

MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH



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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

**Linguistic Behaviour of Arabic Language Teachers in  
Tlemcen Middle School Classroom Interaction:**

***-Reasons and Attitudes-***

*Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Candidacy for the  
Requirement of the Degree of "Doctorate" in Sociolinguistics.*

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# Statement of Originality

I, Hayet BAGUI, declare that my doctorate thesis entitled, “Linguistic Behaviour of Arabic Language Teachers in Tlemcen Middle School Classroom Interaction:- Reasons and Attitudes-”, contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

Ms. Hayet BAGUI

# Dedication

*This dissertation is dedicated to:*

*My spirit's father, to whom I express here a word of love and memory;*

*My dearest mother who has never stopped loving me and continuously  
helping me to keep my spirit up;*

*My sister Amel and my beloved Khawla;*

*My brothers: Ali and Khaled.*

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## Abstract

Based on the Revisited version (1991) of Ferguson's classical diglossia, the present dissertation aims fundamentally at highlighting the impact of diglossia on formal education in general, and in teaching the Arabic course in particular. It endeavours at examining linguistic behaviour of Arabic language teachers in classroom interaction in a situation of diglossia; where Modern Standard Arabic (hereafter MSA), the High 'H' variety, is the prestigious variety and the official language to be used as a medium of instruction; whereas, the Algerian Arabic (AA, henceforth), the low 'L' variety, is reserved for daily speech and informal settings. Both varieties are interchangeably employed for different communicative purposes, highly governed by their situational contexts. Real classroom interactions, in fact, unveil that the middle variety and/or colloquial forms of Arabic seem to be the predominant varieties of instruction and interaction inside classrooms. Through the use of a mixed-methods approach to data collection, namely recording classroom observation, questionnaires, and interviews, this empirical work is based on identifying the different linguistic behaviours of Tlemcen middle school Arabic language teachers in the Arabic session and uncovering the social forces that motivate the teachers to select which code of their verbal repertoire to use. It is believed that teachers' switch to the middle variety or towards AA, in Arabic language classroom sessions, can be done in a spontaneous way, according to the topic discuss, or for the sake of enhancing pupils' assimilation. The results displayed that all middle school pupils display positive attitudes towards teachers' use of a middle variety or AA. Despite their switch in the classroom, teachers showed some negative attitudes towards it; recognizing that teaching Arabic in such a way has its impact on learning the Arabic course and quality of education as a whole.

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# List of Abbreviation and Acronyms

AA: Algerian Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic

CS: Code Switching

ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic

H: High variety

L: Low variety

LP: Language Policy

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

MLF : Matrix Language Frame

ML : Matrix Language

EL : Embedded Language

# List of Phonetic Symbols

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

## ✚ Consonant

	<u>Tlemcen Arabic</u>	<u>English Gloss</u>
<b>❖ Plosive Consonants</b>		
[b]	[bɪɪt]	‘room’
[t]	[taab]	‘he repented’
[d]	[darwaq]	‘now’
[k]	[kla]	‘he ate’
[g]	[gomra]	‘moon’
[t]	[batɑtɑ]	‘potatoes’
[d]	[d̪baʔ]	‘hyena’
[q]	[qaal]	‘he said’
[ʔ]	[ʔadʒɪ]	‘come!’
<b>❖ Flap Consonant</b>		
[r]	[rukba]	‘knee’
<b>❖ Nasal Consonant</b>		
[m]	[mlɪɪħ]	‘good’

[n] [nʃas] ‘he slept’

[l] [lɪɪl] ‘night’.

❖ **Approximant Consonants**

[w] [waaɫu] ‘nothing’

[j] [jədd] ‘hand’

❖ **Fricative Consonant**

[f] [farɪɪna] ‘flour’

[s] [sɪɪf] ‘sword’

[z] [zɪɪt] ‘cooking oil’

[ʃ] [ʃrab] ‘he drank’.

[ʒ] [ʒbəl] ‘mountain’

[x] [xaaf] ‘he feared’

[ʁ] [ʁurbaal] ‘sieve’

[ħ] [ħbɪl] ‘cord’

[ʕ] [ʕabba] ‘he took’

[h] [hrab] ‘he escaped’

[ʂ] [ʂɑɑt] ‘he blew’

[ʒ̥] [rɑz̥ɑz̥z̥e] ‘hornet’

## ❖ Classical Arabic Consonants

	<u>CA</u>	<u>English Gloss</u>
[θ]	[θaur]	‘bull’
[ð]	[ðɪʔb]	‘wolf’
[d]	[maudɪʔ]	‘place’
[ð̣]	[ð̣ahr]	‘back’

## 🌈 Vowels

### ❖ Vowels of plain consonant

#### Short Vowels:

[ɪ]	→ [xudmɪ]:	‘knife’
[u]	→ [kursN]:	‘chair’
[a]	→ [ħall]:	‘he opened’

#### Long vowels:

[ɪɪ]	→ [sɪɪf]:	‘sword’
[uu]	→ [fuul]:	‘broad beans’
[aa]	→ [baab]:	‘door’

### ❖ Vowels of Emphatic Consonants

#### Short vowels:

[e]	→ [ʂejjɑħ]:	‘he cried’
[o]	→ [fotɑ]:	‘towel’.
[ɑ]	→ [ʃtɑħ]:	‘he danced’

#### Long vowels:

[ee]	→ [tomateeʃ]:	‘tomatoes’
[oo]	→ [ʂoor]:	‘wall’
[ɑɑ]	→ [tɑɑl]:	‘it lasted’.

# **General Introduction**

## General Introduction

Language as one of the most salient elements in human life is used to attain a set of social goals. It echoes the way individuals communicate with each other; it is the key that conducts an effective social interaction. Accordingly, most of sociolinguists consider language and social interaction, then, as an interdisciplinary approach to studying the everyday behaviours and details that make up the complexities and multifunctionality of human communication.

The Algerian speech community is commonly characterized with the co-existence of two or more varieties of the same language which are used in different domains to fulfill different functions. Modern Standard Arabic occupies the high status and is named “H variety” while Algerian Arabic is considered of having a lower status and is named “L variety”. H is reserved to formal contexts like public meetings, scientific conferences, and television broadcasting and fits all educational and administrative purposes in general. AA, on the other hand, is used in everyday speech interaction, and thus, in more relaxed settings: at home, workplace, and among friends.

Since post-independence era, Algeria has undergone a set of language policies for the sake of restoring the Arabic language in all formal domains. The arabisation policy was thus viewed as a primordial action in the Algerian language policy; especially in education. The purely linguistic ends of Arabization are clear enough: to refurbish the Arabic language as the official and national language of the Algerian state; to ensure that the language is employed in all areas of communication, science, literature, interstate relations and organizations; and defend and remind people about its valuable qualities. Education is arguably the most important aspect of language policy since it plays a large part in personal lives. It is only through education that a speech community can progress. Yet, this progress can be achieved solely when education is carried out in a context of a good language policy.

The current research examines language education policy in Algeria with focus on the medium of instruction in the Algerian school. After the implementation of a slow Arabization policy, Modern Standard Arabic could progressively replace French and has eventually become the exclusive medium of instruction in the pre-university stage. In fact, Arabic diglossia has great impact on the field of education since colloquial forms of Arabic seem to be the predominant variety of instruction and interaction inside almost all classrooms

Hence, the present research work endeavours to unveil the linguistic behaviour of Arabic language middle school teachers in actual classroom situations. Arabic language teachers, in many cases, incorporate different colloquial forms of Arabic. This inquiry involves a classification of the phenomenon in terms of ‘internal’ code switching which is of a diglossic nation. Teachers generally mix both MSA and AA; resulting in a new intermediary variety which is called: ‘the middle variety’. The concept middle variety is used here to refer to, on the light of Ferguson's terms (1959, 1970), that variety situated somewhere midway between MSA and AA; i.e., ‘*al-lughah al-wusta*’. Different scholars have coined other terms such as: Educated Spoken Arabic ‘ESA’ (Mitchell, 1978) or *lughat al muthaqqafin* to mean ‘the language of the intellectuals’ (Badawi, 1973). All these concepts are used interchangeably throughout the whole work.

More precisely, our concern, here, is about code switching as a ‘process’ rather than ‘a product’. This dissertation does attempt at describing the grammatical constraints of switching from H to L but rather at diagnosing the reasons that stand behind the Arabic language teachers’ linguistic behaviour. Arabic language teachers at «Tlemcen Middle Schools»; notably, the downtown Tlemcen schools ‘Dar Hadith, Ben-Zerdjeb, Et-tammimi, Ibn-Khaldoun, Sherif-Moulay Idris, Yaghmoracen’; Abou-Tachefine ‘Habbak’ school; and Oudjlida ‘Tahar Hmaidia’ school, have been chosen as a sample population to restrict the field work.

In an attempt to shed light on teachers’ linguistic behaviour and to understand the motives behind their behaviours, the following overall question is raised: How do our middle school Arabic language teachers behave linguistically in classroom interaction? And what are the reasons that stand behind their linguistic behaviour?

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

- 1/ What form of Arabic is *actually* used in Tlemcen middle school classroom interaction?
- 2/ What are the reasons behind teachers' use of a Colloquial Arabic form (Algerian Arabic) and/or a middle variety?
- 3/ What are the attitudes of our Arabic language teachers as well as their pupils towards the use of Algerian Arabic and/or the middle variety?

These questions led to the formulation of the following hypotheses:

- 1/ Our Middle school Arabic language teachers tend to use three forms of Arabic: MSA, the middle variety, and sometimes AA solely in classroom interaction.
- 2/ A considerable number of teachers seem to use AA and/or the middle variety in a spontaneous way or according to the topic discussed while others even believe that the dialect may enhance pupils' assimilation.
- 3/ There might be some negative attitudes towards using AA and/or the middle variety on the part of teachers while learners may display positive ones.

Our study is composed of four inter-linked chapters. The first chapter is rather theoretical. It goes around the definitions of a variety of key-concepts which are thought to be adequate to our study. It defines distinct linguistic varieties; shedding light on their different but interlinked definitions which seem to be helpful in such subject of inquiry. It also presents and synthesizes literature about two fascinating concepts: diglossia as well as code switching in the light of Blom and Gumperz (1972) "Social Meaning and Linguistic Structures". As the context of the phenomenon under investigation is the classroom, this section provides a review about an interesting approach '*interactional sociolinguistics*' and classroom interaction and the various approaches of classroom interaction namely; classroom interaction analysis, discourse analysis, in addition to conversation analysis.

The second chapter is divided into two sub-sections. The first sub-section exposes a detailed reflection on the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria on the one hand. It discusses the historical background and the linguistic situation of the state within three important periods: before, during, and after independence. It unveils the conflicting interplay between the linguistic varieties available in the Algerian speech community which are Arabic with its various forms: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, and Algerian Arabic; French; and Berber. It describes the phenomena of diglossia and code switching in a concrete situation; demonstrating the diglossic impact on education. The second sub section provides, on the other hand, an overall geo-linguistic overview of the speech community of Tlemcen where our data had been collected. That is, it will try to map geographically and linguistically the different linguistic varieties.

The third chapter, an outstanding building part, contains an overview of the theoretical, analytical, and practical accumulation of research that is relevant to the study. It comprises two main parts. The first part sketches out a number of key-concepts about language policy. It reviews language policy ends and typology as well. Moreover, it discusses the concept of Arabization notably that of education in different successive periods. The second part provides a general overview of the concept *attitude* from a linguistic perspective; i.e., language attitudes. It contextualizes the relationship between attitude and behaviour from a socio-psychological standpoint. It ends up with the importance of language attitudes in the pursuit of language planning.

The fourth chapter, which is a practical in form, covers the research methodology and the procedure. Three data collection instruments are used: recording classroom observation, questionnaire, in addition to interview which are presented and examined both qualitatively and quantitatively. This part portrays the target population and the site in which the research was carried out. It also interprets the results and discusses the findings.

# Chapter One

# Language and Social Interaction

## **1.1. Introduction**

## **1.2. Language, Variety, and Speech**

1.2.1. Language: a Means of Communication

1.2.2. Variety: A Concept of Debate

1.2.3. Speech: a Tool of Social Interaction

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1.3.2. Fishman's Extended Diglossia

1.3.3. Diglossia in the Arab World

1.3.4. Diglossia and education

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1.4.1. Structural aspects of Code Switching

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1.4.1.1.1. The Free Morpheme Constraint

1.4.1.1.2. The Equivalence Constraint

1.4.1.2. Chomsky's Generative Grammar

1.4.1.3. Myers' Matrix Language Frame Model

1.4.1.4. Code Mixing Vs Code Switching

1.4.2. The Psycholinguistic Approach to Code Switching

1.4.3. The Sociolinguistic Approach to Code Switching

## **1.5. Interactional Sociolinguistics and Classroom Interaction.**

1.5.1. Interactional sociolinguistics.

1.5.2. Interaction in classroom

1.5.2.1. The Teacher

1.5.2.2. The learner

### 1.5.3. Approaches of Classroom Interaction

#### 1.5.3.1. Classroom Interaction Analysis

#### 1.5.3.2. Discourse Analysis

#### 1.5.3.3. Conversation Analysis

### **1.6. Conclusion**

## **1.1.Introduction**

Language is one of the most salient elements in human life. It is used to attain a set of social goals. It echoes the way individuals communicate with each other. It is, indeed, the key that conducts an effective social interaction. Language and social interaction is, then, an interdisciplinary approach to studying the everyday behaviours and details that make up the complexities and multifunctionality of human communication (Fitch, K. L. 2005: xv).

The current chapter, mainly introductory in form, is devoted to yield the reader with basic definitions to a variety of key-concepts which are thought to be relevant to our study. It defines distinct linguistic varieties; shedding light on their different but interlinked definitions which seem to be helpful in such subject of inquiry.

The present sociolinguistic research, as its title indicates, attempts at examining the various linguistic behaviours of Arabic language teachers when interacting in the classroom; switching from one variety into another. Therefore, this chapter presents and synthesizes literature about two fascinating concepts: diglossia and CS. As the context of the phenomenon under investigation is the classroom, it is wiser to end up with a survey about an interesting approach '*interactional sociolinguistics*' as well as classroom interaction.

## **1.2. Language, Variety, and Speech**

The distinction between several linguistic varieties is the most wondering and critical question among theorists as it appears easy at first glance; in real situations, however, is absolutely intricate and a troubling matter.

### **1.2.1. Language: A Means of Communication**

Language is first and foremost an essential means of human communication through which we can express our ideas, feelings, and emotions. Defining language is, in fact, not an easy task. It is a very complicated issue as it has been studied by various

disciplines and in widely contrasting ways. The well-known definition of the term language is put forward by the American anthropologist *Edward Sapir* (1921:8)<sup>1</sup> when he says that,

**Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols.**

Sapir's definition to language, then, emphasizes on the notion that language is human property.

In a similar vein, Bloch and Trager (1942:5)<sup>2</sup>, in their linguistic analysis, claim that **“language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group co-operates”**. Hall (1986:158), in his turn, clarifies that **“language is the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory arbitrary symbols”**. Both quotations treat language as a system of arbitrary meaningful conventional symbols; i.e., speech sounds by which messages are transmitted. Language is, therefore, a salient instrument of communication as well as the principle tool for strengthening relationships.

Furthermore, Crystal (1990:362) considers language as **“the most frequently used and most highly developed form of human communication”**. That is, language is a perfect means that enables laymen to communicate, exchange information, and conduct their social lives.

Moreover, several studies have been undertaken by various linguists; bringing different definitions related to the general framework of their theory. The most important paradigms are those of the Swiss linguist *Ferdinand De Saussure* and the American *Noam Chomsky*. Ferdinand De Saussure, in his famous work *‘Cours de la linguistique générale’*, divided language into two facets: ‘Langue’ and ‘Parole’. According to him, langue is an abstract ‘autonomous’ linguistic system shared by all members of the speech community. Parole, on the other hand, refers to the actualized language of an individual.

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Lyons (1981: 3).

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Lyons (1981: 4).

In the same sense, Chomsky advocated, in his most explicit statement of the categoricity axiom, that **“linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker listener in a completely homogeneous speech community”** (1965:3). Chomsky also distinguished between linguistic competence and linguistic performance. He refers to linguistic competence as the linguistic knowledge that a native speaker possesses, i.e. every speaker has a grammar located in his mind, that is innate or born with which enables him/her to arrange the elements of a sentence of grammatically correct forms whereas linguistic performance displays the use of that competence in real situations. Chomsky’s competence, consequently, holds that the most important aspect in the linguistic theory is the abstract knowledge of grammar rules.

Yet, all these formal theories either by the structuralists as De Saussure (traditional structural school) or transformationalists as Chomsky (transformational-generative grammar school) insisted on studying language in abstraction from real life, i.e., society; assuming that the social context should be neglected and put aside. As language has a social function, many linguists have felt the interest in its relationship with social structures. Formal linguists, then, only take account of the structure of language while sociolinguists’ focus is **“the study of language in relation to society”** Hudson (1996:4); shedding light on the connection between language use and the social structures of its users.

Though sociolinguists’ concern is more scientific and descriptive approach to language analysis that unveils the necessity of social factors in theorizing, they do not reject linguists’ achievements and enable knowing more about the nature of language. In this regard, R. T. Bell (1976:23) points out that,

**The majority of sociolinguists see themselves as linguists, with the avowed aim of attempting to discover regular correspondence between linguistic and social structure and, moreover, see their role as calling into questions some of the assumptions of linguistics in order to arrive at a fuller and more satisfactory description of language.**

Indeed, the overall aim of sociolinguistics is to describe language in an objective way based on observations and to examine the correlation between linguistic and social phenomena; investigating, hence, the mechanism of linguistic diversity. This diversity is, in fact, the effect of distinct social attributes from social classes, age, gender, to ethnicity on the linguistic structures within various speech communities yielding different varieties of language or language varieties.

### **1.2.2. Variety: A Concept of Debate**

The subject of linguistic varieties is dependent on a matrix of inter-related factors: historical development, standardization, the speakers' attitudes, social networks and so forth. The taxonomy of this linguistic description is highly hampered by the ambiguities and obscurities appertaining to the terms language and dialect.

The difference between language and dialects is the most wondering and complicated issue among theorists. In this line of thought, Hudson (1996:31) points out that **“it is part of our culture to make a distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialects’”**, i.e., views and conclusions for these two concepts can be drawn from our inherited culture.

Users of language are essentially speakers of dialects, language then cannot linguistically always be conceived as a totally independent notion. Speaking dialects, in contrast, are dialects of a language and the standard language<sup>3</sup> is originally a dialect and so no dialect is in any way superior to any other.

In this respect, Einar Haugen (1966:23) explains the contrast when stating that **“X is a dialect of language Y or Y has the dialects X and Z (never, for example, Y is a language of dialect X)”**. According to Haugen, language can be considered as the super-ordinate variety that can be used without reference to dialects whereas dialects are usually perceived as varieties of a language and felt to be meaningless unless there is a language to which they can be said to belong. Linguistically speaking, dialects are regarded as subdivisions of a particular language.

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<sup>3</sup> **“A standard language is a variety that has been deliberately codified so that it varies minimally in linguistic form but is maximally elaborated in function”** (Romaine, 2000:14).

Broadly speaking, both terms are usually regarded as non-technical notions by scholars as the division between them is rather fuzzy; but in popular usage, laymen infer that these terms refer to actual entities that are clearly distinguishable and, therefore, enumerable. Lay speakers distinguish between language and dialects in an ambiguous way. A language like English, for example, is larger in size than a dialect. For this edifice, Hudson (1996:32) asserts that **“a variety called a language contains more items than one called a dialect”**.

Today's Standard English, for example, is thought to be more prestigious and larger in size than some other regional or social dialects (Yorkshire English, Leeds English,...) though it is no more than the standard variety of the language developed out of the English dialects used in and around London by speakers at the Court, by scholars from the universities and other writers. Accordingly, Hudson (*idem*) argues:

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

Admittedly, British people generally consider the ‘standard’, ‘written’, and ‘more formal’ variety as a language while the unwritten varieties as dialects that have less prestige, substandard, low status, often rustic form of language, usually associated with peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking prestige. This fact can be noticed, for instance, with most Algerian individuals who see MSA as the most ‘prestigious’, ‘correct’ and ‘pure’ variety for religious, literary and cultural reasons, while their colloquial and regional dialects are regarded as ‘non-prestigious’, ‘general’ or ‘common’ dialects used for day-to-day interaction.

Speaking about dialects, then, needs identification and a description of such a variety. Dialect has become a familiar term that many disciplines endeavour to define. It is always considered as the subordinate term in comparison to language. The term dialect was first coined in 1577 from *dialectus* a Latin word to mean "way of speaking".

A number of definitions have been put forward about this sociolinguistic concept. All definitions, in fact, emphasize on the notion that dialects are regarded as varieties of a given language, that is, subdivisions of a particular language; for example, the Algerian dialect of Arabic and the Cockney of English.

Carter (1993:20), in his *Introducing Applied Linguistics*, points out that **“a dialect refers to a variety of the language that is identified geographically or socially by certain vocabulary or grammatical features”**. According to Crystal (1997:114), a dialect is **“a regionally or socially distinctive variety of language”**. Matthews (1997:96), in his part, claims that it is **“any distinct variety of a language, especially one spoken in a specific part of a country or other geographic area”**. Trask (1999:75) suggests **“a more or less identifiable regional or social variety of language”**. In other words, dialects imply the use of a variety of a language in a given society in one region or another. Just as everybody belongs to a given area, everybody speaks a particular dialect or a specific idiolect as each speaker possesses a given social and a particular background.

Longman dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics, 4th edition, (2010:166) has respectfully highlighted the idea of dialect in a more contextual setting:

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

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

A regional dialect can be simply viewed as a form of language spoken in a particular geographical area. Dialects tend to differ from one another the more distant and isolated they are geographically as it is argued by Wardhaugh (2006:43):

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

For example the phrase ‘he said to me’ is pronounced as /ʔalli/ in Tlemcen, as /qalli/ in Algiers, /galli/ in Oran, or as /kalli/ in some other regions carrying various accents as in Ghazaouet speech community.

Differently put, social dialects are used to describe differences in speech associated with various social groups or classes which are different from the regional ones. Social dialects **“are related to a variety of factors, the principal ones apparently being social class, religion, and ethnicity”** (Wardhaugh, 2006:49). They can be conditioned by such social attributes or other parameters such as: age, sex, occupation, place of residence, education, and cultural background. **“Because of these other factors, a speaker may be more similar in language to people from the same social group in a different area than to people from a different social group in the same area”** Hudson (1996:42). In this wave, Romaine (2000:2) points out **“social dialects say who we are, and regional dialects where we come from”**.

Strictly speaking, all dialects being regional or social are dialects of a language and the standard language is originally a dialect. Thus, **“because of its wider functions”**, a standard language **“is likely to be embraced with a reverence, a language loyalty, that the dialects do not enjoy”** Haugen (1966:415). This linguistic standpoint holds the notion that a standard language cannot legitimately be perceived better than other varieties. Any attitudes towards nonstandard dialects are attitudes which reflect the social structure of society. Accordingly, Trudgill (2000:8) asserts that:

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

For avoiding all bias and prejudice in sociolinguistics studies, sociolinguists suggest the use of the neutral term ‘variety’ to refer to any identifiable kind of language as **“...it does not carry the usual implications associated with words like ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ and covers the most diverse situations”** as asserted by Duranti (1997:71). Holmes, in his part, says that the

term variety “is linguistically neutral and covers all the different realizations of the abstract concept ‘language’ in different social contexts”. Those realizations, in general, can give our listeners clues about our origins and status; and the social context, in particular, can reflect our speech.

### **1.2.3. Speech: A Tool of Social Interaction**

Communication is the way individuals send and receive messages. It involves both verbal and non-verbal messages; “we communicate nonverbally through gestures [...], and we communicate verbally through a sign, laugh, or a word”<sup>4</sup>. When expressing our feelings, showing love for example, we can either use a hug, a sign, or write the word love. Most people communicate through speaking; i.e., speech which is helped by the context, body, movements, and even gestures. Speech is, thus, the primary medium of language as well as the most complex and difficult communication system.

Ferdinand De Saussure stated that speech is totally individual as it depends only on the ‘will of the speaker’ (1916/1959:19)<sup>5</sup> whereas language is social since it is similar from one member of a speech community to another. De Saussure’s view, however, has been criticized by Hudson who focused more on the notion that speech is rather social. De Saussure, in fact, stressed more on “the knowledge involved in speech, rather than the uses” (Hudson, 1996:106). Hudson insisted that speech is essential in our social life for communicating ideas and emotions and the process of communication is, in its turn, a social activity; therefore, speech is social.

Within an ordinary speech communication context, any speaker attempts to exert an influence on a listener or a group of listeners and guide him/her or them through perceiving, understanding, or feeling a particular situation. The speakers’ influence occurs by exposing a linguistically structured speech behaviour which

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<sup>4</sup> Idea mentioned in: <https://www.andrews.edu/~tidwell/bsad560/NonVerbal> , accessed to on 11/07/2015.

<sup>5</sup> Idea mentioned in Hudson( 1996:106)

operates together with various non-verbal signals through gestures, facial expressions, tones of voice, and so forth.

More precisely, speech belongs to aspects of behaviour through which human beings communicate and influence one another. It refers to **“shorter or longer strings of linguistic items uttered on particular occasions for particular purposes”** (Hudson, 1996:106). Speech, consequently, is always required in order to accomplish a social activity. It is a crucial means for negotiating meanings. It is used in different ways and among various groups of people. Each group has its own norms of linguistic behaviour.

Hence, speech is classified as an integral part of human social interaction and a glorious tool for establishing and maintaining relationships. In this line of thought, the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1923:312) asserted that **“in its primitive used, language functions as a link in concerted human activity, as a piece of human behaviour. It is a mode of action and not an instrument of reflection”**. Here, Malinowski describes speech as a control tool over the listeners’ actions rather than their thoughts. Additionally, Malinowski argues that speech possesses another vital use which lies in strengthening and reinforcing social relations what he called: *Phatic communion*. Phatic Communion is the kind of talk employed by people in order to recognize each other’s presence and value particularly.

This classification of speech as being part of social interaction leads us to include the most prominent ethnographic framework which has been put forward by the linguist and anthropologist Dell Hymes (1974) known as: *‘Ethnography of Speaking’* or *‘Ethnography of Communication’*. This framework aims at describing distinct speech events<sup>6</sup>. Hymes constructed the word SPEAKING as an acronym in which he explained the eight attributes or factors that are involved in speech events for the sake of achieving particular communicative objectives as follows:

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<sup>6</sup> Hymes (1974 :52) says that, “a speech event has a beginning and end. It also refers to activities that are governed by rules or norms for speech”. He describes a party as a speech situation and a conversation at the party as a speech event

**-S- Setting and Scene**

Setting refers to the time and place, that is; the physical circumstances in which speech may occur. The classroom, for instance, would be a setting for teacher-learners interaction. Scene implies the occasions and events where specific types of speech can be created. It demonstrates “**the abstract psychological setting, or the cultural definition of the occasion**” (Wardhaugh, 2006: 247). Speech employed at school is not the same as the speech used at home. Within a particular setting, however, participants are free to change scenes and therefore the speech used in one setting on that case depends on the actual scene or occasion. Teachers’ speech in the classroom, for example, may be varied from one level to another; from formal to informal or from serious to joyful depending on the occasion and the various types of activities done.

**-P- Participants**

Individuals may overlap distinct categories and roles within a conversation. It means that this factor may include numerous combinations either a sender-receiver, addressor-addressee, or a speaker-listener as it is the case of classroom interaction where the teacher plays the role of *the speaker* when asking a question and the pupil answering is considered as *the hearer/listener* while the rest of the class, although not participating in the communication, are *the audience* as they would also hear and exchange the information. Each participant, within this combination, includes specific personal characteristics such as: age, gender, social class, and relationship with each other.

**-E- Ends**

They imply the outcomes and the aims that the members of speech community seek to achieve at different scenes. They also refer to the conventions recognized with any occasion as well as to the personal goals. When presenting a lecture, the teacher has his own recognizable social end in view and each pupil within the session has his/her personal goal, too.

**-A- Act sequence**

It refers to the order of events which take place during the speech. It concerns the real way in which speech is employed, i.e., the form, order, as well as the content of different speech events' forms. Speech of the president, daily conversations, or classroom lectures each go with particular and diverse types of codes and topics selected to be tackled or discussed.

**-K- Key**

This term includes the manner, the tone of voice and even spirit of the way in which the message is conveyed. These keys can be either serious or mocking and sometimes can be marked through gestures used in certain kinds of behaviours.

**-I- Instrumentalities**

The sixth term denotes the choice of channel, the forms and styles of speech that can be either oral or written, language, dialect, code, or register. Numerous instrumentalities can be assembled in a single class and within a single topic.

**-N- Norms of interaction and interpretation**

Hymes speaks about the appropriate norms, properties, and even behaviours of interaction expected from the speaker. Speakers' actions and reactions should be socially acceptable in each event and then may vary from one social group to another.

**-G- Genre**

The last factor means type of event, to which speech can belong: a poem, a proverb, a sermon, or a lecture.

Broadly speaking, Hymes' ethnography of speaking is not just a method but a coherent theoretical approach to language use. It attempts at explaining the pragmatic aspects of communicative competence that show how language can be used in communicative situations in order to achieve the speaker's purposes. In this respect,

Hymes suggests that this field work “**must discover and explicate the competence that enables members of a community to conduct and interpret speech**” (1972b:52).

Under this approach, Hymes proposes a bipartite conception of speech that encompasses both ‘*the means of speech*’ available to speakers and the ‘*speech economy*’ in which those speakers participate<sup>7</sup>. In other words, Hymes’ approach accounts for both linguistic variations among different individuals as well as within distinct communities. Hymes (ibid: 42)<sup>8</sup> announces that:

**Communities differ significantly in the ways of speaking, in patterns of repertoire and switching, in the roles and meanings of speech. They indicate differences with regard to beliefs, values, reference groups, norms and the like... [I]ndividual accounts that individually pass without notice...leap out when juxtaposed, as contrasts that require explanation.**

This ethnographic work acknowledges both the comparison between speech communities and the systematic classification of various ways of speaking as it is the case of our research work that tries to unveil linguistic variation among the Arabic language teachers in classroom interaction.

### **1.3. DIGLOSSIA**

The term diglossia, an important sociolinguistic phenomenon which takes a big part of linguists’ interest, is used to classify communication situations in societies that make complementary use of two languages or language varieties. These varieties 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 in his book ‘*Das Problem der Modernen Griechischen Schriftsprache*’

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<sup>7</sup> Mentioned in Wodak, R *et al.* (2011:60)

<sup>8</sup> Mentioned in Wodak, R *et al.* (2011:60)

(1902) in which he dealt with the nature, origin, and development of diglossia with special reference to the Greek and Arabic situations (Zughoul, 2004). More references go later on to the writer Psichari (1928)<sup>9</sup> who considers the Greek situations as diglossic because Dimotiki is used as the medium of everyday communication while Katharevousa is used for writing and reflects Classical Greek more than the popular form. The commonly view, however, is that the term ‘diglossie’ was first coined by the French linguist and anthropologist William Marçais (1930- 1931) in an article where he defined the situation of the Arab world as (ibid:401): **“the competition between a learned written language and a dialect sometimes exclusively spoken”**<sup>10</sup>.

It is only a few decades later that the theory of diglossia was developed and soundly studied by Ferguson (1959). His seminal work, published in the journal *Word*, is a turning point in the systematization and characterization of languages and/or language varieties co-existing in the same speech community. Ferguson dealt with four language situations, which display a diglossic character, Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole. He divided each language situation into two separate varieties; each variety holding its specific function.

Fishman (1967) proposes that diglossia may be, in addition to Ferguson’s original idea, extended to cover even situations where two (or more) genetically unrelated or at least historically distant language varieties occupy the high and low niches<sup>11</sup>. Kaye (1972) described Ferguson’s definition of diglossia as ‘**impressionistic**’ and viewed the diglossic situation of a language like Arabic as ‘**flexible and changeable**’ rather stable as Ferguson stated<sup>12</sup>. Kaye (2001) also points that Ferguson’s original conception of diglossia sharply contracted with bilingualism as he claims that the former is different from **“ the analogous situation where two distinct (related or unrelated) languages are used side by side throughout a speech community, each with clearly defined role”** (Kaye,ibid:119).

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<sup>9</sup> Mentioned in Muhammad Umer Azim (2007). « Multiple Nested Triglossia in Pakistan ».

<sup>10</sup> Personal translation to the original quotation : ‘la concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire parfois exclusivement parlée.

<sup>11</sup> Idea mentioned in Schiffman, 2004.

<sup>12</sup> In Zughoul, M.R. (1980). « Diglossia in Arabic : Investigating Solutions ». Anthropological Linguistics, vol.22,No.5, p.202.

Many sociolinguists defined the term ‘diglossia’ in different ways, and accordingly many perspectives were given towards the phenomenon. Despite the controversy among sociolinguists, diglossia, in fact, is regarded as a sociolinguistic phenomenon in which distinct formal and informal varieties are used in a given society for different purposes in various occasions according to the social context.

### **1.3.1. Ferguson’s Diglossia**

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

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

Ferguson raises the point that diglossic speech communities have a high (H) variety that is very prestigious and a low (L) one with no official status of the same language which are in a complementary distribution. H is a superposed standard variety and it is reserved for literacy, literary purposes, and for formal, public, and official uses. It is never used in informal interaction, contrary to the L variety, which is often an unwritten dialect used in ordinary conversation. Thus, in addition to the existence of distinct speech varieties, Ferguson (ibid: 336) also exemplifies situations which imply

the use of one of the varieties to the exclusion of the other as indicated in the following table:

**Table 1.1. Situations for H and L in diglossic communities**

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

Ferguson's theory is multidimensional in the sense that it considers a diversity of criteria. It compares the H and L in terms of nine separate linguistic and social characteristics. In this line of thought, Romaine (1994:46) stresses that there is a considerable difference between H and L:

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

- ❖ **Function:** it refers to the use of one variety in a given social situation and not the other; in a public meeting, for example, only H is appropriate whereas in family, friends, and colleagues conversation, L is fittingly used. The H variety is, therefore, more elegant and formal, and is used in more

public and official domains as: sermon and news broadcast while the L variety is the medium of interaction between friends and family members. Ferguson (1959) displays that “...one of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function of H and L” (Giglioli, 1972:235). He exemplifies the use of al-Fusha, the H variety for Arabic, in mosque, opposed to al-Ammiyya, the L variety, which is never used where only H is appropriate.

- ❖ **Prestige:** As far as prestige is concerned, H is somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts and the like (Huebner, 1996: 29). H has greater prestige than L and is often regarded as more aesthetic, even if it is less intelligible. It is generally associated with a body of important literature and carries with it the prestige of a great tradition or religion. It is more stable, being protected from change by its association with writing. L is, on the other hand, underestimated and often negatively valued. It is “felt to be less worthy corrupt, ‘broken’, vulgar, undignified, etc” (Schiffman, 1997:207).
- ❖ **Literary Heritage:** In most diglossic languages, literature is written in the H variety except what is called folk poetry, which is written and said in the colloquial form of the language. Traditional poetry in ancient eras was written and introduced in H variety.
- ❖ **Acquisition:** H and L are also distinct at the level of language acquisition. The L variety is learned by children and adults without instruction while H is chiefly accomplished “by the means of formal education, whether this can be traditional Qur'anic schools, modern government schools, or private tutors” (Huebner, 1996:30). That is, the L variety, the mother tongue, is acquired normally and subconsciously whereas the H variety is learnt through schooling. Romaine (1993:33), in her turn, supports and explains this distinction by stating that:

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

(Quoted in Derni, 2009:73).

- ❖ **Standardization:** The H variety is of course codified and thus standard, i.e., there are grammar books, dictionaries, treatises on pronunciation, styles, and so forth of the H variety. By contrast, “**there are no well-established spelling rules for the L variety**” (Fasold, 1993:37). Ferguson (1959:435) calls H “**grammatically more complex**” since it marks more categories of grammar: normative, generative, and accusative cases, duality in the pronouns, verbs, as well as adjectives. None of the L varieties has retained these categories.
- ❖ **Stability:** Diglossia is a typically stable phenomenon. It persists for centuries and the two varieties last in complementary distribution. Yet, a communicative tension may occur between them due to a number of factors. The spread of literacy, for instance, may lead many intellectuals to switch to H while using L. This case is named as “**...intermediate forms of the language as: Greek mikti, Arabic al-lughah al-wusta, Haitian créole de salon**” (Huebner, 1996:31).
- ❖ **Grammar:** Grammar is one of the most striking differences between H and L varieties. Linguists agree that the H variety has grammatical categories not present in the L variety and an inflectional system of nouns and verbs which is much shrink or totally absent in the L variety. For example; in H there are many complex tenses and rules to follow, but in L we use simple phrases without paying attention to the tense or the grammatical structure.

- ❖ **Lexicon:** Lexis is also different. The dimension of vocabulary of H and L forms is equal but with variation in form and differences in use and meaning. The H form contains some technical terms and learned expressions that do not have their regular equivalents in L, and the L form consists of some expressions and names of homely objects that do not exist in the other form. Moreover, many pairs of words may occur, referring to common objects or concepts, where the meaning is roughly the same.
- ❖ **Phonology:** The phonological system of H and L are slightly different. There might be some sounds present in H and totally absent in L and vice versa. As an illustrative example from Arabic would be the phoneme /q/ that can be pronounced as /g/, /q /, /ʔ/, or /k/ depending on the region.

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

### **1.3.2. Fishman's Extended Diglossia**

Moreover, later on the term diglossia has been extended to cover situations which do not count as diglossic according to Ferguson's definition. The linguist J.A. Fishman (1967) proposed an extended version of diglossia. He claims that the term "**diglossia has been extended to cover situations where forms of two genetically unrelated or at least historically distant languages occupy the H and L varieties**".

Fishman refers to Paraguay as an example. In Paraguay, Spanish is the H variety used in education and government, and Guarani, an Indian language totally unrelated to Spanish, is the vernacular spoken mainly in the villages and used in cities as a mark of informality. Myers-Scotton (1986) proposed to label Fishman's concept as "*Extended Diglossia*" to differentiate it from "*Narrow Diglossia*". Similarly,

Kloss (1996:138) terms the former as “*out-Diglossia*” in contrast with the latter “*in-diglossia*”.

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

This terminology variation continues and becomes more complex by Platt’s (1977) description of “*Polyglossia*” (Muller & Ball, 2005:61). He studies the case of Malaysia where numerous languages co-exist; Malaysian English and Bahasa Indonesia as two H varieties and more than one L variety, in addition to the existence of a *dummy high variety*<sup>13</sup>. A diversity of examples is found but we are not going to include all of them as it does not best fit our objectives. The present research work, however, deals with the classical definition of diglossia where two varieties of the same language co-exist; L for daily interaction while H for formal contexts. Yet, the latter may contain some elements from L. Hence, this issue paves us to witness that diglossia and code switching, though appeared to be separate, but often two related fascinating fields as we shall see in the next section.

### **1.3.3. Diglossia in the Arab World**

Diglossia is a noticeable phenomenon in Arabic. Different views have been presented about the emergence of ‘Arabic diglossia’. Some scholars related the issue with the Islamic conquests of the 7<sup>th</sup> C A.D. (Blau, 1977) whereas other scholars have returned back its appearance to the language of the Pre-Islamic poetry which was thoroughly distinct from that of the colloquials (Al-Toma, 1969).

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<sup>13</sup> Muller & Ball (2005:61) defined a dummy high variety as: “**a language that most speakers look up to as a prestige language but which is in fact hardly anyone can actually speak**”. In the case of Malaysia, the dummy high is Mandarin Chinese.

In diglossic contexts, H variety is usually perceived as the ‘real’ language, more prestigious, more beautiful and logical than the L variety which is commonly considered as ‘impure’ or ‘incorrect’ usage. In a similar vein, Haeri (2003:43) sees classical Arabic (CA, henceforth) as **‘a language whose aesthetic and musical qualities move its listeners, creating feelings of spirituality, nostalgia and community’**; adding that CA **‘socialized people into rituals of Islam, affirms their identity as Muslims and connects them to the realm of purity, morality and God’** (idem).

Throughout the Arab world, MSA is frequently regarded as the only standard, pure and formal language that has been taught systematically in all schools for centuries. In this respect, Younes (1995: xiiii) analyses the situation of MSA in Arab countries in his own view as follows:

**Arabs from different parts of the Arab World speak different dialects, but MSA is the same everywhere. This is why the majority of Arabic programmers prefer to teach MSA. However, students who learn to speak only MSA will not be able to use it in conversation; not only will they sound funny, but also find it very difficult, if not impossible to understand what is being said to them.**

Generally speaking, Arabic diglossia is prominent in many interesting domains and the most important one is education. Younes, thus, attempts to clarify the issue of teaching Arabic and demonstrate the whopping dialects all over the world. He summarizes that **“teaching a spoken dialect for everyday conversation and MSA for reading, writing, and formal speaking is the most effective way to prepare students for function in Arabic”** (ibid).

El-Said Badawi (1973), the first Arab scholar who handled a comprehensive examination of diglossia, identified a number of levels in contemporary Egyptian speech through the use of a number of phonological variables (e.g. the realization of /q/ as well as grammatical variables (e.g. negation, use of verbal and nominal sentences). He classified five levels as it is shown below:

- **‘heritage’ Fusha** (فصحى التراث): this corresponds largely to CA or at least grammar ‘heavily influenced by the Qur’anic variety; and its usage is restricted to religious scholars (*‘ulama’*) from *al-Azhar*, in religious discourse;

- ‘contemporary’ (MSA) Fusha (فصحى العصر): this variety is closely linked with the previous one and is employed, for instance, in formal news broadcasts;
- **Educated speakers’ colloquial** (عامية المثقفين): the register that is used by educated speakers when conversing about ‘civilizational’ issues, such as politics, social matters, etc., in a formal context;
- ‘enlightened’ colloquial (المتنورين عامية): the variety usually employed by literate people in their daily lives, and may also resemble that heard in ‘light’ media content;
- ‘illiterate’ colloquial (عامية الأميين).

Ronak, H & Daniel, L. (2015:60).

Intensive discussions have been developed over the use of the term ‘Arabic diglossia’. Indeed, Ferguson’s classical version (1959:325) which points that “**two varieties of a language exist [ing] side by side[...]**with each having a definite role to play” should be reassessed through the use of the term ‘*Arabic multiglossia*’ since more than two varieties of Arabic come at play. The coalescence between CA and colloquial Arabic paves the way to the creation of a new variety of Arabic. This new variety is called: *the middle variety*.

The middle variety can be considered as an intermediate form of the language. Bishai (1966)<sup>14</sup> referred to it as ‘*Modern inter-Arabic*’ or ‘*the colloquial Arabic of the intellectuals*’, employed in various inter-Arab meetings which contain representatives from distinct countries of the Arabic Middle East. It has been also known as:

**al-lugha al-wusta (Middle language), [...] al-lugha al-thalitha (the third language), al fusha al-mukhaffafa (fusha light) or al-ammiyya al-mushriqa (enlightened colloquial) and essentially corresponds to Badawi’s second and third levels.**

Ronak, H & Daniel, L. (2015:62).

<sup>14</sup> Idea Mentioned in Ronak, H & Daniel, L. (2015:62).

Native speakers, therefore, may find themselves in front of a diversity of varieties: MSA, ESA, and colloquial Arabic that constitute a continuum from which they can select the suitable variety in the appropriate occasion. Indeed, Ferguson (1970), himself acknowledges that Arabic diglossic contexts are evolving towards a type of continuum when asserting that “intermediate between the two varieties, relatively ‘pure’ Classical and Colloquial, there are many shadings of ‘middle variety’”.

Yet, Ferguson’s work has been criticized by many specialists. El-Hassan (1977) declared that the functions of H and L varieties are not as separate as it may have appeared to Ferguson. He (ibid) argued that colloquial Arabic can be used in a formal setting where solely MSA is more appropriate, such as sermons in the mosque and lectures at the University or at distinct schools’ levels. From that point, many questions can be raised: Is it a case of diglossia or is it an entirely different sociolinguistic phenomenon? Can colloquial Arabic really integrate in a formal setting? Should the Arabic language teacher include some dialectal forms; if yes, for what purposes? Such a linguistic issue will be tackled and treated in details in the present inquiry.

Mahmoud (1986), in his part, claims that diglossia is undergoing a considerable change in the Arab world and ESA is auspiciously bridging the gap between varieties for the elite<sup>15</sup>, as it is explained in the next quotation:

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

Mahmoud (1986:247).

In any case, Arabic diglossia opens the door for many Arab scholars for further research and clarification especially as the Arabic language situation is very complicated; members of the same speech community may cross different repertoires. Zughoul (1980:202) concludes that “**the diglossic situation is indeed problematic for a linguistic**

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<sup>15</sup> The ‘elite’ are members of a group or class enjoying high intellectual, social, or economic status.

community. It is considered to be a hindrance to education and economic development, as well as a national coherence”.

### **1.3.4. Diglossia and Education**

MSA is the significant instrument and the only formal variety to be used in all Arab schools for centuries. It plays an important role at unifying and enhancing the Arab nation 'el-Umma el-Arabiyya'. Yet, within an Arabic session, if not always, various colloquial forms interfere and, thus, produce 'low quality results'. Maamouri (1989:68) pointed out that among the major factors under the dramatic diglossic situation in Arab schools is **“the growing use of the colloquial forms in formal and non-formal education and in other numerous daily activities”**. Mahfouz (1965), additionally, believed that the vernacular dialects were obstacles to progress that needed to be overcome.

Globally speaking, Arab learners, once getting in contact with school, should be aware of the importance of MSA as the solely appropriate variety for educational communications. In real situations, however, it is not the case at all and a mixture of Arabic linguistic patterns can be obviously noticed. This mixture yields, in fact, to serious pedagogical problems; among them a great number of young Arab learners feel insecure linguistically during classroom interaction. It has other negative impacts such as: lack of satisfactory language competence, low linguistic confidence, in addition to other social problems.

The situation of MSA in Arabic courses is, consequently, very intricate. Its intricacy lies in the integration of different dialectal forms. Kaye (2001:119) claims that because diglossia and bidialectal variations exist in Arabic-speaking countries, **“some educated Arabs find it difficult to carry on a conversation of MSA”**. In a similar vein, Zughoul (1980) considers that the main reason behind the expansion of the linguistic distance between MSA and its colloquial forms is the high rate of illiteracy in many societies.

In this line of thought, Abdulaziz (1986:21) synthesizes this seriousness situation by saying that:

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

#### **1.4. Code Switching**

Code switching (hereafter CS), a type of discourse that occurs as a natural outcome of language contact and an inevitable consequence of bilingualism<sup>16</sup>, has attracted linguists' attention and been studied from a variety of perspectives. Scholars do not seem to share a single definition of the concept, and this is perhaps inevitable, given the different concerns of formal linguists, psycholinguists, sociolinguists, anthropo-linguists and so forth. Many scholars use a definition of CS similar to Heller's (1988a:1): **“the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode”**; Auer (1984:1), for example, points out that CS is **“the alternating use of more than one language”**; while Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) recognize that it is: **“the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation”** (Quoted in Boztepe, 2008 : 4). Whatever the definitions are, it is clear that anyone who speaks more than one code switches between them or mixes them according to certain circumstances.

On the light of Trudgill' quotation (1992:16), CS is **“the process whereby bilingual or bidialectal speakers switch back and forth between one language or dialect and another within the same conversation”**. Such a definition clearly denotes that CS can occur in a monolingual community, or in a plurilingual speech collectivity. In a monolingual context, CS relates to a diglossic situation

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<sup>16</sup> Bilingualism means the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual, i.e. “the practice of using alternatively two languages” (Weinreich 1953). We give just a simple definition about bilingualism as it is not the concern of our fieldwork.

where speakers make use of two varieties for well-defined set of functions: H variety, generally the standard, for formal contexts, and a L variety typically for everyday informal communicative acts. In addition to alternation between H and L varieties, speakers may also switch between the dialects available to them in that community via a process of CS. In such a case, i.e., monolingual context, CS is classified as being ‘*internal*’, as the switch occurs between different varieties of the same language. In a multilingual community, the switch is between two or more linguistic systems. This is referred to as ‘*external*’ CS.

Yet, not all researchers use the same terms for CS in the same way (Boztepe,2008:4), some of them view CS as restricted into mixing two languages whereas others suggest the terms: ‘code alternation’ or ‘insertion’ or they have include even ‘style shifting’. This terminology about CS reached the dilemma of distinguishing between CS and borrowing, a more complicated issue, by proposing different models and approaches. Yet, Eastman (1992:1)<sup>17</sup> neglects all these distinctions by stating that **“efforts to distinguish code switching, code mixing and borrowing are doomed”** and that it is crucial that we **“free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch”**.

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

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<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Boztepe, 2008: 8.

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

### **1.4.1. Structural aspects of Code Switching**

Studies on this aspect are looking for what constitutes CS. In other terms, this approach attempts to answer questions beginning with the word ‘what’ taking CS as a product (Muller and Ball: 2005). It endeavours to explore the grammatical constraints which restrict switching between two codes and describe the grammatical aspects of one's speech; yet still have reached any agreement. **“Research in this field”**, as Gardner-Chloros & Edwards (2004:104)<sup>18</sup> state, **“has largely concentrated on finding universally applicable, predicative grammatical constraints on CS, so far without success”**.

In studying linguistic restriction on CS, some scholars have tried to present models, with an eye on the intra-sentential switching as it displays various kinds of hybrid structures rather than the inter-sentential switching which includes utterances that follow the syntax of one code or another, hence, the former has attracted most linguists’ attention so as to provide accurate analysis and explanations for such constraints. The most common approaches are those of Poplack and her associates<sup>19</sup>, Chomsky's generative and the third is Myers Scotton Structural model as we shall see below.

#### **1.4.1.1. Poplack’s ‘Linear Order Constraint’**

Earlier studies (as Labov , 1971) imply that intra-sentential switching was considered syntactically random rather than rule-governed defining CS as **“the irregular mixture of two distinct systems”** (Mac Swan, 1999:40)<sup>20</sup>. In the same sense, Lance (1975) suggests that

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<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Namba, 2007: 68.

<sup>19</sup> Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood (1987), Sankoff and Poplack (1981), and Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan (1990). For abbreviation purposes, these authors are referred to as Poplack and her associates.

<sup>20</sup> In Cantone, K. F. (2007:61).

“there are perhaps no syntactic restrictions on where the switching can occur” (DiSciullo, Muysken & Singh, 1986:2)<sup>21</sup>. However, many mismatch views have been turned around CS phenomenon, though, linguists (Timm 1975, Kachru 1975, Wentz & McClure 1976, Gumperz 1976, Plaff 1979), today; conclude that CS is not a purely idiosyncratic behaviour but occurring, in fact, at specific switch points.

The first comprehensive work came first from Poplack (1980), then, a year after, Sankoff & Poplack (1981). Poplack’s study is an early but, indeed, an influential contribution to the linguistic aspects of CS. Poplack (1980) investigates CS phenomenon among Spanish-English bilingual speakers from Puerto Rico in New York. She tries to identify structural constraints where CS can occur in a sentence, while noting that “**there is little doubt that functional factors are the strongest constraints on the occurrence of code switching**” (ibid: 585). She proposes two major constraints: ‘*the free morpheme constraint*’ and ‘*the equivalence constraint*’.

#### 1.4.1.1.1. The Free Morpheme Constraint

The free morpheme constraint prohibits switching between a lexical item and a bound morpheme. In this line of thought, Poplack argues (2000:227) that,

**codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme. This constraint holds true for all linguistic levels but the phonological [...] included under this constraint are idiomatic expressions [...] which are considered to behave like bound morphemes in that they show a strong tendency to be uttered monolingually.**

In support of the free morpheme constraint, the following example can be mentioned: / eat-*iendo*/. This word contains the English root ‘eat’ and the Spanish bound morpheme ‘-iendo’, meaning (-ing). According to Poplack, this switching is not permissible and cannot occur in bilingual speech because of the existence of a bound morpheme. Therefore, “**bound morphemes cannot be switched and no switch is possible between two morphemes that are morphologically bound to each other**” (Schmidt, 2014:42). Additionally, the word ‘eat’ is not integrated into the Spanish

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<sup>21</sup> In Cantone, K. F. (2007:61).

phonology; the free morpheme, then, has to be phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme in order to admit a possible and permissible switch.

#### 1.4.1.1.2. The Equivalence Constraint

Switches, in the equivalence constraint, from one code to another do not violate a syntactic rule of either language. It tends to occur at “**points around which the surface structure of the two languages map on to each other**” (Poplack, 1980: 586). This constraint emphasizes that CS is almost likely to occur where the two codes share the same word order. Accordingly, in the case of Spanish/English CS, English attributive adjectives ordinarily precede the nouns whereas in Spanish those adjectives follow it. This is why, switches may not occur between nouns and adjectives in the noun phrase<sup>22</sup>. If it is to happen, it will violate a syntactic rule of either language as it can be appeared in the following examples: / the *casa* white / or the /*blanca* house /. Both examples are, in fact, ruled out by the equivalence constraint since the former violate English syntactic rules while the latter violate the Spanish ones. The sentences: / I like you *porque eres simpatico* / or / I told him that *pa'que la trajera ligero* /, for instance, which mean ‘I like you because you are nice’ and ‘I told him so that he would bring it fast’ respectively are, however, allowed as they obey the syntactic rules of both English and Spanish.

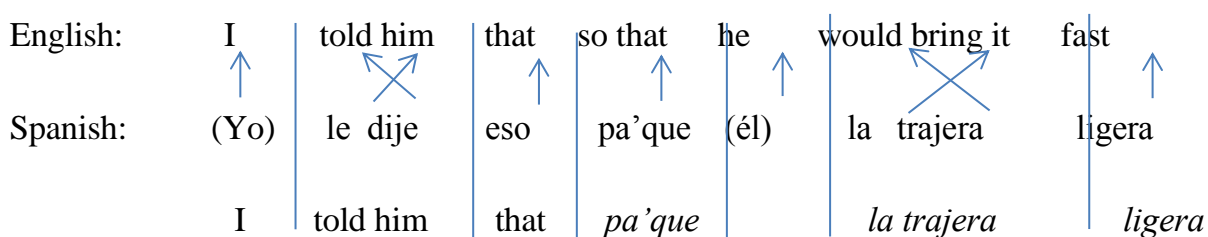
In a similar vein, Romaine (1995: 126) defines such constraint in the following way,

**[the equivalence constraint] predicts that code switches will tend to occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate a syntactic role of either language. That is, code-switching will tend to occur at points where the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. This means that a language switch can take place only at boundaries common to both languages, and switching cannot occur between any two sentence elements unless they are normally ordered in the same way.**

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<sup>22</sup> Idea mentioned in Boztepe (2008:8)

The next figure is a clear instance suggested by Poplack (2000:28) in order to clarify where noticeable switches are possible:



**Figure 1.1. Permissible Switching Points**<sup>23</sup>

In their large corpora analysis of Spanish-English intra-sentential switching, Sankoff and Poplack's focus is on the equivalence-based switching consisting of more than one lexeme, rather than single morpheme, which, though, theoretically recognized, take no share in their discussion. When surveying the structural integrity of the component languages, they argue for a separate grammar in CS; suggesting that it is the speaker's command of either grammar that permits to CS. This notion reveals that switching involves neither hesitations nor pauses, but rather flexibility and rapidity. This is why Poplack defines the Spanish-English speakers in New York as highly fluent bilinguals. In this regard, she (2000:255) assumes that there are two monolingual grammars and one code-switch grammar "**possibly emanating from a single code-switching grammar composed of the overlapping sectors of the grammars of L1 and L2**".

Many investigations have been tackled by various specialists; applying Poplack's constraints to other speech communities. Yet, it has been concluded that switches between a free morpheme and a bound morpheme do in fact occur in contrast to Poplack's Model. Counter examples can be provided like *English/Japanese* switching (Nishimura, 1997)<sup>24</sup> which are distant in their sentence elements' order, i.e., in terms of their structure; in addition to *French/Moroccan Arabic* CS where Bentahila and Davies (1983) announce that such switch was governed by neither "**ad hoc constraints nor**

<sup>23</sup> The lines indicate permissible CS points while the arrows show the points where constituents from two languages map onto each other.

<sup>24</sup> Idea mentioned in (Namba, 2007:69) .

**surface structure equivalence**” (ibid:328). Other crucial instances opposing this constraint theory are also cited particularly from agglutinative languages<sup>25</sup> such as Turkish that violate the free morpheme constraint.

Pandit (1990:45), in his turn, reports counter evidence from *English-Hindi* CS, where a Hindi post positional phrase is switched for an English prepositional phrase: John gave a book *ek larakii ko*. (John gave a book to a girl).

a girl to

In general, “**typological differences between special language pairs play an important role [...] and the constraints cannot be applied universally, i.e., not to all investigated speech data**” (Schmidit, 2014: 44).

In this respect, Halmari (1997) treated the case of Finnish-English switching which are two totally distinct languages. She noticed that Poplack’s constraints cannot be applied to those speech communities; recognizing that both constraints are not entirely valid for structurally different languages; winding up that “**typologically different languages may combine differently than typologically similar languages**” (ibid:76).

Anyhow and after all, Poplack *et al.* still account for the validity of the equivalence constraint and spotlight that such credible violations are regarded as cases of borrowing not CS. From here, one ought to mark that, despite many exceptions that the model fails to account for, at the same time, it scores some success in proposing several points of structural conditions upon the occurrence of CS phenomenon and still persist as a touchstone and a basis pattern for the latter models.

#### 1.4.1.2. Chomsky’s Generative Grammar

Unlike Poplack’ model, a variety based on Chomsky’s generative grammar was proposed. Chomsky’s theory focused on phrase structure as the source of

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<sup>25</sup> Agglutinative languages partially because, in such languages, each component of meaning is productively expressed by its own morpheme, which are then affixed to the stem as Turkish and Japanese.

constraints. Consequently, the Government and Binding frame work allows any switch within a maximal projection, i.e., between verb (V) and its NP (Object). Nonetheless, this switch is possible in counter instances cited by Romaine (2005) in her Panjabi/English data, or by Myers Scotton (1993a) in her Swahili/English corpus. As a result, the proposals based on Government Binding theory “**operating at a level which is too ‘purely syntactic’, or too close to the surface**” (Namba, 2007:70).

#### **1.4.1.3. Myers’ Matrix Language Frame Model**

In 1993, Carol Myers-Scotton developed a theoretical mode, perhaps the most detailed one, non-linear, which is constructed on a more psycholinguistic speech production theory. She called it the *Matrix Language Frame Model* (or MLF for short). It is currently one of the most influential models “**to account for the structures in intrasentential CS**” (1993a:5). It endeavours at extending the earlier constraints and identifying where the switch can take place within a sentence.

Myers Scotton worked on a Swahili/English corpus in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya. She takes her insights from Joshi’s (1985) *asymmetry* model. Such a feature is disregarded in Poplack’s (1980, 1981) syntactic considerations of CS when he claimed that “**speakers and hearers generally agree on which language the mixed sentence is coming from**” (1985:190). Therefore, her MLF model is based on the notion that there is a hierarchical and asymmetrical relation between language pairs in CS. The model, in fact, includes two major hierarchies. The first one is the Matrix language ( ML, henceforth) Vs the Embedded language( EL, henceforth).

Myers describes the ML as “**the language providing relatively more morphemes for the relevant interaction type than the other language (s) used in the same conversation**” (1992:205). That is, ML is the dominant language and is “**is responsible for constructing the morpho-syntactic order of the CS sentences**”. The EL, on the other hand, is “**less active and plays a restricted role in CS**” (Lotfabbadi, 2002:54). In Myers' MLF work (1993a, 1995), the ML provides the grammatical frame in mixed constituents, i.e., the *morpheme order* and the *system morphemes* (Muller & Ball, 2005). By the way and based on the

asymmetry principle, Myers Scotton (1993b:4) provides a technical definition for CS as being:

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

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

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

Overwhelmingly, Myers-Scotton stresses on the point that the codes within a single bilingual switch do not participate equally. She announces that **“one, and only one, of the participating varieties is the source of the abstract grammatical feature of the constituent. This frame is called the Matrix Language”** (Myers, 2001a:24)<sup>26</sup>. Whereas the other language(s) participating in CS is the EL, which constitutes limited material, namely content morphemes inserted within the large CP (Projection of Complementizer).

The second hierarchy, as stated earlier, regards that morphemes can be either; *content or system morphemes*. Content morphemes as nouns, verb stems, adjectives, and prepositions tend to express semantic and pragmatic aspects **“which either receive thematic roles<sup>27</sup> or assign them”** (Myers, 1997:220)<sup>28</sup> while system morphemes, involving inflec-

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<sup>26</sup> In Jacobson (2001).

<sup>27</sup> ‘Thematic roles’ or ‘theta-roles’ are the roles of people or entities in a sentence. For example, in the sentence, ‘Bob hit Bill’, ‘Bob’ fills the thematic role of ‘agent’, and ‘Bill’ fills the thematic role of ‘patient’.

<sup>28</sup> In Coulmas (1997)

tions and most functional words are defined by the feature [–thematic role receiver/assigner], i.e., do not receive those roles.

Central to this frame work, Myers proposes two principles of CS: *the Morpheme Order Principle* and *the System Morpheme Principle*:

- ✚ ***The Morpheme Order Principle***: Myers (1993a:83) asserts that “in ML + EL constituents consisting of singly occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the ML”. Accordingly, the ML determines the order of the elements in the mixed CP. This principle can be more clarified in the following example, involving a single English item inserted in a Swahili NP.

... mambo nengi new--- mapya katika maisha yako  
 Things many new new in life your

(ibid: 85)

In the NP ‘*mambo nengi new*’ (thing –many –new), the English item *new* follows its head according to Swahili syntactic restrictions, violating at the same time English syntactic rules.

- ✚ ***The System Morpheme Principle***: Myers-Scotton (1993a: 83) states that “in the ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. participate in the sentence’s thematic role grid) will come from the ML” (in Wei. L, 2000). Such a principle indicates that function morphemes can only be drawn from the ML. This is clear in the following example:

Ja ma koka-sin kahvin  
 And I cook-past coffee  
 And I cooked coffee

(Hyltenstam in Myers-Scotton, 1993b:108)

While the content morpheme ‘koka’ (cook) comes from Swedish, the EL in this example. Its subject pronoun and past-tense marker, as system morphemes, come from Finnish.

Furthermore, the MLF model involves another constraint in addition to the previously discussed principles:

- ✚ The Blocking Hypothesis: **“The ML blocks the appearance of any EL content morphemes which do not meet certain congruency conditions with ML counterparts [...] the congruency is defined with respect to three levels of abstraction regarding subcategorisation”**

Schmidt, 2014: 51.

In this principle, Myers limits the role of the EL even more by permitting only certain EL content morphemes taking place in mixed constituents.

Broadly speaking, MLF model is supported by two auxiliary theories: the ‘*4-M Model*’ and the ‘*Abstract Level Model*’. The former is an extended version to the opposition content/system morphemes while the latter is **“based on premises about the nature of the mental lexicon. The major premise underlying the abstract level model is that all lemmas in the mental lexicon include three levels of abstract lexical structure”** (Myers, 2002:19).

Though recent extensions have been progressing over the years, they will not be discussed in details in the present research work as they do not fit our research aim. What should be pointed out is that even after such elaborations and revisions, the major original theoretical claims of the MLF model remain the same, with a base language contributing the order of elements in mixed bilingual CPs and providing system morphemes in such constituents.

What is striking is that researchers of the structural approach proposed many typologies and identified three main types of CS which are classified according to the switch points and the way different codes are articulated. They are named: *intra-sentential*, *inter-sentential*, and *extra-sentential* CS. Extra-sentential CS refers to the insertion of tags, exclamations, and ready-made expressions such as: / I mean, you know/, from the donor language<sup>29</sup> into the recipient language whereas inter-sentential CS signifies the switch occurrence outside the sentence and/or the clause level, '*between sentences*' (Myers Scotton, 1995:4). Studying the Puerto Rican community of New York City (Poplack, 1980), this type can be observed in the current example:

Sometimes I will start a sentence in English y termino en español.  
 Sometimes I will start a sentence in English and finish in Spanish.

Similar instances can be taken from our society as: /il est serieux andu l kelma/ which means: 'he is serious, he keeps his promise'. Intra-sentential switching, however, takes place within a sentence and/or clause or even word boundaries, with no apparent change in topics, interlocutor, or setting as appeared in this switch: /rani tala3 la mairi nxaaj les papiers/: 'I am going to the town hall to get some papers'. It may be a process of inserting a noun, a verb, or even a clause, in a complex sentence (Poplack, 1980); it is often referred to as '*code mixes*' or '*code mixing*'.

#### 1.4.1.4. Code Mixing Vs Code Switching

Bilingual speakers, commonly, mix codes and use linguistic elements from the different language varieties involved in their repertoire when interacting with one another. This process of swapping between varieties takes place with a kind of rapidity and density to the extent that, sometimes, it is really a complicated issue to fix upon the employed or uttered language. Along these lines, one may wonder how can we refer to such a linguistic behav-

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<sup>29</sup> The donor language is the minor language or lending language in a code-switched utterance to which single or minor features are inserted in the base language. The terms 'donor', 'lending', and 'embedded' language will be used in the same way in this research work. However, the recipient language is the main language in a code switched utterance to which a majority of phonological and morphological features of discourse can be attributed. The terms 'matrix', 'base' and 'host' language will be used interchangeably throughout this research work.

our, are they switching or mixing? This question is, indeed, a bone of contention among theorists. Consequently, many terminologies have been raised; some prefer the term code switching, others rejecting and using, instead, the term code mixing leading so the situation seems to be more problematic.

Clyne (1991:161) refers to CS and CM as two similar phenomena in **“which the speaker stops using language ‘A’ and employs language ‘B’”**. Differently put, Mc Laughlin (1984) refers to them as two distinct phenomena by referring to CS as **“language changes occurring across phrase or sentence boundaries”** whereas code mixing **“takes place within sentences and usually involves single lexical items”** (Hoffman, 1991:110). Mc Cormick (1995:195) agrees on the notion that CS includes the **“alternation of elements longer than one word”** while in CM **“shorter elements, often just single words”** can be appeared.

In this line of thought, Fasold (1984:182) suggests that:

**One criterion that is sometimes offered to distinguish switching from mixing is that the grammar of the clause determines the language. By this criterion, if a person uses a word or a phrase from another language, he has mixed, not switched. But if one clause has the grammatical structure of one language and the next is constructed according to the grammar of another, a switch has occurred.**

The quotation, therefore, emphasizes that CS and CM are inter-related and used as complementary terms, i.e., each term has its own occurrence and grammar rules. CS is the alternation between sentences having different grammars on the one hand. Code mixing, on the other hand, is the alternation of two languages within the same sentence. That is to say, a word from language ‘A’, for instance, inserted within sentence of language ‘B’ and this word should respect the grammar of language ‘B’. Commonly speaking, some scholars sometimes suggest the term code mixing or language mixing (Auer, 1993) for the psycho-linguistically conditioned type, i.e. the psycholinguistic approach.

### 1.4.2. The Psycholinguistic Approach to Code Switching

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

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

Grosjean (1997) also proposed the *"Language Mode Model"* where he argues that bilinguals' languages can be "activated" or "deactivated" independently or simultaneously to a certain extent; taking in the mental switch both the speaker and the hearer into account. Bilinguals, for instance, when interacting with each other switch of course more than interacting with monolinguals who have only one variety in their mental dictionary as it is explained by Grosjean (ibid:227)<sup>30</sup>:

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

He adds (idem),

**At the other end of the continuum, bilinguals find themselves in a bilingual language mode, in that they are communicating**

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<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Namba (2007: 68).

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

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

### 1.4.3. The Sociolinguistic Approach to Code Switching

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

In dealing with CS as a process, sociolinguistic studies have been conducted from two levels: macro and micro levels. The macro level was adopted by Fishman (1965) in his referential work ‘Domain Analysis’ where he focuses on **“the correlation between code choice and types of activity”** (Boztepe, 2008:12). This differs considerably from Blom and Gumperz (1972) micro approach which,

[...] regard the motivations for code switching not deriving from overall societal norms but from the interlocutors themselves. With micro-level approaches, code switching is explored at an interactional level” (Nguen, 2008:6)

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

Metaphorical CS, on the other hand, occurs according to changes in topic rather than the social situation. Here, it is **“the choice of language that determines the situation”** (Hudson, 1996:53). Metaphorical switching is then topic-related. Amazingly enough, in this type of language modulation, some topics might be discussed in either code. However, because the choice encodes certain social values, the selection gives a distinct flavour of what is said about the topic.

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

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

Unlike the two preceding types, at which switching corresponds to a point where the situation or topic changes, *Conversational CS* was added to CS terminology to describe functions. This type of switching takes place in random way and does not consider the context in which it may occur but rather the structure of utterances. In a stretch of speech between bilinguals, for instance, it is not surprising that speakers start with one language then adopt few words from the other then go back to the first for a few more words and so forth. Consequently, such a type, which is also known as *code mixing*, demands participants who have a ‘reasonable’ proficiency in the codes involved for a better comprehension.

Furthermore, Auer (1988) developed Blom and Gumperz works and introduced the ‘*Conversation Analysis Approach*’<sup>31</sup> in which he insists on interpreting CS in relation with its sequential environment by stating that (ibid: 116): “**any theory of conversational code-alternation is bound to fail if it does not take into account that the meaning of code-alternation depends in essential ways on its ‘sequential environment’**”. Quoted in (Boztepe, 2008:12).

Gumperz (1982) makes a distinction between the codes in switching: the ‘we code’ and the ‘they code’ which denotes particular types of social relationships. The former relates to choice of language in in-group relations while the latter in outgroup relations. He describes them in terms of their primary function, i.e. solidarity. The following table, provided by Grosjean (1982: 136)<sup>32</sup>, summarizes a set of concise factors that potentially explain speakers' code choice:

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<sup>31</sup> Conversation Analysis Approach is “a detailed transcription of speech exchanges between interlocutors within a conversation in order to get an interpretation of the meaning conveyed by code switching” (Nguen,2008 :6)

<sup>32</sup> Mentioned in Boztepe (2008 :17)

Table 1. 2. Grosjean’ s List on Factors Influencing Language Choice

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

Later on, Myers Scotton (1993b), as an effort to incorporate the macro and micro perspectives, introduced her “*Markedness Model*” since she employs “**the conversation between bilinguals as unit of analysis but also considers social norms and expectations as influencing factors**” (Nguen, 2008:7). This model provides the theoretical framework for examining the bilinguals’ motivations for code switching. It is, therefore, regarded as a complementary device to “**account for CS by proposing that speakers have unmarked and marked choices available to them when they speak**” (Wardhaugh, 2006:109-110). These choices are considered by Scotton (1980:360) as “**individually motivated negotiations**” whose success only depends on the degree of awareness and adequate use

of “**the communally recognized norms**” (1983a:123) which establish the meanings of the choices in different types of talk situations<sup>33</sup>.

This Markedness model necessitates the presence of a set of Obligations and Rights (RO) within a specific type of interaction. The model, then, participates in clarifying the socio-psychological motivations for code switching as Myers Scotton (1993:6) points out that:

**[...] code switching in general is a type of skilled performance with communicative intent. From the socio-Psychological point of view, code switching can be as symptomatic either (a) of willingness or an uncertainty on the speaker’s part regarding the commitment to indexing any single rights-and-obligations set between participants in a conversation, or (b) of a negotiation to change the rights-and-obligations set.**

Under her Markedness model, Myers Scotton lists three maxims of code choice: ‘*the unmarked choices*’ are expected and do not produce any special effect whereas ‘*marked choices*’ are “**unusual, un-expected and encode the speaker's social disapproval**” (Lotfabbadi, 2002:19). The third maxim is ‘*the exploratory choice*’ which is assigned to “**‘explore’ or to ‘negotiate’ the unmarked choice between interlocutors when the choice of code is not clearly apparent**” (Smith, D.J. 2002:5). Analyzing teachers’ linguistic behaviours, then, in classroom interaction, would fall within the Markedness continuum of either marked or unmarked choices. In their conversation teacher-learner, the unmarked (i.e., expected) language is generally the ML and the marked (i.e., unexpected) language is the EL. If the choice is unmarked, the teacher is able to raise answers from learners and “**thus encouraging active participation and involvement in the lesson**” (Moodley e & Kamwangamalu, 2016:189) as well as the learner can feel free to express his/her feelings without anxiety. The choice can also be marked during interactions in the classroom.

### 1.5. Interactional Sociolinguistics and Classroom Interaction

The New Oxford Dictionary of English defines the concept interaction “as a reciprocal action or influence”. Brown (2001:165) says that, “**...interaction is, in fact, the heart of communication: it is what communication is all about**”. According to Brown, interaction

<sup>33</sup> Quoted in Dendane (2007 :123)

is related to communication whereas the first definition declares that interaction is more than action followed by a reaction. Hence, for analyzing the language of social interaction; particularly the language of face-to-face interaction, a prominent linguistic interpretative approach has been emerged called: *Interactional Sociolinguistics*.

### **1.5.1. Interactional Sociolinguistics**

Sociolinguistics is, as a branch of research, concerned with **“the relationship between language and the context in which it is used”** (Holmes, J. 2013:1). **“Sociolinguists are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts”**, as Holmes explains (idem) through **“identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning”**. Later on, thanks to the increasing interest in discourse analysis, a set of linguists has gradually focused on a more significant framework; aiming to analyze the language of ‘face-to-face’ interaction, not only the language of ordinary conversation; however, even other speech genres have been dealt with such as: interviews, public lectures, and classroom interaction through **“a qualitative, interpretative approach to the analysis of social interaction”** (Gordon, cited in Wodak *et al.* 2011:67) named as : ‘Interactional Sociolinguistics’. Interactional sociolinguistics, indeed, **“offers a linguistic approach to the contemporary, constructionist understanding of identity put forth by researchers from a range of disciplinary perspectives (Goffma,1959; Berger & Luckmann,1966; Ochs,1993; Holstein and Gubrium,2007)”** (idem).

In this respect, Jaspers, J. (cited in Gee, J. P. & Hanford. M, 2012:135) explains that interactional sociolinguistics **“studies the language use of people in face-to-face interaction”**. He states (idem) that it is **“a theoretical and methodological perspective on language use with eclectic roots in a wide variety of disciplines such as: dialectology, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, micro-ethnography and sociology”**. As talk is incomplete, interactional sociolinguistics, in its concern, endeavours to encourage all language users at depending on either extra-communicative knowledge or at proposing hypotheses in order to infer **“how what is**

said relates to the situation at hand and what a speaker possibly intends to convey by saying it” (idem). Moreover, Jaspers, J. clarifies (idem) that,

**Interactional sociolinguists in principle try to describe how meaningful contexts are implied via talk, how and if these are picked up by relevant others, and how the production and reception of talk influences subsequent interaction.**

Furthermore, Gumperz (cited in Schiffrin. D. *et al.* 2001:215) points out that interactional sociolinguistics is **“an approach to discourse analysis that has its origin in the search for replicable methods of qualitative analysis that account for our ability to interpret what participants intend to convey in everyday communicative practice.** Its emergence, thus, goes back to John. J. Gumperz’s framework in 1960’s & 1970’s when he noticed huge linguistic and cultural differences in everyday talk. Therefore, he attempts at looking for a relevant method in order to understand and interpret such differences.

This approach, indeed, provides **“theories and methods that enable researchers to explore not only how language works but also to gain insights into the social processes through which individuals build and maintain relationships, exercise power, project and negotiate identities, and create communities”** Gordon (cited in Wodak *et al.* 2011:67). These methods include either observation of the participants or audio and/or video recording of their interactions and conversations in real contexts. The recorded conversations should be thoroughly transcribed. Considering this approach methodology, Gordon (idem) summarizes that interactional sociolinguistics includes,

**...an ethnographic component (observations of speakers in naturally-occurring contexts and participant-observation), audio-and/or video-recording of interaction, detailed linguistic transcription of recorded conversation, careful micro analysis of conversational features in the context of the information gained through ethnography, and sometimes, post-recording interviews. The key theoretical contributions of interactional sociolinguistics are to explain how speakers use signaling mechanisms, or ‘contextualization cues’ [...], often prosodic (like intonation, stress, pitch, register) or paralinguistic (like tempo, pausing, hesitation) in nature.**

Among these theoretical contributions, Gumperz's framework (1982) who, when examining speakers' interactions, noticed that speakers aim at using what is called: *Contextualization cues*. These Contextualization cues are **“the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows”** Gumperz (1982a,131). Contextualization cues, in fact, refer to,

**any verbal sign which, when processed in co-occurrence with symbolic grammatical and lexical signs, serves to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation and thereby affects how constituent messages are understood. Code-switching is one such contextualization cue. Others include pronunciation along with prosody (i.e. intonation and stress), rhythm, tempo, and other such supra-segmental signs. Contextualization cues, when processed in co-occurrence with other cues and grammatical and lexical signs, construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation and thereby affect how particular messages are understood.**

(Gumperz 1982a, cited in Schiffrin *et al.*, 2001:221).

In addition to these cues, Gumperz put forwards another key element which is known as: *'conversational inference'* which can be **“made within the context of an interactive exchange, the nature of which is constrained both by what is said and by how it is interpreted”** Gumperz (1992: 230). Bailey Benjamin (2008: 2314)<sup>34</sup>, in his article entitled 'Interactional Sociolinguistics', endeavours at illustrating the dual functioning of the communicative stream as both referential content and a context in which to interpret that very referential content; taking as an example the utterance “Nice tie!”. This utterance, in American English, may refer either to a sincere compliment or to a joking insult. The interpretation of this utterance, then, depends on the speaker's utterance performance.

Consequently, Bailey Benjamin (*idem*) suggests that contextualization cues such as:

**A broad smile and marked intonation accompanying the words “Nice tie!” can serve as contextualization cues that channel inferential processes toward a particular interpretation. Contextualization cues do not *directly* in-**

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<sup>34</sup> Bailey, Benjamin. 2008. “Interactional Sociolinguistics.” *International Encyclopedia of Communication*. Pp. 2314-2318. New York: Blackwell Publishers.

**dex or refer to a specific interpretive frame, but rather serve as prods to inferential processes. A smile, for example, does not always indicate a joking insult frame for the talk that it accompanies. The functioning of a given cue is made even more ambiguous by the fact that such cues typically occur in constellations of features, e.g., a smile *and* a marked intonation contour, in which the constellation of features channels inferential processes differently than any one feature, in isolation, might.**

The function of such cues depends also on the *socio-cultural context*. It varies from one's socio-cultural background to another. In this regard, Bailey, Benjamin (*idem*) adds:

**Such cues and inferential patterns are acquired through prolonged and intensive face-to-face interaction in particular cultural settings, typically as part of one's primary language socialization. Contextualization conventions vary across cultures and sub-cultures, just as languages and accents vary across social groupings. They thus form part of one's socio-cultural background, just as other cultural practices and beliefs do.**

Generally speaking, interactional sociolinguistics has largely contributed in the social scientific study of language. It has, in fact, provided prominent approaches for understanding language from two interrelated levels: language structure and language function in distinct settings such as the language of interaction in classrooms.

### **1.5.2. Interaction in classroom**

Classroom interaction can be defined as a two-way process between the participants in the learning process; the teacher influences the learner and vice versa. In this vein, Malamah-Thomas (1987:8) points out that “**every interaction situation has the potential for co-operation or conflict**”. Moreover, Interaction is defined by Grice, cited in Teresa (1999:421) 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 in the classroom is somehow different from any other social situation. This difference lies on the essential pedagogic goal that the classroom carries. Classroom interaction is, indeed, the process in which two communicating agents have a correlative

effect upon each other as it is earlier defined by Thomas. These two agents, in our educational setting, are the teacher and the learner who are considered as a driving tool to positive atmosphere for enhancing the learning and teaching processes.

### **1.5.2.1. The Teacher**

The teacher is the most important component in the classroom. It is up to the teacher to talk, select the topic and determines who should be included in the communication process. The teacher plays a variety of roles in the class for creating a warm atmosphere. In this sense, Shulman (1987:58)<sup>35</sup> asserts that,

**The most effective teachers...create a positive classroom climate in which students feel valued, trusted and supported..., Effective teaching therefore combines knowledge of pedagogy and knowledge of subject matter together with human relationship skills, judgement, humour and intuition.**

For enhancing interaction in the classroom, a set of strategies should be applied in order to help the students to communicate. Teachers should motivate this communication through asking questions, requests, choosing more interesting and suitable topics and subjects to be discussed, negotiating meanings, providing inquiries, as well as yielding comprehensible input.

Accordingly, questions embody an essential element in classroom interactions. The learners, therefore, find it easier to respond to teachers' questions than initiating a conversation. If the learners cannot understand the questions, the teacher, of course, tend to add more simplified language in order to drive the learners to adequate answers and, consequently, making the communication going on.

The teacher in the classroom can assume several roles. He/ She can be a model, an observer, a prompter, a controller or an assessor for instance. He/ She can take the role of a leader or a controller, who determines the process and even types of activities, con-

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<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Westood, 2008.

ducts a warm atmosphere and passes enthusiasm to get a better environment in the classroom. The role of the teacher as a model is, then, crucial in the learning process. A dynamic teacher is always good at motivating learners to listen, participate, and eventually get the message within an enjoyable context.

Establishing relations with learners is part and parcel element in the achievement of positive learning atmosphere. Learners have a positive emotional relation with their teacher. When a teacher takes an active part in the class and learners have a positive emotional relation with their teacher, they will be more involved in the teaching and learning process and, thus, learners' anxiety will be relieved. The teacher is a motivator who helps the learners when they feel lost by providing them with clues or tips; driving the class to be more interactive.

Regarding interaction in the classroom, there are a set of strategies should be taken into consideration to make the communication going on. In this line of thought, Johnstone (1989:9) explains some strategies for helping learners' interact appropriately:

- *Regular checking of understanding,*
- *Using familiar words,*
- *Applying lower cognitive level,*
- *Immediate repetition,*
- *Recycling of information,*
- *Paraphrase,*
- *Other aspects of redundancy,*
- *Slower, clearer talk,*
- *Exaggerated intonation, emphasis,*
- *Structurally simplified language,*
- *Clarity of discourse markers,*
- *Key vocabulary and structures, notified in advance,*
- *Simple tasks, notified in advance,*
- *Routinisation,*
- *Translation into L1.*

In the same vein, Moon (2000, 71) suggested another list of strategies:

- *Showing genuine interest in and responding positively to pupil's answers so as to motivate them to want to speak, e.g. Yes? with an encouraging smile.*
- *Encouraging attention to language accuracy but in a constructive way.*
- *Using English at a level pupils can understand so that pupils are getting more input.*
- *Helping pupils to express their messages by prompting or cueing pupils to say more (so they are pushed' to use the language to communicate).*
- *Relating talk to familiar contexts which are meaningful for pupils, thus encouraging them and making them want to talk, e.g. pupils' own news.*
- *Working in partnership with pupils to achieve a common goal.*

The teachers' role is, indeed, a very difficult task that demands hard efforts. They need to be able to switch between several roles, arguing when it is appropriate to use one over the other. Their success, however, cannot be accomplished without the help of the second agent, that is, the learner.

### **1.5.2.2. The learner**

Learners, as a second communicating agent, when they come into the classroom, they bring with them their social, psychological, and cultural background. Teachers should recognize individual differences in order to facilitate the learning task for diverse types.

Strictly speaking, Eddy (1990) classifies learners into three types: auditory, visual, and kinesthetic-tactile learners. Auditory learners are those who are better in the listening skill than writing or reading ones. They favour sessions of oral expression and discussion-based-courses from which they can absorb and restore the information more easily and rapidly. Visual learners, however, are those whose way of learning is associated with images. They can receive the information by seeing it in terms of a picture, a diagram, a graph, an illustrated textbook, a video, or a map. The last category, kinesthetic-Tactile learners, includes pupils or students whose learning style requires a body movement and touch. Learners of this category are also known as "hyperactive" as they seem to benefit more from motions and physical activities which are directly tied to learning.

Overwhelmingly, in any class, learners' talk is minor in comparison with

teachers' speech. This fact can be explained by numerous factors being internal or external. Anxiety is an influential factor which may diminish learners' talk and affect communication in the class. Additionally, other reasons such as the selected topic that can be seen, in some cases, inadequate to some learners who do not possess the adequate vocabulary and information to such a topic and, therefore, will be an obstacle for communication.

Thus, the topic discussed can be considered as another component of classroom interaction. If learners like the topic and show positive attitudes towards it, they appear to be more motivated. This motivation will create a good and relaxed atmosphere and vice versa.

The code used in the classroom is, too, a crucial and an affecting element in the teaching and learning processes as it is put forward by Hudgins *et al.* (1981:1), **“the process of teaching should be thought of as a type of everyday social interaction, rather than as a specialized type of human behaviour”**. This is, in fact, the purpose of this research to check distinct teachers' linguistics behaviours when interacting in the classroom; is it really special? Or is it a type of every day social communication as it is suggested by Hudgins?

Broadly speaking, the educational process between the communicating agents requires positive relationships for learners' success. In a similar vein, Eccles (2004:129) declares that,

**Teacher-student relationships are a key component of classroom climate: high quality teacher-student relationships help facilitate academic motivation, school engagement, academic success, self-esteem, and more general socioemotional well-being.**

This interaction can be tackled by a set of approaches.

### **1.5.3. Approaches of Classroom Interaction**

Three prominent approaches have been cited by Ruby (2008). They are known as follows: classroom interaction analysis (CIA), conversation analysis (CA), and Discourse Analysis (DA).

### 1.5.3.1. Classroom Interaction Analysis

Teaching is defined as an interactive process (Flanders 1970). Interaction can take place between teachers and learners or among learners themselves. Classroom Interaction Analysis, as a consequence, characterizes teachers and learners' participation in the classroom and their verbal behaviour. It has been pioneered by Flanders' model (1970). Flanders set up 'ten Interaction Analysis Categories (FIAC)' in which he attempts at describing the teaching and learning processes in relation to the code used in the classroom.

Through his model, Flanders does not focus on explaining and interpreting classroom speech as a product (see section 1.4.3). That is, which code can be used by the teacher, when, and how? He, in fact, endeavours at encoding and decoding pattern of interaction between the speaker and the listener. He, indeed, classifies teachers and learners' verbal behaviour into a set of categories. These categories can be explained as follows (Flanders, 1970)<sup>36</sup>:

#### ✚ *Teacher talk*

- a) Accepts feeling: Feelings may be positive or negative and their prediction and recalling are included.
- b) Praises or encourages: is includes telling jokes, nodding head or using phrases like 'Go on'.
- c) Accepts or uses ideas of pupils: the teacher clarifies or develops students' ideas.
- d) Asks questions: Questions may be about content or procedure.
- e) Lectures: Gives facts or opinions about content or procedure.
- f) Gives directions, commands or orders.
- g) Criticizes or justifies authority: E.g. statements intended to change pupils' behaviour.

#### ✚ *Pupil talk*

- h) Response: Teacher initiates interaction. Freedom to express own ideas is limited.

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<sup>36</sup> Malamah-Thomas (1987 :20-21).

i) Initiation: Students express their own ideas, initiate a topic, etc.

#### ✚ *Silence*

j) Silence or confusion: Pauses, short periods of silence, confusion and incomprehension.

This classification has been, however, criticized as it based only on quantitative data filled in the observation and dismissed another necessary kind of data, i.e., qualitative one. It deals with elicited and natural samples of language unlike discourse analysis.

### 1.5.3.2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis concerns both spoken and written language. On the light of Foucault's quotation (1972:80), a discourse can be seen as **“an individualizable group of statements and sometimes as a regulated practice that counts for a number of statements.** Discourse is, thus, a set of utterances which are gathered to form speech event. In this line of thought, Crystal (1987:116 in Mills. S, 2004) asserts that:

**Discourse analysis focusses on the structure of naturally occurring spoken language, as found in such ‘discourses’ as conversations, interviews, commentaries and speeches. Text analysis focusses on the structure of written language, as found in such ‘texts’ as essays, notices, road signs and chapters. But this distinction is not clearcut, and there have been many other uses of these labels. In particular, ‘discourse’ and ‘text’ can be used in a much broader sense to include all language units with a definable communicative function, whether spoken or written. Some scholars talk about ‘spoken or written discourse’, others about ‘spoken or written text’.**

Discourse Analysis is an attempt to interpret the speech event, i.e., what do the writer and the speaker intend to transmit within a sensitive social setting. It was introduced by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). It deals with characterizing turn-taking rules and interaction pattern (Jasmine 2006).

### **1.5.3.3. Conversation Analysis**

A conversation is “that familiar predominant kind of talk in which two or more participants freely alternate in speaking” (Levinson, 1983:284). Conversation analysis, in its turn, is considered as a powerful methodology aims at analyzing such conversation and investigating the structure and the process of social interaction between individuals.

Sidnell, J. (2010:1) advocates that conversation analysis is,

**an approach within the social sciences that aims to describe, analyze and understand talk as a basic and constitutive feature of human social life. CA is a well-developed tradition with a distinctive set of methods and analytic procedures as well as a large body of established findings.**

Conversation analysis is developed from social sciences. It draws its inquiries on sociology and sociolinguistics. It attempts to examine the speaker’s communicative competence in the classroom as a social setting. In a gradual way, conversation analysis framework has been extended to check other social contexts where other types of talk can be clearly noticed as it is the case of medical interaction. This notion leads to another characterization; labelled as “talk-in-interaction”.

Strictly speaking, Heritage, J. (Quoted in Fitch, K.L. et al. (2005:104) reveals that,

**This approach means focusing on how interactional rules and practices are ceaselessly drawn on by the participants in constructing shared and specific understandings of where they are within a social interaction.**

Conversation analysis started first by Harvey Sacks in 1960’s with the collaboration of Emanuel Schegloff & Gail Jefferson who were inspired by the sociologists’ works: Erving Goffman’s conception of the interaction order and Harold Garfinkel’ s structure of social action.

## **1.6. Conclusion**

As it has been highlighted in the introduction of this chapter, the aim of this first part was to provide a general overview of some sociolinguistic concepts related to our

study. The current chapter has emphasized the necessity to describe the phenomenon of diglossia in general and that of Arabic in particular in relation to education. The purpose in our case is to explore Arabic language teachers' linguistic behaviours in classroom interaction in addition to unveiling the attitudes and the reasons that stand behind such behaviours and analyzing language of instruction used in Arabic language courses. This is why a detailed analysis about a set of phenomena has been noticed mainly; diglossia and CS. The chapter has, eventually, exposed a detailed review about classroom interaction. Though it is a theoretical in form, it will be more helpful for examining the field-work results that will be explained in details in the next chapters.

# Chapter Two

# **Algeria: A Socio-Pragmatic Consideration**

## **2.1. Introduction**

## **2.2. Algeria: A Linguistic and Historical Background.**

2.2.1. Algeria: Amalgam Invasions

2.2.2. Algeria: A French Department

2.2.3. Independent Algeria

## **2.3. Competing Codes in Algeria**

2.3.1. Arabic

2.3.1.1. Classical Arabic

2.3.1.2. Modern Standard Arabic

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2.3.1.4. Algerian Arabic

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## **2.4. Algeria: An Intricate Diglossic Code Switching Situation**

2.4.1. Diglossia

2.4.1.1. Badawi's Classification

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2.4.1.3. Diglossic Impact on education

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2.4.2. Code Switching

2.4.2.1. Algerian Arabic and French Code Switching

2.4.2.2. Diglossic Code Switching

## **2.5. Tlemcen Speech Community: A Geo-Linguistic Consideration**

2.5.1. The Geographical Location of Tlemcen

2.5.2. Tlemcen Spoken Arabic: A Linguistic Analysis

## **2.6. Conclusion**

**2.1. Introduction**

Akin to the other North African countries, Algeria witnessed a dilemma of languages. This thorny issue comes to the surface as soon as one endeavours to draw a sweeping picture of the available language varieties. Yet, because of the creative aspect of human language, and despite the numerous efforts to raise linguistic problems in the Arabic nation, linguistic inquiries that coincide with the actual linguistic facts and the sociolinguistic realities are still needed.

Indeed, the present chapter involves two parts. The first part provides a more detailed picture of the linguistic situation in Algeria and exposes the historical causes of the current situation; introducing a review about language repertoires and the conflicting interplays between these languages which lead the situation to sound quite intricate. From the historical point of view, this part would explain how Arabic was first introduced to Algeria and North Africa as a whole, with the spread of Islam starting from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and then how, many centuries later, the French language came to play a significant role in Algeria during the long term French occupation. It would also shed light on some of the features relevant to our topic, notably diglossia and CS in a more precise way. The second part, however, sketches out the speech community of Tlemcen; it gives a brief geographical, socio-historical, and linguistic overview of the town where the data were collected.

**2.2. Algeria: a Linguistic and Historical Background**

Algeria has, in fact, gone through so many events that have shaped its cultural and linguistic components. Its complex situation is the consequence of successive periods of its long history. The French invasion is the longest and the most effective one. This is why, it has been taken as a reference in classifying the distinct eras of Algerian history into three prominent periods: '*pre-colonial Algeria*' in which the researcher will discuss all the invasions before the French occupation including the Romans, Turkish and so forth, then '*Algeria during the French colonialism*', and finally '*post-colonial era*'.

**2.2.1. Algeria: Amalgam Invasions**

The Algerian history took place in the fertile coastal plain of North Africa, i.e., the Maghreb. It is commonly agreed among historians that the original inhabitants of Algeria were the Berbers. The latter spoke the Tamazight language which gradually resulted in the co-existence of different Berber varieties spoken up to now in Algeria. Regarding historians of middle ages, they asserted that the Berbers were divided into two branches<sup>1</sup>: Botr and Banés, descended from Mawigh ancestors, who were themselves scattered into a set of tribes, then into sub-tribes. The biggest Berber tribes are: Sanhadja, Houras, Masmouda, Kutama, Awarba, and Berghwata.

Algeria was the cradle of a Berber civilization. Yet, the arrival of the Phoenicians, who had established settlements on the coast of Algeria, was considered as an official starting point in the history of the country. After 1000 BCE, the Carthaginians, in their own part, started to establish settlements along the coast; leaving the interior of the grounds to the Berbers. Because of the successive defeats by the Romans in the Punic wars, the Carthaginian state had destroyed and declined. The decline led to the growth of Berber leaders' influence in the hinterland as well as to the emergence of a set of administered Berber kingdoms. Despite the independence of Berbers and the decline of the city of the Carthage, the Punic language<sup>2</sup> remains its traces apparent in today's Berber varieties.

The early inhabitants settled 1000 BC and survived several successive invasions. Firstly, the Roman conquests lasted more than six centuries. Yet, they could not 'Latinize' the Berbers as the Berber opposition was approximately constant. The growth of most cities relied on agriculture, thus the region was labelled "*granary of the empire*". After the Romans occupation, Christianity arrived in the second century.

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<sup>1</sup> [http:// www.suite101.com/content/early-inhabitants-of-Algeria-a107337](http://www.suite101.com/content/early-inhabitants-of-Algeria-a107337) accessed to on March, 14, 2014 at 11:47.

<sup>2</sup> A Semitic language close to Hebrew was the language of the Numides kings at that time, and, therefore, the official language of Carthage. Historically, Berbers have been known by variously terms, for instance, as «Meshwesh» or «Meshewesh» by the Egyptians, the «Libyans» by the ancient Greek, as «Numidians» and «Mauri »by the Romans, and as «Moore» by medieval and early modern Europeans.

As far as Vandals occupation is concerned, it was coincided by the Romans defeat. Vandals' influence was not strong. In spite of the use of their Germanic language and the Gothic script, in addition to Latin in the field of legislation and diplomacy, they left any traces due to the short period they spent in the area (455-533). Later on, the Byzantines put an end to the Vandals domination in 533 AD after a settlement that took a long period of times until Arabs' invasion.

The arrival of the Arabs in the 7<sup>th</sup> century was extremely a changing point in the history of all Northern African countries, including Algeria. The Arabs brought not only religion '*Islam*' but even the Arabic language which had a profound influence on North Africa. The new widespread religion and language introduced changes in social and economic relations and provided a rich culture and a powerful idiom of political discourse and organization, which paved the way to the dominance of Arabic over the other already existing language varieties.

With the coming of these Arab invasions of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Berber of the cities began adopting Arabic gradually; regarding this language as 'a divine idiom'. The Berber of the mountains or the countryside, on the other side, seemed sticking to their ancestral languages. The greatest cultural impact on Berber, in fact, came until the 11<sup>th</sup> century with the coming of the tribes of 'Banu Hilal' when Berber would start its decline and Arabic became deeply rooted in Algeria. (Berrabeh, 1999: 37).

Invasions of the Turkish and Spanish had also contributed in linguistic variation in the area. Until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Algeria became a province of the Ottoman Empire for a period of three hundred years (300 years) and was controlled by one leader named "*Dey*". In this era, Turkish became the official language and Arabs and Berbers were locked out of the government. Differently explained, the Turks never sympathized with the Arab-Berber population and rejected to be assimilated to these Arabic-speaking people. They preferred living as foreigners in North Africa in a totally different community, until 1830.

The Turkish and Spanish invasions did not leave any deep-rooted linguistic traces, except for some borrowed words like ‘tabsi’: (plate) from Turkish and ‘falta’ and ‘bote’ from Spanish which mean (a mistake) or (boat) respectively. The Spanish presence in Algeria was a way of neutralizing the Turkish piracy harboured by the North African coastal shelters. It is, consequently, necessary to mention that the Spanish presence triggered a fertile process of lexical borrowing that pervaded the vernacular (Zoulikha Bensafi, 2002:831).

In commerce, the Turks, the Algerians, and the Europeans used a variety known as a *Lingua Franca*<sup>3</sup> to communicate, which involves Spanish vocabulary, elements of Turkish and of the syntactic shapes inspired from Arabic; the fact that explains the existence of many Greek words in the Algerian speech community today. What complicates the situation more and more is the French domination in 1830 which results in an intricate Algerian linguistic situation.

### **2.2.2. Algeria: A French Department**

In 1830, Algeria was going to witness the beginning of the greatest colonization of its history. It is necessary to state that, unlike the French occupation in Tunisia and Morocco which lasted for much less time, France, in more than 130 years, aimed at destroying the Algerian identity at all levels politically, linguistically, as well as culturally.

One of the crucial tenets of the French government in Algeria was to acculturate the Algerian population and steadily to erase the Arabo-Islamic identity and impose their French language as **“the only official language of civilization and advancement”** (Bouhris, 1982: 44). The French policy was, indeed, a severe and a strong one. It was undertaken by force and violence. Soon after the settlement, the new government

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<sup>3</sup> A shared language of communication used by people whose main languages are different.

attempted numerous tactics in order to establish control over the region and to make Algeria as a French department; claiming that '*Algeria is French*'.

The conquest, at the beginning was to some extent slow thanks to the resistance of the well-known *Emir Abdelkader* who contributed in delaying the full French occupation for eighteen years. It was until 1848 that almost all Northern Algeria became under French control. The occupied lands have been immediately undertaken as integral part of France. Three civil territories: Algiers, Oran, Constantine were organized as French departments, i.e., as local administrative units under a civilian government. The French Army endeavoured to apply a kind of a "*human genocide*" and a "*cultural cleansing*" at that time when Algeria had been perceived as 'colony of settlement'.

As a matter of fact, language has been used as a base and a dependent element of colonialism. The Duke of Rovigo asserted that the most effective way for possessing the country was destroying the Algerian language, particularly the Arabic language. In this respect, He declared (1843:36)<sup>4</sup>,

**Je regarde la propagation de l'instruction et de notre langue comme le moyen le plus efficace de faire des progrès à notre domination dans ce pays...le vrai prodige à opérer serait de remplacer peu à peu l'Arabe par le français (...) qui ne peut manquer de s'entendre parmi les indigènes, surtout si la génération nouvelle vient en foule s'instruire dans nos écoles<sup>5</sup>.**

The Duke declaration, at the beginning, could not be achieved. It was quite hard to completely de-arabise the Algerian state due to the existence of Koranic schools and mosques until 1880. In fact, the lack of Arabic educational institutions and the quick establishment of French schools compelled many Algerians to attend French schools.

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<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Taleb Ibrahim, 1994: 42

<sup>5</sup> Personal translation: I consider the propagation of instruction in our language as the most efficient means to make progress in our domination of this country. I regard the spread of instruction and our language as the most efficient means to make our rule evolve in this country ... the real feat of the process will be the slow replacement of Arabic by French (...) which can decrease the annihilation among natives, especially if the new generation comes collectively to learn in our schools.

The most significant French objective was, of course, to dominate totally and definitively the country and thus, through implementing French schools. This strategy could not gain effects up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Algerian' resistance collapsed and broke down. In this period of time, there was a radical change among many Algerians towards the French school. In this line of thought, Taleb Ibrahimi, Kh (1997:37) revealed that:

**The beginning of this country will see a change of attitudes towards the school; from fierce refusal, Algerians proceed to a vehement claim for the right of schooling<sup>6</sup>.**

Therefore, Algerian parents especially in urban cities seize the opportunity for their offspring to enter the modern world and to avoid illiteracy through education in French schools. Whereas, other Algerian families preferred to let their children grow in ignorance. This situation has been analyzed by Boutefnouchet (1982:38) in the following words:

**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<sup>7</sup>.**

Agreement and disagreement among Algerians upon the French schools would involve later the conflicts between 'Franchising modernists' and the 'Arabising Islamic traditionalists'. Almost all colonizers often succeed, to a certain extent, to implement their ideology and their language as a language of self-advancement (Romaine, 2000). This is why; French is, today, playing a prominent role in numerous spheres such as: education and administration. Even though MSA has been declared as the official and national language, the French left its traces deeply in the AA and Berber which were the spoken varieties used by the indigenous population.

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<sup>6</sup> Personal translation to the original text: « **Le début de ce siècle verra un changement d'attitude vis-à-vis de l'école; du refus farouche, les Algériens passent à la revendication véhémement du droit à la scolarisation** ».

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Guessoum, A. (2002: 192).

Right after the First World War (IWW), the value of nationalism and anti-colonialism raised among Algerians. In the early morning hours of November 1954, the National Liberation Front «FLN» launched a military revolution throughout Algeria calling for independence. After a long and brutal war, the referendum was held in Algeria on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962 and Algeria's independence was formally on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

The impact of the colonial language was indeed so strong that today, half a century after independence and in spite of the arabisation policy started very early, French continues to be used in a number of domains, particularly in higher education scientific fields. It is also used in everyday speech mostly in the form of borrowings, code switching and/or mixing with AA and/or Berber. Our country is highly ranked among the old French-speaking settlements. In this vein, Calvet (1974:219) states that Algeria “**is statistically the most francophone of the ancient colonies**”. French is, indeed, part of our linguistic and social environments.

### **2.2.3. Independent Algeria**

Algeria was declared as an independent state after a heavy and brutal war. The independent state has been characterized by a linguistic diversity. As a result of historical events, four varieties were present: Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Berber, and French. Therefore, it was necessary to set up a unified state with a single religion, a single language, and a single political party. Imposing linguistic unity on the Algerian nation was a gigantic task; at the same time politicians realized the necessity and urgency of this task.

It is evident that in an independent multilingual country the choice of one language over and above the others as the national and official tongue may lead to national strife. The first president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria was the FLN leader "Ahmed Ben Bella" who was elected in September, 1962. On October 5th, 1962, the president Ben Bella, in his speech, declared that “**Arabic is the national language of independent Algeria**” (Benmouset, 2003). Hence, the Algerian

political power recognized two pillars that hold the Algerian identity: Arabic as the official language and Islam as religion of the state. The choice of Islam was automatic and 'logic' as it is the most valuable and salient 'glue' that binds the Algerian nationalism together.

Independent Algeria, in fact, rejected any statute with French, Berber or even AA. Selecting French would seem to favour those with education in French; in any case, it would hardly be a symbol of nationhood for a North African state. AA and Berber, on the other hand, were also excluded from the Algerian language policy; the former was refused, on the basis that it lacks standardization and the latter it **"could not become a standard language because of its colloquialism"** (Boukous, 2002), i.e., it does not possess the same cultural prestige as Arabic.

Even if the former variety had been approached to be the selected official language, the selection would be sure handicapped by the question of which variety to standardize: AA of the East, the West, the South, or the North. Moreover, if one side over the others might be chosen, which variety of which speech community should be chosen among the existing ones in that side? Hence, this proposal will create a big intricate internal problem that could torn the Algerian nationalism apart.

The Berber variety is, in its own turn, the mother tongue of many Algerians. It included four ethnic groups (see section 2.3.3.). To be selected as an official language, its varieties should be first unified. The Berber tongue is oral in nature as it lacks a specific script. Specialists usually show a kind of disagreement upon which script should be used; whether the Latin script, the Tifinagh, or even the Arabic script. Boukous points out (2002:269):

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

Anyway, Algerian authorities considered both varieties either AA or Berber as "impure" languages; comprising so much French words and "inappropriate" as well, never considered as national symbols of the state.

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

MSA has been recognized, then, as the official language of the state. Yet, another issue is raised in this era which concerns language of education, i.e., which language will be used in Algerian schools as a medium of instruction and as a national one in the state: French which was considered as a symbol of "dark years of colonialism" or Arabic as "language of the Quran and the identity". According to Hartshorne (1981:63)<sup>8</sup>,

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

As a matter of fact, decision makers in Algeria decided to restore Arabic as a language of Algeria under process which is referred to in literature as « Arabization» or «re-Arabization», a process that will be explained in details over the whole following chapter which gathers information on both language policy and education in Algeria as it is the main concern of the current study. It gathers also responses on the question of which language of instruction should be taken and how can be selected. After that, details will be given, in the fourth chapter, about that medium of instruction in real classroom situations relying on observed and objective data. Thus, the two first chapters are regarded as introductory driving tools and essential vital pillars towards the main purpose of this research.

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<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Benmoussset, 2003

### 2.3. COMPEETING CODES IN ALGERIA

Throughout this analysis, the researcher tends to shed light on today's Algerian linguistic repertoire with the aim of exposing the dynamic conflicting interplay between its linguistic varieties which are: Arabic, French, and Berber (Tamazight).

#### 2.3.1. Arabic

Arabic belongs to the South-Western Semitic<sup>9</sup> languages (Holes: 2004), and it is the only joint official language in the Middle East and North Africa. Thanks to the spread of the Muslim religion and civilization, the Arabic language has been widely extended. Its dialects are largely spoken throughout much of the Middle East and North Africa (Lehmann, 1973:39).

Arabic is considered as the prestigious variety of Arabs, widely used in Arab countries (over 22 countries); having a special prominence. **“It is one of the vital languages, and not only that, but it is the best of all languages. It is the language that Allah has chosen for His Holy Book”** (Ghazala, 2001:43). The Arabic language has a privileged position as it is the language of the Holy Qur'an, the Hadeeth, and the language of refined literature sciences. It can also refer to Classical Arabic (CA) as it is considered as a pure language or clear language, the written language of Qur'an. In this line of thought, Chejne (1969:3) declares that,

**Arabic is the liturgical language in all the Muslim countries, which have a combined population of more than four hundred million people [...] the use of Arabic as the language of prayer is required of a Muslim no matter what his native tongue may be.**

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<sup>9</sup> Semitic languages are divided into three main groups: Eastern Semitic, Western Semitic, and Southern Semitic. Eastern Semitic: the *East Semitic* branch consists of one language: Akkadian which dates from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. Akkadian was spoken in what is today Iraq. Western Semitic: the main languages of this group are: the ancient languages Amorite and Ugaritic, the Canaanite languages, and Aramaic. The third group 'Southern Semitic' includes: the South Arabian languages, Arabic, and the Ethiopian languages.

However, it sometimes denotes what is called Literary Arabic or MSA which was developed in 19<sup>th</sup> century as an outcome of cultural revival ‘Nahda’<sup>10</sup> in the Middle East (Benrabeh,2007:46).

Strictly speaking, Algeria defines itself as a part of the Arabic and Muslim world, *El-Oumma El-Arabiyya*. Arabic is the major, national, and official language of the state<sup>11</sup>. The majority of the population is generally aware of two varieties of the Arabic language: Literary Arabic and Colloquial Arabic. The Arabic language is, therefore, a term covering several varieties more or less close to each other but with variation of status and domain of use.

At the level of identifying the Arabic language, continuum terms have been attributed to Arabic in many ancient and recent inquiries. These terms are named as follows: L’Arabe Classique/ Classical Arabic (Marcais:1930), L’Arabe Moderne / Neo-Arabic / Modern Arabic (monteil:1960), Modern Arabic (Stetkevych: 1970, Blau:1981, Holes:2004), L’Arabe vivant (Pellat1971), Modern Written Arabic, Modern Literary Arabic (Meiseless:1977, Gully:1993), or Modern Standard Arabic (Kaye:1987, Parkinson:1993). The classification of a whole range of varieties is still a matter of debate. Yet, the most identified codes, in fact, are: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, and Colloquial Arabic.

### **2.3.1.1. Classical Arabic**

Classical Arabic is identified as the language of the Koran and the language of pre-Islamic poetry. When accepting the existence of four varieties of Arabic, it will be allowed to argue that CA is limited to specific domains:

- ❖ Religious purposes (reciting the Quran, Friday sermons, etc).

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<sup>10</sup> The term ‘Nahda’ usually refers to *Renaissance*. Arab Renaissance was a cultural movement in the Arab world in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainly centered in Lebanon, then largely moving to Egypt. El-Nahda played a prominent role in the rise of nationalism a protest against the European colonialism by means of strengthening Arab or Islam culture and thoughts.

<sup>11</sup> All three Algerian constitutions (1963, 1976, 1989) proclaim that “Islam is the religion of the state” and that “Arabic is the national and official language of the state”. Bouamrane, A. (1990:52).

- ❖ The language of a large body of literature (prose and especially poetry).
- ❖ The rhetoric language of eloquent speakers and preachers, known as language purists and guardians.

Consequently, CA is a 'sacred' and living language understood and pretty much used by a number of literate people in restricted contexts. Its spread is due to Islam. This is why, a large number of Arabic loan words can be noticed in many other languages, as it is explained by Thomason (2001:2),

**The Koran (or, more precisely, Qur'an), the sacred text of Islam, is written in Classical Arabic, but many of the world's Muslims do not speak any form of Arabic. Nevertheless, Classical Arabic is in contact with other languages in many parts of the world through the religion, as it is attested by the sizable number of Arabic loan words in various languages among them Persian, Turkish, and Malay are spoken primarily by Muslims.**

CA is said to have stemmed from the Arabic variety spoken by the Quraysh tribe in Mecca. It has acquired its prestige by virtue of the fact of being used in social, commercial, and cultural events by the different Arab tribes, of the Arab peninsula, who used to meet in Mecca on regular occasions before the coming of Islam such as the Hedjj or the pilgrimage period, and " suk Okàdh"<sup>12</sup> where well-known Arab writers and poets used to gather to read their long poetic verses " el muʿallaqa:t ".

Indeed, the introduction of the Arabic language during the 7<sup>th</sup> century was crucially fundamental for the future profile of North African populations as they have undergone irreversible transformations from the religious, linguistic, and socio-cultural standpoints. CA succeeded in absorbing many indigenous Berber varieties except in a few remote mountainous and Sahara areas.

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<sup>12</sup> [http:// www.sooqokaz.com/content/history/history.html](http://www.sooqokaz.com/content/history/history.html), "Tàrikhu Souk Okàdh" accessed to on March 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

In this respect, Marçais (1960:566)<sup>13</sup> points out that CA is a language which:

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

Centuries later, a modern form of CA has been used in formal contexts called: Modern Standard Arabic.

### 2.3.1.2. Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is a simplified and modernized version of CA, from which MSA takes its normative rules. It is highly codified and, consequently, perceived as the idealized and the highest form. One may argue that MSA is the legal progeny of the press labelled as 'language of newspapers' and the official language of education and of wider written communication as well all over the Arabic-speaking world in general.

In Algeria, MSA is generally the language of all official domains such as: education, administration, media, news reporting, governments and institutions and used for religious and literary purposes. MSA is the most prestigious that is designated as the formal language written and/or spoken in all formal spheres and the medium of instruction in all educational institutions. In a similar vein, all Algerian constitutions (1963, 1976, 1996, Quoted in Bouamrane, 1990: 52.) assert that **"Islam is the religion of the state"** and **"Arabic is the national and official language of the state"** as shown obviously in the table<sup>14</sup> below:

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<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Dorni, 2009: 38.

<sup>14</sup> Mentioned in Dendane, 2010:53

**Constitution 1963 [abrogée]****Article 4**

L'islam est la religion de l'Etat. La République garantit à chacun le respect de ses opinions et de ses croyances, et le libre exercice des cultes.

**Article 5**

La langue Arabe est la langue nationale est officielle de l'Etat.

**Constitution 1976 [abrogée]****Article 2**

L'islam est la religion de l'Etat.

**Article 3**

L'Arabe est la langue national est officielle. L'Etat œuvre à généraliser l'utilisation de la langue nationale au plan officiel.

**Constitution 1996 [en vigueur]****Article 2**

L'islam est la religion de l'Etat.

**Article 3**

L'Arabe est la langue nationale et officielle.

**Article 178**

Toute révision constitutionnelle ne peut porter atteinte :

- 1- au caractère républicain de l'Etat ;
- 2- à l'ordre démocratique, basée sur le multipartisme ;
- 3- à l'islam, en tant que religion de l'Etat ;
- 4- à l'Arabe, comme langue nationale et officielle ;
- 5- aux libertés fondamentales, aux droits de l'homme et du citoyen ;
- 6- à l'intégrité et à l'unité du territoire nationale.

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

Some authors argue that MSA and CA should better be treated as very close forms and terms employed interchangeably as stated by Micaud (1974:96):

**Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic are mutually intelligible, although generally mutually exclusive, in terms both of their respective functions and of their users.**

Contrary to Kaye (1987:377) who directs his attention to draw a clear-cut distinction between CA and MSA, suggesting that: **“The fact is, however, that MSA is not the language of the purists”**.

Strictly speaking, MSA and CA, in the Algerian speech community, are often employed confusingly in literature to refer to the variety of Arabic used in the written form. The Arabic Fushà is used to refer to the language which is grammatically virtually identical with the Arabic of the Koran. MSA, however, differs according to its users depending on their language proficiencies and across the territories where it is fittingly used.

As far as phonology, rules of syntax, and morphology are concerned, MSA seems to be more similar to CA. They practically share the same sound system and follow the grammar rules; except for the lack of inflectional systems, in MSA, in nouns and verbs which makes a difference in pronouncing the end of words. The obvious differences are related to stylistics and vocabulary. While CA has a considerably large body of vocabulary, MSA has a relatively smaller lexis which is mostly taken from the mother source. Another undeniable significant aspect at the lexical level is that MSA contains ample instances of loanwords.

Admittedly, CA is distinct from MSA in a variety of points. The most eye-catching point lies in the consideration of CA as a synthetic variety while MSA is rather an analytic one (Derni, 2009). Differently put, in CA there are special case endings known as “el-harakaat”<sup>15</sup> which are placed at the end of words to indicate their functions in the sentence while in MSA there are no case endings or ‘el-i’raab’ and the words’ functions can be determined in terms of their order in the sentence.

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<sup>15</sup> These case endings are: the nominative case which is referred to by the vowel [u], the accusative which in its turn represented by the vowel [a], and the genitive one by the vowel [i].

Overwhelmingly, CA and MSA can be grouped under the designation ‘*Standard Arabic*’, ‘*Literary Arabic*’ or ‘*Fus-ha Arabic*’ because the recognition of MSA as a distinct code is still a matter of debate.

### 2.3.1.3. Educated Spoken Arabic

After Ferguson’s dichotomy of H Vs L (see section 1.3.1.), a third one, later on, has been elaborated called: Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA, henceforth). The term ESA came to be widely used in the early seventies with the pioneering work on the levels of contemporary Arabic in the classic works of El Said Badawi, 1973 and Mitchell, 1976 (see section 1.3.3.).

Educated Spoken Arabic is the outcome of the mixture between elements from MSA and Colloquial Arabic. It is used in formal and semi-formal situations. It is basically employed by educated native speakers. In this respect, Ryding (1991:2012) suggests that ESA is “employed for semiformal discussions, and on other social occasions when the colloquial is deemed too informal, and the literary, too stilted”. ESA is recognized by so many scholars; each scholar labels it differently. It has been labelled as the “Educated Arabic” by Maamouri (1973), “*la Voie Moyenne*” means “the Middle form” by Monteuil (1960), or as “Inter-Arabic” by Bishai (1966). Its equivalent in Arabic is “*al-lugha al-wusta*”.

It occupies an intermediary position between the formal and informal as it “**is the interplay of written Arabic and vernacular Arabic (s)**” (Mitchell, 1986:8)<sup>16</sup>. This intermediary variety can be considered as a simplified form of MSA or an elevated form of AA. It is used in intellectual contexts for a set of attributes. In this line of thought, Mitchell (idem) explains that,

**The motivations for speakers to choose Educated Spoken Arabic in certain settings is to portray themselves as educated, to facilitate inter-regional intelligibility and to show solidarity with speakers from different regions. Educated Spoken Arabic provides space for expressing local allegiances because speakers select certain standard forms and at the same time retain other local features of their choice. In cases when a local feature is stigmatized, speakers replace it with a standard equivalent in order to avoid ridicule. Other factors are the formality of the setting, the role and status relations between interlocutors.**

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<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Moshref, 2009: 13.

Hary (1996), in his part, proposes the terms ‘acrolect’ and ‘basilect’ to refer to the standard variety and the vernacular respectively whereas the intermediate form is referred to as ‘mesolect’. Hary (1996:71-7)<sup>17</sup> explains that these terms have been used, in fact,

**with reference to a set of variables that drive speakers to move back and forth along the continuum. These variables determine the degree of standardization in spoken discourse. They include the setting (formal/informal), topic, interlocutors’ proficiency in MSA, and their emotional state.**

This situation is, therefore, regarded as a case of diglossic code switching. That is, switching back and forth between two varieties of the same language, i.e., between the H variety: MSA and the L variety: AA. The result is, therefore, a form of ESA. This situation is, indeed, the case of our Arabic language teachers when interacting in classrooms, a formal setting. Those teachers usually tend to switch to AA for the reasons cited earlier by Hary (idem); either the topic or due to learners’ lack of proficiency. Hence, Arabic language teachers seem to switch spontaneously or consciously to AA in order to provide a successful learning setting and contributing in high literacy rate.

#### 2.3.1.4. Algerian Arabic

On the other hand, Algerian Arabic (AA), known as ‘El-Amia’ or ‘E-Daridja’, is the Algerians’ mother tongue. It is the spoken variety of everyday discourse among the majority of the population. It is limited to informal domains as it best fits casual conversation. AA is spontaneously used by Algerian individuals to express their feelings, thoughts, and to communicate. AA is defined by Dr. Rachedi (1991, quoted in Abid, 2006:27) as follows:

**C’est quoi au juste l’Algérie? C’est l’arabe dépouillé de ses déclinaisons désuètes, de son duel inutile, de ses constructions lourdes, de ses expressions figées, de sa syntaxe d’un autre âge, de ses vocables antédiluviens. C’est un Arabe parlé, vivant, qui porte la marque du génie inventif berbère, de l’Algérie profonde, de l’Algérie citadine, qui intègre harmonieusement les vocables étrangers<sup>18</sup>.**

<sup>17</sup> Cited in Moshref, 2009: 15.

<sup>18</sup> Translation (by Abid, 2006:27): “What is, in fact, Algerian Arabic? It is Arabic that it is stripped of its absolute declensions, its useless dual case ending, its heavy constructions, its frozen expressions, its syntax from another age, its antediluvian terminology. It is spoken, lively Arabic, which bears the mark of the creative genius of Berber, of rural and urban Algeria, which integrates foreign terms harmoniously”.

Algerian Arabic is, in fact, characterized by noticeable local variations at the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels in relation to the geographical region in which the dialect is spoken. This notion has been explained by Grandguillaume (1997:3) as follows:

**En Algérie les populations parlent leurs langues qui sont l'Arabe ou le Berbère selon les régions. Ces langues ne sont pas écrites, mais parlées et comportent chacune plusieurs variantes, qu'on appelle parfois dialectes<sup>19</sup>.**

As a consequence, AA refers to the variety that Algerians use in oral communication. It is a Colloquial Arabic used for everyday life situations and all interpersonal interactions. AA, though is regionally characterized by different accents and displays much variation from one region to another, all dialects are mutually intelligible among all speakers on the Algerian soil.

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

Basically, the sedentary dialects brought the urban dialects as well as the Village or the Mountain dialects along North Africa. The mountain (or the village) dialects such as: Djidjelli, Mila and Collo in the east in addition to Ghazaouet speech community and Swahlia in the west while the urban ones are implanted in the long established towns of: Tlemcen, Nedroma, Algiers, Cherchell, Meliana, Medea and Dellys

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<sup>19</sup> Personal Translation: In Algeria, the populations speak either Algerian Arabic or Berber according to the region where these codes are used. These varieties are not written, but rather spoken and each code contains different variants. They are sometimes called: dialects.

(Bourdieu, 1961). Whereas the Bedouin tribes, mainly Banu Hila, introduced the rural dialects which present a composite and heterogeneous mass (Marçais, 1960: 377).

Millon, C (1937), Cantineau, J (1938) and Marçais, P (1960) have summarized a set of features that characterized these dialects. Though the work is very old, they are considered as the most eye-catching features of the sedentary dialects (Benrabeh, M., 1989). The most prominent phonetic difference between the Bedouin and the sedentary Algerian dialects lies in the pronunciation of the Arabic morpheme /q/ as asserted by Cantineau (1938:82): **“only a mute pronunciation has a decisive meaning: all the sedentary dialects and only the sedentary dialects have this pronunciation”**<sup>20</sup>. The uvular /q/, therefore, is pronounced either as a velar [k] in Ghazaouet, as a glottal stop [ʔ] as in Tlemcen or [q] as Algiers and Nedroma. The word /qal/ meaning “say”, for example, can be pronounced as: [kal], [ʔal], or [qal].

Numerous consonantal characteristics can be found in the sedentary dialects. Among them is the pronunciation of the interdental /θ/, /ð/, /ð /, and /ð/ as: [t], [d], [t̪], and [d̪] respectively. The word /ðalaam/, for example, meaning ‘darkness’ is pronounced as [æðd̪laam]. Moreover, the phoneme /ʒ/ is pronounced as [ʒ] or [dʒ]. Laraba (1983) classifies [dʒ] as a free variant of /ʒ/ (Benrabeh, M., 1989). In some cases, the phoneme /ʒ/, can be realized as [g] in situations where the word contains either a voiceless fricative /s/ or a voiced sibilant /z/ as in [g]əs meaning ‘sit down’. Unlike rural dialects, the sedentary ones pronounce the diphthongs /au/ and /aɪ/ as long vowels [uu] and [ɪɪ] respectively. For instance, the word /ħauʃ/ (means: ‘court yard’) is realized as [ħuuʃ] and ‘ʕeɪn’ (means: ‘eye’) as [ʕɪɪn]. Another obvious consonantal characteristic is that the aspirate /h/ sounds feeble, generally inaudible in the case of the following affixes: [ha], [hu], and [hum], in which this characteristic is clearly observable, when preceding by a consonant as in the word /daarəha/ is inaudibly realized [daara] (meaning: ‘her house’); especially in Nedroma speech community.

<sup>20</sup> Personal translation of the original quotation: « Seule une prononciation sourde du qaf a un sens décisif : tous les parlers de sédentaires, et seuls les parlers de sédentaires ont cette prononciation ».

Furthermore, the sedentary dialects hold other morpho-syntactic identifiers. One morphological identifier, approximately resisted, is the dropping of the second person feminine verb inflection morpheme (ɪ). That is to say, there is no gender distinction in the second person singular. The same form of verb is used as in the verb: /ʃrəb/: ‘drink’, /xuud/: ‘take’ addressing both feminine and masculine. Therefore, it can be appeared that the complete loss of this inflectional morpheme is an idiosyntactic characteristic of such kinds of dialects. Forms of diminutives are frequently found as in [mfɪɪteħ]: ‘little key’ as well as the suffix [æjən] to mark duality as in: [jumæjən] for ‘two days’. Additionally, this type of dialects is marked with an excessive use of the prepositions: {dɪ}, {əddɪ}, {dɪal}, and {ntaɪ}, in addition to particular forms like /ntuman/: ‘you’ and /human/: ‘they’.

Besides the aforementioned attributes, the sedentary dialects possess conspicuous prevailing examples of vocabulary. These prevailing instances are: [ʔasəm] or sometimes [wasəm] of ‘what’, [xaaj] of ‘my brother’, ʔəbba] of ‘he took’, [læħebb] of ‘never mind’ and so forth which are largely found mainly in Tlemcen speech community, which is our area of research.

As far as the sedentary dialects, the Bedouin dialects are spoken everywhere in Algeria except in the regions where the sedentary dialects were implanted long before the arrival of Banu Hilal ( Arab Nomads) invasions of the mid-eleventh century. Bedouin dialects are largely found in central and Eastern Algeria as well as the south where the sedentary speech is not present. They are widely spoken also in the department of Oran.

Rural speech, in its own part, shares a set of features which comprise a common core of the various varieties exhibiting this type of AA according to Marçais, Ph (1960) and Dhina, A (1938). What makes it different is the pronunciation of uvular /q/ as a back velar [g] instead of the glottal stop, the uvular/q/ or the voiceless plosive [k] as in the village or urban speeches. The word /qalb/ which means ‘heart’ is, consequently, realized as [galb]. The voicing of the back velar /g/ is, then, considered as the most salient identifier of rural speech.

Bedouin dialects are characterized by a fair retention of the interdental [θ], [ð], [d] and [ð] as in [θaum]: ‘garlic’ and [ðhar] which means ‘back’ and also a fair retention of the diphthongs [aɪ] and [au] like [baɪ ɖ]: ‘eggs’ and [lɪaun]: ‘help’. Another attribute is the use of the preposition /ntaʔ/ and the classical method of direct connection: "El-Edhafa"; for instance: / lħam ntaʔ lə xruuf / meaning ‘meat of the sheep’. Unlike the sedentary speech, gender distinction is a significant feature of rural speech. There is the use of /nta/ or /ntaaja/: you to address the singular masculine and /ntɪ/ or /ntɪja/: ‘you’ when addressing the singular feminine.

All in all, the above features are the prominent characteristics of both Sedentary and Bedouin dialects covering the Algerian territory. Their classification reveals a paradoxical and a confounding reality. Though Cantineau’s, Marçais’ and Dhina’ s exhaustive work, the classification of the Algerian dialects still needs further linguistic research about the dynamics of language use.

Yet, in a recent ecolinguistic study<sup>21</sup> carried out by (Cadora 1992)<sup>22</sup>, Bedouin features may be substituted by the sedentary ones or vice versa, depending on the circumstances under which linguistic forms evolve. Cadora has taken the Village dialect of Ramallah, a Palestinian city, as an example of this ecolinguistic study where Bedouin attributes are subject to change and have been replaced by urban ones from the prestigious dialect of Jerusalem. He points out that the potential growth in the social and economic life of the most Arab world communities, as a common trend, leads to a linguistic change from rural to urban. The decline of a sedentary community, on the other side, results a similar variation in ecolinguistic structure from urban to rural.

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<sup>21</sup> Ecolinguistic is the study of language according to the environment it is used in. The term emerged in the 1990’ s as a new paradigm of language study that speculates not only the intra- relations, the inter-relations, and the extra-relations of language and environment, but also combinations of these relations.

<sup>22</sup> The present work gives just a very brief overview about Cadora’ s study as it is not our main concern.

A look at the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria reveals that AA dialects have been evolving remarkably because of the variation of the actual performance among Algerian individuals. Linguistically speaking, all AA varieties represent complex systems equally valid as a means of interaction in their speech communities. All vernaculars are valuable and helpful tools of communication, consequently; it is not necessary to minimize any Algerian urban or rural variety.

At the lexical level, AA dialects involve a set of foreign words. As our state, Algeria, witnessed a period of colonialism (see sections: 2.2.1/2.2.2.), this latter led to the spread and integration of several foreign terms either Turkish like: /maʔadnus/ for: ‘parsley’, /braniija/ for: ‘aubergine’, and /tʃbsɪ/ for: ‘plate’, Spanish words can be detected in words like /fɪftæ/ for: ‘feast’, /sberdiina/ for: ‘trainer’, /bogaɖo/: ‘lawyer’, and /es-sekwɪla/: ‘primary school’. In addition to the presence of a great number of words which are of Berber origin such as: /zellif/ for ‘the head of a sheep’, /felluus/ for ‘chick’, and /fekruun/ for ‘tortoise’ (Benghida, 2006).

French, in fact, has the largest lexical influence. AA are characterized with an excessive use of French words which are integrated gradually, to the extent they are becoming as part of the Algerian Arabic dialects such as: the word /kuzɪɪna/ from the French word "cuisine" meaning ‘kitchen’, /mɪzɪɪɪja/ from the French word ‘mizère’ meaning ‘misery’.

As a matter of fact, many hesitate to identify AA as a true Arabic variety since it constitutes significant amounts of French. Nevertheless, other Algerian linguists like Benrabah (1992b, 1993, 1999) consider AA as the appropriate instrument for achieving modernity and reaching an authentic Algerian identity. Benrabah proposed to implement this language **“as teaching medium to make pupils feel more comfortable with its use. Pupils, in a natural order of language learning, learn to listen and to speak before they learn to read and write”** (Benghida, 2006: 36). Hence, if Benrabah proposal is applicable, can teaching/learning difficulties and obstacles be diminished? What is the appropriate variety of instruction that facilitates the teaching task in the classroom? And what are the attitudes of teachers; particularly Arabic language teachers, towards the

language of instruction and their linguistic behaviours in real cases? All these details will be the task of the next chapters.

### 2.3.2. French

French is a language worthy of consideration due to Algeria's French colonial history which lasted more than a century. As a matter of fact, during the colonialism period and afterwards, the French language, considered by the French government as **“the only language of civilization and advancement”** (Bourhis, 1982:44) was forcibly imposed as the official language in Algeria.

France, indeed, imposed French and worked hard to suppress indigenous languages in all francophone Africa, including Algeria, on the basis that **“the African dialects are not languages of civilization”** (Davesne, 1933:6)<sup>23</sup>. Under the slogan *l'Algérie Française* (French Algeria), France implemented a deliberate and well-organized policy with the ultimate aim of total rigorous assimilation. The Algerian social and cultural structures, therefore, have been violently shaken up by the French policy, as it is declared by Taleb Ibrahimi, (1997:42-43):

**Le Français, langue imposée au peuple Algérien dans la violence, a constitué un des éléments fondamentaux utilisés par la France dans sa politique de dépersonnalisation et d'acculturation à l'égard de l'Algérie<sup>24</sup>.**

Thus, the Algerian population was deeply influenced linguistically. The French language was imposed in all walks of life at the cost of local languages, namely Arabic and Tamazight. Such apparent form of linguistic imperialism was meant to rape the linguistic identity of Algeria.

Today, more than fifty years after the independence (1962), the French

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<sup>23</sup> Personal translation to the original text: « les dialectes Africains ne sont pas des langues de civilisations ».

<sup>24</sup> Personal translation: French, language imposed in violence to the Algerian population, is constituted one of the fundamental elements used by France in its policy of depersonalization and acculturation according to Algeria.

language, however, becomes rooted in Algeria and still enjoys a high status. It is, indeed, still resisting and playing an important role in spoken as well as written domains. Although it is politically considered as a foreign language, French is firmly associated with a variety of services of the central government to the extent that it may be the one and only used language. It is also omni-present in the media, be it spoken or written (Mostari, 2004).

The French language is the first foreign language. It is present in a variety of prestigious domains like health, finance, administration, and education as well. Now, learners are introduced to French since the third grade as a foreign language. In this area of discussion, Rezig (2011:1329-1330) observes that,

**Starting from 1993 a new process to enhance the foreign languages teaching at an early age by giving the opportunity to primary school pupils to choose between French and English as a compulsory foreign language. Teachers were more than 90 percent Algerian at all levels. Arabization of the education system was considered an important objective of the 1990s. Vocational education at the secondary level received attention as part of the reorganization of the mid-1970s. The program was experienced only in some primary schools but stopped because the majority of parents preferred French to English.**

Rezig' s quotation affirms that the French language, in the educational system, is regarded as the first and major foreign language rather than the English one.

French loanwords are integrated in both dialectal forms of AA and Berber varieties. It is also evident that today's younger generations show positive attitudes towards this language for its association with progress and modernism. Algerian speakers in general and educated Algerians in particular tend to use French words for the sake of sounding more 'open-minded', 'intellectual', and 'civilized'.

Hence, despite the acid resistance spelled out of the Arabization policy, French is still kicking, alive, and constitutes an important component of the present-day Algerian sociolinguistic profile<sup>25</sup>. Analyzing the linguistic situation in Algeria,

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<sup>25</sup> A sociolinguistic profile is a special summary description of language situation based in part on a series of indices and classifications.

in fact, leads to the existence of two conflicting views. The first view reveals that Arabic is the national language of the country and French is a foreign language. It is a political one in which politicians considers Algeria as a monolingual speech community. The second view is a linguistic one. This linguistic view regards Algeria as a bilingual one. Linguists, later on, go further asserting that Algeria is a multilingual country on the basis of the availability of another indigenous variety “Berber” spoken mainly in ‘Greater Kabilia’, ‘Aures’ and in some scattered areas in the South (Benmoussat, 2003:101).

### **2.3.3. Berber**

Berber<sup>26</sup> or Tamazight is the heading under which a number of closely related language varieties are grouped. The Berber tongue, which belongs to the Hamitic group of languages, forms diverse speech communities. It is made up of four ethnic groups within Algeria. The most important group is Kabylia (or Kabyles) as it comprises about two thirds of Berberophones. It is mainly spoken in four wilayas, namely Tizi Ouzou, Bejaia, Bouira, and Boumerdès. The second group is the Shawiya (Tashawit); localizing in Aures Mountains and the South-East of Constantine (Benrabah, 2007:33).

Mzabi (Tamzabt/Mozabistes), the third group, localized in Ghardaïa and its surrounding agglomerations. The last group called: ‘Targui/ Tuareg’. It is spoken in some remote spots of the Sahara like Ahaggar. One must bear in mind that these Berber varieties have been preserved in those regions in spite of the widespread arabization which accompanied the Muslim settlements that took place mostly during 7<sup>th</sup> the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Many scholars point out that the origin of Berber is controversial. In this line of thought, Ruedy (2005:9) affirms that,

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<sup>26</sup> Berber is etymologically derived from ‘barbaros’, which the Greek used in a derogatory way to name anyone who was foreigner or used a different language. For this reason, many intellectuals favour the term ‘Tamazight’. The researcher did not tackle this point in details as it is not our main concern; just it cannot be excluded when analyzing the Algerian profile. Both terms: ‘Tamazight’ and ‘Berber’ are used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

**The literature on the origins of the Berbers is full of problems and ambiguities. The balance of opinion at present holds that the Berbers of history were the descendants of a Paleolithic stock to whom had been added a variety of other racial inputs-minor ones from Western Europe and from Sub-Saharan Africa, and two major ones from the northeast and the southeast. The language which covers the centuries splintered into scores of dialects distributed among three main families may be Hamitic in origin. If so it is a relative of Golla, Somali, and Pharaonic Egyptian, a cousin rather than a sister to Arabic and the other Semitic languages”.**

Politically speaking, Berber is recognized as a national language but not as an official language (the official declaration was made on April, 10<sup>th</sup> 2002). Despite this recognition, Berbers are not satisfied with this situation because they seek equality between the status of Arabic and Tamazight. Additionally, the constitutional amendment in 2011 did not change any condition in the principles of the Algerian society. There was no more than a formal recognition of the language existence and no positive action has been undertaken in favour of Berber. Reinforcing this whole linguistic analysis, the map below displays the geographical distribution of the Algerian indigenous varieties:



Figure 2.1. Geographical Distribution of the Algerian Indigenous Varieties<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The map is extracted from the website: Lawis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. *Ethnologue of the world*, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, SIL International. Online Version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

## 2.4. Algerian Diglossic Code Switching

The linguistic situation of Algeria is very complex. Its complexity lies in the co-existence of different varieties; Arabic with its two forms: MSA/AA, Berber, and French. Thus, the Algerian speech community not only reflects the intra-lingual features of a diglossic situation where two varieties (MSA and AA) of the same language are in a functional distribution, but also the conquest linguistic phenomena of an inter-lingual situation that occurs when distinct languages are in contact, i.e. code switching.

### 2.4.1. Diglossia

Being a nation belonging to the Arabic world, Algeria is characterized by the co-existence of two varieties of the same language; each one is used for specific functions with clearly defined roles. Strictly speaking, Algeria represents a particular diglossic situation. The L variety is not very close to the H one; illiteracy and colonialism are the main factors that maintain the gap between L and H. The H variety is MSA which takes its normative rules from CA. It is the official language used in formal contexts for high functions such as: *khotba* in a mosque, written literature, parliament speeches and education. The H variety or the superordinate language is described by Ferguson (1959)<sup>28</sup> as follows:

**superimposed variety, [...] which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.**

AA, the low variety, on the other hand, is widely used in everyday conversations at home, workplace, market, among friends and acquaintances. Thus, in one set of situations, only H is appropriate and in another only L is suitable.

A synopsis of language use in Algeria and domains of use can be illustrated in a table below based on the works of Queffélec, et al. (2002)<sup>29</sup>:

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Giglioli, 1972: 245.

<sup>29</sup> Mentioned in Dorni, 2009: 77.

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

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

Describing further the situation, Al-Kahtany (1997, cited in Palmer, 2008: 93) announced that, “using MSA in a situation where the dialectal form is appropriate may expose the speaker to ridicule from his/her listeners”. Yet, the two “sets overlap only very slightly” (Ferguson, 1959: 104-325) to varying extents in a semi-formal setting. There is, indeed, some overlap and flexibility between the two varieties. For instance, an educated Algerian speaker may switch, for a shorter or a longer period of time, to the H variety, or he/she may mix the two varieties in the same conversation. Or, within a formal situation, AA can be noticeably employed for specific reasons. The variety resulting from such a mix is called “the middle variety”.

In this regard, Al-Toma (1969:5) clarifies that,

**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.**

A number of scholars after Ferguson like: Blanc 1960, Badawi 1973, El-Hassan 1977, Mitchell 1918, and Meisles 1980, had raised and reinforced many studies in which they agree on characterizing Arabic in three or more varieties. These studies, though were not analyzing the Algerian Arabic language, may be, then applicable to the situation in Algerian Arabic. Some of them will be explained below:

#### **2.4.1.1. Badawi’s Classification**

Badawi, the Egyptian linguist of the American University of Cairo, has set up a diagram in which he seeks to explain how the linguistic system in Arabic works. In his diagram, Badawi characterizes the situation of Arabic in Egypt. The diagram seems, in fact, not only applicable to the situation in Egyptian Arabic, but it may well be regarded similar to a certain extent to the Algerian context [as far as diglossia is concerned]. In this respect, Badawi states (1973:53) that **“there exists more than one level of speech not only in the speech community of Egypt, but in fact of every Arab country”**, as shown below:

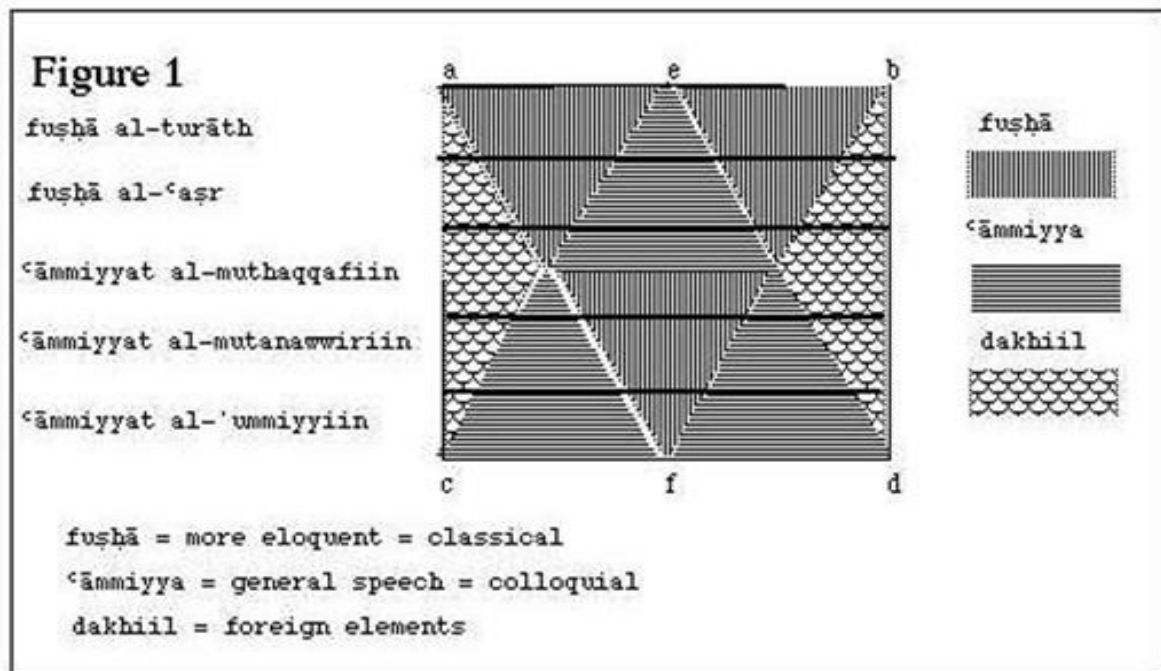


Figure 2.2. Badawi’s Diagram (1973): “Levels of Egyptian Arabic”<sup>30</sup>.

Badawi’s diagram (1973) classifies the Arabic language into five levels. When translating into English, from top to bottom, they mean:

- ✚ The Classical Language of Tradition.
- ✚ The Modern Classical Language.
- ✚ The Colloquial of the Educated.
- ✚ The Colloquial of the Enlightened.
- ✚ The Colloquial of the Illiterate.

(Freeman, 1996).

The first level of this hierarchical continuum refers to CA as used in the Quran while the second level is devoted to MSA as used in formal settings. The third one is associated with the language of educated people, i.e., educated spoken Arabic, then a kind of "elevated" spoken Arabic and finally colloquial Arabic (Dendane, 2007: 71).

<sup>30</sup> Mentioned in Benali Mohamed (1993: 4).

It is of a great importance to mention that in this five level model, every level includes mixing from all the other elements of the system as it is stated by Freeman (1996), i.e., there is a mixture of the varieties at all five levels with different amounts of interweaving, and with a more or less significant use of foreign elements called *dakhiil* in Arabic which means borrowings. This description is totally different from that of Ferguson's description of diglossia who states that the two forms (H and L) are in complementary distribution (see section 1.3.1.). In Badawi's model, "we cannot say where one variety stops and the other begins" (Meisles, 1980:121).

It can be noticed from the figure above that even the speech of the illiterate contains elements of the H variety 'Fusha'. As far as the third level is concerned 'Educated Spoken Arabic', it is also characterized by a high mixture of literary and colloquial varieties in addition to the spread of some foreign lexical items 'dakhiil'. The amount of these items or borrowings increases in MSA in comparison with CA. These borrowings often result of the contact of Arabic with other languages, mainly during colonialism. As a result, many elements come from French or English and become recognized in MSA during its modernization by policy makers.

Considering French items and their 'penetration' to our everyday speech, Bouhadiba (1998) tries to describe the situation in terms of dosage. He (ibid.1-2)<sup>31</sup> reveals that,

**La réalité linguistique actuelle telle qu' elle se présente à l'observation Est caractérisée par un continuum de l'arabe où les variétés de cette langue sont parfois difficiles à délimiter: arabe classique, arabe littéraire, arabe standard moderne, arabe parlé cultivé, variétés dialectales à dosage arabe mais où le français est fortement implanté au niveau lexical<sup>32</sup>.**

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<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Dendane, 2007: 71.

<sup>32</sup> Personal translation: The current linguistic reality as it presents itself to observation is characterized by a continuum of Arabic whose varieties of the language are sometimes difficult to delimit: Classical Arabic, literary Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Spoken educated Arabic, dialectal varieties with Arabic 'dosage' but in which French is strongly implanted at the lexical level.

In his quotation, Bouhadiba insists on the deep complexity in delimiting the Arabic language varieties as well as on heavy implantation of French lexical items in the dialectal varieties.

#### **2.4.1.2. El-Hassan's Classification**

El Hassan (1978), in his description to the Arabic language, had also classified it into three levels:

- ✚ Modern Standard Arabic.
- ✚ Educated Spoken Arabic.
- ✚ Colloquial Arabic.

Hence, the belief of recognizing H as appropriate for only formal, religious, and political speeches whereas L as the solely variety for everyday communication had been falsified by El-Hassan, as analyzed in the quotation below:

**Although he (Ferguson) is not unaware of the spoken language of the educated Arab, Ferguson does not give it explicit recognition, in fact, he implicitly considers it to be part of L besides, what Ferguson said about 'a sermon in mosque' is very seldom done in H, it is made in ESA (educated spoken Arabic) as a level separate from H and L, or even in 'pure' colloquial depending on the type of audience listening to the sermon.**

Al-Hassan (1977: 113-114).

Indeed, the same objection may be applied to the Algerian diglossic situation in the sense that *Khotba*<sup>33</sup> is done in ESA, not in pure H. According to El-Hassan, the use of one or the other levels mentioned earlier is mainly determined by a set of attributes such as: the topic, the speakers' background, the interlocutors, and the setting. He assumes that the three levels form a continuum since each level is related to the following one. El-Hassan (1978:32) adds:

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<sup>33</sup> A religious sermon done in the mosque, habitually held on Fridays.

**Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the written language of contemporary literature, journalism, and spoken prose. It exists side by side with a great number of regional vernaculars, usually referred to globally as Colloquial Arabic. Educated Speakers in the Arab world use the variety of Arabic which we call Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) which draws upon MSA and Colloquial Arabic and constitute a continuum. These varieties of Arabic are neither discrete nor homogenous; rather they are characterized by gradation and variation.**

ESA, also labelled Formal Standard Arabic (the vernacular of the educated people), beside the standard Arabic language and the different colloquial forms is successfully bridging the gap between varieties of the elite. Diglossia is, thus, undergoing a considerable change in the Arab world. On the light of Mahmoud's quotation (1986:247), diglossia is,

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

Yet, Ferguson himself acknowledges that Arabic diglossic settings are evolving towards a type of continuum. He (1970) points out that **"intermediate between the two varieties, relatively 'pure' Classical and Colloquial, there are many shadings of 'middle language'"**. Moreover, Meiseles (1980), in his part, recognizes four varieties of contemporary Arabic and Literary or Standard Arabic, Sub Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic and Basic or Plain Vernaculars. Differently put, the use of more than two linguistic varieties is referred to as "Polyglossia" (Platt, 1977). The following table endeavours at demonstrating some classifications of the Arabic language done by Blanc 1960, Badawi 1973, and Meiseles 1980:

	<b>Blanc 1960</b>	<b>Badawi 1973</b>	<b>Meiseles 1980</b>
<b>Written</b>	Modified Classical	Modern Standard <i>(Fusha al-ʿasr)</i>	Literary Arabic.
<b>Spoken</b>	Semi-Literary (elevated) Colloquial		Oral Literary (Sub-Standard) Arabic.
	Koineized Colloquial	Colloquial of the cultured <i>(ʿammiyat al-muṯaqqafiiin)</i>	Educated Spoken Arabic.
		Colloquial of the Enlightened <i>(ʿammiyat al-Mutanawwiriin).</i>	
	Plain Colloquial	Colloquial of the Illiterate. <i>(ʿammiyat al-ʿummiyyin)</i>	Basic Plain Vernaculars.

**Table 2.2. Varieties of Arabic in Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973), & Meiseles (1980)<sup>34</sup>.**

In this sense, it would seem that Algeria is a polyglossic situation rather than a diglossic one; it represents three categories: H, L, and M category ‘middle varieties’ (Bergman, 2001:2). One could be left in no doubt that AA is a less pure code than MSA as it offers plentiful examples of borrowing from distinct sources, on one side from MSA which stands in a diglossic relation to it, and on the other from European languages, notably French and Spanish (Davies & Bentahila, 1993).

From all earlier discussions, it can be said that Algerian diglossic raises a situation which is more composite than that of Ferguson's Arab world. The co-existence of four varieties namely: AA, MSA, French, and Berber in correspondence to two settings, a formal and an informal one, is the reason behind such linguistic complexities in Algeria. The Algerian speaker, so, may use French as H for educational and other prestigious domains and AA as L for more informal, primarily spoken domains though they are unrelated genetically. There are

<sup>34</sup> A table mentioned in Moshref, (2009, 14).

other possible distribution for H and L; MSA can be used as H variety whereas Berber as a L one or French as H while Berber as L. This situation is known as: interlingual diglossia (Derni, 2009).

A look at Algerians' daily speech, however, can affirm that our informal conversations involve several French forms appearing through the use of borrowings and morphological combinations. This fact explains that French is a code used not only for serious contexts whereas for casual ones as well. The use and integration of a set of French structures has become an inherent characteristic in the linguistic behaviour of Algerian speakers, even children who may encounter serious problems during educational settings.

### **2.4.1.3. Diglossic Impact on education**

Diglossia is one of the significant linguistic issues confronting the Arab world. Many researchers are fully aware on the fact that diglossia is a vexing problem with severe impact on education. This fact goes back to the co-existence of two varieties which are in complementary distribution; one variety is used for ordinary conversation and the other is learned by means of formal education.

Accordingly, Maamouri (1989) draws our attention to the **“low quality results”** due to the diglossic situations of the Arabic language in our schools and the lack of clear relation between speech and literacy. He (ibid: 68) adds that the dramatic diglossic situation in Arab schools could lead to **“the growing use of the colloquial forms in formal and non-formal education and in other numerous daily activities”**.

Arab pupils are, then, required to suppress most of their habitual speech at the time trying to acquire a new set of rules once in contact with schools. MSA is generally distinct from spoken Arabic in terms of phonology, lexis, grammar, and syntax. Regarding the phonological level, Maamouri (1998) affirms that although MSA shares most of the phonemes with all spoken vernaculars, no single spoken Arabic vernacular has the same set of phonemes as standard Arabic. The emphatic consonants /ə, ð/, for

example, do not appear in our mother tongue. Words like /əaum/: ‘garlic’ and /ðofr/: are pronounced as /tuum/ and /ɖfar/ or /ṭfar/ according to the region where these words are used. In this vein, Zughoul (1980:202) says that:

**The diglossic situation is indeed problematic for a linguistic community. It is considered to be a hindrance to educational and economic development, as well as a national coherence.**

Furthermore, it is not surprising that Algerian pupils feel the inconsistency between their mother tongue and the new school vocabulary. For instance, those pupils or young children usually use words like /bidu/: ‘bucket’, /taqa/: ‘window’ or other borrowed words which have integrated and become part of our mother tongue such as: /ṭαbla/: ‘table’, /tablier/: ‘apron’, /vélo/: ‘bicycle’ or /collège/: ‘school’. These words, in fact, have different counterparts in the language of instruction: /dalw/, /naafida/, /ṭæwila/, /miʔzar/, /darraza/ and /madrassa/ respectively.

This difference between children’s daily speech and the school code demands a highly effort and time-consuming that, consequently, slow down the teaching and learning processes. In addition to that, the child is not asked to learn the written form solely but even the new vocabulary as well. This is why some scholars ( Ayari, 1996; Eviatar & Ibrahim, 2000) make a balance between learning MSA and learning a second language.

Numerous educationalists have proclaimed that MSA can have a crucial challenge to both teachers and learners as it delays literacy acquisition. This serious issue may be explained on the ground of several factors as put forward by Saiegh-Haddad (200:433), but are not limited to:

- ❖ Important lexical differences, even in commonplace everyday words and functional terms,
- ❖ Inflections denoting gender, number, and tense, most of which have disappeared from all colloquial Arabic dialects, and

- ❖ Important varying changes in structure with sounds in writing, which have dropped out of everyday usage (Maamouri, 1998:47-48).

Hence, the mixture of Arabic linguistic forms could yield serious pedagogical problems. Many pupils, in fact, feel insecure linguistically during classroom interaction. **“This lack of security comes from a general feeling of low understanding of modern fusha and of low identification of its norms”**, elucidates Maamouri (1998:40). The school child, therefore, finds it less challenging to acquire reading and writing skills via the mother tongue; a form which is the same or very close to the language he/she has grown with because in this manner this child is learning to associate written symbols with the vernacular he has already spoken (Verhoeven, 1994a:10). As a consequence, which form of Arabic is more useful in the classroom?

#### **2.4.1.4. The Arabic Language in the classroom**

Arabic is the language of the Holy Quran. Modern Standard Arabic is an important element that represents the Arab nation’s identity. Teaching the standard form of Arabic in schools is, in fact, a crucial linguistic communicative process; its successful achievements depend on the high mastery of the Arabic language by teachers. Yet, teachers’ incompetence may hinder the teaching process and thus, the planned goals of an Arabic course could not be accomplished thoroughly. This hindrance will not provide a suitable environment of MSA when presenting the lessons; a situation which may push those teachers to look for solutions as integrating, of course, their mother tongue.

Accordingly, Maamouri (1998) insists on the fact that the educational authorities should establish training programmes for Arabic language teachers in order to enhance their linguistic levels. According to Maamouri, if the Arabic language teachers show an acceptably high fluency in the standard language, they will motivate and help the learners to learn MSA easily and drive them towards fostering the belief that Arabic is a hard code to be learnt.

MSA is never acquired as a mother tongue, but is a variety generally learned through formal education. Thus, Algerian young children's first exposure to MSA could yield serious difficulties as they will encounter new vocabulary totally distinct from the items they used to speak. The level of these difficulties may differ from one learner to another depending on the context where he/she has grown.

Growing with educated parents who usually endeavour at encouraging their children to learn the standard language or even to include, to a certain extent, some forms of MSA in their daily speech will certainly decrease the ambiguity in the classroom. Illiterate environments, however, where children have no contact with MSA till entering the school, contribute directly in the low achievements of education. The reason behind such low achievements is the diglossic situation inside Algerian classrooms and the linguistic distance between the language of instruction and the different vernaculars. Teachers, in such cases, feel necessary to switch to AA via using an intermediary variety called: Educated Spoken Arabic (see section 2.3.1.3.). Such switch can be attributed to a set of factors such as: the topic, the interlocutor, language attitudes, lack of proficiency as well as the context.

Such a procedure is supported by a number of linguists who prefer mixing elements of our Algerian Arabic inside the classroom rather than using the "pure" form. In this line of thought, Al-Batal & Belnap (2006:397) asserts that: **"The Arabic classroom can be and should be a place in which multiple registers co-exist as they do in real life"**.

Teaching MSA, in fact, in Arabic schools in general, and in Algeria in particular, is not an easy task because most teachers do not possess enough knowledge to efficiently communicate the subject matter to their learners on the one hand. The lack of learners' proficiency, on the other hand, complicates increasingly this psychological as well as pedagogical issue. This is why most Arabic language teachers tend to use the colloquial form of Arabic to communicate with pupils. Such a matter leads to **"[...] pedagogical problems and even to feeling of linguistic insecurity in formal school communication among high numbers of young Arab learners"** (Maamouri, *ibid*: 40). Maamouri (*idem*) explains that, **"this lack of security, as a consequence, comes**

from a general feeling of low understanding of modern fusha and of low identification of its norms”.

The use of the vernaculars, consequently, in Algerian schools and other countries, is a common phenomenon shared among teachers for the sake of facilitating the teaching and learning processes and helping their pupils to understand more and more and, then, contributes in managing classrooms’ communication. In this respect, Wahba (2006)<sup>35</sup> calls for using AA when states that **“both varieties of the language should be taught together, as occurs in natural speech context”**. Moreover, Wahba (idem) speaks about the standard language and the vernacular as one entity with several sides; suggesting that,

**Each side of this system is used in situations and for functions for which it is uniquely suited, and both sides are necessary for functioning in the full range of situations where an educated native speaker is expected to function.**

Overwhelmingly, these two conflicting issues; whether teaching only MSA as the solely medium of instruction or including forms of AA have not reached a consensus. Interpreting the real situation, in fact, in Algerian schools and analyzing different linguistic behaviours of our teachers in Arabic courses mainly, in Tlemcen speech community will be more explained in the next chapter based on valid and objective data where their linguistic behaviours display a set of types of code switching.

### **2.4.2. Code Switching**

Being a community where a myriad of languages co-exist, CS is a phenomenon that prevails the sociolinguistic behaviour of the speech community in question, used as a linguistic tool and a conversational strategy by most Algerian speakers. CS is the practice of selecting, alternating, or mixing linguistic elements from two or more codes so as to contextualize talk in interaction. It is very easy to notice the switching from

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<sup>35</sup> quoted in Aramouni, 2011:4

one code to another by a mere exposure to a natural and spontaneous conversation between individuals. Because of some historical factors, CS is usually between Arabic in its two forms MSA and AA (or/ and Berber) or between AA (or/and Berber) and French.

### 2.4.2.1. Algerian Arabic and French Code Switching

It is the consequence of the deep rootedness of the French language in the Algerian society which is, even though more than fifty years after the departure of the French colonizers, still prevailing the mother tongues of the majority of Algerians. Some French expressions are so used in AA to the extent that they become considered as part of Arabic, especially by those uneducated people. It may be nearly impossible to hear a whole conversation without French words or expressions.

Hence, Most Algerians switch back and forth from AA to French in their daily speech, even children and illiterate speakers. This type of switch is known as: “*external switching*” as the switch occurs between two totally divergent systems (Arabic and French). In this respect, Dendane (2007:144) says:

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

In the Algerian society, consequently, the three types of CS distinguished by Poplack (see section 1.4.1) can be noticeably heard, as it is illustrated in the examples below: (French italicized)

✚ ***Intra-Sentential Switching*** involves switching within the clause or sentence boundary as in:

- Rani talaʔ *la mairie* nxarradʒ ʔa *les papiers* baf n *inscri*  
(I am going to the town hall to get some papers to enroll).
- Rani mafi l *stade* kajən *match*.  
(I am going to the stadium, there is a match).

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

✚ **Inter-sentential switching** where the switch occurs at sentence and/or clause boundary. Users of this type are fluent speakers in both languages unlike the two other types. It is, then, employed just by educated people. Consider the following example:

➤ Hadi saʔtæjən wana mʔa *la révision et enfin je n'ai compris rien que le titre.*

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

✚ **Extra-sentential Switching** refers to the insertion of a tag or a ready-made expression as in the following instances:

➤ Riha taywi *n'est ce pas ?*

(She is very nice, isn't she?).

➤ ʔɪ hadi *c'est déjà beaucoup*

(just this, It's enough).

It is not surprising that French is largely used by almost all Algerians. Both literate and illiterate people switch excessively to French to the extent that the listener may confuse whether it is French or Arabic. Among the French words and expressions widely heard: *ça va, ça y est, c'est bon, c'est trop, déjà, normal, jamais, grave*. 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 /ʃariʔ bariiz/ which is famous in Algeria as: 'Rue de Paris'.

In addition to that, Globalization and the development of technology contribute increasingly in the spread of new French items such as: *connecter*, *flexy*, *bipi*, *chater*, *imprimer*, and so forth, as they have no equivalents in the Algerian vernacular. The word ‘mobile’, for example, is uttered as *portable*. No one uses its equivalent Arabic ‘naqqal’; just those who want to stick to the Arabic language. French, in fact, has been ascribed a high prestige after independence. Many Algerians consider it as the language of civilization and more prestige.

For sounding more “civilized” and “open minded”, Algerians tend to switch consciously and purposely to the French language. This switch requires a high-mastery of The French language. This is why; such kind of switch is obviously noticed among people living in cities like Tlemcen, Algiers, and Oran whose educational level is higher than those living in the countryside. The degree of bilinguality, therefore, relies on individuals’ level of education; the higher the speaker educational level is, the higher his/her fluency becomes.

French, indeed, plays a crucial role in the Algerian context. Due to its widespread, it undergoes a semantic shift. More precisely, the Algerian individual may use a French word or expression but it does not mean the original meaning as used by French native speakers. Today, it is largely noticed and heard people saying, for example, /rak film/, /foor/, /numiriik/, or /bumba/ from the French words: *film*, *fort*, *numérique*, or *bombe* respectively to mean “you are so beautiful”. It is the case of both educated and uneducated individuals. Many other instances are found in the Algerian society.

#### **2.4.2.2. Diglossic Code Switching**

Internal CS is another emerging behaviour in the Algerian speech community. Since Algeria is a diglossic community and thanks to the Arabisation process<sup>36</sup>, internal switching is highly taken place between two varieties of the same language MSA and AA. It is not uncommon to hear people in, for instance, their daily speech insert MSA expressions on the one hand. Within a formal setting such as schools and parliaments, where only H is suitable, people tend, on the other hand,

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<sup>36</sup> This process, which has a tied relation with our research, will be discussed in details in the next chapter.

to switch to AA in the course of a single communication episode.

According to Ferguson's original work (1959), H and L are two distinct varieties used in two different settings in which one cannot be substituted by the other (see section 1.3.). Yet, this theory has been revised in (1991) when Ferguson himself recognized the appearance of a new third variety called: 'the Middle Variety' or 'Educated Spoken Arabic' (see section 2.3.1.3.). The latter refers to the mixture of elements from H and L varieties.

After the process of Arabisation, indeed, MSA has been increasingly integrated in Algerians' daily speech particularly by those educated in the Arabized school. Words like: '*demande*', '*réunion*', and '*affair*', then, have been replaced by their equivalents' Arabic standard forms as follows: /ʔalab/, /iʒtimaʔ/, and /qadijja/. It has become customary to hear people employing intentionally expressions such as: /sbaħ lakhir/, /salam/, /lila mabrouka/, and /leila saʕiida/ instead of the French: '*bonjour*', '*salut*', and '*bonne nuit*'. Many parents, in their own part, tend to motivate their children to use MSA words like: /ʔummi/, /ʔabi/, /kurras/, /qalam/, /mimħaat/, /madrasa/, and /miħfada/ which have been integrated gradually in our speech instead of: '*papa*', '*maman*', '*cahier*', '*stylo*', '*gomme*', '*école*', '*cartable*', in order not to lose the Algerian Arabic Muslim identity.

Numerous conducted works showed that larger stretches of L is nowadays noticeably used by intellectuals as teachers, lawyers, religious people, and politicians, switching to AA in formal settings. In this line of thought, El- Hassan (1977:115) put forwards that: "**A speech in Parliament, or a political speech elsewhere (Ferguson H) is usually given in Educated Spoken Arabic, and sometimes in pure colloquial**", as shown in the following examples<sup>37</sup>:

/wa lakɪn beʔd ma smaʔ lxiʔɔb ntaʔ l wazɪr lʔawəl ʒablɪ rabbɪ manaf ʔajʃɪn fi nafəs l blaad wala fi nafəs zamaan lʒazajər ʔarfat kawaarɪθ ʔɔbɪʔɪjja kɪma

<sup>37</sup> Examples Mentioned in Kerma: (2015: 53-54). They are taken from the discourse of Parliament members as cited by the same author.

zalzal fəleɸ, bumardes fajadɔnaat taɸ bab lwad w ɣardaiə. æa lakin zanzla lima ɣadhaaɸ raqm fi liɣaal de riɸtər hiɣa zalzlat l fasaad li xlaqtuuha ntuuma əmanɪə w tasɸɪɪn fiɪ mja taɸ lmizaanɪə taɸ blaadna ɣet məl pɪtroll wəl ɣaaz haðɪhɪ lxaɪraat ma ɣandkom ɸata daxl fiiha.

**Gloss:**

‘...but when I heard the Prime Minister’s speech I feel that we do not live in the same country and not at the same time. Algeria knew natural disasters such as: the earthquake that devastated Chlef and Boumerdes, and floods that hit Bab El-Oued and Ghardaia. But the quake, which does not have a number on the Richter scale, is an earthquake of corruption and bribery that you are behind its appearance. 98 percent of the state budget revenues are from oil and gaz. These natural good thing are God Almighty and not from your work’.

**2.5. Tlemcen Speech Community: A Geo-Linguistic Consideration**

The sample population from where our data are collected belongs to the speech community of ‘Tlemcen’. Therefore, it would be better and useful to provide the reader with a general overview of that speech by exposing briefly its geography, history and population, in addition to the most prominent linguistic features of Tlemcen variety.

**2.5.1. The Geographical Location of Tlemcen**

Tlemcen is a province in the North West of Algeria. It is located in the frontier of Morocco, 76 Km far from the East of Oujda, a Morocco town, 70 Km from the South West of Oran, 520Km from the South West of Algiers, and 40Km from the sea. It is the ancient capital of central Maghreb; founded by local Berbers<sup>38</sup>. It has a population of (2008) 140.158 inhabitants<sup>39</sup>. Tlemcen, in Arabic: تلمسان , in Tamazight: *Tlemsan / Tilimsan or Tala Imsan* which means “the dry spring”, is considered as

<sup>38</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tlemcen> , accessed to on 27th, August 2016 at 06: 17.

<sup>39</sup> <https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AA%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%86> , accessed to on 27<sup>th</sup>, August 2016 at 06:43.

“la perle du Magreb”. It is the chief town of a wide district exporting olive, corn and flour, wools and Algerian onyx.

Distinct hypotheses have been put forward aiming to explain the etymology of the word ‘Tlemcen’, a town which was long the capital of central Maghreb. The first hypothesis considers that the word is quoted for the first time by Tabari who mentioned the name when speaking about “Banu Ifren”. After that, this idea has been refused by ‘Ibn Khaldoun’ who rejected the existence of Tlemcen city before its foundation by the Banu Ifren. The city, however, was originally the “Kalaa of Tlemcen”, led by Banu Ifren and was called “Agadir”, meaning fortress in Berber. Ibn Khaldoun Yahya (Ibn Khaldoun’s brother), in his own part, asserts that the name Tlemcen refers to *“the desert and tell”*. Furthermore, another hypothesis explains the etymology of Tlemcen by the meeting of two ancient cities of ‘Agadir’ denotes *“attic”* and ‘Tagrart’ meaning *“stone”*. Regarding the issue of Tlemcen’s origin remains, in fact, unclear since no text has supported one or the other assumptions.

Tlemcen is one of the largest cultural and economic centers in North Africa thanks to its strategic geographical situation, water-springs and fertile lands which indeed attracted people (Dendane, 2007:157). Historically speaking, Tlemcen is characterized by long and successive invasions. Among these invasions: the Berbers whose existence is so extensive; basically explained by the great amount of vocabulary found in Tlemcen speech, the Romans in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and, later on, the Islamic invasions which took place nearly by the 7<sup>th</sup> century; Tlemcen was, then, opened by the Arabs headed by Okba Ibn Nafi<sup>3</sup>. The Islamic invasion had a crucial influence on the Berber customs and traditions by spreading both Islam and the Arabic language. The most prospering and flourishing period of the town is, however, the one under the reign of the Zianids and its civilization between 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century when it became the capital of the Central Maghreb. Recently, in 2011, Tlemcen city has known as: *the capital of the Islamic culture*; opening the doors for all cultures along the Arab-Islamic territory. In this line of thought,

Georges Marçais<sup>40</sup> declares that: **“Tlemcen speech community was polite, devout, and cultivated”<sup>41</sup>.**

Tlemcen comprises numerous famous monuments and places. The well-known and the most attracted ones are: “Jamaa -el- Kebir” was built in 1136 A.D, “Jamaa-el-Halwi” dating from 1353 A.D is outside the walls of the town. “Mansourah”, which is about 12 meters in the West of Tlemcen, owes its foundation to the attempts of the Beni-Marin rulers of Morocco to extend their sovereignty, “El-Eubbad”, “El-Mouchouar” and “Lalla Setti”, and so forth. Tlemcen involves a number of districts near Tlemcen centre as: “Abou-Tachefine”, “Oudjlida”, “Kiffane”, etc. Abou-Tachefine is, indeed, the place where most of the data of the present research work are collected. It is known either as “Bréa” , referring to the name of the general “Jean Baptiste Fidèle Bréa” (1790-1848)<sup>41</sup> during the period of colonialism, or as “Abou-Tachefine”, after independence, to refer to *أبو تاشفين / Abu Tashufin*, Sultan of the Ziyanih State. Since Tlemcen is a city where a melting point of a diversity of people coexist, and thus, a diversity of language varieties, Data are collected also from other schools; more precisely from Tlemcen center’s schools as well as Oudjlida’s ones<sup>42</sup>. Oudjlida is, in fact, a new district in the suburbs of Tlemcen. Abou-Tachefine and Oudjlida are two neighbouring places near the Tlemcen city.

### 2.5.2. Tlemcen Spoken Arabic: A Linguistic Analysis

Considering Cantineau, J (1937-40), Millon, C (1937) and Marçais’s, Ph (1960) classification of the Algerian dialects (see section 2.4.1) and applying it to the variety of Tlemcen, one may say that this variety is an urban one. In this sense, Dendane (1993.33) argues that **“Tlemcen has always been considered as a long-established sedentary centre characterized by highly conservative social and cultural features that are reflected in the speech of its population”.**

<sup>40</sup> [http : // fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tlemcen](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tlemcen) , accessed to on 18<sup>th</sup>,April 2013 at 11:26.

<sup>41</sup> Personal translation to the original text : **“La société Tlemcénienne était : polie, dévote et cultivée ”.**

<sup>42</sup> More details about the respondents will be provided in the fourth chapter.

Being an urban dialect, Tlemcen speech has, then, approximately characteristics identical to all other urban dialects with, of course, slight differences. The most apparent characteristic and the salient feature is the realization of the CA phoneme /q/ glottal stop /ʔ/ unlike other urban dialects; a feature which refers to the nativism<sup>43</sup> of the speaker of Tlemcen. Dendane (1993:34) refers to Tlemcen speakers as «**šhaab ʔatlɪ ʔutləke** », an expression with the connotation: 'those who use [ʔ]'.

Nevertheless, the rural exodus towards the big towns, in the post-independence era, leads to distinct changes upon the sedentary dialects particularly on the lexical and the phonetic levels. Indeed, a recent investigation undertaken in the speech community of Tlemcen by Dendane (ibid: 69-70) shows that this stigmatized feature /ʔ/ tends to be avoided by many male speakers who feel ashamed, especially when interacting with rural speech users. The most obvious reason, it appears, which accounts for such speech attitude is that Tlemcen speech as a whole and its use of the glottal stop in particular is regarded as an “effeminate stigma”, i.e. women stick to this characteristic of Tlemcen speech whatever the situation may be in order to sound more prestigious.

Another consonantal feature is the substitution of the interdental /θ/, /ð/, /ɸ /, and /ð/ by the sounds: [t], [d], [t̪], and [d̪] respectively. For example, the word /baiɖaaʔ/ is realized as [bit̪ɑ] which means 'white' in feminine form. Tlemcen speech is also characterized by the drop of the feminine ending {i} in the verb forms. Tlemcen speakers, for example, say [rooħ] and [ləʔab] instead of [rooħɪ] [ləʔbɪ] for: "you come" and "you play" respectively to address both sexes.

Considering gender in the second person singular, the pronoun [ntɪnɑ] is used to address both feminine and masculine speakers. In certain contexts, however, it is commonly noticed that Tlemcen speakers, mainly male ones (Dendane, 1993e:57) switch to /nta/ or /ntɪ/ either to make themselves understood or to avoid the stigmatized form [ntɪna]. Tlemcen speech is characterized by the use

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<sup>43</sup> The word nativism, here, refers to the fact that all Algerians, without exceptions, once hear the accent /ʔ/, they will directly deduce that he/she is a speaker from Tlemcen speech community. Tlemcen speakers are, in fact, known along Algeria as /ʔəmoʔəm/ or /ʔoʔoʔ/.

of a specific plural morpheme of a certain nouns class and which is kept unchanged by native Tlemcen speakers as in: [mfaataħ] in contrast to rural dwellers [mfatɪɪħ] for 'keys'. To mark duality, the suffix [æjən] is used as in: [fahræjən] meaning: 'two months'.

In this respect, there are common instances of lexical items which are specific to Tlemcen variety. The most known ones are: [kaməl], [ʔasəm], [ʔebbɪ], and [xaaj] meaning "all", "what", "take!", and "my brother" respectively. These are the most characteristics of this speech community. Though it is not our concern to speak deeply about Tlemcen linguistic features, the researcher attempts to give the reader a general view about the community and its speakers as teachers are, of course, part of the population.

Nevertheless, the mobility of speakers of different dialects from one place to another, from the countryside into larger cities and due to the dynamics of language, many Tlemcen lexical items are replaced by rural ones when interacting with rural speakers as /ndɪɪr/ instead of /naʔmal/. This sociolinguistic behaviour, hence, leads to so many questions: will Tlemcen dwellers exhibit the trait of conservatism and defend the linguistic items of their vernacular or will the rural interference impose some of their features or will the intellectuals and educated people encourage the use of MSA as an Arabic identity marker in all situations?

## **2.6. Conclusion**

Algeria is a vibrant, multi-linguistically intricate country. Historical, socio-cultural, and political factors, all together contribute in making the Algerian community full of linguistic intricacies worthy of scientific research. MSA is the official national language of the state; however on April 10<sup>th</sup>, 2002, the Government recognized Berber as a national language too. On another side, French is considered as the second language of the country, in many cases integrated in Algerians' daily code, i.e., AA. Interpreting these varieties' status, from the one hand, denotes a classical diglossic context resulting from the relationship between

MSA (H) and AA (L) while the combination between French (H) and AA (L) posits a case of extended diglossia.

The interplay between H and L, on the other hand, and the persistence of French in most walks of life, as a functioning language, therefore, resulted in making of Algeria an intricate multilingual speech community where different instances of code switching exist. In front of such complex linguistic repertoire, the Algerian speaker could be expected to exhibit a distinctive verbal behaviour via selecting the variety that best fits the social context; either the H or the L variety. Nevertheless, it is quite common to hear Algerian speakers switch between these two codes. One may use L in a formal setting or may include H in his/her everyday conversation and mix it with L. This diglossic code switching phenomenon, though the Arabization process that gives MSA a high status, becomes observable and commonly noticed among different intellectuals such as religious people and teachers especially Arabic language teachers. Before discussing the issue of those intellectuals, more precisely the actual linguistic behaviour of Arabic language teachers in concrete Arabic sessions, it is better to discuss effectively and elaborately fundamental processes: language policy and mainly ‘Arabization policy’ which will be the task of the next chapter.

# Chapter Three

# Language Attitudes, Policy and Education in Algeria

## 3.1. Introduction

## 3.2. Language Policy

### 3.2.1. Language Policy Definition

### 3.2.2. Language Policy Ends

### 3.2.3. Language Policy Typology

#### 3.2.3.1. Status Planning

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### **3.3. Language Attitudes**

3.3.1. Language Attitude defining.

3.3.2. Attitude and Behaviour: A Socio-psychological Relationship

3.3.3. Language Attitudes and Language Policy

### **3.4. Conclusion**

### **3.1. Introduction**

The language issue is part of the constituent ingredients of a country's nationalism and identity. Independent Algeria aimed at regaining its lost identity. Therefore, Algerian authorities have undergone a set of interesting sociolinguistic reforms and continuous policies in order to recover their Arabic language in all sectors of life mainly; the educational sectors, primary, middle, secondary, as well as higher education. Then, they switched to local administration and central governments.

This chapter is, in fact, divided into two important parts. The first one sketches basic concepts in the field of language policy and planning. It shed light on the ends and typology of language policy. Such a language policy is labelled Arabization. The arabization process has been, as an interestingly multi-faced process, a challenge to the colonial language. It witnessed feverish programs. As the current research field concerns teachers' linguistic behaviours in the classroom, it will treat the arabisation process of the educational issue only; advocating MSA as the official language of instruction. The second part, however, is meant to circle the area of language attitudes which is of great importance to our case of study; connecting it with various linguistic behaviours. It also analyzes the relationship between language policy and language attitudes as two interwoven concepts.

### **3.2. Language Policy**

This section endeavours to define theoretically language policy process, its four types and goals. Then, it explains, in a thorough practical manner, most political practices carried out by policy makers for attaining Algerian nationality and identity via supporting MSA as the solely language of education.

### 3.2.1. Language Policy Definition

Defining the phrase ‘language planning’ or ‘language policy’ is, in fact, not an easy task. Though this research topic has been extensively discussed, **“a clear definition”**; however, **“is rarely given”** (Fodde, 2002:13). The term Language Planning (LP henceforth) was probably first invoked by the linguist Uriel Weinreich in the early 1950’s in New York (Bianco. J, L, cited in Hornberger. N, & McKay. S, L, 2010:143). The Norwegian American Einer Haugen was another sociolinguistics pioneer in LP whose account of the Norwegian Policy to eradicate the influence of Danish on Norwegian gained a significant favour (idem).

Accordingly, Spolsky (1998) unveils that the term language planning has been first introduced by Weinreich; however, the regular failure of national planning activities by the late 1980’s seems to have encouraged the more neutral-seeming term, “language policy” (LP for short) and sometimes it is called: ‘language engineering’ or ‘language management’.

Differently put, Ricento & Hornberger (1996) announce that since the introduction of the term Language Planning in 1959 by Haugen who is considered by many as the father of the field<sup>1</sup>, there has been **“no prospect for a unified theory of language planning and policy”** (ibid:40). The diversity of theories and definitions brought by various researchers is due to the complexity of the subjects which involve language in society as well as to the intersection of various disciplines such as: linguistics, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, in addition to political sciences. This intersection leads obviously to the availability of colorful multi-definitions for this challenging topic of research. In this vein, Ricento (2006:11) put forwards that **“after all, language planning is not just an exercise in philosophical inquiry; it is interested in addressing social problems which often involve language, to one degree or another, and in proposing realistic remedies”**.

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<sup>1</sup> Idea mentioned in Johnson, 2013: 27.

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Language planning is a very wide field that covers large practices and it has been defined differently by various specialists. The term ‘language planning’ has been first used in the scholarly literature in Haugen’s (1959) study of language standardization in Norway, in which he states (ibid: 8),

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

Similarly, he (1969:701) adds that “**Language planning includes the normative work of language academies and committees, all forms of which is commonly known as language cultivation [...] and all proposals for language reform or standardization**”. Haugen’s definitions describe, on the one hand, all activities connected to language form. Karam (1974:105)<sup>2</sup>, on the other hand, displays that it is “**an activity which attempts to solve a language problem usually on a national scale, and which focuses on either language form or language use or both**”.

Cooper (1989) and Tollefson (1997) are among the early and most enduring contributors in the field of language policy and planning (LPP, henceforth). Cooper’s (1989:98) prominent framework which is systematized around the question of “**What actors attempt to influence what behaviors of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?**”<sup>3</sup>. Consequently, Cooper’s conceptualization considers the state of LP as a descriptive endeavour. Later on, Tollefson (1991:8), in his own part, has clearly enunciated the need for a theory of language planning that locates the field with social theory.

On the light of Schiffman’s (1996:3) terms, LP refers simply to “**the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting [a] community’s relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential**”. These positions and principles can be either overt by stating

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<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Benghida, 2006: 37.

<sup>3</sup> Italic in the original.

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them in a formal document or law, or covert having neither written nor formal form and they reflect; yet, in popular attitudes. The most significant components of LP can be, therefore, summarized as follows (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 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 specialized bodies, often sponsored by the state or specialized organizations.

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

The literature on LP exhibits a spacious use of the two interrelated terms: ‘language planning’ and ‘language policy’. Some researchers insist on the notion that language planning is totally different from language policy; others acknowledge that this difference is irrelevant (e.g. Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 2) while the remaining still use the two labels interchangeably (e.g. Webb, 2002).

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Tollefson is one among the linguists who proclaim a neat separation between the two concepts. He (1991:16) distinguishes between the labels in the following way,

**The commonly accepted definition of language planning is that it refers to all conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties. These efforts may involve creation of orthographies, standardization and modernization programmes, or allocation of functions to particular languages within multilingual societies. The commonly accepted definition of language policy is that it is language planning by governments.**

In the same degree, Baldauf (1994), Schiffman (1998), and Ager (2001) expound that language planning concerns,

**...the ways in which organized communities, united by religious, ethnic or political ties, consciously attempt to influence the language(s) their members use, the languages used in education, or the ways in which academics, publishers or journalists make the language change. Language policy is official planning, carried out by those in political authority, and has clear similarities with any other form of public policy.**

(Ager, 2001:5).

Both above definitions denote that language policy involves all the rules, decisions, laws, and principles made by governmental, official or other influential institutions in order to determine which language variety over the others can be used in specific settings as well as to introduce some linguistic change in a given speech community; whereas language planning is the implementation of these decisions and principles in concrete situations.

Considering the distinction between the two concepts and the definitions cited earlier, Bradley (2012), when discussing Kloss (1969) categorization of status and corpus planning, noticeably demonstrates that language policy is a purely political issue whereas language planning is a linguistic one. He, thus, associates the first field with status planning while the latter can be related to corpus planning.

In another side, the two terminological labels have been linked to each other. To that end, Fettes (1997:14) conceives the relation between them as follows,

**Language planning [...] must be linked to the critical evaluation of language policy: the former providing standards of rationality and effectiveness, the latter testing these ideas against actual practice in order to promote the development of better [...] language planning models.**

Yet, this policy-planning link is of a murky nature as there is still a lack of agreement on the definite relation between the two concepts. The main inquiry lies in the question of which activity subsumes the other. Does planning subsume policy (Fettes, 1997:14) or policy subsume planning (Ricento, 2000: 209 ; Schiffman, 1996:4)? Does planning have policy as its intended outcomes (Hornberger, cited in Ricento, 2006:25)?

Avoiding such debate associations and ambiguities, Fettes (1997:14) suggests that **“such a field would be better described as ‘language policy and planning’ LPP”**<sup>4</sup>. LPP has, indeed, offered **“a unified conceptual rubric under which to pursue fuller understanding of the complexity of the policy-planning relationship and in turn of its insertion in processes of social life”**(Hornberger, cited in Ricento, 2006:25).

### 3.2.2. Language Policy Ends

Language policy ends differ depending on the nation or organization, but generally include attaining national unity, improving communication and education, and achieving language maintenance. In this vein, Nahir (1984 & 2003)<sup>5</sup> offers an eleven-point classification of language planning goals:

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4 The researcher will use both terms ‘language policy’ and ‘language planning’ ( LP for short) ,and even their combination ‘language planning and policy’ LPP interchangeably throughout this thesis regardless of the difference between the two processes to avoid such terminological conundrum.

5 Quoted in Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 60-79.

- 1. Language Purification:** prescription of usage in order to preserve the ‘linguistics purity’ of language and protect it from foreign influences. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997:60) distinguish between external and internal purification. External purification attempts to remove and protect the language from foreign influences. This process generally focuses on the development of prescriptive grammars and dictionaries; aiming to decrease the rate of borrowings and the prohibition of particular foreign usages. Internal purification, on the other hand, refers to the reinforcement of standards of correct usage within the language.
- 2. Language Revival:** the effort to restore “a language with few or no surviving native speakers” as “a normal means of communication”<sup>6</sup>. Hebrew is a clear example where revival could be achieved although this process was based on no surviving first users.
- 3. Language Reform:** the involvement of deliberate changes in, or simplification of specific aspects of language such as: orthography, spelling, grammar, lexicon for the sake of facilitating language use and improving effectiveness. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997:65) include the case of language reform in Turkey in the 1920’s, when Kemal Ataturk successfully changed the writing system to a Romanized one; removing a lot of the Persian influences in the language and borrowed terminology from European languages.
- 4. Language Standardization:** any attempt to garner prestige for “a language or dialect spoken in a region” into one “accepted as the major language”<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Tonkin. H, quoted in Ball, M. J. 2005:122.

<sup>7</sup> Tonkin. H, quoted in Ball, M. J. 2005:123.

**5. Language Spread:** the attempt to increase the number of users of one language at the expense of another such as the spread of Latin during the Roman Empire and the spread of the Arabic language during the period of Islamic expansion. Language spread, in communities involving two or more languages, may lead to language shift. If more people are learners and users of a language, they will look for more domains in which to use it.

**6. Lexical Modernization:** the attempt to create terminologies. Nahir (1984, cited in Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997:68-69) expounds that the terminological work can be categorized as belonging to two aspects which occur simultaneously:

- *Lexical Development:* the process of language modernization, i.e., standardizing and enriching language, in addition to expanding its domains of use and activity.
- *Term Creation and Adaptation:* the process of adding terms for new ideas, concepts, or technology for which the lexicon is unprepared.

**7. Terminology Unification:** the standardization of existing terminology through defining the functions and semantic boundaries of terms in order to avoid variation which may blind people in literature search. This process can be also called: ‘Term Planning’ (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

**8. Stylistic Simplification:** the attempt to make technical or legal language comprehensible, and reduce bureaucratism. It also concerns “making text more readable, more clearly addressed to the audience that must deal with it, and less convoluted in lexicon and syntax” (ibid:75).

**9. Interlingual Communication:** its main objective is to facilitate linguistic communication between member of various speech communities by developing the use of either language of wider communication (LMC) or an artificial (or ‘auxiliary’) language.

**10. Language Maintenance:** the preservation of the use of a group’s native language as well as the domains in which a language is used; in cases, where the status of the language is at risk due to political, economic, educational, or other pressures.

**11. Auxiliary Code Standardization:** Standardization of marginal, auxiliary aspects of language such as: signs of the deaf, place names, or rules of transliteration and transcription.

Furthermore, a broad set of language planning ends have been dealt with in terms of ‘policy’ planning goals and ‘cultivation’ planning goals. Policy concerns the form (Haugen, 1983), i.e., the selection of norms; whereas cultivation, a term borrowed from Neustupny (1970), refers to function, i.e., the use of these norms. Kaplan and Baldauf’s framework (2003:202) for language planning summarizes these goals as shown in the table below:

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**Table 3.1. A Framework for Language Planning Goals (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003: 202)**

Approaches <i>Types (overt – covert)</i>	1. Policy Planning (on form) Goals	2. Cultivation Planning (on function) Goals
1. Status Planning  (about society)	<i>Status Standardisation</i>  · Officialisation · Nationalisation · Proscription	<i>Status Planning</i>  Revival · Restoration · Revitalisation · Reversal Maintenance Interlingual communication · International · Intra-national Spread
2. Corpus Planning (about language)  unification	<i>Standardisation</i> Corpus · Graphisation · Grammatication · Lexication Auxiliary Code · Graphisation · Grammatication  · Lexication	<i>Corpus Elaboration</i> Lexical Modernisation Stylistic Modernisation Renovation · Purification · Reform · Stylistic simplification · Terminological  Internationalisation
3. Language-in-Education Planning (about learning)  Language	<i>Policy Development</i> Access Policy Personnel Policy Curriculum Policy  Methods & Materials Policy Resourcing Policy Community Policy Evaluation Policy	<i>Acquisition Planning</i> Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign / Second  Shift
4. Prestige Planning  (about image)	<i>Language Promotion</i>  · Official/Government · Institutional · Pressure group · Individual	<i>Intellectualisation</i>  · Language of Science · Language of Professions · Language of High Culture

### 3.2.3. Language Policy Typology

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

#### 3.2.3.1. Status Planning

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

Specialists have proposed various labels for this area of study, Neustupny (1970) speaks of a **"policy approach"**, while Jernudd (1973) and Trudgill (1992) discuss **"language determination"**. Rubbin (1983), for his part, suggests that the term **"allocation of language use"** would be more useful, as at is the case of Cobarrubias (1983) who refers to **"allocation of language function"** for a language in a given speech community<sup>8</sup>.

The main activities and objectives of status planning have been adduced by Bamgbose (1991) as appeared below. Yet, these activities will never be achieved unless the involvement of a body with political authority such as the government through providing the necessary resources, even financial ones. Bamgbose's objectives (ibid: 109) are:

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<sup>8</sup> Ideas cited in Hoffman, C (1991:207).

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- Maintenance, expansion or restriction in the range of uses of a language for particular functions.
- Language standardization which involves the development of a given dialect or an amalgam of dialects as a norm for the language in question.
- Revival of a dead language (e.g. Maori in New Zealand).
- Introduction of an artificial language.

Strictly speaking, language status is the position or standing of a language vis-à-vis other languages. A language garners status according to the fulfillment of a number of attributes. Kloss and Stewart (1968)<sup>9</sup> advocate four common attributes to classify the status of a language in a political entity:

1. The origin of language used officially: whether a given language is indigenous or imported to the speech community.
2. Degree of standardization: the extent of development of a formal set of norms that define “correct” usage.
3. Juridical status: as a result of language planning decisions, a language may be recognized as:
  - a) a sole official language
  - b) a joint official language
  - c) a regional official language
  - d) a promoted language
  - e) a tolerated language or,
  - f) a proscribed language.

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<sup>9</sup> Hoffman, 1991:209.

4. Vitality or the ratio: the percent of users of a language to the total population. Kloss and Stewart both distinguish six classes of statistical distribution and the first class is for the highest level of vitality. Yet, this factor does not actually say much about the status of language and should be considered in conjunction with the other factors.

Considering the question of language function allocation, Stewart (1968) announces that language can be assigned ten functions. These functions are: Official, Provincial/Regional, Wider Communications (LWC), International, Capital, Group, Educational, School subject, Literary and Religious functions. Tackling the functions that best fit our fieldwork; i.e., official, wider communication, and mainly the educational one, a strong bias about these functions has, in fact, been witnessed, on political considerations in language planning. Thus, one can wonder about the medium of instruction used in Algerian schools today? Is it the one determined by the governments, i.e., the national language of the state? Do Algerian instructors respect political decisions? How is the educational element appeared in real situations? Discussing such issue, Cooper (1989:109) demonstrates that **“[t]he degree to which educational considerations influence the choice of medium varies from case to case, but political consideration always play a role”**.

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

### 3.2.3.2. Corpus Planning

Built upon Haugen's (1983) framework, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:3) acknowledge that corpus planning concerns **“those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to language”**. Corpus planning is, thus, a purely linguistic activity, referring to the intervention in the form and structures of the

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

Corpus planning and status planning, though they are different in their activities, cannot be separated and they occur one after the other. In this respect, Kloss (1969:81)<sup>10</sup> provides a distinction between corpus and status planning by stating that the former refers to “[...] **all actions aiming at modifying the nature of the language itself**” while the latter “**is concerned with whether the social status of a language should be lowered or raised**”. Despite Kloss’ tendency to separate between the two processes, they are usually treated as complementary (Clyne, 1997a:1). Fishman (2006:315), in his part, explains that it might be more accurate to express the interaction between the two as a constant “catch-up” maneuver.

This interaction has been well expounded by Cooper (1989: 184) when claiming that “**it is only after a language begins to be used for new functions that corpus planning on behalf of those functions is likely to be effective**”. That is to say, status planning and corpus planning are two dependent processes; to the extent that language corpuses can neither developed nor modernized without achieving the status languages meant for. Similarly, a language would certainly fail to accomplish an adequate status (e.g. medium of instruction or language of legislation) if the corpus does not permit that language dealing with all the subjects pertinent to this status (e.g. unwritten language cannot be used in literacy). One may deduce that status is often precedes corpus and a language whose status has been modified, its corpus also needs reconsideration.

Corpus planning is, indeed, fundamental in any language planning process so that some theorists have stressed and showed the importance of its activity before the implementing phase; concentrating on it in defining LP. In this regard, Gorman

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<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Coulmas, 1997: 303.

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(1973:73) defines LP as “measures taken to select, codify and, in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon” (Quoted in Benghida, 2006: 37).

Subsequently, Cooper (1989:31) asserts that corpus planning involves “activities such as coining new terms, reforming spelling, and adopting a new script. It refers, in short, to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternatives forms in a spoken or written code”. It refers to all changes made in morphological or syntactic structure, vocabulary or spelling, it may even include the adoption of a new script.

Haugen depicts four major phases of language planning, in his fourfold model proclaimed earlier in 1966 and, then revised in (1983, 1987), involving; *selection, codification, implementation, and elaboration of function*. Selection and implementation belong to status planning whereas codification and elaboration are related to corpus planning. Although Haugen’s model seems to lack the evaluation<sup>11</sup> constituent which is a vital element, many studies have been built upon this touchstone which still remains as a crucial outstanding model.

Selecting a norm or a variety over another an existing variety is, for specific purposes frequently associated with official status, an entirely political achievement. This process is not carried in a vacuum; however, it is based on a set of attributes which are set up by Kloss and Stewart (1968) as highlighted earlier (see section 3.2.3.1.). It usually occurs when countries or nations become decolonized as it is the case of post-independence Algeria. The question of which language would be chosen as the official language and which language would be used as the language of education, among the three competing codes: Arabic, French, and Berber, became, consequently, questions of fundamental importance.

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<sup>11</sup> Evaluation refers to ‘the evaluation of the success of policy and planning decisions, and if necessary changes in their form or implementation’ Bradley, 2012.

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Secondly, ‘codification’ involves the explicit statement of rules in relation to orthography, grammar, and the lexicon. In other words, it involves,

**...the production of dictionaries, grammars, spellers, style manual, punctuation, and pronunciation guides, specialized glossaries [...] carried out by language academies or individuals who do the work of academies.**

Cobarrubias & Fishman, 1983: 4.

As a third stage ‘implementation’ concerns the adoption and the use of the selected codified norm. It usually deals with the production of textbooks, newspapers, books and so forth. The last phase of Haugen’s language planning classification ‘elaboration’ is the expansion of language use as well as functions through additional areas of new vocabulary or new genres of literature. The mentioned steps can be illustrated in the following table:

**Table 3.2.** Haugen’s (1983:275) Revised Model of Language Planning.

	<i>Form (policy planning)</i>	<i>Function (language cultivation)</i>
<b>Society</b> (status planning)	1. Selection (decision procedures) a. problem identification b. allocation of norms	3. Implementation (educational spread) a. correction procedures b. evaluation <sup>12</sup>
<b>Language</b> (corpus planning)	2. Codification (standardization procedures) a. graphisation b. grammatication c. lexication	4. Elaboration (functional development) a. terminological modernisation b. stylistic development c. internationalisation

Differently highlighted, Ferguson (1968) treats language development rather than corpus planning in which he describes its three basic stages as: graphization, standardization and modernization. Graphization refers to development, selection, and modification of scripts for a language; i.e., adopting a writing system. Linguists may use an existing system or may invent a new one. The Ainu of Japan<sup>13</sup>, for example, chose to adopt an existing system of the Japanese language ‘Katakana syllabary’. The latter is modified and used as a writing system for the Ainu language. Sometimes, the writing system of a language can be regraphicized on the basis of political reasons

<sup>12</sup> In Haugen’s first framework, this constituent ‘evaluation’ has been missed. Later on, new dimensions have been added to this model such as: evaluation (Rubin, 1971); and the model above is a revised one.

<sup>13</sup> Idea mentioned in: <http://www.wpel.net/v13/v13n1corone11.pdf>, accessed to on June 24<sup>th</sup>, 2013

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as it is the case of the Turkish who substituted the Arabic script by the Roman one for cutting the links with Ottoman identity and to be clustered to Europe.

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

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

### **3.2.3.3. Acquisition Planning**

Acquisition planning, a separate third category, has been recently opted by Cooper (1989) besides Kloss’ traditional categories of ‘status’ planning and ‘corpus’ planning. **“Language policy-making involves”, indeed, “decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for the guidance of others”** (Cooper, 1989: 31). Cooper focuses particularly on such a category of language planning since planning energy is directed towards language spread.

Consequently, acquisition planning activity lies in **“increasing the number of users-speakers, writers, listeners or readers”** (ibid: 33) of a language at the expense of another one. That is, all efforts made by politicians -the ruling elite- in order to spread the use of a specific language or languages in a specific speech community. On the light of Paolo Colluzzi’s terms (2007:138), acquisition planning

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denotes “any effort leading to the acquisition of the language on the part of the people targeted by the language planning”.

Cooper stressed on the point that acquisition planning is distinct from, yet related to, status planning. He (1989: 120) argues that “**status planning is an effort to regulate the demand for given verbal resources**” whereas “**acquisition planning is an effort to regulate the distribution of those resources**”. In the same vein, Molinero, (2001:131) differentiates between the two terms by stating that while status planning focuses “**on the way society thinks about the language**”, acquisition planning “**focuses on how it is learnt**”. In its broader sense, acquisition planning encompasses both *natural* acquisition, at home for instance, as well as *conscious* and *deliberate* acquisition through teaching/learning processes, as in all educational settings.

The term acquisition planning can be also labelled as “*Language Education Policy*”. Kaplan & Baldauf (2003), in their turn, favour the term “*Language-in-Education Policy*”. The concept has, thus, gained ground typically related to language teaching/learning in schools. It has been associated with education since the latter is noticeably scrutinized by many theorists as “**a microcosm of society and both reacts to its concerns and proacts in order to influence society**” (Molinero, 2001:158). Moreover, acquisition planning is an activity that develops status planning by identifying the ways in which language use will be expanded in certain domains such as: education, workplace, media, organizations and religious domains.

Education is arguably the most important aspect of LPP; “**of all the domains for LP, one of the most important is the school**” (Spolsky, 2004). This is explained by the fact that children, for example, in schools are taught a new language instead of their mother tongue which enhances status planning. Then, corpus planning will be reinforced by teaching them the prescribed form of this language. After that, acquisition planning, though it faces some problems, is centrally realized through education programmes for children as well as adults (Molinero, 2001). What emphasizes the role of education in LP is “[...] **the use of the education system by**

language planners to expand the knowledge of a targeted language” (ibid: 180). Accordingly, Tollefson (2002a) affirms that the school cannot alone influence language development; yet, the community also represents a crucial contributor in such development. School, family, and community form absolutely a complex interdependent relationship in language policy progress.

### **3.2.3.4. Prestige Planning**

Prestige planning is, as a fourth additional end to the traditional tripartite of LPP, introduced by Haarmann (1986/1990). Its main focus is to raise the status of any given language through providing a great esteem and admiration to this language or dialect. It endeavours at creating positive attitudes towards the adopted variety by members of the target speech community either users of the language or others in wider society such as governmental officials and teachers.

In this regard, Bianco, J. L. (cited in Hornberger, N. H. & McKay, S. L. 2010:148) points out that, **“Prestige planning focuses on aesthetic or intellectual regard of a linguistic code [...]. Esteem is conferred on a language in proportion to, the quality and extent of its important works of literature”**. Haarmann reveals that many languages could perceive a high esteem thanks to the authoritative works set up by either poets, novelists, or philosophers (idem). Prestige planning has not gained much importance from language planners. It remains, then, the least covered area in the literature as it lacks clarification, even on basic concepts.

Unlike status planning which deals with the production of LP, prestige planning, in its own activity, displays the reception of LP. The former concerns **“legislation or official policy declaration about the status of languages in a policy,** whereas the latter **“has to do with the population’s attitude to the contents of the policy, that is whether the people accept the declaration or reject it”** (Kamwangamalu, 2016: xi). The linguist shed light on the notion that, though status and prestige planning refer to two distinct procedures, they are two interrelated activities to the extent that status planning activities can only succeed if positive attitudes towards those activities are

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provided. In this regard, Haarmann (1990:105)<sup>14</sup> affirms that “[n]ot only the content of playing activities is important but also the acceptance or rejection of planning efforts”.

Status planning is basically interested in setting up adequate functions for a variety (whether it should be official, regional, religious, etc.) on the one hand. Prestige planning or *Image planning* (Ager, 2001; 2005), on the other hand, aims at establishing a positive regard in order to promote prestige for the variety and to perceive social approval. The first dimension is, ergo, the output of legislation while the other is related to people’s attitudes.

Strictly speaking, all LP types explained above are connected to each other. Language *status* is assessed and its social *image* is highly valued; the corpus is then designed so that to be acquired through education.

It is, indeed, the case of our Algerian state which absorbed an extreme and heavy French colonial impact since the French controlled many spheres namely education, government, business, and most intellectual life for 132 years; aiming to suppress the Algerian cultural identity and remold the society along French lines (see section 2.2.2.). Algeria, consequently, had the tradition of using French during which Arabic had been relegated to a secondary status. Shortly after independence, Algerian decision makers opted for a linguistic policy seeking at raising MSA to the status of an official language in several sectors, notably that of education through acquisition planning. Swiftly, a simple and a rapid language policy had been launched; named as the «Arabization policy» or «Re-Arabization policy».

### **3.2.4. Algeria: Arabization Policy and Education**

Arabization is an interestingly multi-faced policy. It has attracted numerous linguists’, sociolinguists’, and language planners’ attention and become a challenge to the

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<sup>14</sup> Quoted in Hornberger, N. H. & McKay, S. L. 2010:148.

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colonial language in the Arab world. In post-independent era, the arabisation policy was a primordial action in the Algerian LP; especially in education.

### **3.2.4.1. Arabization Policy**

Arabisation is sometimes translated into Arabic as ‘taʿrīb’. It refers to the process of restoring and generalizing MSA as a language of utilized for instruction, as well as public administration, formal written form and media in general. In this line of thought, El-Mouloudi (1986:121) points out that,

**Arabization [...] in its most general sense refers to the cultivation and extensive use of Arabic as the language of all Arabs, and either official means of oral and written communication. It covers broad issues such as language and nationalism, language as a medium of instruction, scientific research, administration, and social activities.**

One of the significant reforms in newly independent Algeria was to restore the Arabic language as highlighted in the Tripoli Programme 1962:

**The role of the national culture will be based, primarily, on restoring the dignity and efficiently to the Arabic language as a language of civilization [...]. Restoring the national culture and gradual arabization of education relying on scientific bases, and this is among the hardest missions of the revolution as it demands modern cultural means, and doing it in a hurry is not promising without a possible sacrifice.**

For reconstructing itself, Algeria must first restore the bedrock of its identity, i.e., the Arabic language which is the vivid symbol of all Arab-speaking nations. Accordingly, Boumediène (1968, cited in Mostari, 2004:26) announces that, “**without recovering that essential and important element which is the national language, our efforts would be vain, our personality incomplete, and our entity a body without a soul**”.

Such a policy coincides with the rise of independence. Following the official independence on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1962, Algeria’s first president ‘Ahmed Ben Bella’ (1962-1965) proclaimed adherence to *Al-Umma Al-Arabiyya* ‘the Arab Nation’ through his

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well-known public statement “We are Arabs”<sup>15</sup>. Such adherence is endorsed in the first Algerian constitution 1963 in which Islam has been declared as the religion of Algeria ‘article 4’ and Arabic as the national and official language of the state ‘article 5’<sup>16</sup>.

Algeria’s arabization policy, thus, faced ambivalence views. Some views were favouring arabization and hence, monolingualism whereas others were claiming for Arabic / French bilingualism. The first view endeavours at placing an Arab and Muslim stamp on Algeria and instilling a non-Western identity as the latter is **“a source of suffering and a sign of alienation or acculturation”** (Ennaji, 1991:21). French speakers are considered as Francophiles, on the one side, and implicated in the linguistic and cultural alienation (Grandguillaume, 2002). The second trend, on the other side, favours bilingualism. It does not reject Arabic; yet it demands to maintain French as a source of modernization.

The history of arabisation is one of the clashes between the two trends. It is considered as **“trench warfare”**<sup>17</sup> (Kadri, 1992: 399). The arabisation process was continually included in a struggle<sup>18</sup> against French, as explained by Grandguillaume (1998:69),

**La mise en œuvre de la politique linguistique recelait deux conflits : l’un entre la langue Arabe (littérale) et la langue Française : l’autre masque entre cette langue Arabe et les langues de la quotidienneté**<sup>19</sup>.

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15 The statement was delivered in French « Nous sommes des Arabes » (three times).

16 All the following constitutions (1976, 1989, and 1996) as will be obviously shown in ‘Appendix A’ declare that Arabic is the sole official language. Although these laws do not determine which Arabic variety is it; yet, it is obvious that it is MSA and not AA of course.

17 Personal translation to : « Une guerre de tranchée ».

18 Conflicts between the two trends, monolingualism or bilingualism, has been the subject of numerous publications such as: Charles F. Gallagher, 1986, Entillis. J. P, 1981; Grandguillaume, 1979, 1983, 1997, 2002, 2004, 2006; Benrabah. M, 1999, 2002; Mostari. H, 2004, 2005; Taleb Ibrahim. Kh, 1993,1995,1997,2002 and so forth.

19 Personal Translation: The implementation of LP contained two conflicts: one conflict turns around the Arabic language (Literary Arabic) and the French language while the other one hides between this Arabic language and its colloquial forms.

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Arabisation issues had been carried out by successive Algerian political leaders who attempted to resolve the problem. The Algerian president Houari Boumediène (1974), who initiated the most radical processes and who decided upon complete arabization as a national goal, declared that<sup>20</sup>,

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

Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:191), in her turn, defends the Arabic language when acknowledging that Arabisation,

**Est une de nos options fondamentales. Il ne s'agit pas de refuser le dialogue avec les autres peuples et les autres civilisations, il s'agit de redevenir nous-mêmes, de nous enraciner dans notre sol et dans notre peuple, pour mieux assimiler ensuite ce que les autres peuvent nous apporter d'enrichissement<sup>21</sup>.**

The focus on Islam and the Arabic language continued in the new Algerian state as a means for cementing unity and, importantly, distancing the Algerian nation from France (Grandguillaume, 1983& Stora, 1994, 2001)<sup>22</sup>. Article 5 of the 1963 constitution made Arabic the sole national and official language of the Algerian state. After that, the National Charter of 1976 emphasized on the importance of the Arabic language in the definition of the cultural identity of the Algerian people because “[the Algerian] personality cannot be separated from the language which expresses it” (Benghida, 2006).

Hence, the action of Arabization endeavours at imposing the single use of

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<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Benghida, 2006:36

<sup>21</sup> Personal translation: is one of our fundamental options. It is not a matter of refusing the dialogue with other people and other civilizations, it is, however, a matter of becoming we same, in order to root in our soil and our identity; for better assimilating what the others can bring us of enrichment.

<sup>22</sup> Mouhleb, N. (2005: 9-10).

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Arabic by prohibiting the use of any foreign language particularly French and even Berber which are excluded from LP. There are close to thirty (30)<sup>23</sup> laws regulating the official use of language in Algeria today. Among them, *article 11*, for example, stresses on the fact that all administrative correspondence must be conducted in Arabic, *article 18* orders that TV broadcasts, declarations, conferences, and interventions be conducted in Arabic. Later on, *Article 32* states that whoever signs an official document edited in a language other than the Arabic language is liable to a fine of 1000 to 5000 DA. If the breach is repeated, the fine is doubled (Mouhleb, 2005:13).

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

### **3.2.4.2. Arabization of education**

Education plays a large part in personal lives. It is only through education that a speech community can progress. Yet, this progress can be achieved solely when education is carried out in a context of a good language policy. Analyzing educational linguistic policies, it is wiser to divide this section into three important periods: education in the pre-colonial era, education during the French colonialism, then education in post-independence era.

#### **3.2.4.2.1. Education in the Pre-Colonial Era**

Prior to the French colonialism, education was ensured by Koranic schools. These schools, called either *zawiya* or *madrassa*, are associated with religious settings and domains (Herrera, 2007:49). At this stage, many Algerians attained these traditional schools where they had the opportunity to learn Koranic verses '*hafadha*' or the Hadiths

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<sup>23</sup> For a number of language laws, see Appendix A.

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of the Prophet Mouhammed (Peace Be Upon Him). They tried to interpret and memorize them. Such a teaching-learning method intended strongly to socialize young children into a certain vision of Islam via reciting Koran by heart. This kind of schooling is, though the profound effect left by the French, still persisting up to now. In this line of thought, Ageron (cited in Bennoun (1988:67) points out that,

**Public education was ‘relatively developed in 1830’ but that it ‘collapsed during the period of conquest. The confiscation of mosques and public *hobus* lands by the “*domaine*” [office of colonization] dried up the material resources that finances public instruction. It was provided free of charge’ before the French-rule public schools of various levels and traditional establishments of higher education as well as koranic schools ‘were completely neglected and abandoned, except those that were directly run by the inhabitants themselves’.**

French occupation, indeed, affected profoundly the educational system of Algeria.

### 3.2.4.2.2. Education during the French Colonialism

Unlike the other Arabic countries, Algeria is the only country which lived under assimilationist colonial rule for one hundred and thirty two years, from 1830 up to 1962 (see section 2.2.2.). The French policy was a severe and a harsh one. It endeavours at destroying all the pillars of the Algerian identity namely; Islam as a ‘Religion’ and ‘Arabic’ as a language. Understandably, the prince Napoléon-Jérôme, in 1858, proclaimed that assimilation should be extended to the Muslim population when stating that **“we are confronted by a hardy perennial, a strongly rooted national identity which must be eradicated by assimilation”** (Ageron, 1991:35, cited in Suleiman. Y, 1994:26).

The colonial power, consequently, began by closing the koranic schools progressively and destroying almost everything related to literacy. They started simultaneously spreading their French language and hence their culture. The colonists’ tactic aimed at de-culturalising Algeria systematically and eradicating the Arabic language through imposing their owns. In this vein, Gordon (1962:7) says:

**When the Portuguese colonized, they built churches;**

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**When the British colonized, they built trading stations;  
When the French colonized, they built schools.**

The French aspired at francophonizing all spheres of life. The French language was, therefore, implemented as the language of instruction, **“the only language of teaching at all levels”** (Benuman, 1981:155) whereas Arabic had been considered as an optional foreign language. Moreover, education had been purely reserved to the benefit of the colonists’ children and very few children from the local population generally of humble origin. Many Algerians were deprived from the right of going to school; the act which heavily worsened the situation.

Overwhelmingly, France had extended a total domination, blanking out the indigenous way of life by enforcing laws and courts, administrations, and schools (Bensafi, 2002:832). It had a direct impact on traditional education; seeking to assimilate the natives through imposing the French language and culture. The colonizers were, in fact, reluctant to offer education purely for the benefit of the colonized people. The burden of educating most Algerians was, then, falling upon the shoulders of religious schools existed before the French settlement. The small number of koranic schools could enormously contribute in the preservation and survival of the oral form of the Arabic language during the French occupation since the use of the written form was very limited.

Furthermore, colonial powers had, later on, directed their objectives towards a peaceful linguistic system between the French and Arabic to the extent that Napoleon III suggested to creating a mixed school which could work as a ‘preparatory institution’. The institution’s thought of civilization, though it was not apparently stated in terms of a bilingual education, it reflected an idea of complementariness rather than domination (ibid: 834).

As a consequence, the colonists made many other changes at the educational and social levels. They created colonial colleges which led to the production of the first generation of the Algerian bilingual élite, **“including Muslim administrators, dealing with**

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Muslim jurisdiction and civil matters, such as the **qadis<sup>24</sup>, interpreters and bilingual teachers**” (ibid: 835). These imperial colleges opened the door for other identical schools known as “*Collèges Franco-Musulmans*”<sup>25</sup>. In 1857, the first “*France-Arab*” college was created in Algiers; then, two other colleges in Constantine and Oran.

This new measure which had been undertaken in the French assimilation policy offered the madrasa a new status towards a continual trend of the “*Ecole Arabe-Francaise*”. Accordingly, three madrasa (koranic schools) were restored and modernized for the training of higher education. Training natives for being teachers in ‘*Ecoles Normales*’ is one of the significant social reforms taken at that period. Inspiring such policy, Bensafi (idem) argues that,

**Bilingualism in this case is a salient characteristic of these first schools and reflected the intensions the French had about the training of a bilingual élite which they believed could be used as intermediary between them and the most reluctant natives.**

Despite of all the French improvements accomplished at the educational level, the rate of Algerians’ schooling is, totally, far from being the one of the French since the French language was part and parcel of the domination over Algeria. The French language, on the one hand, “**could therefore only be regarded and felt as a dominant language, and had, by the end of the century, considerably altered and weakened the status and prestige of Arabic**” (Bensafi, idem). Those natives, on the other hand, who had the opportunity of learning French at school automatically contributed at the creation of the élite<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Muslim judge.

<sup>25</sup> Colleges set up for the sake of teaching literary Arabic, Islamic Theology, in addition to the French language, along with other subjects like: geography, mathematics, natural sciences...etc.

<sup>26</sup> The group includes civil service employees, the technocratic top people in the state’s major nationalized industries and enterprises and financial planners responsible for the national development program. Broadly speaking, they are people with certain qualities. These elite groups are responsible for planning, developing, focusing, and administering Algeria(s) economic, industrial, and intellectual sector.

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Education in all the mentioned schools was officially bilingual; yet, in reality, the dominant instruction language was the language of the colonizers, i.e., the French language. It should be noted that the setting up of these schools was solely a very nimble, deceitful, and crafty policy taken by the French. When feeling that some religious Algerian schools started to blemish their interests, the French started to motivate the natives learning in such bilingual schools where French was considerably conceived and felt the dominant language of education under a Frenchifying<sup>27</sup> process. Additionally, the colonists thought of a “*divide and rule*” strategy in which they gradually tried to show ethnic variation and sociolinguistic diversity between Arabic and Berber. They encouraged the Berbers to drift away from Arabs; achieving their aims through education. Thus, they urged the Berbers to learn French instead of the Arabic language. Their strategy based on “**re-orientation of the Kabyle migration away from the Arabophone interior of Algeria to the factories of France**” (Abid, 2006:39).

French colonialism was a severe one that left a profound impact on Algerian linguistic system. Its *mission civilisatrice* was obviously symbolized by deracination, deculturation of the Algerians, and the supremacy of French culture. The promotion of the French language at the expense of Arabic had been strongly explained through the Military General and Governor of Algeria’s speech (1832-1833, cited in Benrabah, 2007:41) as follows:

**The remarkable feat would be to gradually replace Arabic by French [...] which can always spread among the natives, especially if the new generation will come in numbers to be educated in our schools.**

It should be pointed that the French educational ruling had witnessed a set of results. Considering the rate of literacy “[...] in 1840 [...] there were 24mids with 600 pupils; in February 1846, there were no more than 400 children” (Benrabah, 2007: 41). The most cruel and vicious measure made by the colonists declared that any antagonistic

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<sup>27</sup> It is a strategy adopted by the French colonizer in order to: a) make the teaching-learning strategies French ones, in order to result in teachers’ proficient enough in the French language, besides to come up with learners with some knowledge in the French language, customs, and behaviours. B) render all administrative documents and proceedings in the French language. C) spread the French language among the Algerians and make it the language of their bodies and souls.

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education was forbidden in order not to blemish their interests. Therefore, the koranic schools had been closed down for preventing the spread of Islam and the Arabic language as well. Unanimously, the dismantling of Muslim schools contributed to increase illiteracy.

Through time and due to the French successful policy, a great number of colonized people started to realize that school was a social need and a necessary means of promotion and progress. They changed their minds from a total refusal of learning the language of the colonizer towards the acceptance. Accordingly, Colonna (1994:66) argues that **“the advantage that they can have from schooling for their social inscription, in the colonial order, access to the public function, to liberal professions, to economic jobs”**.

The French did their best to assimilate the French language and culture to children at a crucial age to the extent that they attempted to label nearly several cities and places using the French language (see section 2.2.2.). Their prominent goal lies in suppressing the Arabo-Islamic culture in general and the Algerian identity in particular. Through an adherent policy, the colonial powers deprived the Algerians from their civic and linguistic rights. Education programs, as a result, were given just to a limited elitist group for exceptional given ends. Yet, all over the colonial era, the Algerians continued to serve the struggle for recovering the lost identity and dignity. Consequently, the Algerians did all their efforts to gain equality and achieve independence and hence nationalize the instruction at schools.

### **3.2.4.2.3. Education in Post-Colonial Era**

The most important question raised at the post-colonial era concerns language of instruction, i.e., which language should be used as a national one in the state and as a medium of instruction: French which was considered as a symbol of *“dark years of colonialism”* or Arabic *“language of Quran and of identity”*.

### 3.2.4.2.3.1. From 1962 to 1965: *Presidency of Ahmed Ben Bella*

As the school is the prominent agency for the diffusion of the Arabic language, a set of significant linguistic legislative measures had been undertaken at the educational level. The Arabic language could gradually gain status and was slowly introduced as an important medium of instruction. It had been taught seven hours a week in all schools. A year after (in 1963), three more hours were added, i.e., ten years per week. Considering the elementary level, the first grade (1) was fully arabized in 1964. Another decision of complete arabization was drafted; yet, such a decision, at primary schools, had not been fulfilled until 1968 according to Ordinance n° 68-92 on April, 26<sup>th</sup> (see Appendix B). Accordingly, Bouamrane (1986:54) affirms that,

**When some forms are arabized totally, in principle two-thirds of the 3<sup>rd</sup> primary school year, half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> primary school years, and one-third of the 6<sup>th</sup> primary school year.**

Understandably, Ben Bella's first objective is ensuring the transition from a colonial society to an authentically Algerian one. To that end, he suggested bilingualism as the solely solution with, of course, Arabic taking the lion's share part in schools. In this regard, Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi<sup>28</sup> (1973, cited in Kashani-Sabat, 1996:270) acknowledges that,

**Before 1830, there was recognition of an authentically national culture in Algeria, despite a meagre production of original works. France, however, killed Algerian culture, and after having extinguished in the Algerian his consciousness of his value, and the value of its values, it taught him (at the French school) new modes of thinking, feeling, and acting.**

This period witnessed a lack of qualified teachers in Algeria. To achieve a rapid and systematic arabization, the president Ahmed Ben Bella appointed some teachers from the Middle East; 1000 Egyptians and 1000 Syrians (Kadri, 1992:452). The

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<sup>28</sup> He served in multiple ministerial roles in Algeria from 1960 until the late 1980's. A staunch anti-colonialist and proponent of Arab heritage through his writings and his actions, Dr. Ibrahimi was jailed by the French authorities as a militant of the FLN Party. Most importantly, he ran for presidency in 1999.

recruited teachers did not seem to be more competent and proficient in the Arabic language. Criticizing the choice of such teachers, Wardhaugh (1987:188) stated that,

**The (Algerian) Government [...] decided to bring in about a thousand teachers of Arabic from Egypt to help arabize the systems. This experiment was a disaster: dialect differences were too great and the traditional Arabic pedagogy these teachers brought with them compounded the difficulties.**

### 3.2.4.2.3.2. From 1965-1978: *Presidency of Houari Boumediène*

Thanks to the President Houari Boumediène, arabization, at this stage, was at the peak of its implementation. The president made great efforts to arabize education. Broadly speaking, there were a set of essential measures undertaken at each level as highlighted by Grandguillaume (2004):

#### **Primary School**

The second grade of primary education was arabized at the beginning of 1967 “thanks to the recruitment of 1.000 Syrian volunteer teachers” (Kadri, 1992). The year 1971 was a turning point in the process of arabization when both the second and third grades at the primary school were totally arabized. The year 1971, therefore, is known as “the Arabization Year” or “Année de l’Arabization” as declared by Khawla Taleb Ibrahim (1997: 192). Overwhelmingly, by 1975, the entire education in primary school was arabized with French as an obligatory foreign language from the third year.

#### **Middle School**

One third of the sections in the first, second, and third grades were arabized. French is still implemented as a foreign language.

### **Secondary School**

Arabization was conducted on a grade-by –grade basis. In 1971, one third of the scientific sections in the first grade was arabized. In 1975, the section of humanities was totally arabized while just one third of mathematics and science sections was arabized.

Though Arabic was the official language of education, bilingualism characterized nearly all the levels. Mostefa Lacheraf, cited in Assous (1985: 131-132). , a Minister of education, appointed by the president Boumediène, in his turn, revealed that arabization, while a wanted end, it cannot be manifested alone without the advocacy of Arabic-French bilingualism for practical purposes. The period from 1977 to 1978, thus, suffered from a halt when the Minister claimed a number of measures in which he seemed as favouring bilingualism and opposing the arabization process. The measures suggested by Lacheraf, quoted in Bouamrane (1986:59) are summarized as follows:

- a) The arabized Higher Teacher Training College was closed down in 1977.
- b) The resumption of bilingual training was initiated.
- c) Lacheraf had abandoned “Ecole Fondamentale” project claiming that Algeria had no means to apply such a reform.

### **Higher Education**

Arabization was very slow. It was introduced in a gradual way in Social Sciences, Law and Economics but French continued to be used in scientific, medical, and technological streams. A law was created in 1971 ‘Decree of October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1971’ called for the organization of scientific sections (Mathematics, physics, and chemistry) at the university of Algiers. In the same year, these sections had been created at Oran University following the Decree of September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1971.

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The year of 1973 witnessed the birth of the *National Committee for Arabization*. After three years, the National Charter<sup>29</sup> was set up. The Charter (1976, cited in Djennane, 2015:70) proclaims that,

**The choice between the national language and a foreign language is not contained at all and is irreversible, and no debate about Arabization is possible anymore except in respect of the content and the means and methods and stages [...] the Arabic language is an important element of the cultural identity of the Algerian people, and our character cannot be separated from the Arabic language which expresses it.**

Considering the year 1973-1974, Grandguillaume (1983:100) endeavours to recapitulate the year's arabization steps of in each level, as shown in the tables below:

**Table 3.3. Status of arabization in primary school (1973-1974).**

<b>Grade</b>	<b>Status of Arabization</b>
<b>1<sup>st</sup></b>	Totally Arabized.
<b>2<sup>nd</sup></b>	Totally Arabized.
<b>3<sup>rd</sup></b>	Totally Arabized; French is a foreign language.
<b>4<sup>th</sup></b>	Totally Arabized; French is a foreign language.
<b>5<sup>th</sup></b>	1/3 of the classes totally arabized; French is a foreign language.
<b>6<sup>th</sup></b>	1/3 of the classes totally arabized; French is a foreign language.

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<sup>29</sup> The national charter is an influential document as it is the source of legislation. Article 6 of the constitution of 1976 proceeds: "The National Charter is the fundamental source of national policy and State's laws. It is the source of ideological and political reference for the Institution of the Party and the State at all levels. The National Charter is also a fundamental instrument of reference for interpretation of the Constitution" (Quoted in, Djennane. R. 2015 :69)

**Table 3.4. Status of arabization in intermediate school (1973-1974).**

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

**Table 3.5. Status of arabization in secondary school (1973-1974)**

<b>Grade</b>	<b>Humanities streams</b>	<b>Mathematics and science streams</b>
1 <sup>st</sup>	Totally Arabized.	1/3 of the classes Arabized, 2/3 bilingual. Scientific subjects were taught in French.
2 <sup>nd</sup>	Totally Arabized.	1/3 of the classes Arabized, 2/3 bilingual.
3 <sup>rd</sup>	All subjects were taught in Arabic, except mathematics and geography.	1/3 of the classes Arabized, 2/3 bilingual. Philosophy, geography and science subjects were taught in French.

### 3.2.4.2.3.3. From 1979-1992: *Presidency of Chadeli Benjedid*

In higher education, some fields had been arabized whereas, in Secondary education, mathematics was slowly arabized. In 1980, a decree introduced the total arabization of the first year of social and political sciences, laws and economics but French continued to be used in scientific, medical, and technological streams. Another decree in September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1988 prevented Algerian children from attending French school in Algeria even if they had dual nationality (Grandguillaume, 2004:6). Since 1989, whilst Arabic, in the primary, medium, and secondary, has been suggested as the sole medium of instruction, French lost its status as being ‘language of instruction’ and functioned as ‘a subject of instruction’, i.e., as a foreign language since the fourth grade.

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

It is the article 15 of the law N 91-05 of January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1991 which impules the exclusive teaching of the Arabic language.

### 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”<sup>30</sup>.**

#### **3.2.4.2.3.4. From 1992-1999: *Presidency of Boudiaf and Liamine Zeroual***

The new leaders, however, did not favour the law that calls for the general use of the Arabic language as stated earlier. Hence, arabization, during this period, had been criticized and the President Boudiaf (1992), though his short rule period, referred to schools as being “a disaster”. The law previously mentioned was re-launched on December 17<sup>th</sup>, 1996 according to Ordinance n° 96-30 (see Appendix A). The period was characterized by a number of noticeable changes. Education in primary schools witnessed the appearance of another optional foreign language. More precisely, in 1993, English has been introduced as another foreign language besides French and it is up to pupils to select which language they favour more. For certain attributes, the majority of parents, consequently, favoured French whereas only 10% of parents selected English as a foreign language in the same grade.

#### **3.2.4.2.3.5. From 1999 ----- : *Presidency of Bouteflika***

Unanimously, education has noticed a set of interesting reforms. The potential reform is that of the academic year 2003-2004 which aims to bring back Arabic/French bilingualism with greater openness to other languages, particularly English (Grandguillaume, 2004). French was re-introduced into the second grade instead of the fourth grade of primary school. Regarding the intermediate level, the government

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

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has added an additional year. Therefore, pupils started learning four years whereas English is advocated as a foreign language from the first year of middle schools.

Most of the “élite” enrolled their children in private French schools in order to ensure a bilingual education for them; however, the government abolished private schools and had replaced all the schools under its control. In February 2006, President Abd-el-Aziz Bouteflika has ordered 42 private French-language schools to be closed and the minister of education threatened to close the schools which would not conform to the official program, in particular with a teaching to 90 in Arabic.

Moreover, the « Berber Cultural Movement» was created as an opposition to the arabization of the education system and the government bureaucracy. In recent years, conflicts have broken out in Kabylie, a region of Algeria inhabited in large part by the Kabylie Berbers, in which one of the demands was equal footing with Arabic for their language.

Despite all the efforts made by the government to arabize all the education system, from the primary level till the university, French is still implemented as the language of instruction in various fields like: medicine, biology, physics, chemistry, technology, and mathematics as well. It should be stated that even though some students have carried their primary and secondary studies in Arabic, they, when reaching a university level, will be confronted to French.

As a result, the policy of Arabizing education was acknowledged as a failure, at least in science and technology teaching. This fact led the President Bouteflika to envisage return to bilingualism (*Arabic / French* or *Arabic / English*) in such fields when claiming that, “**it is unthinkable [...] to spend ten years study in Arabic pure sciences when it would only take one year in English**” (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2007: 9).

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Politically speaking, such a policy aims at slowing down the repeated claims for arabization. It is, indeed, a political tactics concentrating on the fact that English, a non-colonizer's language, could be more accepted. It is highly crucial to mention that numerous political discourses are delivered by the president in a bilingual manner including both Arabic and French, as he explained that **“we attend French school and we are thus heavily influenced by Descartes”** (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2007:10).

One may deduce that the arabization process has been subject to criticism and accused as having no scientific basis. Taleb Ibrahimi, (1981:96), the minister of education from 1965 to 1973, a fervent advocate of Classical Arabic admits (in 1966) that arabization suffers from improvisation (Dendane, 2007:90). Arabization has often been criticized for taking decisions without a well-planned organization at the level of application of these decisions. It can be also mentioned that that the success of any decision is associated with the attitudes towards the language adopted itself.

### 3.3. Language Attitudes

This section endeavours basically to unveil the correlation between language policy and people's various language attitudes as well as their related behaviours. It also provides a general overview of a set of theoretical concepts which are of relevance to the case study of this research work.

#### 3.3.1. Language Attitude defining

Social psychologists were the first to cope with language attitudes during the late 1950's. The study of language attitudes has been recognized in the branch of sociolinguistics in the mid-1960's. It has its roots in various disciplines<sup>31</sup>; involving the social psychology of language, sociology of language, anthropological linguistics, communication and discourse analysis. Language attitude is one of the most important

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31 The topic of language attitudes, in the current work, is only considered from a socio-psychological perspective. However, attitudes have also been circled from sociology and anthropology (socially-grounded approaches, e.g. Woolard, 1989).

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topics in the social psychology of language and one of the central factors that provides a 'reality touch' in understanding the nature of language use and in engendering linguistic variation which may, therefore, lead to language change.

The concept of language attitude can be defined as evaluations of ideas, events, objects or people. It is used broadly to mean **“any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluation reactions toward different language varieties and their speakers”** Ryan *et al* (1982:7)<sup>32</sup>. The way a person reacts to his/her surroundings is called: his/her attitude. Attitudes are generally positive or negative. People, in general, show their evaluation of situations through their reactions in different ways: agreeing or disagreeing with the situation, liking or disliking it.

Allport (1954) considers attitude as the primary building stone in the edifice of social psychology. Conner & Armitage (1998), in their turn, express that the attitude component is a function of a person's salient behavioural belief which represents perceived outcomes or attributes of the behaviour. It can be simply said that an attitude is an umbrella expression covering feelings, emotions, preferences, judgments as well as opinions (Bagozzi, 1994a).

Daily speech interactions may have a set of different language varieties. Speakers, on their turn, may have different attitudes towards these surrounding varieties. Such attitudes, as Trudgill (1992:44) points out, **“may range from very favourable to very unfavourable, and may be manifested in subjective judgments about the ‘correctness’, worth, and aesthetic qualities of varieties, as well as about the personal qualities of their speakers”**.

Attitudes may also fluctuate from one's level of education and personality traits to another. Students from the Islamic Department, for instance, and others from the French Department could have different attitudes towards MSA and French. Regarding the first group, the majority of them may give positive evaluation of

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<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Dendane (2007 : 258).

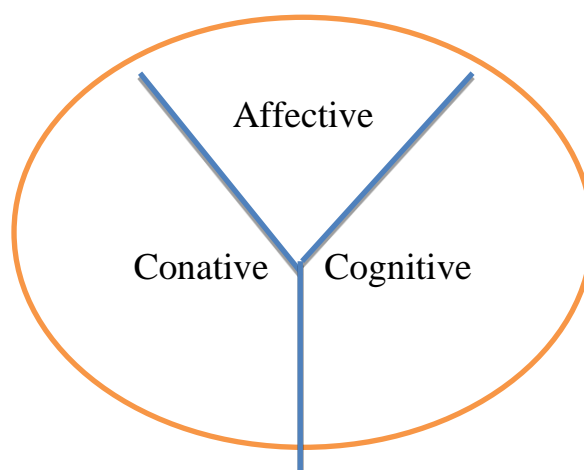
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MSA and negative or neutral claims towards French on the one hand. The second group, on the other hand, may favour French. Teachers, in their turn, may have divergent linguistic behaviours. A teacher of the Arabic language, for example, may have positive evaluations of MSA unlike a French language teacher who may have less positive reactions towards MSA and more evaluations of French.

Hence, language attitudes are the feelings people have about their own language varieties or languages or language varieties of others. Overwhelmingly, this concept has been differently acknowledged. All definitions highlight that every attitude has three components which are represented in what is called: the **ABC Model of Attitude**; ‘A’ for affective or *affectively-based attitude*, ‘B’ for behavioural or *behaviourally-based attitude*, ‘C’ for cognitive or *cognitively-based attitude*.

- ❖ **The affective element:** is an emotional component; representing the individual’s feelings towards the object in question. This type ‘A’ is used to express and validate our moral beliefs or value systems.
- ❖ **The behavioural element:** is the action component and a reaction to that object; i.e., the way one behaves when exposed to an attitude object.
- ❖ **The cognitive element:** is a mental component that refers to the knowledge of this specific object.

In this line of thought, Schiffman & Kanuk (2004) suggest that attitudes are constructed around three components in what is called *CAC Model* in which they labelled the second component, i.e., B component as the *Conative component* as it is shown in the following chart:

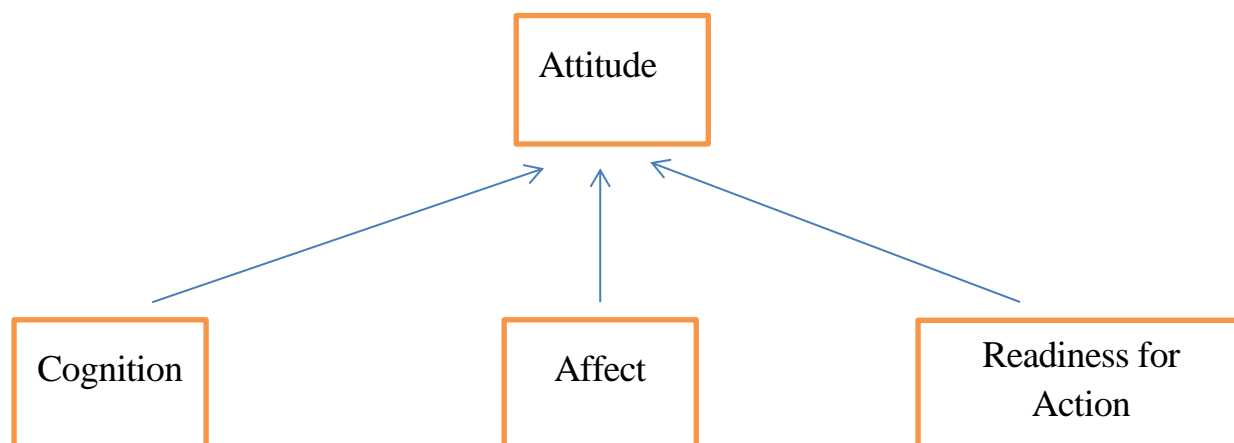


*CAC Model*

The concept of attitude occupies a key position in the field of social psychology and it is viewed as “**a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects**”. (Sarnoff, 1970: 279). Essentially, research on language attitudes has focused on describing the attitudes of people towards certain languages, attitudes towards varieties of a given language (standard Vs non-standard varieties), in addition to attitudes towards sociolinguistic topics (Schmied, 1991: 164). Likewise, Schiffman indicates a seemingly thorough typology of language attitudes. He (1997) recapitulates that these types of language attitudes can be towards 1) language in general, 2) motivation towards language learning (L1 or L2), 3) towards the status of a language, or the status of its speakers, or the status of some form of the language (H vs. L in diglossic communities), or its use in certain (novel or traditional) domains, 4) towards language shift (within a particular community, or in general), 5) towards loyalty to own language, 6) and attitudes of a minority group about its own non-standard variety.

Many theories have developed to explain the nature of language attitudes. The behaviourist view defines attitude straightforwardly as single units that can be observed directly from people’s responses to social stimuli. Nevertheless, the mentalist view considers attitude as “**a mental or neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response to all objects and**

situations with which it is related<sup>33</sup>”. Generally speaking, attitudes are regarded as internal units located in the human mind; i.e., consist of a three component model as it is shown in the figure below:



**Figure3. 1.** A three-component model of attitude (Baker, 1992:13)

Consequently, as attitudes are a mental construct, there was much methodological debate concerning the research data that will be used. There are basically three research approaches, usually termed: *“the societal treatment approach”*, a broad category that typically includes observation, and *‘the direct approach’* which is much used in larger-scale and it involves simply asking people to report self-analytically what their attitudes are<sup>34</sup>. That is, laymen are asking about their attitudes via questionnaire or interview, or both of them. Questionnaire can contain either close or open questions. Open questions give the participants the opportunity to express their attitudes in their own words and views. In close ones, however, the respondents have to choose one of the alternative answers proposed by the researcher. These answers can be either ‘yes-no’ answers or ‘multiple choice’. In addition to the use of the ‘*Likert scale*’ in which the respondents select their degree of agreement with the statement from a five-point scale as

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33 Baker,1992 :11

34 Idea mentioned in Llamas, C *et al.* 2006).

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demonstrated in the next figure (Baker, 1992:18/ Kajala, 1999:49),

**Strongly Agree**      **Agree**      **Neither Agree nor Disagree**      **Disagree**      **Strongly Disagree**

Or a Semantic differentiation scale which is originally designed in Osgood (Ajzen, 1988:10-13) and consists of pairs of bipolar adjectives such as ‘beautiful and ugly’:

Beautiful ——— : ——— : ——— : ——— : ——— : Ugly

The third approach is ‘the indirect approach’. It is a technique called “the Matched Guise Technique” proposed by Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert *et al.* 1960), and then developed later on in Lambert 1967, Gardner and Lambert 1972:35. This procedure allows the researcher to unveil the unconscious attitudes of the respondents by making them listening to a record text. The same text is performed in different guises. The informants will then ask to guess about the speakers in the guises by filling a questionnaire. Regarding this field work, the second research approach has been used and it will be clearly explained in the next chapter of this inquiry.

### 3.3.2. Attitude and Behaviour: A Socio-psychological Relationship

Studying the relationship between attitude and behaviour is among the most complex issues in social psychology. Various researchers attempted to analyze such intricate relation between people’s attitudes and their behaviours (e.g. Wicker, 1969). The term attitude is, in fact, derived from the Latin word ‘**aptitude**’; its original use embodies ‘**aptitude for action**’ (Baker, 1992: 11). One of the most preferred and working definitions considers an attitude as “**a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event**” (Ajzen, 1988:4).

Overwhelmingly, a hot debate among researchers took place inquiring how much attitudes and behaviours are compatible. Regarding the mentalist paradigm, it is highly

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35 Quoted in Edwards, J (1982: 22).

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believed that attitudes have a predictive influence on behaviours. Cohen (1964:138) alludes that **“attitudes are always seen as precursors of behaviour, as determinants of how a person will actually behave in his daily affairs”**. Understandably, one’s behaviour would reflect the attitudes he/she holds. A person who holds negative attitudes towards a language is more likely to expose unfavourable behaviour. In this case, an individual who is proficient in two languages may avoid using one of these languages due to the negative attitudes he/she possesses towards it. Strictly speaking, the attitude predefines the outward response and therefore it is assumed that **“a person who holds a favourable attitude toward some object to perform favorable behavior [...] similarly a person with unfavorable attitude is expected to perform unfavorable behaviors”** (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977:888).

Moreover, Fishbein’s *reasoned action theory* and Ajzen’s *planned behaviour theory* are the most salient theories which insist on the fact that attitudes are precursors of behaviours. These theories point out three predictors of behaviour. The first predictor is *attitudes toward the behaviour*. Then, *subjective norm* is the perceived social power to perform or not to perform behaviour (Ajzen, 1991:189). Thirdly, the perceived simplicity or complexity of performing the behaviour can be indicated through *the perceived behavioural control*. The appearance of the three elements can build *intention* which consequently guides behaviour.

The role and utility of attitudes has been, in fact, criticized in predicting human behaviour (Wicker, 1969; McGuire, 1969). The well-known instance in the attitude-behaviour inconsistency<sup>36</sup> is Richard LaPiere’s research in 1934 (Baker, 1992). LaPiere conducted his research in USA where a Chinese couple visited 251 restaurants. LaPiere expected this couple not to be accepted due to the anti-Asians bias. Out of 251 restaurants, only one restaurant prohibited the entry of the Chinese couple. After six months, LaPiere sent a letter to all these restaurants wondering whether they would receive Chinese customers. Astonishingly, 92% of the participants exposed negative attitudes.

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<sup>36</sup>A set of researchers have refuted the work of LaPiere being an instance of the attitude-behaviour inconsistency as it does not consider other various factors. People who served the Chinese couple might be, for example, not the same persons replied the letter (e.g. Fishbein & Coombs, 1974).

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Baker (1992:15) evidently observes that “**Actual behaviour was seemingly incongruent with expressed attitudes**”. Yet, it is necessary to mention that LaPiere’ results does not neglect the correlation between attitudes and actual behaviours, but it only challenges the extravagant consistency between them.

In this line of thought , other counter evidence are not hard to detect; while nearly all men, for example, are aware of the negative effects of cigarette on the human organism, the majority of them may still be heavily smokers. Linguistically speaking, Algerian pupils though bearing negative attitudes towards the language of instruction (MSA) or towards a foreign language (e.g. French or English); they may probably learn it as it is part of their educational program or in order to access to a variety of domains. In addition to that, if language policy makers may announce Berber as an official language to be used in education besides MSA over the whole Algerian territory, learners will certainly learn it despite of their negative attitudes towards Berber. This evidence clearly demonstrates the mismatch between language attitudes and actual behaviour.

Regarding most work on attitude-behaviour relation, Baker (1992:16) explains that,

**A direct, predictive relationship between attitude and external behaviour cannot more be assumed than that between behaviour and attitude. The psychologists’ ability to predict action from attitude or attitude from action, is somewhat imperfect. Behaviour tends not always to be consistent across contexts.**

Baker, then, focusses that people’s behaviours are often changeable across divergent contexts and that “**as props on the stage change, as different actors and actresses change [...], behaviour may change accordingly, and attitudes may become imperfect explainers and predictors of behaviour**” (ibid:15). Similarly, Ajzen (1988:45) acknowledges that “**every particular instance of human actions is, in this way, determined by a unique set of factors. Any change in circumstances, be it ever so slight, might produce a different reaction**”.

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Furthermore, Festinger's *dissonance theory* (1962) and Bem's *self-perception theory* (1972) advocate that the correlation between attitude and behaviour symbolizes a reversed trajectory since attitude is not usually the offshoot and the behaviour may instead affect the attitude. Yet, the compatibility of this relation depends on a set of parameters. In cases when behaviours and attitudes are not compatible, hence, the individual's reaction may drive him/her either towards changing the behaviour or other adequate cognitions or towards adjusting attitudes for the sake of achieving consistency with their behaviours. Broadly speaking, attitude-behaviour relationship is a bi-directional one in which each element can be altered or influenced on the basis of the other one. The attitude-behaviour bi-directionality promote the fact that attitude is a potential determiner to the extent that strong attitudes drive behaviour and weak attitudes follow behaviour (Holland *et al.* 2002).

### 3.3.3. Language Attitudes and Language Policy

Language policy and language attitudes are two interwoven concepts. This can obviously appear when considering the relationship between language attitudes and language shift and/or language maintenance, language survival and spread (e.g. Williams, 1991a), language choice, language loyalty, and standard vs. non-standard varieties, language policy, thus, echoes that studies of language attitudes are of high esteem.

To that end, various researchers (e.g. Lewis, 1981; Baker, 1992, 2006) stress on the notion that attitudes of the community (individuals in question) towards language policy play strongly an incentive parameter in the success or the failure of such policy. Accordingly, Baker (2006:2010) argues that **“attitudes towards [...] language laws [...] may well affect the success of language policy implementation”**. Language policy makers, then, depend on people's attitudes and feelings for making their policy escorts **“the needs of the people, and not the interests of any particular language”** (Webb, 1996:186).

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Attitudes and language policy are dependently related; being both affect and affected each other. They seem sharing a relationship of reciprocal causation. More precisely, political decisions that concern any linguistic issue may positively foster attitudes towards the selected language or may arouse a sense of hostility. Otherwise, having positive attitudes towards the language may certainly contribute at implementing the linguistic policy in a quick and a perfect manner as negative attitudes can produce indirect attack and obstacle in refraining the implementation of such linguistic policy.

As language is an essential mediating element in education, educational policy has been thoroughly influenced by attitudes. Christ, H. (1997:11) asserts that all educational contexts as: schools and universities are, therefore, determined by language (s) and attitudes towards this/these language(s) in several ways:

- Through the language(s) of instruction chosen or prescribed;
- Through contact with other languages in use within the broader environment of a given educational institution (e.g., the mother tongue of pupils and students where these differ from the local language);
- Through the range of curricular options offered under the rubric of “foreign languages”;
- Through instruction on the topic of language (reflection on language [s], comparison and evaluation of languages, grammar lessons);
- Through the contribution made by educational institutions to the standardization and “purification” of language.

Indeed, language attitudes are of great importance particularly in language-in-education policy (see section 3.2.3.3.). In this regard, Gardner (1999:86) demonstrates that “[a]ny policy for language, especially in the system of education, has to take account of the attitude of those likely to be affected [...] In any case, knowledge about attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation”. Language-in-education policy, in fact, concerns mainly the medium of instruction; i.e.,

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which language should be used and served as the primary tool in schools? This is extremely a problematic issue in many countries. Today, in the Algerian state, for instance, MSA is the national and official language used in all formal domains. Hence, MSA is the appropriate medium for education. Yet, interaction in classrooms especially interactions tackled during Arabic language sessions, a formal context where only MSA can be used, may encounter controversial debates as many colloquial forms can be evidently observed.

In this case, one may wonder whether integration of such colloquial forms has a connection with teachers' or learners' attitudes towards the standard or non-standard forms? Do pupils' attitudes towards their mother tongue affect the language of instruction? Or is it a matter of attitudes towards the topics discussed in the class as explained by Schmied, 1991 (see section 3.3.1.) which may lead the teacher or the learner to behave in a different linguistic behaviour? Hence, in real classroom interactions, are teachers or learners aware of these behaviours' differences? How can language policy and attitudes affect and be affected by each other? This is the core of our fieldwork which can be interpreted in the next chapter through data analysis.

### **3.4. Conclusion**

Language planning in Algeria has been a highly debate process which caused, in fact, a state of "bilingualism" in most Algerians, the spreading of Arabic through teaching and media was a measure to please the great defenders of homogenous arabization. But, it was far from realistic as bilingualism was indeed societal (Bensafi, 2002). As a prelude to addressing the arabization policy, the researcher portrays the historical background of education in Algeria. Accordingly, education knew many difficulties and obstacles due to the French policy; even after independence because of the existence of many leaders and different linguistic policies. Many controversies have been reported among these political leaders. This is why, Algerian policy makers themselves have recognized weaknesses and shortcomings of arabization which has

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been viewed as the responsible factor for the decrease in pupils' achievements and schooling.

The new picture of the educational sectors shows, undeniably, the use of the French language at many levels as well as the integration of many colloquial forms. Considering the Arabic sessions where only MSA is appropriate, AA and/or the middle variety is undoubtedly used by both teachers and learners. Hence, this chapter aims at shedding light on some of the key concepts, though not aspired exhaustively, so that it contextualizes the correlation between the Algerian linguistic policy and language attitudes and situates the work described in this thesis within these trends. To put it another way, this chapter is an outstanding building part through which the researcher, in the next chapter, endeavours at explaining the real linguistic behaviour of Arabic language teachers and investigating if such behaviours are related to LP issues solely or language attitudes are incentive parameters that affect teachers' speech in classroom interaction.

# Chapter Four

# Linguistic Behaviour of Teachers in Classroom Interaction

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## Chapter Four: Linguistic Behaviour of Teachers in Classroom Interaction

### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks at exploring Arabic language teachers' linguistic behaviour in middle school classroom interaction when interacting with their pupils and the reasons that stand behind their choices. It is a practical in form. It aims at relating the theory mentioned in the three preceding chapters to a concrete situation.

The current chapter includes two important parts. The first part covers the research methodology and the procedure. To achieve these objectives, three data collection instruments are used: recording classroom observation, questionnaire, in addition to interview. Each choice is associated with an objective motivation. This kind of designing the use of divergent research methods is called: triangulation which gathers both quantitative and qualitative research methods. This part portrays thoroughly the target population and the site in which the research was carried out. The second part, however, aims at analyzing and interpreting the data gathered by means of graphs and figures.

### 4.2. Research Design and Procedure

For conducting a research, the investigator requires essentially to determine the appropriate method that suits the objectives of the study in question.

#### 4.2.1. The Research Design

Research is a careful and detailed study in which a particular problem is raised. For successfully conducting a research, it is of paramount importance to determine the adequate method that suits the objectives of the study in question. Correspondingly, research design is the overall approach to the study in hand. It refers to the philosophy or the methodology undertaken by the researcher; involving all issues which must be investigated such as constraints and choices within research. In this line of thought, Parahoo (1997:142) defines a research design as **“a plan that describes how, when and where data are to be collected and analyzed”**. Polit *et al.* (2001:167), in their turn, argue that a research

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design refers to **“the researcher’s overall for answering the research question or testing the research hypothesis”**.

On the light of Burns and Grove’s (2003:195) quotation, research design is considered as **“a blueprint for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings”**. The definitions affirm the fact that any research design is closely associated with the research questions of the study. The research at hand is based on the case study method. In this respect, Yin (1994) asserts that the case study is determined by the ‘how’ and ‘why’ research questions. He (1984: 23) unveils that case study is **“an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within real-situation context, in which multiple sources of evidence are used”**.

Moreover, Anderson (1993:152) explains that a case study is **“concerned with how and why things happen, allowing the investigation of contextual realities and the differences between what was planned and what actually occurred”**. Our main concern is, indeed, to explore how Arabic language teachers at Tlemcen middle school behave linguistically and what reasons stand behind their linguistic behaviour, i.e., MSA is planned as the solely medium for interacting in classrooms; yet, what occurred in actual situations shows that the teachers use a set of colloquial expressions in correlation to a number of parameters. Hence, using such a method is thought to be valuable and helpful to further understanding of such an issue as it **“provides a more detailed qualitative and exploratory approach to research”** (Dyer, 1995) so that it enables the investigator at scrutinizing particular aspects and attaining perceptive and discerning appreciation of the case in point.

Though researchers brought a set of variant definitions to the case study method, the majority stand on the fact that this method should have a ‘case’, i. e., *the object of study* which is a contemporary and complicated operating unit investigated in its real-situation context with multitude of methods **“to derive a (n) (up-) close or otherwise in-depth understanding of a single or small number of “cases””** (Bromley, 1986:1). The researcher

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conducted her study through combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches. More precisely, the current study has been built on the basis of a mixed methods design since employing solely one method seems to produce weaknesses. This is why, it is necessary to mix methods in order to get multiple standpoints and, therefore, valid and objective data. Creswell (2014:32) demonstrates that,

**Mixed methods research is an approach to inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone.**

Quantitative approach is regarded as the most widely used in education research on the one hand. It is “**an approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables, in turn, can be measured, typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedures**” Creswell (idem). Furthermore, Dörnyei (2001c: 192) points out that,

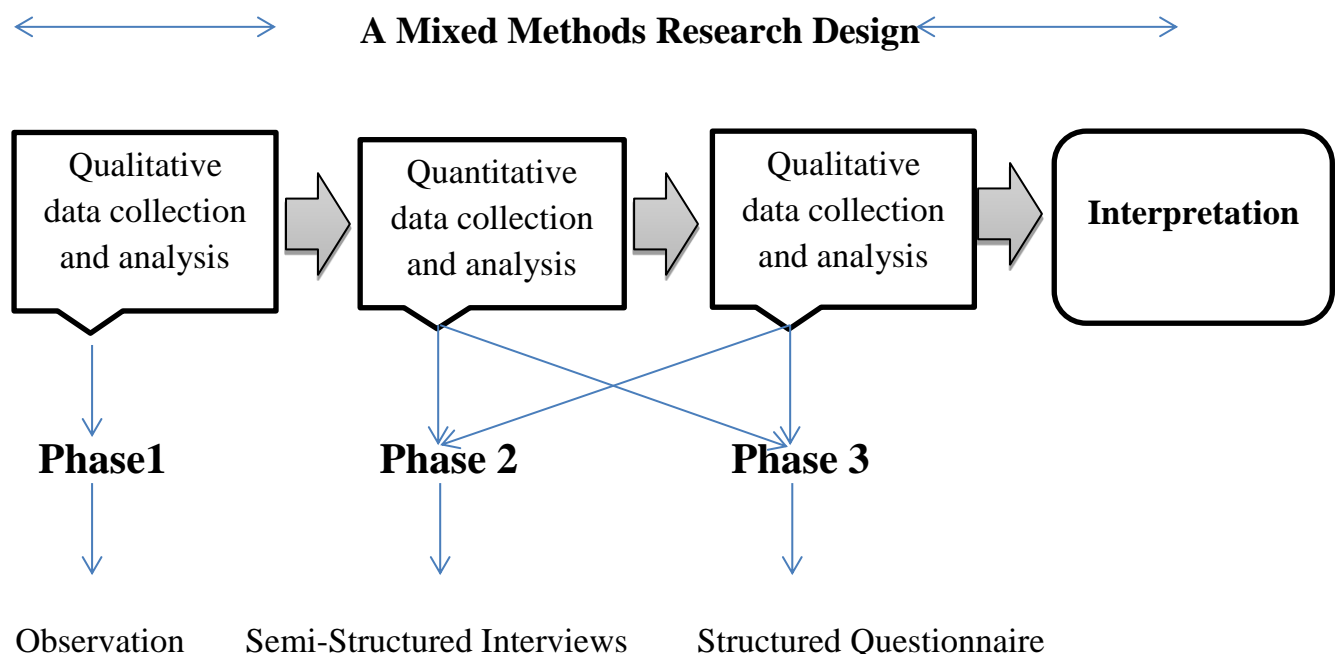
**[Quantitative research] employs categories, viewpoints and models as precisely defined by the researcher in advance as possible, and numerical or directly quantifiable data are collected to determine the relationship between these categories, to test research hypotheses and to enhance the aggregation of knowledge.**

Quantitative research methods aim to analyze both pupils’ and teachers’ questionnaires when dealing with close questions in addition to structured interviews’ analysis. They analyze teachers’ and learners’ attitudes towards the use of the middle variety and/or AA in the Arabic language sessions. The scores are summarized in tables and presented by means of graphs and figures. The findings can be analytical, descriptive, and confirming as well.

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A qualitative research, on the other hand, is “a form of social enquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experience and the world in which they live” (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002:30). Burns & Grove (2003:19), in their part, announce that a qualitative approach is “a systematic subjective approach used to describe life experiences and situations to give them meaning”. Qualitative approach is used to explore people’s behaviours, perspectives, experiences, and feelings as well as to understand thoroughly these elements. Yet, complete objectivity is impossible and this approach is not fully precise because human beings do not always act logically or predictably (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002:3).

The use of a qualitative approach in this research endeavours to explore the reasons of different linguistic behaviours in the classroom, describing the opinions of variant teachers from distinct middle schools in Tlemcen speech community. To that end, both quantitative and qualitative data are used as two complementary elements by the researcher and given equal priority. The current study design can best be explained in the following figure:



**Figure 4. 1. Research Design**

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Unanimously, mixed methods research supplies explicit statistical measurement and an in-depth analysis of quantitative and qualitative data that will be analyzed separately through the use of a set of research instruments: recording classroom observation, teachers' and pupils' questionnaires in addition to teachers' interview. The initial instrument was largely intended to collect qualitative data. The second and the third research tools built both quantitative and qualitative data. They are matched employing the quantitative results to shape the qualitative research questions to help achieve careful understanding. The results of the phases will be interpreted together in the interpretation phase. The research instruments adopted for collecting data are presented in the next sections

### **4.2.2. Sampling and Stratification**

Sampling refers to the process of **“selecting a group of subjects for a study in such a way that the individuals represent the larger group from which they were selected”** (Gay, 1987:101). It is one of the main concerns in conducting a fieldwork. The investigator, therefore, has to clearly define the target population related to her research.

The current research endeavours to unveil Arabic language teachers' linguistic behaviour in classroom interaction at different middle schools. It is concerned with teachers' use of the middle variety when delivering the course, i.e., mixing both MSA and AA or the use of AA solely in certain occasions. Differently put, it sheds light on diglossic CS from MSA to AA that occurs in Arabic language sessions where, mainly, the teacher is supposed to use MSA solely. This linguistic behaviour is not taken as a product, but rather as a process. In other terms, it does not attempt to describe grammatically all the possible switches or the constraints of the switches in the class (Poplack's Linear Order Constraint or Myers' Language Frame Model)<sup>1</sup> but rather to unveil the existence of different behaviours and to look for the reasons that stand behind the Arabic language teachers' use of AA and/or a mid-

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<sup>1</sup> The two approaches Poplack's Linear Order Constraint and Myers' Language Frame Model are clearly explained in the sections 1.4.1.1 and 1.4.1.3 respectively.

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dle variety in a formal context, dealing primarily with CS as a behaviour which can be affected by a number of factors through the answer to the following question: How do our Arabic language teachers behave linguistically in actual interactions in the classroom and what are the reasons that stand behind their behaviours?. The first part of the question is intentionally done not for the sake of describing the phenomenon of CS at the structural approach but rather for demonstrating instead the extensive teachers' inclusion of AA in the class. The distinction between CS as a product and as a process is made in sub-section 1.4.3. The second part is the essential one which seeks at analyzing the reasons of the switch.

A set of factors following Grosjean's list on factors influencing language choice (see section 1.4.2.3.) have been suggested in order to answer the broad research question. Hence, to restrict the fieldwork, a number of reasons have been chosen to be tested. Teachers' use of a middle variety and/or AA can be associated with teachers' or pupils' attitudes towards these varieties. It may be also correlated with teachers' speech spontaneity, the topic discussed in the class, or for the aim of enhancing pupils' assimilation as well.

### **4.2.2.1. Teachers' Profile**

Overwhelmingly, our fieldwork attempts to examine teachers' code switching that happens in Arabic language sessions towards AA. Arabic language teachers at Tlemcen middle schools were chosen as a sample population to restrict the fieldwork.

The researcher has selected eight middle schools. The first one has been purposefully chosen from Abou-Tachefine, the researcher's living region, since most teachers if not all are the researcher's neighbours or her teachers during her first years of study. As a result, it was easily for her to get regularly in touch with them even at home. It is called 'El-Habbak middle school'. It is the only middle school in the region and the solely school, among the selected ones, that contains a large number of Arabic language teachers (11 teachers). The second school situated in Oudjlida which is a new district and located next to Abou-Tachefine. It is called 'Tahar Hmaidia' and consists of 6 teachers. The headmas-

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ter is the researcher's neighbour. Thanks to her assistance, the researcher gained a tight relation with teachers there. Although those teachers worked twenty two hours a week, they gave the researcher the opportunity to discuss together the issue in question and interviewing them. Working in such schools helped, indeed, the researcher to collect easily fruitful data. The remaining schools are taken from other different areas of Tlemcen in order to achieve reliable and representative data which constitute the subject matter of inquiry.

More precisely, all the other six middle schools have been situated in Tlemcen center and they are near to each other. The schools, where the researcher met great support and help, are named as follows: 'Dar -El-Hadith' middle school which consists of four teachers, 'Ben-Zerdjeb' middle school, where the researcher met unexpectedly an old friend working there who exhibited enormously his stimulation and encouragement, gathers four teachers only. In the other schools, gathering data was really not an easy task at all since most of the teachers spent between 2 to 5 months for filling up the questionnaire or giving us an occasion for the interview task under the pretense that they were always busy and could not find a free time. Many times, they lost the questionnaires; especially women. The researcher, then, must satisfy each teacher for achieving her goals and gathering reliable data. Other teachers refused totally to provide any answer and, thus, they were excluded from our sampling. These schools are called: 'Sherif Moulay-Idris' middle school where eight questionnaires had been supplied; yet, only five of them can be collected, 'Ibn-Khaldoun middle school' where the same conditions had been faced, 'Et-tammimi middle school' consists eight teachers and only six of them were picked up, in addition to 'Yaghmoracen Ben Zian middle school' with seven informants.

The data used for this research come from a sample of forty eight participants mixing them in terms of gender, teaching levels<sup>2</sup> as well as teaching experience as it is summarized in the following table:

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<sup>2</sup> More information about teachers' teaching level will be provided during the analysis in order to avoid confusion as the same teacher can teach different levels.

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**Table 4. 1. Sampling and Stratification of Arabic Language Teachers**

<b>Middle Schools</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Less than 10 years teaching experience</b>	<b>More than 10 years teaching experience</b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
<i>Habbak</i>	3	8	1	10	<b>11</b>
<i>Tahar Hmaidia</i>	0	6	1	5	<b>6</b>
<i>Dar E-Hadith</i>	1	3	3	1	<b>4</b>
<i>Ben Zerdjeb</i>	0	4	3	1	<b>4</b>
<i>Ibn Khaldoun</i>	2	3	1	4	<b>5</b>
<i>Et-tammimi</i>	3	3	3	3	<b>6</b>
<i>Moulay Idris</i>	0	5	4	1	<b>5</b>
<i>Yaghmoracen</i>	3	4	2	5	<b>7</b>
<b><u>Total</u></b>	11	37	18	30	<b>48</b>

### **4.2.2.2. Pupils' Profile**

The target pupils' population in this study includes 360 pupils of different educational levels: first year, second year, third year, and fourth year middle school pupils. Thirty pupils were selected from each level; nearly a whole class since each class is supposed to gather different learners of the two genders (males and females) with distinct levels of proficiency of variant ages (from 11 to 17 years old). Those pupils were from three schools; namely Abou-Tachefine 'Habbak' school, Oudjlida 'Tahar Hmaidia' school, in addition to Tlemcen centre school 'Dar El-Hadith' school'. The researcher tends to select such school 'Dar El-Hadith' as contact with the pupils can be achieved without any obstacles. Strictly speaking, one hundred twenty pupils were chosen from each school as the following table shows:

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**Table 4. 2. Sampling and Stratification of pupils**

<b>Middle School</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> Year	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year	3 <sup>rd</sup> Year	4 <sup>th</sup> Year	<b>Total</b>
<b>Habbak</b>	30	30	30	30	120
<b>Tahar Hmaidia</b>	30	30	30	30	120
<b>Dar El-Hadith</b>	30	30	30	30	120
<b>Total</b>	90	90	90	90	360

This sample population has been chosen on the basis of two reasons: objective motivations and subjective ones. The objective motivation is the fact that Tlemcen is a quite large city in the West of Algeria on the one hand. It is a melting pot of a diversity of people. It contains apparent variation at all linguistic levels due to the extensive population shift (rural exodus). Some teachers and pupils at Tlemcen schools are speakers of a sedentary variety while others speak a more Bedouin variety (see section 2.4.1).

On the other hand, subjective motivations lie first and almost in the fact that the town of Tlemcen is the researcher's place of residence. Besides, some members of the sample population are the researcher's neighbours and close friends who are teachers in two of the selected schools in addition to the headmaster of Oudjlida, a close neighbour, who facilitates the task for the investigator to visit the schools whatever she likes, distributing the questionnaires, and interviewing the informants at successive times. Here, the observer's paradox is reduced because the teachers can be observed directly by the researcher and speak spontaneously as speaking with their friends. As far as pupils are concerned, the researcher's sister is a pupils in Habbak school which can observe directly teachers' linguistic behaviour and, consequently, can provide us with the most natural and objective data.

### **4.2.3. Research Instruments**

The data needed in this fieldwork are gathered by means of three research instruments. Recording classroom observation provides a direct study of the linguistic

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setting. Questionnaires and interviews are used to elicit data explicitly from the informants. The researcher used two questionnaires; one is administered to teachers and another one for pupils from the eight middle schools. The three tools may lead to yield more valid and authentic data.

### **4.2.3.1. Recording Classroom Observation**

Observation involves the direct control of teachers and their ongoing behaviour in natural settings. For the sake of storing classroom conversations and getting pure data for the present research work, all observed conversations have been recorded by the use of a hidden mobile in different middle schools at different educational levels.

All conversations have been recorded within the class in various Arabic language sessions in order to measure visible teachers' behaviour directly. They have been recorded by the researcher and sometimes 'a friend of friend procedure' is used, i.e., in certain contexts where it is better for the researcher not to be present or when feeling that the teacher did not behave as he/she used to behave in ordinary courses, the conversation was recorded by pupils who were members of the class through the use of a hidden mobile. Those pupils were the researcher's sister, neighbours, or relatives as well. Though such a technique does not permit the researcher to observe directly the cases of switches, it enables her to check other situations of switching where the researcher's presence may influence the behaviour of a teacher. Therefore, the same teacher's courses sometimes had been recorded by using both procedures.

In a good atmosphere, the investigator sat at the back so as not to disturb teacher-learners interaction. The recorder has to be hidden carefully without impeding the recording procedure in order not to influence the participants. Besides recording, all remarks had been written down in a form of notes for allowing us further to notice what was done by teachers and pupils. This device has been delivered mainly to evaluate the first hypothesis. As recording helps at identifying easily teachers' codes in the class and transcribing them

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attentively, taking notes contributes at identifying the reasons of such switches in each situation being; spontaneous, topic-related, or for enhancing pupils' assimilation.

This research tool is considered as the source instrument in our research. The data obtained through recording classroom observation served as the basis to formulate the questionnaire and the interview guides. The results obtained from recording are checked via interviewing and also that some interview questions intersect with the questionnaire items. This is of paramount importance to deeply understand the reasons behind facts and responses reached through the three instruments.

### **4.2.3.3. Interview**

The interview is another type of research. It is a question-answer verbal exchange in which the investigator herself participated through asking questions and teachers are the essential source of data. Interviewing is an efficient tool upon which the researcher may reach the ends already fixed in mind. In this respect, Cohen *et al.* (2000:267) announce that,

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

The interview contributes in providing affluent information as well as knowledge from informants; including views, opinions, feelings, and motivations on particular issues of concern to the researcher. It also assures high response rate and affords a deeper understanding of social events. Unlike a questionnaire, the interview is “**time consuming**” (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989:166) and considered as ‘rapid and anonymous interviews’ (Labov, 1970). It is up to the researcher to initiate the talk; seeking to reach the linguistic forms she has fixed as a goal in mind.

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In this investigation, the interview is conducted with teachers. It is devoted to the second hypothesis. It takes different teachers from variant middle schools in order to ensure objective and reliable data. Its main purpose is to examine the reasons that stand behind teachers' use of colloquial Arabic and/or the middle variety. To that end, the interview in question involves four parts. The first part includes personal information about teachers' gender, teaching experience, and teaching levels. Though, the latter three elements have not been highlighted within our hypotheses, they were purposefully added in order to check whether various teachers' linguistic behaviours can be correlated to these three parameters. The second hypothesis unveils three significant reasons that may affect teachers' speech. Therefore, the interview guide goes around three main topics besides the first part. The second part attempts to check if the switch to AA occurred spontaneously or purposefully. It includes nine questions. The second one deals with the topic discussed as an incentive determinant. It contains five questions. This part, in fact, can be also checked via the first research tool (recording classroom observation). That is to say, the data obtained through recording observation served as the basis to formulate the interview guides. The last part, which consists of eight questions, correlates the use of a middle variety or AA solely in specific situations with pupils' assimilation enhancement.

Understandably, the interview consists of twenty two questions from forty eight teachers (see section 4.2.2.). Some questions were close ones and others being open questions. Therefore, this is rather a semi-structured interview. Eighteen interviews were recorded; whereas, for twenty of them, the researcher takes only notes as the informants, mostly women, refused to be recorded. Interviewing middle school teachers is, in fact, not an easy task as most of the time they are busy. They work 22 hours a week. In many occasions, the interview task had been postponed when the researcher felt them tired or anxious due to their extensive responsibilities. Interviews took place in different places within the schools; sometimes in the teachers' lounge, others in the corridor. In fact, interviews were conducted in the adequate setting of the teacher in question. They were sometimes handled on their houses as some female teachers are either neighbours or intimates. Obviously, the

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primordial goal in choosing different strategies in the same study is to balance them and to assure completeness of findings or to confirm findings.

### 4.2.3.3. Questionnaire

The questionnaire has become one of the most used means of collecting information. Richards (2005:60) proclaims that **“questionnaires are one of the most common instruments used. They are relatively easy to prepare, they can be used with a large number of subjects, and they obtain information that is easy to tabulate and analyze”**. They refer to a string of questions or statements directed to a defined sample population. Unanimously, questionnaires are **“printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously”** (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989:172). In the current work, the questionnaire is related to the third hypothesis. It is used to collect data which elicit the Arabic language middle school teachers' as well as their learners' attitudes towards the use of AA and/ or the middle variety in classroom interaction.

A number of techniques can be employed to determine the way people evaluate languages, dialects and styles, some being direct through the use of few questions, as in our case, like 'yes/no' or 'multiple choice' questions, in addition to the use of Bakers' (1992) 'Likert scale'; the others being indirect. The indirect technique used for examining attitudes towards a particular variety is called the “matched guise technique” which is proposed by Lambert and his collaborators 1960 and developed later on in Gardner and Lambert 1972 (see section 3.3.1.). This technique permits researchers to reveal unconscious feelings about a specific language and attitudes toward its users.

In a more recent research, however, Garrett *et al.* (2003), when studying attitudes towards Welsh English dialect, used favourably the direct method and not the matched guise technique. Data, therefore, are gathered from both teachers and teenagers all over

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Wales using simple and direct questions. Furthermore, Huguet's research (2006)<sup>3</sup> is another evident example in which attitudes of Secondary school students in two bilingual contexts in Spain, notably Asturias and Eastern Aragon have been evaluated via using the direct method too. In this line of thought, Garrett (2010: 159), a Senior lecturer in the Centre for Language and Communication Research and a teacher of sociolinguistics, language attitudes, and persuasive communication at Cardiff University, UK, in a newly produced work entitled '*Attitudes to Language: Key Topics to Sociolinguistics (2010)*', affirmed strongly that,

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

According to Garrett, direct approach questionnaires have featured a great deal in the language education field, particularly when examining teachers' and learners' attitudes. To that end, the researcher opted to examine teachers' and pupils' attitudes by following Garrett's direct method questionnaire. The latter has been used as a fundamental research instrument which seeks at determining our Arabic language teachers' as well as their learners' attitudes towards the use of the middle variety and or/AA in an Arabic language session.

### **4.2.3.3.1. Teachers' Questionnaire**

The questionnaire was addressed to forty eight informants. These participants were asked to report their answers by themselves which has allowed the researcher not only to avoid discomfiture and influence, but also to gain time. Nonetheless, the researcher has decided to be present on many occasions, guided and assisted the participants through explaining the questions provided in the questionnaire and clarifying, particularly, the concept 'middle variety' which has been included in many parts of the questionnaire and heard

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<sup>3</sup> Idea mentioned in (Garrett, 2010).

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for the first time by the majority of them. Her main objective is avoiding any kind of ambiguity.

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

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

### **4.2.3.3.2. Pupils' Questionnaire**

The questionnaire was addressed to three hundred sixty informants. These participants were asked to report their answers by themselves with the presence of the researcher in all situations, guided and assisted the participants through explaining the questions provided in the questionnaire. Regarding pupils' questionnaire, the word 'middle variety' has been omitted and replaced by the expression of 'mixing between AA and MSA' as they were too young and cannot understand the concept. They appeared enjoying the experiment.

The questionnaire comprises two parts. The first one concerns information about teaching level and gender of the participants whereas the second part, which aims to display pupils' attitudes towards AA and/or mixing MSA and AA when interacting in formal contexts, involves seven questions. Five close and two open-ended questions were used, comprising yes - no questions and multiple choice questions for attaining both quantitative and qualitative data. The questionnaire was written in Standard Arabic to facilitate the task.

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### **4.3. Research Results**

The present section exposes systematically the results and treats them both quantitatively and qualitatively, in an attempt to validate our research hypotheses.

#### **4.3.1. Recording Observation Results**

The conversations were handled in different middle schools at various levels and with distinct teachers. To get reliable, rich, and fruitful data, the researcher gathered data from different middle schools mainly; Abou-Tachefine “Habbak” middle school, Oudjida “Tahar Hmaidia” middle school, and Tlemcen centre middle school. The investigator selected “Dar El-Hadith” Tlemcen centre middle school over the others where she has a good relation with teachers there and, thus, can easily get in contact with them. More precisely, twelve sessions have been recorded in the three aforementioned schools. Within each school, four sessions have been recorded from the four levels; i.e., the researcher observed a whole session in each of the four levels in each school. Within schools, each teacher is responsible, of course, of only one, two or in maximum three different levels. This is why, it is impossible for attending all the four sessions in one school with solely one teacher. Yet, the researcher, to achieve consistency, in cases where it was possible, she kept attending sessions with the same teacher. The sessions were selected randomly since our main focus is to observe a session of Arabic in general rather than specific types of the same session. Though our research work deals with teachers’ linguistic behaviour in the class, it must be also noted that pupils are the main triggers that can affect teachers’ linguistic behaviour in the class. To that end, some pupils’ conversations should be mentioned for determining the correlation between pupils’ behaviours and teachers’ linguistic reactions in many situations. The observed conversations were expressed as follows<sup>4</sup>:

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<sup>4</sup> Cases of the switch are in bold.

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### Habbak Middle School

#### ➤ First Year

A teacher who has thirteen years of experience conducted this session which was entitled: “حب الوطن من الايمان”.

The teacher started writing the date and the title on the board while some pupils were shouting.

Pupil: /muʔallɪma rah jɔajesnɪ b stɪlu/. ‘Teacher, he is beating me with the pen’.

Teacher: /Kahlouche baddina ʔawad/. ‘We start again!’

The Pupil answered: /muʔallima hɪja ʒabdatnɪ hɪja xawnatɪ stɪluja/. ‘Teacher, she stole my pen’.

Teacher: /ʂɑɑjɪ ʂɑɑjɪ lawla w talja ʔlɪk/, /manbadduuʂ dars ljuum/. ‘Be silent, Shall we start the lecture today or not?’

Teacher: /fathu l ktaab ʂɑfha tnɪn w tlatɪn ʂkuun jaqranna/, /naʔam Riadh/. ‘Open the book page 32, who reads? Yes Riadh.’

The pupil began reading the text in MSA and the teacher corrected his mistakes.

Teacher: /ʔan maada jataħaddaθu l kaatɪbu fɪ nnaʂ maahɪja Ifɪkra l ʔamma/. ‘What is the general idea of the text?’

Pupil: /ʔanɪ l watɔn/. ‘about native country’.

Another pupil: /ħubbu l- watɔn mɪna l-ʔɪmaan/. ‘Love of the homeland and religion are related to each other’.

Teacher: /fɪ ʒumla mufɪɪda/, /naʔam Bensayeh/. ‘Within a structured sentence’.

Another pupil : /jataħaddaθu el-kaatɪb fi en-naʂ ʔan qɪɪmatɪ l watɔn wa l-ɪxlaaʂɪ

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ɪlajhɪ/. ‘The author speaks about the importance of our country and our duties towards it’.

Teacher: /ʒajjɪd ɪdan l kaatɪb jumaʒʒɪd l watɔn wa hada maa nulaaħɪduhu mɪna l ʔunwaan “حب الوطن من الايمان”. Idan haadɪ maquula **nkarruha dajmən bla ma nsaʔlu** ʔan maʔnaaha ʒʒɑħɪɪħ, maa maʔnaha **b nɪsba lɪkum?**/. ‘Love of the homeland is related to love of religion, what does it mean this expression for you?’

Pupil: / l ʔɪxlaaʒ/ ‘honesty’. Another pupil asked the teacher to explain for him an ambiguous expression as follows: /ustada maa maʔna taqtaɖeeħɪ l fɪtɾa?/

Another pupil: / **l fatɾa taʔ ramɖaan**/.

Teacher: / **ʃuut ʒɑjɪ barkawna matmasxɪɪr** naʔuu d ɪla ddars qult naʔuu d ɪla ddars/.

‘Be serious; let’s return back to our lesson’.

Teacher: / taqtaɖeeħɪ l fɪtɾa maʔnaha l ʔɪnsaan **məllɪ jzzad w huwa ʔaraf bellɪ l ʒazajə** hɪja **bladɪ** lɪ dafʔu ʔɪɪha **ʒdudna w** ɖɑħħau **bə nfuushum ʔla ʒalha** wa lɪ hada **lazam** hatta **ħna ndɪru** taɖħɪjjat min aʒɪ an tabqa l ʒazaaʔɪr ħorra mustaqɪlla/.

‘Human beings are aware of their responsibilities towards Algeria from childhood. Thus, we must do all our best to defend it and to keep Algeria as an independent country’.

Teacher: /f naʒ **kajən** ʔɪddat asaaliɪb ʔɪnʃaaʔɪjja **ʃkun jaʔtəna waħad mʔa** dɪkrɪ nawʔɪħɪ/. She continued explaining the lecture using generally a middle variety as she mixed MSA and many forms of AA especially; when clarifying ambiguous points for her learners.

### ➤ **Second Year**

A female teacher, who has more than ten years of experience, started the session with writing the title the unit as well as the session’ topic on the board which was about:

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"الفهد", "الفيل" and "الفنك".

She said: /ʕadna tlaat noʕooʕ naqʕuhum fi hɪʕʕa waaħɪda/. She noticed that a pupil was absentminded, so she wanted to attract her attention via this expression: /w ntɪ Gurroudj mazal maxraʒtɪɪʃ man ʕand l kwafɪra/. 'Gurroudj, you haven't finished with the hairdresser yet?'

Teacher: /naxdu l kɪtaab ʕafha mja wwaħad w tmanɪɪn ɪjja Tayeb, Meriem, ʕaɟɪ bɪt darwak kul waħad nalʕalah b smɪytah ajja asɪɪu kal ʕada naʕraf fi qiraaʔat nnaʕ l awwal naqum bɪ munaqaʕatɪhɪ ʕumma ttanɪ . . ./. 'Take your book page 101, Tayeb! Meriem! Shall I call each one alone? Be quick, as usual we start reading the first text. We discuss it. Then, we move to the second...'

Pupils: /ustada ustada ustada/. 'Teacher, teacher, teacher'

Teacher: /naʕam Boudaoued/. The pupil started reading the text in MSA, he made some mistakes as /mustaʔnɪs/ and /ʕʕaħaarɪ/ while the teacher corrected him as /mustaʔnasɪ/ and /ʕʕaħaaraa/ respectively.

Teacher: /ʕan ajɟɪ ħajawaan jatakallamu el-kaatɪbu/. 'About which animal does the author speak?'

Pupil: /ʕanɪl fanak/.

Teacher: /ɪla ajɟatɪ faʕeelatɪn jantamɪɪ/. 'To which sort does it belong to?'

Pupil: /l kalbɪjjat/ Teacher: /maa maʕna l kalbɪyyat/ 'What does it mean cynicism?'

Pupil: /juʕ bɪhu l kalba/. 'It looks as dogs'.

Teacher: /l kaatib gaal ħajawaan mustaʔnas maa maʕna mustaʔnas/. 'The author says a domestic animal, what does it mean?'

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Pupil: /el ʔalɪɪf/. ‘Domestic’

Teacher: /qaala l katɪb lil fanak udunaan dɔxmatan limaada fɪɪ raʔjɪkom dɔxmatan/.

Pupil: /baʃ jasmaʔ l ʔaduw/. ‘The author says that the animal has two long ears. According to toy, why?’

Teacher: /**kəwwen** zumla mufɪɪda naħnu f ħɪʃʃat taʃbɪɪr ʃafawɪ, naʃam ħatta nas-maʃa el-farɪɪsata/. /laaħdɔ **kayan** kalɪma ʒadɪɪda xatəm maa maʃnaah/. ‘Form the sentence correctly; we are in a session of oral expression. Pay attention! In the text, there is a new word, what does it mean?’

Teacher: /**mlɪħ fummah** w ʔanfah/. ‘Good, its mouth and nose’.

In this session though the use of many AA expressions, the teachers motivated her learners to use MSA

Another pupils asked about the word: /mustaʔnas?/

Teacher: / jaʃnɪ jɪɪʃ **mʃa** l-ʔɪnsaan f dɔar hadɪ **ħɪja kima** l qɪtət **a bantɪ wɪn kuntɪ**/. ‘It means that it lives with humans at homes like cats; where were you my daughter?’

### ➤ **Third Year**

The teacher ( a female with more than 10 years teaching experience) entered the room. The class was very noisy. The teacher started shouting: /ʃət # ʔei # waʃʃa hada/ instead of the word /ʃamt/ meaning /shut up/. A few minutes later, she started checking the homework. At that moment, pupils were talking to each other and all their speeches were handled in a purely dialectal Arabic form. During this task, the following dialogue had been observed:

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Pupil: /ustada nsitah fəddar/ means ‘teacher, I forgot it at home’.

Teacher: /**nsitah hna dajman nansaw xa tra xra matfawadʒ tensa**/ ‘you forgot it, we usually forget. Next time, avoid forgetting your work’.

When the course started officially, the following expressions were expressed:

Teacher: /bi tɔbɪɪʔati l ɥal nantaqil ʔɪla wiɥda ʒadida **ɪɪ** hija l muʔaamaraat/.

/**hallu laktaab wa qraaw** qiraaʔa ʒɔɔmɪta/. ‘We move to another unit, open the book and read silently’.

A pupil was looking at her:

Teacher: /**matʒuufəʒ frɪjja hott raasak wa qra** qiraaʔa ʒɔɔmɪta /. ‘Avoid looking at me, read silently’.

Pupil: /**mazəbtəʒ l ktaab**/. ‘I do not bring the book.’

Teacher: /**mazəbtəʒ l ktaab ʔlaaʒ majəbtahəʒ tebbaʔ mʔa ʒɔɔɥbek**/. ‘You do not bring the book, why? Read with your friend’.

Teacher said to another pupil: /**qra w skut**/. ‘Read and shut up!’

After reading silently the text which was entitled ‘كولومبوس و البحر’, discussions were tackled in MSA with the switch to AA in a set of cases as can be appeared below:

Teacher: /maa hija al-muʔaamara allati qaama bihaa kolumbus maʔa baɥɥaratih/

All pupils’ answers were in MSA with interrupted AA expressions by the teachers due to some bad pupils’ behaviour. AA expressions are:

Teacher’s expressions: /**skut** /, /**rfaʔ ʒɔbʔek**/. /**ʔɪ kifha**/, /**waɥdoxra**/ mean: ‘shut up!, raise your finger!, it is the same, another one’.

Pupils’ expressions: /**yaah ʔustaada kima ttaʔɪ ʔɪ kifəha**/. ‘Oh! Teacher, the same example as me’.

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After listening to various ideas given by the pupils, the teacher said: ‘**ɪdan saʒlu lə fikra lə ʕaamma/**.

They go back to the text:

Teacher: /**maa howa l ʔaraɖ men haad riħla/**. ‘What is the aim of this trip?’

A pupil started answering without getting the permission. Hence, the teacher reacted as follows: /**rfaʕ ʂəbʕak w ranɪ nʂuuf ndɔll rɪ nahɖar/**. ‘Raise your hand, Shall I keep repeating the same remark’.

Pupils’ answers were in MSA such as: /al hadaf mɪn haadɪħɪ rɪħla howa al-ɪktɪ ʂaaf/

Teacher: /**kajfa kaanat ar-riħla/**. ‘How was the trip?’

Pupil: /**kaanat mumtiʔa waʕadadu sufunɪha talaata/**. ‘It was nice with three boats’.

Teacher: /**maa maʕna tɔɔqamuhaa/**. ‘What does it mean its crew’.

Pupil: /**rukkabuha farɪɪquhaa/**. ‘Its members’

Teacher: /**ɪdan maa hiya aʂʂɪfa al-latɪ kaana jatamajjazu biha Columbus/**. ‘How was Columbus?’

Pupil: /**al huduʔ wa ʕadam al-ɪstɪslaam/**. ‘He was quiet and courageous’.

Teachers’ questions about the text were carried in MSA and the majority of pupils’ answers were in MSA also.

By the end of the session, the teacher said: / **hal hunaaka ʔasaalɪɪb ʔɪanʂaaʂɪyya aw ʂowar bajaaniija/**.

Pupils: /**kajən ʔɪstifhaam w taʂbiħ/**. ‘There is an interrogative form and comparison’.

Teacher: /**maʂɪ llɪ tʂufuuh taʂbiħ ngulu ʔɪstɪʕaara/**.

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Then, the teacher dictated the grammar rule, of course, in MSA and she referred to an example from the text.

By the end the teacher showed their learners the hero's photo 'كولومبوس'.

She said: / **mʕana** ʕoora li kolubus **haa hiya**/. 'We have a photo for Columbus'.

Pupils: /ʔustada **artist**/ or / **kaan mʕuufal**/. 'He is beautiful', '

Teacher: /**ʔI Isaaan baatal**/ /**ma tabqaawəʕ tatʔagnu**/. 'Just long tongues, speak well'.

### ➤ **Fourth Year**

This session was held by a female teacher who has more than ten years in teaching the Arabic language in middle school (here the researchers' sister recorded the conversation who was a pupil there). During this session, the pupils were supposed to read the text earlier at home and treated with their teachers in the class. The text was entitled: "الى الشباب". Here are the recorded conversations:

Teacher: /kayfa taxajjala al-xat'eebu nafsahu/. 'How does the author imagine himself?'

Pupil: /**f t t ofuula**/. 'In childhood'.

Teacher: /hal lilkaatibi ʔaamaalun juʕalliquha ʔala ʕʕabaabi/. 'does he have wishes to be reached by youngers'.

Pupil: /naʕam/. 'Yes'.

Teacher: /kajfa/ , /lam taqraʔu en-naʕṣṣa ʔajjidan/ , /fi nnaʕṣṣi baʕəḍ ʕIbaraat waʕṣafa bIha ʕʕabaab maa hija/. /How, You don't read the text attentively. In the text, there are some expressions related to youngers, what are these expressions?'

Pupil: /rabIʕu l ʔumma/. The author means that youngers are the force of the state.

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Teacher: /taʃbɪɪh bɪ rɪabɪɪʃ liʔanna maʕa kibar sin jataraazaʕ matalan ɪla kan jʃom xmiɪs w ajjam l-bɪɪdʒ jtraazaʕ/.

Teacher: /ʃkuun jaʕteena l-maʕza/. She asked a pupil to write on the board: /noɖɪ saʒlɪɪnna l- fɪkra/. ‘Stand up to write the idea on the board’.

Teacher dictated at the same time when she notices mistakes, she reacted as follows: /fatratu ʃʃabaabɪ jaʒɪbu ʕusnu stɪʔlaalɪhaa lhamza lhamza had dars ʃafnaah manʕaawduuʃ nwallulah/

Teacher asked the pupil: /ʕawɖɪ l fɪkra ntaʕak nsitha/. ‘Repeat your idea, I forgot it’.

Then, she carried the dictation: /aʃʃabaabu ʃɪmaadu ləʔummatɪ ʃədda foq ʃʃɪɪn wa dawruhu fi l-muʒtamaʕɪ/. Suddenly, she shouted: /aa bantɪ marakiiɪɪʃ təʕassɪ bellɪ rakɪ dajra ʔaltɔ fil-muʒtamaʕɪ fɪ muʒtamaʕɪ fɪ muʒtamaʕɪ fil muʒtamaʕɪ laa jataʕaqqaqu ɪlla ɪlla ʃədda ʃədda l ʕarf ki nzajjar ʔlɪɪh ʃədda fuugah manabqawəʃ rɪɪ nʕaawdulha haadɪ/. ‘Pay attention, you make a mistake, you do not hear the stress so you must add it’.

Teacher: /ʕawɖu qraw juʒad saʒɪ/.

Pupil:/kaajan saʒɪ/

Teacher: /maa fiqra aqra a bba ʒaj ritriɪjjaʕ xasni ɪla naxxalʕah baaʃ jeftɔn marahəʃ ʕaaref ɪla ranɪ fə lawwal wəlla f ttalɪ/. ‘In which paragraph? Read, or each time we must repeat the same thing, he does not know if we are in the first or the last paragraph?’ (Here a pupil was distracted).

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### Dar El-Hadith Middle School

#### ➤ First Year

The session started with greetings purely MSA. The teacher (a female who has only three years of experience) began the session asking questions about the last session. Then, she directly wrote the title ‘the subject’ on the board and asked them about it.

The teacher said: /naʔtekom ana miθaal w ntuma gululi ʔila taʔ dokoor wella ʔinaaθ/. ‘I will give you an example and you decide if it refers to a male or female?’

Pupils’ answers were turning around male or female. Then, the teacher dictated the rule in MSA. After that, she explained the case of duality.

Teacher: /muhandɪsun/: ‘an engineer’ pupil: /muhandɪsaan/: ‘two engineers’.

The teacher felt that another pupil was out of the session thought he was present and asked him to form the plural.

The pupil said directly: /muhandɪsaan/. All the pupils shouted: ‘no’.

The pupil: /muhandɪsɪɪn/.

The teacher: /ja nzidu l-waw w nuun jaa ʔibaad allah xatɔr raha maɔmoma yallɪ jaʔtek lɔomma ʔammɪtnɪ/ ; answered with stress and rising intonation. She means: ‘We add ‘ون’ since we have the vowel /u/ at the end’.

The teacher requested another pupil to form the plural of the word /muhandɪsatun/: ‘an engineer’.

The pupil answered: /muhandɪsuun/.

At this level, I observed that the teacher became so nervous and she shouted without controlling herself: /jaa kulʃɪ tbaxxar wəlla malkom fajan rah ʔaqlak ja rana nahadro

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የla ገመገሞ l-muገannaፀ ssalim kifaጋ ስላህ ስላህ ስላህ' w ስላህ'at' hada makan ገላግጥጥጥ ገላግጥጥ ስላህ'. 'You forgot everything, where are you? We are speaking about the transformation of female words from singular to plural, we omit the 'ة' and add 'ات'. That's all, and now give me examples for transforming them.

The session was continued speaking about the same topic with a clear use of the middle variety when explaining and AA expressions when shouting.

### ➤ Second Year

The session was conducted with a female teacher, having four years of experience. The topic of the lecture, as highlighted by the teacher, used to be selected by the teacher. She prepared a text entitled “البشير الابراهيمي” and read it twice in MSA solely. Pupils were asked to take notes for discussing the topic later. Interaction in the classroom ranged from formal to informal styles by the teacher. The main points can be summarized as follows:

All information related to “Bachir El-Ibrahimi” expressed using MSA.

Teacher: /howa ገallamatun waddaግ atəhu l umma lግ ገIslamijja bግ ገhuznግ ገkabግ ገrግ ገin wa ግjuun daamግ ግa/. 'He was an outstanding figure who died and let all the state sad'.

Teacher: /ገafግ ግl ግ#qurግaana kaan jaግfad l-qurግaan maግግ ግdars wella zuuግ kግfkom/. 'He was citing the Quran, he learnt by hard the Quran not solely one or two lessons as you.'

Teacher: /ግbbaግ ma maግna l mutuun/ , /al-mutuun al-kutub adግ ግαxma maግግ ግmja w ግaግ ግrግ ግin ግግfha, namግ ግግw l-maktaba ግግ ግbohomo/. 'Follow, what is 'mutun'? They are very big books that contain many pages not only 120 pages. We could find them in the library.'

Teacher: /maa maግnaa ግzawaarግ ግግ ግhi/

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Pupils: /manaʃ ʔarfɪnha maa maʔnaha/. ‘We did not explain it, what does it mean?’

Teacher: /hawsu ʔlɪha bbaħħadkum/. ‘Lokk for it you alone.’

By the end of the session, pupils asked their teacher to give them their marks as it was the period after the exam (the end of the first semester).

Teacher: /makaanʃ nnɪqaat xaataɾəʃ magʔadtuuʃ saaktɪɪn/. ‘I will not give you the marks because you were noisy.’

**Pupil:** /ustada namħɪ ssabbura/. (Miss Shall I erase the board?)

**Teacher:** /wkan majnoodəʃ l ʃʃɑbbuura jahbal.

### ➤ Third Year

The session was conducted by a teacher (a male having more than ten years of teaching experience). He started writing the title of the lesson on the board: 'في عيادة طبيب الاسنان'

A pupil said: /ustaad nraqab taħdeer/. ‘Teacher, shall I check the homework.’

Teacher: /ana nraqab taħdeer tawaħad majraqəb rah ktar tbalʔɪɪt hna/. ‘I will check myself, no one will check instead, there many liars here.’

After that, a pupil started reading the text in MSA as it is written with slight mistakes.

Teacher: /ana nħaddad ʃkuun yaqra matarfaʔ jddək mawalo *Abd-rahmaan ʔawad Ben yetto* /, /kammal kammal/. ‘I will determine the students who read: *Abd-rahmaan* then *Ben yetto*, carry on, carry on/.

Teacher: /kul tilmɪɪd jaqraʔo ʃatran/, /tawaqqaf suʔaal: maa maʔna el-mɪbzaqa?/. ‘Each pupil should read a part. Stop, I have a question, what is meant by a sink?’

Pupil: /morakkab ammama kursɪjjɪ tɑɪɪɪ l-ʔasnaan/. ‘a sink near the chair of the den-

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tist’.

Another pupil: / ustaad maa maʕna t orʕaan?/. ‘Teacher, what is a towel?’

Teacher: /idan maa maʕna t orʕaan?/ ‘So, what is a towel?’

Pupils’ expressions: / **haa traʕ**/, /**manaʕraf**/. ‘ a deaf!!! I do not know!’

Teacher: /f dariʔza **ngulu torchon hadaak** idan qɪtʔat qumaaʕ/.’ In AA, we say ‘torchon’, it is a piece of cloth’.

Teacher: / maa maʕna ʕarraka et-taʕbɪɪbu rusxaho?/.

Pupil: /**lahja**/. Teacher: /jaʕnɪ daqnaʕo/.

Pupils continued reading the text and giving general ideas or summaries of each part from the text in MSA. When the teacher observed mistakes, he corrected them.

A pupil asked: / maa maʕna ʕarraka et-taʕbɪɪbu rusxaho?/

Teacher ironocally replied: /صباح لخير ولدي faajan kunt ʕaʕjɪ kammalna/.

Teacher: /ʕalajna kama qulna fɪl ʕɪʕaʕɪ l-maadejati qɪraaʔat maa bajna e-ʕʕotoor.

El-ʕumla idan ʕɪja taʕwɪɪr lɪ ʕaxʕejjati et-taʕbɪɪb/. ‘As said earlier, we must read attentively the text and understand its real meaning. The sentence, therefore, explains the personality of the dentist’.

### ➤ **Fourth Year**

The session was conducted with the same teacher (a male having more than ten years of teaching experience) of the third year level.

The teacher said: /ʕunwaan qars howa: ‘انترنت المستقبل’ man jaqraʔ en-naʕ ʔidan ?/. ‘The topic of the lecture is: internet. Who read the text?’

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Different pupils read the text in MSA of course and gave distinct general views about the internet from the text.

Teacher: /maa hijja xadamaat l internet?/. ‘What are the uses of the internet?’

Pupil: /laho xadamaat kaθIra fi l-maḡaal l-falakI wa ttebbI/. ‘It has many uses in at medical and astronomical levels’.

Teacher: /sawaa? l-falakI wella ttebbI ḡraḥaha/. ‘Astronomical or medical, explain!’

The teacher asked a pupil to read the summary of the text, so the pupil kept silent.

Teacher: /ranI nasmaʕ/. ‘I am listening’.

Pupil: /malaxxaḡetḡ/. ‘You do not summarize the text’.

Teacher: /jIb daftar l-morasal/. ‘Bring your correspondence book!’

Pupil: /ustaad mazaḡtahəḡ/. ‘Sir, I don’t bring it’.

Teacher: /mazaḡtahəḡ ljum rahom ʕadna dIjaf rak mzaḡhar l-xatra ʕʕajja matḡIbəḡ bbak matedxoləḡ/. ‘You don’t; you are lucky today as we have guests. Next time, if your father will not come, you cannot enter the room’.

The teacher dictated some hints about the internet and its uses and advantages in purely MSA. By the end of the session, he asked his learners to determine the function of some words from the text; i.e., el-ʔIʕraab.

Teacher: /Illa annaha mazalat fi mahdIha ḡkun jaʕrabli mahdIha?/

Pupils gave wrong answers. The teacher said: /qrawha ʕawad qrawha/ , /mliḥ matsawḡ mawqIʕ l ʕumla mIna l ʔIʕraab ʕIjja ḡraḥaha Boukhari/. ‘Read it Read it again/, /good/, /do not forget the function of words within the sentence’.

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Another pupil: /rah xalat/. 'He is wrong'.

Teacher: /skut howa **rah jahdar xI kan galab I** ?awdαα? ?ajna xabar maazaala ?/.

Pupil: /I ha/ . 'the letteh 'h'".

Teacher: /malha I ha?/. 'What happens to 'h'".

Pupil: /twallI **Ila** ....then, he kept silent.

Teacher: /**rahom Fadna tlata ta? I**-?azwIba ma hija s̄s̄ᾱh̄Īh̄a?/. 'We have three responses, which one is the right one?'

After that, the teacher moved to another point: /fil fiqra I ?axiira el-katIb qaddama ta?bĪh̄ maa howa wa maa naw?uhu?/. 'In the last paragraph, the author presented an example of a comparison, where is it?'

Pupil: /?abbaha I kaatIb e-ssur?ata bil - maa? /. 'The author compares rapidity with water'.

Teacher: /?aḥsantI fa l-kaatIb ḥadafa l-mo?abbah wa dakara l-qarIIna e-ddalla ?ala el-?un?or l-maḥduuf muta?t te?ĪIna fahija ?IstI?ara maknijja/

Pupil: /ustaad l-?IstI?ara ta?rĪh̄Ījja **kifa? tkun?**/

Teacher: /I ?akəs **ta?ha wel** qarIIna **dajmən tkun** mawzuuda/, /Benkhedda, **g?ud ni?an hadaarI** a?Id ?arḥ/.

Pupil: /mani ?faham/

Teacher: /rak **fad ta?ḥak duk ndIṛ** ?IstId?aa? **l-bbaak**/.

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### Tahar Hmaidia Middle School

#### ➤ First Year

A female teacher who has three years of experience conducted this lecture. The class was very noisy. The topic of the lecture concerns “الوطني الصالح”. Pupils were speaking to each other loudly using purely AA and even with the teacher using AA expressions. The teacher first asked a pupil to read the text. After that, she asked them questions relating to the text.

Teacher: /ma l mawḍooʔ lladɪ juʔalɪzuhu nnaʂ ?/ ‘What is the topic of the text?’

Pupil: /ustada ustada l watʔanɪjju ʂʂʔalɪhu/. ‘Miss, Miss, it concerns ‘good citizens’.

Teacher: /man howa l watʔanɪjju ʂʂʔalɪhu fɪɪ naḍʔarɪ l kaatɪb?/ ‘Who can be a good citizen according to the writer?’

Pupil: /howa lladɪ juhɪmu bɪħubbɪ watʔanɪhɪ/. ‘He is the one who loves his county’.

Teacher: /aħsant idan maa maʕna juhɪɪm?/.

Pupils’ answers: /maʕduud, **maʕruum, l xadra mahfuura fɪɪ galbɪ**/

Teacher: /naʕam **mlɪħ hadɪ hɪja** juhɪbbuha ʒɪddan/.

Teacher: /ʂ**kun jaʕtena** miθaal ʕan baʕʔḍ l mazaalaat el-latɪ jataħarraku fɪha el-watʔanɪjju ʂʂʔalɪhu?/

Pupil: /ettadħɪjja fɪɪ sabɪɪɪ l-watʔan/

Another pupil: /ustada **l balon taħja bladɪ ntʔlʕuləha laʕlaam**/

Another one: /ustada **kɪma umm dermaam wan tu θree vɪva lalɒɪɪ**/

Teacher: /naʕam **wan tu θree vɪva lalɒɪɪ** idan **kɪ rbaħna gaʕ nas xarɒat w tʔlʕu**

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Ɔlam dzeɪə hadak nhar majateensaa ʃ/

Pupil: /ustada tabɣɪ l balon?/

Teacher: / nabɣɪ bladɪ maʃɪ l balon idan hada miθaal heɪ Ɔani rooħ l-watɔnɪjja ʃkun jaʔtɛna miθaal waħdaxor/.

All pupils shouted: /one two three viva l'Algérie/

Teacher: /ɪwa ʃɔɟɪ ntuma ljum gaʔ hbaltu/ ,nwaʃlu, hal lɪlwatɔn Ɔalaaqa bɪlɪɪmaan?/ The session continued in such a way and the discussions are full instances of the use of the middle variety by both the teacher and her learners. In, some cases only AA was used as the example when speaking about ‘the topic of sport’.

### ➤ Second Year

A female teacher, who has more than ten years of experience, started the session with writing the title of the unit as well as the session’s topic on the board which was about: “قدم الانسان تطا سطح القمر”.

Teacher:/ ljum mawɖuuɟna ħawla el-qamar, fatħu l ktaab ʃɔfħa mja w zuuz ʃkuun jaqranna/,

The pupil began reading the text in MSA and the teacher corrected their mistakes.

Teacher: /Ɔan maada jataħaddaθu l kaatɪbu fɪ nnaʃ maahɪja lɪkra l Ɔamma/

Pupil: /nuzuul l ʔɪnsaan Ɔala ʃɔtħɪ l qamar/

Teacher: /aħsant nuzuul l ʔɪnsaan Ɔala ʃɔtħɪ l qamar ɣajjara mɪn ħayaat el-ba ʃarɪjja/

Teacher: /ma lladɪ fataħathu awwalu qadam tatɔfo Ɔala ʃɔtəħɪ l qamarɪ/

pupil: /ustada iktiʃaaf ʒadiid/, another pupil: /el enternet/ and hence, all members of the

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class were laughing.

Teacher laughed and said: /aa waldi rana fi lard wella f sma ha ft an wella matqahwitəʃ/

another pupil said: /ustada kima l ʔɪktɪ ʃaaf taʃ l marɪkan/

Teacher: /naʃam ʒajjɪd **kima galat Lubna Columbus ʔɪkta ʃafa amr ɪka**/

A pupil: /ustada, **zaʃma nqaddu nʔɪ ʃu fih**/ Another one: /ustada, **wah kifaʃ zaʃma waʃ jaʃra**/

Teacher: / **hija l ʔulamaaʔ ʃabu kawkaw jʃabbah lal arɔ, yaʃnɪ fih al hwa kima lard, nqaddu nʔɪ ʃu fih** wa allaho aʃlam/

Pupil: /**ki jʃaluh** ustada **nam ʃɪ w ntɪja**/

Teach-

er: /ntuma rahgabaɔkum lahbaal nazbad kurraas niqaat wal ʃuud ba ʃ tatsagdu, naʃuu d ɪla ddars qult naʃuu d ɪla ddars/

She continued explaining the lecture using generally a middle variety as she mixed MSA and many forms of AA to explain difficult terms for her learners.

### ➤ **Third Year**

A female teacher having more than ten years of teaching experience conducted this session. The topic of the lecture was about “النسبة الى الاسماء الاعجمية”. She wrote four examples on the board and started asking questions:

/ɔɔʔ l qalam wa nantabɪh hajja naʃlɪq l hararɪɪs nuraaʒɪʃ eddars l-maaɔe, ma maʃna l-ʔɪsm l-maqsoor, **rani nʃuf rɪ matzaggɪwəʃ, Benachour**/

Pupil: /maa jantahɪbɪ ʔalɪf maqsoora/

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Teacher: /**mlɪħ** mɪθaal/

Pupils: /ʕaʕaa, mustaʕfaa/

Teacher: /kalimat ʕaʕaa kajfa nansibuh/

Pupil: /ʕaʕawaan/

Teacher: /ʔɪdan **kɪjkuun** l ʔɪsm θulaaθɪ **hadɪɪk** l-ʔalif mubaaʕarat tuqlabu waaw/

She added: /maada ʕan l mamduud miθaal/

Pupils: /samaaʕ, ʕaħraaʕ/

Teacher: /**ʕaaʕi** ʕət essamʕo **kɪ jkuun waħad jahdɔr laxor jaskut**/, /**kɪfa** ʕ nathaslu ʕla nisba?

Pupil: /bɪ qalbi l alif waaw/

Teacher: **mliħ nwallɪw** idan l ddars **taʕna** 'النسبة الى الاسماء الاعجمية' maa maʔna ɪsm aʔʕamɪjjun.

Pupils: /ɪsm balad/

Teacher: / **tu tu**/ instead of xaɔaʔ 'wrong' or laa'no'. /**qrrabt Belkacem**

*Pupils: /ism ɣair ʔarabɪɪ maa ʕɪ ʔarabɪ*

*Teacher: ʕtewnɪ ʕamθɪla/*

*Pupils: /marikaan/, /u ʕlida/, /turkɪja/, /lalmaan/, /ispaanijaa/,*

Teacher: /**ʕaaʕɪ ʕaaʕɪ tɔbbaʕ**/

Pupil: /ustada ɣɪ **kɪjkun** l ħarf jaa/

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Teacher: / **kɪfaa** ʃ **nansbuha** l ʔaan/

Pupil: /ustada **naħadfuha** w **ndiro** l jaa/.

Teacher: / naʔam **naħadfu** l jaa w **ndiru** jaʔ nisba **ki** ʃ **twallɪ** ispaanɪjjun naʔam **fhamtu**  
**haad** nuqtɔ/

Pupils: /ustaada **mafhamtə** ʃ **zzaawza**/

Teacher: /**zzaawza** naʔam **təbba**ʔ qulna ajj ism aʔzamɪ jantahɪ bɪ jaa miθla  
ɪspaanɪjaa **hadik** l ja **tnaħħɪha** wtzɪdɪ rɪ jaʔ fiha ʃedda **hada** makan/

Pupil: /ustada **nqaddu** **ndiru** ispaanɪyyun/

Teacher: /naʔam **ʔla** **ħsab** l kalɪma ana **majhamnɪ** ʃ ttanwɪɪn **jhamnɪ** taʔjɪɪr.

The teacher carried her speech mixing both MSA and AA as follows:

- /**kajan** baʔəɖ l ħaalaat llɪ **nsammɪwha** اشواد
- /**wkan** ntɔbbaq qaaʔɪda **kɪma** l ħala **ta**ʔ l مكسيك **hadɪ** ħaala ʃaadda/
- /rɪjjad **rani** ʔad **nahdɔr**/
- /kalimaat mɪθla اسيا **ʔamlu** ħa ssahəm **twallɪ** اسوي **ngal**ʔ l mad w **nzidu** waw wa  
jaʔ nisba/.
- /**katbɪ** f tɔɔbla **rakɪ** xɛɪfa l kurras **jakmal**/.
- By the end of the session, she dictated for them an activity as follows :
  - /taktab l kalɪma w **ta**ʔmal sahm w **twallɪ** l stɔr **ta**ʔmal **hagda** w tarzaʔ l stɔr  
**ʃɔɔjɪ**/.
  - /**ktab** w **skut**/, /nta **wella** **waħdaxor**/.
  - /tamarɪɪn ʃɔfħa **mja** w **tlata** w tasʔɪɪn/.

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### ➤ Fourth Year

The session was conducted with the same previous teacher of third year pupils.

The teacher: /**fatho** l kɪtaab ʒɑfha **xmast**ɑʃ daʔɪman fɪ nafs l wɪhda/

One pupil started reading the text entitled: ‘انترنت المستقبل’, of course, in MSA. After that, the teacher asked the pupils to give her a general idea about the text. All the propositions were given in MSA; in cases of mistakes, the teacher corrected them.

Teacher: hal fiɣlan l internet waʒlat ɪla nuqtatɪ ʔannahja ? **xlaʒ waʒlat** ?

Pupil: **mazal**.

Teacher : /wa hada laho ʒalaqa bimaada? el-ɣɪlm **ʒandu had?** l enternt ʔɪdan **dajmən** fɪ taɔwwor/.

Teacher : /**ʔtewni** mɪɪza oxra lɪl internet qaddamaha el-kaatɪb maa hija?/

Pupil : /maʒabtɪ ustada mafhamtɪ/.

Teacher : /el-kɪtaab **ʒandu** miza xaʒʒɑ **bɪɪh w** l internet **tani ʒandah** miza xaʒʒɑ **bɪɪh**/.

Suddenly, the session was interrupted when an agent from the administration came for calling a pupil.

Teacher said: /**lɔbas** lmɪʔtɑf ʔasmaʒ **laklaam**/ . Pupil: /ustada **maʒandɪɪ**ɪʃ/.

Teacher: /**maʒandakə**ʃ ʔɪjja **teer**/ . The teacher asked the pupils to read their summaries. The pupils were read in MSA.

Teacher: /w **loxrɪɪn malaxxastuu**ʃ nnaʒ ʔasm ʒmaltu l fɪkra l ʒamma/.

Then, she dictated the summary in MSA.

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### **4.3.2. Interview Results**

Forty eight Arabic language teachers were interviewed from eight middle schools from Tlemcen. The interview contains twenty two questions; seeking to check the second hypothesis which attempts to examine the reasons behind the use of the middle variety or AA. The hypothesis involves three speculated reasons which are: teachers' spontaneity in speech, the topic discussed, and the third factor concerns the enhancement of pupils' assimilation. The second reason was, as stated earlier, checked through the interview task and reinforced via recording. Through recording classroom observation, cases of switching has been thoroughly noticed; among them the topic in which different examples have confirmed the issue while through the interview the researcher seeks at analyzing more this point.

To that end, the interview questions have been classified into three parts. The first part deals with the first reason; consisting of nine questions, the second group of questions is related to the second parameter and contains five questions; the last part which encloses seven questions is correlated with the third factor. By the end, a significant additional question has been incorporated which teacher's talk vis-à-vis learners' psychological state. It yielded quantitative as well as qualitative data. In this regard, Johnstone (2000:37) reports that **"the analysis phase of sociolinguistics research is often quantitative as well as qualitative"**. The quantitative approach relies on experimental and statistical techniques to describe aspects of language use through tables and figures whereas the qualitative approach is used for exploratory purposes or explaining quantitative results. In this research design, qualitative and quantitative methods are adopted to complement each other and promote the validity of both.

#### **4.3.2.1. Quantitative Results**

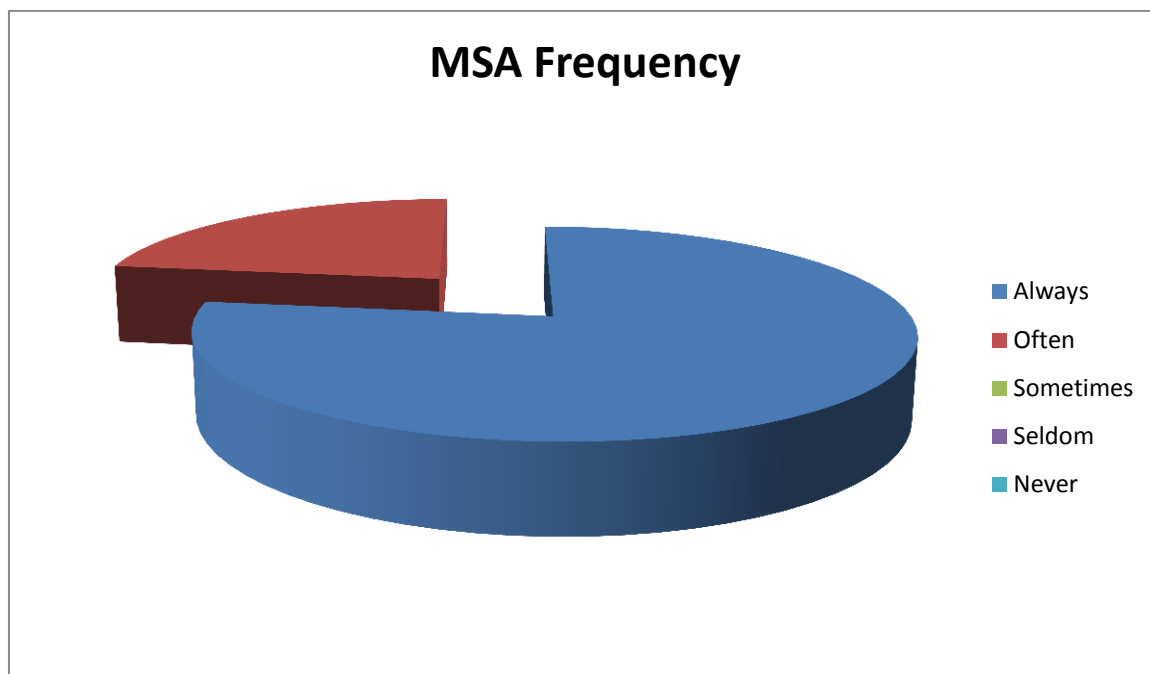
This section is divided into three parts.

##### **4.3.2.1.1. Teachers' Awareness Vs Unawareness Use of Middle Variety/ AA in the class**

In the first question, the Arabic language teachers were asked about the variety

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used in the class. As predicted, nearly the majority of the answers range from ‘always’ to ‘often’ and other seven teachers stick to the third choice ‘sometimes’ as it can be shown in the following graph:



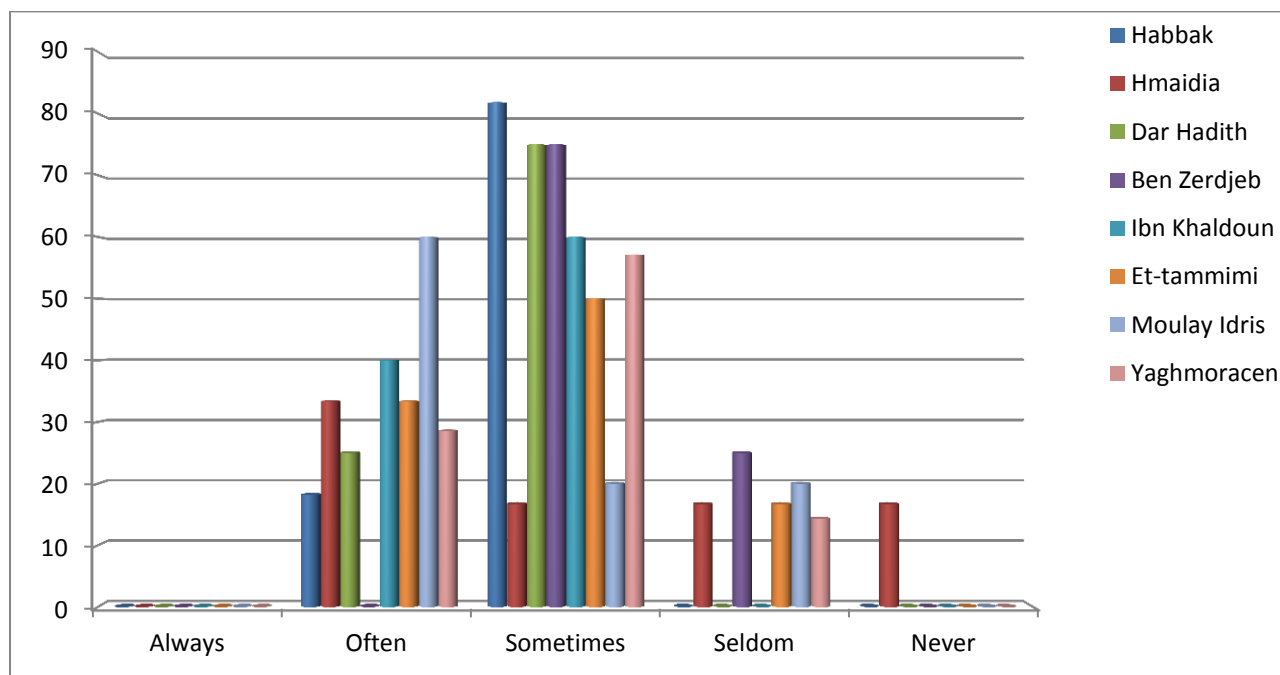
**Figure 4. 2. Tlemcen Middle School Teachers’ Frequency of MSA use in the class**

When Arabic language teachers asked whether they use the middle variety within the class, the following results have been found:

**Table 4. 3. Middle School Teachers’ Frequency of Middle Variety Use in Classroom Interaction**

Schools	Habbak	Hmaidia	Dar-Hadith	Ben-Zerdjeb	Ibn-Khaldoun	Et-tammimi	Moulay Idris	Yaghmoracen
<b>Always</b>	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
<b>Often</b>	2(18.18%)	2(33.33%)	1(25%)	0(0%)	2(40%)	2(33.33%)	3(60%)	2(28.57%)
<b>Sometimes</b>	9(81.82%)	2(33.33%)	3(75%)	3(75%)	3(60%)	3(50%)	1(20%)	4(57.14%)
<b>Seldom</b>	0(0%)	1(16.67%)	0(0%)	1(25%)	0(0%)	1(16.67%)	1(20%)	1(14.29%)
<b>Never</b>	0(0%)	1(16.67%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)

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**Figure4. 3. Teachers' Use of the Middle Variety in Arabic language sessions**

In the third question, teachers were asked if they use AA solely when interacting in the class. Nearly All teachers exhibit negative answers through crossing the answer 'never' and three teachers 'seldom'.

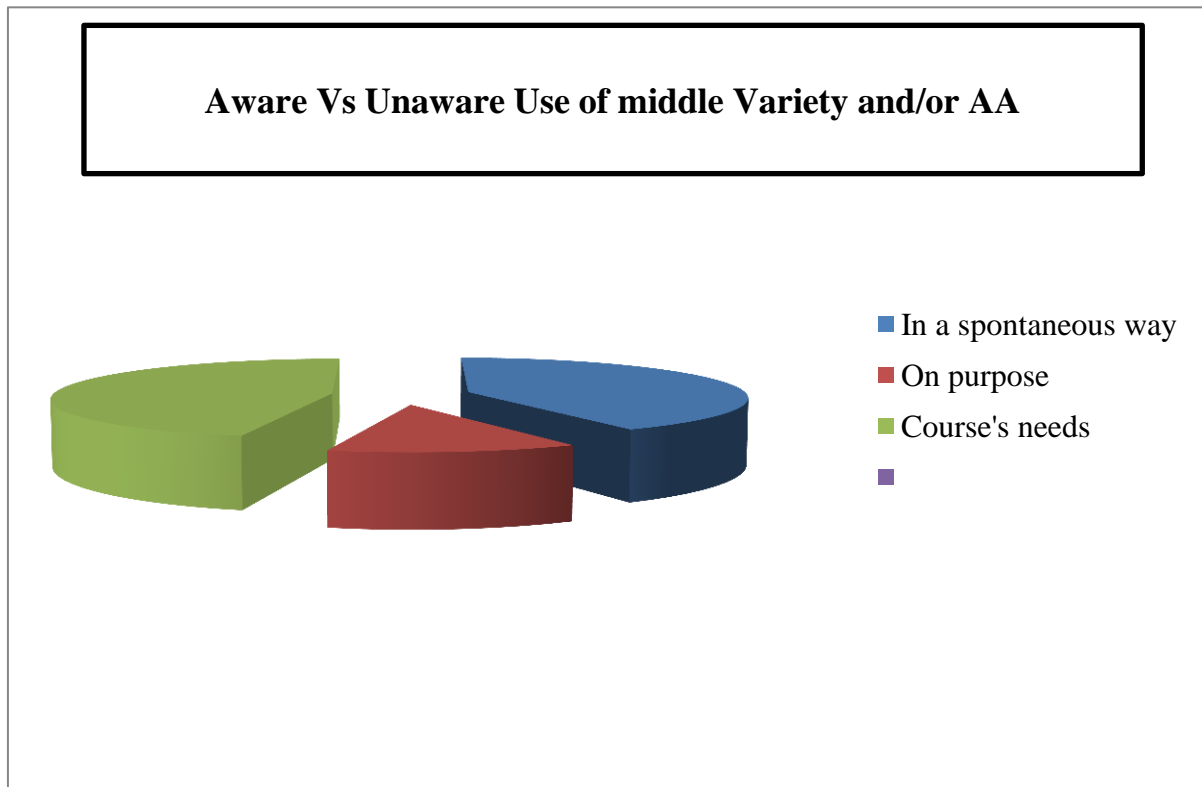
The fourth question checked whether the Arabic language teachers use the middle variety and/or AA in an Arabic language session spontaneously, purposefully, or according to the course's needs, the following results were noticed:

**Table 4. 4. Teachers' Aware Vs Unaware linguistic behaviours towards the use of Middle Variety/ AA in classroom Interaction**

The use of the middle variety and/or AA	Tlemcen Middle School Teachers	Freq.
• In a spontaneous way	20	41.67%
• On purpose	06	12.5%
• Courses' needs	22	45.83%

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These results can be apparently seen in the following graphs which show in which cases middle school teachers use the middle variety in the classroom or AA solely at variant specific occasions:



**Figure4. 4. Teachers' Aware Vs Unaware linguistic behaviours towards the use of Middle Variety/ AA in classroom Interaction**

The fifth question consists of two kinds of sub-questions both close and open ones. The first sub-question proposes a multiple choice for the respondents to determine which reasons can affect their linguistic behaviour and push them via switching whereas the second sub-question gives more opportunity for informants to express better and related additional answers. The results of the first part are summarized as follows:

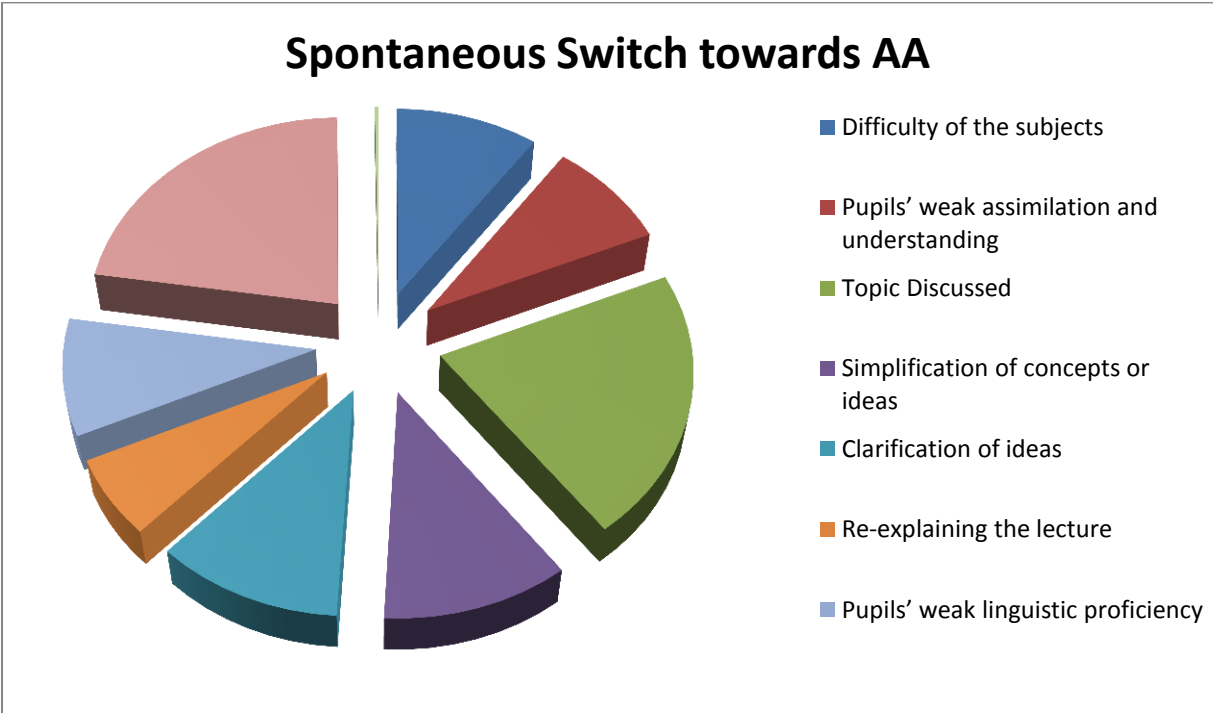
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**Table 4. 5. Reasons affecting Teachers' Linguistic Behaviour**

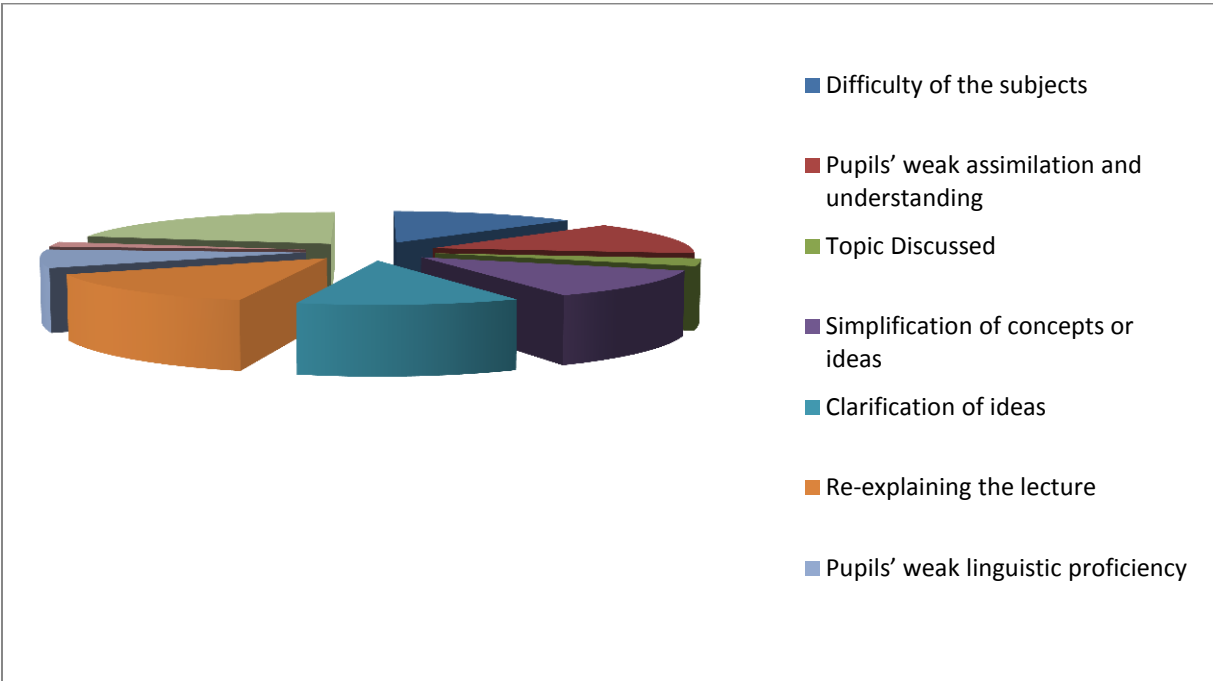
<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Rate of Reasons affecting teachers' linguistic behaviour</b>	
	<b>Middle school teachers</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
• Difficulty of the subjects	14	<b>7.36%</b>
• Pupils' weak assimilation and understanding	28	<b>14.73%</b>
• Topic Discussed	17	<b>7.36%</b>
• Simplification of concepts or ideas	26	<b>13.68%</b>
• Clarification of ideas	22	<b>11.58%</b>
• Re-explaining the lecture	13	<b>6.84%</b>
• Pupils' weak linguistic proficiency	20	<b>10.53%</b>
• Pupils' punishment	27	<b>14.21%</b>
• Creating good and warm atmosphere in the class	23	<b>12.10%</b>

The informants were asked in the next question to classify the previous factors into two important rubrics either the switch is done spontaneously or on purpose. Consequently, the data obtained are as follows:

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**Figure 4.5. Teachers' Unaware use of AA**



**Figure 4.6. Teachers' Aware Use of AA**

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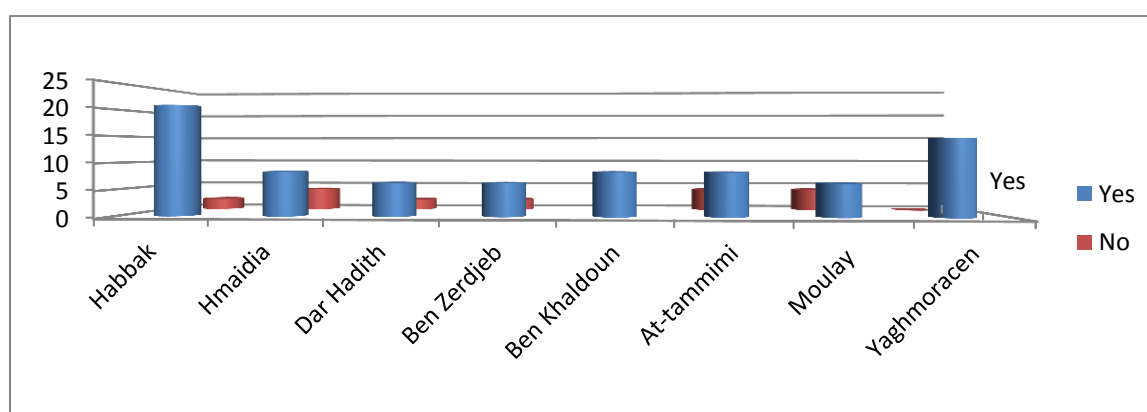
### 4.3.2.1.2. Teachers' Use of Middle Variety/ AA in the class is topic related

Regarding the results of question ten when teachers asked whether the topic discussed in the classroom can drive them towards mixing MSA and AA or tackling it in AA solely, the results obtained are mentioned in the table below:

**Table 4.6. Teachers' switch according to the topic**

Middle Schools	Yes	No
Habbak	10 (20.83%)	1(2.08%)
Tahar Hmaidia	4(8.33%)	2(4.17%)
Dar El-Hadith	3(6.25%)	1(2.08%)
Ben Zerdjeb	3(6.25%)	1(2.08%)
Ibn Khaldoun	4(8.33%)	1(2.08%)
Et-tammimi	4(8.33%)	2(4.17%)
Moulay Idris	3(6.25%)	2(4.17%)
Yaghmoracen	7 (14.58%)	0 (0%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>38 (79.17%)</b>	<b>10 (20.83%)</b>

The above results are represented obviously in the following figure:



**Figure 4.7. Teachers' switch in correlation to the topic discussed in eight middle schools' classroom interaction**

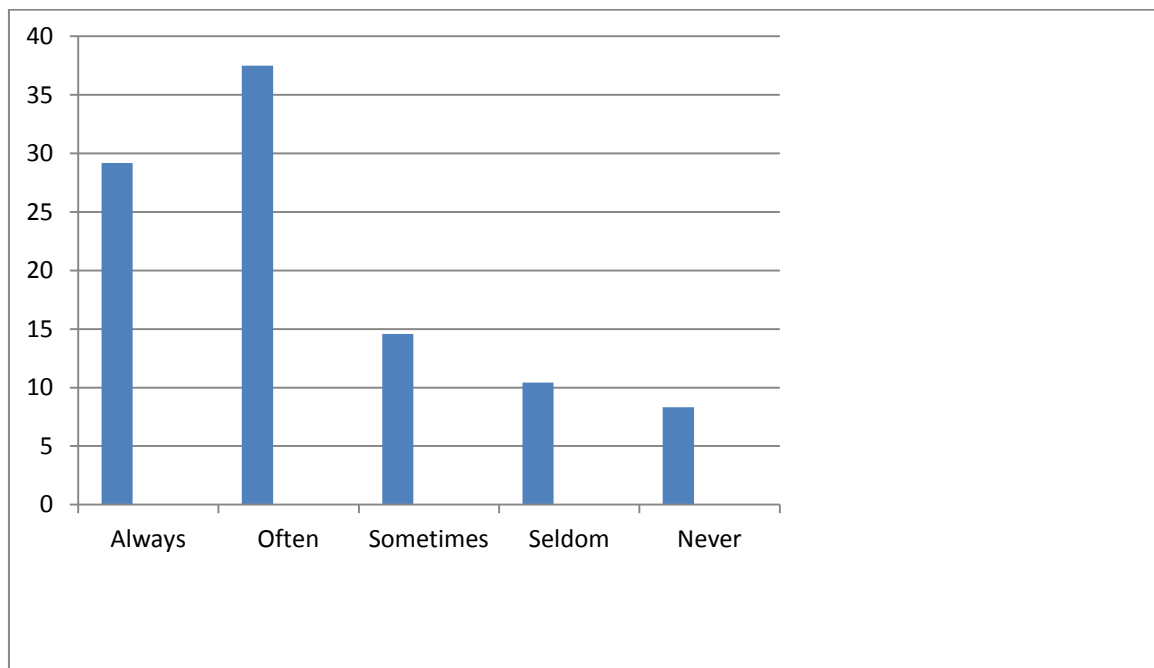
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When the Arabic language teachers asked to rate the degree of including AA when tackling different topics in different Arabic language sessions that are not part of the syllabus; but just interrupted or interfered topic, the following table exhibits the rate of their responses:

**Table 4. 7. Teacher' Inclusion of AA in different topics**

	<b>Always</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Seldom</b>	<b>Never</b>
<b>Switch towards AA</b>	14	18	7	5	4
<b>Percentages</b>	29.17	37.5	14.58	10.42	8.33

The following graphs clearly show the extent to which the respondents use AA in classroom interaction at different occasions:



**Figure 4. 8. Teachers' Integration of AA in relation to the topic discussed**

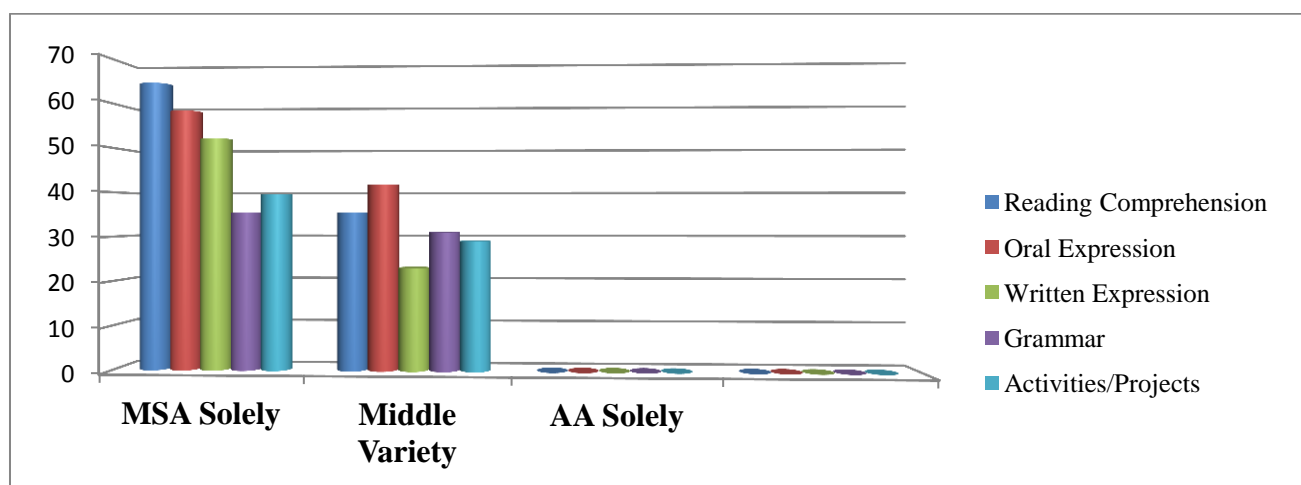
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Within all the eight middle schools in question, there are five programmed sessions in each week for each level which are: *reading comprehension*, *oral expression*, *written expression*, *grammar*, and the last one concerns *activities or projects*<sup>5</sup>. Consequently, teachers were asked to determine which session can affect more their linguistic behaviour in comparison to the other ones. The data obtained is clearly shown in the following table:

**Table 4. 8. Teachers' linguistic Behaviour in correlation to variant sessions**

	MSA Solely	Middle Variety	AA Solely
<b>Reading Comprehension</b>	31 (64.58%)	17(35.42%)	0(0%)
<b>Oral Expression</b>	28(58.33%)	20(41.67%)	0(0%)
<b>Written Expression</b>	25(52.08%)	23(%)	0(0%)
<b>Grammar</b>	17(35.42%)	31(64.58%)	0(0%)
<b>Activities</b>	19(39.58%)	29(60.42%)	0(0%)

The following figure shows linguistic behaviours of the participants at different Arabic language classroom sessions:



**Figure 4. 9. Teachers' Linguistic Behaviour in different Arabic sessions**

<sup>5</sup> Type of activity is not treated as a parameter thoroughly in our fieldwork. It was inserted into the rubric of different topics.

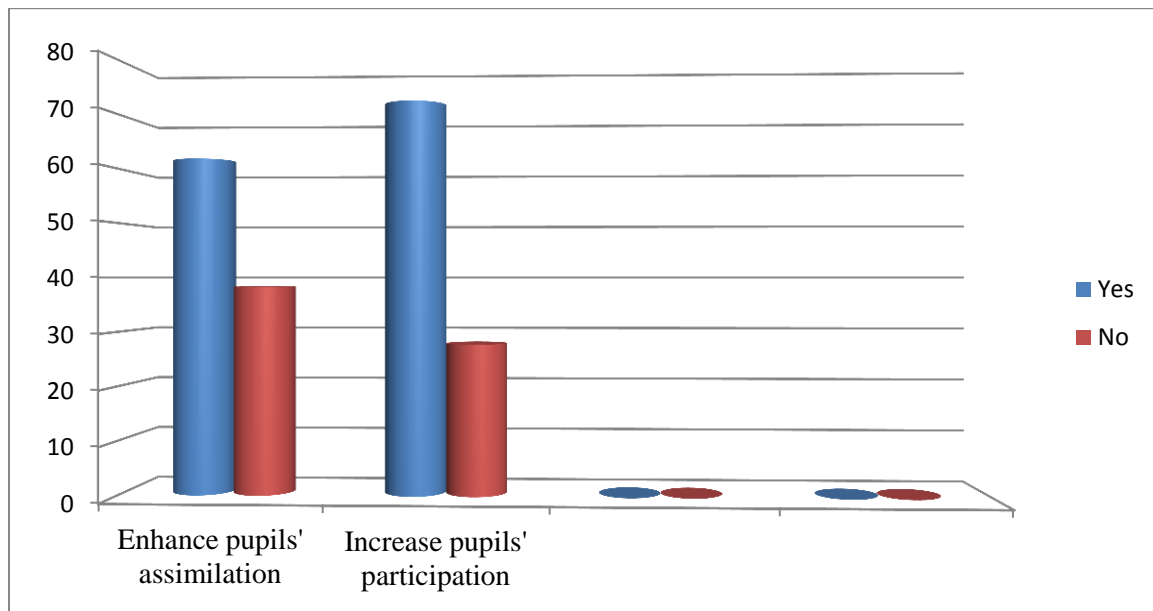
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### 4.3.2.1.3. Teachers' Use of Middle Variety/ AA in the class for Enhancing Pupils' Assimilation

When the informants asked if teaching MSA constitutes a problem towards learners' assimilation or not, 37% of teachers claim that using MSA solely causes a major problem in Arabic language courses, 52% of them announce that MSA constitutes a moderate problem, while the remaining participants (11%) affirm that teaching MSA produces no problem. Questions n° sixteen, and seventeen, thus, asked if using AA or middle variety may enhance the assimilation and the increase of the degree of pupils' participation and discussion in the class. The data obtained can be obviously seen in the table and graph below:

**Table 4.9. The Use of the Middle Variety in Correlation to Pupils' Assimilation**

AA/Middle Variety use	Yes	No
<b>Enhance pupils' assimilation</b>	61.82%	38.28%
<b>Increase pupils' participation</b>	72.25%	27.75%



**Figure 4. 10. Middle Variety Use in Correlation to Pupils' Assimilation**

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When Arabic language teachers asked with whom use more AA or the middle variety (First year, second year, third year, or fourth year pupils), the results found are clearly exposed in the following graph:

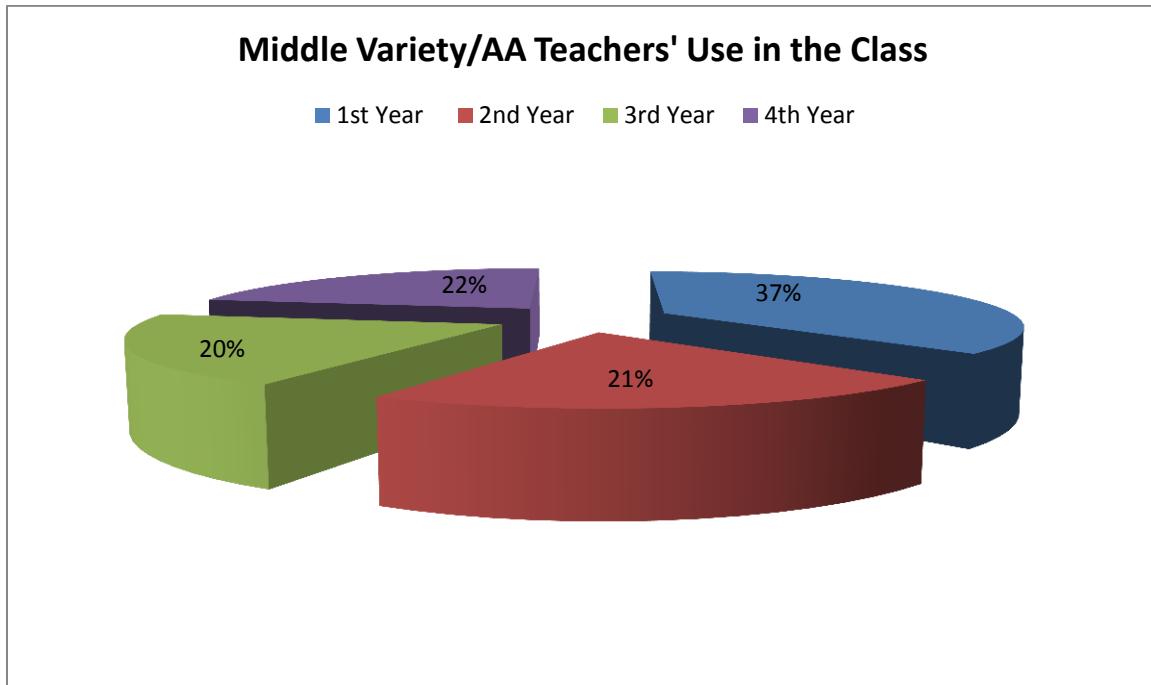


Figure 4. 11. Teachers' linguistic behaviour in relation to participants' educational level

### 4.3.2.2. Qualitative Results

When teachers were asked whether their pupils replied using the middle variety or AA solely, the majority of them said 'yes'. The reasons assumed by the teachers towards pupils' AA use are as follows:

- Due to the low linguistic proficiency.
- Weak linguistic capacities.
- Pupils are not interested in learning MSA.
- They do not read books or documents in MSA.
- They cannot use MSA correctly.
- AA is their mother tongue.
- They cannot form for a complete meaningful sentence; this is why, they mix some forms of AA.

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When asked to cite the topics in which they changed their linguistic behaviour via a lower one, the topics proposed are related to:

- Social subjects. A female teacher from Ben Zerdjeb middle school having ten years of experience said: “ I used in many topics AA especially social topic such as: ‘alcohol’, ‘smoking’, ‘drug’ as they are witnessed a lot nowadays. Hence, for raising awareness among our learners, I must use a simple language that can be easily understood”.
- Treating topics related to ‘internet’.
- Including vivid examples from our speech community.
- Topics related to religion that demand more explanations and clarifications.
- Including Algerian popular proverbs .
- The switch is done spontaneously in all the sessions.
- Grammar sessions.
- Activities’ sessions.

The Colloquial expressions used generally by teachers in the class as teachers proclaimed are:

- /rɛjjaħ/: ‘sit down’.
- /door/: ‘turn!’.
- /rwaħ/: ‘come!’.
- /nood/: ‘stand up’.
- /ʃkuun maafhaməʃ/: ‘who do not understand?’
- /fhamtu/: ‘have you understood?’
- /mliħ/: ‘good’.
- /waʃbɪk/: ‘what’s the matter?’
- /ʔlaʃ/: ‘why’.
- /sajɪ/ or /ħabbes/: ‘stop!’.
- /saħħa/: ‘ok’.
- /wasəm/: ‘what?’

## **Chapter Four: Linguistic Behaviour of Teachers in Classroom Interaction**

- /təbbaʔ/: ‘follow’.
- /mani ʃ ʔaraf/: ‘I don’t know?’.
- /men baʔəd/: ‘later on’.
- /skut/ or /bəllaʔ fummak/ or /rummah/ or/ ajbas/ : ‘shut up’.
- /matxafe ʃ/: ‘Don’ worry!’
- /mataħ ʃ am ʃ/: ‘Be free’.
- /xroʒ ʔlɪjja/: ‘go out!’.
- A femal teacher from Yaghmoracen middle school who has 11 years teaching the Arabic language when asked to provide examples about including AA expressions, she answered: ‘Right now, in the class, I remembered using the expression: /ki nat tɔlʔo l ʒenna / or another expression: /nta tɪlmɪɪd mərəbbɪ wə nħabbak/ which mean ‘in the heaven’ and ‘you are a polite pupil and I love you’.

### **4.3.3. Questionnaire Results**

This sub-section is divided into two parts. The first part exhibits the results obtained from teachers’ questionnaire whereas the second one deals with pupils’ questionnaire.

#### **4.3.3.1. Teachers’ Questionnaire Results**

The results are treated both quantitatively and qualitatively.

##### **4.3.3.1.1. Quantitative Results**

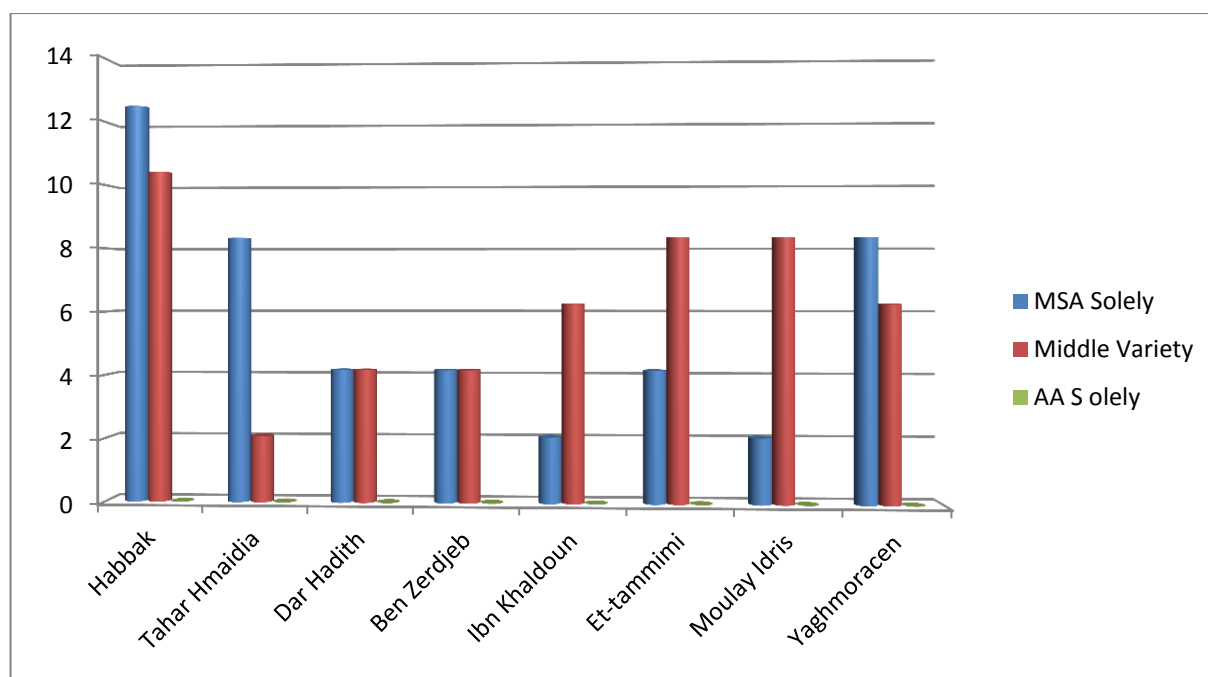
Nearly all Arabic language teachers claim that they use AA in daily speech while others they announce the use of AA mixed with some MSA spontaneous expressions to some extent.

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

**Table 4. 10. Code Use in the classroom by Teachers of the Arabic language**

Tlemcen Middle School Arabic Language Teachers	MSA Use solely	Middle Variety Use	AA Use solely
<i>Habbak</i>	6 (12.50%)	5(10.42%)	0(0%)
<i>Tahar Hmaidia</i>	4 (8.33%)	1(2.08%)	0(0%)
<i>Dar E-Hadith</i>	2 (4.17%)	2(4.17%)	0(0%)
<i>Ben Zerdjeb</i>	2 (4.17%)	2(4.17%)	0(0%)
<i>Ibn Khaldoun</i>	1 (2.08%)	3(6.25%)	0(0%)
<i>Et-tammimi</i>	2 (4.17%)	4(8.33%)	0(0%)
<i>Moulay Idris</i>	1 (2.08%)	4(8.33%)	0(0%)
<i>Yaghmoracen</i>	4 (8.33%)	3(6.25%)	0(0%)



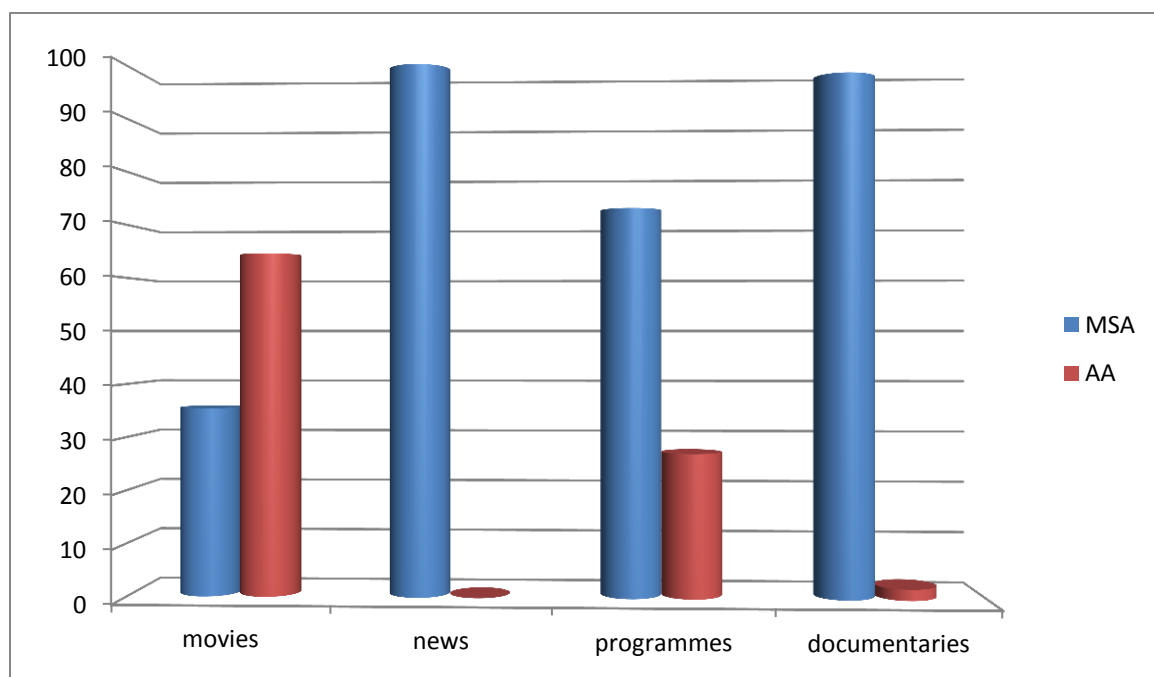
**Figure 4. 12. Code Use in the classroom by Teachers of the Arabic language.**

## Chapter Four: Linguistic Behaviour of Teachers in Classroom Interaction

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

**Table 4. 11. Variety preference in watching TV among Arabic Middle School teachers.**

	Movies		News		Programmes		Documentaries	
<b>MSA</b>	17	35.42%	48	100%	35	72.92%	47	97.92
<b>AA</b>	31	64.58%	00	00%	13	27.08	01	2.08



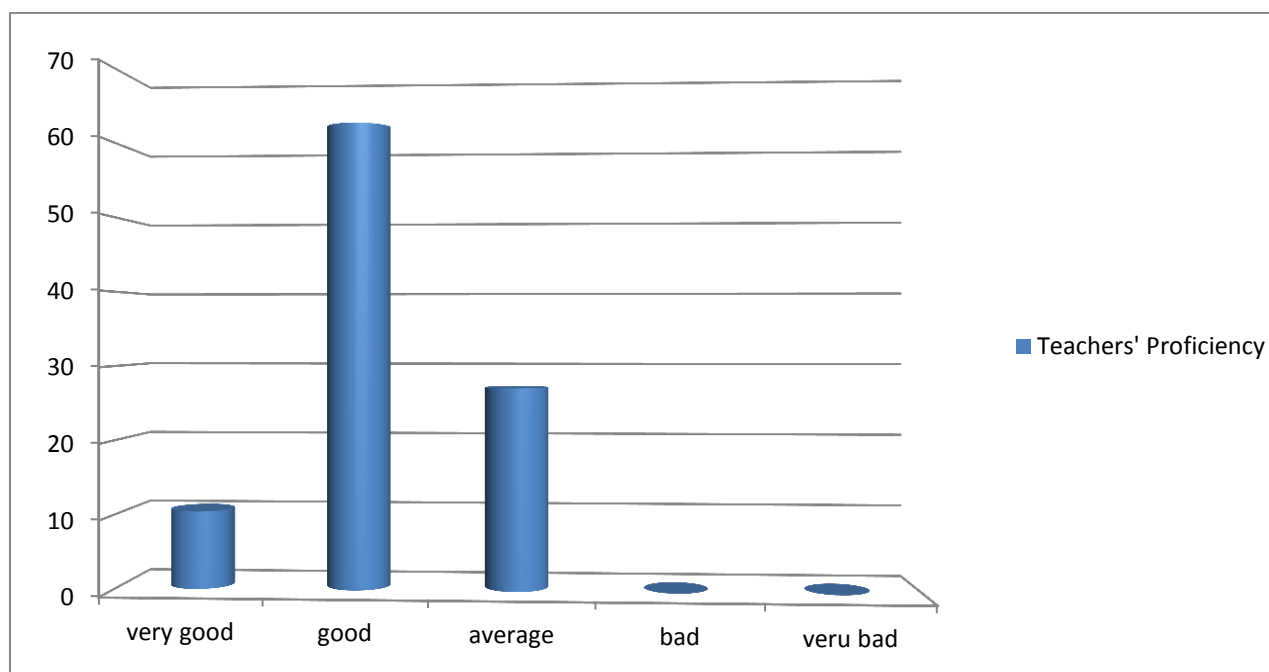
**Figure 4. 13. Arabic language teachers' variety preference in watching TV**

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

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**Table 4. 12. Arabic language teachers' competence in MSA**

	Very good		Good		Average		Bad		Very bad	
	<b>Eight middle school teachers</b>	5	10.42%	30	62.5%	13	27.08%	0	0%	0



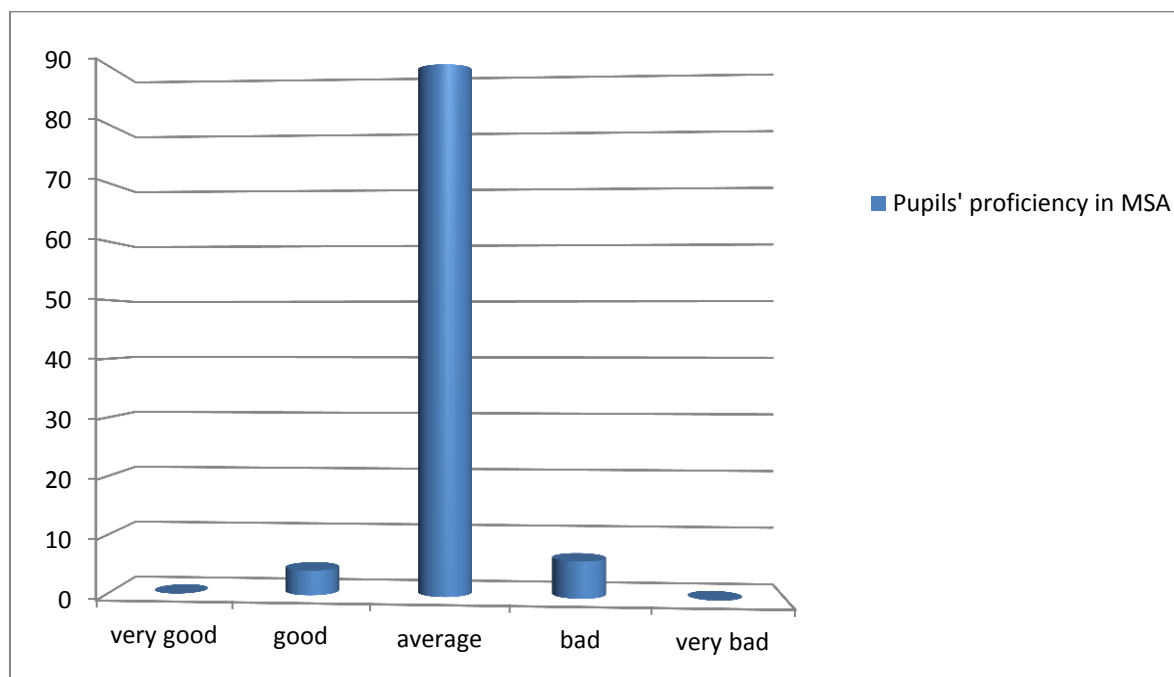
**Figure 4. 14. Competence in MSA**

An identical scale-rating is presented to the respondents in the seventh question in which Middle school Arabic language teachers were asked to rate their pupils' proficiency in MSA from "very good" to "very bad" as shown in the following table and figure:

**Table 4. 13. Pupils' competency in MSA**

Pupils' proficiency levels in MSA	Very good		Good		Average		Bad		Very bad	
		0	0%	2	4.17%	43	89.58%	3	6.25%	0

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**Figure 4. 15. Pupils' Competency in MSA**

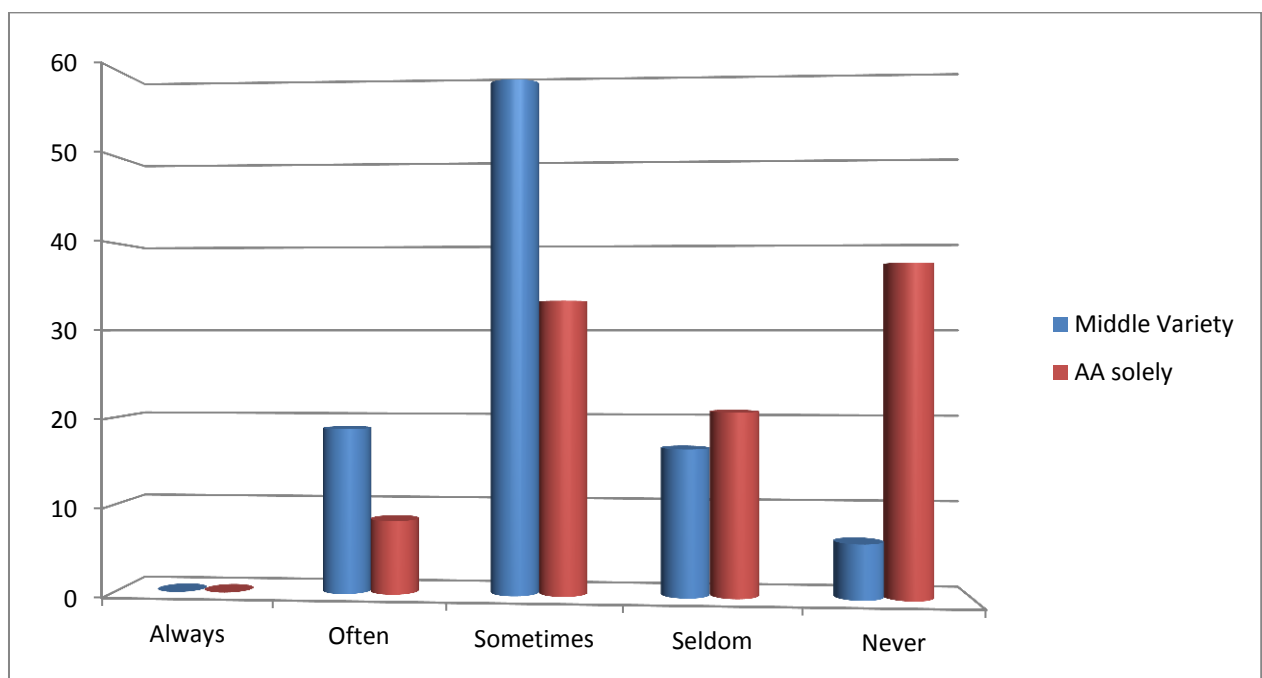
Questions number five and six aimed also at determining the respondents' attitudes towards the use of a middle variety or AA solely in the classroom. They are, however, presented to the informants in the form of what are called open-ended questions, as teachers are allowed to give their own opinions and standpoints. They are, in fact, asked to give their own impressions they had towards a pupil who uses AA within a classroom interaction, as opposed to the one who masters MSA. Up to now, all the questions asked were direct ones from where quantitative results could present ideas about teachers' preference and competence in MSA and they could also give us a hint of the different attitudes. Questions eight, nine, and ten, as a space where teachers can express themselves freely, are crucial in allowing us to understand different teachers' attitudes towards two varieties AA and MSA, mainly attitudes towards their speakers.

When Arabic language teachers were asked to what extent they can permit the use of AA or a middle variety by pupils during a classroom interaction, the answers are expressed respectively in the table and graph below:

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**Table 4. 14. Teachers' acceptance of Pupils' Middle Variety and/or AA Use**

Degree of teachers' permission of using:	Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
<b>Middle variety</b>	0(0%)	9(18.75%)	28(58.33%)	8(16.67%)	3(6.25%)
<b>AA solely</b>	0(0%)	4(8.33%)	16(33.33%)	10(20.83%)	18(37.5%)



**Figure 4. 16. Teachers' Attitudes towards Pupils' Middle Variety Vs AA Use**

### **4.3.3.1.2. Qualitative Results**

The results presented above by all informants whether of Habbak, Hmaidia, Ben Zerdjeb middle schools or the other schools are nearly the same. In other words, in the answers obtained about their attitudes towards middle variety and/or AA use, though there are some exceptions, there is not a big difference between an Arabic teacher from the first, the second to the eighth Middle school. Yet, what is interesting in the study is that he or/she is a teacher of the Arabic language and his/her main objective is teaching the Arabic language and facilitating simultaneously the teaching/learning process.

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

- MSA is the language to be used in the classroom and not AA.
- In order to become fluent in MSA.
- In order to fight AA use.
- To acquire linguistic terms and expressions in MSA and be eloquent.
- It is a session of the Arabic language.
- I am a teacher of the Arabic language, so I do all my best to teach them MSA, it is our aim.
- It is the only medium which must be used in the classroom.
- I want them to learn MSA ‘language of Quran’.
- The classroom is the only context where they learn MSA; hence, we must preserve this language.
- We must respect the session as it is a session of the Arabic language.
- We must train pupils to use MSA and raise a sense of awareness among learners as MSA gains a high position.
- Middle school is the adequate stage when learners can easily acquire the language.

### **Normal statements were expressed like:**

- Pupils use AA spontaneously.
- Depending on the occasion and the linguistic level of the pupil.
- It is their mother tongue from childhood.
- Pupils are still young.

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- AA is the variety used in all everyday talks so that they cannot control themselves.
- We must avoid excluding any learner and give each one the right to participate; even those whose capacities are very weak.
- Pupils do not have sufficient linguistic background.

Attitudes towards pupils who use a middle variety in the classroom and mix both MSA and AA ranged from negative statements to positive ones also. What is noticeable is that negative attitudes towards AA were more than negative attitudes towards the middle variety. The majority of teachers display normal attitudes towards the middle variety and at the same time they keep favouring MSA. The causes behind negative attitudes towards middle variety use were expressed by statements like:

- A female teacher from Et-tammimi middle school, having 5 years of experience, said: “Mixing both varieties MSA and AA during classroom interactions may affect their writing skills. Therefore, during written expression sessions, the learner keep using this mixed variety even in writing tasks and this is what I have encountered extensively during my first teaching years.
- In order to limit AA integration and spread and reserve MSA; the Quran language

The positive statements were like:

- Due to their weak linguistic capacities, pupils mix AA and MSA in order to express their ideas.
- It depends on the topic discussed.
- They encounter many difficulties if we oblige them to use MSA solely.

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- They are not able to use a correct form of MSA.
- They are not able to produce meaningful sentences.
- For transmitting their message.
- The teacher should not fight the learner but rather giving him/her the opportunity to speak freely. Meanwhile, the teacher shall guide him /her towards the correct usage of the Arabic language.
- Pupils are not interested in producing correct grammatical expressions but they are more interested in producing correct ideas and answers. According to them, the main aim it to satisfy the teacher with right responses and gain marks without paying attention to the language used, i.e., *they focus on the message and neglect the code.*
- Pupils' levels are still weak.
- They make many mistakes when using only MSA.
- It helps teaching/learning process.
- When they cannot find the appropriate concepts in MSA.
- The majority of middle school learners at this stage cannot speak MSA fluently especially for first year middle school pupils.

In the last question which concerns teacher' attitudes towards the acceptance of AA as being the official variety of the state, all the statements (100%) are negative by stating: "No" and "Never" by all teachers of the eight Middle School teachers. Regarding the reasons behind these negative attitudes, many viewpoints have been exposed; ranging from negative statements towards AA to beautiful and positive ones towards MSA. Some teachers reinforce their answers with poems in order to insist and prove their positive attitudes towards MSA. All the statements defend MSA as the solely official language. They were expressed as follows:

- MSA is our identity.
- AA is a dialect and not a language.
- AA has no grammatical rules.

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- AA is full of foreign words left by the colonizers.
- MSA preserves our identity and our religion as well.
- MSA is the most powerful symbol of Islamic nations.
- The force of the state lies in its language.

Responses related to such a question were very fruitful and presented differently. Some of them tend to answer it through simple statements, others through proverbs, and the remaining prefer to praise MSA via various poems.

- ❖ A male teacher from Habbak School said: “*We cannot omit the origin and the core and reserve the pell*”.

'لا نستطيع محو اللب و ترك القشور'

- ❖ Another female teacher from the same school includes with her questionnaire a long beautiful poem about the Arabic language:

رَجَعْتُ لِنَفْسِي فَاتَّهَمْتُ حَصَاتِي  
وَنَادَيْتُ قَوْمِي فَاحْتَسَبْتُ حَيَاتِي

رَمَوْنِي بِعُقْمٍ فِي الشَّبَابِ وَلَيْتَنِي  
عَقِمْتُ فَلَمْ أَجْزَعْ لِقَوْلِ عُدَاتِي  
وَأَلِدْتُ وَلَمَّا لَمْ أَجِدْ لِعِرَائِسِي

### 4.3.3.2. Pupils' Questionnaire Results

The questionnaire was addressed to three hundred sixty informants from the three schools. These schools are the same where observations were made. One hundred twenty pupils were selected from each school namely; Abou-Tachefine Habbak School, Oudjlida Hmaidia School, in addition to Dar el-Hadith Tlemcen centre School. The four levels were

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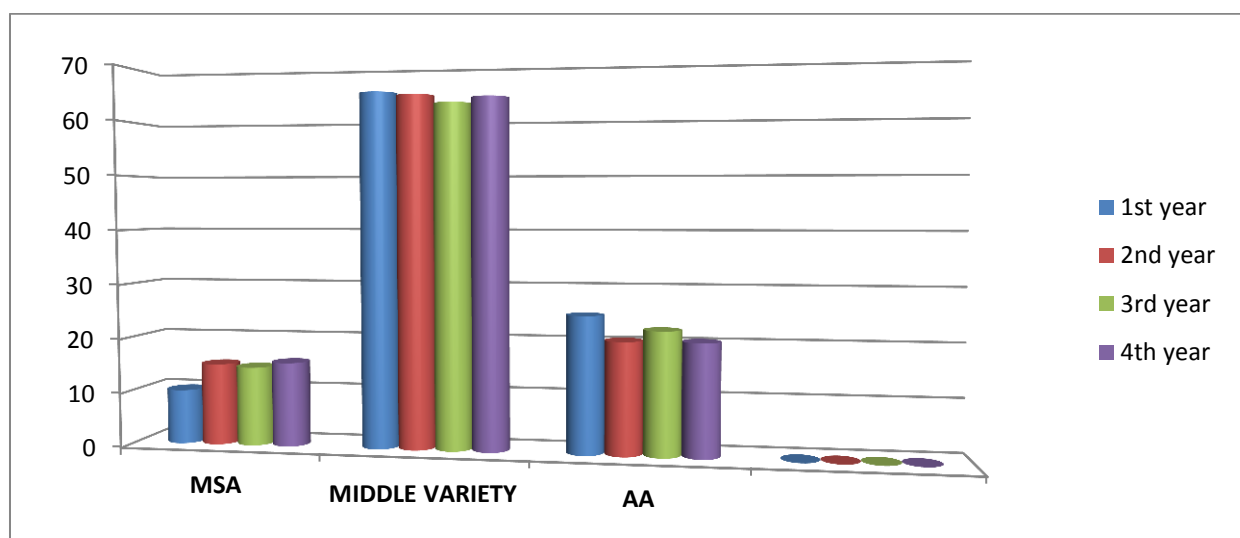
questioned in each school, thirty pupils were chosen from each level. Thanks to the fact that each classroom gathers different pupils with variant linguistic proficiencies, the researcher selected randomly one class from each level.

### 4.3.3.2.1. Quantitative Results

All pupils at the four levels from eight Tlemcen middle schools affirm that they use AA in daily life and even in the classroom when speaking to each other. Regarding the code used in the classroom with their teachers, the following scores have been found:

**Table 4. 15. Pupils' Code used with teachers**

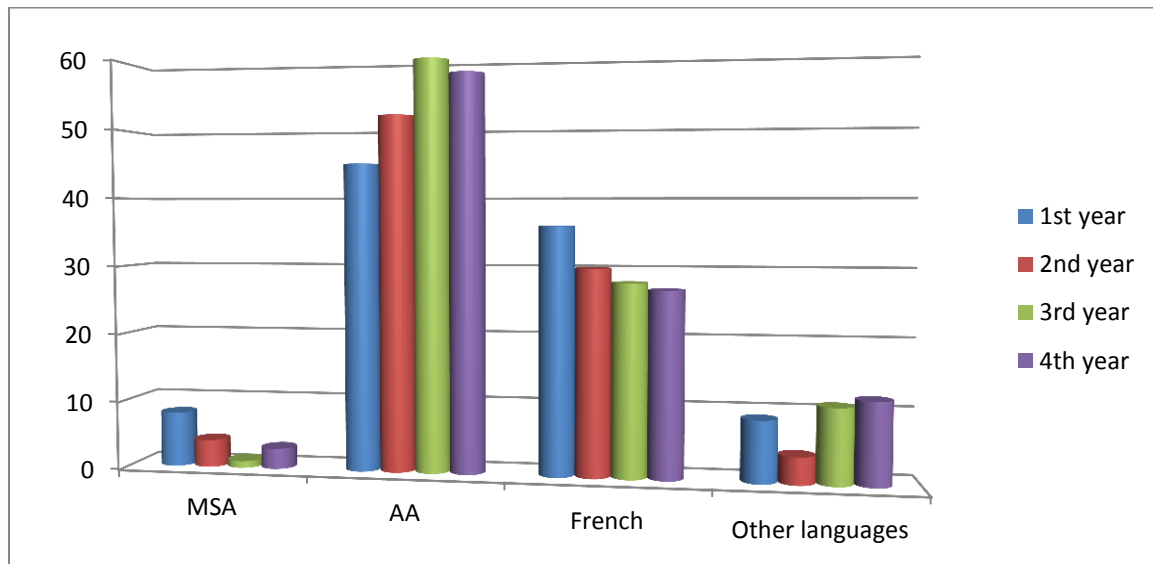
Pupils' educational level:	MSA solely	Middle variety	AA solely
1 <sup>st</sup> year	10%	65%	25%
2 <sup>nd</sup> year	15%	64.5%	20.5%
3 <sup>rd</sup> year	14.5%	63%	22.5%
4 <sup>th</sup> year	15.5%	64%	20.5%



**Figure 4. 17. Pupils' Code used with teachers**

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In the third question, middle school pupils were asked in which variety they prefer listening to music MSA, AA, French, or other languages. This TV activity has been intentionally chosen as it is not necessarily related to their teaching domains in order to show their attitudes towards MSA and AA outside classroom and school settings. The diagram below displays the results:



**Figure 4. 18. Pupils' Variety preferences in listening to music.**

Results obtained from the fourth question as shown below generally favour the inclusion of AA in Arabic sessions and/or the use of the middle variety:

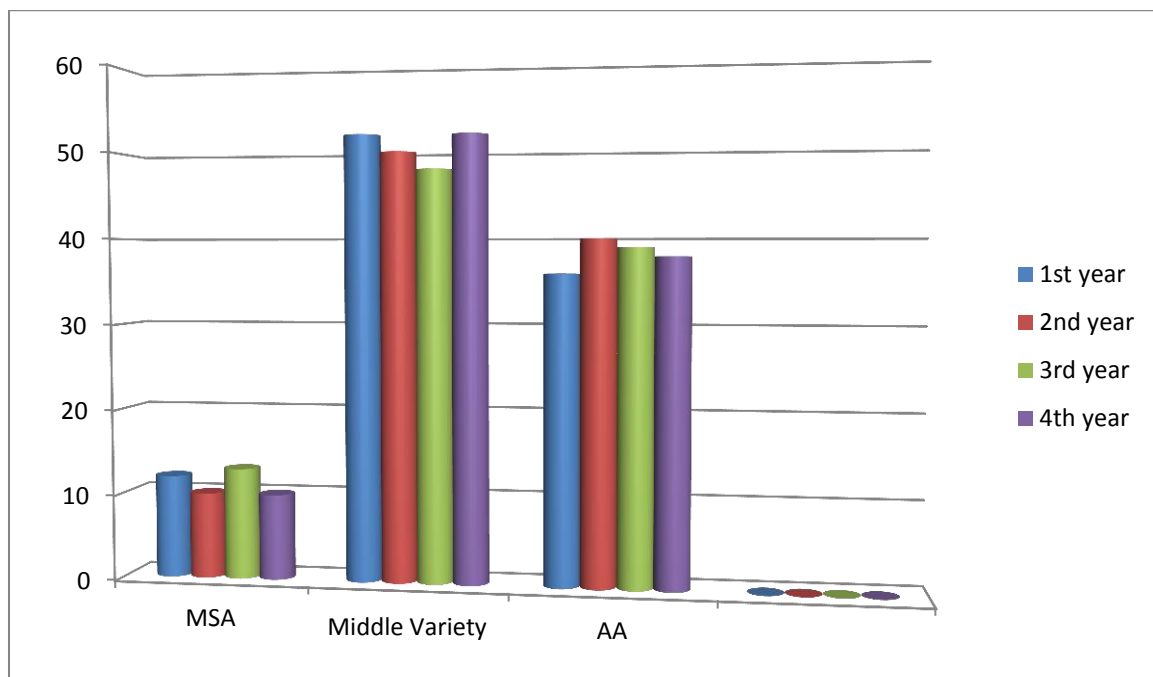
**Table 4. 16. Pupils' attitudes towards Using AA and/or MSA**

	1 <sup>st</sup> Year		2 <sup>nd</sup> Year		3 <sup>rd</sup> Year		4 <sup>th</sup> Year	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
MSA is more difficult than AA	80	10	75	15	77	13	74	16
Speaking AA in the class is easier than MSA	90	00	86	04	90	00	88	02
I prefer that the teacher mixes AA and MSA in his speech	88	02	60	30	72	18	81	09
When the teacher explains using MSA is easier than AA	09	81	21	69	26	64	67	23
Learning in AA has more advantages than with MSA	58	32	40	50	61	29	57	33
AA solely or mixing AA and MSA hinders pupils' understanding of the lesson.	00	90	08	82	00	90	09	81

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AA increases the degree of pupils' participation.	90	00	90	00	90	00	90	00
Writing paragraphs in MSA is a hard task.	84	06	75	15	78	12	68	22

When middle school pupils were asked about the variety they prefer to be used as a medium of interaction if they are in a situation to choose between the three varieties: MSA / middle variety/AA, the following results have been found:



**Figure4.19. Preferred Code as a medium of interaction**

In the sixth question, pupils were asked to evaluate their linguistic competence in the four skills. The following figure represents clearly the results obtained:

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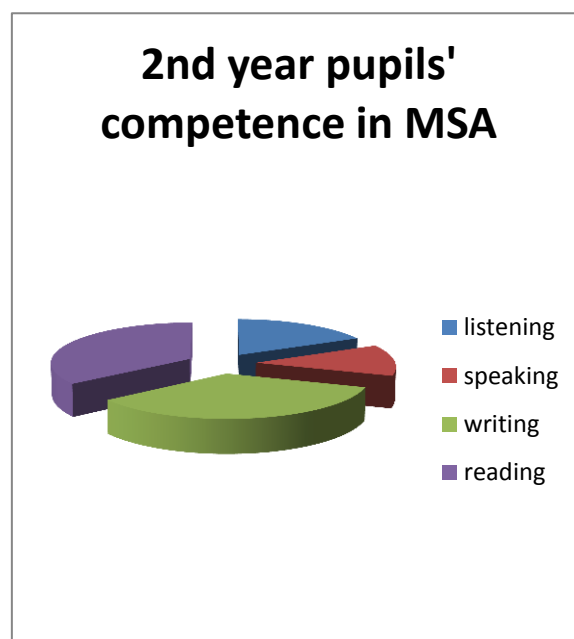
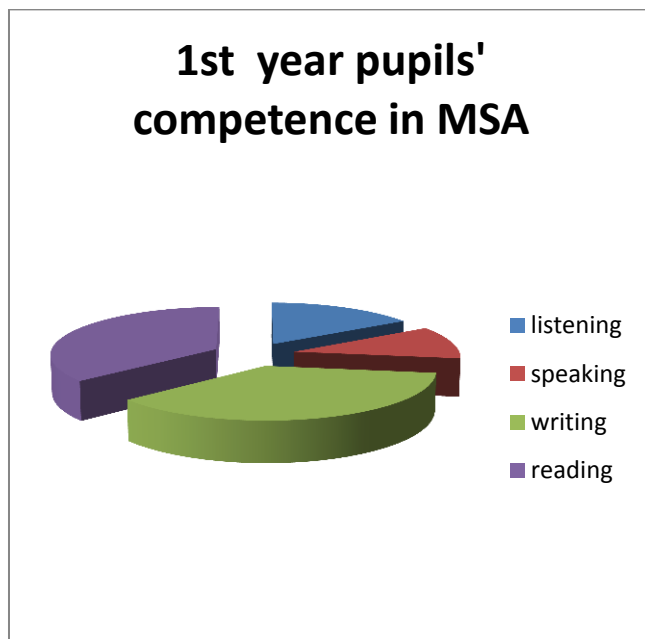


Figure 4.20. 1<sup>st</sup> Year Pupils' Competence in MSA      Figure 4. 21. 2<sup>nd</sup> Year Pupils' Competence in MSA

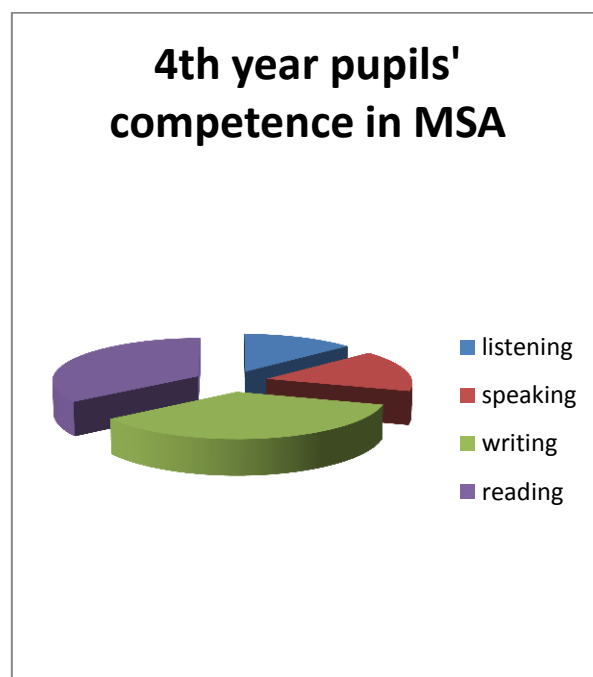
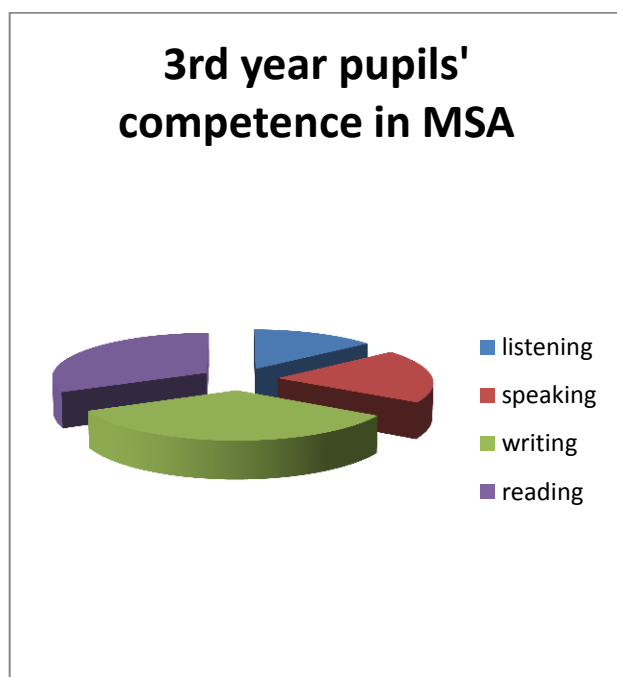


Figure 4. 22. 3<sup>rd</sup> Year Pupils' Competence in MSA

Figure 4. 23. 4<sup>th</sup> Year Pupils' Competence in MSA

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### **4.3.3.2.2. Qualitative Results**

The results presented above by informants from all the middle schools in question are nearly the same. In other words, in the answers obtained about their attitudes towards middle variety and /or AA use, though there are some exceptions, there is not a big difference between a pupil from the first, the second to the eighth Middle school.

The researcher asked pupils both close and open-ended questions intentionally. Open-ended questions help us to get sufficient data about their opinions and views. Moreover, it helps us more to evaluate their linguistic proficiencies through evaluating their ways of answers. What has been noticed is that all of them use simple statements in MSA which are in many cases full of grammatical mistakes and sometimes mixed with AA. Pupils who favour the use of AA or a middle variety were expressed using the following statements:

- For more and better understanding.
- For a better communication between the pupil and the teacher.
- For receiving quickly the information.
- AA is easy for us and for our levels.
- MSA is difficult and AA is easy.
- For grasp information as much as possible.
- For understanding the lesson and successfully solving the activities.
- For keeping the information in our mind.
- There are many difficult concepts we cannot understand it in MSA and the use of AA makes it easy.

Nonetheless, few pupils defend MSA through the following statements:

- Arabic is the official language.
- I find any no difficulty with MSA.
- AA is 'luḡat ṣaarīḡ' as stated by a fourth year pupil.

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The last question has been intentionally added though it has not a tight relation with pupils' attitudes. It attempts to pick out their real linguistic competences. The pupils were asked to give synonym or explaining three terms written in MSA. Unfortunately, 95% of the respondents say: 'I do not know'. The remaining pupils' answers are between 'average' to 'good'. This issue explains well the reason of teachers' switch towards AA.

### **4.4. Data Interpretation**

In this part of the present research work, the data obtained will be carefully handled to be treated.

#### **4.4.1. Recording Results Interpretation**

The most salient fact that can be drawn when recording observed conversations is that classroom interactions is a space where different forms of Arabic (see section 2.3.1.) are clearly noticed. Basically, teachers, in one session, display distinct linguistic behaviours. Three forms have been noticed. Teachers may use MSA solely when dealing with reading excerpts from the text. Reading process is conducted in MSA by both the teacher and the learner. The availability of the source 'text', thus, produces an excessive use of MSA. In the same session, the teacher switches directly to AA when shouting due to the pupils' repeated grammatical mistakes such as in the following example: /aa bantɪ marakiɪɪʃ təħassɪ bellɪ rakɪ dajra ʔaltɔ fil-muʒtamaʔɪ fɪ muʒtamaʔɪ fɪ muʒtamaʔɪ fil muʒtamaʔ laa jataħaqqaqu ɪlla ɪlla ʃədda ʃədda l ħarf ki nzajjar ʔɪɪɪh ʃədda fuugah manabqawəʃ rɪɪ nʔaawdulha haadɪ/.

For re-explaining grammar rule, she used a spontaneous middle variety. Nei-

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ther teachers' educational experience nor their ages or sexes can be considered as determinants of teachers' linguistic behaviour. All teachers, without any exception do switch consciously or unconsciously when interacting in the classroom. The incentive factor behind the switch is the interlocutor him/herself, i.e., pupils, to whom the message is addressed. Here, it is the situation that determines language choice. When people make mistakes, the teachers sometimes reacted spontaneously though using AA; in most cases using stress and rising intonation. For creating good atmosphere in the classroom, the teacher also switches consciously from formal to informal and from serious to joyful situations. Another significant reason is the topic discussed which strongly affects the informants' behaviour such as the topic of sport mentioned above which was tackled entirely with AA. Metaphorical switches were, therefore, subconscious and this is what was explained by Blom and Gumperz in their research, 1972. (see section 1.4.3.).

Classroom interaction provides solely **“a qualitative, interpretative approach to the analysis of social interaction”** Gordon, cited in Wodak *et al.* 2011:67 (see section 1.5.1.). This why, the rate of switching cannot be exactly determined. Yet, what can be noticed is that teachers tend to include more AA expressions in some sessions over the others. This linguistic behaviour among Arabic language teachers is related to the type of activity done in the classroom as clarified by Fishman (1965) in his referential work 'Domain Analysis'; i.e., it is due to **“the correlation between code choice and types of activity”** (see section 1.4.3.). In the sessions of oral expression, the teacher tends to avoid using AA since it is a session, according to him/her, where the pupil must learn purely MSA expression. Whereas in the session of grammar, the teacher uses purely a middle variety. In this session, he focuses more on transmitting the message and achieving pupils' assimilation rather than the speech used. In reading comprehension, the text and questions about it are in MSA while explanations and discussion are generally via mixing MSA and AA; i.e., using the middle variety. This fieldwork does not focus on analyzing the differences between distinct types. It aims, however, at examining sessions of the Arabic language in general.

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### 4.4.2. Interview Results Interpretation

At this level of research, the researcher endeavours to explain the reasons behind different teachers' linguistic behaviours. When teachers were asked whether they use the middle variety and/or AA in an Arabic language session spontaneously, purposefully, or according to the course's needs, the results show that teachers generally switch to AA in a spontaneous way or according to the courses' needs. In other cases, teachers tend to change their linguistic behaviours intentionally for achieving a particular purpose. Among the needs and the purposes that lead teachers to behave in a different manner are: difficulty of the subjects, simplification of concepts and clarification of ideas, Pupils' weak linguistic proficiency, or to create a warm atmosphere in the class. The switch may be done consciously in many contexts; for example, as a reaction against bad pupils' bad behaviour, pupils' repeated mistakes, or to punish pupils. The teacher sometimes lowers his speech level purposefully when re-explaining the lecture to make it clear for variant pupils' levels.

Teachers' linguistic different behaviour is also topic-related. This point has been well explained through recording observation where the researcher can observe the situation naturally and directly. Teachers assert that there special topics such as: smoking, internet, and sport in which the teacher can treat them using AA. Within all the eight middle schools in question, there are five programmed sessions in each week for each level which are: *reading comprehension, oral expression, written expression, grammar*, and the last one concerns *activities or projects*. Reading comprehension witnessed an excessive use of MSA with interrupted forms of AA when explaining difficult concepts. The sessions where the informants show the use of a middle variety are: grammar and activities. In such sessions, teachers focus more on the message than the code. Their main aim was to transmit the message and make it easier for pupils to understand. To that end, they tend actually using the code that best fir the listener. This fact, however, pushed them to have a natural, may be even

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subconscious, tendency to switch to the variety characteristic of such types of topics such as: grammar and activities in addition to sessions which treat social topics.

The last parameter which guides teachers' behaviour in the classroom is tightly related to pupils' various linguistic levels which may hinder the teaching process. Hence, teachers tend to simplify their speeches either through mixing 'using a middle variety' or directly towards an informal way of speaking 'AA'. There is no big difference between Arabic sessions with first, second, third, or fourth year pupils' levels. When teachers either beginners or experienced felt the necessity to use the dialect, they use it for enhancing pupils' understanding and assimilation as the latter is the main goal to be achieved in the teaching learning process. Indeed, the results strongly affirm the second hypothesis.

### **4.4.3. Questionnaire Results Interpretation**

The majority of informants in all the eight middle schools claimed that the linguistic code used in classroom is MSA as it is a session of Arabic. No one recognized that he/she used AA expressions in the class; except some of them who demonstrated their use of the middle variety in some cases. They, however, suggested that AA should not be used during the Arabic session, and that the only linguistic code to be used is MSA as it is programmed (See section 3.2.4.2.).

When observing teachers' TV programs preferences, an excessive presence of MSA among Arabic language teachers' choice has been clearly noticed. It might be well considered then that our respondents have been selected to teach the Arabic language on the basis of the value they give it to this language. Arabic language teachers, therefore, seem to be aware towards the value and position of MSA. This fact can be also appeared through their high proficiency in Arabic; especially among teachers having more than 10 years of experience which is obviously related to their noticeable professional experience and level of education.

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Regarding the question related to teachers' opinions and views towards the use of AA and/or the middle variety in the class, all of them refused using AA and favoured only MSA whereas middle variety only for specific purposes. The results are, in fact, contracted with what have been noticed in actual classrooms. This behaviour refers to the fact that in many cases AA /middle variety is used spontaneously.

Attitudes towards pupils who use AA advocated negative reactions. The factors behind these negative attitudes seem nearly to be the same by teachers of the eight middle schools. According to Arabic language teachers, MSA is among the pillars of teachers' identity and thus no colloquial form can be used. They added that AA can destroy the Arabic Muslim identity. Yet, very few teachers showed normal attitudes towards using AA in classroom. They justified the use of AA through the fact that pupils are still young and AA is their mother tongue from childhood.

The majority of attitudes towards AA seem to be negative on the one hand. This may be explained by the fact that the job of teaching a language, notably the Arabic language in this case, plays an important role, in affecting Arabic language teachers' attitudes which have proved to be a strong incentive for using or avoiding certain varieties. Attitudes towards using a middle variety, on the other hand, range from negative to normal attitudes. Negative attitudes when declared that mixing both varieties MSA and AA during classroom interactions may affect pupils writing skills and slow down the teaching learning processes. Positive attitudes can be permissible only if a lack of understanding was encountered. Thus, teachers must simplify the ideas and the concepts as well. More precisely, it can be deduced that those positive attitudes towards the switch are correlated with different pupils' linguistic levels, i.e., the switch is a participant-related.

It is of paramount importance to check teachers' responses when they were asked to select one of the two varieties; whether they accept AA as an official variety in Algeria or not. All the results obtained show disagreement by saying 'never'.

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Teachers of the eight middle schools reported negative claims towards AA as it has no official status. Negative attitudes towards AA are crystal clear in the data gathered as well as some negative towards the middle variety as they confirm its use in specific situations for the benefit of the learner.

Differently observed, pupils' answers display positive attitudes towards both AA and the middle variety. The first code is their mother tongue while the second one gives them the opportunity to speak freely. Very few respondents favour MSA to be the main language of education. Overwhelmingly, these findings confirm the third hypothesis. All pupils have positive attitudes towards both AA and the middle variety whereas teachers show negative attitudes towards these varieties. Actual speech, however, demonstrates the opposite, i.e., many teachers include a large number of forms of middle variety or AA expressions. Teachers' negative attitudes reflect clearly their awareness towards the importance of the Arabic language. Despite their attitudes, they feel obliged using AA. Their linguistic behaviour, in fact, goes back to the previous reasons explained when interviewing them.

### **4.5. General Results Interpretation**

This empirical research work provided us a closer picture about the various linguistic behaviours of Arabic language teachers in classroom interaction; a formal context where only MSA must be used (see section 3.2.3.4.). It carries out observations concerning the form of Arabic used by the teachers in actual situations. It also unveils the social psychological motives behind teachers' linguistic behaviour in the class.

The recorded data display that all Arabic language teachers from the eight middle schools indicate a diglossic switching towards colloquial Arabic. Three forms of Arabic can be used in an Arabic language session which are: MSA, middle variety, and AA solely. MSA is the programmed and the only code to be used in classroom interaction; a point which is related to LP (see section 3.2.4.). It is, typically, used in sessions of reading com-

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prehension where texts are written in MSA. The same session indicated an extensive use of many expressions in AA. They mix both varieties MSA and AA; resulting in a new instruction code called the middle variety. Therefore, it can be noticed that the middle variety is the characteristic of almost all Arabic language sessions. Teachers, in real situations, focus more on transmitting the message and neglect the code through which the message is addressed. In specific situations, a tag switching is used where teachers insert ready-made AA expressions due to bad learners' behaviours for instance.

Many teachers declared that they do not include AA forms. Real situations, however, are full of Colloquial forms. It refers to the fact that teachers' linguistic behaviour is, many cases, unconsciously done. The frequency of this switch depends on the notion that AA is the teachers' mother tongue which is acquired from childhood. Hence, there is a sense of unawareness among teachers in which the switch is marked (unexpected). Many expressions are, in fact, used unconsciously; notably expressions such as: , /tebbaʕ/: 'follow', /rɪjjaħ/: 'sit down', /door/: 'turn!', /rwah/: 'come!', /nood/: 'stand up', /fhamtu/: 'have you understood?', /mliħ/: 'good', /waʃbɪk/: 'what's the matter?', /ʕlaʃ/: 'why', /ʕɑjɪ/ or /ħabbes/: 'stop!', /saħħa/: 'ok', /wasəm/: 'what?', /men baʕəd/: 'later on', /skut/ or /bəllaʕ fummak/ or /rummah/ or /ajbas/ : 'shut up'. These AA expressions are used either as a reaction to pupils' bad behaviours or spontaneously done as they are part of our daily life speech. In specific contexts where the teacher finds it necessary to create a good and relax atmosphere or to re-explain and clarify difficult points, teachers tend to show a clear sense of awareness towards their linguistic behaviour.

Moreover, Changes in the topic discussed in each session drive teachers to various linguistic behaviours. Arabic language teachers are familiar with literary, educational and religious subjects which are handled in MSA and sometimes a middle variety is used for the sake of simplifying concepts and clarifying ideas. Social topics like: 'smoking', 'internet', topics about 'sport' or even interrupted topics, in cases of providing illustrations, the teacher switch to AA. Therefore, metaphorical switching as named

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by Gumperz (see section 1.4.2.3) is subconscious and characterizes almost all teachers' linguistic behaviour.

One of the salient factors that stand behind teachers' use of different codes is correlated to pupils' weak proficiencies and, thus, pupils' lack of understanding. To that end, teachers tend to use a simplified form of Arabic, i.e., a middle variety (ESA) which is the interplay of written Arabic and vernacular Arabic (Mitchell, 1986:8). Due to the topic and concepts' difficulty, the middle variety is **“employed for semiformal discussions, and on other social occasions when the colloquial is deemed too informal, and the literary, too stilted”** Ryding, 1991:2012 (see section 2.3.1.3). The middle variety seeks consciously to **“facilitate inter-regional intelligibility and to show solidarity with speakers from different regions [...] Educated Spoken Arabic [...] provides space for expressing local allegiances because speakers select certain standard forms and at the same time retain other local features of their choice”** (Mitchell, 1986: 8). The middle variety is considered as a mesolect form that aims at facilitating the teaching and learning processes and enhancing pupils' assimilation. According to Hary (1996: 71-72, Cited in Moshref, 2009:15), **“a set of variables that drive speakers to move back and forth along the continuum. These variables determine the degree of standardization in spoken discourse. They include the setting (formal/informal), topic, interlocutors' proficiency in MSA, and their emotional state”**. Pupils' assimilation is, indeed, a social need that motivates teachers' choice. This point can be interpreted in the light of “the Markedness Model” (see section 1.4.3).

Positive attitudes towards MSA and its use in the classroom is related to LP as MSA is the language of education. In this respect, Cohen (1964:138) alludes that **“attitudes are always seen as precursors of behaviour, as determinants of how a person will actually behave in his daily affairs”**. Despite the negative attitudes held by Arabic language teachers towards the middle variety and AA, teachers' speech evidently show inconsistency between attitudes and actual behaviour. The use of both AA and the middle variety, in fact, reflects that actual behaviour in the class is seemingly incongruent with expressed attitudes. Accordingly, Baker (1992:16) explains that **“behaviour tends not always to be consistent across contexts”**. Consequently, attitudes are imperfect explainers

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and predictors of teachers' use of different forms of Arabic. Here, it is the situation that determines language choice. Pupils' positive attitudes towards AA and/or the middle variety and their low proficiency in MSA motivate strongly teachers' code choice. When people make mistakes, the teacher generally reacted spontaneously using AA; in most cases using stress and rising intonation. For creating good atmosphere in the classroom, the teacher also switches consciously from formal to informal and from serious to joyful situations. Arabic language teachers' negative attitudes towards their use of AA clearly reflect their awareness towards the value and importance of MSA. Understandably, teachers' switch is tightly correlated with the topic discussed, pupils' linguistic needs as well as their positive attitudes towards AA.

### **4.6. Conclusion**

This chapter seeks at analyzing the data gathered through the use of a set of research instruments mainly; recording observation provides a direct observation of the situation, interview, and questionnaire. Based on both a quantitative and qualitative approaches, this research unveils Arabic language teachers' linguistic behaviour in classroom interaction.

It also endeavours at exploring the motives behind teachers' use of a middle variety and/or AA. Teachers' linguistic behaviours are sometimes done in a spontaneous way. The choice of a specific code can also be patterned and predictable; reflecting a sense of awareness. Though teacher display some negative attitudes towards AA and the middle variety, it can be noticed that there is a tight relation between teacher's behaviour and the interlocutors who display positive attitudes towards the codes. The interlocutors' linguistic needs and the topic discussed are, alongside the ecological surrounding, strong social triggers that dictate code selection.

## **General Conclusion**

## General Conclusion

One of the most important issues that characterizes the Algerian speech community is the co-existence of two or more varieties of the same language. The relationship between these varieties leads to a linguistic phenomenon termed as diglossia (Ferguson, 1991). Diglossia is manifested in the existence of the two varieties; MSA occupies the high status while AA is a low one. Regarding the frame of LP, MSA is the solely variety to be used in all formal and official situations such as: media, administration and education. AA, however, is used in people's daily life communication and more relaxed settings: at home, workplace, and among friends.

Diglossia has long been conceived as one of the most significant challenges which confront the educational institutions in the Arab World. It has been considered as a hindrance in diglossic communities and a destruction instrument of linguistic proficiency due to the gap between MSA and AA. These varieties' function may be in some cases overlapped; speakers may code switch from one variety to another for a given communicative purpose. One may include some forms from MSA in an informal context and may at the same time use AA in a formal setting.

The ultimate end of the current research work was to uncover the variety employed by Middle school teachers in Arabic course classrooms and the reasons stimulating the Arabic teachers to have recourse to the dialect or to the middle variety in the teaching process. The study in question was carried out to confirm or reject the hypotheses. Arabic language teachers at eight middle schools; six schools from the downtown, one from Abou-Tachefine which was the researcher's place of residence, and one from Oudjlida were chosen to be the case study. Thus, the researcher put forward the following research question: How do our middle school Arabic language teachers behave linguistically in classroom interaction? And what are the reasons that stand behind their linguistic behaviour?

A set of research instruments was administered to the sample population of Arabic language teachers of the eight Middle school teachers. The first perspective was recording classroom observation which adopted a direct natural observation of the linguistic setting, in addition to two elicitation tools which were the interview and the questionnaire. The latter was conducted to both teachers and their pupils (360 pupils) for checking their attitudes towards the use of a middle variety and/AA in Arabic sessions. These research procedures could yield a set of data that were analyzed and synthesized in order to come eventually to answer the research inquiry on the causes lying behind Arabic language teachers' behaviour in actual classroom situations.

This empirical research work had been able to deduce some remarkable results in relation to our general research question. It provided us a closer picture about the various linguistic behaviours of Arabic language teachers in classroom interaction. Three forms of the Arabic language were appeared during all classroom observations among all Arabic language teachers. The forms were MSA, a middle variety, and AA. MSA was evidently used in certain sessions during the process of reading as noticed at all the four levels' classrooms. Reading process was conducted using MSA thanks to the available material (written texts in MSA). When explaining some points within the same session, teachers used the middle variety or AA.

It was believed that the middle variety was the prevailing variety in nearly all Arabic course classrooms since teachers focused more on transmitting the message and ensuring the pupils' good understanding and neglected the code through which the message was addressed. This linguistic behaviour was classified under the rubric of 'intra-sentential switching'. 'Tag switching' was another type that characterized teachers' speech. It was used via inserting ready-made AA expressions. These AA expressions were usually addressed to those pupils who showed bad behaviour in the classroom and, therefore, gave teachers a psychological change that reflected their linguistic behaviours, as shown in the following instances: /tebbaʔ/: 'follow', /rɪjjaħ/: 'sit down', /door/: 'turn!', /rwah/: 'come!', /nood/: 'stand up', /waʃbɪk/: 'what's the matter?', /ʔlaʃ/: 'why', /sajɪ/ or /ħabbes/: 'stop!', /wasəm/: 'what?', /men baʔəd/:

'later on', /skut/ or /bøllaʕ fummak/ or /rummah/ or/ ajbas/ : 'shut up'...etc. AA was also occasionally used for explaining difficult concepts or for clarifying ambiguous ideas such as the word /reiθ/ explained by teachers through the word /nəʊ/ instead of /matɑr/ which means 'rain'.

Many teachers declared that they did not include AA forms. Real situations, however, were full of Colloquial forms. It referred to the fact that teachers' linguistic behaviour was, in many cases, unconsciously done. The frequency of this change depends on the notion that AA is the teachers' mother tongue which is acquired from childhood. Here, there was a sense of unawareness among teachers in which the switch was marked (unexpected). These AA expressions were used either as a reaction to pupils' bad behaviours or repeated mistakes. They were spontaneously expressed via 'stress' and 'rising intonation'. In specific contexts where the teacher found it necessary to create a good and relax atmosphere, teachers showed a clear sense of awareness towards their linguistic behaviour.

Moreover, Changes in the topic discussed in each session drove teachers to various linguistic behaviours. Social topics like: 'smoking', 'internet', topics about 'sport' or even interrupted topics within the course, in cases of providing illustrations, the teacher switched to AA. Thus, teachers had a natural, may be even subconscious, tendency to switch to the characteristic of such types of topics. This kind of metaphorical switching was determined by attitudes towards the codes and the associations allocated to these codes.

One of the fundamental parameters that stand behind teachers' use of various codes was correlated to pupils' weak proficiencies and, thus, pupils' lack of understanding. To that end, teachers seemed to use a simplified form of Arabic, i.e., a middle variety (ESA) which seeks at facilitating the teaching and learning processes and enhancing pupils' assimilation. Pupils' assimilation is, indeed, a social need that motivates teachers' code choice.

Pupils displayed positive attitudes toward AA and/or the middle variety whereas teachers showed some negative attitudes toward them. Teachers' speech clearly showed inconsistency between their attitudes and their actual behaviour. The use of both AA and the middle variety reflected that actual behaviour in the class is seemingly incongruent with expressed attitudes (Baker, 1992). Understandably, attitudes were imperfect explainers and predictors of teachers' use of different forms of Arabic. Here, it was the situation that determines code selection. Pupils' attitudes and needs were, consequently, seen as social forces that motivated teachers' switch. This point can be interpreted in the light of "Myers' Markedness Model, 1993a". The theory states that in each conversational encounter, there is unmarked (expected) language choice for each participant and that this choice indexes the appropriate 'Rights and Obligations set' in that social context.

Teachers' diglossic code switching phenomenon was conceived to be the result of more affective reasons that were responsible for their linguistic behaviour. Arabic language teachers used CS as a conversational strategy to enhance communication which may be interrupted in certain cases. To put it differently, teachers, though seemed to be aware of the importance and high position of MSA, they, use in many cases, to switch in order to help their pupils to enhance the lecture in an easy, relaxed, and a quick manner. They focused more on giving pupils knowledge about the language rather than teaching them the language functionally. That is to say, interlocutors were considered as the most affective element that determined teachers' code choice.

Undoubtedly, teaching Arabic in such a way has its impact on learning the Arabic course and quality of education as a whole. Pupils may befall as a result of the recurring use of the dialect. Arabic language teachers, therefore, must receive an adequate degree of pedagogical and academic qualification and must be aware of the importance of the Arabic language as the school is the primary source from which our pupils learn the Arabic language. Indeed, it is of paramount importance to preserve the Arabic language and use it appropriately. Teachers, thus, must employ the language of

instruction in an acceptably high fluency level. Such behaviour will encourage the pupils to learn from them and will also stop all learners from fostering that Arabic is difficult. Consequently, at last and not the least, the question that remains is that can MSA regain its position in all the Algerian middle schools? Or may AA, as proposed by the minister of education, replace MSA and be used as an official variety of instruction?

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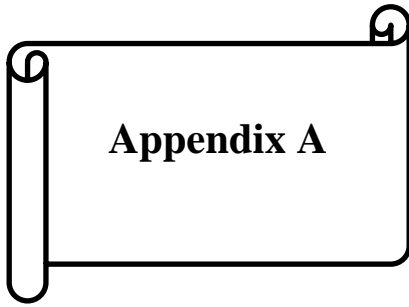
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# Appendices



## Linguistic Regulations

Appendix A provides a non-exhaustive list of language laws in Algeria. Such laws have been adapted from: [http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie3Politique\\_ling.htm](http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie3Politique_ling.htm) (my translation).

### 1. The Status of Languages in the different constitutions of Algeria

#### ➤ Constitution of 1963

**Art. 5:** Arabic is the national and official language of the state.

**Art. 76:** The effective completion of Arabization must take place as soon as possible on the territory of the Republic. However, notwithstanding the provisions of this act, the French language may be used **temporarily** alongside the Arabic language.

#### ➤ Constitution of 1976

**Art. 3:** Arabic is the national and official language. The State works to generalize the use of the national language to the official plan.

#### ➤ Constitution of 1989

**Art. 3:** Arabic is the national and official language.

#### ➤ Constitution of 1996

**Art. 3 (1996)**

Arabic is the national and official language.

**Art. 3 bis (adopted April 10, 2002)**

Tamazight is also a national language.

The State works on its promotion and development, with all its linguistic varieties that are in spoken throughout the national territory.

**Art. 178** (adopted November 15, 2008)

Any constitutional revision can not infringe on:

- Islam, as the religion of the state;
- Arabic, as national and official language.

➤ **Constitution of 2016**

**Art. 3**

Arabic is the national and official language.

Tamazight is equally a national and official language

## **2. Decrees and Laws Imposing Arabic in the Public Domain**

➤ **Decree No. 74-70 of 3 April 1974: Arabisation of commercial advertising**

**Art. 1:** Commercial advertising produced and broadcast on the national territory must be expressed **in Arabic**.

The use of **a foreign language** for the same ends is optional. In this case, the advertisement must be designed as a complementary reproduction translated or transposed.

➤ **Decree No. 81-36 of March 14, 1981 on the Arabization of the linguistic Landscape**

**Art. 1:** Signs, panels and, in general, any inscription painted, engraved or luminous indicating an institution, a company, an organization or any other body mentioning the activity that it carries, are in the **national language** ...

➤ **Law No. 86-10 of August 19, 1986 establishing the Algerian Academy of the Arabic Language**

**Art.1:** This law concerns the creation of the Algerian Academy of the Arabic language and the definition of its missions and the general rules of its organization, operation and financing.

- **Law No. 05-91 of Jumada Ethania 30, 1411, corresponding to January 16, 1991, concerning the generalization of the use of the Arabic language**

**Art.4:** Public administrations, institutions, companies and associations, whatever their nature is, are required to use solely the Arabic language in all their activities, such as communication, administration, financial, technical and artistic management.

**Art.5:** All official documents, reports and minutes of public administrations, institutions, companies and associations are written in Arabic language.

The use of any foreign language in the deliberations and discussions of official meetings is forbidden.

**Art.15:** Teaching, education and training in all sectors, in all levels and in all specialties are delivered **in Arabic**, taking account of foreign languages teaching methodologies.

**Art. 29:** Any official document in a language other than Arabic is null and void. The person/institution who drafted or signed the document takes full responsibility of the effects that result.

- **Legislative Decree 92-02 of July 4, 1992 on the implementation of Law No. 91-OS of January 16, 1991**

**Art.1:** The maximum period set by Article 36 of Law 91-05 of January 16, 1991 on the generalization of the use of the Arabic language **is extended until meeting the required conditions.**

- **Ordinance No. 96-30 of Sha'ban 10, 1417 corresponding to December 21, 1996 amending and supplementing Law No. 91-05 of Jumada Ethania 30, 1411 corresponding to January 16, 1991**

**Article 7 :**

**Art. 36** amending and completing the Law n° 91-05 of January 16, 1991 :

"Art. 36 "The provisions of this Ordinance shall apply since its issuance. The operation of the generalization of the use of Arabic will be fully completed within a period not exceeding July 5, 1998.

Nevertheless, the total and definitive teaching in Arabic in all institutions of higher education and higher institutes will be provided within a period not exceeding July 5, 2000, subject to the provisions of Article 23 above. "

## Appendix B

### Teachers ' Questionnaire

نرجو منكم الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة في مجال بحث علمي و هذا بوضع علامة (x) أمام الإجابة الصحيحة أو أخرى إذا تطلب ذلك : (يمكن وضع أكثر من علامة إذا تطلبت الاجابات ذلك).

- الجنس: ذكر  انثى
- مدة التدريس: .....
- مستوى التدريس: 1متوسط  2متوسط  3 متوسط  4متوسط
- مؤسسة التدريس: .....

**اللغة الوسطى: هي عبارة عن مزيج (خليط) بين اللغة الفصحى و الدارجة**

(1) ماهي اللغة التي تستعملها في المنزل:

- اللغة العربية الفصحى  الدارجة  اللغة الوسطى

(2) ماهي اللغة التي تستعملها في الشارع:

- اللغة العربية الفصحى  الدارجة  اللغة الوسطى

(3) ماهي اللغة التي تستعملها في القسم:

- اللغة العربية الفصحى  الدارجة  اللغة الوسطى

(4) هل تفضل مشاهدة البرامج التلفزيونية الآتية باللغة الفصحى أو تفضل أن تكون باللغة الوسطى أو بالدارجة:

الأفلام	الأخبار	الحصص	أشرطة وثائقية

				الدرجة
--	--	--	--	--------

(5) كيف تقدر كفاءتك في اللغة العربية الفصحى:

ضعيف جدا	ضعيف	متوسط	جيد	جيد جدا	
					اللغة العربية الفصحى

(6) ما رأيك في استعمال الدرجة او اللغة الوسطى في القسم:

.....  
 لماذا.....  
 .....  
 .....

(7) كيف تقيم قدرات تلاميذك في اللغة العربية الفصحى :

جيد جدا  جيد  متوسط  ضعيف  ضعيف جدا

(8) هل تسمح للتلميذ(ة) بالتكلم بالدرجة في القسم:

دائما  غالبا  أحيانا  نادرا  ابدا

لماذا.....  
 .....  
 .....

(9) هل تسمح للتلميذ(ة) بالتكلم باللغة الوسطى في القسم:

دائما  غالبا  أحيانا  نادر

لماذا.....  
 .....  
 .....

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

لماذا.....  
 .....  
 .....

11 هل يحدث لك أحيانا أن تستعمل الفصحى في حديثك اليومي خارج القسم:

نعم  لا

لماذا.....  
.....  
.....

12 هل تقبل أن تصبح الدراجة لغة رسمية في الجزائر:

نعم  لا

لماذا.....  
.....  
.....

\*شكرا على تعاونكم\*



How do you evaluate your level of MSA -5

	Very good	Good	Average	Weak	Very Weak
Standard Arabic					

What do you think about using AA or middle variety in class -6

.....

?Why

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

How do you evaluate your pupil's capacities in MSA -7

Very good    Good     Average    Weak   

?Do you allow your pupils talking in dialect in class -9

Always     Often     Sometimes  Rarely  Never

?Why

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

?Do you allow your pupils to use the middle variety in class-10

Always     Often     Sometimes  Rarely  Never

?Why

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

?What do you think about the pupils who master talking in MSA -11

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

?Does it occur to you to use MSA in your daily speech outside the class -12

Yes     No

?Why

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

Do you accept the fact of having the dialect as an official language in -13  
?Algeria

Yes     No

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

**! THANK YOU**

## Pupils' Questionnaire

نرجو منكم الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة في مجال بحث علمي و هذا بوضع علامة (x) أمام الإجابة الصحيحة أو أخرى إذا تطلب ذلك: (يمكن وضع أكثر من علامة إذا تطلبت الاجابات ذلك).

الجنس : ذكر  أنثى

مستوى التعليم : 1متوسط  2متوسط  3 متوسط  4متوسط

مؤسسة التعليم:.....

(1 ماهي اللغة التي تستعملها في المنزل او في الشارع) خارج المدرسة):

اللغة العربية الفصحى  الدارجة  كلتاها (خليط بينهما)

(2 ماهي اللغة التي تستعملها في القسم:

• مع الاستاذ: اللغة العربية الفصحى  الدارجة  كلتاها (خليط بينهما)

• مع الاصدقاء: اللغة العربية الفصحى  الدارجة  كلتاها (خليط بينهما)

(3 عند استماعك للاغاني هل تفضل :

اللغة العربية الفصحى  الدارجة  الفرنسية  لغة اخرى.....

(4

لا	نعم	
		الفصحى اصعب من الدارجة
		عندما اعبر في القسم بالدارجة يكون اسهل
		افضل ان يشرح الاستاد الدرس بالدارجة
		عندما يشرح الاستاد الدرس بالفصحى يكون اسهل
		التعلم بالدارجة له فوائد اكثر من التعلم بالفصحى
		الدارجة تعيق فهم الدرس
		الدارجة تزيد من نسبة المشاركة
		التعبير كتابة باللغة العربية الفصحى امر شاق

(5لو كان لديك الخيار كنت ستفضل (ين) الدراسة ب :

اللغة العربية الفصحى  الدارجة  كلتاها (خليط بينهما)

لماذا.....

.....

6) قيم قدراتك التواصلية باللغة العربية الفصحى:

جيد جدا	جيد	متوسط	ضعيف	ضعيف جدا	
					الفهم
					التحدث
					الكتابة
					القراءة

7) اشرح مايلي: بصيص الامل.....

.....الغيث

.....محنكا

**\*شكرا على تعاونكم\***



5) If you have the choice, which variety do you prefer for learning:

MSA

AA

Both

.....?Why

.....

:Evaluate your linguistic competencies in MSA (6

	Very weak	Weak	Average	Good	Very good
Listening					
Speaking					
Writing					
Reading					

(Explain the following concepts (given in MSA (7

**! THANK YOU**

## Teachers' interview

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

الجنس: ذكر  انثى

مدة التدريس:.....

مستوى التدريس: 1متوسط  2متوسط  3 متوسط  4متوسط

مؤسسة التدريس:.....

1) هل تستعمل اللغة الفصحى في القسم:

دائما  غالبا  احيانا  نادرا  ابدا

2) هل تستعمل اللغة الوسطى في القسم:

دائما  غالبا  احيانا  نادرا  ابدا

3) هل تستعمل الدارجة فقط في القسم:

دائما  غالبا  احيانا  نادرا  ابدا

4) اذا كنت تستعمل الدارجة او اللغة الوسطى ولو نادرا هل تستعملها:

عفويا  متعمدا  حسب مجريات الدرس

كيف ذلك .....

.....  
.....

5) ماهي الاسباب التي تدفعك لاستعمال الدارجة او اللغة الوسطى اثناء الدرس:

صعوبة الدرس

عدم فهم و استيعاب التلاميذ للدرس

ضعف قدرات التلاميذ اللغوية  حسب موضوع الدرس

لتبسيط المفاهيم  توييح التلاميذ في حالة سوء تصرفاتهم

لتوضيح الافكار  لخلق جو مريح عائلي

لاعادة شرح الدرس

اسباب اخرى .....

.....

6) صنف الاسباب السابقة في الجدول الاتي:

اسباب تدفعك لادراج الدارجة <u>متعمدا</u>	اسباب تدفعك لادراج الدارجة <u>عفويا</u>
-	-
-	-
-	-
-	-
...	....

7) هل يجيب بعض التلاميذ بالدارجة او اللغة الوسطى في القسم

نعم  لا

لماذا .....

.....

.....

8) اذا كان جوابك نعم كيف يكون تعاملك معه:

.....

.....

9) هل تشجع التلاميذ على استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى في القسم

نعم  لا

لماذا .....

.....

.....

10) الموضوع المناقش في القسم هو ايضا دافع اساسي لادراج الدارجة او استعمال اللغة الوسطى

نعم  احيانا  لا

11) في عدة حصص يجد الاستاد نفسه بصدد التطرق لمواضيع غير مبرمجة في الدرس بل الحديث ساقنا اليها فتتم مناقشتها بادراج الدارجة

دائما  غالبا  احيانا  نادرا  ابدا

اذكر بعض المواضيع التي تستعمل فيها الدارجة ( 12 )

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

اذكر بعض العبارات تجد نفسك تستعملها في القسم و لكنها عبارات عامية (13)

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

ماهي اكثر الحصص التي تجعلك تغير اسلوبك اللغوي في القسم: (14)

الدارجة فقط	اللغة العربية و الدارجة (اللغة الوسطى)	اللغة العربية فقط	
			دراسة نص
			تعبير شفوي
			تعبير كتابي
			القواعد: تراكيب نحوية / صيغ
			نشاطات

لماذا .....  
.....  
.....

بما ان التلاميذ اعتادوا على التكلم بالدارجة كلغة الشارع هل التدريس باللغة العربية و (15)  
استيعاب التلاميذ لها يشكل

عائق بشكل كبير  عائق بشكل متوسط  لا يشكل اي عائق

ادراج الدارجة او استعمال اللغة الوسطى يسهل استيعاب التلاميذ للدرس (16)

نعم  احيانا  لا

لماذا .....  
.....  
.....

عند تبسيط الاسلوب اللغوي نشعر بتحسن مستوى الفهم و كذا المرودية (المشاركة) ( 17 )

نعم  لا

هل تلاحظ ان اسلوبك اللغوي في القسم يتغير حسب مستوى التلميذ اللغوي او الفكري: ( 18 )

نعم  لا

كيف و لماذا.....  
.....  
.....

هل اسلوبك اللغوي يختلف من مستوى دراسي لآخر ( 19 )

نعم  لا

اذا كان جوابك نعم مع أي مستوى تستعمل اللغة الوسطى اكثر ( 20 )

سنة اولى  ثانية  ثالثة  رابعة

مع أي مستوى تستعمل الدارجة اكثر ( 21 )

سنة اولى  ثانية  ثالثة  رابعة

كيف و لماذا.....  
.....  
.....

هل الجانب النفسي للتلميذ من العوامل التي تدفعك لتغيير اسلوبك اللغوي ايضا: ( 22 )

نعم  لا

كيف و لماذا.....  
.....  
.....

\*شكرا على تعاونكم\*



- Weak linguistic capabilities of pupils
- To punishe pupils
- To create a relaxed atmosphere

Others.....  
 .....  
 .....

6- Would you like to classify the above reasons of using AA in the following table:

Including AA spontaneously	Including AA on purpose
-	-
-	-
-	-
-	-
...	...

7- Do some pupils ansy by using AA or middle variety?

Yes

No

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

8- If yes, how do you behave with them?

.....  
 .....

9-Do you encourage your pupils to use MSA in class?

Yes

No

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

10- The topic under discussion in class is sometimes a major reason which leads to the use AA or the middle variety.

Yes  No  Sometimes

11- In many sessions the teacher may discuss some topics which have not been programmed using AA

Always  Often  Sometimes  Rarely  Never

12- Mention some topics that you usually discuss them using AA

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

13- Mention some dialectal expressions that you usually use in class.

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

14- What are the main sessions which lead you to change your speech style in class?

	MSA Only	MSA and AA (middle variety)	AA only
Reading comprehension			
Oral Expression			
Written Expression			
Grammar			
Activities			

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

15- Pupils are used to use AAAs in their daily life speeches. Thus, do you think that teaching MSA is:

A real obstacle  A medium obstacle  Not an obstacle

16- Using AA or the middle variety enhance pupils' assimilation

Yes  Sometimes  No

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

17- The simplification of the speech improve our understanding in addition to the participation:

Yes  No

18- Have you noticed that your linguistic behaviour differs in the class in correlation to pupils' linguistic and intellectual levels

Yes  No

How and Why?.....  
.....  
.....

19- Do your linguistic behaviour change from one level to another?

Yes  No

20- If yes, with which level do you employ the middle variety more?

First year  Second year  Third year  Fourth year

21- With which level do you use AA more than the others?

First year  Second year  Third year  Fourth year

How and Why?  
.....  
.....

22- Do you think that the psychological side of the pupil is one of the major reasons which push you to change your linguistic behaviour?

Yes  No

How and Why?.....

.....

.....

**Thank you**

## Recording Classroom Observation

The conversations were handled in different middle schools at various levels and with distinct teachers. The observed conversations were expressed as follows:

### ✚ Habbak Middle School

#### ➤ **First Year**

A teacher who has thirteen years of experience conducted this session which was entitled: “حب الوطن من الايمان”.

The teacher started writing the date and the title on the board while some pupils were shouting.

Pupil: /muʔallɪma **rah jɔqajesnɪ b stɪlu**/. ‘Teacher, he is beating me with the pen’.

Teacher: /*Kahlouche* **baddina ʔawad**/. ‘We start again!’

The Pupil answered: /muʔallɪma hɪja **ʔabdatnɪ hɪja xawnatɪ stɪluja**/. ‘Teacher, she stole my pen’.

Teacher: /**ʔaʔɔjɪ ʔaʔɔjɪ lawla w talja ʔɪk**/, /**manbadduuʃ dars ljuum**/. ‘Be silent, Shall we start the lecture today or not?’

Teacher: /**fathu l ktaab ʔaʔfha tɪn w tlatɪn ʃkuun jaqranna**/, /*naʔam Riadh*/. ‘Open the book page 32, who reads? Yes Riadh.’

The pupil began reading the text in MSA and the teacher corrected his mistakes.

Teacher: /ʔan maada jataħaddaθu **l kaatɪbu fɪ nnaʔ maahɪja Ifɪkra l ʔamma**/. ‘What is the general idea of the text?’

Pupil: / **ʔanɪ l watɔn** /. ‘about native country’.

Another pupil: / **ħubbu l- watɔn mɪna l-ʔɪmaan**/. ‘Love of the homeland and religion are related to each other’.

Teacher: /fɪ ʒumla mufɪɪda/, /naʕam Bensayeh/. ‘Within a structured sentence’.

Another pupil : /jataħaddaθu el-kaatɪb fɪ en-naʕ ʕan qɪɪmatɪ l watɔn wa l-ɪxlaaʕɪ ɪlajɪ/. ‘The author speaks about the importance of our country and our duties towards it’.

Teacher: /ʒajjɪd ɪdan l kaatɪb jumaʒʒɪd l watɔn wa hada maa nulaaħɪduhu mɪna l ʕunwaan “حب الوطن من الايمان”. Idan haadɪ maquula **nkarruha dajmən bla ma nsaʔlu** ʕan maʕnaaha ʕʕɔħɪɪħ, maa maʕnaha **b nisba lɪkum?**/. ‘Love of the homeland is related to love of religion, what does it mean this expression for you?’

Pupil: / l ʔɪxlaaʕ/ ‘honesty’. Another pupil asked the teacher to explain for him an ambiguous expression as follows: /ustada maa maʕna taqtaɔeeħɪ l fɪtra?/

Another pupil: / **l fatra taʕ ramɔaan**/.

Teacher: / ʕuut ʕɔɔɪ barkawna matmasxɪɪr naʕuu d ɪla ddars qult naʕuu d ɪla ddars/.

‘Be serious; let’s return back to our lesson’.

Teacher: / taqtaɔeeħɪ l fɪtra maʕnaha l ʔɪnsaan **məllɪ jzzad w huwa ʔaraf bellɪ l ʒazajə** hɪja **bladɪ llɪ** dafɪu **ʕlɪha ʒdudna w dɔħħau bə nfuushum ʕla ʒalha** wa lɪ hada **lazam** hatta **ħna ndɪru** tadħɪjjat min aʒlɪ an tabqa l ʒazaaʔɪr ħorra mustaqɪlla/.

‘Human beings are aware of their responsibilities towards Algeria from childhood. Thus, we must do all our best to defend it and to keep Algeria as an independent country’.

Teacher: /f naʕ **kajən** ʕiddat asaaliɪb ʔɪnʕaaʔɪjja **ʕkun jaʕtena waħad mʕa dɪkrɪ** nawɪɪħɪ/. She continued explaining the lecture using generally a middle variety as she mixed MSA and many forms of AA especially; when clarifying ambiguous

points for her learners.

### ➤ **Second Year**

A female teacher, who has more than ten years of experience, started the session with writing the title the unit as well as the session' topic on the board which was about: "الفهد", "الفيل" and "الفنك".

She said: /ʔadna tlaat noʃooʃ naqʃuhum fi ħiʃʃa waaħida/. She noticed that a pupil was absentminded, so she wanted to attract her attention via this expression: /wnti Gurroudj mazal maxraʒt iɪʃ man ʔand l kwafɪra/. "Gurroudj, you haven't finished with the hairdresser yet?"

Teacher: /naxdu l kitaab ʃaħħa mja wwaħad w tmanɪɪn iɪja Tayeb, Meriem, ʃaɪ bdiɪ darwak kul waħad nalʔalah b smɪytah ajja asrɪʔu kal ʔada naʃraʔ fi qiraaʔat nnaʃ l awwal naqum bi munaqaʃatɪħi ʔumma ttanɪ.../. 'Take your book page 101, Tayeb! Meriem! Shall I call each one alone? Be quick, as usual we start reading the first text. We discuss it. Then, we move to the second...'

Pupils: /ustada ustada ustada/. 'Teacher, teacher, teacher'

Teacher: /naʔam Boudaoued/. The pupil started reading the text in MSA, he made some mistakes as /mustaʔnɪs/ and /ʃʃaħħaarɪ/ while the teacher corrected him as /mustaʔnasɪ/ and /ʃʃaħħaraa/ respectively.

Teacher: /ʔan ajɪ ħajawaan jatakallamu el-kaatɪbu/. 'About which animal does the author speak?'

Pupil: /ʔanɪl fanak/.

Teacher: /ɪla ajɪatɪ faʃeelatɪn jantamɪɪ/. 'To which sort does it belong to?'

Pupil: /l kalbɪjjat/ Teacher : / maa maʔna l kalbɪyyat/ 'What does it mean cynicism?'

Pupil : /juʃ bɪħu l kalba/. 'It looks as dogs'.

Teacher: /l kaatib **gaal** hajawaan mustaʔnas maa maʔna mustaʔnas/. ‘The author says a domestic animal, what does it mean?’

Pupil: /el ʔalɪɪf/. ‘Domestic’

Teacher: /qaala l katɪb lil fanak udunaan dɔxmataaŋ limaada fɪɪ raʔjɪkom dɔxmataaŋ/.

Pupil: /baʃ **jasmaʔ** l ʔaduw/. ‘The author says that the animal has two long ears. According to you, why?’

Teacher: /**kəwwen** ʒumla mufɪɪda nahnu f hɪʒʒat taʔbɪɪr ʃafawɪ, naʔam hatta nasmaʔa el-farɪɪsata/. /laaʔdɔ **kayan** kalɪma ʒadɪɪda xatəm maa maʔnaah/. ‘Form the sentence correctly; we are in a session of oral expression. Pay attention! In the text, there is a new word, what does it mean?’

Teacher: /**mlɪh fummah w** ʔanfah/. ‘Good, its mouth and nose’.

In this session though the use of many AA expressions, the teachers motivated her learners to use MSA

Another pupils asked about the word: /mustaʔnas?/

Teacher: /jaʔnɪ **jɪɪʃ mʔa** l-ʔɪnsaan f dɔaar hadɪ hɪja kɪma l qɪtət a **bantɪ wɪn kuntɪ**/. ‘It means that it lives with humans at homes like cats; where were you my daughter?’

### ➤ **Third Year**

The teacher ( a female with more than 10 years teaching experience) entered the room. The class was very noisy. The teacher started shouting: /ʃət # ʔei # waʃʃa hada/ instead of the word /ʒamt/ meaning /shut up/. A few minutes later, she started checking the homework. At that moment, pupils were talking to each other and all their speech-

es were handled in a purely dialectal Arabic form. During this task, the following dialogue had been observed:

Pupil: /ustada nsitah fəddar/ means ‘teacher, I forgot it at home’.

Teacher: /**nsitah hna dajman nansaw xatra xra matfawadʒ tensa**/ ‘you forgot it, we usually forget. Next time, avoid forgetting your work’.

When the course started officially, the following expressions were expressed:

Teacher: /bi tɔbɪɪʔati l ʔal nantaqil ʔɪla wiħda ʒadida **ɪɪ** hija l muʔaamaraat/.

/**ħallu laktaab wa qraaw** qiraaʔa ʒɔɔmɪta/. ‘We move to another unit, open the book and read silently’.

A pupil was looking at her:

Teacher: /**matʒuufəʒ fɪjja hott raasak wa qra** qiraaʔa ʒɔɔmɪta /. ‘Avoid looking at me, read silently’.

Pupil: /**mazebtəʒ l ktaab**/. ‘I do not bring the book.’

Teacher: /**mazebtəʒ l ktaab ʔlaaʒ majebtahəʒ tebbaʔ mʔa ʒɔɔħbek**/. ‘You do not bring the book, why? Read with your friend’.

Teacher said to another pupil: /**qra w skut**/. ‘Read and shut up!’

After reading silently the text which was entitled ‘كولومبوس و البحر’, discussions were tackled in MSA with the switch to AA in a set of cases as can be appeared below:

Teacher: /maa hija al-muʔaamara allati qaama bihaa kolumbus maʔa baħħaratih/

All pupils’ answers were in MSA with interrupted AA expressions by the teachers due to some bad pupils’ behaviour. AA expressions are:

Teacher’s expressions: /**skut** /, /**rfaʔ ʒɔbʔek**/. /**ʔɪ kifha**/, /**waħdoxra**/ mean: ‘shut up!, raise your finger!, it is the same, another one’.

Pupils’ expressions: /**yaah ʔustaada kima ttaʔɪ ʔɪ kifəha**/. ‘Oh! Teacher, the same

example as me’.

After listening to various ideas given by the pupils, the teacher said: ‘Idan saɣlu lə fikra lə ʕaamma/.

They go back to the text:

Teacher: /maa howa l ʕaraɖ **men haad** riħla/. ‘What is the aim of this trip?’

A pupil started answering without getting the permission. Hence, the teacher reacted as follows: /**rfaʕ ʕəbʕak w ranɪ nʕuuf nɖɔll rɪ nahɖɔr**/. ‘Raise your hand, Shall I keep repeating the same remark’.

Pupils’ answers were in MSA such as: /al hadaf min haadɪħɪ riħla howa al-ɪktɪ ʕaaf/

Teacher: /kajfa kaanat ar-riħla/. ‘How was the trip?’

Pupil: /kaanat mumtiʕa waʕadadu sfunɪha **talaata**/. ‘It was nice with three boats’.

Teacher: /maa maʕna tɔɔqamuhaa/. ‘What does it mean its crew’.

Pupil:/ rukkabuha farɪɪquhaa/. ‘Its members’

Teacher: /Idan maa hiya aʕʕɪfa al-latɪ kaana jatamajjaz biha *Columbus*/. ‘How was Columbus?’

Pupil: /al huduʔ wa ʕadam al-ɪstɪslaam/. ‘He was quiet and courageous’.

Teachers’ questions about the text were carried in MSA and the majority of pupils’ answers were in MSA also.

By the end of the session, the teacher said: / hal hunaaka ʔasaalɪɪb ʔianʕaaʕɪyya aw ʕowar bajaaniija/.

Pupils: /**kajən** ʔɪstifhaam w taʕbiħ/. ‘There is an interrogative form and comparison’.

Teacher: /**maʕɪ llɪ tʕufuuh** taʕbiħ **ngulu** ʔɪstɪʕaara/.



Teacher: /**ʃkuun jaʃteena l-maʃza**/. She asked a pupil to write on the board: /**noɖɪ saʒlɪɪnna l- fɪkra**/. ‘Stand up to write the idea on the board’.

Teacher dictated at the same time when she notices mistakes, she reacted as follows: /**fatratu ʃʃabaabɪ jaʒɪbu ʃusnu stɪʎlaalɪhaa lhamza lhamza had dars ʃafnaah manʃaawduu ʃ nwallulah**/

Teacher asked the pupil: /**ʃawɖɪ l fɪkra ntaʃak nsitha**/. ‘Repeat your idea, I forgot it’. Then, she carried the dictation: /aʃʃabaabu ʃɪmaadu ləʃummatɪ ʃəɖɖa foq ʃʃɪɪn wa dawruhu fi l-muʒtamaʃɪ/. Suddenly, she shouted: /**aa bantɪ marakiiɪɪ ʃ təʃassɪ bellɪ rakɪ dajra ʎaltɔ fil-muʒtamaʃɪ fɪ muʒtamaʃɪ fɪ muʒtamaʃɪ fil muʒtamaʃɪ laa jataʃaqqaqu ɪlla ɪlla ʃəɖɖa ʃəɖɖa l harf ki nzajjar ʃlɪɪh ʃəɖɖa fuugah manabqawəʃ rɪɪ nʃaawdulha haadɪ**/. ‘Pay attention, you make a mistake, you do not hear the stress so you must add it’.

**Teacher:** /**ʃawdu qraw juʒad saʒʃ**/.

Pupil: /**kaajan saʒʃ**/

Teacher: /**maa fiqra aqra a bba ʒaj ritriɪjjaʃ xasnɪ ɪla naxxalʃah baaʃ jeftɔn marahəʃ ʃaaref ɪla ranɪ fə lawwal wəlla f ttalɪ**/. ‘In which paragraph? Read, or each time we must repeat the same thing, he does not know if we are in the first or the last paragraph?’ (Here a pupil was distracted).

## Dar El-Hadith Middle School

### ➤ **First Year**

The session started with greetings purely MSA. The teacher (a female who has only three years of experience) began the session asking questions about the last session. Then, she directly wrote the title ‘the subject’ on the board and asked them about

it.

The teacher said: /naʔtekom ana miθaal w ntuma **gululi ʔila taʔ dokoor wella ʔinaaθ**/ . ‘I will give you an example and you decide if it refers to a male or female?’

Pupils’ answers were turning around male or female. Then, the teacher dictated the rule in MSA. After that, she explained the case of duality.

Teacher: /muhandɪsun/: ‘an engineer’ pupil: /muhandɪsaan/: ‘two engineers’.

The teacher felt that another pupil was out of the session thought he was present and asked him to form the plural.

The pupil said directly: /muhandɪsaan/. All the pupils shouted: ‘no’.

The pupil: /muhandɪsɪɪn/.

The teacher: /ja nzidu l-waw w nuun jaa ʔɪbaad allah xatɔr raha maɔmoma yallɪ jaʔtek lɔomma ʔammɪtnɪ/ ; answered with stress and rising intonation. She means: ‘We add ‘ون’ since we have the vowel /u/ at the end’.

The teacher requested another pupil to form the plural of the word /muhandɪsatun/: ‘an engineer’.

The pupil answered: /muhandɪsuun/.

At this level, I observed that the teacher became so nervous and she shouted without controlling herself: /**jaa kulʃɪ tbaxxar wəlla malkom fajan rah ʔaqlak ja rana nahadro ʔla ʒamʔ l-muʔannaθ ssalɪm kifaʃ nħawluuh ngalʔoʔ** w nʔawɔoha b **hada makan ʔaʔtewnɪ** miθaal nħawluuh/. ‘You forgot everything, where are you? We are speaking about the transformation of female words from singular to plural, we omit the ʔ and add ‘ات’. That’s all, and now give me examples for transforming them.

The session was continued speaking about the same topic with a clear use of the middle variety when explaining and AA expressions when shouting.

## ➤ Second Year

The session was conducted with a female teacher, having four years of experience. The topic of the lecture, as highlighted by the teacher, used to be selected by the teacher. She prepared a text entitled “البشير الابراهيمي” and read it twice in MSA solely. Pupils were asked to take notes for discussing the topic later. Interaction in the classroom ranged from formal to informal styles by the teacher. The main points can be summarized as follows:

All information related to “Bachir El-Ibrahimi” expressed using MSA.

Teacher: /howa ʔallamatun waddaʔatəhu l umma lʔislaamɪjja biħuznɪn kabɪɪɪn wa ʔujuun daamɪʔa/. ‘He was an outstanding figure who died and let all the state sad’/.

Teacher: /ħafɪdɔ lħurʔaana **kaan** jaħfad l-qurʔaan **maʔɪ** dars **wella zuuz kɪfkom**/. ‘He was citing the Quran, he learnt by hard the Quran not solely one or two lessons as you.’

Teacher: /**tbbaʔ maa maʔna** l mutuun/ , /al-mutuun al-kutub adɔɔxma **maʔɪ mja w ʔaʔɪɪn** ʔaħħa, **namʔɪɪw** l-maktaba **nʔɪɪbohom**/. ‘Follow, what is ‘mutun’? They are very big books that contain many pages not only 120 pages. We could find them in the library.’

Teacher: /maa maʔnaa ʔawaarɪħɪhi/

Pupils: /**manaʔ ʔarfɪnha** maa maʔnaha/. ‘We did not explain it, what does it mean?’

Teacher: /**ħawsu ʔlɪha bbaħħadkum**/. ‘**Lokk for it you alone.**’

By the end of the session, pupils asked their teacher to give them their marks as it was the period after the exam (the end of the first semester).

Teacher: /**makaanʔ** nnɪqaat **xaatɔrəʔ magʔadtuuʔ saaktɪɪn**/. ‘I will not give you the marks because you were noisy.’

**Pupil:** /ustada namħɪ ssabbura/. (Miss Shall I erase the board?)

**Teacher:** /wkan majnoodəʃ ɪ ʃʃɔbbuura jahbal.

### ➤ Third Year

The session was conducted by a teacher (a male having more than ten years of teaching experience). He started writing the title of the lesson on the board: ' في عيادة طبيب الاسنان'

A pupil said:/ ustaad nraqab taħdeer/. 'Teacher, shall I check the homework.'

Teacher: /ana nraqab taħdeer tawaħad majraqəb rah ktar tbalɣɪɪɪɪ hna/. 'I will check myself, no one will check instead, there many liars here.'

After that, a pupil started reading the text in MSA as it is written with slight mistakes.

Teacher: /ana nħaddad ʃkuun yaqra matarfaɣ jddək mawalo *Abd-rahmaan* ɣawad *Ben yetto* , /kammal kammal/. 'I will determine the students who read: *Abd-rahmaan* then *Ben yetto*, carry on, carry on/.

Teacher: /kul tilmɪɪd jaqraʔo ʃatran/, /tawaqqaf suɣaal: maa maɣna el-mɪbzaqa?/.

'Each pupil should read a part. Stop, I have a question, what is meant by a sink?'

Pupil: /morakkab ammama kursɪjɪ tɔbɪbɪ l-ʔasnaan/. 'a sink near the chair of the dentist'.

Another pupil:/ ustaad maa maɣna tɔrʃaan?/. 'Teacher, what is a towel?'

Teacher: /idan maa maɣna tɔrʃaan?/ 'So, what is a towel?'

Pupils' expressions: / haa traʃ/, /manaɣraf/. ' a deaf!!! I do not know!'

Teacher: /f dariɪza ngulu *torchon hadaak* idan qɪtɣat qumaaʃ/. ' In AA, we say 'torchon', it is a piece of clith'.

Teacher: / maa maʕna ħarraka et-taʕbiibu rusxaho?/.

Pupil: /**lahja**/ . Teacher: /jaʕni daqnaħo/.

Pupils continued reading the text and giving general ideas or summaries of each part from the text in MSA. When the teacher observed mistakes, he corrected them.

A pupil asked: / maa maʕna ħarraka et-taʕbiibu rusaxaho?/

Teacher ironocally replied: /صباح لخير ولدي faajan kunt ʕaʕj kammalna/.

Teacher: /ʕalajna kama qulna fi h i ʕ a ʕ i l-maadʕejati qiraaʔat maa bajna e-ʕʕotoor. El-ʕumla idan hi ja taʕwiir li ʕaxʕejjati et-taʕbiib/. ‘As said earlier, we must read attentively the text and understand its real meaning. The sentence, therefore, explains the personality of the dentist’.

#### ➤ **Fourth Year**

The session was conducted with the same teacher (a male having more than ten years of teaching experience) of the third year level.

The teacher said: /ʕunwaan ɖars howa: ‘انترنت المستقبل’ man jaqraʔ en-naʕ ʔ idan ? /. ‘The topic of the lecture is: internet. Who read the text?’

Different pupils read the text in MSA of course and gave distinct general views about the internet from the text.

Teacher: /maa hi ja xadamaat l internet? /. ‘What are the uses of the internet?’

Pupil: /laho xadamaat kaθiira fi l-maʕaal l-falak wa ttebbi/. ‘It has many uses in at medical and astronomical levels’.

Teacher: /sawaaʔ l-falak **wella** ttebbi ʕ**rahaha**/. ‘Astronomical or medical, explain!’

The teacher asked a pupil to read the summary of the text, so the pupil kept silent.

Teacher: /**ran** nasmaʕ/ . ‘I am listening’.

Pupil: /**malaxxaset**/ . ‘You do not summarize the text’.

Teacher: /**ji**b daftar **l**-morasal/. ‘Bring your correspondence book!’

Pupil: /ustaad **mazebtah**/ . ‘Sir, I don’t bring it’.

Teacher: /**mazebtah** ljum rahom **fadna** **dijaf** rak **mzahhar l-xatra** **zajja** **matzib** **bbak** **matedxol**/ . ‘You don’t; you are lucky today as we have guests.

Next time, if your father will not come, you cannot enter the room’.

The teacher dictated some hints about the internet and its uses and advantages in purely

MSA. By the end of the session, he asked his learners to determine the function of some words from the text; i.e., el-**ʔiʔraab**.

Teacher: /Illa annaha mazalat f**i** mahd**i**ha **ʃkun jaʔrabi** mahd**i**ha?/

Pupils gave wrong answers. The teacher said: /**qrawha** **ʔawad** **qrawha**/ , /**mli**h **matnsaw** **ʃ** mawq**i**ʔ **l** **ʒumla** **m**ina **l** **ʔiʔraab** **ʔ**ijja **ʃ**ərahəha *Boukhari*/. ‘Read it Read it again/, /good/, /do not forget the function of words within the sentence’.

Another pupil: /rah **ʔ**alat/. ‘He is wrong’.

Teacher: / **skut** howa **rah jahdar** **ʔ****i** **kan galab** **l** **ʔ**awd**l** **ʔ**ajna xabar maazaala ?/.

Pupil: / **l** ha/ . ‘the letteh ‘h’’.

Teacher: /**malha** **l** ha?/ . ‘What happens to ‘h’’.

Pupil: /**twall** **ʔ**la ....then, he kept silent.

Teacher: /**rahom** **ʔadna** **tlata** **taʔ** **l**-**ʔ**azw**i**ba ma hija **ʃ**ʃ**h**i**i**ha?/. ‘We have three responses, which one is the right one?’

After that, the teacher moved to another point:/**fil** **fiqra** **l** **ʔ**axiira el-kat**i**b qaddama **ta**ʃ**b**i**i**h maa howa wa maa naw**ʔ**uhu?/. ‘In the last paragraph, the author presented an

example of a comparison, where is it?’

Pupil: /ʃabbaha l kaatib e-ssurʔata bil - maaʔ /. ‘The author compares rapidity with water’.

Teacher: /ʔaḥsantɪ fa l-kaatib ḥadafa l-moʃabbah wa dakara l-qarɪɪna e-ddalla ʔala el-ʔunṣor l-maḥduuf mutaʔt teʃɪɪna fahija ʔɪstɪʔara maknijja/

Pupil: /ustaad l-ʔɪstɪʔara taṣrɪḥɪjja **kɪfaʃ tkun?**/

Teacher: /l ʔakəs **taʔha wel** qarɪɪna **dajmən tkun** mawzuuda/, /*Benkhedda*, **gʔud niʃan hadaarɪ** aʔɪd ʃarḥ/.

Pupil: /*mani ʃ faham*/

Teacher: /*rak ʔad taqḥak duk ndɪr ʔɪstɪdʔaaʔ l-bbaak*/.

### **Tahar Hmaidia Middle School**

#### ➤ **First Year**

A female teacher who has three years of experience conducted this lecture. The class was very noisy. The topic of the lecture concerns “الوطني الصالح”. Pupils were speaking to each other loudly using purely AA and even with the teacher using AA expressions. The teacher first asked a pupil to read the text. After that, she asked them questions relating to the text.

Teacher: /ma l mawḏooʔ lladɪ juʔalɪzuhu nnaʃ ?/ ‘What is the topic of the text?’

Pupil: /ustada ustada l watanijju ʃʃaaliḥu/. ‘Miss, Miss, it concerns ‘good citizens’.

Teacher: /man howa l watanijju ʃʃaaliḥu fɪɪ naḏarɪ l kaatib?/ ‘Who can be a good citizen according to the writer?’

Pupil: /howa lladɪ juhɪmu biħubbi watɔniħɪ/. ‘He is the one who loves his country’.

Teacher: /aħsant idan maa maƣna juhɪm?/.

Pupils’ answers: /maʃduud, **maɣruum, l xadɾa maħfuura fiɪ galbɪ**/

Teacher: /naƣam **mlɪħ hadɪ hɪja** juħɪbbuha ʒiddan/.

Teacher: /ʃ**kun jaƣtɛna** miθaal ƣan baƣɔɔɔ l maʒaalaat el-latɪ jataħarraku fiħa el-watɔniɟju ʒʒɔɔɔɔħu?/

Pupil: /ettadħɪɟja fiɪ sabɪɪɪɪ l-watɔn/

Another pupil: /ustada **l balon taħja bladɪ ntɔɔɔulɔħa laƣlaam**/

Another one:/ustada **kɪma umm dermaam wan tu θree viɪva lalɟɪɪɪ**/

Teacher: /naƣam **wan tu θree viɪva lalɟɪɪɪ** idan **kɪ rbaħna gaƣ nas xarɟat w tɔɔɔɔ ƣlam dzeɪɔ hadak nhar majateensaaʃ**/

Pupil: /ustada **tabɣɪ l balon**?/

Teacher: / **nabɣɪ bladɪ maʃɪ l balon** idan hada miθaal ħɛɪ ƣanɪ rrooħ l-watɔniɟja **ʃkun jaƣtɛna** miθaal **waħdaxor**/.

All pupils shouted: /*one two three viva l’Algérie*/

Teacher: /ɪwa **ʒɔɟɪ ntuma lɟum gaƣ hbaltu**/ ,/nwaʒlu, hal lɪɪwatɔn ƣalaaqa bɪɪɟɪmaɪn?/ The session continued in such a way and the discussions are full instances of the use of the middle variety by both the teacher and her learners. In, some cases only AA was used as the example when speaking about ‘the topic of sport’.

## ➤ Second Year

A female teacher, who has more than ten years of experience, started the session with writing the title of the unit as well as the session's topic on the board which was about: “قدم الانسان تطاح القمر”.

Teacher:/ ljum mawduuna hawla el-qamar, fathu l ktaab sctha **mja w zuuz jkuun jaqranna/**,

The pupil began reading the text in MSA and the teacher corrected their mistakes.

Teacher: /ʔan maada jatahaddaθu l kaatibu fi nnaṣ maahija **l fikra l ʔamma/**

Pupil: /nuzuul l ʔInsaan ʔala scthi l qamar/

Teacher: /aḥsant nuzuul l ʔInsaan ʔala scthi l qamar ʔajjara min hayaat el-baṣarija/

Teacher: /ma lladī fatahathu awwalu qadam tatʔʔo ʔala sctəhi l qamar/

pupil: /ustada iktiṣaaf ʔadiid/, another pupil: /el enternet/ and hence, all members of the class were laughing.

Teacher laughed and said: /aa **waldi rana fi lard wella f sma ha ftan wella matqahwitəṣ/**

another pupil said: /ustada kima l ʔiktiṣaaf taʔ l marikan/

Teacher:/naʔam ʔajjid **kima galat Lubna Columbus ʔikta ʔafa amr ika/**

A pupil:/ustada, **zaʔma nqaddu nʔiṣu fih/** Another one:/ ustada, **wah kifaṣ zaʔma waṣ jaṣra/**

Teacher:/ **hija l ʔulamaaʔ sctbu kawkaw jṣabbah lal arḍ yaʔni fih al hwa kima lard nqaddu nʔiṣu fih** wa allaho aʔlam/

Pupil:/**ki jhaluh** ustada **namṣi w ntija/**

Teach-

er:/ntuma rahgabaḍkum lahbaal nazbad kurraas niqaat wal fuud  
baṣ tatsagdu, naḥuu d ila ddars qult naḥuu d ila ddars/

She continued explaining the lecture using generally a middle variety as she mixed MSA and many forms of AA to explain difficult terms for her learners.

### ➤ **Third Year**

A female teacher having more than ten years of teaching experience conducted this session. The topic of the lecture was about “النسبة الى الاسماء الاعجمية”. She wrote four examples on the board and started asking questions:

/ḍaʔ l qalam wa nantabiḥ hajja naḥliq l harariis nuraaʒiʔ eddars l-maadʔe, ma  
maḥna l-ʔism l-maqṣoor, **ranī nṣuf rī matzaggiwəṣ**, *Benachour*/

Pupil: /maa jantahiḇi ʔalif maqṣoora/

Teacher: /**mlīḥ** miḥaal/

Pupils: /ʔaṣaa, mustaṣfaa/

Teacher: /kalimat ʔaṣaa kajfa nansibuh/

Pupil:/ /ʔaṣawaan/

Teacher: /ʔidan **kijkuun** l ʔism ḥulaaḥi **hadiik** l-ʔalif mubaaṣarat tuqlabu  
waaw/

She added: /maada ʔan l mamduud miḥaal/

Pupils: /samaaʔ, ṣaḥraaʔ/

Teacher:/**ṣaaʔi** ʔət essamʔo **kī jkuun waḥad jahḍar laxor jaskut**/, /**kīfa** ʔ nathaslu  
**ʔla** nisba?

Pupil: /bī qalbi l alif waaw/

Teacher: **mliḥ nwalliw** idan l ddars **taḥna** 'النسبة الى الاسماء الاعجمية' maa maḥna ṭsm aḥzamijjun.

Pupils: /ṭsm balad/

Teacher: / **tu tu** / instead of xatṭaḥ 'wrong' or laa'no'. /**qrrabt Belkacem**

Pupils: /ism ḫair ḥarabii **maa ṣi** ḥarabi

Teacher: **ṭtawni** ḥamθila/

Pupils: /**marikaan**/, /**uḥlida**/, /**turkiya**/, /**lalmaan**/, /**ispaanijaa**/,

Teacher: /**ṣaḥji** ṣaḥji tḥbbaḥ/

Pupil: /ustada ḫi **kijkun** l ḥarf jaa/

Teacher: / **kifaaṣ** nansbuha l ḥaan/

Pupil: /ustada **naḥadfuha** w **ndiro** l jaa/.

Teacher: / naḥam **naḥadfu** l jaa w **ndiru** jaḥ nisba **kiṣ** **twalli** ispaanijjun naḥam **fhamtu haad** nuḥṭṭa/

Pupils: /ustaada **mafhamtḥ** ṣ **zzaawza**/

Teacher: /**zzaawza** naḥam **tḥbbaḥ** qulna ajj ṭsm aḥzamij jantahi bi jaa miθla ṭspaanijaa **hadik** l ja **tnaḥḥiha** wtziḍi ri jaḥ fiha ṣedda **hada makan**/

Pupil: /ustada **nqaddu ndiru** ispaaiyyun/

Teacher: /naḥam **ḥla ḥsab** l kalima ana **majhamnii** ṣ ttanwiiḥn **jhamnii** taḥjiir.

The teacher carried her speech mixing both MSA and AA as follows:

- /**kajan** baḥṭḍ l ḥaalaat lli **nsammihwa** شواذ
- /**wkan** ntḥbbaq qaaḥiḍa **kima** l ḥala **taḥ** l مكسيك **had** ḥaala ṣaadda/

- /rɪjjad ranɪ ʔad nahdɔr/
- /kalimaat mɪθla اسيا ʔamlu ɦa ssahəm twallɪ اسوي ngalʔ l mad w nzɪdu waw wa jaʔ nisba/.
- /katbɪ f tɑɑbla rakɪ xɛɪfa l kurras jakmal/.
- By the end of the session, she dictated for them an activity as follows :

-/taktab l kalɪma w taʔmal sahm w twallɪ l stɔr taʔmal hagda w tarzaʔ l stɔr ʂɑɑjɪ/.

- /ktab w skut/, /nta wella waɦdaxor/.

- /tamarɪɪn ʂɑfɦa mja w tlata w tasɪɪɪn/.

### ➤ Fourth Year

The session was conducted with the same previous teacher of third year pupils.

The teacher: /fatho l kɪtaab ʂɑfɦa xmastɑɑʂ daʔɪman fɪ nafs l wɪɦda/

One pupil started reading the text entitled: ‘انترنت المستقبل’, of course, in MSA. After that, the teacher asked the pupils to give her a general idea about the text. All the propositions were given in MSA; in cases of mistakes, the teacher corrected them.

Teacher: hal fiɪlan l internet waʂɔlat ɪla nuqtɑɪ ʔannahja ? **xlaʂ waʂlat ?**

Pupil: **mazal.**

Teacher : /wa hada laho ʔalaqa bimaada? el-ʔɪlm ʔandu ɦad? l enternt ʔɪdan **dajmən** fɪ tatɑwwor/.

Teacher : /ʔtewni mɪɪza oxra lɪl internet qaddamaha el-kaatɪb maa hija?/

Pupil : /maʂɔbtɪ ustada mafhamtɪ/.

Teacher : /el-kɪtaab ʔandu miza xaʂʂɑ **bɪɪh** w l internet **tani ʔandah** miza xaʂʂɑ **bɪɪh**/.

Suddenly, the session was interrupted when an agent from the administration came for

calling a pupil.

Teacher said: /**ləbas** lmɪʔtɔf **ʔasmaʔ laklaam**/. Pupil: /ustada **maʔandɪɪʃ**/.

Teacher: /**maʔandakəʃ ʔɪjja tɛer**/. The teacher asked the pupils to read their summaries. The pupils were read in MSA.

Teacher: /w **loxrɪɪn malaxxastuuʃ** nnaʃ **ʔasm ʔmaltu l fɪkra l ʔamma**/.

Then, she dictated the summary in MSA.

## الملخص:

تعالج هذه الأطروحة ظاهرة سياسية لغوية تتعلق باساتذة اللغة العربية الذين يتميزون باستعمال اساليب لغوية متنوعة في القسم. فبدلاً من استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى ، نجد ان اللغة الوسطى او الدارجة تسيطران بشكل كبير على معظم الحصص. تحاول هذه الأطروحة اذن تحليل اسباب هذا السلوك اللغوي لاساتذة اللغة العربية للطور المتوسط بتلمسان اخذة بعين الاعتبار عفوية الكلام، موضوع الحديث، تحسين مستوى استيعاب التلاميذ، وكذا المواقف اتجاه هذه السلوكات كعوامل رئيسية .

**كلمات مفتاحية:** السياسة اللغوية – الازدواجية اللغوية- التناوب اللغوي- عفوية الكلام-الموضوع- استيعاب التلاميذ- المواقف

## Résumé :

Ce travail de recherche tente d'examiner le phénomène d'alternance codique présent dans l'interaction des enseignants d'Arabe, de l'Arabe Modern Standard vers une variété moyenne ou vers l'Arabe Algérien dans l'interaction en classe. Il tente d'analyser les raisons de ce comportement linguistique d'enseignants d'Arabe à Tlemcen. A l'aide de certains outils de recherche sociolinguistique, cette recherche démontre que l'ignorance du code, le sujet discuté, l'amélioration de la tâche d'assimilation des élèves et les attitudes sont pratiquement des facteurs responsables de ce comportement linguistique.

**Mots Clés:** La politique linguistique- la diglossie- l'alternance codique- l'ignorance de code- le sujet- les attitudes.

## Abstract:

This research work raises a thorny issue related to language in education policy in Algeria. It endeavours at unveiling linguistic behaviour of Middle school teachers within an Arabic session where MSA must be used as the solely medium of instruction. It attempts to explore the reasons that stand behind Arabic language teachers' switch towards a middle variety or AA. It takes Tlemcen middle school teachers as a case study. By means of a number of research tools, this sociolinguistic inquiry has hypothesized that three forms of Arabic appeared in actual classroom situations. Code unawareness, the topic discussed, the enhancement of pupils' assimilation task, as well as the attitudes are the determinant factors of teachers' switch.

**Key-words:** language policy-diglossia-cod switching-language unawareness-topic-pupils' assimilation-attitudes