes, it was observed that they made some effort to use MSA solely. An example of this is reflected in an interaction between the teacher and a twelve-year-old pupil.

Example 1:

Teacher: "[maa hija al ʔaʃjaʔu allatii taxawwafa minha al ʂulamaaʔ]?"

Pupil:

"[al ?aʃjaa? allati *jataxawwafuuna* minhaa al̩ʕulama? hija al?aʃjaa? allatii *jat axawwafuuna* minhaa alʕulama?]".

In this example the teacher asks "what are the things that the scientists fear?" The pupil could not produce a coherent sentence in MSA but has attempted to use MSA, even with a mistake in the conjugation of the verb. Another girl, too, had problems in MSA in the sense that she could not produce MSA sentences. When the teacher asked her to read aloud the text, she remained silent for 15 seconds before reading one word. Then she preferred to remain silent rather than producing inaccurate language.

A general qualitative remark concerning interaction within the topic of discussion was in MSA except for one pupil who produced an utterance in AA, not to joke or to avoid MSA. It was produced off-hand to show that he has understood the idea. From now forth, AA switches are in italics.

Example 2:

Teacher: [?iðā ðahabna ?ila aşşahrā? baʕda aǧahīra] meaning (if we go to the desert in the afternoon)

Pupil: [naʕam, *mōr edhōr*. He has repeated the teacher's utterance in MSA in AA agreeing "yes, in the afternoon'.

Interactions out of the topic of discussion like asking permission, showing the teacher their home-work and pupil-pupil interaction was all in AA. Here are some examples:

Example 3:

Teacher: [iftahu alkitāb]. (open the book)

Girl: [ʔustāda *ma* ṣəffħa] (Teacher, which page?)

Example 4:

Teacher: [ʔajna huwa] (Where is it? asking her about her homework)

Girl: [*ma dertʃ*] (I did not do it)

Example 5:

Teacher: [jasĩn, alā taktub] (Yacine, don't you write?)

Boy: [*mā jebtʃ əsstilu*] (I did not bring the pen).

Another observation was reported with an interaction between the teacher of social sciences and a pupil of 12 years old in an exam. The teacher entered to explain the questions to the pupils. What is controversial in this interaction is that the teacher was answering the girl in AA and she was insisting on using MSA in her utterances.

Example 6:

Girl:[ʔustād,min fadlik,hal nuçarrif sijasata alʔistiṭān fi assuʔāl aθθaliθ] (Teacher, please, shall we define colonialism in the third question?)

Teacher: [*fə* ttarĩx *wella* ʒuɣrāfijā] (In history or geography?).

Girl: [naçam lā] (Yes…no).

Teacher: [*əkkatbū* attaçrĩf] (write the definition)

Girl: [ʃuk'ran ʔustād] (thank you sir).

The table below attempts to summarise code choice patterns in first year level in relation with the subject and the domain of interaction. + is used to mean that the code is used in that situation and – indicates the absence of that code.

subject	Code	teacher	pupil	teacher	pupil	teacher	pupil
Arabic	MSA	+	+	+	+	+	-
	AA	-	-	-	-	-	+
Other subjects	MSA	+	+	+	+	-	-
	AA	-	-	+	+	+	+
Domain		The topic headlines		Explanation in the lesson topic		Out of the topic of the lesson	

Table 3. 3: Code choice patterns in first year level

Third year observations were reported from two pupils' notes in order to avoid the observer's paradox. One observation was taken in the Arabic lesson and another one in the lesson of social sciences. A third was reported by the researcher in an exam of mathematics between the teacher of mathematics and a girl of 15 years old.

Both pupils agreed that all pupil- teacher interactions which were out of the topic of the lesson were in AA in spite of the fact that the teacher was using MSA solely. They agreed that most interactions were in MSA as far as the topic of discussion is concerned, which was pollution. Few exceptions were reported. The example below shows diglossic code switching produced by a girl of 16 years old.

Example 7:

Teacher: [mā hija asbāb attalawwuθ albīʔij] (what are the causes of pollution?)

Girl: [jermīw alʔawsāx wə ssaʃijjāt] (they throw wastes and bags).

In the social sciences lesson, both observing pupils reported that there was explanation of the lesson from the part of the teacher in MSA mixed with AA. The topic of the lesson was the representation of Algeria abroad. 100 per cent of interaction out of the topic was mixing of MSA and AA or just in AA from the part of the teacher as well as the pupils. The example below illustrates this kind of interaction.

Example 8:

Teacher: [*mākkanʃ* alʔaqlām] (there are no pens)

Girl: [*māçliʃ ɣi b hadāk əw nəkkatbū*] (it doesn't matter, we can just use these).

For the case of mathematics, the teacher was using only MSA but the girl used AA. The interaction was as follows.

Example 9:

Girl: [ʔustāda, *wāsəm hada*] (Teacher, what is this?)

Teacher: [hākada, iks ʔasɣar min xamsataçaʃar]. (Like this, x is smaller that fifteen)

Girl: [*hādi maʃi* mutabājina] (This is not an interval)

Teacher: [la, lajsat mutabājina, xudūhā kamā hija]. (No it is not; take it the way it is)

The table below attempts to summarise code choice patterns in third year level. + is used to mean that the code is used in that situation and − indicates the absence of that code.

subject	Code	teacher	pupil	teacher	pupil	teacher	pupil
Arabic	MSA	+	+	+	+	+	-
	AA	-	-	-	+	-	+
Other subjects	MSA	+	+	+	-	-	-
	AA	-	-	+	+	+	+
Domain		The topic headlines		Explanation in the lesson topic		Out of the topic of the lesson	

Table 3. 4: Code choice patterns in third year level

These observations are result of reasons that we will attempt to uncover. They might have been connected with the pupils' fluency in MSA. That is the pupils use AA because they cannot produce long stretches in MSA, so they use AA. In order to check this hypothesis, the pupils are exposed to a test in fluency in MSA. The procedure below shows the results of fluency tests.

3.5.4. Fluency Test Results

Thirty tests were held with third year pupils, exclusively because as attested in the observation, first year pupils did not switch to AA and they had no apparent problem in producing long stretches in MSA. It is also because the researcher could not have access to more pupils especially because the tests were oral, and thus effort-demanding and time-consuming. It was administered to 10 boys and 20 girls with mean grades that range from 9.15 to 17.33 and age between 14 and 16. The test was intended to reveal quantitative results as well as qualitative features.

3.5.4.1. Quantitative Results

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

Language skills	Gender	excellent		acceptable		average		weak	
Listening	Boys	3	15	5	13	2	2	0	0
	Girls	12		8		0		0	
Reading	Boys	2	14	4	10	4	6	0	0
	Girls	12		6		2		0	
Speaking	Boys	1	7	2	15	5	5	2	3
	Girls	6		13		0		1	
writing	Boys	1	8	4	15	3	4	2	3
	Girls	7		11		1		1	

Table 3. 5 : Pupils' self evaluation in MSA

From this table, we draw two graphs in relation to gender in order to contrast gender differences in terms of self evaluation in MSA
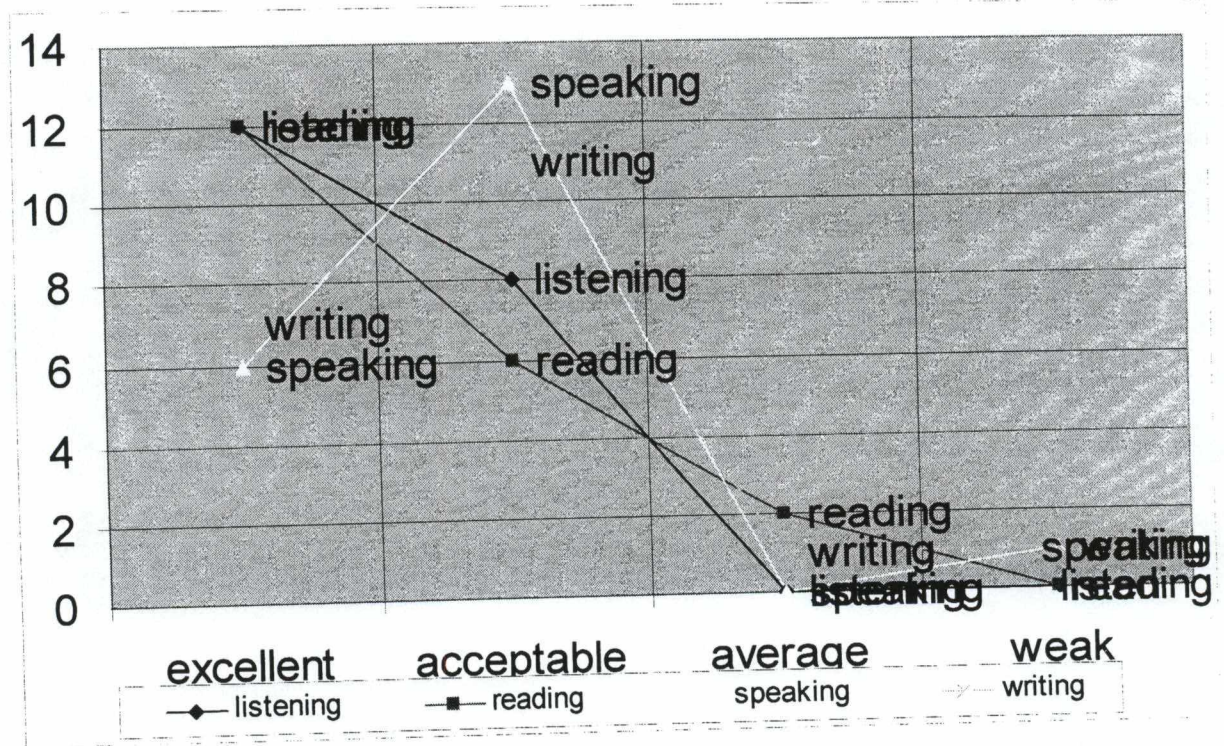
Figure 3. 3: Boys' self evaluation in MSA Skills
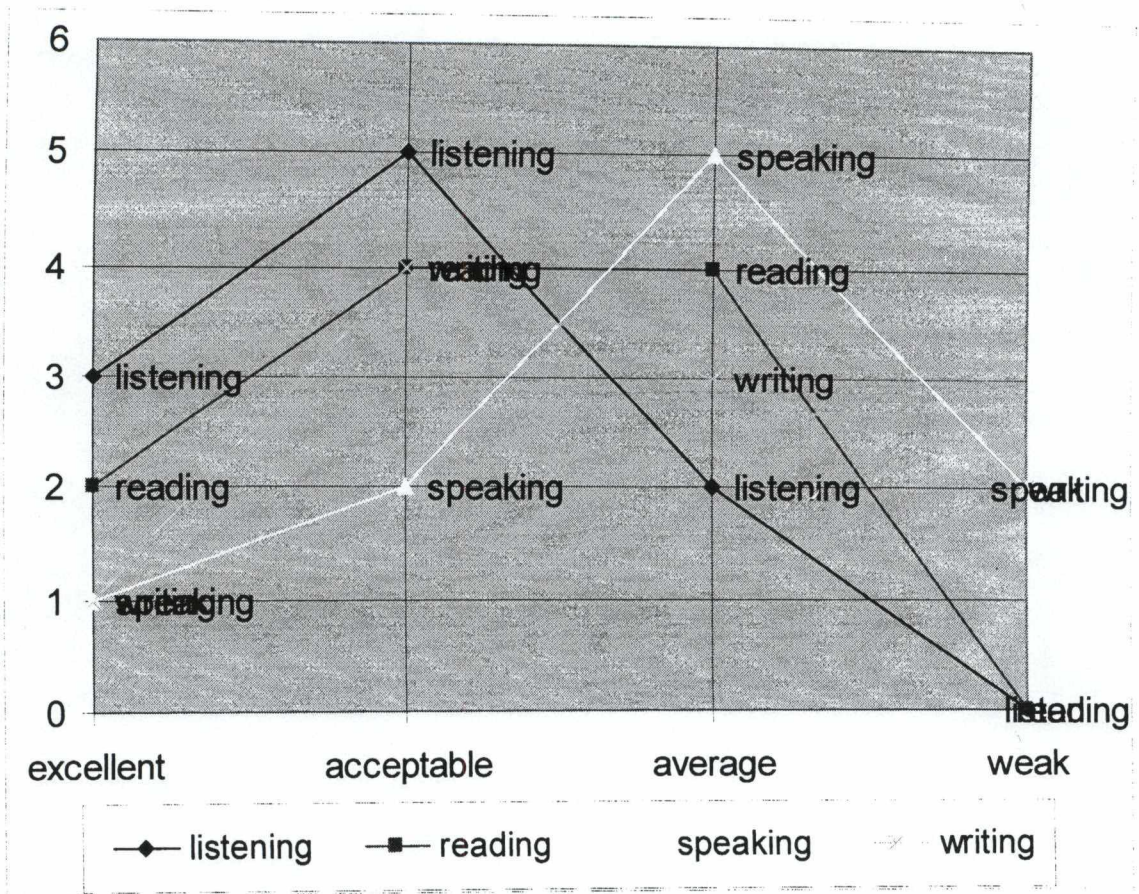
Figure 3. 4: Girls' self evaluation in MSA Skills

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

Level	girls	boys	total
Level 0	2	1	3
Level 1	2	1	3
Level 2	6	3	9
Level 3	10	5	15

Table 3. 6: Pupils' fluency evaluation in MSA

3.5.4.2.   Qualitative Results

It is worth mentioning that there was a problem when trying to rank some pupils who used AA in the first level of fluency and could produce longer stretches in MSA in the third level. They said [ħna χemsa] (we are five) in the first level though they know how to say it in MSA and used a full sentence in the third level. Some used adopted forms of AA in MSA to joke like these examples:

Example1: [iʃtarū *diksionnɛr* wa ħawilū *taqraaw*" (buy a dictionary and try to learn/ to read)

Example2: [liʔannahum lā juħsinūna alluɣa wa .. *juzaççeqūn*]. (Because they do not know the language and they joke).

Example3:
[ana,χaṭrāt nafhem, w χaṭrāt ma ntallaʃ tiki χaṭar ma çla baʃiʃ bəl ʔustād]
(I sometimes understand and other times I understand none because simply I do not care about the teacher)

In these examples of switch there is an apparent negative attitude towards MSA and the teacher. To check this hypothesis, the matched guise technique came up with the next results.

3.5.5. Matched Guise Technique Results

50 out of 70 questionnaires were analysed. The remaining ones were dismissed because they were left unanswered or the informants checked for all questions 'I don't know' because they did not understand that the questionnaire is merely for research purposes. 24 were administered to first year and 26 to third year pupils. First year pupils included 13 boys and 11 girls while 10 boys and 16 girls are third year pupils. The questionnaire insists on quantitative data to bring out statistics and approach exactness though some qualitative remarks are reported.

3.5.5.1. Quantitative Results

The table below shows data related to the respondents' gender and level in relation to their assumption of the first learner in the first guise. It gives quantitative data about L1's age range

Level	gender	5-10		12-16		More than 16		I do not know	
1st year	Boys	9	12	3	11	1	1	0	0
	Girls	3		8		0		0	
3rd year	Boys	3	14	3	6	4	5	0	1
	Girls	11		3		1		1	

Table 3.7: The pupils' assumption of L1 age range

The table below shows data related to the respondents' gender and level. It displays their assumptions about the second guise learner's age range.

Level	gender	5-10		12-16		More than 16		I do not know	
1st year	Boys	5	12	6	9	0	1	2	2
	Girls	7		3		1		0	
3rd year	Boys	7	11	1	7	1	4	1	4
	Girls	4		6		3		3	

Table 3.8: The pupils' assumption of L2 age range

When asked to guess which on is younger, L1, or L2, informants gave data as in table 9:

Level	gender	L1		L2		I do not know	
1st year	Boys	6	8	6	18	0	0
	Girls	2		12		0	
3rd year	Boys	1	8	8	15	1	1
	Girls	7		7		0	

Table 3.9: Pupils' selection of the younger guise learner

L1's gender is guessed by the informants as in the following table:

Level	gender	L1 is a boy		L1 is a girl		I do not know	
1st year	Boys	9	20	2	2	0	0
	Girls	11		0		0	
3rd year	Boys	8	23	3	3	1	2
	Girls	15		0		1	

Table 3.10: Pupils' perception of L1 gender

The following table exposes L2 gender as guessed by the informants:

Level	gender	L2 is a boy		L2 is a girl		I do not know	
1st year	Boys	8	15	3	7	2	3
	Girls	7		4		1	
3rd year	Boys	4	16	5	9	0	0
	Girls	12		4		0	

Table 11: pupils' perception of L2 gender

The table below reflects data about the informants reporting about L1 mean grades:

Level	gender	More than 13		From 12.9 to 10		Less than 10		I do not know	
1st year	Boys	0	0	3	5	7	16	3	4
	Girls	0		2		9		1	
3rd year	Boys	2	4	0	6	6	10	1	4
	Girls	2		6		4		3	

Table 3.12: Pupils' perceptions of L1 mean grades

The informants report L2 grades average in the table below:

Level	gender	More than 13		From 12.9 to 10		Less than 10		I do not know	
1st year	Boys	3	6	3	6	4	9	3	4
	Girls	3		3		5		1	
3rd year	Boys	2	8	0	2	4	8	3	4
	Girls	6		2		4		1	

Table 3.13: Pupils' perceptions of L2 mean grades

The informants expressed their attitudes towards L1 and L2 by checking "yes" for adjectives they think them appropriate. The table below shows what they think of L1:

Level	gender	normal		childish		stupid		Polite		Narrow minded	
1st year	Boys	7	9	0	1	4	11	0	1	1	3
	Girls	2		1		7		1		2	
3rd year	Boys	2	5	0	0	6	14	1	4	0	0
	Girls	3		0		8		3		0	

Table 3.14: pupils' Attitudes towards L1

On the other hand, table 11 reveals L2 attitudes:

Level	gender	normal		childish		stupid		Polite		Narrow minded	
1st year	Boys	0	1	10	17	1	2	0	4	9	11
	Girls	1		7		1		4		4	
3rd year	Boys	0	1	5	7	1	6	3	10	4	8
	Girls	1		2		5		7		4	

Table 3.15: pupils' Attitudes towards L2

3.5.5.2. Qualitative Results

A remark worth mentioning is that the researcher first read the guise using AA. Pupils did no worth mentioning reaction; they were just listening. On the other hand, when the teacher read the MSA guise, all the class laughed out loudly. They were all looking at one another and joking about the guise.

3.6.   Data interpretation

The data presented above are to be analysed and interpreted in order to come eventually to results that might be generalized.

3.6.1. Questionnaire Results Interpretation

Code choice in classroom interaction has been claimed to be in AA by the majority. In fact, the majority of girls claim that AA is used in classroom interaction contrary to boys who claim that they use MSA. During the observation and the interviews, however, there is a general agreement that boys do switch to AA in their classroom interaction more than girls do. Here, one might agree with the view that says that female speakers have the tendency to have more 'language awareness' than males. In other words, girls pay attention to which code they use and how language should be used, so they are more sensitive to any break of the interaction rule that might happen in the social setting of the classroom.

When asked about the frequency of CS to AA in the classroom, no informant checked the use of a single code, be it MSA or AA. This is normal since there cannot be any interaction in class in AA solely because classroom related vocabulary or 'register' is all in MSA. Similarly, they do not use solely MSA in the classroom for reasons that will be diagnosed in further steps of this inquiry. The majority agreed that they sometimes switch to AA while 25% of the whole number of informants claimed that they 'often' do that.

All informants have agreed on the fact that there is a switch to AA in all subjects and with all teachers. This may mean that this linguistic behaviour does not typically characterise a particular teacher or a subject. Here the idea of considering the

teachers' linguistic behaviour as responsible for a reciprocal behaviour on the part of pupils is a weak hypothesis to advocate.

Third year level pupils were more daring to express their attitudes, using slang words and colloquial forms in comparison with first year pupils. Declared attitudes were controversial and even paradoxical. On the one hand, some associated MSA use in the classroom with 'good behaviour' and claimed that it is a sign of polite language and the Koran. On the other hand, others associated it with primary school and found it artificial. They saw it as a sign of 'narrow-mindedness'. They also revealed that its speakers are out of their social group. These are to be tested in the interviews.

3.6.2. Interview Results Interpretation

Interview results are to be analysed and compared to have a clearer view of the linguistic behaviour.

3.6.2.1. Interpretation of the Teachers Interview

Teachers, being in direct contact with the informants, reported realistic remarks on their linguistic behaviour in classroom interaction. What is particular with the interviewees is that they witnessed the change in the two age ranges in relation with the two levels, primary and middle schools. They could draw the attention of the researcher to the impact of the age range on the pupils' linguistic behaviour. There was, however, another factor that was predicted to relate to their linguistic behaviour. Reference here is made to the number of years spent in the middle school rather than age since first year level includes pupils of the same age and even older than those studying in the third year level.

3.6.2.2. Interpretation of the Pupils' Interview

In spite of the fact that the number of informants was very limited, it served to provide us with a nearer idea of the real situation. The eleven-year-old girl is still in childhood. She still considers MSA the prestigious language that the teacher likes. She associates it with politeness contrary to the dialect which is, for her, 'the language of the street'. She, thus, repeats what she has been taught to say since she started schooling.

A twelve-year-old girl drew our attention to the impact of age on the linguistic behaviour in particular and the social behaviour in general. Teenagers have the tendency to feel free. They like to differentiate themselves from school children. They do not like to be identified as children because for them MSA is the language of children. They also see it as a language of antic life and antic times. Thus, they view it as old fashioned and out of date.

The fifteen-year-old girl revealed a clearer idea of the situation. Teenagers at this age think of their future. She sees that French may allow her a better life than MSA while the latter represents for her a variety that is uncivilized and that brings her a step backwards to childhood.

Similarly, the interviewed boys have expressed openly their attitudes towards MSA, considering it as a language that is special for children. The first boy has shown a rejection of MSA and a reaction that stresses his personality and feeling of freedom while the second has answered in the beginning of the interview in a way to please his teacher and was not conscious of his attitudes towards MSA. Finally, he has admitted that using MSA in class is not a natural behaviour and is associated with children. To check this claim, results of direct classroom observation are interpreted in the next section.

3.6.3. Interpretation of Classroom Observation

The prominent result obtained from classroom observation is the difference between first and third year classes.

First year pupils have made efforts to communicate in MSA. One can observe that for them MSA is the code that is normally used in class. Example1 reflects this willingness to use MSA. Any switch is unconscious and comes off hand. However, MSA is not viewed as a communicative code and restricted to discussions within the lesson. Any interaction that is outside the lesson frame and having a communicative value occurs in AA in spite of the fact that the teacher asks the question in MSA as in examples 3, 4 and 5. MSA is associated with politeness and good behaviour. In example 6, for instance, a girl reveals willingness to use MSA with the teacher attempting to give him a good impression. He did not notice her intention and

continued to answer in AA focussing on the meaning of the question rather than on the social value she wanted to convey. She continued choosing polite diction from MSA to show him that 'she is a good girl who respects the teacher'. This attitude is characterising children language. This positive attitude towards MSA is induced from primary school teachers.

Thus, first year pupils use MSA solely when treating the topic of the lesson because it is presented originally in that variety. They express willingness to communicate in it when it is the subject to be learned. They use little AA to understand the details of the lesson because MSA is not their mother tongue and is not used naturally in their thinking. They never use it for social and communicative settings because for them it is not a language that is appropriate for conveying social functions but rather a 'frozen' code that can only convey ideas related to the academic lesson. This attitude, in fact, is not specific to the sample population. We may come across linguists who describe it in similar terms. Lahjomri (1974: 60-61)[31], for instance describes it as a language that is out-dated, and antiquated as foreign to everyday life as the French language.

Third year pupils, on the other hand, show more eagerness to use AA. Example 7 shows that pupils care no more about the code they use and express little or no willingness to use MSA. Example 9 reveals that the pupil is caring about the meaning she conveys and is not aware which code she uses. She tries to spend the least effort to convey the message faster. Using MSA is not natural in her mind, so she prefers to use her mother tongue to economise effort and time. In fact, this is not only the case of pupils but even teachers. Example 8 shows that, the teacher of social sciences, too, feels 'lazy' to use MSA, especially when it comes to communicate out of the topic. So, she uses her everyday language; AA, the code which she speaks without effort.

Third year pupils, therefore, devote MSA for stating the topic headlines because they are ready-made by the syllabus makers and they do not make any effort to restate them in AA. They express a certain rejection of MSA use in topic related discussion

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[31] Quoted in Bentaliha (1983:27). The original words are '*...une langue démodée, désuète, aussi étrangère à la vie quotidienne que la langue française.*'

even in the lesson of Arabic. They show no willingness to use it in comparison with first year pupils. MSA is never used to communicate outside the lesson frame because it is not viewed as a communicative language. Here, one can deduce that when pupils come to first year middle school, they can speak MSA fluently, but through time, when they spend some years in the middle school, they lose their willingness to use it. Thus, they stop using it even in the lesson of Arabic. This may have an impact on their fluency in MSA. This idea is to be tested better in fluency tests.

3.6.4. Interpretation of the Fluency Test

It is worth considering quantitative test results as well as qualitative results to get a clearer view of the pupils' fluency in MSA.

3.6.4.1. Quantitative Results

It is clear from the table of the pupils' self evaluation in MSA that 50%of the pupils claim that they have an excellent listening ability in MSA and 43.33% claim that they have an acceptable level in this skill. 46.66%of the pupils report they are excellent in reading and 33.33%claim that their level is acceptable. Only 6.66% of the pupils say that they are of an average level in listening and 20% in reading. No pupil ranks himself as weak in both receptive skills.

For the two remaining skills; speaking and writing in MSA, the results are quite different. Only 23.33% of the informants, and 26.66%of the tested pupils, with a majority of the girls, claim that they have an excellent level in speaking and writing, respectively.   50%claim that their level is acceptable in speaking and a similar percentage is reported in writing. 16.66%of the pupils, with all of them boys, claim that they are of an average level in speaking. Two boys and one girl making 10% of the sample, assert that their level is weak. For writing, 13.33% of the pupils are of an average level and 10% claim that they are weak.

A general remark about these results is that the pupils' self evaluation in MSA comes in two forms, depending on the nature of the linguistic skill in question. They claim that they have a better level in receptive skills in comparison with the productive

skills. The highest percentages were for the rank 'excellent' for listening and reading while the majority checked acceptable to rank their speaking and writing in MSA. Percentages in relation to gender may expose a difference between girls and boys perception which may interpret our previous findings using the other research instruments and may predict what we will find using the remaining ones.

In the boys' results, the majority claim to have an acceptable level in listening. No one claims to have a weak level in the receptive skills while 20 % assert to have a weak level in the productive skills. However, the girls' graph exposes quite different results; the majority of them claim to have an acceptable level in speaking, then in writing. No one claims to have a weak level in the receptive skills while 5% assert to have a weak level in the productive skills. Gender differences are present and reflect attitudes because practical tests have revealed quite unexpected results.

Fluency tests results were surprisingly identical for both girls and boys. For both genders, 10% represent level 0, the level in which they are not able to produce any simple word in MSA. This result was obtained in the pupils' self-evaluation. One wonders in this respect, how can a pupil claim he/ she cannot produce one word in MSA after many years of studies in this language? We might deduce for this level that these pupils do not use MSA words, not because they cannot but because they do not want to. In other words, this portion of informants avoids using MSA not for linguistic problems but rather for affective motives which we expect are attitudes towards MSA. 10% of both genders are in level 1 that requires the use of a single word in MSA. A percentage that is smaller than their self-evaluation as being average. This means that 6.66% of the population evaluate their level in speaking as lower than their real level. This again has to do with attitudes.

30% of the population can produce one sentence in MSA and are ranked in level 2. This percentage is different too from their self-evaluation results. The striking difference lies in the percentage found in level 3, in which only one can produce larger stretches in MSA. This level reveals that for both girls and boys the majority is said to be 'fluent in MSA'. A general remark for the pupils' self evaluation is that a remarkable portion of the population degrades their actual level. This has been claimed

by many specialists to relate to social attitudes. The difference is quite acceptable for girls but is striking for boys.

To get a clearer view, qualitative data will be interpreted in the next section and related to the quantitative ones to approach both exactness and objectivity

3.6.4.2. Qualitative Results

Qualitative observations handled in the tests, again, draw our attention to the pupils' attitudes towards MSA. The problem faced when attempting to rank the pupils who could produce large stretches in MSA is that they used dialect in the first level in spite of being required to use MSA. Here, we can hypothesise that they have a lack of willingness to use the formal variety and so they got used to switching to AA. Example 2, picked from one informant's answers, illustrates this idea. He has related their behaviour to joking and has used the dialectal form: [jzaʕʕ?q] 'to joke', applying to it the MSA rule of conjugation with the pronoun 'they' for the masculine through adding the morpheme {u:n}.

In example one, the informant has used a similar switch but a borrowed word from French. This behaviour occurred in two tests. This implies that the phenomenon of applying MSA rules to AA to sound funny is common among the informants. Such behaviour does not mean that they do not know the rule but is done purposefully. They attempt to say that they do not know MSA or simply they do not care about it. Indeed, this idea is reinforced if we have a look at example 3, in which the informant used frankly AA, claiming that he does not care about the teacher. The question that arises here is: is this rejection directed to the teacher as a person or does it include even his language, MSA? Is this rejection due just to the informants' age and feeling of freedom or is it an expression of rejection of MSA? In order to diagnose in a more thorough manner this typically affective behaviour, the results obtained from the matched guise technique are considered with the hope of find an appropriate interpretation.

3.6.5. Interpretation of the Matched Guise Technique

The matched guise technique could yield quantitative as well as qualitative data which we will try to interpret as objectively as possible.

3.6.5.1. Quantitative Results

The data exposed in table 3.7 reveal the pupils' general assumption of the guise using AA in answering the teacher.

- **Age and Attitudes**

50% of first year pupils claim that this learner is in the range of 5-10 years old, the range which is usually found in primary school. However, we find in this portion, only 27% of the girls, a percentage that is minor in comparison with that of the boys which is 69% of the whole male population. The majority of the girls, exactly 72%, claimed that this learner is aged between 12 and 16, i.e. a pupil in the middle school. On the contrary, only 23% of the boys have checked this age range.

Therefore, for first year pupils, girls are aware of the general linguistic behaviour usually found in primary school and they can compare it to the linguistic patterns found in middle school. Boys, on the other hand give the answer they think that they should give to the teacher. In other words, they are not aware of the difference between the linguistic behaviour and they report answers that please the teacher. This analysis will be checked in other steps of this inquiry.

The third year pupils reported quite different data. 53% of these pupils, claimed that the learner in the guise is in the age grade of primary school. Yet, the internal composition of this percentage is reversed, in comparison with first year pupils. Here, 68% of the girls, which is a majority, think that the guise is aged between 5 and 10 while only 30% of the boys have put the guise in this age range. A similar percentage is found in the age range of middle school, i.e. between 12 and 16. The majority of the boys ranked this guise, with the linguistic behaviour of switching to AA with the teacher in an age of more than 16. This choice may interpret the boys' behaviour who

use AA to sound adult. For them, using AA, or rejecting MSA, is an expression of identity, adulthood and freedom, whereas it relates to a lack of language mastery for girls.

However, we cannot approach objectivity if we do not tackle the informants' assumption about the second learner who uses MSA solely. This guise analysis will clarify the pupils' picture of this linguistic behaviour. At first glance, for both levels, the majority thinks that the speaker is a primary school child. 50% of the first year pupils and 42% of the third year pupils range the learner between the age of 12 and 16. Yet, if we consider stratified data according to gender, more ideas will be reacted. For first year informants, 38% of the boys claim that the guise is from a primary school child while 46% of them associate it with a learner aged between 12 and 16. These data complete the data found for the guise using AA. For first year boys, using full answers in MSA may mean that the learner is in a higher level of studies while using AA is a sign of a weakness in using MSA.

The majority of girls, however, view the guise as a primary school child. 63% of first year girls associate MSA with primary school. This assertion might be interpreted that girls could notice the linguistic behaviour in the middle school and compare it with the one that they used to have when they were in primary school. This interpretation is similar to the data found in the questionnaire. The same assumption is asserted by 70% of the boys of third year. After few years in the middle school, boys associate MSA with childish behaviour. A controversy was found in third year girls' answers. 38% of them checked the age range of the middle school while only 25% conceived the guise as childish. 19% of them have chosen an age range that is older than 16. This age range might be for girls a higher level of studies, though this hypothesis should be reconsidered in next questions to obtain more reliable conclusions concerning third year girls' assumption of MSA. Another 19% of this group of informants have checked the option of 'I do not know', which means that a considerable portion of the girls do not associate MSA with age but with other social factors that we will attempt to diagnose later.

In order to avoid obtaining random data concerning the relation between age and linguistic codes, we asked a more direct and precise question in order to compare the two codes. Though the question seems redundant, it was purposefully posed to check if the informants did not check their choices off hand. For both levels, the majority believe the guise using MSA was younger than the other. However, when taking gender into consideration, more details are obtained. The majority of first year girls as well as third year boys are for this claim while only 50% of first year boys and the same percentage of third year girls were for the idea that the learner using MSA is younger. These results do not contradict with our previous findings but reinforce the interpretations we have made for the two previous tables.

- **Gender and Attitudes**

Our inquiry attempts also to check the informants' assumption of the gender of the learners in the two guises. The two guises were read by the researcher playing the role of all the speakers in the guises without changing the voice pitch in order not to affect the informants' answers. The great majority consider the learner using AA as a boy. There was an absolute agreement among both the first and the third year girls that the learner is a boy which means that this linguistic behaviour is characteristic of boys. In other words, the girls attempt to say that they never behave in this manner.

On the part of boys, though the majority consider the guise as boy specific, 15% and 30% of the boys of first year and the third year, respectively, claim that the speaker is a girl. This choice may mean this linguistic behaviour can be associated with girls, too. The first year boys' percentage is smaller than the third year one because the boys might have noticed that the girls do sometimes switch to AA and this occurs in third year more than it might happen in first year. This interpretation, in fact, relates to the findings of classroom observation.

For the second guise, using MSA, the results are quite different. Here, again, the majority assert that the speaker is a boy in both levels. 62% of first year informants and 61% .of third year pupils are the percentages found in this option. However, these quantitative results might have been exaggerated by the fact that the word referring to the speakers in the guises used by the researcher is masculine in Arabic. In spite of the

fact that the researcher told the informants that the gender of the speakers is unknown, the word 'tilmiid', the Arabic word for 'learner', might have influenced their answers.

A remarkable portion of the informants, on the other hand, claimed that the speaker is a girl. 29% of first year pupils and 35% of third year have related the behaviour of using solely MSA to girls. These percentages though small, are smaller than those found for the first guise. This means that girls use less AA in class and more MSA in comparison with boys. This finding relates to our previous findings using the other research instruments.

- **Grades and Attitudes**

In order to check whether using MSA or AA has to do with 'success' in the informants' attitudes, the next question of the questionnaire results are interpreted. In spite of the fact that 15% of the first year pupils and 16% of the third year pupils do not relate the linguistic behaviour found in the two guises with the success or failure in studies, the learner in the guise using AA is thought of as a 'successful learner' by the majority, while the guise using AA is associated with failure in studies.

This attitude is flagrant in the first year as well as the third year pupils. No first year pupil reported that the first learner mean-grades more than 13, while 25% of them conceive the learner using MSA as successful. Simultaneously, 66% of them ranked the first learner's mean grades under 10 while only 37% of them ranked the second learner in this mean grade.

Similarly, the majority of the third year pupils conceived the first learner as less than the acceptable level and a remarkable portion of 31% checked the choice of more than 13 for the second learner. Yet, the same percentage was found in the option of less than 10. This controversy may relate to the fact that the two guises include a learner who did not do his homework, which is a typical behaviour of a pupil who gets low grades. The percentages, however, do contrast between the two guises. The fact of considering the same guise as successful and unsuccessful simultaneously leads us to considering gender choices to obtain a clearer picture of the informants' mental image of the two guises in relation with studies' achievements.

The majority of the boys in both levels conceived both learners as grading less than 10, with a percentage in the first guise higher than the second. This may be interpreted that boys, generally, do not relate MSA to high studies grades, though a certain portion relates it to high mean grades or acceptable ones.

The mean grade between 12.9 and 10, which is 'acceptable', was checked by the majority of third year girls. This may mean that for them AA is used by 'slow learners' as well as 'average ones'. This means that they do not see using AA as a weakness in the general level of studies. This is not the case of the first year girls who share a general agreement that AA is used by slow graders. MSA for the majority of third year girls is used by 'excellent learners', who get high grades. A remarkable portion of them ranked the learner in MSA guise as weak. The majority of the first year girls, too, viewed the learner as a less- than –ten grader. This might be interpreted that they do not really relate MSA to high grades but rather to other attitudes that we will attempt to diagnose in the next question of the questionnaire.

- **MSA/ AA Attitudes**

For the AA guise, the majority of both levels have checked the option 'stupid' then the next percentages were obtained in the option 'normal'. On the other hand, the MSA guise obtained the majority of attitudes for the first year pupils in 'childish' and 'narrow-minded'. The majority of the third year pupils agreed that MSA is a polite variety but considerable percentages were obtained in 'childish' and 'narrow-minded'. Here, too, gender will be considered in order to approach exactness of scientific research.

The majority of the first year pupils consider using AA when answering the teacher as a normal behaviour, which they do themselves, while the majority of girls view it as stupid. The girls at this level still report negative claims on AA as they have been spoon-fed in primary school. The majority of the third year pupils in both genders have considered the code as stupid.

Negative attitudes towards MSA are crystal clear in the data collected about the second learner. The great majority of first year boys as well as third year boys consider using MSA as 'childish and narrow minded'. Similar percentages are found for the

first year pupils. The great majority of third year girls consider MSA as a polite language because it is the language that the teacher likes and uses. Ironically, a great percentage of them associate it, simultaneously, with 'stupidity'. These facts reinforce our hypothesis that on the whole the pupils have negative attitudes towards MSA. The analysis of the qualitative data of the matched guise technique may, too, serve our assertion.

3.6.5.2. Qualitative Results

The behaviour of laughing out loudly reveals how using MSA in class sounds strange to the ears of the informants. This behaviour shows that the learner who uses MSA in class for them is breaking a rule of conversation and represents a pragmatic failure. This behaviour was not met in the matched guise solely but during the whole inquiry with the remaining research instruments. Therefore to come to a final conclusion concerning our research, the obtained results should be synthesized and linked together.

3.6. Results Interpretation and Integration

Empirical work has allowed us to get a closer picture of concrete classroom interaction and not to be misled by the official claim that there is 'a single code'. It, thus, could carry out observations concerning the pupil as a psychological being as well as a social one. In other words, it could unveil the psychological motives of the linguistic behaviour of teenagers in the classroom as well as the social psychological reasons lying behind this linguistic behaviour.

At the psychological level, one can observe that the middle school period is a critical period in the pupils' life since it is a transition point in their lives. They move from childhood to the teenage period during which they witness typical psychological changes that are reflected in their linguistic behaviour. They are in a period of their lives in which they should decide what they will do in the future. This point is advocated by Eckert (2000:163), who says: 'adolescence is a time when children are expected to become serious about their adult occupations'.

They become aware of gender differences in language and social behaviour in general. Female pupils express a certain linguistic awareness of which code to use to express their social identity. On the other hand, boys use a code to express their personality. Adolescence, thus, is, according to (ibid: 162) a critical period in one's life since it is:

> ...a mixture of eagerness and trepidation. They see this new life as bringing greater freedom and new opportunities on the one hand and making new social demands on the other.

In Eckert's terms, an adolescent attempts to: '...oppose itself to the adult and child age group' (ibid. 163). Being a transition point in the pupils' age, one can contrast the linguistic behaviour of children and teenagers. Children, usually, behave the way they have been told to behave so that they are said to be 'a good child'. On the contrary, in the teenage life, they start thinking of their identity and express sometimes a certain rejection of anything that might bring them back to the childhood. This may interpret, according to Foster-Cohen (1999: 121), the in-group code usually shared among teenagers.

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 politeness and authenticity, MSA, receives a set of negative attitudes on the part of the pupils. It is viewed as an antic and old fashioned language that is unable to serve as a social language. This attitude may be found in many writings on MSA like which claim that it is often viewed as an artificial language that lacks social life. It is also for them a sign of narrow-mindedness.

This attitude may be due to the socio-economic situation of the Arab world. Gardner (1985:39), in this respect, clarifies that negative attitudes towards a language may relate to the culture of its speakers or to the practical use to which the learner assumes he/ she can put this language in. For the case of MSA, the pupils are aware that the Arab world includes underdeveloped countries and their language has not a special status as a language of science or economy. Therefore, the pupils associate MSA with backwardness and find it socially and economically 'useless' to be learnt.

They lack the instrumental motivation that might encourage them to use this code. Similar attitudes are reported by a teacher of Modern Hebrew to Israeli youth in USA, which is a language that has a similar situation to MSA. This teacher reports, according to Lotherington (2006:705), that she despairs that her learners will be motivated to learn this language because they do not gain social benefits from learning it.

Negative attitudes may also relate to the LP of Algeria in general *Vis-a- vis MSA*. For instance, the sample population has been trained in an educational system in which they use MSA in literary subjects while French letters are used as symbols in scientific fields like mathematics. They have been trained to say and write since their primary school time using French letters to refer to hours, minutes and seconds. On the other hand, they have been spoon-fed to claim that this same language is the 'superior' language attempting to marginalize and even hate their mother tongue.

The result is that they express some negative attitudes towards AA, the variety that is part of their personality. They, simultaneously, according to Boubnider (2000:183), do not accept this claim and express a certain rejection of MSA. On the other hand, after a few years, they recognize that they are asked to communicate in a language that is for the educational system 'unable' to express the simplest scientific matter like 'telling time'. Bentaliha (1983:28) puts in the same vein that MSA is viewed negatively among young Moroccans because of the school curriculum which always presents it in texts about poverty and past. He urges language planners to take this language delicately and give it special attention when making school syllabi.

Indeed, Algerian policy makers and the Maghribi in general are in a situation that demands them to be careful in taking language decisions because this Arab area has always been bilingual, contrary to the Middle East. Language policy should be reconsidered with its three levels; corpus, status and acquisition plannings. Modernization of MSA is also worth reconsidering especially that MSA users recognize that they will no more need it in university and scientific research as well as their work life. This generates in their personality a certain rejection of this code. They

switch to AA because it is the code that requires the least effort as they use it when thinking contrary to MSA which is a second language for them.

Accepting code switching to any available code in the Algerian social interaction patterns generates an acceptance in the classroom domain. This means that Algeria is a multilingual society and that code switching is part and parcel of a great majority of its interaction patterns. Algerians, thus, use any code they can use any time they like in order to make the least effort they can. This linguistic habit may generate a certain passive multilingualism among Algerians in a way that they cannot express themselves fluently in any single linguistic code. This phenomenon has its negative results in the Algerian schooling system because there is a general agreement among educationists that if the learners have problems in the language used for instruction, this may affects negatively their academic achievements. For this reason, it should be urgently promoted by specialists in order to remedy the numerous problems the Algerian pupils are having in their academic achievements.

3.7.   Conclusion

Relying on the remarks cited above, one can put forward some expectations. The majority of pupils have the necessary level needed to communicate effectively in class as soon as they get to their first year in middle school. Pupils have negative attitudes towards MSA; they view it as an old-fashioned and an out-dated language. They associate it with primary school and avoid using it even in the classroom. Through time, pupils lose their fluency in MSA, and thus their communicative competence because of lack of practice.

MSA receives negative attitudes on the part of the pupils because of not only their age but also because of the way it has been handled in the Algerian language policy. In order to gain positive attitudes among pupils and thus achieve better results in terms of schooling, it should be handled carefully in the educational system, and language planning in general.

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General Conclusion

Diglossia in Algeria includes the existence of two varieties, MSA as a high variety and AA as a low variety. In the frame of language policy, MSA is to be used in all formal situations like the media, the Administration and education. In other words, any interaction in class should be undertaken in MSA. Yet, in actual interaction, AA is included for many reasons. Exploring these reasons has been the concern of the present research work.

A set of research instruments is administered to the sample population of middle school pupils. A number of questionnaires and interviews are used as elicitation tools in order to explore the general research conditions. The second elicitation procedure relies on tests of fluency in MSA, in addition to the matched guise technique to check our research hypotheses. The third perspective is observational as it adopts a direct observation of the linguistic setting. These research procedures could yield a set of data that are analysed and synthesised in order to come eventually to answer the research inquiry on the reasons lying behind the pupils' switch to AA in classroom, even when addressed in MSA by their teacher.

Therefore, in our empirical work, we have been able to deduce some results in relation to our research question. The informants switch to AA, not because they lack language mastery in MSA but more affective reasons are responsible for their linguistic behaviour. The majority of pupils have the necessary level needed to communicate effectively in classroom interaction as soon as they get to their first year in the middle school. However, pupils tend to avoid MSA even in class and show negative attitudes towards the High variety which they view as an old-fashioned and out-dated language. Thus, their use of AA in class is rather for affective rather than linguistic.

Their attitudes are related to being in the teenage age as well as to the way MSA is introduced to them in the educational system. Adolescents associate this language with primary school and avoid using it even in class in order not to sound 'childish'. Rejecting MSA use for them is an expression of freedom and identity. After few years in middle school, this behaviour becomes natural in class and using MSA becomes strange to their ears. Because of lack of practice, pupils lose fluency in MSA. This will lead to a passive knowledge of this language. This may affect negatively their educational achievement since there is an agreement among educationists that learners input relates to their level in the language of instruction.

Yet, their negative attitudes are not related to their age solely. MSA is viewed as old-fashioned and out-dated because little is done in its planning, exactly at the level of modernisation. It is associated with history, authenticity and the past while it is divorced from real life situations, and modern life; science and technology. The picture in which it is presented to the pupils is out-dated. In fact, this problem is not restricted to the Algerian planning but is met in the North African countries in general because this area has always been bilingual.

Therefore, if MSA is taken seriously into consideration in the Algerian language policy, its attitudes among learners may change positively. This may raise their motivation to practise it and therefore improve their level in this language. Consequently, this may have positive impacts on their learning level in general since they will be able to master the language of instruction.

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Appendices

Appendix A:The pupil's questionnaire

نحتاج للمعلومات الآتية في بحث علمي يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية و ضع علامة +
في الخانة المناسبة:

1. هل أنت: ذكر ☐ أنثى ☐

2. الســـن..................................

3. معدل الفصل الثاني:...................

4. **هل تدرس في** الأولى ☐ الثانية ☐ الثالثة ☐

5. **هل جئت من** الخامسة ☐ السادسة ☐ معيد ☐

6. ما هي اللغة المستعملة في القسم؟

العربية الفصحى ☐ الدارجة ☐

7. هل تستعمل الدّارجة عند إجابتك الأستاذ؟

دائما ☐ غالبا ☐ أحيانا ☐ نادرا ☐ أبدا ☐

8. ما هي المواد التي تجيب فيها بالدّارجة؟

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

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

10. ما رأي التلاميذ في التلميذ الذي يتكلم الفصحى في القسم؟

....

شكرا لتعاونكم

Questionnaire translated in English

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

1.   Are you a?   male☐   female☐

2.   What is your age? ....

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

4.   Which class level are you?   First year☐   second year☐ third year☐

5.   Do you come from? 5th year☐ 6th year☐   repeating   the year ☐

6.   What is the language used in classroom?   MSA☐ AA☐

7.   Do you use AA when answering the teacher?

Always☐   often☐   sometimes☐   rarely☐   never☐

8.   Which subjects do you answer the teacher in AA? ....

9.   According to you, why do some pupils use AA in classroom? ....

10. What do pupils think of the pupil who uses only MSA in classroom? ....

Thank you for your collaboration

Appendix B: The teacher's interview schedule

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

2. هل تستعمل الدّارجة أثناء الدّرس؟

دائما ☐   غالبا ☐   أحيانا ☐   نادرا ☐   أبدا ☐

3. هل يجيبك بعض التلاميذ بالدّارجة؟

نعم ☐   لا ☐

4. في رأيك ما أسباب سلوكهم هذا؟

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

5. ما هو سلوك التلاميذ اتجاه من يستعمل الفصحى في كل إجاباته للأستاذ؟

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

Interview translation into English

1. Which subject do you teach? ....

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

3. Do you use AA during the lesson?

   Always☐   often☐   sometimes☐   rarely☐   never☐

4. Do your pupils answer you in AA?   yes☐   no☐

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

6. How do pupils behave if a pupil uses only MSA in class?
   ....
   ....
   ....

Appendix C: Test of Fluency

الجزء 01:

1. <u>الجنس</u>: ذكر ☐ أنثى ☐

2. <u>المعدل الفصلي</u>:.........

3. <u>السن</u>:.......

4. <u>المستوى</u>: أولى ☐ ثانية ☐ ثالثة ☐

الجزء02:

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

أ) <u>عند الاستماع</u>: ممتاز☐ مقبول ☐ متوسط☐ ضعيف ☐

ب) <u>عند قراءة نصّ هل فهمك</u>: ممتاز☐ مقبول☐ متوسط ☐ ضعيف ☐

ج) <u>التعبير الشفهي</u>: ممتاز☐ مقبول ☐ متوسط ☐ ضعيف ☐

د) <u>كتابة فقرة</u>: ممتاز☐ مقبول ☐ متوسط ☐ ضعيف ☐

الجزء 03:

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

أ) مستوى1: - أين تسكن؟

- ما مهنة والدك؟

- ما عدد إخوتك؟

- هل يجيب زملاءك الأستاذ بالدارجة؟

ب) مستوى2:

- في رأيك لماذا يجيب زملاءك الأستاذ بالدارجة؟

- وماذا عنك شخصيا؟

ج) مستوى3:

- ما بإمكانكم أن تنصحكم؟

Test translated into English

Part one:

1. Are you a?   male□   female□

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

3. How old are you? ....

4. Which class level are you?

   First year□   second year □   third year□

Part two:

5. How do you evaluate your level in MSA in

   a) <u>listening</u> :□excellent   □Acceptable □Average

      □weak

   b) <u>reading</u> :□excellent   □Acceptable □Average

      □weak

   c) <u>speaking</u> :□excellent   □Acceptable □Average

      □weak

   d) <u>writing</u> :□excellent   □Acceptable □Average

      □weak

Part three:

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

   a) A: level one:

      Where do you live?

      What is your father's job?

      How many brothers do you have?

   b) B: level two:

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

      What about you?

   c) C: level three:

      What can you advise them?

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Appendix D: The Matched Guise Technique

إليك ما سجّل في قسم ما في حصة اللغة العربية؛ أملء في الأسئلة المقدمة إليك بعد استماعك للحوارين:

<u>المدرس1</u>: أين التمرين؟

<u>التلميذ1</u>: سمحيلي أستاذة، ما قديتش نديره، خاطر مرضت بالبلاغم.

<u>المدرس2</u>: : أين التمرين؟

<u>التلميذ2</u>: سامحيني يا أستاذة، لم أستطع القيام به لأني مرضت في حلقي.

أجب عن الأسئلة التالية:

1. <u>ما هو سن كلا من التلميذين؟</u>

*تلميذ1: □ 5-10 □ 12-16 أكثر من 16 □ لا أعرف □

*تلميذ2: □ 5-10 □ 12-16 أكثر من 16 □ لا أعرف □

- من أصغرهما سنا؟

2. <u>ما جنس المتكلم؟</u>

*تلميذ1: بنت □ ولد □ لا أعرف □

*تلميذ2: بنت □ ولد □ لا أعرف □

3. <u>في رأيك ما معدل كلّ من التلميذين في الاختبارات:</u>

*تلميذ1: أكثر من 13 □ بين13-10 □ أقل من 10 □ لا أعرف □

*تلميذ2: أكثر من 13 □ بين13-10 □ أقل من 10 □ لا أعرف □

4. <u>ما رأيك في سلوك التلميذين إذا كانا زميليك في القسم:</u>

*تلميذ1:

<u>عادي</u> نعم □ لا □ لا أعرف □

<u>مهذب</u> نعم □ لا □ لا أعرف □

<u>غبي</u> : نعم □ لا □ لا أعرف □

<u>مغندف</u> نعم □ لا □ لا أعرف □

*تلميذ2:

<u>عادي</u> : نعم□ لا □ لا أعرف □

<u>مهذب</u> : نعم □ لا □ لا أعرف □

<u>غبي</u> : نعم □ لا □ لا أعرف □

<u>مغندف</u> نعم□ لا □ لا أعرف □

The Matched Guise Technique translated into English

Listen to your teacher reading these two conversations between a teacher
and two pupils then fill in the questionnaire that is given to you:

Teacher: Where is the exercise? (That I gave you as homework)

Learner1: I'm sorry I couldn't do it because I had a throat ache (in AA)

Learner2: I'm sorry I could not do it because I had a throat ache in MSA)

Answer these questions:

1. What is the age of each one?

   Learner1: 5-10□   12-16□   more than 16□   I do not know□

   Learner2: 5-10□   12-16□   more than 16□   I do not know□

2. Who do you think is younger?

3. Can you guess the gender of the two learners?

   Learner1:   male□   female□   I do not know□

   Learner2:   male□   female□   I do not know□

4. According to you, what is the mean grade in their exams of each of
   them?

   Learner1:   more than 13□   between13 and 10□

                        less than10□   I do not know□

   Learner2:   more than 13□   between13 and 10□

                        less than10□   I do not know□

5. What do you think of each of these two pupils if they were your class
   mates?

Learner1
-normal: □yes□ no □ I do not know
–polite □yes□ no □ I do not know
stupid □ yes□ no □I do not know
- narrow □yes□ no □I do not know
          minded:

Learner2
- □yes□ no □ I do not know
                                        normal:
-polite: □yes□ no □ I do not know
-stupid: □yes□ no □ I do not know
-narrow minded: □yes□ no □ I do not know

التلخيص :

يتناول هذا البحث الميداني إشكالية استعمال التلاميذ العامية الجزائرية بدل العربية الفصحى في تواصلهم مع الأستاذ في متوسطة أوزيدان . إذ نحاول اكتشاف أسباب هذا السلوك اللغوي تنبؤا بكون نقص الفصاحة في العربية و مواقف التلاميذ السلبية اتجاه هذه الأخيرة مسؤولة عن ذلك.

الكلمات المفتاحية هي السياسة اللغوية – الإزدواجية اللغوية – المزج اللغوي -- تفاعلية القسم -- المواقف – الفصاحة.

Résumé

Ce travail s'intéresse au phénomène de l'alternance codique présente dans l'interaction en classe, de l'arabe modern standard vers l'arabe algérien. Nous proposons deux raisons responsables de ce comportement linguistique des élèves du CEM d'Ouzidane, que nous prenons comme étude de cas. Nous essayons de démontrer que ces élèves alternent car ils ne peuvent pas s'exprimer couramment en arabe standard et ont des attitudes négatives vers ce dernier.

<u>Mots-clés</u> : La politique linguistique- la Diglossie- L'alternance codique- l'interaction en classe- les attitudes- l'éloquence.

Abstract

This research work explores the phenomenon of switching from Modern Standard Arabic to Algerian Arabic in classroom. It attempts to find out the reasons that are responsible for middle school pupils' switch. It takes Ouzidane middle school pupils as a case study. It hypothesizes that the pupils use Algerian Arabic in classroom interaction because of lack of fluency in Modern Standard Arabic and negative attitudes towards it.

<u>Key words:</u> language Policy- Diglossia- Code Switching- Classroom Interaction- Attitudes- Fluency.