

Algerian dialect, a sine qua non to learning standard Arabic

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Abstract

There is much concern regarding the linguistic distance between the home language and the school tongue of the Algerian pupil. However, this concern does not appear to filter down into in-service teacher training and so this apparent lack of training may result in a lack of awareness about representing bidialectalism within classroom displays. The paper aims to describe the various teaching activities observed during the Fall semester of 2020 in two different classrooms with two teachers (respectively T1 and T2). The intention is to show how the three learning areas that are covered in grade 1, namely, Numeracy, Literacy, and Life Skills are approached and taught daily in these classrooms with specific reference to the various language activities we observed. The participants included two teachers and students in a primary school named El Arbi-Etbessi situated in Tlemcen. Data was collected using the observation method and questionnaires. The results reveal that obligatory monolingualism causes educational problems for Algerian children and the government on different scales.

Keywords: Arabic; cognitive development; dialect; education; mother-tongue; MSA

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1. Introduction

In Arabic-speaking countries, it is common that pupils to learn how to use Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) while being taught with MSA as well. In Algeria, approximately, all school-aged pupils come from a language background other than MSA. They are highly performed in their first language, with cognitive and conceptual development appropriate to the first grade.

For all of these learners who are in MSA medium schools, MSA is both an aim and the medium of education; that is, they are not only learning MSA as a school curriculum subject and as a target language, but they are learning in it and through it as well. Without explicit support, however, these same learners may not be able to control the academic register even after five years in primary school (Azzoug, 2019). For while European or American learners are building on the foundations of their mother tongue to develop the registers associated with academic learning, Algerian or Arab learners in MSA medium schools are not. And ironically, the conversational fluency in MSA of many Algerian students serves to mask their real language needs. Therefore, we advocate the following hypothesis:

- In Algerian schools, MSA support is needed for at least three years far beyond the early period of arrival or the first years of schooling.
- To do so, we shall inquire about the kinds of knowledge that might be useful to investigate classroom second language development.

1.1. Background of study

1.1.1. Structure of weekly teaching activities

Regularly, a day would start with a revision of the previous day's work, either phonics or maths. For example, during my first observation session, T1 did the sound 'ط / طائفة' (T1: Obs 1: 11/12/19) and T2 revised the sound 'ا / الة' (T2: Obs 1: 12/12/19). During our second session, T1 went over the letter 'ka' explaining all the different sounds it makes, for example in: 'كلاب' / 'ك' / 'ك' / 'ك' / 'ك' and so on, and then explained that that day they were going to do the phonic sound 'ك ملك' (/ك/) at the end position) (T1: Obs 2: 27/1/20) and T2 went over the difference between the 'اولاد' and 'ولد' sound (T2: Obs 2: 18/1/20).

Both teachers' primary method of teaching a phonic sound is through words like those provided, which the learners first write out in their phonics books and then they learn the phonic sounds by heart. Later in the week, the teachers will give the learners a spelling test consisting predominantly of the words taught.

After revision, T1 and T2 set work for the whole class, normally maths cards or writing practice. While all the learners are working on their maths cards, the teachers select the different maths and reading groups and work with them separately. Group teaching for maths consists of various mathematics games and flashcards that focus on developing mental arithmetic. Group teaching for reading generally involves letting each learner read a section of the selected text aloud and then using flashcards with individual words, to develop word recognition skills. In T1's classroom, the learners occasionally critique each other, according to whether they paused at commas, raised their intonation at exclamations and generally read with varying tones (T1: Obs 2: 27/1/20). Both T1 and T2 sometimes take learners individually for reading at this point. On the whole, maths is done before the 'lunch' break at ten o'clock and reading and language are done after the break. The school day morning officially ends for grade 1 at 11:30. Afternoon program is interspersed with Religious Instruction lessons, language performance, and speaking skills.

Teachers occasionally organize different activities that relate to the syllabus in some way. For example, during my third observation session, the class made a kind of play performed by children in which they learn how they should deal with pets mainly dogs because of the 'k' sound they were learning at the time. Each learner performs his role and tries to narrate his experience with his favorite animal using of course MSA. (T2: Obs 3: 20/4/20).

1.1.2. Phonics

Both teachers follow a phonics approach, which is based on the sounds in MSA, to teach reading and spelling. The learners practice how to break down and build up words based on these sounds, which they then learned by heart. Both teachers introduce a new sound with a 'story' and use these stories to help the learners remember the sound and to learn to recognize and spell several words with that sound in them.

The 'story' method is used because, according to T1, it helps with sentence construction and gives the learners some practice with full stops, punctuation, and so on, while at the same time encouraging more creativity than just a list of words (T1: Obs 2: 27/4/10). What is interesting about these 'stories' is that often they have very little meaning as stories. Also, they are often not stories, but rather a group of sentences.

The other point worth noting is that often the vocabulary, style, and context used in the stories are very complex and strange for the learner. For example, the 'غزو الفضاء' story has an arduous style with 'قرصان الفضاء', 'مكوك', and 'المجرة'; 'كمبيوتر', 'المجرة' is very particular, something most children would be unfamiliar with; 'تبان' is a kind of short for kids no longer worn or very common and also have a strange feeling; 'كبسولة', 'دعسوقة', 'وصيدة' are also all words that are not commonly used in the Algerian community.

Generally, the 'stories' do not flow easily and often use words or portray concepts that most learners would not have encountered outside of the classroom. This could be a reason why T1 finds that the learners struggle with phonics (T1: (i)). The words through which the sounds are taught are perhaps far removed from anything these learners have experienced or are likely to experience.

As they are invented, these stories present an ideal opportunity for bidialectal to come through in the lesson content. They can still be written in MSA but involve more Algerian ideas and concepts, and should be discussed in Algerian Arabic (AA) which may make them easier to understand and learn at this fundamental stage in the learners' development.

1.1.3. Vocabulary skills

In T1's class, teaching vocabulary consists of three learning activities. Firstly, each learner has a small notebook, their personal 'dictionary', with vocabulary lists, assembled by T1, which they can refer to when trying to spell and explain certain words. Every time they ask T1 how to spell and what is the meaning of a word that is not on their lists, they take their 'dictionary' with them and T1 writes the word down for them. Secondly, each child has a seventeen-page activity book called "Dictionary Skills". The book consists of sections related to the alphabet, putting words in their functional order, finding words in the dictionary and the definitions of words, and each section is made up of appropriate activities (T1: Obs 4: 13/02/20).

In T2's classroom, the main vocabulary skills activity that we observed involves the activity book called "Dictionary Skills". T2 often relates the activities to a particular theme such as transport and the learners have to think of words related to transport that begin with various letters of the alphabet, for example, طائرة, سيارة, قطار, and so forth (T2: Obs 2: 18/02/20).

1.1.4. Grammar worksheets

In both classes, most of these activities involve language cards, similar to maths cards, and worksheets. gives a typical example of the language cards that the learners complete. This sample is for verbs, but there are also cards for nouns and adjectives (T1: Obs 4: 20/2/20). The learners also have worksheets that involve filling in the missing letters and full stops (T1: Obs 5: 14/2/20). Also, T1 and T2 occasionally use stories: for example, during my second observation session

T1 used a story titled "طريق السلامة", which was about riding a bicycle safely (T1: Obs 2: 27/02/20). He read the story aloud without any adjectives and then gave copies to the learners, who then had to fill in suitable adjectives for the nouns and the missing letters. During my fifth observation session in

T2's classroom, he used a story titled "صباح العيد". T2 also read the story aloud and then gave copies to the learners, who then had to add "ن & ل" and sometimes only "ل" to the words in the story to express duality in MSA. (T2: Obs 5:20/02/20).

1.1.5. Writing

In both classrooms, writing is not taught as such but rather practiced. All the learners can write and what we observed was practice. They are, however, learning the cursive style or small dashes in their possible positions but are not writing words or sentences in it yet. The learners are still at the letter stage and make patterns in their workbooks that look like the cursive letter.

For example, T1 instructed the learners on a new writing pattern: the cursive 'ب' and described it as 'small boxes without cover or a top' (T1: Obs 2: 27/3/20). 'Writing' in this way consists of the learners making a cursive pattern in their books and then practicing letters in the print style. So, for example, they would do a cursive pattern and then write "ب ب ب ب ب" and occasionally a sentence like "باب وراء الباب" across the line (T2: Obs 1: 4/3/20) or "ليلي في الدار" as practice (T1: Obs 2: 7/3/20).

As can be seen, there are numerous language activities that the learners participate in and whilst a number of them appear to purely involve grammar or language structure, there are still opportunities for teachers to make use of AA dialect to portray these concepts even though they need to concentrate on MSA.

1.1.6. Numeracy

Both teachers commented on the difficulties they experienced on a day-to-day basis in these environments. These related to the language difficulties that they experienced, the need to relate all their examples to relevant real-world contexts, the use of a variety of visual aids needed to allow access to the ideas, and the tension between what they perceived as "talking about mathematics in MSA" and precise mathematical language, for example, using "big" and "big up" for tall and taller, and the need to ensure that children had the opportunity to communicate in "proper mathematical language".

They perceived that teaching in these classrooms required a high use of oral language, hands-on experiences, a range of representations, and an ability to continually adapt and ease the way to the learner's access to mathematical concepts. The data reported in this study is one excerpt from the first-grade classroom and one short excerpt chosen from the second-grade classroom.

The first illustrates the use of different representations and contexts to assist learners solve a problem involving comparing the heights of two children, (T1: Obs 2: 10/3/20). and the second illustrates learners' and teachers' "codeswitching" as they engage in an activity involving calculating volumes of a variety of shapes made from blocks, (T2: Obs 2: 11/3/20).

1.1.7. Excerpt from the 1st Year Classroom

The expert was chosen as it demonstrates learners' and teachers' "codeswitching" as they interacted in the classroom context. The lesson began with a general discussion about what we mean by the term volume, how it differs from capacity, and the processes commonly used to calculate the volume of a three-dimensional cuboid. The learners were then split into six groups. The following excerpt is from a conversation between two pupils with the interference of teacher T1

C1: ما هاد معلم

What is this teacher?

C2: لعبة ما راکش تشوف

A game doesn't you see

T1: لانه شكل هندسي كالمربع والمستطيل

No, it is a geometrical shape as a square and rectangle.

C2: معلم فيما نستعمله:

Teacher, what do we do with it?

C1: نلعبوا بيه

We Play with

T1: اسمعوا جيدا هذا مكعب وله

Listen carefully, this is the cuboids and it has...

C1: اسم

What!

T1: انه مكعب وله حجم اللي عملناه في الدرس المادي

It is the cuboids and it has the capacity we did in the previous lesson.

C2: بيه معلم الحجم هو السعة

Yes, sir cuboids have a capacity

T1: احسبوا شحال عندو من ادلاع:

Count how many sides has it.

C1: عشرة نعم عشرة 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1

ثمانية بيه غيل ثمانية

Ten yes ten 1, 2,3,4,5,6,7,8 eight! Only eight.

This short extract illustrates a typical conversation that occurred in the classroom. As the learners worked and conversed with each other they use AA, but when it came to discussing mathematical concepts, they expressed their ideas using a language in which they continually switched between AA and MSA. It is conjectured that a possible reason for this is that their language lacks the specific vocabulary needed to describe these mathematical situations.

1.1.8. Reading

One of the purposes of reading is to expose learners to new, interesting, and exciting concepts existing in the world, in the early stages of schooling, it is also important to provide a platform for learners and this is most effectively achieved through familiar concepts and the representation of day-to-day events in an Algerian context. Mainly, these texts will now be briefly discussed to illustrate further how a language can be acquired and reinforced by reading. With regard to “غزو الفضاء” and “بدلة رجل الفضاء”

The first thing that caught our attention is the fact that it is very complex, as it is beyond the scope of knowledge of the Algerian child. The text consists of information, mostly about the man who first walks on the moon, reinforced with a picture and names of things overtly strange and seem bizarre to the young Algerian child.

In the second text “Portrait” the non-evident thing is that both the word “portrait” and the letter “p” do exist neither in MSA nor in AA. On the other hand, we notice that the majority of the stories like ‘في المتجر الكبير’ Gr 1 and ‘المحلات الكبرى’ Gr 2 are translated and are firmly rooted in a Western ideology.

Furthermore, some texts imply certain things about a typical family. A family should consist of a father, who paints patios and takes his son fishing, a mother, who wears an apron, helps the children get ready for school, and makes sure they have raincoats and umbrellas, a boy, who plays practical

jokes, and plays with a dog, and a girl, who wears pretty dresses, get excited about a new umbrella and has a cat. All of these assumptions are strongly reinforced in the pictures that illustrate the text. However, one can ask is it the type of an Algerian Muslim family?

The most interesting thing about these texts is that the vocabulary and stories are very clearly non-Algerian and contain many concepts and ideas that most Algerian learners would not be familiar with. Several factors contribute to the current situation. For example, there is a lack of suitable Algerian texts for grade 1, and 2 learners to use, also the process of replacing the entire books including style and content is a very time-consuming and expensive endeavor that involves more than simply buying a set of books and lastly, difficult decisions have to be made regarding which kind of books are eventually chosen and how they are distributed. These factors must be taken into consideration and it is important to realize that these teachers are doing a hard job under what must be challenging circumstances.

1.2. Purpose of study

The pedagogical aim of the current study offers an opportunity to integrate methods and domains of language teaching and get insights into the discourse of language classrooms. The description of classroom practices throughout the study combines the psycholinguistic processes of learning in a bidialectal setting. Given the complexities of teaching and learning in the classroom, this multidisciplinary perspective is especially relevant to a study that attempts to demonstrate how theory and practice in dual education can inform each other.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1. Participants

The first part of the research primarily focused on two primary teachers and their respective classrooms in a primary school named El Arbi-Etbessi situated in Tlemcen. The school is a government school managed by a leading body comprising parents, teachers, and non-teaching staff. The school's policy statement clearly states that they aim to develop the child as a whole; that the medium of instruction is MSA, although they do teach French (from Gr. 3). The two teachers are simply referred to as T1 and T2, for the sake of anonymity.

Both T1 and T2 were approached to take part in the study because I considered them gifted teachers, and because our already established collegial relationships meant that we would be at ease together in the classroom. Both teachers were aware that I was interested in the role of classroom discourse in MSA development and the role of spoken language in the development of the more context-reduced registers of school

Both classes of children were 9–10-year-olds in their fifth year of school, in T1's class there were 40 children, including two newly arrived children from Algiers (the capital). Typically, most children's MSA in face-to-face informal situations was quite good, but more linguistically demanding and literacy-related classroom activities were often challenging for them.

The data were collected in two classrooms throughout the unit of work discussed above. They were not collected simultaneously, which would have been logistically difficult in each of the parallel classes. As a result, the two sets of data were collected a year apart, in each case in the final term of the year, first in T1's class and then in T2's. This proved to have several advantages. It allowed for data-gathering techniques to be refined, for example, and it allowed for research themes emerging from the first set of data to be re-examined using the second set, and thus for the reflexive and emergent nature of this type of research to be taken into account.

In both classrooms data were collected during one complete unit of work or topic, numbering between seven and eleven lessons of approximately 45 to 50 minutes each. To gain as complete a picture of the classrooms as possible, a range of data sources was used. Even so, no data set, however rich, comes near to capturing what occurs in the life of the classroom. A thick data set

simply makes it easier to reconstruct something of what occurred, and a range of data types provides for some triangulation in interpretation.

2.2. Data collection instrument

Data was collected from the Primary School Teachers using a detailed Likert scale questionnaire. To keep the same vein of thought, below, we display the most important findings that result from the investigation handled with a group of primary school teachers a) to examine their opinions on the learners' use of AA in the classroom and whether or not this usage has any effects on learners' literacy acquisition i.e., linguistic performance, educational attainment, and psychological well-being. b) Examine teachers' views on the adequacy of AA as a linguistic system of communication and the factor that shaped their attitudes toward AA. c) Explore the role that teachers should play in language policy matters.

3. Results

Following the Likert scale Statements, the data and their analysis were reported below:

The completed parts of the questionnaire were tabulated and analyzed statistically. The questionnaire included 14 five-point Likert scale statements focusing on a) teachers' attitudes towards the use of AA by learners in class and b) teachers' linguistic behavior inside and outside class. The study has revealed several interesting findings:

a) Teachers consider it their duty to correct pupils when they use the dialect in class (more so in writing than in speaking). Because of repeated corrections, children are often made to feel, perhaps unintentionally, that their way of speaking is erroneous or impolite. This is evident in the fact that children appear to be uneasy when using their native code and gradually come to believe that this code is incorrect, unintelligent, and improper; in other words, they speak 'daridja' road-like talk.

b) Teachers appear to be less strict over the use of the dialect in class in certain domains such as when it is used for being humorous, or funny, or for complaining or chatting on everyday issues. On the other hand, teachers prefer to use AA when warning learners, as this is the code that represents officialdom and authority.

c) Teachers find the use of the dialect more appropriate when it serves such purposes as joking, advising a learner; using humorous expressions, and when they are to provide explanations for concepts that are difficult for children to understand.

d) While AA predominates in class, the vast majority of teachers confess that they often use AA with colleagues outside the classroom. Feelings and intentions are normally perceived as more sincere and honest when expressed in dialect. On the other hand, the use of the standard form immediately establishes a certain distance between speakers. Overall, these results suggest implications and some influence on literacy. When teachers hold negative attitudes toward the dialect, they certainly create an unfavorable environment that restrains learners from expressing themselves freely in their native code, especially those who feel much more comfortable in the mother tongue (Zhong, Muyunda & Cheng, 2021; Ritonga et al., 2022). This unfriendly environment consequently affects learners' communicative abilities since it discourages them from speaking and practicing their language skills freely, and from participating in unrestricted activities that are active and creative (Byambadorj et al., 2021). Such mental hindrance is logically not conducive to the enhancement of literacy nor is it a very effective method.

The results reported in this study are represented in three different sections. For statistical purposes, the responses for "strongly agree" and "agree" for all parts of the questionnaire are presented as combined values labeled "agree", and both "strongly disagree" and "disagree" are labeled "disagree". The value "uncertain" remains unchanged.

3.1. Teachers' evaluation of learners' use of AA in class

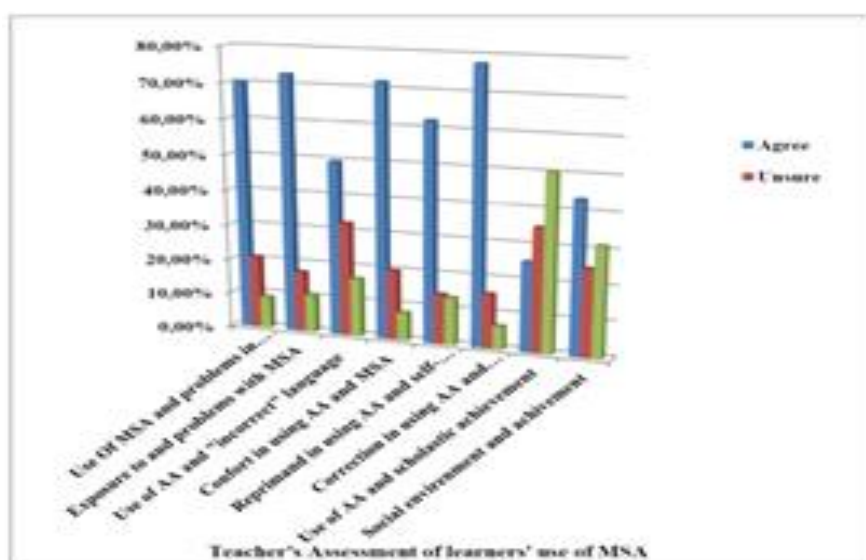
The first part of the questionnaire examines the teachers' opinions on the learners' use of AA and how this usage affects learners' literacy acquisition. Graph 1 shows the teachers' opinions on eight issues related to the effects of AA usage on the mastery and use of AA, how correcting and reprimanding learners' AA usage affects their self-confidence, and finally, whether users' place of residence (rural vs. urban) and family environment have any adverse effects on school achievement.

As can be seen from Figure 1, the majority of teachers 75,8% agree that the learners feel discouraged when repeatedly corrected for using AA in class and 73,7% agree that learners who do not attend the pre-schooling year encounter far more serious problems when expressing themselves than learners who underwent pre-schooling. Furthermore, a large number of teachers 71, 7 % acknowledge that learners feel much more comfortable when using AA rather than MSA in class and 69,9% agree that these learners encounter serious problems when expressing themselves exclusively in MSA. 64, 4 % concur that learners' self-confidence is negatively affected when reprimanded for using AA in class. On the other hand, almost half of the teachers 49, 2 % disagree that when learners express themselves in AA, they are considered to be using unsophisticated and unrefined language. Furthermore, 39, 4 % of the teachers disagree that the encouragement of AA usage in class and another 30, 8% in the family environment leads to lower levels of scholastic achievement.

In short, a global look at the results of the figure (1) reveals that teachers a) recognize the detrimental effects that repeated corrections have on learners' linguistic behavior and b) are also aware that the learners' place of residence plays a major role in mastering a standard language. In addition, c) teachers appear to be familiar with the fact that learners experience difficulties in expressing themselves in MSA, that they feel much more comfortable when using AA, and that their self-confidence is affected by reprehension for using it in class. However, d) teachers do not seem to concede that AA is an unsophisticated language. e) teachers do not accept the idea that the use of AA in class and with family members adversely affects learners' scholastic achievement. Consider the following figure:

Figure 1

Teacher's assessment of learners of MSA



If a wider definition of literacy is adopted, that is, one goes beyond the ability to read and write and includes a person's capability of accessing and using information, the results of this section imply that the learners' literacy abilities are not up to standard because they are evaluated, by teachers and by the educational system itself, according to the linguistic standards of MSA and not AA. If learners were allowed to express themselves in whatever code they felt most comfortable in, and without the fear

of being repeatedly reprimanded, they would most likely have much more to say and would do it in a more heartfelt way (Kang, Matthews, Yip & Wong, 2021). Their verbal abilities would consequently be judged to be more elaborated, in Labov's terms.

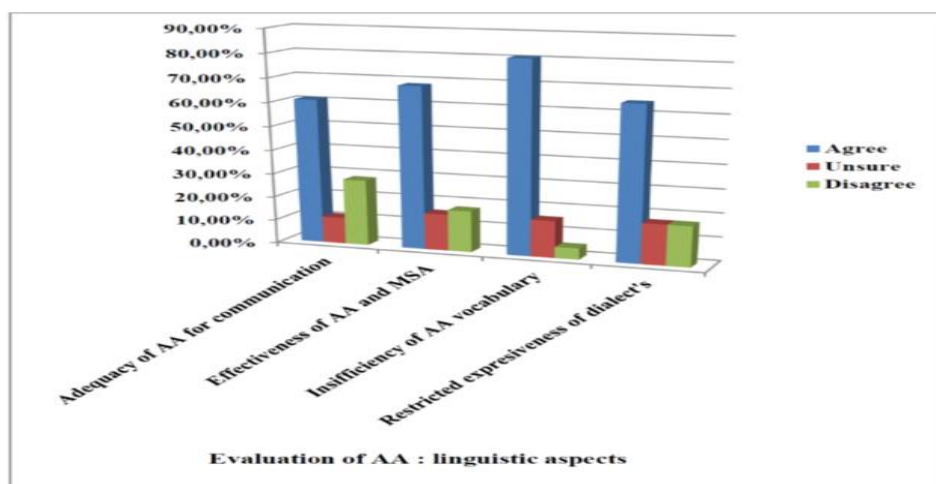
3.2. Teachers' evaluation of and attitudes toward AA

The second part of the questionnaire investigates teachers' opinions and attitudes toward AA. The results are shown in Figure 2, which also includes the results of teachers' opinions on the adequacy of AA as a linguistic system compared to MSA.

Figure (2) shows that 68,1% of the teachers believe that AA is equally effective as MSA as a means of communication and almost equal number 65,7% consider AA to be an autonomous and fully-fledged system of communication. The number of teachers who disagree on the two issues is rather low 17,4% and 21,3% respectively; even so, this result does show that almost a third of the teachers surveyed do question the dialect's status as a fully-fledged language. In addition, 64, 8% of the teachers disagree that AA is less expressive than MSA and more than half 56,9% do not admit that the lexicon of AA is limited and insufficient for accurate, effective, and thorough communication. However, once again, it cannot be ignored that a third of the teachers do have reservations about the dialect's potential to meet speakers' expressive needs and to provide them with the requisite vocabulary for thorough communication.

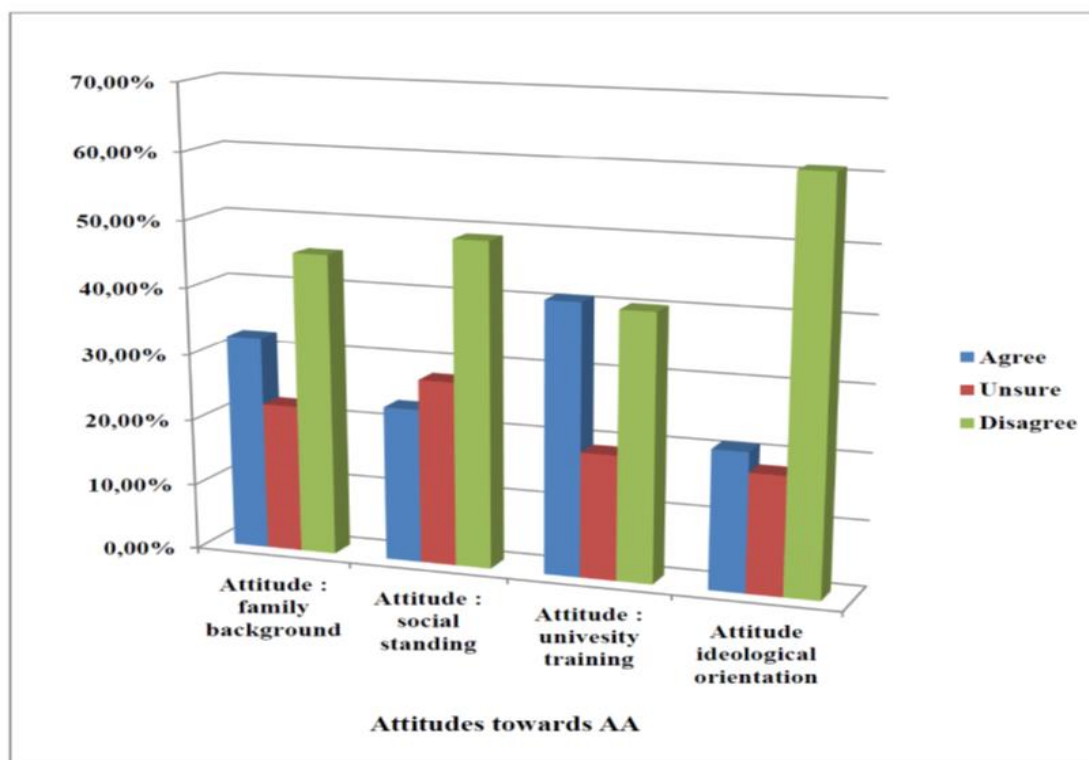
Since teachers do not question the dialect's effectiveness as a means of communication and further admit that it is not less expressive than MSA, it is difficult to understand why in the political sphere the issue of languages in instruction is not problematic. It becomes obvious that language policies and issues on literacy tend to be considered and judged on a more political and ideological basis than linguistic ones.

Figure 2
Evaluation of AA



As can be seen in Figure (3), a large number of teachers 60, 9% do not agree that their attitudes towards the use of AA in class are directly related to their ideological orientation. About half of the teachers 48, 9% reject the suggestion that their social standing and 45,4% that their family background has shaped their attitudes towards the use of AA in class. More evenly balanced, 40, 9% of teachers agree and 40,2% disagree that their attitudes towards the use of AA in class are directly related to the training they received as university students. From these results, it can be deduced that teachers' ideological orientation, social standing, or family background may not play a direct role in the shaping of their attitudes towards the use of AA in class but it seems possible that their training may have had some bearing on their attitudes. The training impact result is rather unsurprising since teachers are trained to use MSA and are also expected to impart feelings of patriotism and national pride for Arabs and Islam through this medium.

Figure 3
Attitude towards AA

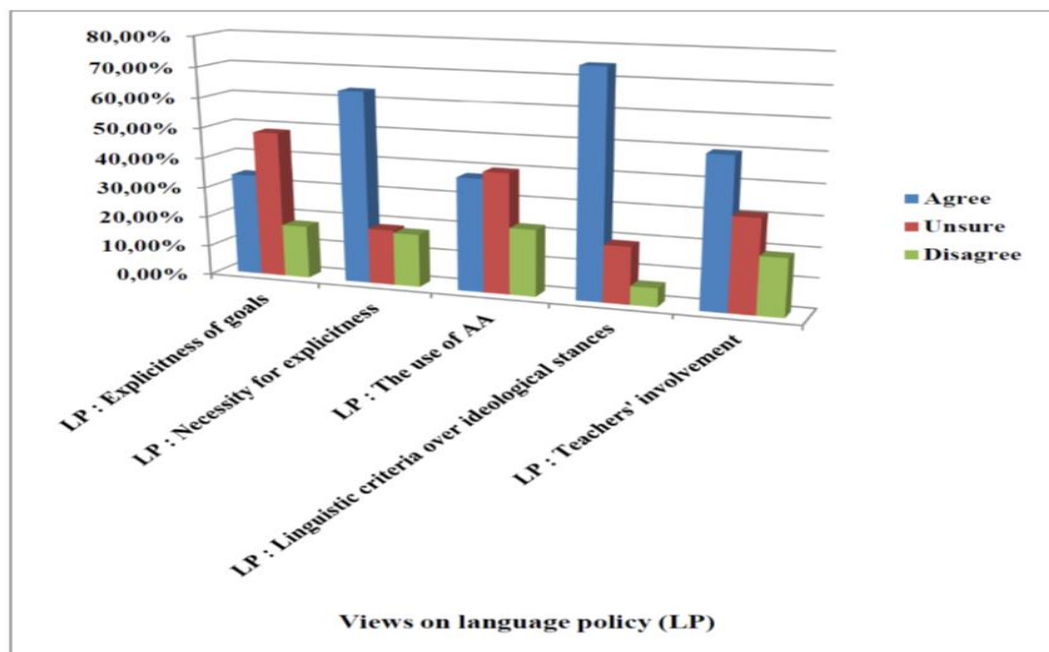


3.3. Teachers' views on identity and language policy matters

The third part of the questionnaire focuses on teachers' understanding of the relationship between MSA or AA use and identity, as well as their views on language policy matters. The results reveal teachers' opinions on the impact of dialect use on local culture and identity (Gómez-Parra, 2020). It shows that three out of four teachers 73,5% agree that the use of dialect contributes to the enrichment of the local culture. A little over half of the teachers 55,4% believe that the encouragement of AA in class leads to the reinforcement of Arab identity, and a much greater number 72,5% reject the idea that promoting the Algerian identity through dialect use may distance Algerians from a broader Arab Islamic identity. From the results, one may conclude, therefore, that teachers are very much aware of the valuable effects that dialect in enriching local culture and in fostering an Algerian identity and that they do not believe that the advancement of Algerian identity would isolate Algerians from the broader Arab identity. Since it is well known that language and identity are mutually influential (Singh & Jack, 2022), it is not unreasonable then, to conclude that language planning is currently having an effect on language identity in Algeria. If people want to influence identity, (Pool, 1979) suggests, they might "consider language planning as a means to do so".

Figure (4) shows that three out of four teachers 74,7 % declare that a language policy should be based on linguistic criteria rather than on ideological considerations. Also, a large number of teachers 63, 6% believe that the language variety to be used for instruction should be explicitly stated in future language policies. On the other hand, only 37, 7% of the teachers agree that the language of instruction should be the learners' mother tongue; that is, the Algerian dialect, while 40 % of the teachers are unsure about the issue, and 22, 3% disagree. Finally, only 39, 8% believe that teachers should be consulted in choosing the language variety to be used for classroom instruction, whereas 31, 3% are unsure about this issue, and 19,1% disagree.

Figure 4
Views of language policy



It is even from the results shown in Figure (4) that teachers are very much against the use of ideological criteria in the development of future language policies. On the other hand, teachers do not take a clear stand on the use or non-use of the dialect as a medium of instruction nor do they appear to be strongly in favor of actively taking part in selecting the language variety to be used in education.

4. Discussion

Our primary school teachers about their linguistic feeling, qualified their everyday language as bastard, insufficient, or deficient and not unified. The majority of these teachers are ready to put aside AA based on its consideration as a non-rule governed variety whose taking into account is not necessary. When Algerian Arabic is rejected, this is done following grounds that AA has linguistic deficiencies, this variety is not a language but a dialect, and further, it has no written form. It seems that even if the value of AA is recognized as the variety switched to most of the time (observation....) and its influence apparent, the teachers are rather reserved as to attributing it some role in teaching and learning MSA. This will dismiss AA from playing some role inside the classroom and may well go against what Tsui (1995:90) appeals for. That is, language teachers should attempt to create a relaxing atmosphere in which students feel comfortable trying out the target language (Lam, 2020). We may suggest that the involvement of the pupil's mother tongue in the process of interaction inside the classroom is a valuable outcome in reducing the uneasiness settled on the pupils who are expected to be able to master and converse in the target language (Phillips Galloway, Uccelli, Aguilar & Barr, 2020). Thus, in our case, the teachers' recourse to AA will contribute, to a large measure, to the creation of a rather comfortable non-threatening classroom atmosphere.

It is important to notice that even if the teachers refuse to consider the relevance of AA to MSA teaching, they continuously involve this variety through their switching to it. The fact that code-switching to AA is generally recognized and accepted. In some instances, its occurrence is justified. The teachers' explicit recognition of their code-switching to AA within the classroom suggests the influence that AA has on their language use to the extent of making them use it most of the time unconsciously (observation). The rather positive attitudes towards this process, translated in the slight indecision of the teachers about the problematic aspect of code-switching may imply a change in these teachers' view of AA. This announces an emerging tendency towards the acceptance of this state of affairs as a fact that cannot be denied.

The teachers' patterns of language use are specifically characterized. It is worth noticing that the teachers recognized the emergence of an interlanguage between MSA and AA. This confirms the teachers' awareness of their code-switching. As such, the outcome of code-switching occurrence will affect many aspects of the classroom situation. Tsui (1995:7) notices that several studies in first-language classrooms have demonstrated that the kind of language used by the teachers has an impact on the language produced by the learners, and thus the interaction that will take place. The frequent occurrence of code-switching in the teachers' talk may lead to the learnability of code-switching and the persistence of its use. This suggests the long-term effects of the occurrence of code-switching in the teachers' speech.

We suggest that the teachers' will to regulate or control the pupils' language behavior or not is influenced in turn by their awareness of the general linguistic habitus of the pupils (Gee, 2012). For instance, the use of AA in their peer interactions inside the classroom and in addressing their teachers outside the classroom. As such, the teachers do not allow the use of AA in the classroom in an attempt to reduce its influence and omnipresence in the pupils' language behavior (Ramdani, 2015).

The teachers, very apparently, do not allow the pupils' use of AA in the classroom in parallel with their insistence on the exclusive use of MSA. This appears to be motivated by norms of linguistic appropriateness. As such when the teachers take account of the inappropriateness of using AA within the classroom, they express indirectly a sort of stigmatization vis-à-vis this variety. Indeed, actions such as demanding the pupils to replace their first language with that of the target language in the classroom are performed mainly in an attempt to distinguish the classroom setting from other types of settings where AA use constitutes a salient feature. The teachers aim at achieving a dual target, namely to reduce the pupils' use of AA and, in parallel, fix a unique occasion of MSA use i.e., the classroom.

5. Conclusion

The results reveal that obligatory monolingualism causes educational problems for Algerian children and the government on different scales. Related educational problems are concerned with the difficulties that AA-speaking school-aged children have in learning to read and write MSA, the standard. Not only do they have to learn the mechanics of reading and writing, but they also have to learn the language (MSA). Therefore, dialectal differences constitute an educational problem. Following our research questions: should we continue to teach and reward the use of MSA in schools, and attempt to solve the difficulties caused by AA as best we can? Or should we allow children to speak and write those grammatical forms which come most naturally to them and thereby give importance to AA to elevate the MSA? As a result, the most traditional approach (the elimination of AA: compensatory program), argues that non-standard dialects are incorrect or bad and that the best way to solve the dialect conflict is simply to eliminate them, implying that children suffer just because they do not speak the standard, is a negative approach psychologically, socially and practically.

Firstly, it is wrong psychologically because language is not only a means of communication but also a symbol of identity "To suggest to a child that his/her language is inferior in some way is to imply that he/she is inferior, which, in turn, is likely to lead either to alienation from the school and school values or to rejection by the group to which he/she belongs." (Trudgill1983:74) and even to produce linguistic insecurity in children. Secondly, it is socially wrong because it can lead to the social stigmatization of non-standard language, leaving an incorrect or inferior variety. Finally, it is wrong practically because it can never work; nobody wants to change his or her native variety because communicative advantages are not gained

In the same way, as in multilingual contexts, bidialectal programs have been applied in education in Great Britain. These recognize the linguistic validity and correctness of both standard and non-standard dialects and treat the two as separate varieties with a definite social function assigned to each. In some ways, Algeria and the Arab world as a whole are diglossic situations where speakers can use the mechanism of code-switching, and in turn, respect for the speakers' feelings regarding their

native language is shown. The most recent program aiming for the eradication of prejudices and an appreciation of dialect differences is based on the concept that the solution is not to change the language but the language attitudes. What has to be done is to help the Algerian child so they can read standard Arabic. And what is more important, is to educate our society to an understanding, appreciation, and tolerance of the Algerian dialect as a complex valid, and adequate linguistic system. The university students that partially represent public opinion confess that the best solution to the problem at stake is undoubtedly, combining the two last approaches: bidialectalism and dialect appreciation of dialect differences. That is, teaching the standard (MSA) in schools using the bidialectal method, and at the same time, cultivating dialect tolerance, would probably be simpler than changing the linguistic habits of the majority of the population.

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