https://theses.gla.ac.uk/

Theses Digitisation:

https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/research/enlighten/theses/digitisation/

This is a digitised version of the original print thesis.

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses
https://theses.gla.ac.uk/
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF LEARNING: ATTITUDINAL PATTERNS AND IMPLICATIONS

(A CASE STUDY OF MOROCCAN DIGLOSSIA)

ABDELFATTAH BOUSSALHI

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

FACULTY OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

MAY, 1991

(c) ABDELFATTAH BOUSSALHI 1991

ProQuest Number: 10984114

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

ProQuest 10984114

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to my supervisors, Professor J. N. Mattock and Mr. J. M. Y. Simpson, for their guidance, assistance, and encouragement.

I am also grateful to the University of Glasgow for their financial assistance in the first three years of my stay in Glasgow.

I would like also to thank all friends, students, and teachers, who helped me during my data collection in Morocco. The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the great deal of help I have received from friends and family both in the U.K. and Morocco.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements....................................ii
Table of Contents...................................iii
List of Tables and Figures..........................vi
Transcription Symbols and Abbreviations.............viii
Abstract..ix

Introduction..1

Chapter One: Linguistic Diversity and Educational Issues

1.1 Competence, communicative competence, and variability...............................16
1.2 Linguistic diversity and education..............21
1.2.1 Bernstein's codes.............................21
1.2.2 Verbal deprivation vs. difference issue........24
1.2.3 Attitudes towards linguistic diversity and their educational implications.............29
1.2.3.1 Attitudes towards dialects..................29
1.2.3.2 Teachers' attitudes towards linguistic diversity....................................36
1.2.4 The educational approaches to linguistic diversity....................................39
1.3 Vernacular education............................44
1.3.1 Role of language..............................47
1.4 Language planning...............................55

Chapter Two: Diglossia, General and Arabic

2.1 Diglossic variation.............................59
2.1.1 Diglossia and bilingualism....................60
2.1.2 Diglossic terminology.........................64
2.1.3 Diglossia and standard-with-dialects...........67
2.2 Pedagogical implications........................71
2.3 Selection of norm within diglossia..............75
2.4 Variation in Arabic.............................79
2.4.1 Definition....................................79
2.4.2 Attitudinal component.........................93
2.5 Diachronic considerations.......................101

Chapter Three: Background policy and linguistic trends

3.1 Arabic in Moroccan education....................108
3.1.1 The school system.............................109
3.1.2 Language policy...............................110
3.2 Arabisation.....................................116

3.3 Arabic linguistics: scope and trends.............125
3.3.1 Conceptual and analytical problems.............128

Chapter Four: Data analysis: students' attitudes.....135

4.1 Rationale.......................................137
4.2 Composition of informants.......................138
4.3 Perception-awareness of diglossia...............141
4.4 Aspects of attitudes to CA and MA...............144
4.5 Self-assessment of exposure to and
competence in CA................................153
4.6 Stability of diglossic attitudes................156
4.7 Discussion......................................160
4.7.1 MA as an academic subject.....................161
4.7.2 The position of MA and CA in the
diglossic reasoning.........................163
4.7.2.1 CA as the problem-language..................165
4.7.2.2 MA as the problem-language..................166
4.7.3 Diglossic problems: nature and extent.........167
4.7.3.1 Institutional-personal aspect of
diglossic problems......................168
4.7.3.2 Interpersonal aspect of diglossic
problems................................170
4.7.3.3 Incompatibility of cultural input............172
4.7.3.4 Linguistic competence vs.
allegiance paradox......................174
4.7.4 Attitudinal evaluation of MA..................179
4.7.4.1 Interchangeability of the evaluation
of the L competence and functions.......183
4.7.4.2 Evaluation of the use of MA in
literature...............................186
4.7.4.3 Evaluation of interference from MA..........193
4.7.5 Self-evaluation of performance in CA..........198
4.7.6 Attitudinal potential of ESA..................203

**Chapter Five: Teachers' attitudes: data analysis
and comparison**.........................209

5.1 Distribution of the sample......................211
5.2 Teachers' perception-awareness
of diglossia....................................214
5.3 Aspects of teachers' attitudes
to MA in education..............................217
5.4 Teachers' attitudes to MA
outside education...............................222
5.5 Discussion......................................228
5.5.1 Mismatch between the school medium
and the larger social medium..................232
5.5.1.1 The indispensability of the
larger social medium....................232
5.5.1.2 The attitude to MA as an
educational medium......................234
5.5.1.3 Teachers' attitudes to
children's use of MA....................237
5.6 The general pattern of attitudes
towards MA and CA: Comparison of

teachers' and students' attitudes................243

Chapter Six: The Diglossic Curriculum................251

6.1 Sociolinguistic considerations of the curriculum................253
6.2 Aspects of the diglossic curriculum................258
6.2.1 The curriculum as implementation of the H tradition................259
6.2.2 The effect of the H model on the selection process................262
6.2.3 H tradition and prescriptivism................266
6.3 CA curriculum................271
6.3.1 Linguistic features of reading texts................273
6.3.1.1 Grammatical discipline................274
6.3.1.2 Lexical features................277
6.3.1.3 Examples of viable lexical expansion................279
6.3.1.4 Arabised lexical items................280
6.3.1.5 Non-functional CA lexical `alternants'................281
6.3.1.6 CA paraphrased `alternants'................282
6.3.1.7 CA lexicon of natural environment................283
6.3.1.8 Use of obsolete lexicon................284
6.3.1.9 Unnatural dialogue................285
6.3.1.10 Lexical exercises................287
6.3.2 CA across the curriculum................290
6.3.2.1 General language substitution and justifiable science nomenclature................292
6.3.2.2 CA prescriptivism and elementary science teaching................293
6.3.2.3 Instructions, observations, experiments and questions in elementary science teaching................295

Chapter Seven: Diglossic Composition................301

7.1 L-related `errors' within diglossia................304
7.2 Primary `errors'................308
7.2.1 Spelling `errors'................309
7.2.2 Syntactical `errors'................311
7.2.3 Lexical `errors'................314
7.2.4 Stylistic `errors'................316
7.2.5 Restrictions on pupils' contributions................317
7.3 Implications of MA-related `errors'................318
7.4 Continuity of restrictions on students' contributions................323

Summary and Conclusions................336

Appendix................346

Bibliography................350

List of Tables and Figures

Fig 2.1 Language agenda in Morocco 80

Fig 2.2 Relativity of ESA(s) and CA(s) to Arabic vernaculars....................93

Table 3.1 Distribution of subjects in third grade, primary school............113

Fig 4.1 Diglossia-related language issues..................................141-42

Fig 4.2 Situational appropriateness of CA, MA, and ESA.........................148-49

Fig 4.3 Situational appropriateness of CA and MA...............................150-51

Fig 4.4 Frequency of opportunities to use CA.......................................152-53

Fig 4.5 Self-report on fluency in CA.............153-54

Fig 4.6 Linguistic classification of difficulties in writing or speaking CA..............................154-55

Fig 4.7 Types of additional references (made by students).......................158-59

Fig 5.1 Types of references to diglossic problems (teachers).......................214-15

Fig 5.2 Frequency of teachers' use of MA in explanations..........................217-18

Fig 5.3 Teachers' classification of the linguistic difficulties of their pupils..................................218-19

Fig 5.4 Situational appropriateness of CA, ESA, and MA (teachers)...................223-24

Fig 5.5 Situational appropriateness of CA and MA (teachers)........................224-25

Fig 5.6 1st set of situations: comparison of students' and teachers' responses........245-46

Fig 5.7 2nd set of situations: comparison of students' and teachers' responses........246-47

Fig 6.1 Affiliated linguistic and peadgogical constraints of the H tradition...........263

Table 7.1 Summary of some of the linguistic aspects of MA-related `errors'.........315

Fig 7.1 Hypothetical interrelations between MA and CA features........................320

Fig 7.2 Count of non-original composition units...................................325-26

Transcription Symbols and Abbreviations

th	voiceless interdental fricative
dh	voiced interdental fricative
DH	voiced emphatic interdental fricative
t	voiceless dental plosive
T	voiceless emphatic dental plosive
d	voiced dental plosive
D	voiced emphatic dental plosive
sh	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
s	voiceless dental fricative
S	voiceless emphatic dental fricative
z	voiced dental fricative
j	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
g	voiced velar plosive
x	voiceless velar fricative
gh	voiced velar fricative
q	voiceless uvular plosive
H	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
9	voiced pharyngeal fricative
'	glottal stop
h	voiced glottal fricative
-:	long vowel

Abbreviations:

CA: Classical Arabic
MA: Moroccan Arabic
ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic
H : High diglossic variety
L : Low diglossic variety

ABSTRACT

The present dissertation is a study of the attitudinal patterns and educational implications particular to the diglossic relationship between MA and CA. This relationship is characterised by the sole implementation of CA and the exclusion of MA from the formal learning process. This is particularly significant if we consider that only MA is a naturally acquired language.

The first chapter is a review of the relevant aspects of sociolinguistic literature on the relationships between standard and nonstandard languages, and the treatment of linguistic diversity in general. The discussion centres around the importance of the notion of communicative competence, the different hypotheses on the social stratification of language, and the interpretation of linguistic differences. Other studies which are covered are those of attitudes towards languages and the particular impact of these on teachers and educational achievement, those of vernaculars, and, very briefly, those of language planning.

The second chapter discusses the various facets of general diglossic research, and particularly the distinctiveness of diglossia from other instances of linguistic relatedness and functional distribution. The second part of this chapter focuses on the particular situation of Arabic diglossia. Particular emphasis is

placed on the attitudinal component of Arabic variation. The arguments of this chapter include those concerning the relativity of ESA to Arabic vernaculars, and those concerning the linguistic, historical, communicative, and national status of Arabic vernaculars.

The third chapter briefly describes the Moroccan educational system, and outlines its language policy. The nature of traditional Arabic linguistic studies is also discussed and compared to that of modern theories on language. The arguments include those concerning the relativity of CA studies to early Arabic grammatical tradition.

The fourth and fifth chapters are a study of attitudes towards MA and CA, on the basis of data obtained from the results of two questionnaires: one addressed to students and the other to teachers. The two chapters include a description of the results and their interpretation. These two chapters draw conclusions as to the nature of attitudinal patterns to MA-CA diglossia.

The sixth and seventh chapters look at two complementary types of data, namely educational material and students' compositions. The first of these chapters examines the realisations of the bias inherent in the diglossic functional distribution in the different textbooks, and how these textbooks reflect the sociolinguistic realities outside the classroom. The second of these chapters is a study of the limitations of writing in the `high' diglossic variety (CA). A distinction is drawn between MA-related `errors' and

general errors in writing, and a tentative description and interpretation of the former is introduced.

Introduction

Studies of Arabic diglossia -- especially those conducted by native speakers of Arabic -- tend to skip over aspects of the educational potential of Arabic vernaculars. There is already an implicit challenge in the linguistic and descriptive sociolinguistic studies of these vernaculars. These studies, by concerning themselves with the phonological, syntactical features, or the functional and social variation of the various Arabic vernaculars, have (at least in the academic circles) asserted the `studiability' of Arabic vernaculars as well as built up a much needed literature. Although such literature is still marginal, it has broken the long-standing tradition of ignoring these vernaculars and the equally deep-rooted myth of their 'ungrammaticality'. CA, however, still exercises an intimidating influence on native scholars, particularly in the extent to which they are prepared to go in their analyses and interpretations.

There is a reluctance in native literature to go beyond a certain threshold in the study of vernaculars. Although the advance of general linguistics and interdisciplinary

linguistics has convinced Arabic- speaking students of the legitimacy of so-called colloquial Arabic, the implications and interpretation of such information are more cautiously approached. There are still doubts as to whether the Arabic vernaculars can be treated on a generally equal basis with CA. The factors underlying this reservation are complex, encompassing the historical and political changes which have affected the Arabic-speaking countries. Most recent of these is the role assigned to CA as a measure of political and cultural independence in the aftermath of the departure of the colonial powers. Arabisation was incorporated (with variable degrees of eagerness and urgency) in the development plans of the independent governments. The process of Arabisation was both to be an educational and scientific exercise and a revival of the Arab identity and its heritage. Consequently, the linguistic debate has become solely identified with CA. Reference to the vernaculars became synonymous with subservience to colonial or western ideas in general. The vernaculars have been party to the debate only as instances of 'interference' with the Arabisation plans.

Sociolinguistic studies in Morocco have been mostly interested in French-CA bilingualism. Studies of MA have been of a general linguistic nature. Other linguistic studies have been `experimenting' with the application of modern linguistic theories to CA. Outside this group of modern linguistics students, there has been the predominant traditionalist view of language and grammar.

These views have dominated most of the official and educational thinking. These views are also entrenched in the popular perception of CA and MA.

Such an atmosphere has tended to affect the direction of research projects. There is, first, the overwhelming nature of the `counter-linguistic' view. In any speech community, it is generally the case that the argument of the equality of all linguistic varieties is received with `a pinch of salt'. As Mackey (1978:7) put it, "only before God and the linguist are all languages equal." In the case of CA and the Arabic vernaculars, one would have even a harder time to `sell' the vernaculars as being equally valid linguistically. The conflict between the theoretical and popular views does not only apply to the average person but also to the researcher himself/herself. The conflict is also partly caused by the isolation of the linguistic and sociolinguistic research from the mainstream linguistic and educational thinking. It is not clear what role research on MA can play in the current linguistic situation. There is an element of futility surrounding such undertakings. Some Arabic-speaking linguists feel the need to justify their study of a particular vernacular in terms of its benefits to CA. The study of vernaculars in their own right carries with it a suspicion of disloyalty to the legacy and tradition of CA. The suspicion is not helped by the fact that most of the research by native students is conducted abroad.

Parallel to this is the underestimation of the difficulties which result from the sole use of CA and

implementation of traditionalist views on language and grammar in education. The teaching of basic literacy skills has been interchangeable with that of learning CA. The linguistic gap between home and school and the transition from MA to CA has never been viewed as an educational issue. On the other hand, MA is treated as a problem interfering with learning CA. It is this last aspect that is, sometimes, understood to be a diglossic problem. The official educational policies have always been in favour of the eradication of MA. The assumption is that problems in initial literacy are due to the fact that pupils speak the wrong language at home. How the differences between MA and CA affect learning and educational achievement are therefore irrelevant. The mismatch between the language of school and that of the home (and the nature of the former), and its costs to learning and language development represents a neglected area of Arabic sociolinguistic research.

Ferguson's definition of diglossia has been essential as well as a major reference point in the sociolinguistic debate on Arabic variation. Although his two-varieties description has been constantly criticised, his key concepts are what still constitute most redefined diglossias. It is these concepts which have underlined most sociolinguistic studies on Arabic, and which have provided the impetus for this research. It is particularly the differences in acquisition between what is traditionally termed colloquial Arabic and CA, and in

their assigned functions, which have led to the questioning of the educational status quo.

Similarly, there has been a growing sociolinguistic interest in vernacular studies. The notion of linguistic equality and the study of social variation have been seen as being of relevance to some educational issues, particularly to the ways in which social stratification of dialects/languages relates to the mediums of instruction. Studies such as these encompass those on Black English Vernacular, social dialects in Britain, vernaculars, minority languages, and creoles. Some of these studies have looked at the discrepancies in educational achievement among speakers of nonstandard linguistic varieties in terms of the non-acceptance of these varieties at school rather than in terms of the latter being deficient in any way. Many sociolinguists have argued for the incorporation of non-standard varieties/languages in education and/or a change in the attitudes towards these varieties and the educational potential of their speakers.

The use of vernaculars in education has long been advocated by Unesco. It is believed that the child will benefit more if he or she receive their education in their mother tongues. It is also thought that speakers of nonstandard dialects/languages experience more learning difficulties at school than their counterpart speakers of standard dialects/languages. Teachers' attitudes are also seen as having an impact on their pupils' educational achievement. These arguments constitute most of the

sociolinguistic literature on educational issues, and are the main impetus for the undertaking of the present research.

Arabic vernaculars, on the other hand, are rarely considered in the light of the literature on social variation and education. Yet, differences between the Arabic vernaculars and CA are more substantial than those which obtain between social dialects and their standard counterparts. Arabic vernaculars do not constitute the problems of minority languages either. Each Arabic-speaking country has its distinctive vernacular, which is generally 'homogeneous'[1]. This means that the linguistic conflict within each country is not a socially based one. The standard language is not associated with a particular region or social group; it is alien to the whole of the country. The educational implementation of MA, for example, would not socially disadvantage any segment of the community[2].

Most important of all, however, are the notions of linguistic competence and communicative competence, which have the most bearing on the question of the use of CA as the medium of instruction and exclusion of MA from that role. Generative grammars have been predominantly concerned with the "speaker-hearer's" intuitive linguistic knowledge. Grammatical well-formedness is therefore related to this knowledge and not to the traditional

---

[1] Bearing in mind that languages are never homogeneous in the strictest sense of the term.
[2] Although such implementation would be unpopular for other reasons.

prescriptive rules. The implications of this for the Arabic diglossic situation is that, from the point of view of theoretical linguistics, it is possible to describe the grammar of each individual vernacular; this would not, however, be possible with regard to CA. What is considered grammatical in CA is based on early notions of grammar. The sociolinguistic dimension of this intuitive grammar -- namely communicative competence -- widens further the gap between the linguistic foundations of CA and modern linguistic/sociolinguistic trends. CA cannot be strictly described within the framework of theoretical linguistics, nor can one appropriately talk of communicative competence in CA. One can refer to the speaker of a particular Arabic vernacular, but not to the speaker of CA.

If progress in education can be partly linked to development in linguistic thinking, the notions of competence and communicative competence are particularly of significance to formal learning and teaching. Language is an integral part of the educational process, and the success of the latter can only benefit from a better understanding of language. Within the CA tradition, language learning is narrowed down to rote learning, and language is a set of rules which have been decided by the grammarians. The grammaticality of CA rules is based on the formulations of seventh and eighth century grammarians. These formulations represent the criteria and reference point for contemporary grammar manuals. In this way, the spoken language and language usage have not

been part of the considerations of the CA grammarians. In education, there are limitations as to what the pupil can achieve in a language in which he or she are not linguistically or communicatively competent.

By the time children start school, they are already competent in MA (or Tamazight). The total disregard of this knowledge and the pursuit of linguistic replacement curricula restrict the pupils in what they can bring to the learning process. This can affect both the teaching of literacy skills and classroom interaction. The eradication of Arabic vernaculars in education cannot be justified in linguistic or in educational terms. The fact that one can talk of linguistic or communicative competence in Arabic vernaculars but not in CA leads to the questioning of the validity of CA-medium instruction.

One, however, is also dealing with strongly-held beliefs about language. Stereotypes and prejudices form an important part of our perception of language. Nonstandard dialects and languages are commonly seen as `corrupt' and `vulgar'. The study of attitudes towards languages is an important part of sociolinguistic research. These studies have rather an illuminating role to play in the dispelling of the `inherently better' view of some languages. They can particularly have a bearing on teachers' attitudes towards nonstandard dialects and languages. Within the Arabic diglossic hierarchy, stereotypes and prejudices represent the biggest challenge to the postulation of any claim to legitimacy on the part of the vernaculars.

The present study intends to raise questions on the relation between MA-CA diglossia and educational issues. Is MA-CA diglossia seen as a problem at all? What is the nature of attitudes towards MA? Are there any difficulties experienced by MA-speaking children in receiving their education in CA? What types of difficulties? Do they affect the quality of one's education? Can the MA-speaking learner be adequately fluent in CA relative to the educational requirements (of grade/year) and to what one can achieve in one's mother tongue? Are there any effects of the CA grammatical tradition on teaching methods? And is there a part for MA to play in Moroccan education?

It is proposed to achieve answers to these questions through the use of complementary types of data. One of these is the direct use of questionnaires. Two questionnaires are used; one for students, and the other for teachers. The two questionnaires have common core questions between them relating to the different aspects of Moroccan diglossia, and only differ in aspects which specifically relate to teaching.

Another type of data that is used is the different types of educational material, such as readers, grammar textbooks and exercise books, and arithmetic and elementary science books. The aim is to provide an insight into the ways the educational implementation of the hierarchical principles of Arabic diglossia de-contextualizes these materials. Their study will form a

part of the overall assessment of the effects of CA-medium education.

The third type of data which is used is the actual compositions of pupils and students (which are by definition written in CA). Their study will allow us to look into the extent of the ability of MA-speaking learners to be fluent in CA, as well as the types of `errors' they make in writing CA which can be attributed to MA interference. Such data forms part of the answer to whether the CA medium affects what one can educationally attain.

The resolutions of conferences on Arabic, and opinions expressed in the journals of the various Arabic academies are also included to illustrate the attitudes towards CA and Arabic vernaculars. These views represent predominantly the proponents of the traditionalist approach to language and grammar, who are vehemently opposed to vernacular teaching. Their views are indicative of the most dominant perception of CA and MA and the relation between them.

The first chapter is a review of the sociolinguistic literature on social variation and learning. The chapter is intended to cover the most significant developments in the sociolinguistic debate on education. The difference between the theoretical and sociolinguistic approaches to variation is discussed. The differences in interpretation of social variation are then outlined. The school's perception and treatment of linguistic diversity is also discussed. Relevant to this sociolinguistic debate are

also studies on attitudes. These cover general studies on attitudes towards dialects and languages, and the particular impact of these on the teacher's perception of his or her pupils and their educational potential. Also discussed are the merits and drawbacks of so-called vernacular education as seen in the various educational activities. The first chapter ends with a description of the processes and instances of conscious linguistic intervention (known as language planning). The discussion of these points is presumed to lay the background as well as to provide the framework for the interpretation of the particular situation of MA in relation to CA.

The second chapter is concerned with the specific studies of diglossic variation. This includes a discussion of the major issues in the literature on diglossia, and a description of the particular case of Arabic diglossia. The various arguments for the uniqueness of the diglossic phenomenon are outlined, namely in relation to other instances of hierarchical and functional variation and to bilingualism. The educational implications of diglossic variation are then discussed. The second part of this chapter deals with variation in Arabic. This includes a definition and description of the major varieties in Arabic, and their attitudinal aspects. The major hypotheses on the history of Arabic diglossia are also discussed with particular emphasis on attitudes.

The third chapter consists also of two parts: one dealing with the official language policies, and the second with general Arabic linguistic trends. In the

first part, the role of CA in Moroccan education is discussed, covering the school system, language policy, and the process of Arabisation. This helps to establish the nature of the official side of the argument. The second part of the chapter is a description and analysis of `linguistic' trends in Arabic and their scope. A particular emphasis is put on the conceptual and analytical problems which have marked the modern linguistic approach to the Arabic language/s. The contrast between the traditionalist grammarians and proponents of modern linguistics, and the continuing influence of the former is a major feature of contemporary Arabic linguistic studies. The direction and advance of sociolinguistic research on Arabic is dependent on the clarification of this conflict.

The fourth chapter is an analysis and a discussion of the first of the two questionnaires, namely that aimed at students. The findings of the questionnaire are classified into the different components of the attitudinal aspects of MA-CA diglossia. The main aspects to be considered are the extent of the awareness of the diglossic problems; the perception of the relation between MA and CA, the perception of the `expressibility' of MA, and appropriateness of each of MA, ESA, and CA; self-assessment of influence of MA and proficiency in CA; and the stability of these attitudes. The second part of the chapter is an interpretation and discussion of the findings. This includes a categorisation of the main traits of diglossic attitudes.

The fifth chapter is an analysis and a discussion of the findings of the second questionnaire, which was directed at teachers. This chapter is both to provide a different perspective on the diglossic issues as well as a complementary description of the general patterns of attitudes to MA and CA. The chapter consists of three parts: the description of the results of the questionnaire, discussion of the findings, and a comparison of students' and teachers' attitudes. More emphasis is put on the teaching aspects of the diglossic issues, particularly the teachers' attitudes to their own use of MA and their pupils' use of MA. The aim of the comparison is to establish the extent of consistency/inconsistency in response to the various aspects raised within the questionnaires. The findings of the fourth and fifth chapters will be indicative of the attitudinal status of MA, ESA, and CA.

The sixth and seventh chapters are more concerned with the immediate aspects of teaching and learning in the MA-CA diglossic context. The former deals with the realisations of the diglossic situation in the different types of educational material. First, the general characteristics of the diglossic curriculum are defined. This is supported by a detailed description of the CA curriculum as seen in primary readers, grammar textbooks and exercise books, and CA across the curriculum, mainly in elementary science textbooks. Emphasis is put on the way the CA curriculum interprets its sociolinguistic context.

The seventh chapter is a study of the limitations of writing in CA as a consequence of its diglossic relation with MA. An assumption is made on the distinctions between general writing errors and `errors' which can be accounted for in terms of the mother tongue. The study is based on two samples of compositions belonging to primary school and secondary school students. This consists of a description of the spelling , syntactical, and lexical (MA-related) 'errors', stylistic 'errors', and other restrictions. The secondary school sample provides a means for assessing the continuity or discontinuity of these `errors' in the latter stages of education. An explanation for the `errors' is sought for in the sociolinguistic limitations of the MA-CA diglossic situation.

The aim of the research is two-fold: i) to establish the patterns of attitudes to MA and CA -- as a means of sociolinguistic evaluation of prospective changes to the linguistic status quo; and ii) to explore the extent of the interference of the educational implementation of the traditional hierarchical view of the relation between MA and CA with educational achievement. The contrast between the considerable literature on the educational implications of nonstandard-standard relations and the scarcity of such literature on the Arabic sociolinguistic situation begs for the formulation of the relevant questions. The need to study attitudes and interference with education at the same time can be appreciated from their interdependence in the educational context. How.

each language is generally perceived affects the type of functions it is assigned. Our study of attitudes is concerned with those qualities which make CA and not MA education-worthy. The study of the interference of the associated beliefs with educational attainment is a tentative answer to whether diglossia may represent an educational problem.

Chapter One

Linguistic Diversity and Educational Issues

1.1 Competence, communicative competence, and variability

Sociolinguistics represents a departure from what is known as theoretical linguistics in one particular respect, namely the interpretation of linguistic diversity. Chomsky's definition of "competence" (as being the main foundation of generative grammars) has been singled out as the main target of sociolinguistic criticism. Chomsky saw linguistic theory as being "concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech community"[1]. Social factors were thus considered extraneous to language, and do not form part of grammar. Many sociolinguistic studies, however, contested the autonomy of linguistic form from social considerations; the key issue was linguistic variation.

Labov (1966) found that linguistic variation cannot be dismissed as `free' or `random' variation[2]. His close

---

[1]Chomsky, (1965:3)
[2]Also Shuy, R., Wolfram, W.A. and Riley, W.k. (1967)

study of particular phonological variables in New York city department stores, established correlates between the distribution of sounds and such social characteristics as occupation, age race, sex, rank. Labov concluded that sounds like (r) or (th) are socially stratified on the basis of the various components of what can be considered a social class. Variation which can be accounted for in terms of extra-linguistic factors is, therefore, "rule-predictable"[3].

Accordingly, a speaker-hearer learns more than rules of grammatical correctness. Hymes (1971a) sees the devaluation of linguistic use as part of the "negative connotation" of performance in transformational theory. Social factors, seen as instances of performance, are "generally seen as things that limit the realization of grammatical possibilities, rather than as constitutive or enabling."[4] Hymes (1971b:9) argues that the very concepts which form the basis of linguistics such as "speaker-listener, speech community, speech act, acceptability, etc. are, in fact, socio-cultural variables.." Hymes believes that language acquisition involves both rules of grammaticality and appropriateness. A broader definition of competence was postulated, and hence "communicative competence", which according to Hymes (1977:75) will account in addition to the acquisition of a system of grammar, "a system of its use, regarding persons, places, purposes, other modes of communication, etc. -- all the

---

[3]Decamp, D. (1970), Wolfram, W. (1970).
[4]Hymes, (1971a:55)

components of communicative events, together with attitudes and beliefs regarding them. There also develop patterns of the sequential use of language in conversation, address, standard routines, and the like. In such acquisition resides the child's sociolinguistic competence (or, more broadly, communicative competence)". Without this competence, a child will be a "social monster"[5]. Communicative competence is therefore essential to both the theoretical understanding of language and the generation of grammar.

Sociolinguistic studies have been considering ways of incorporating social categories into the underlying grammars. On the basis of such an assumption, Ervin-Tripp (1971a) described three types of sociolinguistic rules. These she called: *alternation rules*, in which the choice among linguistic forms is determined by one or more social features (Ervin-Tripp gives the examples of second person pronoun in French, or the use of first name when addressing a person[6]); *co-occurrence constraints* when selection is dictated by adjacent (or co-occurrent) choices (the selection of an informal verb may entail the selection of an `informal' grammatical feature); and *sequential rules* affecting the structure of speech events (she quotes Schegloff (1968) on his study of telephone calls)[7].

---

[5]Hymes, (1977)
[6] "the rules for address in English ... give examples of the kind of social categories I mean; they include relative age, rank, child vs. adult, sex." ibid:32
[7]For a more detailed study of sociolinguistic rules see Ervin-Tripp (1971b).

Decamp (1970) believes that no fundamental changes to generative theory are necessary to account for linguistic variability. He argues that "the generative theoretical model provides such a mechanism in the binary semantic/ syntactic features. A feature [+ pompous] could be inserted in a segment of a deep structure phrase marker by the same kind of rule that inserts features like [+ negative] or [+ declarative]."[8] Such a social feature would then be incorporated in the generation process[9]. Decamp refers to social variables as having a particular effect on "stylistic meaning"; "thus stylistic meaning can be rescued from paralinguistic limbo and included in the theory on the same basis as any other kind of meaning."[10]

Several attempts were made to formulate a `sociolinguistic' grammar. Klima (1964), Bailey (1973) argued for a `polylectal' grammar. Klima saw related dialects as being underlined by the same grammar and only different in the application of rules. His assumption is that "certain differences reside rather within the constitution of constructions themselves and are most simply analysed as differences in the formational rules describing such constructions."[11] Bickerton (1973) also argued that polylectal grammars can be written. Bickerton, however, believed that a grammar should also account for the constant linguistic changes which are taking place[12].

---

[8] Decamp, (1970:163)

[9] allowing for a kind of (what Decamp called) "generative stylistics"

[10] ibid:164

[11] Klima, (1964:1)

[12] What he described as "the phylogeny of the varieties under consideration". ibid:19

The development of such grammars is subject to the resolution of such issues as what dialects are of the same language, and what constitutes a different language; whether grammar should be concerned only with stylistic variation or extend to larger social, ethnic and regional variation; and whether it is possible at all to incorporate all the `dialects of the one language' into a single unitary grammar. The latter issue is particularly addressed by Labov (1973); he suggests, for example, that if the rules of a grammar are "ordered along a single dimension", "the transmission to a different ordering would be a nice argument for a separate grammar.[13]"[14]

The bulk of sociolinguistic research, although diverse in its interest and emphasis, and open to criticism for a lack of an overall theory[15], is unified by its treatment of social categories and aspects as a fundamental part of the study of language. Most sociolinguists maintain the Chomskian definition of competence, but they also consider that language use is equally rule-governed, and that the rules are part of this competence. The history of sociolinguistics as Shuy (1978:591) put it, is one "of objection to the important first generalisations which linguists make, quite necessarily, about what a language is".

Sociolinguistic findings have been also seen as particularly relevant to some of the common educational

---

[13]Labov, (1973:44)
[14]Trudgill (1982) also provides a criticism of the polylectal and panalectal hypotheses.
[15]Decamp, (1970); Grimshaw, (1971)

issues. The notions of competence and communicative competence have been in contrast to the views which hold that children from particular sections of the community have no rules of grammar; as a consequence the speech of the latter has been seen as inadequate and as being in need of replacement by the language which has grammatical rules. The essential role of language in education, the prevalence of linguistic diversity around the school, and the social conflicts between the standard and nonstandard languages, have been some of the most widely debated issues in sociolinguistic literature.

1.2 Linguistic diversity and education

In this section, some of the major studies and hypotheses which have dominated the debate on linguistic diversity and education will be considered. One of the controversial issues was the variety of explanations provided for the differences in speech between lower and middle classes.

1.2.1 Bernstein's Codes

Bernstein's codes are better known for the controversy they have attracted, and the impact they have had on some educationalists and psychologists, rather than for the sole merit of the associated theories. The progress of his work reflects the sensitivity of the issues involved as well as their complexity. Early in his work, Bernstein tried to provide sociological explanations for the differences in speech between different social groups.

The assumption behind his studies is that work relationships, community relationships, and family role systems within the one social class will result in a particular communication code[16]. He particularly distinguishes between two codes that he calls `restricted code' and `elaborated code'[17]. Hence, if emphasis is on the collective rather than the individual, this gives rise to restricted code. He thus develops a system of "social roles": a close type, which "reduces the range of alternatives for the realization of verbal meaning" -- associated with the collective; and an open type which "permits a range of alternatives" -- associated with the individual[18]. Further distinctions are made between "positional families" and "person-oriented families", which in their turn can correlate with a particular code.

According to Bernstein, the relation between type of social structure and type of code can be seen in the restricted code "emphasizing verbally the communal rather than the individual, the concrete rather than the abstract, substance rather the elaboration of processes, the here and now rather than exploration of motives and intentions, and positional rather than personalized forms of social control."[19] The elaborated code is by

---

[16]"Different forms of social relations can generate quite different speech systems or linguistic codes by affecting the planning procedures." Bernstein, (1967:126)

[17]Bernstein defines code as "the principle which regulates the selection and organization of speech events." (1972:474)
He, further, remarks that "the codes refer to *performance* not to competence in Chomsky's sense of these terms.":475

[18] ibid:477

[19]ibid:472

implication all that the restricted code is not. The latter is then "explicit", "less rigid", involves "more complex planning", "specific", and is "person oriented".[20]

Linguistically, Bernstein (1959) describes restricted code (the code most common to "unskilled and semi-skilled strata") as "short", "unfinished sentences", "a poor syntactical construction", "rigid and limited use of adjectives and adverbs", a code in which "symbolism is of a low order of generality"[21]. Bernstein uses predictability as a criterion for the distinction between restricted and elaborated codes. Elaborated code is thus less predictable "for speakers and listeners" than restricted code[22].

The child, whose speech can be said to correspond to restricted code is, then, expected to experience problems at school where there is more demand on the use of elaborated code. Bernstein repeatedly points out that restricted or elaborated codes are not limited to a particular social class, but are used irrespective of class[23]. However, he also concludes that "children socialized within middle class and associated strata can be expected to possess *both* an elaborated and a restricted code; while children socialized within some sections of

---

[20]ibid
[21]Bernstein, (1959:311)
[22]"If it is difficult to predict across a representative range the syntactic options or alternatives taken up in the organization of speech, this form of speech will be called an elaborated code...A restricted code is one where it is much less difficult to predict, across a representative range, the syntactic alternatives, as these will be drawn from a narrow range." Bernstein, (1972:474)
[23]1967:128

the working class strata, particularly the lower working class, can be expected to be limited to a restricted code."[24]

Such a vagueness has made Bernstein's work easily amenable to contradictory interpretations. His use of terminology (such as "rigid", "poor", "limited") has been particularly conducive to sweeping judgements about language and social class -- which are in contrast to the linguistic postulates on language. It is hard to believe that such qualitative description cannot "disvalue" what is intended to be the speech of the lower classes[25]. Bernstein's study of the social bases of linguistic differences, although it benefitted from the sociological perspective, concealed an underlying linguistic bias. Bernstein has often had to defend himself against such criticisms[26]. Bernstein (1971) himself reserved a chapter for the critique of what is known as "compensatory education" (seen as a result of his codes). His views on the educational implications of his codes and others will be discussed in the subsequent section.

1.2.2 Verbal deprivation vs. difference issue

Bernstein's ideas have proved to be inspirational to educationalists and psychologists who find more plausible the view that lower-class children have less language[27]. A

[24] ibid:131

[25] Bernstein (1972) states that his description of restricted code is "not to disvalue it."

[26] See Rosen (1972)

[27] Notice the similarities between the following description of the "language inadequacies" of `disadvantaged' children by Passow (1968:9) and

theory of linguistic `deficit' particularly developed in the United States. The `deficit' argument is associated with the works of Deutsch, M., Bereiter, C., and Engelmann, S; their views, however, were shared by many others. Whiteman and Deutsch (1968) argue that the early environmental experiences of children (coming from underprivileged classes) have "disadvantaging effects" on their speech. These early influences result in "cognitive and learning deficits". Bereiter (1968) echoes the same presupposition, namely that "disadvantaged children were usually weak in prerequisite learnings, their weaknesses tending to lie in the areas of language and reasoning."[28] Engelmann (1970b) illustrates his diagnosis of the linguistic `deficit' in the following statement, in the introduction to his article: "The child of poverty has language problems. These are problems far more crippling than mere dialect problems. Too frequently, a four-year old child of poverty does not understand the meaning of such words as *long, full, animal, red, under, first, before, or, if, all,* and *not*. Too frequently, he cannot repeat a simple statement, such as, "The bread is under the oven," even after he has been given four trials."[29] Others are prepared to go even further than this, and advance a genetic explanation. Jensen (1969) argues that genetic factors are more important than the effects of the

---

Bernstein's early descriptions: "limited vocabulary, poor syntactical structure, inability to use abstract symbols and complex language forms to interpret and communicate, difficulty in developing and maintaining verbal thought sequences, restricted verbal comprehension..."

[28] Bereiter, (1968:338)

[29] Engelmann, (1970b:102)

social environment in the development of intelligence (the latter being linked to educability)[30]. From here on, the proponents of the "disadvantaged child" hypothesis conclude that some kind of action needs to be taken to counterbalance the linguistic and cognitive `handicap'.

This led to the development of so-called `compensatory education'. The problems of the linguistically and/or culturally `disadvantaged' or `deprived' child ought to be approached in a "matter of fact way"[31]. This meant that since these children lacked linguistic and conceptual educational prerequisites (the cause for their failure at school), pre-school programmes should be developed to remedy these `deficiencies'. The `remedial' programmes[32] would have to concentrate on both the environmental and linguistic factors underlying these deficiencies (in the form of environment stimulation and linguistic enrichment[33]).

Criticism of the `deficit' approach is mostly levelled by linguists at the underlying assumptions. Proponents of the `deficit' approach are seen as basing their studies on the assumption that there is one correct way of using language and that a linguistic system "could be underdeveloped"[34]. Both premises are considered

[30]As Jensen put it, his duty as a scientist is "squarely" to face the issue; this means that there is a basis for "genetic differences in intelligence between groups of high and low socioeconomic status..."(1973:59)
[31]The phrase was used in the same context by Bereiter (1968)
[32]For the description of some of these programmes see Engelmann, (1970a), (1970b); Blank (1970).
[33]Passow (1968:14) defines compensatory education as "overcoming deficits in experience and knowledge."
[34]Baratz, (1970:13), Labov, (1972:4), Kochman, (1972:232)

linguistically unfounded. The `deficit' proponents presume the superiority of standard English, and proceed to judge the nonstandard varieties in terms of their `deviation' from the standard, passing value judgements along the way. The failure of nonstandard speakers at school is subsequently attributed to their cultural and linguistic `inabilities'.

What has come to be known as the `difference' approach sees the educational failure of nonstandard-speaking children (called `disadvantaged' children in the `deficit' literature) as stemming from the misconceptions about the nature of language and the inadequacies of the educational approaches. At a more general level, a distinction was made between whether a group is at a disadvantage or being disadvantaged[35]; Edwards, A.(1976:124) views "linguistic intolerance" as also being "part of a wider intolerance". More specifically all natural languages/dialects are fully-developed equally complex linguistic systems, and no variety is inherently better another. This has been, for example, the position of Labov (1970), as of most linguists. The conclusions the `deficit' proponents arrived at as to the nature of the speech of the `disadvantaged' child are seen as a result of their selection and interpretation of data. Labov demonstrated that the interview situation (as used by the `deficit' theorists) does not allow for adequate elicitation of the children's linguistic abilities; such a situation is rather a measure of the child's "capacity to

[35]Williams, (1970b:3)

defend himself in a hostile and threatening situation."[36] Edwards, A.(1976) similarly argues that within the `deficit' framework, one is looking for what is lacking rather than what is present[37].

The educational recommendations of the deficit proponents for remedial programmes are, therefore, questionable, since both their assumptions and methods are found to unsatisfactory. Most sociolinguists agree that attention should be directed instead at the school and the educational system[38]. Bernstein himself voiced his disapproval of `compensatory' education, and levelled his criticism at the school[39]. Within the `difference' argument, the school has, first, to recognise linguistic diversity, and acknowledge the validity of all linguistic varieties[40], thus entailing a change of attitudes towards nonstandard dialects and their speakers, namely by accepting that Black English vernacular speakers, for example, use a different not deficient linguistic system[41]. The educational problems, therefore, arise when nonstandard-speakers are expected to perform literacy tasks in the standard language, and are judged on that

[36]Labov (1970:6)
[37]"Standard or `normative' measures impose narrow definitions of`correctness'; set to find what is missing, the researcher is likely to ignore what is said, and to record what is not."1976:132
[38]Labov (1970)
[39]Bernstein, (1971:193)
[40]Hymes (1977:94), for examples, states that "what is needed as well is a realization that the standard of the schools is not the only standard, that more than one system of speaking, each with rules, values, and satisfactions and accomplishments of its own, is involved."
[41]See also Edwards, A. (1976:136), Baratz, (1972:140)

basis. Some sociolinguists advanced the idea that the vernacular should be used in initial teaching[42]. This is seen by Baratz as helping the nonstandard-speaking child to learn the literacy skills without an extra burden, in addition to the recognition of his or her language and culture[43]. Baratz, however, has also had to stress the necessity of learning standard English, since "standardization is a sociolinguistic fact of life.", and since the former is necessary for social advancement[44]. The questions as to how the school should deal with linguistic diversity, and the possible options open to the school, are to be discussed in the following section.

1.2.3 Attitudes towards linguistic diversity and their educational implications

Although the study of attitudes has been part of sociolinguistic research, most of the literature on attitudes is associated with the social psychology of language. The latter discipline has developed hypotheses and methods which have provided significant insight into the nature and processes of attitudes towards language. Such research has been compatible with general sociolinguistic development.

1.2.3.1 Attitudes towards dialects

The study of attitudes rests on the linguistic assumption that all linguistic varieties are inherently equal and

[42]Baratz and Shuy (1969)
[43]Baratz, (1970:21)
[44]Baratz, (1972:145-146)

objectively comparable, and that differences in their perception in terms of prestige (high/low) are due to other characteristics external to language[45]. The use of "dialect" in the subtitle above corresponds to such an assumption, namely by treating (what can be otherwise termed) the standard language as a different dialect in the same light as other but nonstandard dialects. Early studies of attitudes were based on the hypothesis that favourable or unfavourable reactions to a particular linguistic variety are mainly reflections of "generalized or stereotyped characteristics of the group" rather than the variety itself[46]; the higher the social status of a group, the more favourable they are received. Lambert et al (1960) used the (now widely applied) matched-guise technique to study such reactions by controlling such interfering variables as the quality of voice and content, and by using perfect bilinguals to deliver the neutral content, without the informants being aware that the two voices belong to the same speaker. The results would thus indicate differences in stereotypes rather than voices. The informants were then asked to rate the speakers along a scale of personality traits, such as "intelligence", "self-confidence", "kindness", "sense of humour". Lambert et al found that the English-speaking subjects[47] responded more favourably towards their own linguistic group, and that the French-speaking subjects viewed more favourably the English-speaking guises. The researchers were

[45]See, for example, Trudgill, (1975:29)
[46]Lambert et al, (1960:44)
[47]All subjects were Canadian

surprised to find that the French-speaking subjects viewed their own linguistic group even less favourably than the English-speaking subjects did. The study suggests that a change of language triggers a change in perception and elicitation of stereotypes.

Similar studies were undertaken in Britain using the matched-guise technique[48]. Employing Scottish and English regional accents guises, Cheyne (1970) found that both Scottish and English subjects regraded the Scottish accent as lower than the English accent along traits related to status, but that the Scottish subjects rated the Scottish accent as higher on traits associated with "warmth". Strongman and Woosley (1967) conducted another study, this time of London and Yorkshire accents (using also the matched-guise technique). The significance of the study is believed by the authors to lie in the equal status of both accents. Strongman and Woosley found that although the two accents were judged differently, neither accent was favoured over the other. Giles (1970) considered, on the other hand, how different accents are evaluated in terms of their perceived "aesthetic", "communicative", and "status" qualities. Thus a stereotyped judgement can also be generated by the rank of accents or dialects in terms of these three dimensions. A similar study by Giles (1972) focused on the role of the "broadness" of an accent in the evaluation process[49]. He found that broadness affects the

[48]For a study of evaluations of Arabic speech styles, see El-Dash and Tucker, (1975).
[49]Giles defined broadness in terms of the extent of divergence from the standard accent (1972:262).

evaluation of an accent, although the estimation of broadness of an accent on the part of the subjects is relative to their experience (age and contact with the regional accent).

Giles (1971a) found that differences in personality (rather than social or regional background) among informants also play a role in the evaluation of accents. He particularly compared the reactions of 21 year-old college students and those of 17 year-old sixth-formers, and found that the former show a more "liberal" attitude towards "accented speech". One of his conclusions is that "the more ethnocentric an individual's orientation, the less favourable his evaluation of regional accented speech would be"[50]. What has emerged from these and other studies is that a) attitudes towards dialects are about their speakers rather than any intrinsic quality of the dialect in question, b) dialects are differentially ranked on the basis of perceived prestige[51], and c) favourable attitudes towards a dialect are relative to the amount of its perceived prestige. Day (1982) tried to address the question of the actual acquisition of these attitudes. Day argues that attitudes are part of one's communicative competence[52]. He also concludes from his review of the literature on the awareness of language differences that

[50]Giles, (1971a:187)
[51]Although some (nonstandard) dialects are ranked higher in terms of such (in-group) characteristics as honesty or reliability (Strongman & Woosley, (1967); Cheyne, (1970)). Bouchard (1979) also discusses some of the components of attitudes towards "low-prestige" varieties related to the notion of solidarity.
[52]Day, (1982:117)

by the time children start elementary education, "they are able to make judgements about [language] differences."[53]

A key factor in the hierarchical distribution of linguistic varieties underlying these judgements is standardisation. Standard dialects are usually associated with those characteristics (higher socio-economic status, more prestige, more `pleasant', etc.) which favourably influence the listener's evaluation. The standard dialect is generally seen as the `real' language, and other dialects as its `deviant' forms. Such perception is consolidated by the process of standardisation itself, namely the literature of codification. The historical factors underlying the process of standardisation do not, however, constitute any significant part of people's attitudes towards the standard dialect and language in general. St Clair (1982) deals particularly with this aspect. He views standardisation in the light of the overall process of political socialisation[54] and considers it as one of the latter's essential means. The dialect of (or chosen by) the elite-in-power is codified, `officialised', and becomes the means of social or national conformity; once a dialect is made official, "public policy [is used] to legitimate" it[55]. St Clair establishes parallels between power and language (where the former "defines the official dialect of a nation"), history and language (where "the legitimacy of diachrony

[53]ibid:118
[54]Political socialisation is the process "which channels social behaviour in line with the mainstream values of a nation." St Clair, (1982:165)
[55]ibid:165

is defined from the view of the establishment"), accommodation (whereby "language standardization is a form of accommodation by all dialect speakers in favour of the official language of power")[56] The latter notion (accommodation) is particularly important in accounting for the ways in which members of other sub/groups and speakers of other dialects/languages come to adhere to an outside dialect/language[57].

In reality, however, attitudes towards dialects are not rationalised against their historical background, or socio-economic status. Standard dialects are generally perceived in terms of absolute superiority. Although some people will be inclined to accept the notion of linguistic equality, they would not be as easily dissuaded from the idea that some dialects are `nicer' than others.

Dialects and accents are usually judged along these lines, and almost invariably, the `nicest' dialects happen to be the standard ones. Giles et al (1979), allowing for the benefit of the doubt, addressed the question of whether there is an intrinsic `aesthetic' value in the standard dialect. They proceeded to test two hypotheses namely the *Imposed Norm* hypothesis and the *Inherent Value* hypothesis. The imposed norm hypothesis links the prestige of a linguistic variety to historical and cultural arbitrariness; "Subjective judgements differentially distinguishing accents on aesthetic and prestige grounds are based purely on normative factors in

[56] See St Clair, (1982:166) (Table 10.1)
[57] For a discussion of accommodation theory see Giles & Smith, (1979); Giles & Powesland, (1975).

the particular culture concerned."[58] The inherent value hypothesis, on the other hand presumes the aesthetic superiority and correctness of the standard. The experiment consisted of presenting a group of Welsh subjects of little knowledge in French with different varieties of French[59], and were asked to rate the varieties in terms of perceived aesthetic characteristics and status. The assumption is that the Welsh judges would not be aware of the social connotations of these varieties; their evaluations would be, then, compared to those of the native French-speaking Canadians. The findings confirmed the imposed norm hypothesis, namely that listeners unfamiliar with the social stratification of accents/dialects will not be able to make the same judgements as those familiar with them. Trudgill (1983:218) proposed a modification to the imposed norm hypothesis, since the latter appears to fail with regard to linguistic varieties or accents which are lower in prestige status, but which are, nevertheless, regarded as `pleasant'. He particularly refers to the case of British rural accents (in contrast to urban accents). Trudgill suggests the *social connotations* hypothesis so as to cover all the social nuances, the stereotyped evaluations being dependent on the `exactness' of such information[60].

---

[58]Giles, et al, (1979:591)
[59]The varieties were: European French, Educated Canadian French, and working-class French Canadian.
[60]Trudgill, (1983:271-224)

1.2.3.2 Teachers' attitudes towards linguistic diversity

If people draw their impressions on social and personal traits from the speaker's dialect or accent, and if the perception of dialects and accents is relative to their social status, the question arises as to how such a process affects the educational scene, and particularly to what extent these attitudes affect the teacher's behaviour and whether there is a relation between teachers' attitudes and their pupils' performances.

One of the widely investigated aspects of teachers' attitudes is their expectations. Since children from lower social classes are the most likely to experience educational problems (see deficit/difference arguments, above), and since their speech is not likely to be as highly valued as middle class speech, an obvious line of research was whether teachers' perceptions of nonstandard dialects affect their expectations of nonstandard speakers, and whether these in their turn affect children's actual achievements. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) conducted one of the early experiments to test whether there is a correlation between teachers' expectations and children's performance. On the assumption that "the child does poorly at school because that is what is expected of him"[61], the authors proceeded to test the hypothesis that children can do better if "teachers could be induced to expect more of them". The experiment consisted of making teachers believe that a group of students were specially gifted (who were in

[61] Rosenthal and Jacobson, (1968:19)

actual fact randomly selected). Rosenthal and Jacobson found that the children for whom the teachers had higher expectations showed better achievements. More interestingly, children in the control group who showed educational potential were described by the teachers as having "undesirable behaviour"[62].

Rist (1970) studied the early categorisation of children into those who have or lack potential. His observation of the interactions between first and second year kindergarten children and their teachers indicated that early in the process teachers designated children as "fast learners" and "slow learners". This "stratification system" was rather based on the social background of the children; "the differential academic potential and capability of any student was significantly determined by a series of subjectively interpreted attributes and characteristics of that student."[63] Rist found that teachers showed more interest in, and spent more time with children, whom they thought had the "desirable qualities", and presented them to the class as the good models.

Granger et al (1977), concerned that the quality of performance might confuse the question of whether the teacher's expectations are socially biased or are influenced by the student's performance itself, attempted to control the "adequacy of task" by making all deliveries equal in fluency, pauses, or number of words. Their findings showed that there was "a distinct social class

---

[62]ibid:22
[63]Rist (1970:413)

and racial bias"; and that "the teachers were attending less to *what* a child said than to *how* he said it."[64] Other studies of teachers' attitudes addressed themselves to the actual process through which expectations affect educational performance; i.e. how teachers "communicate" their differential expectations to their students.

Brophy and Good (1970) studied the intervening process by observing teachers' behaviour towards their students. The researchers focused on particular students, whom the teachers had previously ranked in terms of potential (without being aware of the exact nature of the research); the students were both of high and low expectancy. Brophy and Good found that the students, whom the teachers rated high, raised their hands more, received more praise, showed up their work more; whereas the students who were ranked as low received more behaviour criticism. The authors concluded that "teachers do, in fact, communicate differential performance expectations to different children through their classroom behavior, and the nature of this differential treatment is such as to encourage the children to begin to respond in ways which would confirm teachers' expectancies."[65] Rothbart et al (1971) also studied the intervening processes between teachers' expectations and children's performance, but in their experiment they, instead, initiated the ranking of

[64]Granger et al (1977:795)
For similar studies of teachers' expectations and their relation to their educational attainment see Seligman et al, (1972); Williams & Whitehead, (1972); Choy & Dodd, (1976); Frender & Lambert, (1973); Dusek & O'Connel, (1973); Giles, (1971b).
[65]Brophy and Good, (1970:373)

children into those who have or lack potential (which unknown to the teachers was arbitrary). In their study, Rothbart et al wanted to measure the teachers' attention, their encouragement, students' participation, and teachers' evaluations. Their results also showed that teachers spent more time with the high expectancy group, but that the teachers were equally encouraging to both groups; teachers also rated the high expectancy students as more intelligent, and as having more potential.

What studies of language attitudes highlight is that these attitudes are far from being straightforward social indexes. Attitudes towards dialects are underlined by social prejudice and stereotypes. These views may influence the listeners' or addressee's reactions and eventual actions. One group of these listeners/addressees happen also to be teachers, and the implications of their attitudes cannot be underestimated. Most of the mentioned studies agree that one direction of change in educational approaches can be sought in the area of teachers' attitudes.

1.2.4 The educational approaches to linguistic diversity

The prevalence of linguistic diversity in most speech communities is often in conflict with the language preoccupations of the school. What has been demonstrated before is that linguistic variations and social and cultural differences go hand in hand, and that there are significant correlations between common social perceptions and linguistic values. This implies that not all children

receive their initial education in the language they are most familiar with, and that some linguistic varieties are considered more suitable for education than others. The traditional role of the school has been that of upholding and safeguarding the linguistic values which are most representative of national priorities; the emphasis may be, for example, on a mainstream standard, a classical standard, or a colonial language. The traditional view of the school has also been that dialects or languages other than the standard are an infringement on the latter, and are counter-educational. It is only recently that such assumptions have been questioned. One of the questions which faces the schools is whether they should reflect linguistic usage in the wider community, or enforce what they consider as the only `correct' language.

Hypothetically, four options are open to the school: a) replacing the nonstandard with the standard; b) accepting the nonstandard but aiming at the standard; c) adopting both the standard and nonstandard; and d) adopting the nonstandard[66]. The first option is the most common; the superiority of the standard is assumed; the nonstandard dialects are little tolerated, and are considered `incorrect'. The last option, on the other hand, is the least common for ideological or practical reasons. The middle options are incorporated in some form or another in some of the Canadian and American bilingual programmes.

---

[66]Trudgill, (1975:65-71), describes three approaches schools adopt towards nonstandard dialects: "elimination of non-standard dialects"; "bi-dialectalism"; and "appreciation of dialect differences".

The educational policies in the United States, Canada, and Britain have come to reflect some of the ideas that have dominated the linguistic and cultural debate[67]. The presence of large linguistic and ethnic groups in these countries, and the change in the former's needs and aspirations have led to a reappraisal of the old educational practices. Various bilingual programmes have been implemented in Canada and the United States. These programmes include a variety of approaches to linguistic diversity and objectives.

Bilingual education is, somewhat, the result of a conscious decision to employ more than one dialect or language at school. Bilingual education, as defined by Fishman (1976:24) implies "some use of two (or more) languages of instruction in connection with teaching courses other than language *per se*"[68]. In the American context, bilingual education is particularly associated with the issues of assimilation and pluralism[69]. Bilingual programmes are analysed on the basis of whether they serve to preserve and encourage the minority cultures and languages, or to absorb them into the mainstream language and culture. Bilingual programmes can be therefore geared towards "language shift" or "language maintenance"[70]. Fishman (1976:9) sees cultural and linguistic diversity as a desirable quality in itself (apart from other political

---

[67]See Cummins, J. (1984) (on Canadian bilingual education); Blanco, G. M, (1978); Dillard, J. L. (1978) (on programmes in the United states); Edwards, V, (1984) (on programmes in Britain)
[68]See also Edwards, J. (1985:120)
[69]See Kjolseth, R. (1972); Andersson, T. (1977)
[70]Fishman, (1972b:16-47)

or pedagogical considerations), for the simple fact that the world is diverse and "is not unifiable on the basis of cultural monisms". The cultural and linguistic pluralism debate has also been underpinned by moral premises[71].

According to Fishman (1976), maintenance bilingual programmes, themselves, can be divided into: "monoliterate bilingualism" (where the mother tongue is used only for oral communication but not for literacy skills), "partial biliterate bilingualism" (where the mother tongue is used for the teaching in arts subjects but not in science), and "full biliterate bilingualism" (where both languages are used to teach all subjects). Bilingual programmes have also given rise to different methods in dealing with the use of two languages as media of instruction. Dulay and Burt (1978), in reviewing some of the programmes in the United States, describe three methods, namely: The *alternate-day* method, (where a subject is taught in one language on one day and in the other language on the subsequent day); the *preview-review* method, (where previewing the lesson is conducted in one language, presentation in the other, and reviewing is conducted in one of the two languages or concurrently); and the *concurrent* method, (where the two languages are used interchangeably, by bilingual teachers or two teachers). Tucker et al (1970) describes a method similar to the

[71]Lewis, G. (1978:680) argues that "all languages and all individuals speaking whatever languages have an innate claim and an inalienable right to be safeguarded in and for themselves alone. The loss or disregard of one language, diminishing its role or restricting its currency in society, is not made right by the fact that a larger number of people gain a greater advantage."

alternate-day method as used in the Philippines. Dulay and Burt (ibid) believe, however, that these programmes involve a great deal of compromise of subject-matter teaching to the teaching of English. The authors suggest that the teaching of literacy skills in the mother tongue is preferable.

These programmes, as has been suggested, are very much part of the linguistic and cultural debate, and as the nature of the debate changes, so do the programmes. In developing countries, the emphasis is generally on the teaching of an `international language'(usually the language of the departed colonial nation); if there are already standardised native languages, these are often reserved for arts subjects (partial biliterate bilingualism). In Morocco, until recently, the situation looked on the surface like that of partial biliterate bilingualism. The situation is, however, is made more complex by the Arabic diglossic system. The medium of instruction in arts is, according to official discourse, the mother tongue; in terms of linguistic acquisition and use, the native language is not a medium of instruction for any subject. This gives rise to a type of an `off-the-record' partial monoliterate bilingualism. This, however, does not apply to children who are native speakers of Tamazight. The latter group are subject to bilingual education, where their native language is seldom used even for informal classroom interaction.

The school approach to linguistic diversity may be underlined by several factors, among them: the sensitivity

of linguistic issues (are they openly debated? are linguistic priorities irrevocable?); inter-group relations (complexity and composition of a nation, degree of tolerance, presence of separatist issues); immediate and long-term national objectives (the equation between colonial languages and technological development, and between language and national identity). The success of bilingual education is not only subject to these factors but also to the achievement of the more fundamental educational objectives. The role of school is to strike a balance among educational benefits, social access, and cultural tolerance. Edwards, J. (1985), although he agrees that education should reflect diversity, argues that this should not overshadow the main educational objectives. According to Edwards (ibid:131), the "school can do little to accelerate or retard the social processes outside its gates, but it can ensure that they are accurately reflected in the classroom."

1.3 Vernacular education

There can be two facets to the issue of vernacular education. There is the emotive side, on the one hand, of being involved in the promotion of a particular language, and that of trying to prove its utility, on the other. While there is some kind of international consensus (the example of Unesco) concerning the vernacular debate, the dimensions of the latter change depending on the nuances of each individual sociolinguistic situation. Vernacular languages may find themselves in conflict with either a

literate tradition, a colonial language, the language of a dominant group, or other vernaculars of equal status. While, linguistically, vernaculars can be argued to be equally valid, have grammar, and have the potential to be developed for new functions, there still remain many (and more serious) obstacles. These may be, for example, the settlement of political and ideological issues, language development and elaboration, or the provision of educational material. A question that one is faced with in the process is whether it is worth it.

Linguists and sociolinguists have argued for the case of vernaculars on the basis of theoretical considerations. Some sociolinguists have found themselves engaged in a `public-relations' exercise[72]. They have particularly addressed themselves to the subject of attitudes, presuming that awareness of linguistic differences and the principles underlying them may play an important role in educational changes. The main sociolinguistic arguments of relevance to educational issues are: the arbitrary relation between education and standard languages, the hierarchical relation between standard and nonstandard languages as a matter of social perception, and the inadequacy of prescriptive methods. These arguments lead eventually to the questioning of educational systems which disregard the child's first language, since from a linguistic point of view there is no reason why it should not be used. It may even be postulated that educational

---

[72]Trudgill, for example.

standards may benefit from the use of the child's first language as medium of instruction.

Unesco (1953) strongly recommended the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction. Unesco 's definition of vernacular language applies only to minority languages, namely "the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language."[73] There are, however, vernaculars which are not necessarily the native language of a `dominated' group. MA, for example, is the mother tongue of the majority of the population (ruling and ruled); yet, MA is neither standardised nor official. Stewart (1968a), in his typology of languages, describes `vernacular' as having all attributes except standardisation.[74]

Hypotheses about the viability of vernacular education can be then formulated on either the likely effects of vernacular-medium education on educational achievement, or on the adverse effects of second or foreign language-medium on educational achievement. Both hypotheses are difficult to test systematically. Experiments relating to the first hypothesis require to be carried over long periods of time, and are affected by several other factors not connected with vernacular instruction (e.g. the Hawthorne effect or community approval). Testing the second hypothesis runs the risk of being impressionistic and selective. Engle (1975), in her survey and evaluation

[73] In Fishman, (1968:689)
[74] The other attributes are: autonomy, historicity, and vitality, Stewart (1968:537)

of some of the experiments on vernacular education, reported inconsistency among the studies. Engle, however, was more interested in bilingual experiments, and particularly those concerned with transfer of literacy skills from native to second language.

1.3.1 Role of language

However, as Bernstein's studies, the deficit-difference debate, and studies of teachers' attitudes indicate, there is a link between children's first language and their success at school. In the case of Black English vernacular and standard English, both deficit and difference proponents assume that part of the explanation for the failure of black vernacular speakers can be sought in language (although the former see it in terms of linguistic underdevelopment). The fact that most of the students who are affected are those whose speech is different from the one used at school entails a reappraisal of the role of language in such a situation, and particularly whether the incorporation of the child's first language will make a difference to what he or she can achieve educationally.

To answer this question, distinctions have, first, to be drawn between reading, writing, content learning, and classroom interaction, since each of these entail different emphases and hence different linguistic demands. With respect to classroom interaction, it is generally agreed that it is futile to try to change the child's

spoken language[75]. In order to facilitate communication between pupil and teacher, children will need to use the language they are most familiar with. Effective communication will depend on a language which both pupil and teacher understand[76]. Acceptance of their language on the part of the teacher will encourage both the quantity of their participation, and give them a sense of confidence in their linguistic ability. Hornberger (1987), with reference to a Peruvian experiment on vernacular education, reported significant improvement in pupil participation. In terms of comprehension, Choy and Dodd (1976) found that nonstandard Hawaiian-English-speaking children understood stories better in their "dominant dialect" than in "non-dominant dialect" (standard English). The child's first language can also be used to teach new verbal skills traditionally associated with the standard[77].

Teaching reading and writing are, however, where the use of vernacular as a medium is most controversial. The reservations about vernacular reading and writing are not so much linguistic or educational as sociological. Against the background of vernacular readers in the United States, Stewart (1970b:222) remarks that "in attempting to implement the concept of Negro dialect as a unique form of language into the schools, one encounters resistance and hostility from middle-class Negro teachers who want

---

[75]Kochman, (1972), Baratz, (1972), Trudgill, (1975).
[76]What Litteral (1979:152) called "bi-directional communication".
[77]Kochman, (1972:230)

nothing distinctively Negro, and over-cautious, politically-oriented white school administrators who want nothing controversial." Another reason that is usually advanced is the need to learn standard English so as to be able to participate in the mainstream society, since standard English is associated with domains which require reading and writing skills. This stance subscribes to the more pragmatic view of standardisation, which although it allows for its arbitrariness, acknowledges its inevitability and utilitarian value[78]. A similar argument is advanced by Fishman and Lueders-Salmon (1972), where analogy is drawn between the educational situation of regional and standard German and black vernacular; the authors refer to regional German as being accepted in the classroom, but not used in reading or writing[79]. The authors also suggest that a similar approach may be applicable to the situation of black English vernacular speakers, where "role relationships and networks involving Standard English " are made available to them.

Baratz (1970), on the other hand, proposed that initial teaching of reading should use the child's native language. Once reading and other literacy skills are acquired, a transition can be made to standard language teaching[80]. The emphasis, however, shifted from the

[78]Baratz (1972:144) arguing for the need to teach black children standard English, states that "although it is true from a linguistic viewpoint that all dialects...are equal, it is also true from a social viewpoint that some dialects are considered more valuable than others in certain contexts."
[79]Fishman and Lueders-Salmon, (1972:76)
[80]Baratz, (1970:21) argues that "because of the mismatch between the child's system and that of the standard

writing of new sets of educational material to developing alternative methods for incorporating the child's native dialect[81]. It was suggested that since there are not significant structural differences between black vernacular and standard English, children can be allowed to read standard texts using their own internalised rules[82]. If a reading of a word, therefore, does not correspond to the standard pronunciation, and can be explained in terms of first language rules, this should be considered a correct reading, since the child has successfully performed the reading task (recognition and comprehension). Labov (1972:34), points out that this entails a distinction between general mistakes in reading and differences in pronunciation. This, in its turn, entails teachers being aware of the linguistic differences between the two dialects.

Goodman (1982) sees reading as a form of guesswork; from his viewpoint the use of the child's competence is vital to the task of reading. Since more than graphic decoding is involved in the process of reading, the child's competence may be essential in providing him or

---

English textbook, because of the psychological consequences of denying the existence and legitimacy of the child's linguistic system, and in the light of the success of vernacular teaching around the world, it appears imperative that we teach the inner-city Negro child to read using his own language as the basis for the initial readers. In other words, first teach the child to read in the vernacular, and then teach him to read in standard English."

[81]As part of the reasons for the failures of black vernacular readers, Toohey (1986: 132) believes "that there was little parental, institutional, or finally academic support". See also Cazden, (1972:158)

[82]Wolfram and Fasold, (1979:196)

her with the necessary cues. Meaningful reading (as distinct from sounding words) is, therefore, related to how familiar the child is with the language of textbooks. Goodman states that "if the child is reading material that deals with familiar situations and ideas, and this material is written in a language which is like his own oral language, then he can bring all of his language strength to bear on the task."[83]

With regard to writing, similar arguments can be advanced. Children can equally learn to express themselves and extend their verbal repertoire in their native language. This entails mostly teachers' awareness of children's dialect, and their ability to distinguish between dialect-related `errors' and general errors such as punctuation and organisation[84]. If the distinction is made (if a relative similarity exists between the standard and nonstandard dialects), the children's first dialect can play a constructive part in their language education; and more focus can be put on the learning of writing skills as such.

With respect to content learning, some studies suggest that content subjects can be affected if they are taught in a language which is not familiar to the child. Macnamara (1967) found that students' problem solving is undermined when channelled through (what he called) their weaker language. Macnamara attributed this to inadequate perception of the information presented and longer

---

[83]Goodman, (1982:36)
[84]See chapter seven

decoding time; he describes the `chain-difficulty' of the student processing information in a weaker language as the latter having "greater difficulty in making out the meaning, and, because of the extra attention he must pay to that task, greater difficulty in recalling other parts of the message while decoding a particular section. Consequently he has greater difficulty in picking out what is relevant to his purpose and discarding the remainder. All this would amount to greater difficulty in solving problems expressed in the weaker language."[85] The teaching of content subjects in a second or foreign language also runs the risk of confusing these subjects with language teaching. Campbell (1986), observed, for example, in relation to teaching mathematics in the Philippines, that language teaching (English) constituted a substantial part of mathematics instruction[86].

Studies such as those on black vernacular English cannot be said to equally applicable to other sociolinguistic situations; the focus in these studies has been mainly on the development of awareness of linguistic differences rather than full-fledged incorporation of vernacular education. There are, however, cases where a complete implementation of vernacular education is needed, particularly when an educational system is employing a significantly distinct linguistic system from that of the

---

[85] Macnamara, (1967:131)
[86] Campbell (1986:182) concludes, with reference to the teacher, that "her task was more than just teaching English as a means to the mathematics, in that she was engaged in teaching them what they needed to know to do the *talking* of mathematics."

children concerned. Experiments like those described in Campbell (1986), Tucker et al (1970), or Hornberger (1987) indicate that vernacular-medium education can bring positive results. Hornberger (ibid) reports among the pedagogical benefits of switching to Quechua-medium from Spanish: "improved transmission of educational content", "more pupil participation", "fluent reading", "lively discussions". In the case of Arabic diglossia, the learning of CA is entirely dependent upon prescriptive models and methods; each Arabic vernacular is also linguistically distinct from (the Pan-Arabic) CA; the use of CA as sole medium of instruction has therefore wide-ranging implications for the adequacy and success of such an education. Does the artificiality of the medium interfere with content learning and language learning itself? Would better comprehension, better communication, and better learning atmosphere be aided by the use of Arabic vernaculars?

Studies on nonstandard English dialects or other vernaculars, although they vary in their educational recommendations, agree on the need for the relative incorporation of these dialects in the learning situation. One of the problems with research on vernacular education is that it involves more than one discipline. Educationalists' approaches may be often lacking in linguistic insight; sociolinguistic research, on the other hand, may also be lacking in pedagogical perspective. Some sociolinguistic ideas have been incorporated,

however, into the formulation of educational policies[87]. From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, the use of the child's native language (whether as a transition to the standard, or full implementation) is a determinant factor in his or her eventual educational success[88]. The interdependence of language and learning, of education and communication point in the direction of vernacular education. Vernacular-medium education means that the learner can also be party to the educational process. If he or she are not expected to speak or respond in an imposed language, and he or she are not made to understand that their language is ungrammatical and unsuitable, learning would be more than just a passive activity. Vernacular education also implies that more emphasis and effort can be directed toward what is being transmitted rather than on how it is transmitted. Vernacular instruction can also bring a sense of relevance to what is being learnt; an aspect which is lacking in mediums not in use in the speech community concerned. Hornberger (1987:216) describes the effects of vernacular education on students as follows: "They read with understanding laughing at appropriate moments, commenting on and summarizing to their classmates what they had read. These were the same children who could barely decipher a sentence from their

---

[87]Although there is little evidence that sociolinguistic studies have incorporated findings from educational literature.

[88]Oller, J. W (1978:418), for example, states that "the language factor, more specifically the proficiency of the child in the language of instruction, constitutes a major (perhaps the major) causal variable entering into the determination of school achievement."

Spanish reader and who usually had no idea what they were reading about." Objections to vernacular education are usually more concerned with the developmental processes involved (such as the cost of implementation or lack of educational material) rather than the principle itself[89].

1.4 Language planning

A change to the vernacular or any other type of linguistic change entails a range of choices, decisions, and processes to be made and pursued. When a particular sociolinguistic situation is evaluated as problematic in some way, a change may be sought in the form of deliberate language planning. The latter has become an established discipline in its own right, defining the scope of the activity, and outlining the issues and processes involved. What follows is a brief review of some of the main concepts.

Haugen (1966b:52) defines language planning as the "exercise of judgement in the form of choices among available linguistic forms."[90] According to Haugen[91] speech communities which most require language planning are those which are "secondary" (partial intelligibility among subgroups) and "tertiary" (absence of overall intelligibility). Other factors to be taken into consideration when delimiting the needs of a particular (problematic) sociolinguistic situation is whether there

[89]Members of the speech community themselves, whose vernacular is under consideration, do not often think very much of the idea.
[90]See also, Neustupny, J. (1970); Rubin, J. (1973)
[91]1966b:55

is a written tradition or not, and in the case of its existence, what level of standardization it has achieved. One of the ways of evaluating sociolinguistic situations is described in Ferguson (1962; 1966).

Once the needs of a particular situation are specified, the appropriate language planning activities can be undertaken. These are mainly of two types, namely language determination, and language development; the former refers to language selection (status planning), and the latter to such linguistic processes as codification, standardisation, or modernisation (corpus planning)[92].

The selection of a new norm may entail the adoption of a variety which has the most prestige, the adoption of a variety which enjoys equal status with others, or the amalgamation of different varieties. In multilingual countries, language selection may also involve giving official status to more than one variety. Haugen (1966a) describes three procedures, which may be employed in the construction of a new standard, namely: archaizing (by making use of old linguistic traditions), statistical (by choosing the most used forms), and comparative (by linguistic reconstruction of related varieties).

Language development may involve graphization, standardization, and modernization. A predominantly spoken language will require the establishment of a writing system, the standardization of grammar, spelling and pronunciation, and the expansion of the lexicon

[92]Nahir (1984) provides, in some detail, a description of the goals of language planning.

through adaptation (borrowing) or innovation (coinage). New forms of discourse may also need to be developed to extend the range of functions of the new standard. Languages with an established written tradition may also require changes to the writing system, or development of new (scientific) terminology.

Most studies of language planning use a four-stage model to describe its processes; these comprise selection (including "fact-finding"), planning, implementation, and evaluation. Fact-finding[93] involves collecting information on the particular linguistic situation, including sociolinguistic profile, degree of multilingualism, and number of languages and speakers. Planning refers to the task of determining the objectives and weighing the alternatives. Implementation represents the actual application of decisions (e.g. through the educational system), publication of grammars, dictionaries, etc. The last stage involves the evaluation of the changes and their progress ("feedback"). Haugen (1987) illustrates an updated model of language planning; it consists of: 1) selection (including identification of problems and allocation of norms); 2) codification (including graphization, grammatication, and lexication); 3) implementation (including correction and evaluation); 4) elaboration (including terminological modernization and stylistic development). One of the crucial factors in the success or failure of any language planning exercise is the extent to which it has been accepted in the whole of

[93]Rubin, J. (1972)

the speech community[94]. The survival of a language policy will depend on whether the members of the speech community in question respond to, or feel there is a need to adopt, the effected changes. Haugen (1966a:276) concludes from his study of the Norwegian situation that "after more than a century of controversy and two generations of official planning, the Norwegian language problem has not been settled."

[94]Pool (1979) discusses how the process of language planning can affect identity change.

Chapter Two

Diglossia, General and Arabic

2.1 Diglossic variation

There has been an abundance of studies of the sociolinguistic phenomenon known as diglossia (Ferguson, 1959a). The term has been constantly re-defined, adapted and applied to a wide range of situations, making in the process changes to the original concept and term. Functional distribution of linguistic varieties can be found in a multiplicity of situations with varying degrees of multilingualism. So-called monolingual speech communities switch between a number of registers in accordance with situational changes; regional dialects may also be reserved for non-formal domains, while standard dialects are allocated the formal ones. But while the functional aspect of variation is quite common, distinctions have to be drawn between the different forms it takes. These can vary from stylistic variation, and

regional or social versus standard, to diglossia and bilingualism.

Ferguson (1959a) wanted to define as diglossic situations involving two divergent varieties but belonging to the same language, where the High variety is used for written and formal activities and is formally learnt, and where the Low variety is natively learnt and spoken but never written. Ferguson referred to nine features which distinguish diglossia from other similar situations. These are the specialisation of *function* for H and L; the *prestige* associated with H; a *literary heritage* as well as a contemporary literature of which H is the vehicle; the difference in patterns of *acquisition* between H and L; the exclusivity of codification and *standardisation* to H; *stability* of diglossic patterns; differences in grammar between H and L, where the *grammar* of H is more complex; the functional distribution of *lexicon* and the existence of "paired items"; and the existence of the same basic structure at the level of *phonology* with divergent features of H, and L phonemes being substituted for unfamiliar H phonemes.

2.1.1 Diglossia and bilingualism

In Ferguson's definition H and L forms have to be of the same language[1]. The term, however, has been extended to situations with not necessarily related languages. What has come to be known as broad diglossia ignores the linguistic-relatedness criterion. Fishman (1967) was

[1] Ferguson, (1959a:336)

interested in possible interplay between diglossia and bilingualism. He distinguished between them on a micro and macro level. Fishman reserved bilingualism for individual ability to use more than one linguistic variety, and used diglossia to refer to functional distribution of these at the social level[2]. This can be interpreted in two ways, namely that a person may be called bilingual with reference to two diglossic varieties, or that some kind of bilingualism may exist side by side with, or embedded in, diglossia. It follows that bilingualism and diglossia do not exclude each other and that their coexistence is both logically and empirically possible. In a diglossic community[3], speakers may be bilingual in the diglossic varieties, or in one of them (L) and another not necessarily diglossic variety. This happens, for example, when a given L speaker is exposed to another language that is not part of the diglossia in question[4]. Within diglossic communities, it is possible to come across sub-communities whose languages are not diglossic or fall within the main diglossic pattern. Fishman (1967) described four possible combinations of diglossia and bilingualism. These are (1) both diglossia and bilingualism; (2) bilingualism without diglossia; (3) diglossia without bilingualism; and (4) neither diglossia nor bilingualism.

---

[2] "bilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic behavior whereas diglossia is a characterization of linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level." Fishman, (1967:34)

[3] Fasold, (1984:44) defined a diglossic community "as a social unit which shares the same High and Low varieties."

[4] Tamazight speakers in Morocco, for instance.

Fishman's combinations, however, have been criticised for being confusing rather than clarifying, and as divergent from the original concept introduced by Ferguson (Timm, 1981, Britto, 1985). Timm, in a detailed criticism of Fishman's article, sees the first combination (both diglossia and bilingualism) and the illustrations Fishman provided as violating the concept of speech community as well as linguistic affinity. Timm also accuses Fishman of "weakening" the criterion of domain complementarity and ignoring the rest of the other nine features that Ferguson saw as determinant to diglossia. He, himself, favours a more restrictive definition of diglossia, and believes that "subsuming monolingual speech communities under bilingual ones may lead to more confusion than illumination."[5]

Fishman's purpose was not specifically to extend the concept of diglossia to separate languages, but rather to resist `discrimination' between separate varieties of the one language and distinct languages, and to apply the criterion of functional complementarity across the range of variability. This he considers has "the benefit of providing a single theoretical framework for viewing bilingual speech communities and speech communities whose linguistic diversity is realised through varieties not (yet) recognised as constituting separate languages."[6]

---

[5] Timm, (1981:359)

[6] Fishman, (1967:32). Notice the contrast between this view and Timm's view that it is more beneficial to distinguish between intra-linguistic and inter-linguistic variation.

The collective-individual distinction is one criterion that helps in establishing a typology of bilingualism and diglossia, for though language use in bilingual situations may be regulated by functional distribution, in diglossia it is rather the over-all pervasive and well-established patterns of functional division and their applicability to most segments of the speech community[7] that are particularly significant. In one such typology, Francescato (1986) first distinguished between spontaneous and guided bilingualism, simultaneous and successive bilingualism, and collective and isolated bilingualism[8]; he then proceeded to examine which of these features apply to diglossia. He wrongly concluded, however, that while "second language learning (bilingualism) is either spontaneous or guided, diglossia is, per definitionem, the result of spontaneous learning only." With regard to the second feature, he again mistakingly concluded that diglossia is simultaneous. This is totally the opposite of what happens in diglossic situations where H can be only learnt in a formal manner, and at a later stage. Diglossia can in fact be said to be guided and successive (with regard to second language learning). His description of diglossia as collective in contrast to the individual aspect of bilingualism is in agreement with Fishman's classification.

[7] Though not all L speakers are familiar with H, they are aware of its role, and are affected by it.

[8] Bilingualism is spontaneous if the second language is learnt through "direct experience"; simultaneous if both languages are learnt simultaneously (at home); and collective if characteristic of the whole community. Francescato, (1986:396)

To re-state one of the criteria (not explicitly described) in the above typology, we may describe bilingualism and diglossia as significantly different with respect to the patterns of second language learning involved. In diglossic situations, it is usually the case that the second language `H' is learnt at a later stage and almost exclusively through formal teaching, whereas in bilingualism it can be learnt at the same time as the first language, as well as at a later stage. In bilingualism, the second language can be naturally acquired (i,e., through exposure to and or interaction with the native speakers of the second language). In diglossia, it is mostly through conscious learning. In bilingualism both languages can be naturally used in informal speech; in diglossia only L is used for spoken activities.

2.1.2 Diglossic terminology

Most of the discussion on bilingualism and diglossia is related to terminological limitations, i.e. whether we should apply the criterion of functional complementarity to styles, related dialects, and distinct languages; and how we are going to distinguish between diglossia and equally functional bilingualism. One of the solutions suggested is exactly terminological. After using the term broad diglossia to refer to "any degree of linguistic relatedness..., from stylistic differences to separate languages...", Fasold (1984:53-54) subdivides this broad

diglossia into superposed bilingualism, classic diglossia, and style shifting.

Britto (1985) believes that most of the confusion stems rather from the loose definition of linguistic relatedness. He suggests further terminological delimitation of the concept, and proceeds to call the type of linguistic relatedness involved in diglossia optimal. Hence, bilingual situations are super-optimal and situational changes sub-optimal[9]. He makes a further distinction between a variety and what he calls a diasystem. Since diglossic varieties are not homogeneous especially L varieties, a diasystem is a collective or "an abstract label" to refer to all varieties sharing certain common features, and "only when there are two or more diasystems can a situation be called diglossic or polyglossic."[10]

This leads us to another controversy (that is also more terminological than conceptual), namely that of the number of diglossic varieties. Subsequent to Ferguson's two main varieties, there has been a growing argument on the shortcomings of such a division, and an interest in other varieties (other than `H' and `L') that may be equally functionally controlled. Such observations have been made in conjunction with the wide range of situations the

[9] Britto defines the diglossic linguistic affinity as follows: "For convenience of reference, this intermediate relationship that is presumed to exist between H and L may be said to be optimal. H and L may then be termed optimally distant varieties or optimal varieties, so that they are distinguished from 'languages', (which would be super-optimal varieties) and 'styles','accents', etc., (which would be sub-optimal varieties.) p. 13

[10] ibid:19

concept of diglossia has been applied to. Such studies (Mkilifi, (1978), Platt, (1977)) led to the coinage of such terms as triglossia and polyglossia.

Diglossic situations where there are more than just two varieties are rather the rule than the exception. What is of interest, however, is how these other varieties or languages fare in their fulfilment of the main diglossic `conditions'. A language, for example, cannot be described as H either within the main or conjunct diglossia, if it is learnt or used in a fashion approximate to that employed in native speech. This applies to what Fasold (1984) called double-nested diglossia; by which he meant that "within the High and the Low varieties can be distinguished a higher and lower Low and a higher and lower High"[11]. What he considered as the H of the L (in this case 'Khalapur') is rather a different register than a complete diglossic switch, which is used according to Fasold " with relatively more distant acquaintances and to show respect for elders."[12] His description of the low form of the H (Hindi) also negates what constitutes a High variety by being conversational and "typical of the general spoken Hindi of the region". It can be better judged whether or not a situation is diglossic on the basis of the nature of the functional distribution and the over-all diglossic pattern (considering all other diglossic parameters) rather than

[11] Fasold based his description of this particular situation on Gumperz's study of a rural Indian village.
[12] ibid:47

on the number of linguistic varieties involved (a matter of subsequent consideration).

The accommodation in (complex) diglossic situations, of more than two varieties is more of a descriptive than terminological problem. A general diglossic theoretical framework can account for the inclusion of other functional varieties and in particular what are called the middle varieties. Such an approach does not necessitate a change in terminology, though some typological information may be instructive. Britto (1985) takes the same view in allowing for conceptual flexibility of diglossia, and notes that "diglossia can be used in the sense of polyglossia, just as bilingualism is used in the sense of multilingualism."[13]

2.1.3 Diglossia and standard-with-dialects

Variability, on the whole, is underpinned by rules of appropriateness which regulate language choice, and which imply the existence of correlations between linguistic and situational aspects; this makes most linguistic switching functional. It is, nevertheless, of particular sociolinguistic interest exactly to describe the functional settings under differential linguistic and normative inputs. Whereas the above discussion was particularly concerned with bilingualism and diglossia, one other related issue is the isolation of diglossic patterns from possible confusion with situations where

[13] Conceptual flexibility can be seen, here as an advantage rather than a drawback by striking a balance between theoretical insight and range of applicability.

standard languages enjoy a similar functional status to that of H varieties and regional/social dialects to that of the L varieties. Such situations can be perceived as being governed by the same usage rules that characterise diglossia. These situations, however, display significant divergence from the usage and attitudinal norms common to diglossic situations. Ferguson (1959) saw the "more widespread" standard-with-dialects as different from diglossia "in that no segment of the speech community in diglossia regularly uses H as a *medium of ordinary conversation*", and that "the standard is often similar to *the variety of a certain region or social group*[added italics]... which is used in ordinary conversation more or less naturally by members of the group and as a superposed variety by others."[14]

Two main features can be isolated, here, which distinguish diglossic communities from standard-with-dialects communities in terms of functional distribution and language use. Language choice in the former tends to be strictly delimited. Domains and topics can only be exclusive to their respective allocated varieties. There is a strong sense that some varieties cannot be used for particular functions and that they are more appropriate for others. In a standard-with-dialects situation, language choice, though subject to rules of appropriateness leaves room for (stylistic) 'transgressions', where marked linguistic choice is tolerable. Thus, the standard language, for example, can

[14] Ferguson, (1959a:337)

be used in domains considered informal, or vice versa. On the other hand, the kind of situational change which takes place within standard-with- dialects is often similar to that which obtains within the L varieties, where there are regional and social dialects, as well as stylistic switching.

Secondly, in diglossia H is never spoken natively, whereas in a standard-with-dialects speech communities, the standard variety may correspond to that of a regional or social group[15]. This implies, as Ferguson remarked, that the standard is used under these circumstances for functions normally reserved for the L varieties in diglossic situations. Diglossia and standard-with- dialects differ, then, in terms of language acquisition and competence, in that a standard language can be natively learnt, at least by some members of the speech community, and hence unassumingly used; the sociolinguistic implication of this is that linguistic and communicative competence in the non-diglossic standard considerably vary from that in the diglossic standard H. This also affects the kind of attitudinal patterns particular to diglossic or standard-with- dialects situations. In the latter situation regional or social dialects are usually associated with their respective speakers and are often viewed in social

[15] Britto (1985:45) called these situations where a standard coincides with the dialect of a regional or social group *User-oriented*, and diglossia as *Use-oriented* since language use in the latter is dictated by functional distribution rather than the speaker's background. Giles and Powesland (1975:15) made a similar distinction between *class-related* and *context-related* standards.

prestige terms. In diglossia, H varieties (in the absence of direct social conflict) rely on such notions as purity and literary prestige.

Scotton (1986) introduced another element that may be useful in clarifying the differences between what she called narrow diglossia and other instances of multilingualism. Her assumption is that since code-switching is common to most types of multilingualism, it would be useful to identify those types of code-switching that are characteristic of diglossia. Scotton places her discussion of code-switching within a general model of markedness presuming "that all communicatively competent speakers of the linguistic variety in question have mental representations of the normative framework which associates each code choice as the unmarked index of a rights and obligations balance between participants in a conventionalised exchange. In the process of making choices, speakers match a given choice with predictable consequences, given their mental representation of the markedness of the choice."[16] Scotton distinguished between four types of code switching: sequential unmarked choices, corresponding to situational changes; switching as an overall unmarked choice, where social meaning is implied by the overall use of the two varieties also coinciding with role models; switching as a marked choice, which is a deliberate change in code to achieve an effect other than the expected; and switching

---

[16]Scotton, (1986:405)

as an exploratory choice as an attempt to settle on a common code.

Scotton concluded that the most distinctive feature of diglossic usage is the non-occurrence of code-switching as an overall unmarked choice. This is attributed to domain complementarity in narrow diglossia being categorical rather than gradient, and with no conflicting norms or functional overlapping taking place, or likely identification with role models.

Differences between diglossia and standard-with dialects situations can, then, be established in terms of relative functional exchange between the standard and non- standard codes, relative native competence in the standard code, and attitudinal patterns. The description of the interplay between these three indicators would also account for differences in language use.

2.2 Pedagogical implications

Given that significant differences can be obtained at the linguistic level between the two diglossic varieties, difficulties in learning at school, especially in elementary grades, are bound to be encountered. Most societies experience some level of linguistic discontinuity between home and the school. This would vary in accordance with the degree of multilingualism, and above all, the kind of language policy. In diglossic communities, this discontinuity has special ramifications. A generalisation of this kind, however, is difficult since each of the diglossic communities shows

different attitudes (to their L dialects, in particular) and adopt different educational policies, and hence have different language- related educational issues[17]. Allowing for the attitudinal nuances and stability of the diglossic situation, some general features of language teaching in diglossia can be distinguished from general language teaching problems.

Firstly, the fact that H lacks role models within diglossic communities affects its use in the classroom, especially in activities requiring verbal response. When H is used in these conditions, it is usually a continuous and self-conscious effort on the part of both teacher and pupil. Secondly, the fact that H is rarely used in normal conversation means that there is little sustaining material that represents the relative use of H across the functional spectrum, and that H has to fill in those roles for L in the classroom; this renders those kinds of activities that are supposed to be a reflection of real situations a laborious linguistic reconstruction[18].

The implications of the use of the diglossic H for teaching purposes (this usually includes teaching H as a subject and using it as a medium of teaching) as

---

[17] German-speaking Switzerland and Greece, for example, adopt more liberal policies and tend to make concessions to the use of the L variety in education.

[18] This is to a certain extent also true of diglossic communities with outside role models (as in the case of Switzerland and Haiti). Stewart (1968b:469), for example, noticed that "Foreigners who have visited or resided in Haiti have often remarked that Haitian French seems to them to be stuffy and bookish, and lacking in the relaxed, fluid quality which it often has when used by Frenchmen."

distinct from other educational settings (bilingual or standard- with-dialects) are partly related to the absence of spoken language models of H in diglossic communities. This usually results in a more language-oriented curriculum (though this again is subject to the nature of language policies)[19]. Accordingly, language teaching depends on the learning and internalising of explicit grammatical rules. Consequently written language or formal speech reveals a conventionalised linguistic ability and an alertness to 'rules' of correctness.

In some diglossic cases, the gap caused by the non- use of H in normal speech and the need to teach and/or use spoken language in the classroom lead to the introduction of a pseudo-spoken language that is more of a composed speech (that can be easily written) than a reflection of genuine conversational style. The resort to such strategy leads to another aspect of language teaching in diglossic communities, namely the blurring of stylistic distinctions which are (otherwise) part of the spoken medium and are often in non-diglossic situations interchangeably extended to the written medium. The exclusion of L from the school means also the exclusion of most of the stylistic levels that form part of a given diglossic verbal repertoire. What ultimately happens is the reduction of the totality of styles to one generic multi-purpose style.

---

[19] The reason for such emphasis is that the learning of H is almost entirely dependent on intentional learning.

The limitations of the sociolinguistic stimulus for H, then, engenders a different kind of approach to the use of language in education, where the learning of H is pursued through a technical and analytical process, which is often costly in time and yield. The by-product of such linguistic education is that the linguistic choices available to an educated speaker of H are what we can describe as *language-bound* rather than *context-bound*. Context-bound choices such as in L usage (or in situations where standard languages are partially functional) are determined by the speaker/writer's perception (intuitive or conscious) of the relevant sociolinguistic variables of the situation, and choices are usually made with little grammatical awareness. Language-bound choices, on the other hand, are predominantly dictated by what the speaker/writer linguistically (and consciously) knows about H. This depends on how much of a good language student he or she is; how well he or she can manipulate (memorise, remember, and be relatively fluent with) their grammatical and lexical knowledge of H. In this sense, language-bound choices are rather acts of linguistic manoeuvering, where choices are determined by what one knows rather than what one wants to do. This should not be confused with speakers/writers in non-diglossic situations (or even in diglossic cases), who are considered literarily `gifted' or are known to express themselves 'eloquently'. In sociolinguistic terms, the difference between the two may be sought in their

respective linguistic/communicative competence, which in its turn affects their linguistic output, which may betray either a socio-cultural/intellectual or a linguistic dominance. In the case of the diglossic H, the ability to use it is uncharacteristically confined in terms of the use a speaker can make of his or her internalised `rules', and subject to relative exposure to and use of it.

2.3 Selection of norm within diglossia

We may assume that because the diglossic pattern has no direct basis in social stratification, the task of national language selection can be facilitated, since there are no social loyalties at stake. Diglossia, however, is not an innocent non-conflictual and functionally justifiable linguistic state of affairs. Factors such as tradition (especially if the H variety happens to be particularly archaic in essence, such as Katharevusa & Classical Arabic) or a long history of a well-established functional split, may be major deterrents to any change in diglossic status-quo (and hence diglossic stability). Such conflict may be witnessed in the clash between language pragmatists and purists, for example. In diglossic communities with high illiteracy rates, access to and participation in the national network is seriously restricted. By virtue of H being the language of information (news, administration, law, etc.), not being able to understand it is a major social disadvantage. Change in diglossic patterns of

learning is further complicated by the association of both diglossic codes with national identity and the belief that universalisation of education rather than a change of linguistic policy is a more viable solution.

Likely options of planned linguistic change in diglossic situations for educational purposes may generally be of four types: (1) continuation of H as the language of education; (2) functional elaboration of H (as to new needs, e.g. modernisation, national character, or simplification (if archaic); (3) development of an intermediate language (based on educated speech); (4) codification and standardisation of L (which in itself may involve the selection of a supra-regional dialect or an amalgamation of several dialects). Most of these have been implemented in various ways in the different diglossic communities. In the Arabic-speaking countries, H continues to be used as the language of learning, with parallel programmes of modernisation and simplification of grammar. In Greece, on the other hand, the demotike (L) was declared as the official language and exclusive language of instruction in 1976[20], but the new demotike is also characterised by a mixing of the H and L features[21].

In the Arabic-speaking countries general attitudes (whether of educated or non-educated speakers) do not show any sign of change, and the likelihood of any form of L implementation at the educational level is very

[20] Browning, (1982)
[21] Sotiropoulos, (1982)

slight. There is very little (written) literature in Arabic vernaculars of the kind that usually precedes any kind of change in the status of any language and provide essential prestige in any linguistic promotion. This can probably be explained by the stability of diglossic patterns, which means that these patterns are rarely contested, or that there is a competing literature that challenges the `linguistic establishment'. The process of building an attitudinal confidence in the new language (which is usually spoken but seldom written) is often a long one. In Greece, poetry was already written in demotike by the early nineteenth century, and by the turn of this century a literature with demotike as its medium was already gaining ground[22]. Demotike, however, was not to become the official language or the medium of instruction on a large scale until 1976. This as Browning (ibid) explains was the outcome of both "conviction and political necessity". He was particularly referring to the wide use of demotike by the media, and the change of government. This is especially significant since it identifies two crucial elements in change of linguistic status namely: public endorsement (radio, television, newspapers, public speeches,etc.), and political will. As may be expected, such changes are inevitably accompanied by new problems. The new role for the `inexperienced' language means the writing of educational material and the re-training of teachers.

[22] Browning (1982:54) cites Psycharis' publication of his account of a journey in Greece in 1888 as being a "kind of demoticist manifesto".

But in initial stages of linguistic reform, improvisation and individual endeavour are not normally discouraged[23]. The use of language in education in other diglossic situations, on the other hand, where H is still officially the language of education (with which the present research is particularly concerned) is characterised by another type of linguistic `makeshift'. The limitations of teachers' competence in H (especially in elementary schools, but also throughout secondary and higher education), and the need for linguistic intermediacy that is part of teaching make the use of native L in education inevitable. While H is assumed, in such instances, to be the paramount language of instruction, L or an intermediate variety are extensively used in teaching tasks requiring explanations or guidance (though teachers may report otherwise), while the use of H itself does not often go beyond the confines of school jargon. Language selection under diglossia, then, depicts some of the complexity of factors common to other types of language planning, which vary with the background of the particular diglossia in question in terms of history, attitudes, and stability.

---

[23] Browning (ibid:57) describes the ensuing educational scene of the introduction of demotike to school as chaos, "as no textbooks were available and many teachers had to unlearn the habits of a lifetime. But popular enthusiasm and the Greek talent for improvisation enabled the reform to be realized."

2.4 Variation in Arabic

The Arabic linguistic situation displays all the characteristics of an 'all-round' diglossia. Arabic diglossia is one of the defining cases on which Ferguson based his description of the phenomenon , and hence has all the elements. In terms of language use, functional complementarity is strictly observed; and with regard to attitudes, the L's are largely overshadowed by H. It is also striking that throughout centuries of Arabic language dominance, written literature in vernacular Arabic is almost non-existent. Writing has always, and automatically, meant CA. In a situation where there is a total lack of linguistic 'resistance' and affiliated legacy, it is difficult to advance or defend any language change thesis. Modern linguistic thinking has had little effect on Arabic linguistic issues -- if not an adverse effect. There is still a halo around linguistic topics, and a presence of ideological and religious intimidations. Definition, description, and analysis of Arabic diglossia have consequently to take into consideration such a background.

2.4.1 Definition

Diglossia is the most crucial of all the sociolinguistic issues the Arabic-speech communities experience -- see Fig 2.1 for the other issues. The concept of diglossia owes its existence mostly to outside observation, and is a relatively new concern in the Arabic speech communities. Most of the educated elite can be dismissive

of the concept, which leaves diglossia as a field of study and as applied to Arabic a mainly 'imported' commodity. Further to complicate the linguistic scene, the bigger 'cause' of CA, its revival and its restoration to the position it 'deserves' relegates most of the 'down to earth' language issues to neglect. It is a brazen act, or even disloyal, to evoke the spoken languages on a par with CA. In the midst of such linguistic obstinacy, one can only echo one's observations and speculations.

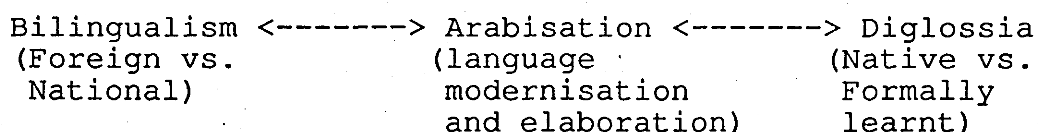


Fig 2.1 Language agenda in Morocco.

There are a number of hypotheses on variation in Arabic, and in particular the number and nature of the diglossic levels. Though Ferguson (1959a) referred, while commenting on the stability of diglossias, to the existence of a medial variety, he mainly focused on what he called the H and L varieties. There is a general agreement among researchers on Arabic variation that the two-level dichotomy is unsatisfactory. But it is mostly the intermediate varieties of the supposedly Arabic continuum[24] which are the subject of much of the debate. Abd-El-Jawad (1987) believes that for an adequate sociolinguistic description of variation in Arabic one has to include other prestigious local varieties, mainly spoken, which compete with CA and which can be considered

---

24 El-Hassan (1978)

standards in their own right. He accordingly distinguished between three varieties:

(a) The national standard variety (CA) with a Pan-Arab prestige;

(b) regional standard spoken varieties with local prestige that is competing with that of CA;

(c) vernacular varieties with less prestige than (a) and (b).

However, it is not clear as to what he means by regional standards and how they fit in with other descriptions of intermediate varieties, whether he is referring to the educated variety or a widely used regional dialect. Some of the studies on variation in Arabic are also concerned with variation within H and the inclusion of it in their classifications.

Classifications such as these include Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973), and Meiseles (1980) . These studies vary both in categorisation and number. Blanc described five varieties: 1)Standard Arabic; 2) Modified classical; 3)Semi-literary or Elevated colloquial; 4)Koineized colloquial; 5)Plain colloquial. Badawi also referred to five varieties though not similar:

1) fusHa ttura:th (the classical of tradition)

2) fusHa l9aSr (contemporary Arabic)

3) 9a:miyyatu lmuthaqqafi:n (the colloquial of the educated)

4) 9a:miyyatu lmutanawwiri:n (the colloquial of the enlightened)

5) 9a:miyyatu l'u:miyyi:n (the colloquial of the illiterate)[25]

Meiseles, on the other hand, adopts a four-scale model assuming that "every text or part of it, cannot help being either L[iterary]A[rabic] or colloquially oriented"[26]. He distinguished between the following:

1) Literary (or standard) Arabic

2) Sub-standard Arabic /or Oral Literary Arabic

3) Educated spoken Arabic

4) Basic or plain vernaculars

Though there is considerable variation within H, and though some texts are known as 'old/classical' in style, and are recognised as such, these styles are still interchangeably used in writing and formal speech. There is little consensus on what is archaic and cannot be used, and what is archaic but can be used, in terms of syntax and lexicon. The distinctions between the two remain largely impressionistic.

Meiseles's distinctions between Literary and Oral Literary Arabic, and between the latter and ESA are also superfluous, especially when he stresses that OLA is not identical with the literary variety used in reading aloud or recitation. His further subcategory of what he calls the substandard variety: an additional Informal

[25] Badawi's classification, though it claims to be sociolinguistically based, is as El-Hassan remarks arbitrary. It is not clear what he means by "the enlightened" group (fourth variety), and how such variety differs from that of "the educated" and/or "the illiterate".
[26] Meiseles, (1980:123)

Written Arabic -- a written manifestation of OLA -- has little bearing on functional aspects of variation in Arabic.

Most studies, however, and in particular those with a sociolinguistic emphasis on spoken Arabic in its total complexity choose a three-level model. Mitchell (1980, 1986), for instance, talks of three varieties in his description of variation in Arabic namely: written, vernacular, and mixed (ESA)[27]. The present research is based on the same assumption, namely that there are three sociolinguistic varieties which all traditionally fall under the term Arabic; see Fig 2.2 (and explanation) for a further qualification of this statement. There is no need to distinguish between classical Arabic (apparently referring to the language of pre-Islamic literature and the Koran) and what is called Modern Standard Arabic. Native judgement as well as native practice subscribe to one variety that is identified as classical or rather as al-fusHa. This variety has always "kept its distance" from the `vulgar' language, and, hence, has been the language of the written word, and learning. The educational programmes throughout most of the Arabic-speaking countries include a large body of early literary works, which are presented as works of al-fusHa. Despite the major linguistic differences between the written Arabic of the sixth or seventh century and contemporary written Arabic, early literary works are often presented as models without their being placed historically.

[27] See also El-Hassan, (1978)

One would argue that two wrongs do not make a right. But, even philologically, the distinction between two 'versions' of (written) Arabic is only misleading, since classical Arabic (as opposed to what is termed Modern Standard Arabic) is a convenient concept to dismiss all those centuries in the life of Arabic, thought of in some vague manner as not pertaining to contemporary Arabic. An Arabic-speaking person is still expected to be able to understand an early piece of poetry or prose, he or she are still taught such early works as part of al-fusHa, and consequently led to perceive all these levels as one entity with no clear sense of archaism.

Leaving aside philological considerations, a sociolinguistic description of present usage of Arabic would have to deal with the formal mainly written language (CA), the native spoken Arabic language (in the present research MA), and the uncodified ESA. It is specifically this last variety, which has emerged from the various studies on diglossia and variation in Arabic in general. There is a growing interest in such a variety, in that it represents a natural language change, and that it may provide in the long run an alternative to the present linguistic polarisation.

One may encounter and possibly become confused by the profusion of labels with regard to the range of Arabics (concrete or hypothetical) encountered in literature on variation in Arabic. More than often, they also overlap, thus reflecting rather than delimiting the

problems involved[28]. In what follows, we intend to define the three varieties that we shall consider throughout this study.

CA

Having discarded the 'label' debate, CA should be viewed as a generic term covering that variety of Arabic which is mainly written. Such a term refers to the official language of all Arabic-speaking countries. It is the type of Arabic learnt at school. It is found in most formal written domains, administrative, journalistic, literary and scientific, as well as in some formal spoken activities such as news reading.

It is a language with a responsibility, responsibility to its scholarly past, and to its ideological role (that is partly religious and partly nationalistic). These factors have had rather an encumbering effect on the development of Arabic. CA still displays what we can describe as the characteristics of a classical language[29]. The grammars and lexicons of CA are mostly prescriptive, owing to the fact that it has no native speakers; the implications of this prompted Kaye (1970) to call it ill-defined[30].

[28] Meiseles (1980), for example, states in his notes (26:137) that "it is only out of personal preference that I am using the term 'literary Arabic' rather than 'standard Arabic' or 'classical Arabic', which are also used."
[29] Such as conservatism or grammatical purism
[30] Kaye (1970:377) based his argument on the assumption that CA not being a language with native speakers, its linguistic description cannot be precise, since "it

MA

There are two native languages in Morocco. These are Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic. There are no exact statistics as to the total number of Tamazight speakers, but an estimate of over a third of the population is usually agreed on. Moroccan Arabic is used both as a natural medium of social interaction, and as a lingua franca between Moroccan Arabic speakers and Tamazight speakers[31]. Studies of variation in MA are very rare. There is a lack of linguistic evidence and of an adequate framework for the description of Moroccan dialects[32].

MA is exclusively a spoken language, as is the case with all other native Arabic languages. Recently, however, there has been a growing trend in some literary works to borrow aspects of language usage from MA, both in dialogue and narrative. Some types of journalism also tend to switch to MA, as in captions of cartoons and in satirical papers. Comments on radio and television are often passed in MA. There is also a growing literature of drama (mainly performed) in MA.

These examples depict one of the contradictions in Arabic linguistics. Underlying them is an unspoken acknowledgement of the `necessity' of MA, as well as an

---

can[not] be tested in natural speech situations", and that it is mainly speculative ("what they think MSA should be").

[31] The term lingua franca may not be totally accurate in this case, since one can be naturally bilingual in both languages (as a result, for example, of one parent being Tamazight speaker, and another being Moroccan Arabic speaker).

[32] See, for example, Abbassi (1977).

indication of a gap and consequently a need in readily accessible written expression. Yet most people would decry the suitability of MA to the written medium. There is a strong tradition of disdain for the spoken language, related essentially to the assumption that most native spoken Arabic varieties are distortions of classical Arabic[33].

ESA

Though there is general agreement on the existence of a variety of Arabic characteristic of educated speakers, it is not clear whether such a concept is hypothetical or a distinct entity. Since, however, numerous differences are apparent in the speech of educated speakers of Arabic, it has been difficult positively to identify any such variety. In a project at Leeds university, research was specifically directed towards the establishment of stylistic and grammatical correlates of ESA as used in Egypt and the Levant[34]. Relevant studies of ESA include Blanc (1960), El-Hassan (1977, 1978), Mitchell (1980, 1986), Meiseles (1980), Sallam (1979)[35]. Such a variety is seen as a "middle" speech drawing on both CA and colloquial Arabic. Ferguson described it as "a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semiformal or cross-dialectal situations [which] has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a

[33] See Zughoul (1980:205-206) for some of these examples.
[34] Mitchell, (1980)
[35] See Hannaoui (1987) for Moroccan ESA.

fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary."[36] Meiseles (1980:132) believes that more than a mixing of the vernacular and the classical language is involved, and that ESA is rather " based not only on the quantitative fluctuations of variables in the different language varieties, but also on some combinatory principles, indicating that the blend is (at least partially) controlled by a certain regularity. In other words, the blend belongs in part to the level of *langue*."

According to Mitchell (1986:8), "It is the interplay between written Arabic and vernacular Arabic(s) that creates and maintains Educated Spoken Arabic, both nationally and internationally." The most significant aspect of ESA is that it provides an efficient antidote to the self-consciousness normally associated with CA. Such variety has the essential elements of a spoken language as well as the prestige necessary to cover a wide range of topics. It is used both as a regional standard among the educated and as an inter-Arabic code across national boundaries -- identical to what Scotton called exploratory code switching[37]. Differences, however, between intra-Arabic and inter-Arabic ESA have not been established[38].

---

[36] Ferguson, (1959a:332)
[37] See p.70
[38] ESA as practiced among Arabic speakers of different nationalities can be characterised, for example, by the use of less local forms, more use of CA forms and occasional use of Egyptian forms. See also Mitchell (1982) for the process of koineisation in Arabic.

The emergence of ESA is attributed to such factors as the spread of education, influence of the mass-media, cultural exchange and the resulting changes in linguistic needs. Topic and interlocutor are the two most determinant variables in the elicitation of ESA. If the addressee is equally educated, the exchange is usually characterised by code-switching between MA and ESA as the topic requires. Grammatical descriptions of ESA vary in their emphasis and findings. Differences often result from use of different types of data. El-Hassan (1977) and Blanc (1960), for instance, disagree on the morphological and syntactical features of ESA[39].

Differences between ESA and CA fall across most linguistic levels. The phonemic inventory of ESA in Morocco is essentially based on MA. Most morphological and syntactical differences concern the absence of case endings in ESA, use of vernacular interrogative, negative particles, vernacular prepositions and numerals. Differences, on the other hand, between ESA and Arabic vernaculars occur predominantly at the level of lexicon, where extensive borrowing from CA takes place. Mitchell (1986) tries also to account for stylistic variations within ESA. He distinguishes between "stigmatized" and "unstigmatized" forms on the basis of those vernacular elements that are included or excluded.

---

39 With regard to case endings, for example, El-Hassan (1977) disagrees with Blanc (1960) in "that a fairly large proportion of educated spoken Arabic does carry full marks of Classical ?igraab [case endings] which in no sense can be said to be restricted to what Blanc calls 'set phrases' and `proverbs'." p. 121

Since ESA is a linguistic variety that can be traced to an educational variable rather than pure socio-economic or regional variables , the question remains as to whether ESA and MA (in this case) are distinct varieties or whether ESA is different register of vernacular Arabic. A Moroccan `user' of ESA would regularly switch between MA and ESA depending on whether he or she are talking to an uneducated or educated person, for example. Native speakers of MA do not become exclusive speakers of ESA, but they rather switch to and from as the situation requires. ESA is not the result of abandoning the vernacular for a more prestigious form, but rather as a natural change of the speaker's communicative needs relative to his or her educational status. Only the stabilising factors of codification and standardisation processes can establish enough functional distance which to trigger major linguistic change. The following is a summary of the distinctive features of the main Arabic varieties:[40]

CA: -native; -spontaneously spoken; +written; +official

MA: +native; -written

ESA: +spontaneously spoken; +supra-topical; -written

[40] The feature spontaneously spoken is the relevant distinctive feature between CA and ESA (whereas it is redundant for (+native) MA). The feature supra-topical, versus native, is what distinguishes ESA from MA. Since neither ESA nor MA is codified (and -written), the feature official is redundant.

The present state of variation in Arabic leads us to one significant conclusion, namely that while ESA is considered an intermediate variety because of its stylistic range and linguistic approximation (to CA and MA), there are also good reasons to view ESA as a sub-variety of MA (or other Arabic vernacular) rather than a distinct variety. It may be typologically significant to discriminate, on the one hand, between CA and ESA, and ESA and MA, on the other, on the basis of sociolinguistic variables, since differences in educational status, situation, topic correlate with a change in linguistic code. But while the distinction between CA and ESA may be linguistically justified, the grammatical features of ESA remain predominantly vernacular. Secondly, the position of ESA with regard to `pure' vernaculars resembles that of other non-diglossic standards in that they represent a different level or register fulfilling the needs that are not covered by the vernacular, and are linguistic parallels of functional extension -- not only of formal domains but also of informal ones. In this respect, if communicative competence is a developmental concept, in that we gradually learn rules of appropriateness, and is therefore dependent on such factors as age and opportunity (interaction and exposure), ESA is part of communicative competence in MA rather than having norms of usage of its own. In a given conversational exchange, though features of ESA may be present, the rules of usage are still those of MA, and only those developmental aspects of sociolinguistic

variation[41], in this case how much of an education one has had (if at all) and what we can call here intellectuality of topic, trigger such features and not a change of rules of usage (that would normally pertain to a separate variety); in the same way a standard speaker (in a standard-with-dialects situation) would adjust his or her speech in accordance with their perception/assessment of their interlocutor and/or as the topic requires. Hence, a given ESA can be best understood in terms of its relatedness to the vernacular in question, which suggests the existence of various ESA's, in addition to a form of Pan-(Arabic) ESA. CA is also affected by the vernacular substratum, though not in the same degree as ESA is, mainly because of the prescriptive nature of CA and its functional restrictions. Differences between the different CA normally reflect differences in phonetic inventory, and lexicon. In other words, the interplay between vernaculars and CA produces both different ESA's and CAs. Allowing for such distinctions within the sociolinguistic context of each Arabic-speaking country, the different (socio-educational and regional) varieties of the spoken language in question as well as the different realisations of CA can be elicited. The following figure illustrates such relations:

---

[41] especially in transitional societies where universalisation of education is still an on-going process.

CA(a) <-------> VAa {ESAa}

CA(b) <-------> VAb {ESAb}

F 2.2 Relativity of ESA(s) and CA(s) to Arabic vernaculars[42]

2.4.2 Attitudinal component

The functional neatness of diglossia makes attitudes even more crucial to the `future prospects' of the language varieties involved. Prestige is one of the nine characteristics Ferguson believed to be essential to the definition of diglossia. A common attitude observed by Ferguson is that "H alone is regarded as real and L is reported "not to exist". He, further, explained that "speakers of Arabic, for example, may say (in L) that so-and-so doesn't know Arabic. This normally means he doesn't know H, although he may be a fluent, effective speaker of L."[43] This still holds true for the general patterns of attitudes particular to Arabic-speech communities.

Literature on attitudes to Arabic varieties is very scarce. There is a lack of interest on the part of native linguists for reasons that may become clearer through our survey of the most common patterns of attitudes. It is well-known that these linguists avoid

[42] In each line the interaction between the relatively stable CA and a particular Arabic vernacular (a or b) results in an ESA which bears the hallmarks of that vernacular; although not as significantly, CA also bears the influences of the vernacular it is in contact with.

[43] Ferguson, (1959a:330)

matters that relate to vernaculars[44]. Studies of vernaculars usually generate over-zealous controversy of a non-academic nature sustained by a practice of linguistic tyranny where the classicists' discourse is the safest option (being the 'norm'), and where linguistic theses on vernaculars are 'radical' pursuits (with atheist connotations). The study of patterns of attitudes to Arabic varieties is an essential part of establishing a lucid and comprehensive sociolinguistic description of variation in Arabic. Although these patterns may be thought of as stereotypes, and easily exaggerated, they, nonetheless, present serious handicaps to the resolution of some of the acute linguistic and educational problems in the Arabic-speaking countries. It is equally important to demonstrate that a given Arabic vernacular is a perfectly legitimate language with full potential as to write a grammar for it. It is presumed that a study of these attitudes may provide a sense of linguistic pragmatism. Most of the attitudinal patterns to be described are of common occurrence and can be found in a great number of articles (usually written in Arabic), in the recommendations of language conferences, in overt and covert language policies, and through everyday observations. The underlying logic behind most of these attitudes is that classical Arabic is the focal point where all arguments start and conclude.

---

[44] Abbassi, (1978)

i) Linguistic Status

The definition of what is a language or dialect usually goes far beyond linguistic criteria. In Arabic, the equivalent term to dialect covers all spoken and native (and essentially not formally learned) linguistic phenomena. This means that Tamazight in Morocco, for example, is considered a dialect[45]. The term `dialect' (as well as other related terms[46]) carries with it a number of implications. Contrasted with classical Arabic, Arabic vernaculars are not considered 'proper' languages, nor are they recognised as legitimate dialects of `Arabic'. They are viewed as lacking grammar, and as undisciplined speech that needs to be restored to its `original' and `correct' form. The following quote is an illustration both in statement and style: "Many specialists in "linguistic science" have confirmed that dialects are not languages, and cannot be scientifically called languages, since they have lost their "grammatical system" and essential lexicon, which they borrowed from the "mother tongue". Dialects are stagnant and confined to a small circle and cannot serve as a medium of communication in the "one society".[47]

ii) Historical Status

Suspicions about the linguistic status of Arabic vernaculars are closely related to suspicions about their

---

45 Tamazight being a straightforward case of mutual unintelligibility with Arabic varieties.
46 lahja, 9a:miyya, da:rija.
47 maHmud 9abdel mula, 1979. "al-fusHa wa al- lahhaja:t" [Classical Arabic and the dialects]. al-lisa:n al-9arabi:, 17:85-91.

historical legitimacy. Arabic dialects are interpreted in terms of their undesirable 'deviation' from the norm. Spoken Arabic is viewed as a 'distortion' and `degeneration' of classical Arabic. Even at the academic level traditional theses about the origin of Arabic vernaculars and their relation to classical Arabic are not seriously challenged; this leads to the impression that the present Arabic vernaculars are a result of divergence and neglect of the grammatical rules observed in the `initial' classical Arabic. The presence of foreign vocabulary in these vernaculars due to the recent colonial history of the Arabic-speaking countries helps to reenforce the idea that they are 'impure'. A common account of Arabic vernaculars would see their beginnings in terms of the expansion and mixing with non-Arabs and the influence of other [substratum] languages since the first Islamic century, which resulted in the creation of a distorted Arabic less observant of grammatical rules, in which case ending inflections began to disappear[48].

iii) Communicative Status

In a rather ironical fashion, Arabic vernaculars are considered poor media of communication. The view that their expressive potential is limited is reinforced by the absence of written literature in these vernaculars, and the equation of the ability to express one's self with the ability to use classical Arabic. The functional split between classical Arabic and the vernaculars, and

---

[48] Husni, m. "Arabic dialects, why? and where to?" (in Arabic). al-lisa:n al-9arabi:, 1983, 20:17-30.

the emphasis on prescriptive grammar and rhetoric in the teaching of classical Arabic also helps to create the impression that only through learning classical Arabic would one be able to `talk about things'. The classicists' discourse usually praises Arabic for its "beauty", "depth", and "flexibility" of expression, with which, in other words, Arabic vernaculars cannot compare[49]. Such an attitude is partly underlined by the association of expressiveness with the literary medium. `Mis use' of classical Arabic is attributed to `laziness' and 'not trying hard enough'[50]. In an article studying how diglossia affects the work of a popular Egyptian novelist, Zaki quotes a literary critic as saying that " Arabic dialects cannot usually express the deepest of feelings and the most subtle of meanings"[51].

iv) National Status

At the national level spoken Arabic varieties are seen as disruptive and unstabilising. Objections to spoken Arabic varieties usually refer to the diversity of

---

[49] To refer to one particular author may seem inappropriate. Most of these views are to be found in a variety of periodicals, mostly for our purpose those published by the Arabic language academies (and the Bureau of Coordination of Arabisation in Rabat). These are periodicals dealing mostly with 'linguistic' issues, but similar attitudes can be found in a multiplicity of other publications not necessarily or specifically concerned with the Arabic language. With such consideration in mind, and as an example, see al- kiyya:li, a. "Accounting for the development of the Arabic language and its spread"(in Arabic), al-lisa:n al-9arabi:, 1970, 7:79-88

[50] As an example, see rafa9iya, y. "Arabic language between proponents and opponents"(in Arabic). al-lisa:n al-9arabi:, 1969, 6:34-37.

[51] zaki, a. "The effects of diglossia on the works of yusef a-ssuba:9i" (in Arabic), al-lisa:n al-9arabi:, 1971, 8:175-180.

dialects within the one country and across national boundaries, which is thus used to demonstrate their "unsuitability"[52]. The existence of these dialects runs counter to the ideals of the Arabic-speaking countries, namely national unity, Pan-Arabism, and literary and Islamic tradition. At the same time, these vernaculars are seen as hindering the progress of Arabisation.

Pathological terminology is often used in reference to Arabic vernaculars and other native languages found in the Arabic-speaking countries. Tahhan, for example, describe Arabic as "suffering from some internal diseases"; among these are "dialects and mother tongues"[53]. The recent colonial history of the Arabic-speaking countries make most treatments of Arabic dialects suspect. Advocates of native Arabic languages are seen themselves as followers or "local supporters" of "western champions of dialects", and are often equated with advocates of the Latin script[54]. Any non-classical Arabic oriented study of Arabic dialects can be taken as contra-ideological or contra-national. This is often accompanied by suggesting various eliminatory processes ranging from linguistic eradication to extending classical Arabic to the home[55].

---

52 "The regionalism of dialects is the best evidence for their unsuitability" is the title of an article in Arabic by illya:s rantis, al-lisa:n al-9arabi:, 1967, 5:73-76.

53 taHHa:n, r. & taHHa:n, d. (1984:40). *al -lugha al-9arabiyya wa taHaddiyya:t al-9aSr* (The Arabic language and challenges of today). Beirut.

54 al-jundi, a. "Challenges in the face of the Arabic language"(in Arabic). al-lisa:n al-9arabi:, 1970, 7:97-100

55 "The operation of comprehensive Arabisation entails not only the elimination of the French language as a language of civilisation, culture, communication, and interaction,

This leads us to another element that affects the national status of Arabic vernaculars, namely language policy making. Curricula include a great deal of grammar teaching. Teachers are asked to use classical Arabic in all aspects of teaching. It is also emphasised that only classical Arabic should be used on radio and television, and in dramatic productions. Conferences on Arabic either avoid debating the issues related to Arabic vernaculars or highlight the 'importance' of securing the place and the future of classical Arabic. The congress of the Arabic Language Academy of Cairo (1987), for example, recommended, among other things, commitment on the part of teachers in the elementary grades to the use of classical Arabic in the teaching of all subjects, "so that youngsters would get accustomed to it"; the teaching of the grammatical rules of Arabic and an increase in the amount of hours set for them; firmly to combat the writing of names and signs on shops and windows and all kinds of institutions in a language other than correct Arabic; that the correct Arabic language should be the language of the mass media and national theatres; that the leaders and officials throughout the Arab world ensure that their official speeches and their addresses to the public are in classical Arabic, for the

---

but also -- and most importantly, the eradication of regional dialects whether Berber or Arabic...and to forbid the use of any language or dialect at school, on radio and television other than classical Arabic..." p. 146, Al-Jabiri, A. M. *The problem of education in Morocco* (in Arabic). 1973, Casablanca.

sake of the benefit that this would have for proper linguistic guidance[56].

Even in conferences specifically concerned with Arabic diglossia, the points of emphasis are still the same. A conference on the subject recommends, in addition to the usual interest in grammar teaching, and the sole use of classical Arabic when teaching all subjects whether written or oral, and the extension of Arabic to all domains of social interaction, that linguistic studies should be directed towards the study of classical Arabic, and that programmes should be created to make it a "natively-acquired" rather than formally-learned language[57].

In all kinds of debates on the Arabic language, the concern is genuine, and a great deal of effort is spent on trying to come up with `working' solutions to the various aspects of language problems. The underlying assumptions, however, are where they often fail. These debates are usually obscured with misconceptions about language. The historical dimension of Arabic and the present developmental aspects of Arabic-speaking societies present a number of difficult choices. Arabic linguists become, instead, philologists and embark on a defence of the (classical) Arabic language, believing that Arabic "dialects" are ephemeral, marginal, in-house

---

56 "The Recommendations of the Congress of the Arabic language Academy of Cairo, 1987." In Revue De L'Academie Arabe De Damas, 1987, 6(3):630-631.
57 "Recommendations of the Symposium on Diglossia in Arabic, 1987." In Revue De L'Academie Arabe De Damas, 1987, 62(4):828-830

problems that can be solved with a bit of discipline. The mother tongue is classical Arabic, whereas native Arabic languages are a historical accident. Classical Arabic is synonymous with speech 'elevation', with established poetry and prose, hence, with 'culture'. Arabic vernaculars, on the other hand, are synonymous with illiteracy, ignorance. Accordingly efforts, today, should ensure that Arabs "return to their mother tongue, and their language return to them"[58].

The exaltation of classical Arabic sharply contrasts with the strong misconceptions about Arabic vernaculars. Their `raison d'etre' is their indispensability to everyday speech, and their fulfilling of the referential and emotive needs of their native speakers. Such characteristics, by virtue of being naturally endowed, are not subjected to much thought in the natural course of events, and are rarely considered in their full potential.

2.5 Diachronic considerations

The mystery of such a hierarchy and its subsistence can be partly explained in terms of the historical development of classical Arabic. There is, however, very little in the direction of linguistic reconstruction in the history of Arabic vernaculars and classical Arabic. It is dominated by a native traditional Arabic account of the origin of classical Arabic, and different `western' theses on the development of Arabic vernaculars. The two

[58] The Fourth Congress of Arabisation, Tangier, 1981. In al-lisa:n al-9arabi:, 1982, 19:183-189.

differ on one basic assumption namely the nature of the historical development of Arabic `dialects' in relation to classical Arabic. Information on the origins and development of Arabic diglossia is valuable to the understanding of present issues of Arabic linguistics. Points of disagreement in the study of the history of classical and vernacular Arabic concern the beginnings of Arabic diglossia, whether classical Arabic was ever a spoken language, and whether it was inflectional or not.

The predominant traditional Arabic view on the subject is that classical Arabic was the dialect of Quraish (Meccan), and that present Arabic vernaculars are a result of the degeneration of this form[59]. This view cannot be sustained, at least from the point of view of natural linguistic change. The standardisation of classical Arabic and its relative resistance to linguistic change are in clear contrast to the constant changes in Arabic vernaculars (as in any native media of communication), which cannot subsequently be labelled degenerations or deformations. This leaves us with the remaining point as to whether Arabic vernaculars are

---

[59] Such view is also found in most traditional accounts of Arabic. See, for example, ben9abdellah 9abdel9azi:z (1984:58): "Quraish played an important part in the selection and refinement of the best of the languages of the Arabs until its language become their finest. And the Koran was revealed in it." "Deviations in the use of case endings began to emerge early in the Islamic era, and people indulged in their divergent usage. Linguistic violation became worse with the mixing with the non-Arabs after the conquests. Linguistic scholars saw it their duty , then, to retrace dialectal Arabic back to its classical origin..." p.59 "Dialectal and classical Arabic in Cairo and Rabat", al-lisa:n al-9arabi:, 22:57-72.

descendants of classical Arabic or some other form(s) of Arabic coexistent with it or prior to it.

Different types of koines have been postulated for the purpose. Most studies agree that classical Arabic, at least since the sixth century, was not a spoken language, and that there existed a number of dialects (Rabin, (1955), Ferguson, (1959b)). Rabin referred to a "poetic koine", which he explained is " not an entirely happy term, since the Greek koine was, after all, a spoken language". Rabin questioned the validity of the Quraish hypothesis and argued instead that classical Arabic was related to such a poetic koine, which was mainly a literary medium and not a spoken language, with its prestige established before the conquests. His statement, however, on the ancestry of Arabic vernaculars is rather loose; these "are derived from classical Arabic or from a *Vulgararabisch* closely related to it."[60]

Ferguson (1959b), on the other hand, was more concerned with modern Arabic dialects and used the term of koine in a different sense, which is "more analogous" to the case of Greek. According to him, modern Arabic vernaculars are descendants of an early spoken koine which was used side by side with classical Arabic in the first centuries of Islam[61]. This koine is presumed to be the result of a complex fusion of different dialects and

---

[60] Rabin, (1955:26)
[61] Others like Cohen, 1962, and Blau, 1977, attribute modern Arabic dialects to several spoken koines rather than a single one.

not the result of the imposition of a single dialect. The three components of his thesis are: "(1) that a relatively homogeneous koine, not based on the dialect of a single centre, developed as a conversational form of Arabic and was spread over most of the Islamic world in the first centuries of the Muslim era, (2) that this koine existed side by side with the 'Arabiyyah although it was rarely used for written purposes, and (3) that most modern dialects, especially those outside Arabia, are continuations of this koine, so that their differences are chiefly borrowings or innovations which took place subsequent to the spread of the koine."[62] Ferguson proceeded, in some detail, to describe fourteen phonological, morphological, and lexical features which, he believed, modern dialects share in contrast to classical Arabic.

Corriente (1975), looking at the development of Arabic diglossia, and aware of the criteria that early Arab grammarians used to exclude certain data, attempted to find evidence for dialectal aspects through information available in (classical) literature[63]. There are, for example, frequent references to 'misuse' or 'wrong' renderings of the Koran. Corriente concluded

---

[62] Ferguson, (1959b:49-50)

[63] Corriente (1975:41) based his observations on references found in the renowned classical work of Kitab al-Aghani which "is not a book written in the aim of defending the purity of Arabic at all costs and, despite some tampering with the original manuscripts, we still find in it colloquial Arabic put in the mouths of the caliphs, stories about the not-so-good Arabic of many an Arab aristocrat, and poems encrusted with dialectal, non-edited utterances."

that these dialectal features cannot be solely attributed to the "mishandling" of Arabic by non-natives. It is also his assumption that classical Arabic was not a native language "for at least some decades before Muhammed".

It is beyond the scope of this research to go into the historical dynamics in the development of Arabic vernaculars or classical Arabic. However, and in relation to the attitudes to Arabic vernaculars in particular, diachronic information may be valuable in providing a basic background for perhaps a clearer and more impartial debate on the question of spoken Arabic. There are a number of statements on the subject which are generally agreed upon as refutable; the most common of which is the assumption that present-day Arabic vernaculars are degenerated forms of classical Arabic. What is uncertain, however, is the early development of these vernaculars, hence the concept of koine/s. Another observation which has been consistently made is that the phenomenon of diglossia dates back at least to the first century of the Islamic calendar, where such references can be found in established literary and historical works.

Prescriptivism has also played an important role in further marginalising spoken Arabic. The fact that classical Arabic by the eighth century was a prestigious language[64] partly explains the bias and sole

[64] Not considering the merits or the reasons behind such prestige or how far it dates back.

interest of the early grammarians in it, and neglect of other existing dialects and the subsequent blurring of the dialectal scene. Corriente (1976) remarks that "a strict linguist cannot fail to be disturbed by considering that virtually all our abundant information about the old stages of this language [Arabic] has been collected and edited, mostly during the 8th and 9th centuries, by native grammarians whose main concern was to set up a standardized, socio- linguistically biased type of Arabic for formal register purposes, i.e. the 'Arabiyya. In doing so, they followed certain exclusive criteria in order to eliminate deviant and allegedly substandard forms and to sanction and reinforce the usage of some prestigious dialectal areas, of certain segments of the population and a few rhetorical (oral or literary) models." [65]

Two things can be drawn from this discussion: firstly that Arabic vernaculars date back at least to the sixth century, and secondly that they did not emerge as deviant offshoots of classical Arabic in the aftermath of the Islamic conquests. Such a hypothesis (though minimal) is significant in that it questions the fundamental assumption behind the attitudinal patterns to these vernaculars, namely their `illegitimacy'. Two elements often emerge as perpetuating Arabic diglossia, namely linguistic prescriptivism and the language-religion association. They both defined language and laid down the guidelines for its study. Such an approach

[65] p.62

is preoccupied not so much with linguistic realities and needs as with an ideal state of language that is supposed to be representative of the (greater) community. The maintenance of Arabic diglossia exactly reflects such a conflict, where classical Arabic is maintained as a superposed variety through official and scholarly use, while vernacular Arabic and other native languages fulfil the more immediate business of everyday linguistic interaction.

Chapter Three

Background Policy and Linguistic Trends

3.1 Arabic in Moroccan education

The current Moroccan educational scene is, partly, the by-product of the recent political history of Morocco. After independence, the government found itself left with a dual educational system, or rather two conflicting educational systems: namely the so-called 'modern' system introduced by the French, and the traditional system, which was mainly religious in character. The traditional schools were developed as counter-types to the colonial schools, especially in terms of language and cultural values. After independence, and as part of a general plan to reform the educational system, four long-term objectives were set, and unification of the two types of schools was one of them. The other three are universalisation (through compulsory education), Arabisation, and Moroccanisation (of staff). Today, most pupils start their education in public schools which are modelled on the French school system; the traditional schools have

been mostly absorbed by the state system. In both primary and secondary schools, teachers are mostly Moroccan. Arabisation is still an on-going process, though most of secondary education has been arabised. The linguistic aspect of the Moroccan educational system, with which we are most concerned here, has been particularly dominated by the last objective. Before we embark on the description and discussion of language policy and language use in education, we need to give a brief outline of the school system in Morocco.

3.1.1 The school system

In 1962, education was made compulsory for children of the age of seven. Pre-primary education can be, generally, split into two types, namely the Koranic schools, which are now providing basic literary skills in addition to learning the Koran (or some of it) and religious education, and modern play schools and nurseries. The age of attendance at this level varies according to the social milieu and socio-economic status of the family, but a period of two years of pre-primary schooling is generally expected.

Primary education lasts five years, starting at the age of seven. Instruction is mainly in CA, but French is still taught as a language subject in the last three grades. Pupils have to pass an examination at the end of the fifth year to be able to enter secondary education[1].

[1] This examination is expected to be abolished in the near future.

The level of drop-out has been high, though more lenient policies are being tried to boost the numbers of passes.

Secondary education is divided into two cycles. The first (junior secondary school) lasts four years; the second cycle (senior) lasts another three years. Students in senior secondary have to specialise either in literary studies, sciences, or a variety of vocational disciplines; at the end of their studies successful students receive a baccalaureat. Most of secondary school has been arabised, while French is still kept as a second language. A third language is introduced in the first year of senior secondary.

Higher education consists of four years of study leading to a licence[2]. The period is split into two stages of two years each. The language of instruction in most scientific departments is French, while in the faculties of law most teaching is through CA. In the faculties of Arts, Arabic and Social science departments (using CA as a medium) are usually the largest. Of modern languages departments, each has, more or less, a similar number of students enrolled in it.

3.1.2 Language policy

When discussing the role that Arabic enjoys in Moroccan education, a distinction has to be made between the use of CA and MA, though in some instances we cannot be clear about exactly which variety is used. The gradual

[2] This is a four years study degree, equivalent to a Bachelor's degree.

replacement of French by CA has come a long way. Nevertheless, the whole system is still a novelty and no evaluations have yet been made. In this section we will limit ourselves to the pedagogical use of CA and MA, the way CA is taught, and the time generally given to language teaching.

Arabic is ideologically central to religion, historical continuity, and Pan-Arabism. Such a status partly explains its place as the official language of Morocco. In the pursuit of the preservation of these ideologies, CA has been over-emphasised at the expense of Tamazight and MA; the latter being considered a corruption of CA. The educational policies deliberately ignore the actual language pupils speak, and rely instead on timetables heavily loaded with language instruction, which extends to advanced stages of secondary education. There are various subjects that are dedicated to the teaching of Arabic (such as grammar, dictation, recitation,"shakl"[3]).

The validity of CA as a medium of instruction has never been seriously questioned. Most attention has been directed at the French-Arabic dichotomy rather than those of CA-Tamazight or CA-MA. While most of the teaching is currently done through CA, French is still taught as a separate language, beginning at the third grade of primary school. Time, however, given to French is incongruent with the overall distribution of subjects. In the third, fourth, and fifth grades, learning is divided between an

[3] A language exercise in which pupils are required to put the diacritics which represent short vowels on the consonants.

Arabic and a French period (usually one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon). The French period is concerned mainly with language teaching, though it also contains mathematics (which is actually taught in Arabic); it is allocated the same amount of time as the Arabic period (both as a subject and a medium), which is about thirteen hours a week. In the first two grades, on the other hand, most of the time is spent on language teaching, divided between Arabic-related subjects such as grammar, reading, oral expression, spelling and dictation, and recitation. Similarly, in the last three (bilingual) grades, half of the Arabic periods are still dedicated to language teaching. Considering that the French periods have as their sole aim the teaching of French, we can see how the Moroccan pupil spends most of his primary education on language learning. Table 3.1 is an illustration of the extent of language teaching in primary education as exemplified by the first bilingual grade (third year).

To complement the dominant part language teaching receives in the primary school curriculum, official documents and teachers' manuals recommend that only CA should be used in all aspects of teaching, including instructions and explanations as well as in school recreation activities. In the classroom, however, teachers and pupils alike struggle to live up to these expectations. At the performance level, there are symptoms of self-consciousness at not being able to speak one's "mother tongue" properly, indicating the constant

Arabic period	Time		French period	Time	
	H	M		H	M
Reading	2		Arithmetic (in Arabic)	4	10
Grammar	2	30	Grammar	3	40
Dictation		30	Reading	3	40
Oral expression		30	Recitation		25
Recitation		30	Orthography	1	5
Science	1				
History		45			
Geography		45			
Arts		30			
Koran & Islamic Education	3				
Civics		30			
Physical Education	1				

Table 3.1 Distribution of subjects in third grade, primary school[4]

conflict between reality and the ideal. Teachers often find themselves explaining and giving instructions in MA. Though there is no detailed study of language use in the classroom, our impression is that the use of MA is a common practice in spontaneous situations by the majority of teachers. Pupils, however, are not permitted to indulge in the same luxury. They are eventually reduced to `yes' and `no' answers, or simply repeating what the teacher says. The teacher himself does not enjoy any more originality in language production. Both the teacher and his or her pupils are overwhelmed by the artificiality of the linguistic situation in the classroom. The teachers have a very limited repertoire of verbal strategies in CA leading to a recognisable set, such as question-words, demonstratives, and a basic lexicon. The situation is

[4] Information displayed on the table is obtained from timetables collected from several primary schools in 1987.

linguistically uneasy. Religious and cultural values are given priority over acquisition of subject matter and skills, in the statement of educational goals. CA itself is not seen primarily as a medium of teaching but as a vehicle of Islamic and Arabic values. Reform and modernisation of methods take long detours to come up with models which basically incorporate the same assumptions.

The role that language should play in Moroccan education is far from clear, owing basically to the pressures of nationalism, both Moroccan and Pan-Arabic, and the reverence reserved for literary tradition. CA has been officially restored to primary and secondary education, but French too, because of the history of French language teaching in Morocco and particularly of being associated with subjects of contemporary appeal, still receives a substantial share of time at all levels of education. As a consequence, the Moroccan educational system tends to be compromising rather than indicative of a well-thought out policy. The retention of French itself appears to be a foregone conclusion, rather than a genuine need, especially in primary education. While in a Canadian bilingual program, for example, the reasons would be the existence of a bilingual community, in Morocco French continues to be extensively used in the absence of an Arabic-French community. If French is to be taught only as an "international" language, for access to scientific research, its early introduction, halfway through primary school, and its overall presence across the major language activities, seem to be inapposite.

This undue emphasis on language teaching seriously undermines the pursuit of other educational goals. With neither CA nor French being the language children speak at the start of their education, the learning of subjects other than language is not only slow but also incomplete.

As far as the teaching of Arabic itself is concerned, traditional methods have not been fully abandoned. Language teaching still relies on the retention of abstract grammatical rules using complex terminology, and extracts from classical prose, poetry, and the Koran as illustrations. Even when purpose-written texts are used, they are usually an unrealistic mass gathering of sentences incorporating the grammatical rules under study. The reform or so-called `simplification' of CA has not 'strayed' from the assumptions of the Arabic grammatical tradition[5]. Modern linguistic theories are mostly viewed in terms of their typological terminologies and apparent systematicality rather than their theoretical insight.

These (grammatical) rules are supposed be of benefit to the linguistic well-being of the child. Underlying the educational approach to Arabic teaching is the assumption that by a prolonged and intensified exposure to CA, students will be able fluently to use "Arabic". This would take the form of various grammatical exercises, and acclaimed literary texts from which the student would be able to deduce and acquire the syntax and lexicon, and be able himself to be original in his speech and writing. The school is there to clean up the new-comer's language

[5] See 3.3

and upgrade it. Even the teaching of so-called `spoken Arabic' means finding out the extent to which pupils have been able to understand and apply the grammatical phenomena under study as a means to the mastery of written Arabic.

Three conclusions are to be drawn from our discussion of the place of Arabic in education. These are as follows:

_ There is a noticeable imbalance between teaching language per se and the teaching of other subjects in favour of the former.

_ The prescriptive methods employed for teaching Arabic do not meet the goals they are presumed to achieve.

_ The educational system ignores the actual usage of Arabic.

3.2 Arabisation

Two basic assumptions underlie Arabisation in Morocco: firstly, that it will act as an antidote to the French linguistic legacy as part of a manifest act of cultural independence, and secondly that it will form part of an overall intra-linguistic reform. After independence, there was no question about which was to be the official language, but there were major differences on how to deal with the paramount French presence in most of the country's administrative, economic, and cultural activities. The conflict was mainly between the traditionalists, who were calling for an immediate and full implementation of Arabisation, and a more moderate

group, believing that, while Arabisation was desirable in the long run, French was to be kept as an essential tool for the scientific and technological development of the country, accompanied by a gradual implementation of Arabic. Similar trends are still to be found in the current linguistic scene in Morocco. There is still an ongoing debate relating to questions of identity, cultural alienation, and the scientific potential of Arabic. Arabisation is an issue that goes beyond North Africa and affects the whole of the Arab world. During the last two decades many of the Arabic-speaking countries have been trying to combine their efforts to identify and find solutions to their common language problems. Most of the work that has been carried by the major language academies focuses on so- called simplification of Arabic grammar and the writing system, and the establishment of a common scientific terminology. These efforts, however, suffer from lack of coordination. Different Arabic-speaking countries adopt different terminologies or different modifications of the Arabic writing system, for example.

In Morocco, thirty years after independence, French is still a part of the linguistic network[6]. Most of the documents relating to business and finance still rely heavily on French; most administrative work is bilingual; most of higher education (sciences) is in French; most films and documentaries shown on television are in French[7]. This state of affairs indicates how Arabisation

[6] For a more detailed study of Arabisation in Morocco, see Hammoud, (1982)
[7] See also Ennaji, (1988)

in Morocco has been met with hesitation, apprehension, and suspicion. As in all Arab countries, Arabic is an integral part of Islam as well as representing a long literary tradition. The place of these two elements in the Arabic culture gives Arabic almost an "above the law" status, culminating in a paradoxical "course of action" dilemma. The cultural debate is dominated by the ingrained opposition between the spiritual value of the Islamic and Arabic legacy and the practical gains of a `technological' language. Such feelings are nurtured by the absence of scientific research and material in CA, and the difficulties in learning what is presumed to be one's mother tongue(i.e. CA) compounded with the fear that a complete switch to CA would lead to linguistic isolation. Arabisation has tended accordingly to be improvisational and more of a compromise rather than a definite programme with long-term implications.

In the early days of independence, graduates of nationalist schools clashed with their counterparts from French schools. The latter group was seen as an enemy to a fully-fledged intellectual independence. The so-called westernised group, on the other hand, were basing their arguments on the unsuitability of CA to meet developmental needs. The early enthusiasm for Arabisation on the part of the nationalist government saw an abrupt switch to CA as a medium of teaching during the academic year 1956-1957, which was soon to be aborted because of a lack of teaching material and a shortage of qualified teachers, which in itself led to lower educational achievement

standards. This was followed by a return to French as the language of teaching. The first two grades were to be arabised, while in the last three grades of primary education French was to be taught as a subject as well as the medium of teaching arithmetic and science, which meant that basic arithmetic had to be re-learnt in French. Arabic was to be limited to teaching grammar and other arts subjects.

Many controversies ensued on Arabisation, namely how much of it was wanted, and the way to proceed with it, but with no real progress. The situation was to stay much the same throughout the sixties and most of the seventies with minor changes such as arabising social sciences. But growing popular pressure, and high rate of drop-out and repeats dictated a firm and solid change in language policy. In 1977 a gradual Arabisation process was initiated which would continue through primary and secondary education. The circumstances according to Hammoud (1982) could not have been more favourable, namely[8]: "The general regression of French within Moroccan society at large caused by the departure of most of the native French community has contributed to the loss of extra-scholastic opportunities for students to use French. More sustained use of Arabic by the radio and television media, and perhaps high illiteracy rates in French among parents have provided additional factors in favor of another serious look at Arabisation."

---

[8] Hammoud, (1982:57)

During the time the present research has been carried out, primary education has been arabised, while the same process is in its final stages in secondary education. The future of Arabisation, however, is still uncertain, since there is a number of unsolved problems, namely those of Arabisation at the university level, and those of the evaluation of the impact such a process has had on the standards of educational achievements so far.

Arabising education seems also inconsistent with what is happening in other domains of public interest such as administration, financial institutions, and industry, where French still plays a major part. The general practice in most of these instances is the employment of a bilingual approach, where electricity bills or bank statements, for example, are written both in CA and French.

The linguistic aspect of Arabisation has also been a subject of much controversy, of which the most common issues are those of terminology, grammar, and the Arabic script. Part of the task the language academies in the Arab world set for themselves is the writing and standardisation of scientific terminology[9]. A number of problems arise here, which in themselves lead to a lack of coordination between the different Arabic-speaking countries. Apart from the political and nationalistic tone of the conflict between the Arabic academies in

[9] The Cairo academy (1932), Damascus (1919), Baghdad (1977). In Morocco the Institut d'Etudes et de Recherches pour l'Arabisation (IERA) was founded in 1960. A Bureau for the coordination of Arabisation in the Arab World (BCAAW) was also created in 1961.

agreeing on a specific terminology or any other project, there are also fundamental differences in outlook and approach. There is a lot of disagreement between (broadly speaking) the purists and modernists on how to go about coining new scientific terms, how much simplification is wanted in grammar, and how to reform the Arabic writing system[10]. This results in improvised and random terminology, and the creation of several terms for the one concept. The lack of a general theoretical linguistic framework undermines the validity as well as the acceptability of newly coined terms.

The same thing can be said of the efforts which have been made to simplify and modernise CA. Complaints have always been voiced against the complexity of Arabic grammatical rules, with their inflectional system, obsolete terminology, and the traditional practice of parsing. These problems were linked to the difficulties children were experiencing in learning CA at school. Emphasis had to be put on a more pragmatic and accessible Arabic. Early attempts started in Egypt in the forties with a view to introducing changes in the grammar that would affect teaching material[11]. Most proposals, however, touched only on matters of nomenclature and classification without any significant changes to the Arabic grammar. There have been fundamental differences

---

[10] With regard to lexical elaboration, different academies may adopt a certain method or a combination of methods that would be different and may be not acceptable by other academies.

[11] A report on the proposed changes was published in 1958; Mustafa, et al. taHri:r an-naHw al-9arabi. Cairo.

between the traditionalists who insist on the "purity" of CA, and the moderates who want to see changes in the grammar of CA that would make it easier to learn and use, as well as those who want a revaluation of the whole of the Arabic linguistic tradition with more emphasis on actual language usage. The five decades old conflict leaves today's teaching of `Arabic' much the same. The teaching of CA still relies heavily on traditional methods.

The problems of the Arabic script have also long been generating controversy. The Arabic writing system does not represent short vowels, and it has different forms for the one letter according to its position in the word. This makes reading a difficult task which requires a great deal of grammatical skill before one can accurately read. Al-Toma (1961:405) gives two reasons why there is a need for a change in the Arabic writing system. "The first is the undue constant alertness and sense of discrimination that the reader must show to avoid grammatical error. The second is the necessity of simplifying learning and reading processes for the great majority of the people who want to read, but cannot have the same opportunity for continuous training or discriminative ability of reading without vowel signs as did some segments of the population in the past or who may now have." These problems were seen as being both pedagogically and financially taxing.

Proposals for changes in the Arabic script range from suggesting the Roman alphabet for Arabic to others dealing with the representation of short vowels and reduction in

the number of forms of letters. The Egyptian academy considered two proposals in 1944, those of Al-Jarim and Fahmi. Al-Jarim wanted to keep the Arabic script plus modifications in the representation of short vowels, whereas Fahmi advocated the Roman alphabet as a substitute for the problematic Arabic script[12]. Fahmi was not the only one calling for the use of the Roman alphabet, but his and other proposals have been constantly rejected for their sociolinguistic inappropriateness[13]. Other proposals sought reduction in the number of the forms a certain Arabic letter would take depending on whether it is initial, medial, or final, attached or unattached[14]. The reduction in the number of letter variants and the adoption of one form for each letter are economically significant with respect to printing and computing. The different Arabic-speaking countries have adopted different proposals concerning the number and shape of letters, but none that deal with short vowel representation[15].

Arabisation, whether concerning the status of Arabic or its actual linguistic corpus, has been slow. In Morocco or other parts of the Arab world, Arabisation has been surrounded with controversy that is partly linguistic, and partly political and of general attitudinal nature. One of the underlying conflicts is that which exists between the language purist who resists any change in CA, the

---

[12] Both proposals were published in a book by the Egyptian Academy, 1946. taysi:r al-kita:ba al-9arabiyya. Cairo.
[13] See also Frayha, (1955). naHwa 9arabiyya muyassara. Beirut
[14] See Al-Toma, (1961)
[15] See Hammoud, (1982)

moderate language reformer who aims at a kind of vague modification of the Arabic grammar, and those who would like to see a radical change in the general conception of Arabic. There is still no real difference between the tone of an Arabic language periodical produced in the fifties and a recently published one. The continuity of the conservatism- modernism dichotomy that is so typical of Arabic linguistics is still much in evidence.

Today, there is not so much questioning of whether CA can function as the language of science (as opposed to the theological and literary studies CA was usually associated with). The Arabic-speaking countries are financially and administratively involved with the process of Arabisation. However, the vagueness which generally surrounds Arabic linguistics, and the problem of approach and methodology it entails, are still a major obstacle to the advancement not only of Arabisation but of any language change. Arabisation has also remarkably omitted from the debate any of the aspects of language usage[16]. Even when the debate manages to cover spoken Arabic, the aim is to find ways of eliminating it. Arabisation projects, partly because of the colonial past and the post-colonial dogmatic nature of Arabic discourse, have been concerned with the symptomatic rather than causative inter-lingual (i.e., Arab-Foreign) aspects of its mission.

---

16 Hammoud (1982:70) gives the following account: "A sociolinguistic unit, supposed to conduct research in Moroccan dialectology, has been mentioned in the IERA literature, although it had not been formed in 1980 during my visits to the institute."

3.3 Arabic linguistics: scope and trends

It is easy to be highly critical when writing on any of the aspects of Arabic linguistics, the reason being the scarcity of adequate and qualified competitive literature. For ease and convenience of discussion, we will use linguistics in a broad sense, covering a wide range of language studies, not necessarily restricted to modern theoretical linguistics. However, we will try to be explicit when referring to modern linguistic theories in particular. The reason for this rather haphazard generalisation is the vast amount of literature on the Arabic language, which varies considerably in character and approach[17].

Most Arabic linguistic issues (especially those relating to usage) are of a sensitive nature. Linguistics (in the stricter sense) is treated as a suspicious subject. Its western provenance, the colonial history of the Arabic-speaking states, on the one hand, and the sacredness and reverence for the Islamic and literary past of Arabic, on the other, are partly responsible for the delicacy in dealing with linguistic issues. Though this may seem somehow stereotypical, the conceptual problems of Arabic linguistics can be historically explained. The close fabric of religion, the glorification of Arabic civilisation, and the contemporary discourse on Pan-Arabism make the place of Arabic within modern theories of linguistics (theoretical and multi-disciplinary) very

[17] Killean (1970:413) also makes the same observation by noting that "there is very little work on CA that can be classified as linguistic in any modern sense of the term."

awkward. Linguistic priorities are often determined not on theoretical grounds, but by their relation to historical priorities. The study of Arabic vernaculars, for example, can be seen as stimulative of regionalism or separatism. Such views, in their turn, affect the selection and treatment of topics.

With such a background in mind, we can distinguish two broad trends in Arabic linguistics, namely *linguistics of tradition* and *modern theoretical and cross-disciplinary linguistics*. By *linguistics of tradition*, we mean that kind of linguistic study which either chooses as its subject or obtains its data from early Arabic grammatical tradition. Such studies may be of two types:

1- Philological studies with little claim to linguistic status (in the modern sense), which are of historical interest to the student of Arabic grammatical tradition.

2- Comparative studies or re-reading of Arabic grammatical tradition through the intermediacy of modern theoretical linguistics.

There is a profusion of these types of studies rather than linguistic studies, strictly speaking. They fall into the main stream of Arabic linguistic thinking, which generally subscribes to the supremacy of the literary and linguistic heritage. The impetus behind some of these studies is the claim that modern linguistic theory is inadequate for the description of the Arabic language[18]. Similar arguments go on to favour a special Arabic linguistic approach that would draw on both worlds. The assumption behind some of these studies is that some of

[18] Fassi Fehri (1985)

the ideas found in modern linguistic theories are not new to Arabic grammatical tradition. Not only is this linguistically irrelevant, but also contradictory since they disown modern linguistic ideas, while saying at the same time that they are to be found in the Arabic linguistic tradition. While some of this literature may be valuable in familiarising and explaining the early grammar tradition, it remains a `modern' reading or re-treatment of early grammatical tradition -- which does not happen to be a linguistic subject in the strictest sense.

Studies which would be called linguistic in the strictest sense, on the other hand, are those mainly concerned with synchronic linguistic phenomena. This type of study has not been totally insignificant, particularly during the last two decades, in which it has gained more momentum. There is, however, very little in the nature of a steady and accumulative body of knowledge on Arabic, owing mainly to the enormous conceptual and methodological problems, which we will be discussing later in this section. Studies of this type include fragmental grammars of Arabic varieties, phonological and lexical studies, and to a lesser extent sociolinguistic studies. Studies of this kind include publications (in the form of articles or books), reference books and textbooks, and dissertations. The scope of this trend includes the study of the various Arabic vernaculars, CA, and a number of sociolinguistic phenomena covering diglossia, bilingualism, and language planning activities.

3.3.1 Conceptual and analytical problems

Modern Arabic linguistics has found itself faced with a peculiar situation of linguistic research. At the heart of it, there exist two problematic areas: that of CA, and that of Arabic vernaculars. Such a situation raises questions of priorities and direction, and generates a sense of confusion in delimiting the very subject matter of Arabic linguistics. Both languages are heavily embedded in the linguistic network of the Arabic-speaking countries. Both are part of the communicative competence of the average Arabic speaker. Nevertheless, the nature of modern linguistic thinking with its notion of grammaticality[19] creates a conflict of interest, since CA draws heavily on early normative grammatical tradition. Hence, a basic conceptual and methodological problem presents itself.

In work on CA, problems of data and approach need to be clarified[20]. The problem of data has rarely been raised. The study of CA has automatically meant the study of early Arabic grammatical formulations. Fassi Fehri (1985:52) remarks that "even the `descriptivists' who strongly criticised early grammarians for incorporating logical concepts in grammar and including examples which were not part of the language to prove their arguments, were

---

19 Chomsky, (1965:18-27)

20 There is also a fundamental problem of definition when dealing with CA regarding its status as either a first or a second language. CA is clearly not a first language, since the first language a Moroccan, for example, learns is either Tamazight or MA. But CA is not a second language either in the sense that French is for a Moroccan native speaker.

themselves limited to the kind of data early grammarians used, and did not try to describe a different language by relying on fresh data based on spoken and written material."

The assumption in modern linguistic thinking is that the notion of grammaticality depends on "intuitive" discriminations made by native speakers, and not by rules prescribed by "grammarians". This means that data should be based on natural speech. The fact that there are no native speakers of CA rules out the existence of such data. If we can argue that CA is linguistically" describable", the question, then, is what kind of data should be aimed at.

The current debate in modern Arabic linguistic thinking yields two theses on the question of data, depending on whether it is based on contemporary usage or on early grammatical tradition. The `tradition' group associates CA with the grammatical tradition, so that the one cannot be conceived of without the other. According to this argument, there is room for complementarity between early grammatical tradition and modern linguistic thinking, whereby a new approach can be constructed.

Data of such kind triggers a methodological problem. Relying on the early grammatical works makes it difficult to isolate data from its methodological framework. Referring to the earlier material acknowledges its exclusive "monopoly" on Arabic. This implies that the description of Arabic needs at least to benefit from the lessons of the early grammarians, before applying the new

linguistic methods. But is there a theoretical (or methodological) need to refer to the early sources? Fassi Fehri (1985) argues that the linguistic evidence as found in early Arabic grammatical literature is lacking in many ways, namely that it does not cover all aspects of Arabic grammar; illustrations are made to fit the theory and not vice versa; it marginalises or excludes speech; and, simply, the language as used today is not the language these works tried to cover[21].

Going back to early Arabic grammatical tradition is inherently in conflict with the approach of modern linguistics to the description and analysis of language. Both the phenomena and the tools of early grammarians have changed. Early grammatical approaches have no monopoly of the description of Arabic. In most cases, they are irrelevant. The study of data pertaining to this tradition is theoretically beyond the scope of modern linguistics[22]. There is no conceptual or methodological prerequisite that would lead us to its inclusion. Such a pursuit concerns itself with Arabic grammatical tradition rather than Arabic as a linguistic entity -- a legitimate field of study on its own.

The debate on data and methodology with regard to Arabic shows that modern Arabic linguistics has also been caught in the bigger debate on the "old" and "new".

---

[21] (ibid:55) cites two types of illustrations used by some of the early grammarians: "what the Arabs say" and "something given as an illustration, but not used in actual speech".

[22] Assuming that the subject matter of modern linguistics is not the interpretation of grammatical tradition.

Distinctions between what is literary and what is purely linguistic have never been clear-cut. Most early grammatical examples have as their source classical Arabic prose and poetry and other rhetorical models. The literary dimension of the Arabic linguistic tradition adds to the confusion of the modern Arabic linguist. The concern for synchronic phenomena and observable speech conflicts with the realities and demands of the Arabic cultural situation, and the sensitivity of linguistic issues in particular. Even the linguist who chooses data reflecting contemporary usage finds himself confined to novels, poetry, drama, newspapers, lectures, etc.

The conceptual issues which affect the study of CA extend also to Arabic vernaculars, especially with regard to the loose definition of subject matter and diffusion of direction. There is a lack of a common core among the different syntactical, lexical, or phonological studies of spoken Arabic varieties. In many cases, linguistic studies of spoken Arabic varieties have to be justified by their subservience to the overall cause of CA. Badry (1983), for instance, proposes to investigate lexical derivation strategies used by Moroccan children, with the intention "to explore some of the implications that such learning strategies may have on their later acquisition of standard Arabic"[23]. There is a genuine need for a clear pronouncement of the goals of Arabic linguistics. Meanwhile, the majority of the present studies remain sporadic and fragmental, as well as lacking in depth of

[23] Badry, (1983:2)

insight. The place and role of the linguist in Arabic-speaking countries is far from clear, amounting to a certain confusion on what is expected from him or her. Research into the domains of use of each of the Arabic varieties, patterns of attitudes to these varieties, the various aspects of diglossia and bilingualism and their implications, and processes of Arabisation and other language policies, has provided an unobtrusive means of raising the relevant language issues. Long-due acknowledgement of an old phenomenon such as that of diglossia is exactly the kind of orientation Arabic linguistics has been needing to build upon.

Al-Toma (1957, 1969) was one of the first "native" linguists to study what he then called "linguistic duality"[24], and its implications for the teaching of CA to speakers of Iraqi Arabic. His and other similar studies looked at the phenomenon mainly from a comparative point of view, from which they compared the phonological, syntactical, and lexical components of the H and L varieties, with some emphasis on the cultural and educational ramifications[25]. Such studies, however, did attempt to provide a realistic account of one of the major Arabic linguistic dilemmas. The debate on Arabic diglossia has led to a significant literature on what is termed Educated Spoken Arabic.

---

[24] Al-Toma's (1957) dissertation was produced two years earlier than Ferguson's crucial article (1959a), and under the latter's supervision.

[25] Other studies of Arabic diglossia include Abou- seida, (1971); Schmidt, (1974); Hussein, (1980); Suleiman, (1985).

In Morocco, there have been similar lines of direction in sociolinguistic research plus a significant literature on bilingualism. The latter phenomenon has been the dominant topic for over two decades, overshadowing most other linguistic issues. Among the aspects that studies of bilingualism have examined are language use patterns and language attitudes of Moroccan (Arabic-French) bilinguals (Bentahila, 1983). Other studies of general sociolinguistic nature in Morocco include Abbassi (1977); Boukous (1977); Gravel (1979). Hammoud (1982) and Elbiad (1985) studied the process of Arabisation as an example of language planning in Morocco.

These studies, however, remain exclusively academic; the debate is limited to very small university circles. Many of these studies are written in a foreign language[26], and few are published. There is also a lack of contact between those writing in French or Arabic and those writing in English.

Arabic linguistics, on the whole, has not been able squarely to examine its linguistic issues. Linguists are faced with a strict obligation not to disassociate CA from its "ancestry" in early grammatical tradition. Efforts go to finding a place and ways to incorporate such a tradition, and still make it look like a modern linguistic work. There is a crisis of definition concerning the delimitation of CA. Both reference to early grammatical practices, and description of contemporary usage of (usually) written Arabic are linguistically unfounded. The

[26] Usually French or English.

first is inherently prescriptive in conception and outlook, whereas the second is also concerned with literary grammar. Similarly the study of spoken Arabic varieties remain unresolved. Their attitudinal status and their "open to interpretation" relation to CA makes their study harder to justify. Such problems of definition and approach constitute a major obstacle to the progress of Arabic linguistics.

Chapter Four

Data Analysis: Students' Attitudes

In the course of this research, two questionnaires were devised to provide some insight into the Arabic diglossic situation in Morocco, especially in terms of attitudes. One of these aimed at students, and the other at teachers. Notwithstanding the limitations of the questionnaire as a method of data collection regarding attitudes, it was thought that they might assist in testing some of our impressions as well as indicating the degree of stability of diglossic attitudinal patterns, and in particular with reference to related educational issues. In this section the results of the questionnaire for students will be reported and analysed.

One hundred and fifty questionnaires were distributed to university students from various faculties mostly at the universities in Marrakesh and Rabat. There are three reasons for choosing mostly university students. One is that a written questionnaire cannot be administered to a

random sample of the population in a highly illiterate society. Secondly, university students are more likely to be able to express an opinion on the matter. Thirdly, students have experienced themselves some of the debated issues, since the questionnaire is more interested in related problems of learning. Students' responses may also provide an index to depict and indicate any change of attitudes to MA and CA. One hundred and twenty questionnaires were returned.

The questionnaire was written in CA, since MA is not usually used in writing, and such use (if it were possible) would probably influence the direction of responses. There was a total of twenty-seven questions divided into three sections: background information about the informants, questions about general attitudes to MA and CA, and questions about educational policies. There was also a brief introduction to the questionnaire pointing out that it was anonymous and purely academic in nature. The questionnaire made use of both open-ended and closed questions. The answers to the open-ended questions were surveyed and sets of categories were derived for each.

The questionnaire has a number of limitations in that both the relative novelty of the nature of questions to the informants, and the wording of some questions appear also to have made it difficult for them to understand some of the questions. Some of the informants had to reflect on the interaction between MA and CA for the first time. Some informants also presumed that the questionnaire was

about the undesirable existence of MA side by side with CA, and ways to remedy the situation. But that in itself only reflects another aspect of linguistic thinking. There are also a number of questions we could have asked, if we had had more time and information for writing the questionnaire.

4.1 Rationale

As it has been pointed out before, Morocco, being an Arabic-speaking country, shows all the characteristics of (classic) diglossia. This means that both MA and CA are strictly restricted to their respective domains, some of which have more prestige than others. The historical dimension of this unidirectional division has engendered an equally solid pattern of attitudes that has affected the educational scene as much as the purely linguistic aspect of it. Not even the most dispassionate and informed of speakers can be said to be untouched by these attitudes. Most Moroccan-Arabic or Tamazight speakers show more favourable attitudes towards CA than they do to their respective native languages. One of the assumptions of this research is that such a situation cannot be justified in either cultural or educational parameters. One of the most controversial aspects is the taboo safeguards which surround CA. Since so-called reforms of (classical) Arabic grammar started at the turn of this century, most of the areas that genuinely needed re-evaluation have been neglected. CA has not been able to tolerate or accept any real changes in the ways it is

conceived and taught. The key to the absence of meaningful linguistic change lies in the way education complements attitudes and attitudes complement education. Native speakers of MA do not feel underprivileged because they have to submit to a different language. They have come to view language in a two-dimensional way: a part that is vulgar for the "less-significant" things in life and a part that is really worth calling a language. The vulgar part you use when you want to relax, when you want to swear, when you want to be less "serious". The other part, on the other hand, is what scholars "speak", what books are written in, what forms are completed in, what speeches are given in. Education, then, becomes more than a social status marker; it is also a linguistic marker (a "fine" quality in itself). Within education, language is treated more as a rhetorical medium than a readily accessible asset which can be used to acquire knowledge. Both school and social practice are responsible for the continuous generation of attitudes. The argument of this thesis is that such a situation requires a more realistic analysis: an appraisal of the pros and cons of using CA or MA. The aim of the questionnaire is to illustrate and establish the pattern of attitudes to CA and MA and their prevalence throughout most cultural activities.

4.2 Composition of Informants

The section about the personal background of the students included (apart from questions about age, sex, and course of study) others about the predominant language at home.

It proved to be that 83.7% speak MA at home, and only 5.9% use Tamazight at home[1]. The variance in age of the students, in the data, does not always indicate their year of study at the university, since the percentage repeating the year (in the context of this research) is very high. Listed below is age, sex, and course of study of the respondents.

Age Distribution (by date of birth)

54-59	13.5%
60-65	77.4%
66-67	9%

M/F Distribution

Male	78.8%
Female	21.1%

Course of Study[2]

Arabic	Law	Sci.	Lgs.	H&G.	Med.	other	Unspec.
23.2%	12%	15.5%	12%	7.7%	6.8%	7.7%	14.6%

The majority of the students-respondents are those born between 60-65; most of these are those born between 62-64 (58%). A substantial number of these would have just finished their degree, or have been in their last year. This would have a bearing on their overall perception of

[1] This in no way reflects the demographic distribution of Tamazight speakers in Morocco. It simply refers to the fact that the majority of the respondents come from a MA-speaking home and a mainly MA speaking region. However, 36.1% of the respondents have parents who are both Tamazight speakers, but only 5.9% said it is used at home.

[2] Course of study includes: 1.Arabic language & Literature; 2. Law; 3.Science; 4.Languages; 5.History & Geography (as one course); 6.Medicine; 7.Other includes Journalism; 8.Unspecified means that the respondent gave a generic answer (university studies).

education at the university level. The imbalance in sex distribution of the informants is largely due to the circumstances in which data was collected rather than a true reflection of the student population.

Arabic language and literature is the most represented department in the sample; science courses come second (this includes various departments such as physics, chemistry ,and biology). What should be emphasised here is that Law, history and geography are all taught in CA. This means that the majority of the sample have a first-hand experience of the linguistic ramifications of receiving lectures[3], reading and writing in CA at an advanced level of learning. This does not mean that science or medical students are irrelevant to the study. They, on the contrary, represent a significant group of educated people who have pursued an education which takes them away from the domain of CA. This tends to make it difficult for them to stay "fluent" in CA. Their attitude to CA also changes in the process, while other people start viewing them as "second-class" speakers of CA. Difference in course of study and medium of learning affect the student's perception of the diglossic situation. In the data this would lead to a varied inventory of issues which the students see as part of the diglossic situation.

[3] These are not always delivered in prescriptive CA. In many instances, the lecturer while involved in a demonstration would resort to what we have described as Educated Spoken Arabic.

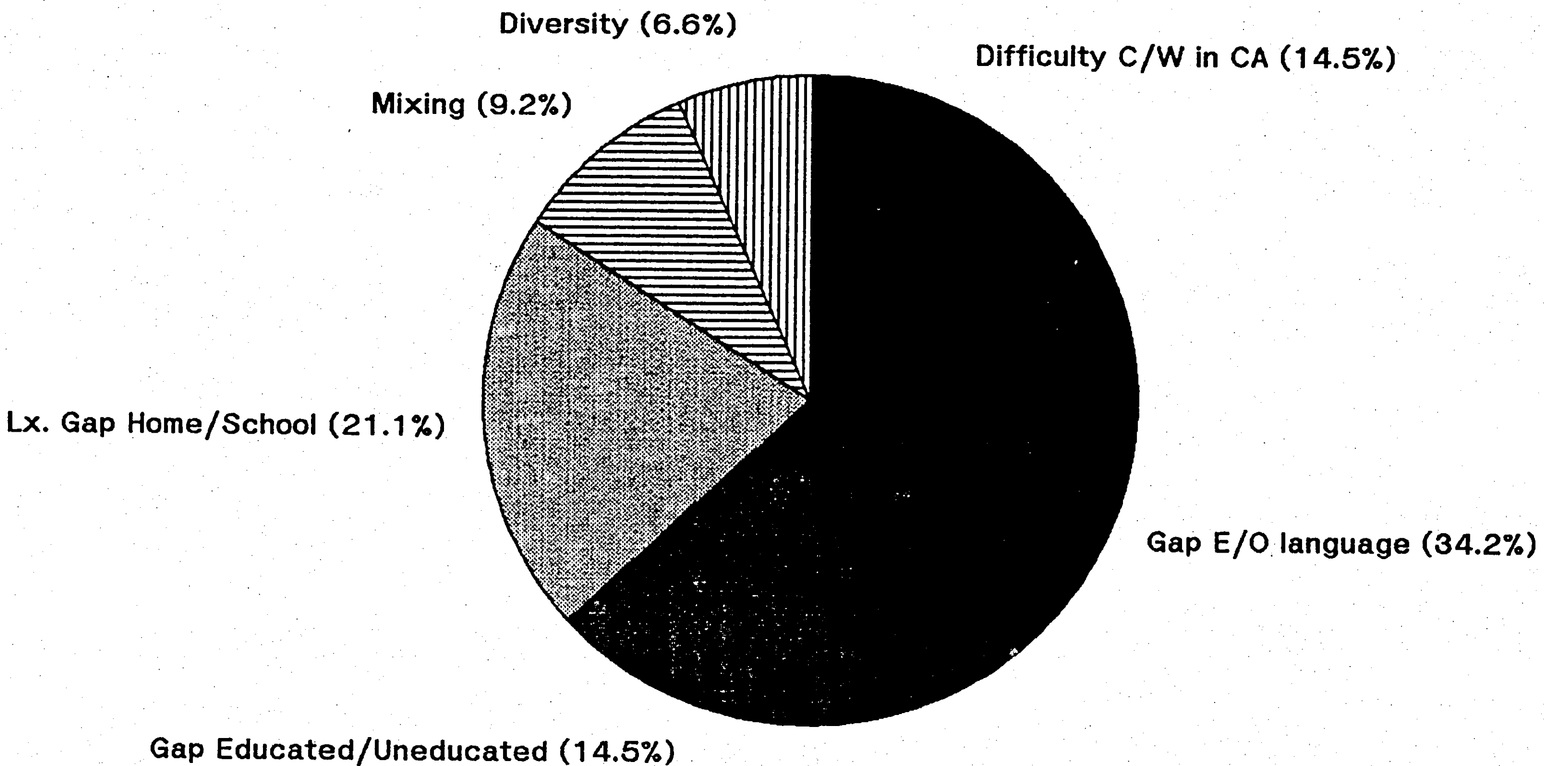
4.3 Perception-awareness of diglossia

The first component of the attitudes to Arabic diglossia in Morocco that had to be tested was whether such use of MA and CA is viewed as problematic at all. No generalisation can be made about MA speakers and Tamazight speakers without establishing the very core of the assumptions to be made about their attitudes to what we call diglossia. Do they see CA-MA diglossia as a linguistic annoyance or do they consider it as a matter-of-fact perfectly normal state of affairs? Is Arabic diglossia a mere creation of the self-appointed "problem-seeking" linguist? Such a question is particularly relevant in the context of Arabic diglossia, where research on spoken Arabic is often scorned and regarded with a great deal of suspicion. The first question was whether "the existence of two forms of Arabic constitutes a problem". The response was as follows:

Answer	Count	Percentage
YES	(71)	59.1%
NO	(49)	40.8%

There are clearly more students who think of CA-MA diglossia as an issue in itself. The number of answers in the negative, however, is not insignificant. While establishing that more students view diglossia as problematic, the fact that over 40% did not think so has also to be accounted for. Some answered negatively just to avoid having to explain why, or just out of lack of

Fig 4.1 Diglossia-related language issues



interest. The no answers of others can also be explained in terms of the manner of their reasoning. For some the comments they attach to their answers are in themselves an admission of the diglossia-problem; the denial of the question hypothesis can be rather a defence of the "aboveness" of CA over any problem. To narrow down how exactly the informants perceive of such a "problem", the second question requires the students to give example/s of what they think is an instance of the difficulties encountered under CA-MA diglossia. After surveying all the answers, six categories of answers were established. See Fig. 4.1 for these and their scores[4].

The most cited example of a diglossic problem is the very nature of the diglossic functional split namely the gap between the everyday language and the official language. The respondents pointed to various instances of the linguistic conflict which can be attributed to the discrepancy between the official and informal languages. The second most cited example is the linguistic gap between home and school. This includes various aspects and elements of learning (at school) such as the difficulty for the MA speaking pupil to produce CA in spoken or written form, or that the teachers themselves use MA while asking their pupils to use only CA. There are two categories that constitute the third most cited example: the linguistic and cultural gap between educated

[4] The categories in full are: diversity of MA; mixing of CA and MA; the linguistic gap between home and school; the linguistic gap between the educated and uneducated; the gap between the language of official use and everyday language; and difficulty to converse or write in CA.

and uneducated people; and the difficulty in conversing or writing in CA, in general. Mixing CA and MA was also considered an instance of diglossic problems, as well as regional diversity of MA. The following is a summary of these categories in descending order:

1. The gap between everyday and official language	34.2%
2. The linguistic gap between home and school	21.1%
3. The linguistic gap between educated and uneducated	14.5%
3. The difficulty of conversing or writing in CA	14.5%
5. Mixing of CA and MA	9.2%
6. Regional diversity of MA	6.6%

While these categories indicate the cluster areas of the "side-effects" of diglossia, which are generally integral aspects of the diglossic pattern of usage, actual situations described by the respondents are needed to specify how each category is appraised and how serious it is thought to be. The third question deals specifically with the relation of CA-MA diglossia to education; "whether the linguistic differences between CA and MA affect the educational system". The answers are as follows:

YES	90 (75%)
NO	30 (25%)

With these three questions, an attempt was made to establish two premises. One is the degree of perception and awareness of the diglossic situation involving MA and CA, and the other is the set of assumptions about this diglossic situation, the establishment of which is needed further to elaborate on the attitudes of MA speakers to CA and diglossia in general. This was developed on a three-dimensional basis: the actual existence of the problem; in what way it is a problem; and whether it affects education. The first and third aspects were positively confirmed (59.1% and 75% respectively), and six cluster areas of the type of the difficulties the students thought are a result of CA-MA diglossia were defined.

4.4 Aspects of attitudes to CA and MA

One of the most common aspects of the attitudes to CA-MA diglossia is the belief that MA is not a proper language but rather a distortion of CA. Such belief is at the root of many of the ways in which MA is held against CA. To test this view, the students were given three options to choose from. The first represents the stereotypical attitude to MA; the second describes MA as a separate linguistic variety which has its own separate rules; the third option simply offers the students an opportunity to restate the relationship between MA and CA in the way they view it in case of disagreement with the first two options. After examining the answers of those who had opted for a different statement of the relationship, they were found out to be no more than paraphrases of either of

the first two options, the second one in particular. The answers are as follows:

1. MA is a corrupted form of CA ---------- 78 (65%)
2. MA is a different linguistic variety, which has its own separate rules ---------- 42 (35%)

There is a clear difference in favour of the first option. More MA speakers view their language as inferior to CA; that MA is the result of the misuse of CA. The paraphrasing of the second option might also have been ambiguous to the informants. The 'difference' element included in the option to suggest its independence might have been interpreted as a difference that is a result of divergence from CA. The proportion of people who view MA as an independent, equally legitimate, linguistic variety may be lower than suggested in the results.

Another common aspect of the attitudes to MA and CA is the belief that MA is limited in terms of the ability to express ideas especially if they happen to be of a more "intellectual" nature. CA is viewed as the best medium to cover all types of activities. Hence, mastering CA allows you a better control of reality. Such an opinion touches on two aspects of the attitudes to language, namely its potential and appropriateness. Question 8 deals with the first aspect asking whether it is possible to have a serious discussion in MA. The answers are as follows:

YES	93 (77.5%)
NO	27 (22.5%)

Quite unexpectedly, more than two thirds of the students thought that it was possible to have a serious discussion in MA. An explanation for such response can be sought in the wording of the question. A number of students found "seriousness" both ambiguous and categorical. Most of these students, however, assumed that it referred to "educated" topics. The inclination of such a response may be attributed to the hypothetical nature of the question, which is about the "possibility" rather than the actual practice. The choice of the word "seriousness" was a deliberate (though unfortunate) one allowing for a range of interpretations. The aim was to establish whether the informants think that MA can fulfill the communicative needs of what they think is a "serious" topic (i.e., a topic that is not usually a part of the functional spectrum of MA). The response to such a question can also be viewed as an indication of the willingness to transgress the conventional linguistic norms of usage.

Associated with this is the difficulty in expressing ideas in CA, a process that is characterised more by linguistic adaptation rather than native-like fluency. Such a strategy naturally gives way to various aspects of interference from MA. Education discourages any use of MA (including spoken domains), and creates the illusion that

an eventually all-CA discourse is possible. Accordingly, interference from MA is negatively viewed, and often denied. Question 13 enquires whether "there is any influence of MA in what the informant writes". The result is as follows:

Answer	Count
YES	60 (51.2%)
NO	57 (48.7%)

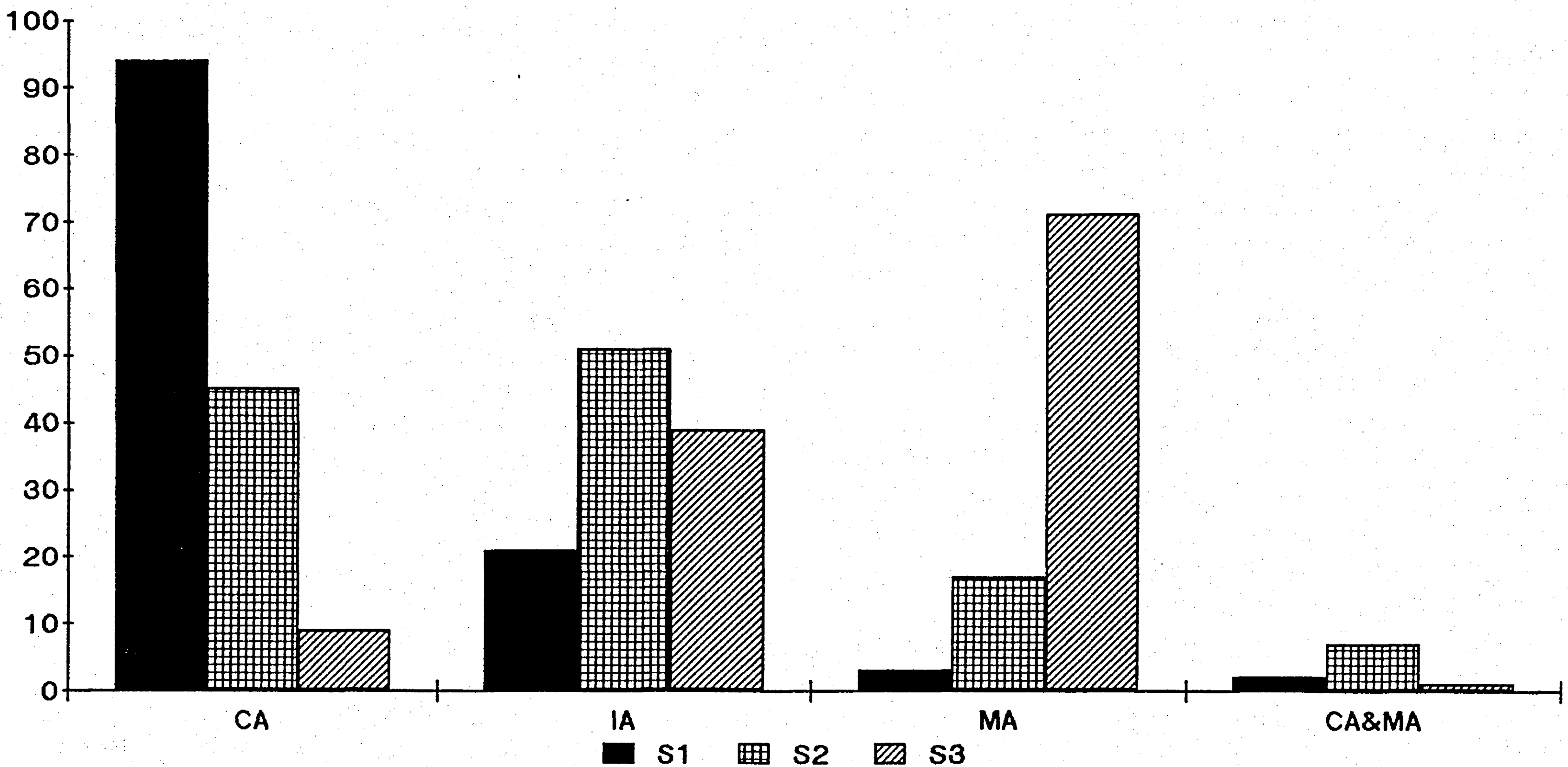
The difference between the yes and no answers is very insignificant. The inconclusiveness of the answers reflects the difference in attitude to the presence of MA in one's writing. Hence, positive answers can be considered an approximate estimation of a favourable attitude towards interference from MA, and the no answers as unfavourable (or otherwise exceptionally perfect CA). Some of the students who answered in the positive further illustrated their responses with types of interferences they are most familiar with. A more specific question was added both to complement and to test the response to the preceding question. By asking if "there is anything which can be expressed in MA, but which would be difficult to express in CA", the informants are more sympathetically approached rather than what they may think of as accusingly approached (as in the previous question). By making the question less personal, and hence automatically shifting the blame from the respondent to the state of linguistic affairs, the student may feel more invited to

voice his or her linguistic complaints. Although the question was of a yes-no type, there was room for illustrations the students may wish to include. The results are as follows:

YES	68 (59.1%)
NO	47 (40.8%)

The difference in the replies to the last two questions is significant in that there is an inconsistency between the number of respondents who think that there is an influence of MA in what they write and that of those who find that there are things which are difficult to express in CA, and which would otherwise be easier to express in MA. If there are things that are easier to express in MA, there is bound to be an influence of some element of MA when one is faced with the task of writing about them in CA. The response to the last question is more indicative of the extent of interference from MA. Most of those who answered in the negative to this question made the comment that it is rather the other way round; that there are more things which would be easier to express in CA rather than MA. While this may be partly justified in reality, their reply is more motivated by the attitude that the ability of CA for expressibility is unbounded. So far, the attitude to expressibility in MA has been discussed in terms of its potential. The answers to these last three questions reflect the extent of the students's confidence

Fig 4.2 Situational appropriateness of CA, MA, and ESA



in the ability of MA to cover topics that are not usually associated with it: their acknowledgement of the impact of MA mostly on their writings and discrepancies between the language of reality and the language to describe it. The results show both a traditional subscription to CA and its defence and a familiarity with the communicative issues arising under diglossia.

The other aspect of expressibility to be dealt with is the attitude to appropriateness, and in particular what kind of situations the students think MA is appropriate for. Two questions placed separately were set for this purpose. The first question consisted of three broad situations, for each of which the students were to select one of three suggested linguistic varieties: CA, MA, and ESA[5]. The second question contained five situations, but this time the students were asked to choose only between CA and MA. Fig. 4.2 represents the score of these languages across the first set of situations.[6]

For discussions among educated people, the choice was overwhelmingly in favour of CA (94 out of 120 answers); ESA was considered more appropriate only by 21 students, whereas only 3 thought that MA can be used in such a situation. For Radio programmes more students chose ESA (51 out of 120), slightly fewer students opted for CA (45), and 17 selected MA. For the everyday discussions MA was the most selected language (with 71 out of 120); 39

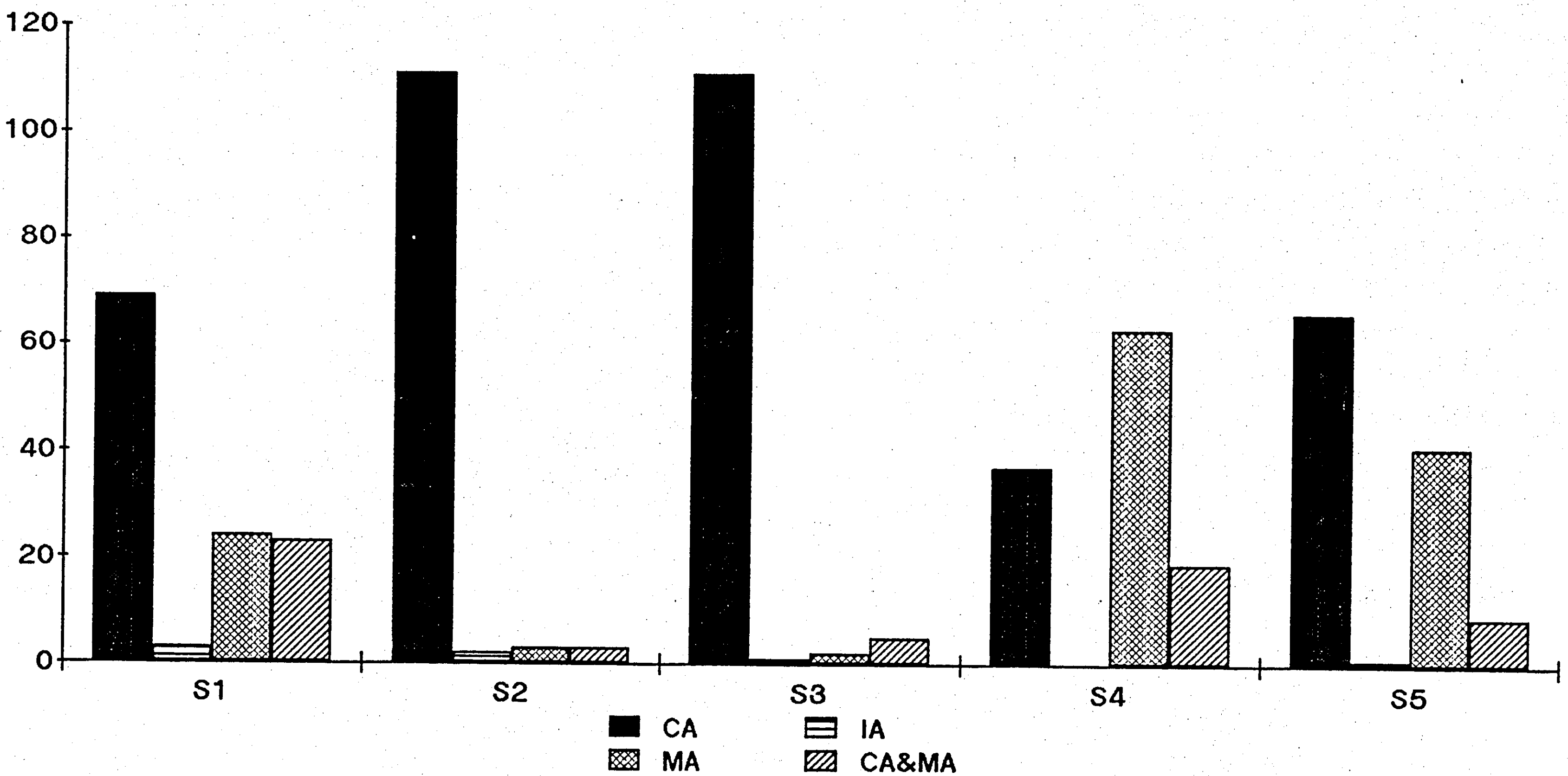
[5] To avoid any likelihood of confusion, ESA was referred to in the questionnaire as Intermediate Arabic.

[6] S1: A discussion among educated people
S2: Radio programmes
S3: Everyday discussions

preferred ESA, and CA was chosen only by 9 students. The category CA&MA was not part of the options available to the students, but some of the students thought that in certain situations either MA or CA can be used depending on whether a radio programme, for example, is directed towards an educated audience or a more general one. This very situation was in fact the one for which most students made a distinction according to its different manifestations (7). The three situations represent types of speech domains which can be differentiated along an informal-formal scale; S1 being more than or as formal as S2, and S3 being the least formal of the three. The question as a whole introduced the ESA for the first time in the questionnaire. For some students, this would also be the first time they had come across such a concept. The question is, in that sense, a test of their acceptance or rejection (as well as awareness) of such a concept. The scores for this variety were surprisingly high throughout the three situations (21, 51, and 39 respectively). This may be considered as an indication of the social status such a practice has acquired since the universalisation of education in Morocco. The figure shows that each of the three linguistic varieties has a dominant setting for which they are considered the most appropriate (hence MA>S3, IA>S2, CA>S1).

The second question dealing with appropriateness includes five situations; two of which require the use of written language. Although the students had a straight choice between CA and MA, a small number of them did still

Fig 4.3 Situational appropriateness of CA and MA



resort to ESA, and even a larger number than that for the previous question introduced CA&MA. The five situations represent some of the commonest and potentially most influential linguistic activities. But they are also areas that may pioneer any linguistic change of any social credibility (different from that introduced by official language planning agencies). Fig. 4.3 shows the distribution of the scores of each of the linguistic varieties across the five situations[7].

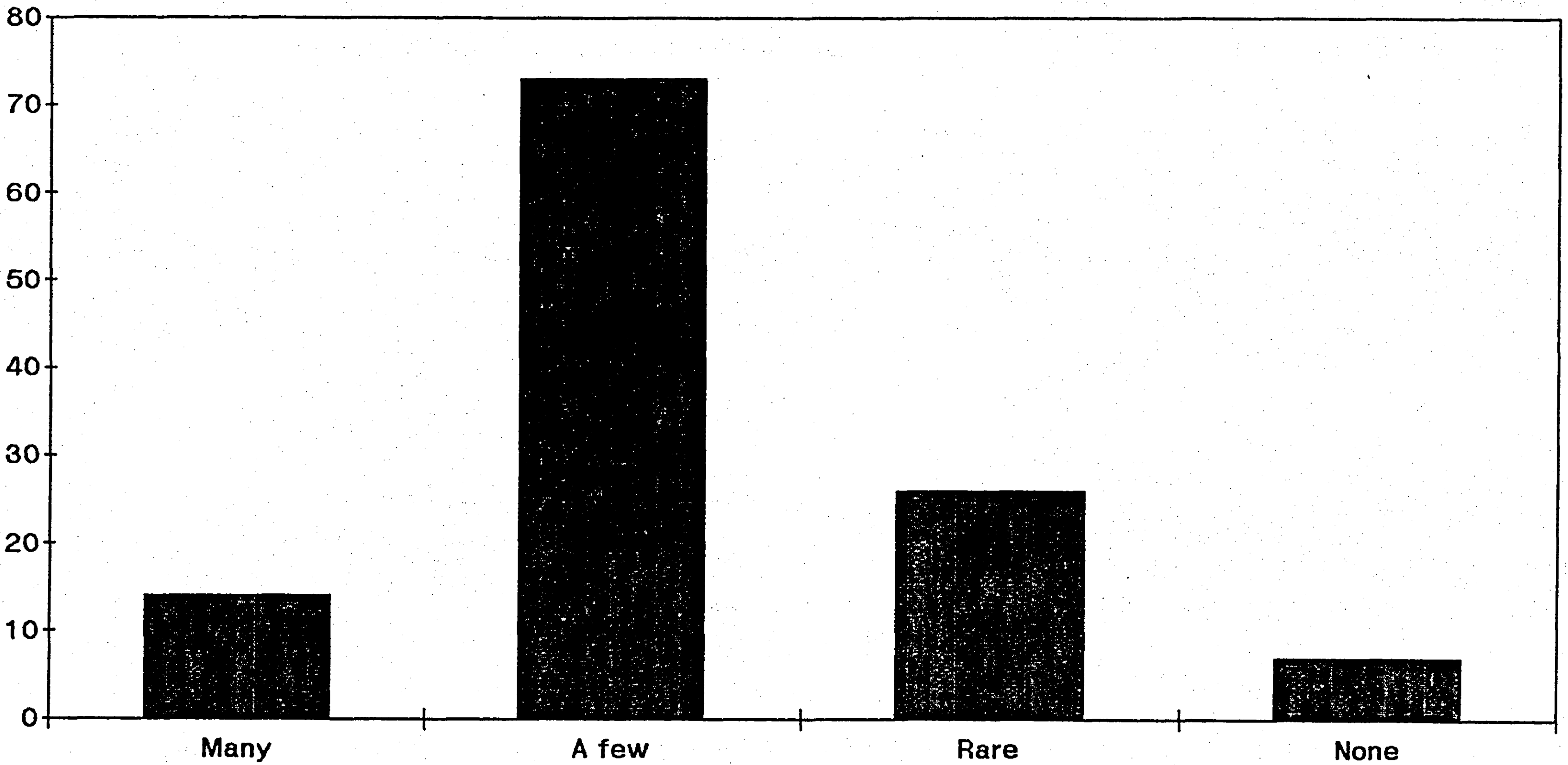
With respect to newspapers and literary works (S2 & S3), the popular choice was unequivocally CA (111 out of 119 for both situations); only 3 students thought that MA can be used in newspapers, and 2 thought it can be used in literary works; 5 students thought distinctions have to be made among different purposes/readers of the work of fiction in question, and 3 thought that newspapers may be more beneficial to some segments of the community if they are written in MA. 69 (out of 119) thought that radio interviews should be conducted in CA; almost equal numbers of students chose MA or CA&MA for this situation (24 and 23 respectively), CA&MA depending on the audience or topic. MA was a first choice by 63 students for performed plays; 37 preferred CA, and 19 allowed for audience differences. For the parliamentary debates and political speeches, 66 selected CA, but MA scored 41 (higher than in

---

[7] S1: Radio interviews
S2: Newspapers
S3: Literary works
S4: Plays (as performances on stage or television)
S5: Parliamentary debates and political speeches

any of the other four situations); and 9 students chose CA&MA. Unlike the first question concerning appropriateness, there was very little balance for the second set of situations. CA dominated four out of the five situations; whereas MA had one major domain namely the fourth situation (performed plays). To sum up the response to the two questions of appropriateness, there were three instances where CA was an almost unanimous choice (S1 in the first set, and S2 & S3 in the second set; the scores were 94, 111, and 111 respectively); it was also a first choice in two situations (S1 in the second set (69) and S5 also in the second (66)); CA had also a good score in two other situations in which another variety was favoured (S2, first set (45) and S4, second set (37)). CA scored poorly only in one situation, namely S3 in the first set. There were two instances in which MA was the most common but not absolute choice (S3 in the first set, and S4 in the second; 71 and 63 respectively). MA, however, scored poorly in three situations (S1 in the first set and S2 & S3 in the second; 3, 3, and 2 respectively). ESA can only be viewed in the light of the first set. It was moderately favoured over CA in S2 (51 over 41), but maintained a fair share of the scores in the two other situations (21 in S1 and 39 in S3). Hence, CA was the overall most selected of the three linguistic varieties. It was considered the most appropriate for situations that require writing or in situations associated with learning (e.g. being educated or a topic showing knowledge). MA was considered the most

Fig 4.4 Frequency of opportunities to use CA



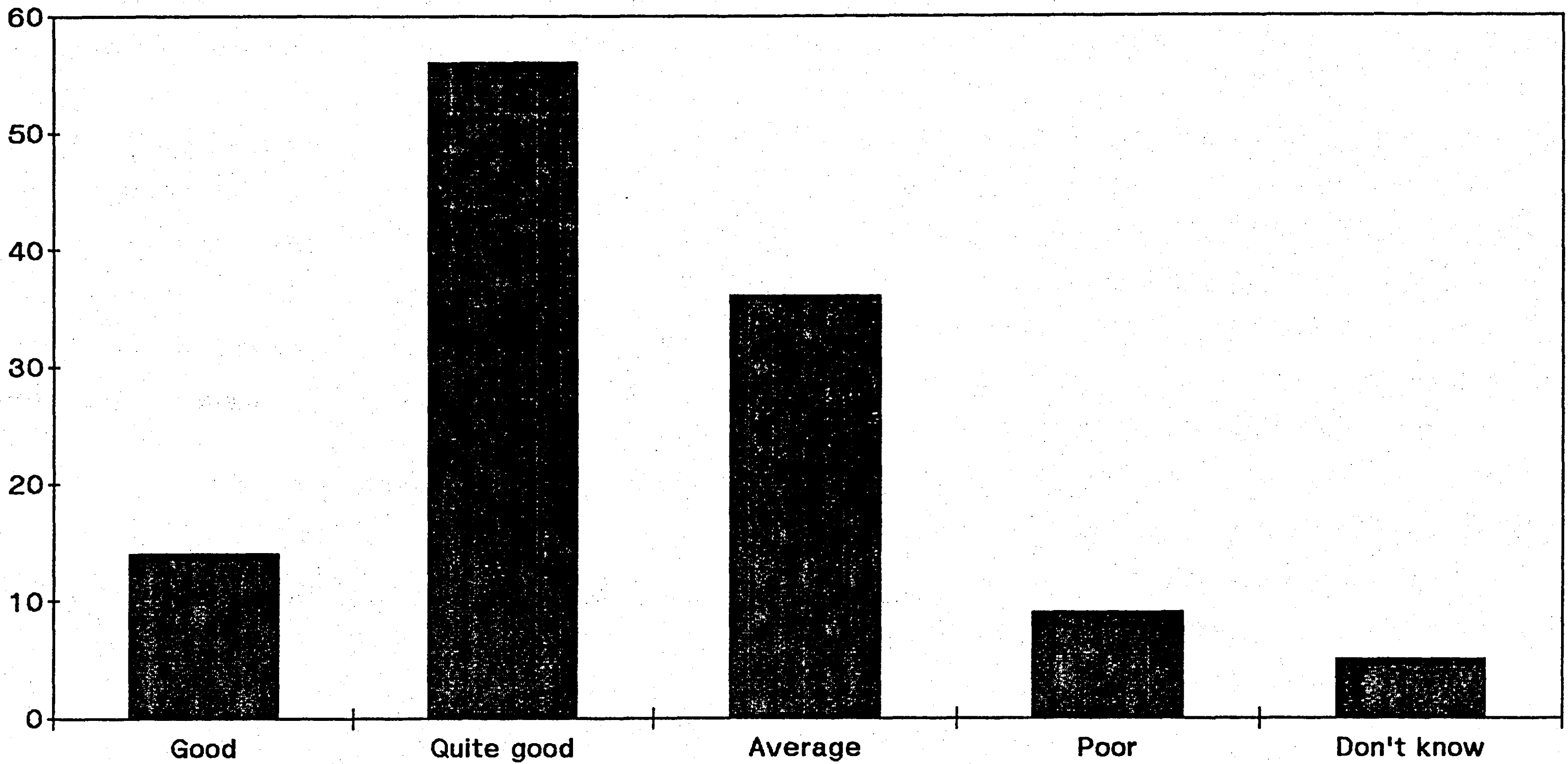
appropriate in situations of wider appeal, especially those that incorporate both literate and illiterate, and topics of common interest and occurrence. ESA seems to be particularly favoured as a medium for the mass-media and as a mediatory language.

4.5 Self-assessment of exposure to and competence in CA

A study of the attitudes to the diglossic relationship between CA and MA may also be approached from the point of view of the ways in which the students evaluate their opportunities to use CA, their fluency, and difficulties in using it, if any at all. These may be both taken at their face value, in the sense that the answers may be considered in themselves an indication of actual occurrences, as well as the attitude to proficiency in CA (i.e. whether they like to think of themselves as fluent in CA or not). The first of these questions enquires about the number of opportunities the students have to use CA. The students were asked to select among four options as categories of frequency. The answers are illustrated in Fig. 4.4.

Most students chose the option "a few" , 26 thought that the opportunities are rare, and only 14 replied that they are many. The general purpose of the question was not a strict factual enquiry into the opportunities available in specific fields or domains, but to find out what the students think about the extent of their exposure to CA. The results show that well over two thirds of the sample see the opportunities to use CA as inadequate (a

Fig 4.5 Self-report on fluency in CA



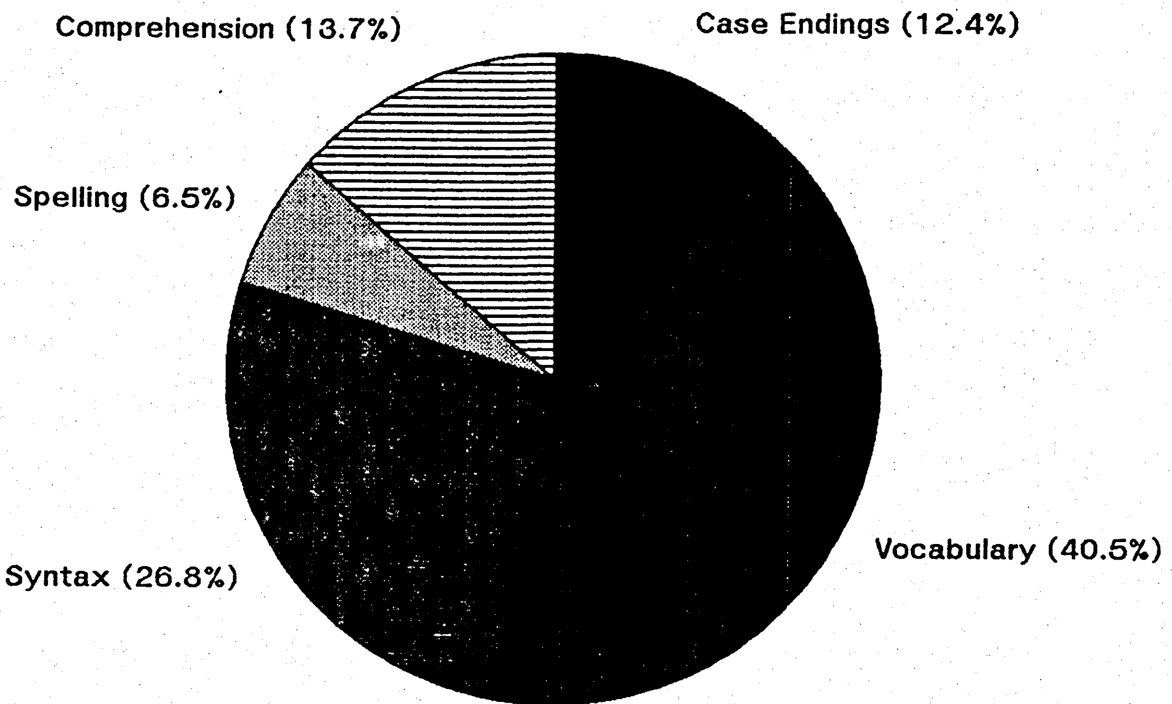
few, rare, and none). Students also were asked to rate their proficiency in CA along a five interval scale. The ratings are displayed in Fig. 4.5.

Only 14 felt that they were confident to claim that their CA is good. More students, on the other hand, thought that their CA is quite good. The second most selected category (by 36) was the "average" option. Nine students thought their CA is mediocre, and 5 chose not to commit themselves to any of the previous categories. The third and last of the questions that deal with self-evaluation of competence in CA is about the particular linguistic aspects of the problems of usage. Students were asked to select one or more of five types of problems when writing or speaking CA; a sixth option was included to add any other types they may feel have not been mentioned. The results are displayed in Fig. 4.6.

Finding the right words (vocabulary) was the most selected of the linguistic types (by 62 students). The second most selected type was syntactical problems (by 41). There is a slight difference between the scores for the marking of case-endings and comprehension (with respect to vocabulary); comprehension was slightly higher than case-endings (chosen by 21 and 19 students, in that order). Spelling was considered a common linguistic difficulty only by 10 students. As far as the open option is concerned, 18 students referred to other types of difficulties especially those associated with speech[8].

[8] A few students also commented on the general aspect of these difficulties by relating them to the discrepancies on the whole between the native linguistic practices and

Fig 4.6 Linguistic classification of difficulties in writing or speaking CA



These answers fall into four types. Their description and frequency is as follows:

1. Articulating ideas and sustaining conversation in CA	6
2. Addressing a person unfamiliar with CA	5
3. Self-consciousness in using CA	4
4. Uncertainty about "correctness"/ "grammaticality"	3
	18

Unlike the previous question, the third one, though it also directly appeals to the student, is less intimidatory. Students feel rather more comfortable knowing that such linguistic difficulties could be more common than they have thought, and are more disposed to reflect on what is of particular relevance to themselves. The last three questions approach students' attitudes to CA on the basis of their subjective response to aspects of fluency. Their self-reporting on their fluency and exposure to CA would indicate how realistic their diagnosis is of the linguistic limitations of the diglossic realisations of CA and MA. While the students think that the opportunities to use CA are not enough, their ratings of fluency in CA are reasonably high. Most students have also referred to one or more of the problems they encounter in writing or speaking CA, the most common of which are vocabulary and syntax.

---

the learned language, and the difficulty in describing a reality that is more associated with the former.

4.6 Stability of diglossic attitudes

It is not always clear which does change first, whether a change of attitudes precedes the actual linguistic practices or vice versa. Arabic diglossia has one of the most remarkable records for settled linguistic conventions; there is still little foundation for any foreseeable change in linguistic practices. Political and socio-economic developments, however, tend to rearrange the order of priorities. Much of the effort since independence has been directed to the arabisation of educational, administrative, and other national networks. The process has naturally led to a continuous increase in the use of CA, which has put new demands on the language, and has evoked a number of linguistic issues. The role of CA in education and the mass-media in particular has considerably affected its functional and linguistic development. In these two particular domains, there was a need not only for a verbal medium that can pass as socially credible but that can also be usable. Hence, what some sociolinguists agree on calling Educated Spoken Arabic has gradually developed. For the educated people who work or participate in these fields, it is more accessible, capable of dealing with a wide range of topics, and has characteristics of a "cultured" language. Lectures, when they are not read from prepared notes, are often given in ESA; and most debates on radio or television are conducted in ESA. These occurrences have given some normality to ESA and its use in situations that were strictly reserved for CA. The less rigid ESA (in

terms of traditional grammar) and the new opportunities it opened for the speakers of Arabic, put the whole concept and role of language into a new perspective. The effect of these changes on the attitudes to the traditional functional distribution of CA and MA may not be so detrimental but is one that cannot, nonetheless, be denied. The questionnaire has already introduced the concept of ESA. The response to this was not one of confusion or astonishment but rather of readiness. The students felt comfortable and familiar with the concept.

Further to test the students' reactions to other aspects of linguistic changes, they were asked whether they positively or negatively evaluate the use of MA in some literary works. More novelists are increasingly making use of MA idioms and dialogue in their works. The response to the question would indicate both their views on such practice and also indicate any tendency of change in their attitudes. Their evaluation is as follows:

Positively	43 (38.7%)
Negatively	68 (61.2%)

More students viewed the use of MA in literature (in any manner) as undesirable. However, the fact that 38.7% of the students who answered this question welcome the use of MA in literary works means that such minor changes to the diglossic order have reasonably significant support, and that such advancement on the part of MA is not massively rejected. In the final part of the

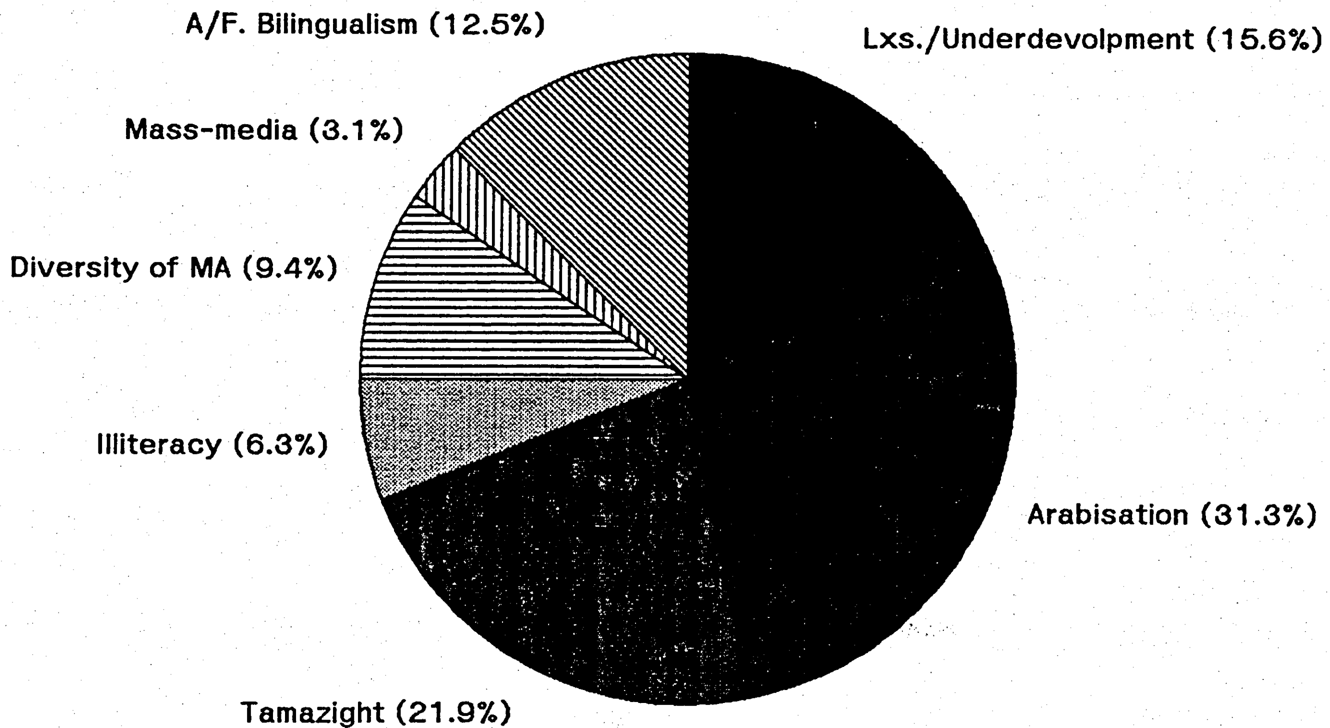
questionnaire, the students were asked more directly whether they think that the adoption of ESA would resolve the split of usage between CA and MA. The results are as follows:

No	76 (67.2%)
Temporarily	9 (7.9%)
Yes	28 (24.7%)

The reaction to the question was stronger than expected; most students totally rejected the idea, while around 8% thought that ESA can be used as a transition to a situation where CA would be the sole medium. About a quarter of the students who answered this question agreed that ESA can be a viable solution. The directness of the question might have been considered as an attack on the authority of CA, the questioning of which would put in doubt a whole array of other cultural tenets. The answer "no", in this context, reflects the behavioural attitude to CA on the part of speakers of vernacular Arabic, which conceals a complex of beliefs about CA and the vernacular, and their mutual ranking, as well as about language and education in general.

The questionnaire ended with an inquiry into whether the students wish to comment on any of the linguistic issues it touched on or point out to any other related aspect that the students think the questionnaire has neglected. Most students said they had nothing to add; some of the comments made were also a recapitulation on some of the aspects the questionnaire dealt with. Twenty

Fig 4.7 Types of additional references
(made by students)



seven students, however, referred to other related aspects and topics. The bulk of these answers can be split into seven categories. These and their frequency are as displayed in Fig. 4.7.

These references represent almost all of the linguistic preoccupations of present-day Morocco, official and public. The fact that the questionnaire deals with language and asks about MA evoked their thoughts and feelings on the current linguistic situation (Arabisation, Tamazight, French, illiteracy). Of those who responded to this last question, 10 (31.3%) evoked the problem of Arabisation (its progress, its disadvantages, and its role in education). Seven of those who answered (21.9%) wondered why Tamazight has been left out of the discussion, and how it fits into all of this. Five students thought of the linguistic problems associated with Arabic as part of underdevelopment in general; i.e., that they are related to more deep-rooted political and economic issues, and that these have to be resolved first. Four students made also references to some of the aspects of French-Arabic bilingualism that are still part of the linguistic scene in Morocco. Three students of those who answered believed that the (regional) diversity of MA is in itself a problem. Two students referred to the relation between illiteracy and the linguistic questions under discussion; and one student referred to the language of the mass-media.

4.7 DISCUSSION

The above results can only be relative to the various elements and conditions of the questionnaire. The values rather than being absolute indicate the tendency in the particular aspect under question. The purpose of the questionnaire is to test most of the main elements which constitute the attitudinal parallels of the sociolinguistic functional split between MA and CA, and provide evidence from the respondents' experience.

Though the students are not representative of the whole population, they are more familiar with the linguistic realisations of diglossia than those with limited or no education, and have a more general contact with the dynamics of diglossia. People with little or no education, on the other hand, experience the isolation from the language of the authorities or the language of the news. They notice the disparity, but would rather attribute it to the natural order of things. Students have had to learn CA, and recognise most of the interaction between MA and CA, and that between the "written and spoken language". This does not mean, however, that they are fully aware of the nature and implications of diglossia. The student experiences the linguistic and educational difficulties resulting from diglossia. Because students deal more with the written language and have more opportunities to reflect on the linguistic situation, their opinions may show more inclination towards change. Their response may also depict, then, any changes in the general attitudes towards MA and CA. Because the research

is mostly interested in the way the conception of both MA and CA affect education, a description of such conceptions is needed. Using evidence from the questionnaire, the components of such conceptions, and the conception of ESA will be outlined and discussed. The findings will be related to the most common conceptions about learning and education in general.

4.7.1 MA as an academic subject

Distributing questionnaires is a novel and still a curious activity, in itself, and one that is regarded with suspicion in the Moroccan context. Questions would be even more surprising if they are about MA. Little importance is attached to the language that is actually spoken, or as it is called the language of home and the "street" -- with slang connotations. There is little interest in the study of MA partly because it is difficult to see what kind of use can be made of such study, since it is neither employed in education nor in any other formal official national network, and partly because of the deeply embedded misgivings about Arabic dialects in well-intentioned and well-informed native speakers, and most of all because of the traditional weight (Islamic, literary and political) of CA. MA cannot simply be viewed as a language on an equal par with CA. The academic study of MA is usually scorned upon and is not viewed with the same seriousness as other subjects. It is considered rather a soft option.

Studying MA is often considered as part of the study of folk-literature, which is considered even less academic, covering all that is pejoratively called popular culture (with MA as the sole medium). This form of culture has long been in contrast to the `elite' culture, with CA as a medium, and accentuated by the educational divide. In other words, popular culture is that of the ignorant, a form that is deprived in insight and taste. The fact of the matter, though, is that all popular cultural events, are major forms of entertainment and symbols of traditional values for the majority of Moroccans whether educated or not. The notoriety of these events can be partly explained by the kind of educational snobbery that especially flourishes when there is a social stratification based on education, in the case of a great imbalance between the educated and illiterate. The appreciation of popular forms is not seen as fit for the educated person. The study of these forms is seen as a backward (as opposed to scientific progress), useless and unproductive pursuit and a romanticisation of cultural identity. The present research proposes no definition of popular culture or a description of the objectives of its study. It is, however, in its relation to MA that this research makes a clear distinction between the purely linguistic and para-linguistic study of MA and the study of so-called popular culture. The study of MA as a language is primarily concerned with grammatical and functional questions and as such is not part to the "popular culture" debate.

4.7.2 The position of MA and CA in the diglossic reasoning

While it was possible to obtain an answer on the question whether the coexistence of CA and MA is viewed as a problem or not, the answers whether "yes" or "no" do not necessarily share the same assumptions. One way of interpreting the no-answers is naturally the denial of the question hypothesis, namely that the phenomenon in question is not a problem at all. This means that the existence of two forms of Arabic (a deliberate simplification for the sake of the questionnaire) is a natural perfectly normal linguistic state of affairs that is common to many speech communities, and which does not really present a problem in any serious sense.

For many students diglossic stratification (as exemplified, here, by CA and MA) is an integrated feature of most societies representing different social and intellectual strata. For some students, it is not only a common phenomenon but also a necessity[9]. There are a number of fallacies behind these assumptions. One of them is the equation of the highly stratified Arabic diglossic situation with other situations of relative sociolinguistic divergence between the standard and non-standard language. Such generalisation, on the part of the

[9] "I don't think it represents a problem. On the contrary it is a necessary situation for a number of reasons among which are: difference in intellectual ability; complementarity of the two forms of expression in all societies; and the association of MA with the general public and CA with the educated elite."

students is a reflection of the complacency about the educational and cultural divide of which the linguistic aspect is both a factor and a parallel. Another fallacy in such an assumption is the unanimous allocation of CA to the educated elite and MA to the general public. While it is true that only educated individuals can participate in the CA linguistic sphere (an activity which cannot be equated with the use of a naturally spoken standard language), this same group engage in the same linguistic activities as non-educated persons. They do not represent socially exclusive speakers of either language. The difference between the highly-educated and less or non-educated is one of advantage of access, whereby the former can participate in the CA domains, covering matters evoking social prestige, while remaining most of the time a speaker of MA in most communicative activities. This cannot be compared, for example, to an upper-middle class person speaking standard English and a working-class person speaking a non-standard English, since both are consistent exclusive speakers of their respective dialects most of the time.

Another assumption behind the no-answers is that MA and CA are not that much different, and that their difference does not amount to a serious linguistic problem or warrant any probing. These include views such as that the lexicon of MA is the same as that of CA except for slight phonetic arrangements and some French borrowings. To sum up, the no-answers as far as the premise of the first question is concerned may generally be underlined by two assumptions,

namely the denial of the difference and conflict and the normality of the situation.

The yes-answers, on the other hand, are underlined by a difference in their bias in laying responsibility for the problematicality of the situation, whether on MA or CA. The blame is particularly laid on MA. MA is identified as the source of trouble and its ousting as the way to end the problem. CA, on the other hand, is rarely conceived of as a disturbing agent. A more neutral position is also taken by a smaller number of students.

4.7.2.1 CA as the problem-language

Not many students thought of CA as responsible in any sense for the problems arising from its diglossic situation with MA. Its sanctioned official and educational status contrasted with the "commonness" of MA make it difficult to perceive of it in such light. The status of CA is considered a legitimate one. Most of the students who took a different view on the matter are students of Arabic language and literature in their final year. One of the ways in which CA is viewed as a factor in the conflict is its monopoly on literary and cultural manifestations and, as a consequence, the discouraging and marginalisation of any such output in MA.

Another aspect of levelling part of the blame at CA is its description as a static language that is not very tolerant to changes in general. Related to this is the common complaint that the grammar of CA is too complicated, which makes it a time-consuming and a

difficult language to learn. A more social and political argument levelled against CA is its role as a symbol of national values where its social and linguistic reality is totally incongruent with such role.

4.7.2.2 MA as the problem-language

Though there was nothing in the question to imply that either of the languages is the cause of the problem, many students developed their answers throughout the questionnaire under the assumption that MA is largely responsible for most of the problems arising from the diglossic situation. There is a consistent pattern to the way MA is conceived of as a problem. The components of such pattern are not totally present in every answer, but most of the answers share in the same line of argument and in drawing similar conclusions. The first element in such thinking is that MA is not a proper language, but one that is made up of bits from here and there particularly CA, French, Spanish, and Tamazight, and "even" varies from one region to another, secondly that MA prevails in all our daily activities, and thirdly that MA endangers the position of CA by representing a barrier to the learning of CA, and therefore a lowering in the standards of CA. These views can be illustrated through the following extracts from the students'answers:

S 69: "As is well known, in most Moroccan homes MA is the means of communication, which often creates a conflict between two distinct styles of communication: one which is characterised by mediocrity and vagueness of meaning, and a learned style that is subject to specific rules, which should have been the most dominant style."

S 5: "Using MA and CA creates a cultural problem, since most people speak MA, which prevents them from a proper development of CA. We notice this in the writings of pupils and students at all levels. We can also say that the use of MA leads to a moral degeneration such as in the language found in popular songs(of low standards)."

S 4: "Firstly, there is a big difference between the two languages, since MA is only a language invented by Moroccans, which means that it is only particular to this country, whereas CA is a comprehensive language. What's more is that MA has flaws which affect CA."

To say that diglossia is considered as a problem by most students still leaves a lot to be defined. One still has to describe the nature of these problems. It becomes apparent throughout most of the answers of the students that MA stands out as the problem-language. According to a number of students, most of the diglossic problems can be traced to the fact that *MA is used where CA should be used*, and that *the use of MA* (on such large scale) *hinders the progress of CA*. In the diglossic reasoning, CA does not come so much under trial. It is rather the criterion by which linguistic standards are judged. There is no equation of the two. MA is not considered as a language in the same light as CA. In a situation that gives rise to social and educational problems, the shift of blame is towards MA. Diglossia is a problem, because MA is the problem. Solutions to the problem are envisaged in the direction of the area that is MA.

4.7.3 Diglossic problems: nature and extent

The students' answers to the second question requiring them to provide examples of the type of problems they think are a consequence of the diglossic situation between

MA and CA were classified into six categories. These categories represent the cluster areas of the diglossic problems and situations described by the students. The categories are a tentative classification of the kind of issues that arise from the sociolinguistic exclusiveness of each of CA and MA. These categories may not always be mutually exclusive mainly because the issues they describe are closely interconnected. This, indeed, is reflected in the students' answers , where two or more issues are raised within the same argument. To narrow down the possibilities of interpretation, these categories will be discussed in the light of the actual examples provided by the students.

4.7.3.1 Institutional-Personal aspect of diglossic problems

The gap between everyday language and the official language in their separate array of functions is the fundamental nature of diglossia itself as well as being its root-problem. It is the global diglossic problem, which gives rise to and sustains other diglossic issues. It is defined as an exclusive category in one very particular sense namely the institutional-personal level of diglossic experience. This would, hypothetically, cover both literate and illiterate people, but it is the latter group (the majority in terms of population) which is particularly and seriously affected by the split.

There is a real communicative gap between the illiterate or the minimally-educated person and the official institutions. These institutions cover all major areas of

social and administrative organisation of continuous and immediate interest to all Moroccan subjects, and are not as such the least worry on people's minds. The success of transactions between formal institutions and the illiterate or less-educated population is mostly achieved through a minimal perception of the roles, goals, the requirements and rights embedded in such transactions, and more often through delegation. These institutions include, for example dealing with the courts, municipalities, post offices, tax authorities, banks, etc. Though illiteracy is a major obstacle in itself regardless of the linguistic medium, and though bureaucratic jargons are not limited to diglossic societies, the above transactions could be more accessible conceptually and in procedure if their language were essentially the same as the national language. The official language is not just formal in register, but also a different language. This is more apparent in situations which do not particularly involve literacy skills (reading and writing) as in newsbroadcasting on radio or television, speeches or announcements made in CA. For the illiterate/less-educated recipient, the CA discourse needs a great deal of deciphering which he or she cannot usually perform. For the CA-skilled person, making sense of institutional CA discourse is not so much a problem in terms of linguistic perception. The problem, however, lies in the performance demands of the linguistic and cultural switch. The formality of these situations is not comparable to the formality of situations involving standards-with-dialects,

for example. The level of formality involved in the switch to CA has far wider ramifications than that of a non-diglossic standard. The switch is more than situational, where the break from other levels of formality is total, with little relation to the recipient's individual, social and linguistic experience. The formality of CA in institutional-personal transactions is sustained by its self-perpetuating formality rather than a socially significant formality.

4.7.3.2 Inter-personal aspect of diglossic problems

Another outcome of the CA-MA functional hierarchy is the ways in which it aggravates and accentuates the intellectual and cultural gap between the illiterate and educated. Such a gap is brought about by both linguistic and attitudinal factors. The linguistic aspect of it concerns the terminology of concepts traditionally associated with "learnedness" and educability. Concepts of this type are exclusively expressed in CA, and therefore make it difficult to cover those same concepts if raised with individuals unfamiliar with CA. It can be argued that it is the absence of currency of such concepts which makes it difficult to raise them in MA, but it can also be argued that concept-extension would be smoother if the extension takes place within the same language, using the same grammatical features and the same roots for verbs and nouns. The word "al-idma:n" (addiction), for example is alien to MA in term but not in concept " 'l-belia" or "mebli". Other words, on the other hand, can be easily

understood by a person unfamiliar with CA because they share the same semantic root in MA and CA; an example of which would be "al-Hasad" (jealousy) in CA and leHsed in MA, and "al-'ittifa:q" (agreement) in CA and "lettifa:q" in MA. As there is a close social contact between the illiterate and educated, the need to raise issues which are conventionally associated with CA is not uncommon. Students often complain of their inability to communicate their thought to uneducated people. They find such situations discouraging and inhibitive.

The development of such "higher" concepts through another language rather than a different register or style leads to a more exaggerated sense of educability and intellectuality. The educated person often feels that they cannot really be "serious" in MA. MA is not seen as a debate-worthy language, and it is in this respect, that the attitudinal side-effect of the association of the "higher" concepts with CA can be appreciated. The verbal repertoire of such a terminology becomes a valuable social advantage. The concept of knowledge gets caught up in the linguistic trap, and as such is defined in terms of the ability to demonstrate skills in CA rather than the underlying concepts. Appreciation of educability is assessed through linguistic stamina in CA. The monopoly of CA on the acquisition of knowledge broadens the gap between the educated and the uneducated and emphasises the isolation of the latter. Language in education, in this sense, becomes a tool of educational snobbery, rather than serving the more primary of educational goals.

4.7.3.3 Incompatibility of cultural input

The fact that social experience is prestigiously expressed in CA, a socially neutral language, can be understood in the light of the conflict between experience in and out of school. CA is not only a different language but also the medium of a tradition that only appears to relate to the cultural life of Morocco. Topics pursued in CA are those of a general nature; they have to appeal to the (ideal) Arab; if topics represent the concerns of a single country, they are likely to be suspected of provincialism. Hence, most educational material, fiction and non-fiction is `Pan-Arabic' in language and outlook[10]. CA is almost exclusively preoccupied with a set of values that are non-local in a social sense. The insistence of the educational system in Morocco (as well as in other Arabic-speaking countries) on adopting CA as the only medium of teaching helps to develop both linguistic and cultural alienation on the part of the learner. This conflict is not only present in the initial stages of learning, but settles into an established pattern of linguistic and cultural switching and a clash of personal and social symbols, after schooling is finished.

The linguistic and cultural reality outside the school is excluded from the educational material and replaced by a type of asocial and often anachronistic culture. The gap is more acutely felt while in the process of formal

[10] In the course of this research, a Moroccan novelist was asked about the idea of writing in MA; one of the reservations he had against writing in MA was that the work would not be readable outside Morocco.

learning. One is constantly aware of the school-culture and the home-culture. Homework is a foreign intrusion in the home and an out of place imposition. Levels of progress in learning are measured in terms of the abstraction from the linguistic and cultural outside world that is sought after by schooling. The ability not to use referents from the home and the reproduction of asocial phraseology with the illusion of contemporariness is understood to be a sign of intellectual maturity. There is no effort to accommodate the child either in terms of medium or material. The linguistic and cultural discontinuity between home and school in the early stages of learning is experienced in the inability to participate in the classroom, and the mystification of the fundamentals of arithmetic, science, and other subjects. The transition to literacy is not only cognitively abrupt but also linguistically and culturally. School and home become totally two different worlds isolated from one another. There is a radical switch between the behaviour and attitudes associated with each of them. They are seen as opposites of "seriousness", which breeds a level of unnecessary artificiality about the learning situation, and a lack of realism and context. Such formalisation of the learning process is different in matters of degree and flexibility of exchange and situational extension from that of a non-diglossic standard. The two basic literacy skills (of reading and writing) become more associated with an identifiable range of themes. It becomes apparent through education that it would be difficult to fit in the

CA discourse the most palatable of experiences without a degree of linguistic and cultural interpretation -- a kind of linguistic and cultural filtration. Education also becomes an alienating process; a process of linguistic and cultural uprooting. The more vital educational needs of developing one's cognitive abilities and acquiring knowledge are obscured by linguistic substitution.

4.7.3.4 Linguistic competence vs. allegiance paradox

There is a general confusion, in Arabic diglossia, of what is usually meant by the official language, national language, or mother tongue. The confusion of these three concepts occurs at both the ideological and social level. In many of the Arabic-speaking countries there is more than one official language (usually French or English), but only CA is recognised as the official and national language. Most of the confusion, however, is between the national language and mother-tongue and between the professed mother tongue and actual mother tongue. In the Arabic-speaking countries CA is considered both the national language and the mother tongue of the Arabs, whereby the two terms are used interchangeably. In Morocco, Tamazight, which is a major national language, is not recognised as such. For Tamazight speakers, the same rule applies; CA is officially their mother tongue. With respect to MA, the diglossic situation has never been officially recognised. The official stance is based on the argument that there are not sufficient reasons nationally to provide for it. It is assumed that the

individual should strive to master his "mother tongue" by clearing out all the linguistic impurities, and restoring his speech to its original state. The official attitude both in its explicit and covert forms largely goes unreflected upon. There is a wide sense of original linguistic `sin'. What people actually speak is never recognised as a legitimate mother tongue, and hence the paradox of what people have as their mother tongue and what they think is their mother tongue. One of the major objections to the "localisation" of Arabic is that the greatest asset that the Arab world/nation has is its language (i.e., CA). What is called Arabic dialects are unrepresentative and divisive, and hence unnational.

No attempt is made here to discuss the relevance or irrelevance of the one language to the achievement and success of Pan-Arabism, but at the linguistic level other serious considerations present themselves. People in Morocco, for example, extensively use a language that is not the same language as that which is supposed be the symbol of their national identity. They are, as a matter of course, naturally fluent in their own native language and are able to perceive and project an infinite range of expectations. MA, in this way, is their unassumed symbol of identity. In a practical sense, their own native language does serve the role of the group identity. It is the language of what emotionally moves the group as a whole. At a more self-conscious level, some people are told or presume that their native language is an infringement on their real mother tongue. The diglossic use of language is met here

by a diglossia of identity, and linguistic betterment is paralleled by identity redeeming.

The conflict between one's linguistic allegiance and the pursuit of the national ideal takes the form of a process of self-conviction and conversion to undermine the linguistic reality and enhance the symbolic value of the linguistic ideal. Such conflict spreads also to the type of cultural pursuits one engages in. A struggle for the `perfection' of the linguistic medium and the covering of topics in a language that one does not use in real life often determines the approach and quality of cultural output. The quality of intellectual achievement depends more on experience in the asocial reproduction in the H form. Interest in the more socially based aspects can only be a sign of laziness in dealing with the hard core of these aspects. Intellectual ability can be easily confused with the ability to deal in the unintelligible.

For the educated person, there is a constant clash between the expectation that they should be fluent in CA (especially if they have finished their formal education) and the actual impracticalities in fulfilling it. The educated outwardly maintain the adequacy of their CA, while more personally have to deal with what they view as their inability or shortcomings in mastering CA. There is a common feeling of poor achievement that is always seen as an individual responsibility, namely the student's directly or the teacher's by implication. The private anguish of the struggle over the control of CA is compounded with the feeling of embarrassment that is often

reported when one is attempting to speak CA. The embarrassment is underlined by the artificiality of the act and its rarity. An oral performance in CA becomes essentially a dramatic production. Intellectual betterment runs along the same parallels as cultural and linguistic estrangement. It is a conflict between assets and symbols.

How serious these problems are to students is more difficult to determine. Are they simply viewed as necessary evils, or problems which necessitate some intervention. A number of linguistic problems have, on the whole, received some attention, but the ensuing changes were rather reflections of what was happening ideologically and politically -- Arabic-French bilingualism after Independence, and Arabisation in line with Pan-Arabism. Both issues are concerned with the development of CA (replacement and elaboration). CA became the medium by which the replacement of French might be achieved as well as that through which political, economic, and scientific progress might be coordinated throughout the Arabic world. The importance attached to these two issues has consequentially underplayed all the other linguistic issues. That the concern is about CA, and that MA is in a disadvantaged diglossic relationship with CA, logically makes the diglossic issues marginal and hence less serious. In linguistic agendas, the diglossic problems are considered in the light of their effect on the major goals.

Unofficially, such an attitude is shared by the majority of people. Because of the sharp contrast of role and prestige between CA and MA, MA is not deemed serious enough to warrant any consideration. The perception of MA as being a non-serious subject has been accidentally confirmed by the interest in the exoticisms of what is called popular or folk literature. The collection and study of material such as proverbs, tales and songs, and other forms of 'oral' literature has made the study of MA (or the way it is perceived) part of the same trend. Interest in the linguistic or para-linguistic aspects of MA is viewed in the same light as a study of popular culture. Such perceptions make it the more difficult to view the diglossic conflict in any serious way.

Experience of practical difficulties is usually explained away by permanent diglossic `agents of blame' such as the deterioration of standards (teachers' and students'), and the relaxation of grammatical exigencies attributed to the modernisation of CA as part of the process of Arabisation. The unidimensional perception of the diglossic conflict can also be understood through the `hard to get' CA and `easy' MA -- a case of familiarity breeding contempt. CA may be considered serious because it is difficult to acquire. One has to spend a great deal of time and effort to learn it. CA is something you study. There can be no sharper contrast than the accessibility of MA, which you do not have to be `clever' to use. "If MA is used at school, what difference would there be

between the literate and illiterate?" One student exclaimed.

4.7.4 Attitudinal evaluation of MA

In a previous section four components of the attitudes to MA were discussed[11]. These aspects were raised in the questionnaire to substantiate some of these components. One way of evaluating the attitudinal status and potential of MA is to identify those elements that are favourable and those that are not. MA scored negatively on its linguistic legitimacy, hence implying its historical impurity. On the communicative side, MA scored positively on being used in serious discussions, but scored negatively on being used in literature. How this is viewed can be seen through some of the students' comments. We have seen through the results that 65% thought that MA is a corrupted form of CA, and 35% that it is an independent variety. Illustrations of these views from the students' extracts are listed below:

"Corruption" view

S 16:" In addition to MA being a corrupted form of CA, it is also a corruption of the languages that passed through Morocco such as French or Spanish or other languages of Morocco such as Berber. MA cannot be considered either an independent form of Arabic with separate rules, since such a language is characterised by a chaotic usage in terms of regions , age and social position. Its linguistic instability also deters from establishing its rules."

S 70:" MA comes from CA; in other words, MA is a distortion of CA, and does not possess the rules of a language. MA is also a mixture of foreign or colonial languages."

S 56:"CA is a form of expression which has precise rules that control it and guide it, whereas MA is a form of

[11] See pp. 94-101

expression that breaks these rules and transgresses the grammatical code."

"Difference" view

S 47:"MA is a different language which has separate rules, but unfortunately they remain to be discovered."

S 51:"MA benefits from CA through vocabulary of contemporary interest, and also benefits from other coexisting dialects such as Berber."

S 114:"Although MA has separate rules, this does not mean that it is totally different from CA since there are some words in CA that are also used in MA but differently pronounced."

The terms of condemnation are strong with regard to the claims to legitimacy of MA. Most of the semantic range of their descriptions evolved around the concept of damage such as: "abbreviated form", "accumulation of linguistic residues", "chaotic", "distortion", "misrendering", etc. MA is thought of as consisting of: a) grammatical and phonological misrendering of CA, and b) foreign elements of French and Spanish in addition to Berber. MA loses on the point of linguistic legitimacy. Those, on the other hand, who have reason to believe that MA is an independent variety with separate rules also have their own reservations, namely its non-codification and its relation to CA. Their opinion is a realistic appreciation of the present status of MA. One of the significant differences between the "corruption" view and "difference" view is the discrimination between grammaticality and standardisation. The "corruption" view holds that MA is ungrammatical because grammaticality is associated with written grammar, and, therefore lack of written grammar in MA justifies its ungrammatical status.

With regard to the use of MA in "serious" discussions, 77.5% approved and 22.5% disapproved. Many of the reasons given by the students who thought it is possible to have a serious discussion in MA revolve around the accessibility of the language. Some students argued that because everybody speaks MA, it would be easier to discuss any subject in MA but with more emphasis on meaning and intent. Some students also argued that people of little or no knowledge of CA, who are usually excluded from such a debate, would be able to participate, and that their views would add to the variety of opinion, and consequentially any benefit from such interactions would be more widespread. Other students referred to how `ordinary' people already cover all sorts of issues in MA. Some students felt that there is no harm in borrowing terms which do not exist in MA from CA. These students view such process as necessary and normal. The flexibility in lexicon exchange is even thought to be of long-term benefit to MA by helping to establish a more "elevated" MA.

Those, on the other hand, who do not think it is possible to have a serious discussion in MA state as their main reason the lack of special terminology as far as `serious' topics are concerned. The lexicon is said to be limited to certain areas of interest deemed ordinary. MA is used in debate only when a person has a poor grasp of CA. It is believed that the use of MA in such situations would undermine their importance/seriousness. Another recurrent reason in many of the answers is that MA lacks

the clarity and precision of CA. Criteria of eloquence are also synonymous and totally exclusive to CA; in other words, eloquence cannot be achieved through MA. Extending the use of MA to `serious' areas , and thus involving a degree of linguistic switching between MA and CA (or what students call mixing), is seen as undermining CA, its standards and hence its future. In this way, the use of MA is seen as a threat to CA. For some students, if one has to choose between two evils, the lesser of them would be ESA. The following are an illustration of answers provided by the students on the aspect of MA being used in `serious' conversation:

Agree

S 32:"It is possible to discuss serious topics in MA, since MA does not require the use of grammatical or conjugative rules, which leaves the door open for the use of different levels of language in accordance with the addressee or level of talk and facilitates the transmission of meaning."

S 44:"Of course, it is possible to discuss serious topics in MA, since there are no difficulties or obstacles. If we converse in MA we will achieve the same results, the same ideas and content. The only difference is that it would be difficult to write it, since it is not possible to write well in MA."

S 119:"Since we use MA in our daily life, and since our daily life includes both the serious and not so serious subjects, this makes it all the more obvious to discuss topics of either nature in MA. This proves the utility of MA in topics of prime importance."

Disagree

S 69:"Serious topics cannot be discussed in MA, since MA does not allow one to express oneself fluently and precisely, and may deter from clear thinking, especially if we try to repeat what is said in CA. This can be explained by the comprehensiveness and richness of CA, since CA includes words that cannot be found in MA."

S 112:"Serious discussions of serious topics can only be achieved through CA, since the serious topic requires an

intelligible language and a fine style. There is also the problem of terminology (as in philosophy and science), and a discussion in MA would distort the intended meaning."

S 92:"We can only discuss in MA topics associated with the ordinary life of people and its economic necessities, but if we move to another level such as the study of the nature of these relationships, and scientific and human progress of contemporary societies, we will find that MA is inadequate to express such higher concepts."

4.7.4.1 Interchangeability of the evaluation of L competence and functions

One of the striking aspects of the evidence given by the students of either opinion is the way they use the same arguments to prove their opposite views. These aspects belong to the level of linguistic competence and its social functions. These are the 'ordinariness' of MA, the absence of written grammatical rules, and lack of specialised vocabulary. *The association of MA with 'ordinary' people and 'ordinary' usage* has been raised as an evidence both to prove and disapprove the use of MA for 'serious' topics. The pro evidence used ordinariness to refer to the ease in the use of MA and its accessibility. The ordinariness is perceived of, here, as a positive feature. But ordinariness is also seen in a more negative light, namely as an inferior quality. MA is seen here as the language of only the uneducated or the illiterate, and the language used in `non-intellectual' topics. Its association with ordinary topics makes it conceptually unfit for the expression of `higher' topics. Its use in such a context would only undermine the importance and seriousness of the latter. MA is seen as the experience and CA as its language. CA is the metalanguage of MA.

The absence of written grammatical rules is another instance of evidence used on both sides of the argument. One, however, has to remember that few students made the distinction between the existence of grammatical rules and the existence of written grammatical rules. The absence of the second automatically meant the absence of the first. Disregarding the assumptions behind the argument of the absence of grammar (whether written or `actual'), this was seen by the pro-argument as an advantage in dealing with subjects of varying degrees of seriousness. This can be best understood by the implicit comparison that often takes place with the explicit and strict grammar of CA. Such arguments assume that since you do not need to apply rules of such vigour and difficulty, transmission of meaning and intent will be made easier. For the counter-argument, the absence of 'grammar' disqualifies MA from dealing with subjects considered serious. The non-observance of (CA) grammatical rules is seen as damaging to the quality of the debate. A recurrent phrase in many of such answers is that MA lacks the "clarity and precision" of CA -- two characteristics that are attributed to the application of grammar. CA is seen as the epitome of systemacity (MA as that of `chaos', by contrast) and accuracy.

Lack of specialised vocabulary is an argument that is used mostly to dismiss MA as unable to deal with serious topics (a complaint that is also levelled at CA when compared to French or English), but is also raised with relation to the application of MA to 'serious' topics. In

this respect, borrowing from CA is viewed as a natural exchange that does not undermine either of the languages. Topics that are not or supposed not to be traditionally approached through MA can be accommodated by using current CA terminology. For students of such an opinion, there is no stigma associated with this practice. Such a lexical exchange is seen as beneficial to MA, by providing it with the needed vocabulary. Such an (already existing) practice is also seen as playing a major role in the attitudes to MA through the prestige derived from the lexical innovations. But more students still view the lack of special terminology as one of the major reasons for not adopting MA as a medium for the discussion of topics considered serious. It is believed that MA can only operate in areas related to the home and other "daily matters", its lexicon being considered a low-grade one. This is also attributed to the view that MA cannot deal with abstract concepts. The lack of specialised terminology is presumed to be more of an integral nature of MA rather than an arbitrary one. Lexical 'sophistication' is seen as a privilege of CA.

An ironical aspect, however, of the argument that only CA can be used in serious debate is that CA is rarely used to perform that function in actual conversation. There is a limited number of situations in which CA is actually used in spoken form for debate (usually formal public debates, and not, as such, informal discussions among academics, students, or politicians.) It is usually the case that in these situations that Educated Moroccan

Arabic is used -- ESA. The argument for using CA in serious discussions rather than MA is rather `wishful thinking' in pursuit of the socio-educational ideal.

Another key to the understanding of the idea that serious discussion is only possible through CA is the meaning and implications of what or who is intellectual in Morocco. Intellectuals or intellectual topics are heavily used terms in Morocco among the educated. These terms do not refer so much to the exercise of the intellect, idealistic tendencies or such other related meanings as to distinguish between who or what is educated or not. Being intellectual is more of a symbol of educational status. Intellectual subjects are consequentially those outside the realm of the uneducated. Intellectuality and educability are almost synonymous. The close association between them, and between CA and education make the identification of MA with intellectuality a contradiction in terms. The violation of this traditional association is more of a 'liberal' attitude.

4.7.4.2 Evaluation of the use of MA in literature

The question of the use of MA in literature is both hypothetical and one that has some foundation in sporadic use of MA in novels and short stories (as serious works of literature), in particular. The more hypothetical aspect is more significant here since an answer to the former can be at least partially based on a perception of the *status quo*. This question is also important as part of a set of criteria to assess the general attitude to further

advancement of MA through the functional divide, in even the most minimal way. The reaction of the students to whether the use of MA in literature has a positive or a negative effect was more in favor of the latter. The following are some of the comments made by the students on this particular aspect:

Negative

S 22:"The use of MA in literature has a negative effect. Of the writer who makes an analysis in Moroccan, we can say that he does not know Arabic very well."

S 7:"Negatively, because it makes the work lose its literary characteristics, which distinguish it from normal writing (language of commercials and names of shops)."

S 64:"The use of MA in literature negatively affects it, since everybody, even the ignorant, would be able to write anything and call it a work of literature."

S 49:"Negatively, of course, if the objective from literary works is the elevation of taste and improvement of style."

S 115:"The use of MA in literature has a negative effect, for the language of the Arabs is the language of science, literature and rhetoric. Proper literary works in CA find a large success, because CA is a living language which comprehends all you would fail to create or express in Moroccan."

S 67:"Negatively, of course, for the use of MA in literature makes it lose its eloquence and elegance, and also promotes the colloquial, which would become more common among the educated class, which, in its turn, would make CA fade away."

S 44:"The use of MA in literature has a negative effect, for a literary work has to be literary in every sense of the word, free from any colloquial words. Otherwise, this would not be well received by the literary critics and consequently undermine its literary character."

Positive

S 48:"The use of MA in literature undergoes the same processes of creativity and we cannot think of it as a negative thing, since it represents part of that creativity. Hence such a work has a value as part of that

creativity regardless of the genre, whether novel, short stories, or poems (and the examples are many)."

S 86:"We notice that the literary works that include expressions in MA assist in the understanding of the characters or the chosen setting for the particular work."

S 32:"The use of MA in literary works of CA is not arbitrary but has rather a definite purpose as an assertion of identity, for example, or a challenge to taboos (sex, religion)."

A qualified answer

S 93:"For poetry, it is a negative thing, of course. However, for other literary (prose) genres (novel and short stories), the effect is a positive one thanks to the serious social connotations of colloquial words. The literary work, therefore, is more in touch with its social context at least at the level of language."

S 92:"Because MA is limited to areas of everyday interaction, and has not had the opportunity to be promoted to the level of intellectual stances, and if issues of non-material nature such as emotions and the analysis of symbolical relationships among the individuals in a society are characteristics of literary writing, MA would have a minimal effect. What is needed first is the development of Moroccan so that it can deal with literary themes."

S 94:"As a principle, it is a positive and effective thing, but MA in its present situation is not well suited for the kind of analysis pursued in novels which requires a higher level of linguistic maturity. Hence, the development of MA ought to proceed such implementation."

Perceived Educational value: A recurrent reason given for the rejection of the use of MA in literary writing is the argument that one cannot benefit either linguistically or stylistically. For many students, literature is a major source of linguistic and stylistic stimulation. It is in fact the model of a good command of language (in a general sense rather than literary sense) and eloquence. Literary

works are, then, of primary linguistic and stylistic benefit. The use or inclusion of MA in literature is seen as depriving the student of the opportunity to learn or improve his or her linguistic stock in CA. The creative aspect of literature is seen as mainly a linguistic one. Literary creativity predominantly refers to language manipulation rather than other (para-linguistic) literary skills. The value of a literary piece has much to do with its classicalness or a display of agility in CA. Literary creativity is the ability linguistically to interpret in CA. CA is what distinguishes the literary from the unliterary. Similarly the aesthetic value of a literary work lies more in its wording than craftsmanship in areas such as the ability to observe, character analysis, narration, humour or wit, for example. Related to this are also the descriptive powers attributed to CA, particularly the quality to reflect the "finest of emotions and feelings", which also means that the same thing cannot be achieved through MA -- which is "a mere language of communication". "Sophisticated" taste and elegance cannot be disassociated from CA, either. Acquisition of taste and appreciation of subtlety are very much parallel with performance in CA. Another underlying reason for the non- acceptance of MA in literature is what some students perceived as the `ethical' value of CA. For these students, literature is the vehicle of proper moral standards, and CA is devoid of vulgar linguistic impurities such as cursing vocabulary. MA, on the other hand, is the language of the street -- a title that is

commonly used to refer to MA, the street being the embodiment of bad behaviour. In this sense, MA is also unliterary. Another recurrent argument for the rejection of the use of MA in literature (also common to other H diglossic functions) is that the writing of literature in MA would reinforce provincialism. CA is seen as the medium of "non-regional" and "timeless" works of literature. In other words, literature has to be universal in outlook. Using MA in literature is considered as incongruent with such an ideal. Literary works that are heavily influenced by MA, it is argued, limit their scope of being accessible to readers of other countries, especially the Arabic-speaking ones, where current works of literature are mutually exchangeable with no degree of linguistic intervention. Other students view the idea of using any "colloquial" Arabic as a "colonial" and "orientalist" one, detrimental to the unity of the Arabs, with both political and religious undertones.

Those, on the other hand, who liked the idea of using MA in literary works seem to be more familiar with the works that include MA. Most of these students listed the most celebrated of these. Most of the reasons provided to argue the rewards of using MA in literature centre around the close links between society and language, and the allusiveness, in this case, of MA. MA is seen as more suitable for the literary reproduction of real-life experience. Some students referred, for example, to the relevance of MA to the understanding of characters and setting. The share in the underlying values, expectations

and images through MA is seen as a powerful tool in literature. The literary language becomes more acutely identified. The use of MA in a literary context, it is also argued, would assist in reflecting the reasoning processes intertwined with the spoken language. And contrary to the argument in the negative, MA is not seen as a straightforward application of language but as part of literary creativity. The use of MA in a literary fashion is seen as a more challenging and rewarding task, and one that involves skill and craftsmanship. Another argument that is parallel to that in the negative is the "ethical" dimension. MA is seen here as providing an outlet for challenging major social and religious taboos. The use of MA does not require any (spiritual) obligation to show any degree of veneration. In this sense, MA is neither moralistic or inhibitive. Some students see the fictional use of MA as a way of exploring the social and cultural context of these literary works.

Another group of students preferred to qualify their answers rather than evaluate the use of MA in literature as negative or positive. Their views are motivated by an account of what is taking place in contemporary literature in Morocco as well as a measure of caution. Some of these students believe that the use of MA cannot be envisaged in poetry, but with respect to other "prose" genres namely the novel, short stories and plays, there is scope for the use of MA. Other students felt that MA is not only more desirable but also necessary for use in dialogues, although the narrative has to remain in CA. MA is seen here

as a technical detail to provide plausibility rather than a fully-implementable and multi-faceted language. In some of the examples given by these students, the use of MA in dialogue will solve the contradiction of an illiterate having a conversation in CA. A more pragmatic view on the use of MA in literature sees no objection to such use, and believes that as a matter of principle MA can and should be used. However, the present condition of MA does not allow for such a role. These students argue that a stage of codification and elaboration has to come first, before MA is implemented in a serious way in literature.

The question of whether the use of MA in literary works is to be evaluated negatively or positively was left ambiguous as to whether it meant a partial or a total implementation of MA. Up to the present date, there is no work of literature completely written in MA. We know that more students thought of the use of MA in literature as a negative thing (61% compared to 38.7% who thought of it as positive). There is no doubt that the current practice of including single lexical items, idioms or MA dialogue in fiction has had a positive effect on the general perception of MA. More and more people (those who read these works or are familiar with them) come to realise the `hidden powers' of a `simple' language like MA, the ability to project and derive extensive meaning of a kind unobtainable in CA, the ability to quote without translating, and the realisation of the enormous range of opportunities literature can afford. The special diglossic position of CA with numerous safeguards and privileges

puts severe limitations on what literature is or should be about. Contemporary literary trends are usually accommodated to CA to the extent that they lose their most effective and influential traits so that 'realism', for example, is 'realism within CA'. CA is the sole definition and embodiment of what is literary; the `aesthetics' of language can only be operated within CA; the authenticity of literary works is measured by its approximity to CA; and the humanistic value of literature will be undermined if relegated to local dialects (as they are commonly called). No significance can be seen in reading a piece of literature in MA, since there is no 'proper' language or style to be emulated. In these respects, MA is unliterary.

4.7.4.3 Evaluation of interference from MA

In a sociolinguistic situation where there is a language for 'doing' things and a language for 'talking about' them, there are bound to be operational problems. Interference, in this context, refers to a complex process of linguistic exchange peculiar to Arabic diglossia and MA-CA diglossia, in particular. In many instances, the syntax and lexicon supposedly of CA are strongly shaped by one's competence in MA, making the process a more pervasive presence than an isolated interference. Lack of natural fluency in CA is replaced by an effortful process of transference and accommodation. Though some kind of *habitual fluency* is developed, and a relative ease in handling familiar topics, there is a loss of meaning and

detail, and a rhetorical and thematic limitation. As in successful fluency in a second/foreign language, the apparent ease in both production and perception is often accompanied by a certain levelling of semantic potential and a limited grammatical variability. In the case of CA, the pretence to a mother tongue status (that is in terms of acquisition a second language) aggravates the situation by creating unrealistic expectations and hence stigmatising any admittance to any degree of `failure'.

There are, indeed, many students with successful achievements in CA, there are even those who can approach a variety of topics (including themes from the `lower' sector of the functional spectrum) and manage to achieve a connotative description. But the analysis of such a situation depends not so much on what you can do but on what you cannot do. If what you cannot do is extensive as well as underestimated, a number of problems arise including detail overlooking, topical exclusion and general linguistic neutralisation. The use of MA to fill these roles is seen as a sign of linguistic failure and poor achievement in CA.

There were two questions that dealt with the attitude to interference from MA. The first one was concerned with whether the students think there is an influence of MA in what they write, and the second one with whether there are things that can be expressed in MA but not in CA. The results of the first question were rather inconclusive with a marginal difference in favor of the yes-answers; the difference in response to the second question, howev-

er, was significantly larger[12]. The difference in response to the two questions shows a contradiction between the claim to the absence of MA influence and the claim to the existence of things that cannot be expressed in CA. The response, however, to the two questions is more important in terms of its attitudinal value rather than factual value. The answer "yes" or "no" to the presence of MA in one's writing is an indication of positive or negative evaluation of the influence of MA. With respect to the admission of such influence, some students did make the remark that they would have preferred the question to have been put as to whether they have noticed such influence in their friends' writings. The personal aspect of the question clashes with the linguistic ego of the respondent. Those who answered in the positive show a more favourable attitude to the presence of MA influences in their writing. Their favourable evaluation may be a simple pragmatic realisation of the inevitability of such influence, or a belief in the advantages of using MA. In comments to the second question, many examples were given of instances in which it was impossible to paraphrase in CA without affecting the meaning of the original source.

Students who confirmed the influence of MA in their writing made various comments in explanation of such an influence. Many of the answers argued that when topics started touching on their individual and social experience, there arose difficulties in accommodating the experience to CA. Students referred to expressions,

[12] See pp. 147-148

idioms, and words for which they could not find equivalents in CA, or substitutes that would accuratelty reflect the meaning intended. Students referred also to their constant need to paraphrase in CA. Some students further advanced the argument towards the relation between language and thought, and its implications for the adoption of CA for writing. The change of approach between MA and CA does not simply involve a change between the spoken and written mode. The bridging of the gap between the spoken and written discourse is complicated by the additional diglossic break between the language used for speaking and the language used for writing. The process also involves word-matching, complete paraphrasing, and `re-grammaring'. Some students also referred to the time consumption and effort involved in such process. Other students also mentioned the uncertainty they experience when writing in CA namely that they do not know whether a particular word is used in CA or not, or whether a certain usage is proper. Such confusion is a common feature of the problems arising from the adoption of the H form for writing. Similar confusion is compensated for by more intuitive insight in the case of `more' natural standard languages. As to the question whether there are things which can be expressed in MA but not in CA, there were many illustrations as to the nature of these. These are aspects related to the home and relationships within the family, and what some students preferred to call non-intellectual needs. Many students also listed vocabulary pertaining to traditional

craftsmanship, customs, traditions and other cultural aspects as instances of phenomena difficult to express in CA. A number of students also included humour and exclamatory language.

Those, on the other hand, who did not agree with either the first or second question firmly believed that the opposite is true; that there are things which cannot be expressed in MA. This cannot be totally dismissed, but the same thing is true of many languages including CA, depending on their particular circumstances. CA is seen, however, by these students as the "original" and comprehensive Arabic, through which anything can be said, whereas MA is only a reduction of it. According to these students, the problem is one of ignorance and only rises when one has not properly mastered the language. The response to the two questions was, on the whole, a favourable one. The second question was less personal and more sympathetic in tone. Students do not like to think of themselves as failing in any way to be fluent in CA. Interference from MA or difficulty in describing in CA what can be described in MA is ,in this sense, considered a major linguistic shortcoming. CA is viewed as a comprehensive language with unlimited descriptive powers. Blind faith in CA diverts from an appraisal of the limitations of implementing CA in writing given its sociolinguistic situation. Difficulties and problems arising from the sole use of CA in writing and with regard to the total exclusion of MA are not considered serious enough to receive formal attention. They are, however, considered

serious when they are viewed as failings of the individual. The following table is a summary of the arguments underlying the response to the influence of MA in one's writing, and types of examples of what students thought could not be expressed in CA:

Influence of MA in writing because	Types of examples of MA-bound situations
-Discrepancy between social/ cultural context and linguistic form -Difficulty in matching items from MA with components in CA -Loss of socio-cultural ramification in CA -Neutralising effect of CA -Linguistic uncertainty -Time-consumption	-Family/social repertoire -Extra-scholaristic culture -Jargons of traditional crafts -Customs and traditions -Idiomatic language and humour

4.7.5 Self-evaluation of performance in CA

The questionnaire also included questions directly aiming at students' ratings of aspects of performance in CA. The students were given a number of choices from which to select the closest to their own appreciation of the situation with respect to three particular aspects, namely the frequency of their use of CA, their fluency in CA, and the type of difficulties in their use of CA, if any. The response to these questions would provide an illustration of the students' views on the differences between the practice and perception of CA. The following table is a summary of the response to the three questions:[13]

[13]See Figures: 4.4, 4.5, 4.6

Opportunities to use CA	Fluency in CA	Type of difficulty in CA
A few: 60.8%	Quite Good: 46.6%	Vocabulary : 40.5%
Rare: 21.6%	Average : 30 %	Syntax : 26.8%
Many: 11.6%	Good : 11.6%	Comprehen- -sion : 13.7%
None: 5.8%	Poor : 7.5%	Case Endings : 12.4%
	Don't Know: 4.1%	Spelling : 6.5%

For the two questions dealing with the frequency of the use of CA and fluency in it, the majority of the answers fall across the middle options; hence the opportunities to use CA are considered a few (by 60.8%), and most people (46.6%) thought that their CA is either quite good (46.6%) or average (30%). By some coincidence, the (top) options namely "many"-(for frequency) and "good"-(for fluency) received a similar 11.6%. The moderate reaction to these two questions can be seen, here, as more than just a safe option to avoid overestimation or underestimation. The low scores for the top options are, in this case, a fair indication of the students' estimate of their exposure and competence in CA. A small number of students, though, do think that they have ample chance to practise CA. They see the `use' of CA as the effort to take CA beyond the classroom and the book. Their response is an assumption of responsibility that the individual places on themselves to `practise' and `naturalise' CA. As for the students who rate their CA as 'good', they may have indeed achieved a high level of proficiency in CA. Most of these students are recent graduates or final (fourth) year students in Arabic language and literature or other Arts disciplines

(with CA as the main medium). These students engage in sustained reading of material written in CA, and have acquired interest and find enjoyment in reading (or even writing) in CA.

However, for the majority of students (Quite good: 46.6% and average: 30% making a total of 76.6%), there is both an element of satisfaction and an element of doubt. Such a category includes diverse levels and shades of proficiency in CA. Their common factor is the ability to use CA in both written and spoken form in a `reasonable' manner and the ability to participate in domains involving the use of CA. Nonetheless, fluency and confidence in the appropriateness of one's CA varies a great deal. Their performance in CA varies from `very awkward' to `confident'. Such a range of performances is underlined by a constant need to make conscious decisions about matters of lexicon, grammar, and rhetoric, the resolution of which is not always accomplished with assurance. Because of the confusion in acceptable standards of CA, and a non-discriminatory assimilation of the literary, the journalistic, the historical, and the contemporary, one is always intimidated by what one perceives as a higher standard in CA. One also has to remember the educational foundations of performance in CA, which depends most of all on memorising skills. Many of the (7.5%) students, on the other hand, who rated their CA as `poor' are students of various scientific disciplines, who are `notorious' for their aversion to and `lower' standards in CA. The disciplinary choice of these students takes them away from

the domains of CA, since French has been the exclusive medium for the teaching of science subjects at all educational levels. Their education in CA, which is exactly the same as that of all other students up to their specialisation, gradually loses effect.

The third question details the types of difficulties that are likely to be encountered when writing or speaking in CA. These categories are parallel to grammatical components, in addition to spelling and an open option. The most common complaint the students thought of was vocabulary (or "finding the right words" as it was phrased in the questionnaire). This can be well-understood in the light of the separate functional reach of each of MA and CA. Students have always to find equivalents, and make sure of their existence and appropriateness in CA. The wording of ideas was the second most selected type of difficulty (with 26.8%). This refers both to the problem of syntax and writing skills. There was a small difference between the third and fourth type namely comprehension (with 13.7%) and case endings (with 12.4%). Spelling was considered the least common of all types of difficulties (by 6.5%). What is most significant in these results is that the two most common types of difficulties in CA are major components of what constitutes grammar, namely lexicon and syntax. Also significant is the continuation and prolongation of these difficulties to a higher level of education -- after one is supposed to have finished one's (secondary) education. Complaints of falling standards and problems of lexicon and grammar

which continue beyond secondary education may sound familiar outside diglossic situations. In a diglossic situation such as the one obtaining between MA and CA, these problems are more of a fundamental nature. The mastering of the written medium in the case of Arabic diglossia is complicated as well as obscured by the initial grammatical disadvantage. 40.5% and 26.8% are high frequencies for students in higher education, and suggest that this is more than occasional linguistic underachievment. One is never totally exempt from grammatical pressure; the feeling of grammatical insecurity does not adequately fade away with the progress of learning. An interesting phenomenon is the fate of proficiency in CA after leaving school or graduating, which may suffer with the passing of time. This is even more evident in employment that does not involve much use of CA in the current linguistic situation. People so employed, along with science students and language students, become underprivileged users of CA. There is an immediate doubt cast on their Arabic and intellectual 'integrity'.

The sixth open option provided evidence and further examples of the complications of using a linguistically and functionally distinct language. The most referred to of these is the difficulty in articulating ideas and sustaining a conversation in CA. The second example given by the students touches on the gap illiteracy combined with functional stratification creates, namely the gap in lexicon between the educated and uneducated, which complicates such interaction, especially on topics that necessi-

tate a degree of lexical borrowing from CA. There was also reference to the self-consciousness of using CA as a spoken medium, and the uncertainty about 'correctness' and grammaticality. The predominantly written nature of CA makes the adaption of CA to speech form when the occasion arises a socially awkward act. There are strong connotations of pretence accentuated by a nervous apprehension of failing, since one's whole educational integrity is at stake.

All the major instances of difficulties selected or provided by students relate to aspects of fluency and linguistic competence. The nature of these problems stem from the fact that CA both in its grammatical and functional capacities is not socially based. The high abstraction of CA and the requirements from a functional standard language give rise to such difficulties as grammatical uncertainty and social awkwardness. The fact that CA operates solely through the written form partly explains the self-consciousness in using CA in a spoken form.

4.7.6 Attitudinal potential of ESA

ESA is used in the literature to refer to a transitory sociolinguistic phenomenon, and as such is not a commonly used term. For MA speakers, whose educational training has introduced them to a more extensive lexicon, in addition to the general benefits of education, ESA is 'improved' MA to cover new areas of interest. For this group, it is an "elevated" MA and a legitimate debating

language, which can generate enough respect and credibility for the situation. It is an acceptable medium and symbol of educational status. It connotes a knowledge in CA, a conceptual development as well as providing a less-intimidating medium. The popular definition of such usage is the `de-declensionsation' of CA, and sporadic use of conjunctive words of CA when speaking MA, i.e., the Moroccanisation of CA lexical items in a predominantly MA grammar. For ease of reference, such usage was referred to in the questionnaire as Intermediate Arabic. The concept (along with the term) was easily identified, and readily accepted. There is hardly any research on the attitudinal status of ESA in terms of recognition, prestige, and potential. The introduction of such a usage as a separate variety from MA and CA with relation to their appropriateness in various situations is rather to test the perception of ESA, particularly in terms of its attitudinal potential. The ready acceptance of the concept suggests the normality of such a usage that is due to its brief history as a happy medium in `educated' topics. There were two questions dealing with appropriateness. The first of these involved three broad (popular) domains, namely discussions among educated people, radio programmes, and everyday discussions. See Fig. 4.8

ESA scored more than MA in all three situations and higher than CA in two situations. It was considered the most appropriate medium for radio programmes and everyday issues. However, ESA was not considered appropriate enough to cover discussions among educated people. Radio

programmes do largely rely on the use of ESA as well as MA (except in news or some very formal programmes). The use of ESA is already an observed practice, which explains the popularity of the choice. ESA is also used in discussions among educated people, but was only chosen by 21 students (out of 120) compared with an overwhelming 94 for CA. One way of accounting for this is that ESA is not associated with education or learning. It is still an informal, improvisational (non-sanctioned) usage. Educated people, being representatives of knowledge, are supposed to maintain the proper use of CA.

The second question, on the other hand, included five situations, some of which covered areas similar to those of the first set; it also included two situations that involved writing. The second question also deliberately excluded ESA as an option. Though most students adhered to a straight choice between MA and CA, some students did continue using ESA as an option, and a significant number of students decided to include CA&MA as one category (to discriminate among the various components of the particular situation). As one would expect, a straight competition between MA and CA in traditional H domains results in an overwhelming championing of CA -- newspapers and literary works (both 111 out of 119). As the domains get towards the more informal of the `high' domains, there is more of a balance in the scoring[14]. A situation that is not a clear monopoly of either CA or MA is stage plays. In fact, most productions of (even 'serious') plays for

[14] See Fig 4.3

the stage or television are commonly in MA, providing an important promotional domain. Drama, being a form of art/entertainment of national interest helps to create a sense of linguistic pride.

In situations which involve writing, there is little contesting of the position of CA, or competition from ESA or MA. However, in situations that do not involve writing, but are of more social prestige than those associated with everyday social interaction, other alternatives are considered and may even be preferred. The three categories, namely radio interviews, stage plays and political speeches, are all media events of different types. They are domains that involve national attention. These domains do not deal with immediate experiences but are rather representations of these experiences in a more symbolic fashion (as in entertainment, art, and politics). These representational domains are also different from similar and more traditional domains as part of the cultural heritage of MA (such as songs and popular comedy). These latter situations have always been part of the functional making of MA, and have therefore been taken for granted, underdeveloped and undervalued. Radio interviews, plays and political speeches are more recent forms of cultural events, and because of the role of radio and television , they are of wider national appeal. The status of the national mass media institutions have endowed these situations with a degree of formality and prestige. In other words, these situations are providing the linguistic and functional, and attitudinal require-

ments for a standard. The significance of these changes to ESA is that a prestigious standard MA is developing through these domains. The linguistic range that these situations make use of varies from a minimal standard Moroccan to ESA. A radio programme, for example, might use a less-localised MA, with very little vocabulary that might be attributed to CA. A radio programme, on the other hand, that is freely borrowing from CA, but with a clear degree of informality, can be said to be using ESA.

The perception of ESA, however, as an informal arrangement puts limitations on its functional elaboration. The students were directly asked if they view ESA as a likely solution to the divide between MA and CA. The idea was largely rejected (by 67.2%), and only 24.7% thought of it as possible, whereas 7.9% considered it as a transitional solution. The response to this question reflects the minimal effect the present role of ESA (as a usage) has had on the attitudes to the overall pattern of CA-MA diglossia. The fundamental tenets of the attitudinal aspect of Arabic diglossia is less sensitive to changes in linguistic and situational use. These tenets regenerate themselves in a closed circle fashion. CA functionally excludes any other language/s, thus reinforcing its prestige. There is limited opportunity for any other language functionally to advance itself, and hence it remains linguistically underdeveloped, and as a consequence suffers attitudinally as well. The minimal effect of ESA on the attitudinal scene reflects its minimal functional advancement. What the questionnaire showed is

the students' appreciation of the inadequacies for various functions of both CA and MA. The students' attitudes showed a more balanced evaluation when the questions touched on situations in which MA or ESA is a more practical choice. Nonetheless, the credibility of CA was rarely in doubt. The associated problems were never properly proportioned in relation to the practical and linguistic limitations of CA. The symbolic value of CA is usually championed over its worldly limitations.

Chapter Five
Teachers' Attitudes: Data Analysis and Comparison

The second questionnaire was aimed at teachers. An obvious area that had to be investigated was the teachers' attitudes and behaviour in the Moroccan diglossic setting. Teachers are representatives as well as agents of the diglossia-perpetuating educational system. Though teachers are not responsible for the making of policies, they are the closest people to the workings of diglossia within the educational system. Their opinions and attitudes would provide an insight into the upkeep and application of diglossic principles. Their response would elicit their approach to and justification of the impracticalities and difficulties arising from the diglossic situation between MA and CA. The study of teachers' attitudes would play a major part in the understanding of the positioning of language among the educational goals within the confines of a strict diglossia. A crucial difference between students and teachers is that the latter group is more prepared to

defend the existing practices since it is a party to them. In this sense, teachers are partly spokesmen for the diglossic teaching tenets and partly observers of the educational system, and are themselves at the receiving end of the diglossic inadequacies.

Most of all, the questionnaire was directed at teachers with experience in the early stages of learning. Hence, most of the questionnaires were distributed at a variety of primary schools. A total of one hundred and twenty questionnaires was distributed; eighty seven were returned. The schools included all-boy schools, mixed schools, all-girl schools, and one secondary school. Again, teachers were reminded of the unofficial nature of the questionnaire, and their names were not required. Many of the questions are similar to those given to the students, some of which are arranged in a different order. Some questions were, however, readapted to the teaching experience, so that those questions that dealt before with students' performance now dealt with pupils' performance. Some questions particularly relevant to teaching were added; the personal background part of the questionnaire was completely rewritten so that it dealt with the relevant educational history of the teachers. In this way, there was room for both comparison and elicitation of new variables in the interaction between language, learning and diglossia and their overall effect on educational achievement.

5.1 Distribution of the sample

Age distribution (by date of birth)

Before 1950	50-60	60-62
9 (13.6%)	46 (69.6%)	11 (16.6%)

Sex distribution

M	F
43 (59.7%)	29 (40.2%)

Professional qualifications

Teaching diploma	Bac + Teaching diploma[1]
31 (45.5%)	37 (54.4%)

Type of school

Primary	Secondary
53 (76.8%)	16 (23.1%)

Teaching experience (in years)

Under 5	5-10	11-20	Over 20
14 (20.2%)	35 (50.7%)	17 (24.6%)	3 (4.3%)

[1] The definition of teaching diploma, here, varies in accordance with the various development stages of the Moroccan educational system. These diplomas are referred to sometimes by different terms, but usually refer to a two-year training at a teaching college and a period of monitoring at work. The recent changes to the training of teachers requires potential teachers to have their baccalaureate before being accepted to a training course.

Subject/s of teaching

Arabic	French	Bilingual	Maths	Science
49 (71%)	4 (5.7%)	5 (7.2%)	7 (10.1%)	4 (5.7%)

Only 66 out of 87 teachers answered the first question about age. Of those who answered, the majority were born between 1950 and 1960 (28.7% were born before 1955). The others are divided between those born between 1960 and 1962 and those born before 1950. Age distribution is important with relation to differences in attitudes, since those born before 1950, and even those born between 1950 and 1960, have had a totally different educational background, which will be more evident in their professional qualifications. Seventy-two answered the question about their sex. Access to female informants at schools was easier than with students, and hence the difference in distribution. Though there were more all-boy schools, a more balanced sex distribution was observed in some of the schools visited (though there are schools which are predominantly male or female staffed).

Changes in the training of teachers and in the necessary qualifications to be accepted to training centres have been parallel to those happening in the educational system as a whole. In the immediate aftermath of independence the urgent need for teachers meant a more lenient recruiting system. Changes in language policy (especially with regard to French) meant also changes in training and requirements. There are still a number of teachers who are graduates of the all-Arabic traditional

educational system. One major difference today among primary school teachers in terms of professional credentials is between those who joined the teaching profession before a baccalaureat was required to for admission to training colleges, and those who have both a baccalaureat and a teaching diploma. There is a whole array of implications from such differences. There are major differences in perception of each of these groups. One group is bilingual, and relatively inexperienced, and the other is experienced, but unfamiliar with French[2], and more reluctant to adopt most of the educational changes that are taking place. There is also a difference in more pedagogical thinking such as in the relationship between teacher and pupil. The `older' group though unsatisfied with being left out in terms of qualifications and advancement, is perceived of as having a better command of CA. There is a widely held mistrust of the `new' teachers' competence in CA.

Most of the respondents are primary school teachers. The imbalance was deliberately sought so that there should be more focus on the first stages of learning, but with an overview of secondary teaching. The diglossic conflict is understandably more acute in the initial stages of learning, resulting in more serious learning difficulties. In secondary education, the consequences and continuation

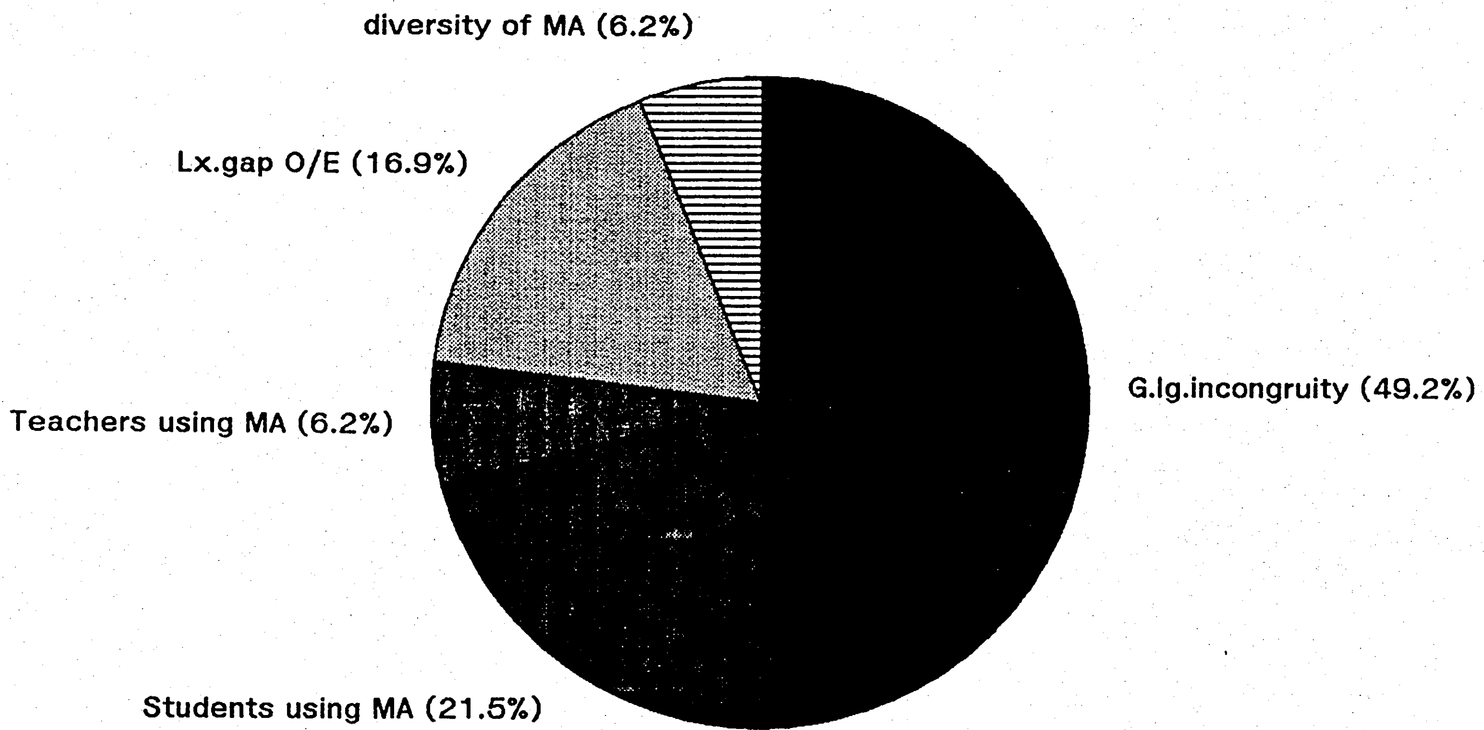
[2] This is not to say that there is an intrinsic value in knowing French, or that knowledge of French is determinant to the quality of teaching. However, unfamiliarity with French in the still bilingual Morocco (though French is gradually disappearing from many of the national and official networks) may be a handicap in acquiring information about many educational topics and interests.

of the H-medium and French education are still much in evidence, but the initial impact has been softened and the diglossic pattern is gaining normality; this may not be as much appreciated by the secondary as by the primary school teacher. The extent of teaching experience also has a bearing on the degree of accumulated familiarity with instances of teaching/learning problems related to the diglossic divisions. Most of the sample have over five years of experience, and 28.9% have over ten years. Most of these teachers teach CA or use it as a medium of teaching. 7.2% teach both in French and CA, and 5.7% teach solely in French. The mathematics and science teachers are all secondary school teachers (i.e., they only teach their specialised subjects), some of whom work under the new Arabising system, requiring them to use CA (instead of French) as the medium. The majority of the sample would have had an experience both in teaching CA as a language subject and in using it as a medium for teaching algebra, elementary science and other subjects.

5.2 Teachers' perception-awareness of diglossia

The three premise questions that evoke the basic assumptions of the research are repeated here with reference to teachers. The first of these questions is intended to find out whether the teachers view the diglossic usage as problematic at all. The answers are as follow :

Fig 5.1 Types of references to diglossic problems (teachers)



Yes	60 (68.9%)
No	27 (31%)

Over two thirds of teachers thought of the existence of two forms of Arabic as a problem, and almost a third did not consider it as problematic. Such a response suggests the degree of teachers' familiarity with the diglossic difficulties, owing to their first-hand contact with the two languages in a learning situation (where the linguistic divide is most tangible), and owing to their own history of dealing with the practical problems arising from the situation, which would have had to necessitate a degree of reflection. In fact, most of the teachers, in response to the second question requiring them to provide examples of diglossic problems, if they view them as such, referred to various instances of problems particular to teaching and/or learning. After surveying all the answers to the second question, five categories were defined to refer to the major areas of reference the teachers described. These and their frequency are illustrated in Fig 5.1.

Unlike those of students, teachers' illustrations of diglossic problems centre more on those encountered in the classroom. Hence three of the five categories are of an educational nature. Of these, the most referred to is the initial linguistic handicap due to the general incongruity between the language of the home and that of the school. The second most cited example was also related to the

classroom, namely the pupils' recourse to MA in their replies or even writings. Teachers also referred to the more encompassing disparity between the everyday language and the official language. Some teachers also acknowledged their or their colleagues' need for, or indulgence in, the use of MA while teaching. Like students, teachers also viewed regional diversity of MA as an instance of a diglossic problem. In the three educationally relevant categories, teachers detailed various aspects of teaching and learning situations which are affected by the diglossic differences and which involve different grades and subjects. The third and last question in the testing of the assumptions about the diglossia-problem concerns whether the teachers view the diglossic situation as having an effect on education. The answers are as follows:

Answer	Count
Yes	65 (74.7%)
No	22 (25.2%)

The majority agreed that diglossia does affect education, and a quarter of the sample did not think there is a relationship between the two. Teachers' acknowledgement of the diglossia-problem is positive as well as consistent -- both the perception of the diglossia as a problem and its relation to education received confirmation by over two-thirds of the teachers. Teachers also illustrated the way they view MA-CA diglossia as a

problem on the basis of their teaching experience as well as the wider aspects of diglossic issues. For teachers, diglossia is a problem they can easily identify. It is a problem they are highly familiar with, and one which they can substantiate with extensive evidence from their teaching accounts.

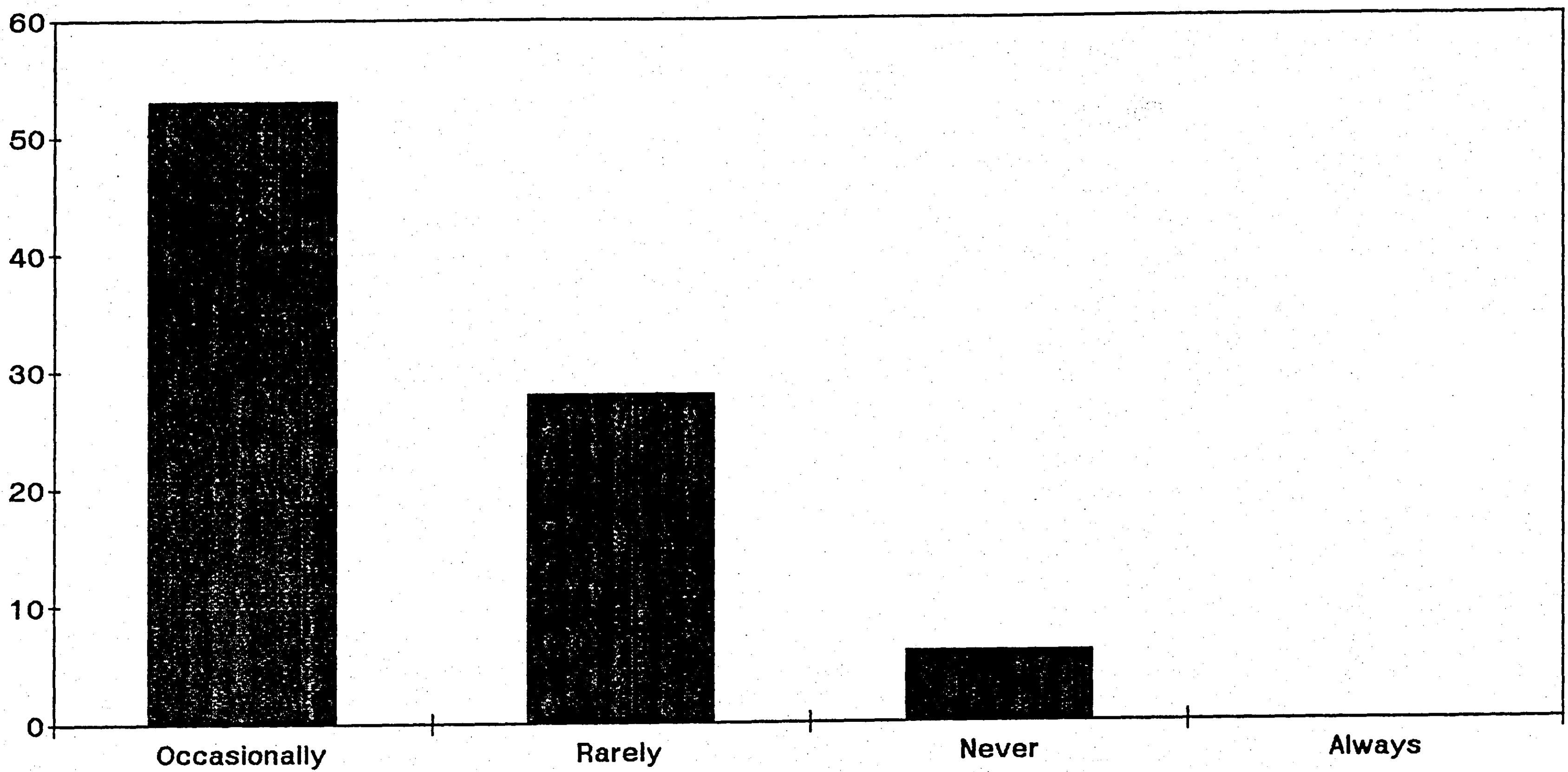
5.3 Aspects of teachers' attitudes to MA in education

Teachers' use: At the heart of the study of the diglossic effect on education is the way MA is viewed by those who are involved in teaching, and particularly the extent of acceptability of MA as a pedagogical tool on their part. This would also be an indication of their perception of language as a subject and as a medium and their order of priorities. There were three questions which dealt with this particular aspect, the first of which was intended to find out whether teachers see MA as playing any role at all in education. The answers are as follows:

Yes	43 (49.4%)
No	44 (50.5%)

The response is equally divided between teachers who think there is a place for MA in education and those who do not. The reaction shows the controversial nature of the language conflict and the extent of the divide in perception and approach. The official line is unanimous in condemnation of any `educational' use of MA, but the teachers are more sobered by the linguistic realities of

Fig 5.2 Frequency of teachers' use of MA in explanations

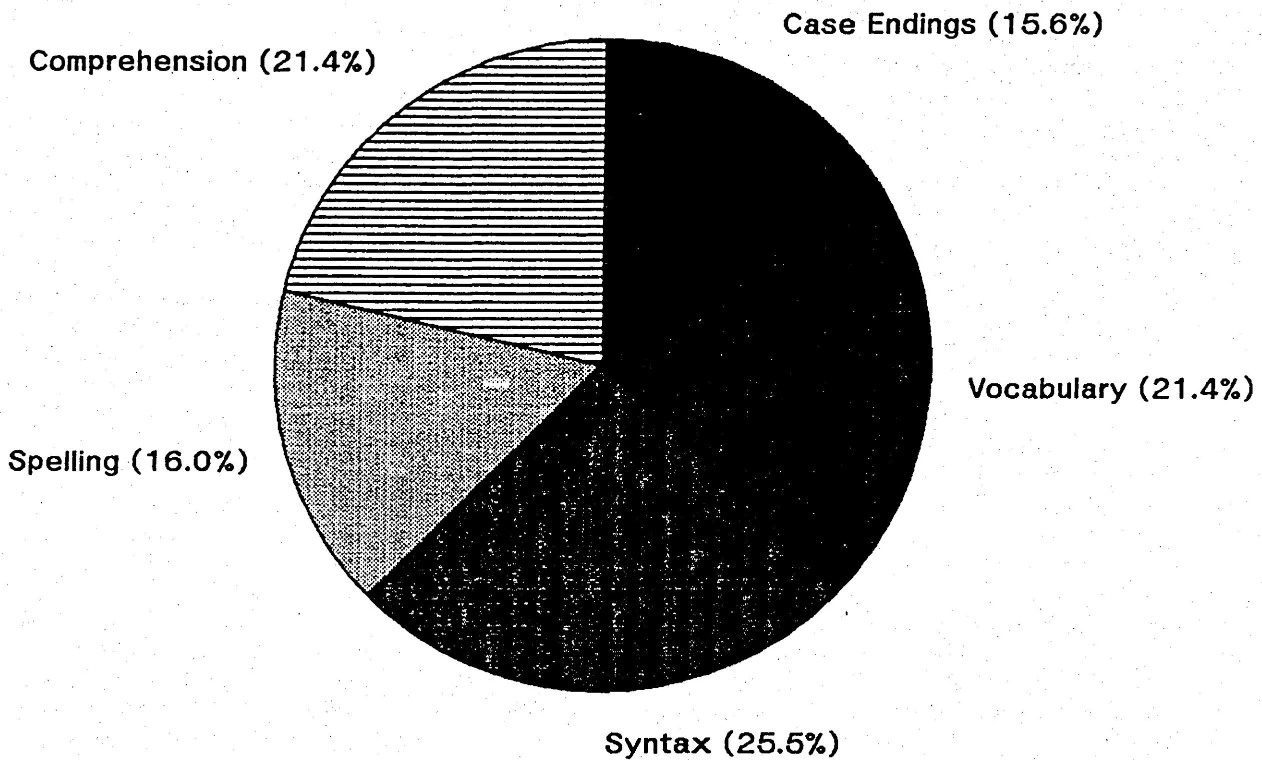


the classroom and are more inclined to disagree. The conflict goes deeper than individual differences and is rather between dogmatic and pedagogical priorities. The second question narrows down the possibilities of interpretation of the role of MA in education by asking teachers how often they use MA in their explanations and demonstrations. The answers are displayed in Fig. 5.2.

The reaction was more positive than expected, and over 60% of the teachers answered that they "occasionally" use MA, and 32% answered that they "rarely" use it. 6.8% of the teachers denied any use of MA, and no teacher chose "always" as an option. It is very significant that more teachers chose "occasionally" than "rarely" and that only a very small proportion of the sample answered that they never use it, given the ideological weight of CA and controversial nature of MA. "Always" as an option in the present educational environment is too drastic both in terms of attitude and real use. Admission to "always" would be considered as a straightforward acceptance of professional and linguistic failure. It is not surprising that it was not chosen by any teacher. The third question in this set was more about teachers' language of preference when explaining, whether it is MA or CA or a combination. The answers are as follows:

CA	70 (80.4%)
MA	5 (5.7%)
Both	12 (13.7%)

Fig 5.3 Teachers's classification of pupils' linguistic difficulties



The response was overwhelmingly in favour of CA. Few teachers answered that they preferred to use a combination of CA and MA, and even fewer preferred MA. This may be an instance of teachers' attempt to `come across' as faithful to the guidelines on language use in the classroom, rather than a clear-cut case of individual choice. Did they really believe that CA is a better medium of instruction? Or did they say they preferred to use CA, because this is in line with their professional duties? These questions may be better considered in the light of the overall choices and answers.

Pupils' use: While the above three questions were more about the teachers' attitudes to their own use of language, the next three were rather about the teachers' attitudes to their pupils' use of language. The first of these deal with the type of linguistic problems children are faced with when writing or speaking CA. The teachers' answers are illustrated in Fig. 5.3.

All of these types of problems were thought to be common. Syntax, however was thought to be the most common difficulty in CA; difficulties in vocabulary and comprehension were equally thought to be highly common. Spelling and the marking of case endings were also selected by more than half of the sample. The combination of the three most selected types of difficulty is an indication of the seriousness of the language problem faced by L variety speakers in an education that predominantly relies on the H variety. All these problems

may be encountered in the early learning stages, regardless of the relation of the linguistic medium to the native competence of the children. Problems are bound to rise simply from the structural differences between the spoken and written language, whether diglossic or not. Nonetheless, in the case of the diglossic H, the linguistic difficulties revolve mostly around the deciphering of the new language. The three most selected types, namely syntax, vocabulary, and comprehension, are major aspects of language and other subject matter learning, and their prevalence points to the degree of obscurity of the learning situation the MA speaking pupil encounters. There was also an open option left to the teachers, within the same question, to add any other type of difficulty not covered by the listed categories. Most of the additional comments made by the teachers concern general aspects of language usage rather than aspects that are strictly grammatical. These are as follows:

1. Confusing or mixing MA and CA when writing or speaking CA
2. Adapting ideas in MA to CA ("saying in CA what one thinks in MA")
3. Difficulty in producing CA including,
   - implementation of newly learned words and expressions
   - inability to answer in CA
   - making mistakes while copying from the blackboard
4. Shying away from participation
5. Punctuation

These are major aspects of language use in the classroom as well as major impediments to its proper functioning. Most of the above aspects are peculiar to diglossic settings, and Arabic diglossia in particular, such as the confusion that results from the similarities

and quasi-similarities between MA and CA, or the fear of using, or even the inability to use, CA in a group and in a learning context. The second question on teachers' attitudes to children's use of language tests the former's response to children's use of MA in writings or speech. Though it was in the form of an open question, the response was unanimously in favour of one single course of action. There was a total agreement among teachers that the only answer to a pupil using MA in any learning situation is correction. When the teachers' answers provided details of the correction procedure, they usually referred to the same measures. These are, for example, singling out the "wrong" item, drawing attention to it; providing the equivalent in CA; and illustration of the newly learned item in different situations. The third question in this set is intended further to test the teachers' attitude to the use of MA by children in writing or speech. They were asked whether they regard such use as a linguistic deficiency or a proper linguistic usage. The answers are as follows:

A linguistic defect	73 (85.8%)
A proper linguistic usage	12 (14.1%)

Very few teachers doubt that the reproduction of MA at school is a linguistic defect. Their response is consistent with the previous course of action towards the use of MA vocabulary. This pattern of conception (mistake) and action (correction) is at the basis of many

of the attitudes towards language and education on the part of the teachers. Such pattern of conception and action determines their priorities and emphasis in terms of subject matter, importance, and approach. Such a pattern also indicates the general atmosphere of a teaching/learning situation, and the relationship between learner and teacher.

5.4 Teachers' attitudes to MA outside education

The most common aspects of attitudes that were raised with relation to students were also included in the questions put to the teachers. These are questions of linguistic legitimacy and expressiveness. The response to these questions will assist in complementing teachers' views on MA, and in comparing them to the students'. The first of these questions concerns the type of relationship the teachers think exist between MA and CA. Their answers are as follows:

MA is a corrupted form of CA	61 (73.4%)
MA is an independent linguistic variety	22 (26.5%)

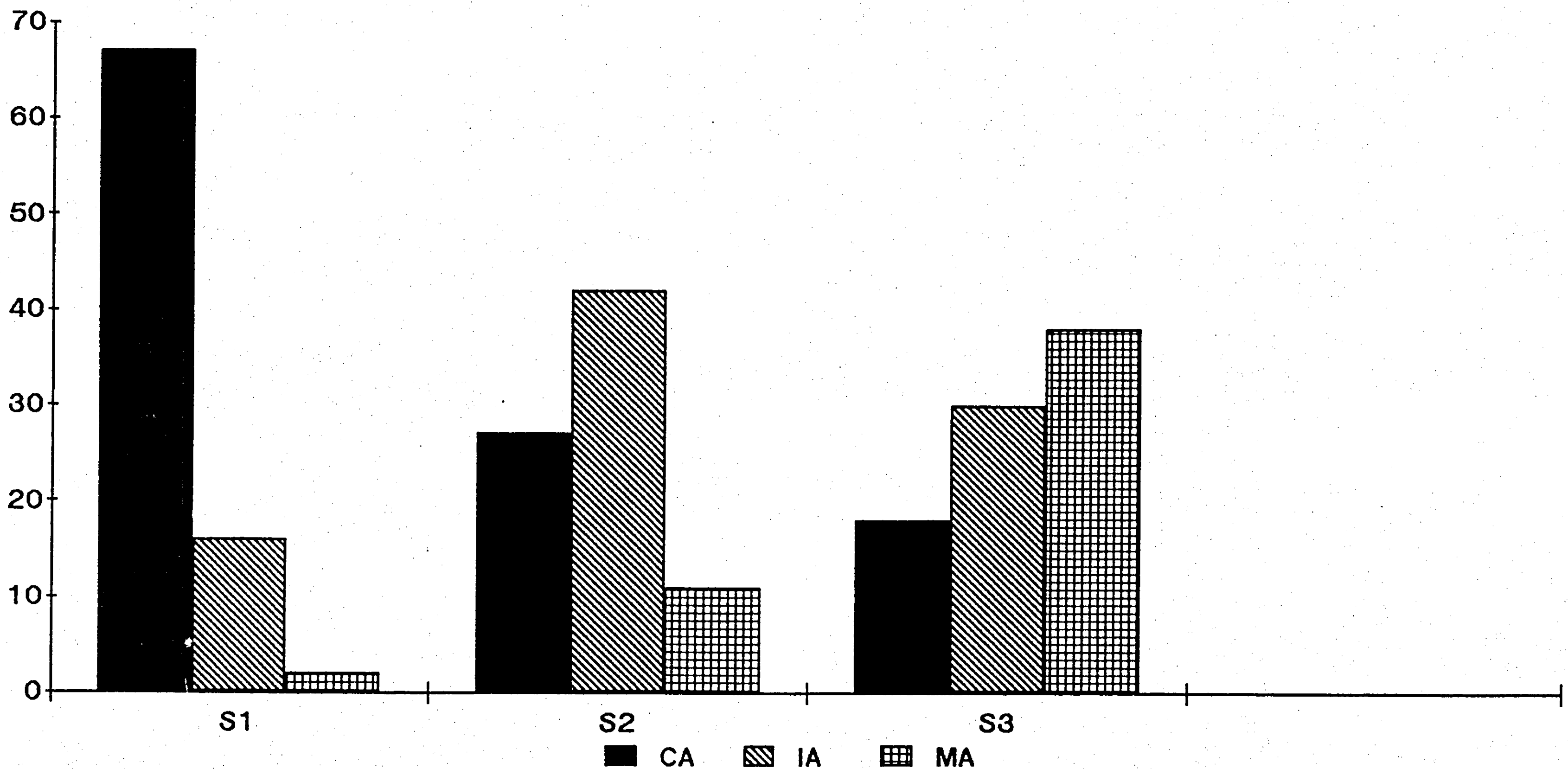
More than two thirds of the teachers hold the common view that MA is a divergent inferior form of CA. There is also a minority of teachers (about a quarter) who are more willing to conceive of MA in other terms than the traditional use of CA as the criterion. The popularity of the "corruption" view among teachers may partly explain the more educationally relevant of their beliefs. The other aspect of attitudes to MA that had to be tested with

reference to teachers is the belief in the ability or inability of MA to convey ideas or fulfil more than "straightforward" everyday functions. Two types of questions were written for this purpose, one of which concerns the potential of MA, and the other its appropriateness. The first of these deals with whether the teachers think that it is possible to have a "serious" discussion in MA. The answers are as follows:

Yes	57 (66.2%)
No	29 (33.7%)

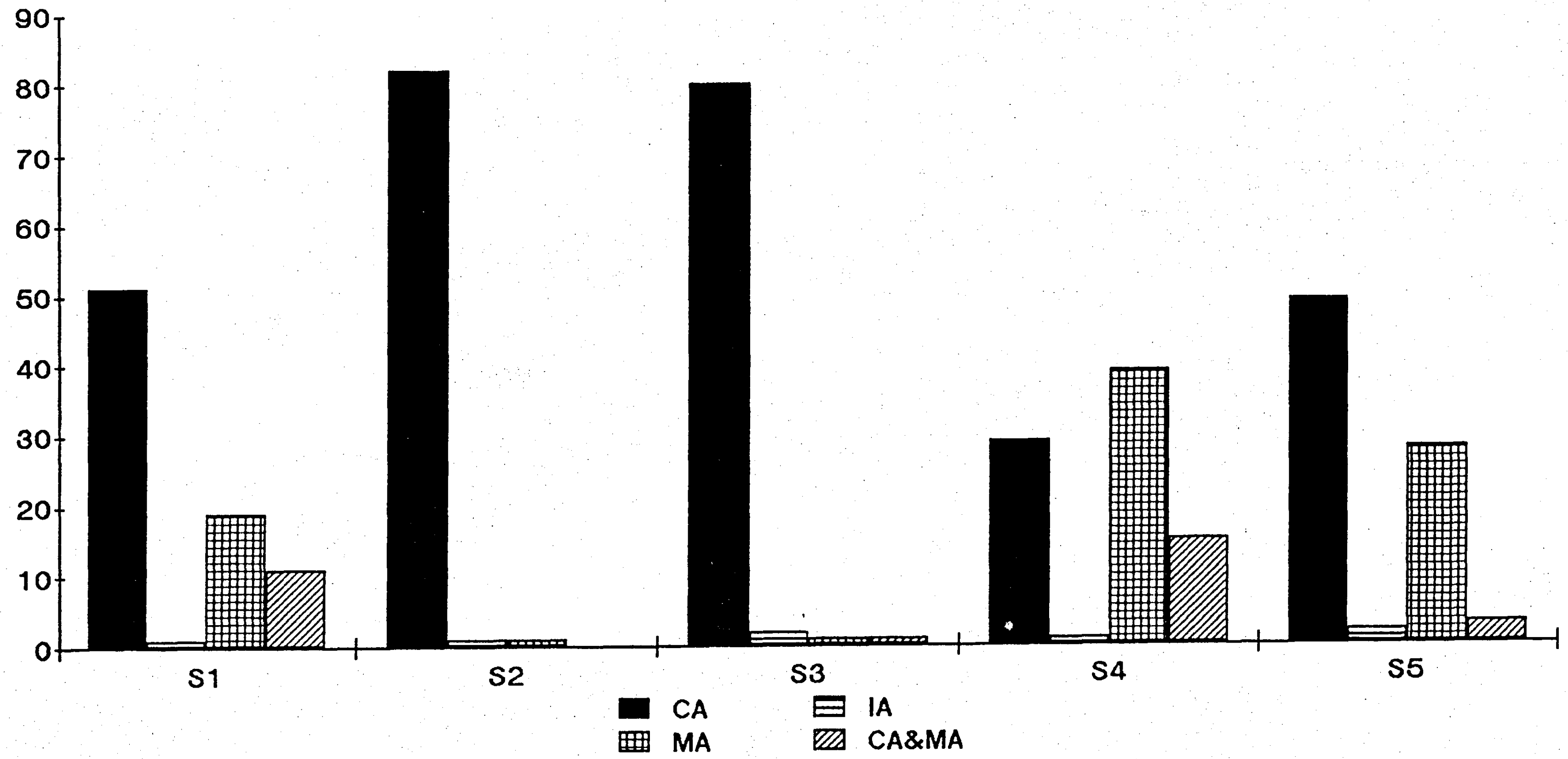
More teachers believed that it is possible to have a "serious" discussion in MA, but a third of the teachers did not. The teachers, in this case, do not doubt the `potential' of MA for use in most verbal interactions, including what they might consider serious. Given that no particular domain is specified, teachers are willing to see MA as being able to cover a wide range of topics. Teachers do not doubt so much the `crude' efficiency of MA as they do its appropriateness. As with students, there were two questions, each giving a different set of domains for which the respondents had to select a particular linguistic variety. The first question consisted of three broad situations, namely discussions among a group of educated people, radio interviews, and everyday discussions; for these the teachers had to choose among CA, ESA, and MA. The results are displayed in Fig. 5.4.

Fig 5.4 Situational appropriateness of CA, ESA, and MA (teachers)



For `discussions among a group of educated people', CA was clearly favoured over IA (ESA) and MA -- IA being considered more appropriate than MA. For `radio interviews', ESA was a more popular choice than either CA or MA -- CA being more favoured than MA. For this situation, some teachers (as did students) preferred to allow for differences among audiences, permitting either CA or MA accordingly. For `everyday discussions', MA was slightly favoured over ESA -- both being more popular than CA for this situation. Of the three situations, CA had one predominant situation, namely 'discussions among a group of educated people'. CA, however, did not receive very high scores in the other two situations, where it was a second choice (for `radio interviews') and a third choice (for `everyday discussions'). ESA had also one predominant situation, namely `radio interviews'. ESA was also slightly less favoured than MA in the third situation, and was a second choice in the first situation. Because of the gradations of formality across the three situations (in descending order, the first situation being the least informal), the selection of MA progressed across the three situations (2-11-38 respectively), and was the first choice for everyday discussions. Each of the three varieties had a different domain for which it was considered more appropriate than the other two (though with varying degrees of emphasis, with CA being a more definite choice than ESA and MA respectively). Correspondence between variety and situation was determined on the basis of perceived parallel formality of

Fig 5.5 Situational appropriateness of CA and MA (teachers)



either variable. The second question had five domains, two of which are predominantly written. Teachers were asked to select only between CA and MA. The results are displayed in Fig 5.5 [3]

For S2 and S3 CA was almost the absolute choice, and was also largely favoured over MA in S1 and S5. MA was a more favoured choice in one situation, namely S4. MA had also moderate support in two situations, namely S1 (23.1%) and S5 (34.1%). As with students, a number of teachers felt that they had to make a distinction between type of radio programmes and/or audience. Hence, 11 teachers in S1 and 15 in S4 preferred to make that distinction (i.e., using either CA or MA according to type of programme and/or audience). Of the five situations, CA had a total monopoly in two situations and a strong majority in two. MA had dominance over one situation, in which CA was selected by over a third of the teachers. The withdrawal of ESA also led to more selection of a combination of CA & MA as one option.

With relation to the way MA is viewed against CA in terms of 'expressiveness', teachers were also asked if there are things which can be expressed in MA, but which are difficult to express in CA. The answers are as follows:

---

3 S1: Radio interviews; S2: Newspapers; S3: Literary works; S4: Plays (as performances); S5: Parliamentary debates and political speeches

Yes	40 (50.6%)
No	39 (49.3%)

Eight teachers did not answer this question. The teachers who answered were almost equally divided (with a difference of one teacher). The inconclusiveness of the answers can be accounted for in terms of the type of argumentation used in the generation of the answers. The argumentation used may be directly observed in the answers (since the question was an "open" one), or from the type of illustrations the teachers provided. Their answers may be based, for example, on the assumption that CA is beyond any criticism or on the paramount presence of MA in the workings of day to day life in Morocco.

A question that touches on the aspect of `expressiveness' in MA but also on the attitudinal potential of MA was also included in the questionnaire for teachers so as to test their reaction to (any) changes in the linguistic order of things. Teachers were asked whether they thought the use of MA in literary works had a positive or a negative effect. The answers are as follows:

pos.	21 (25%)
neg.	63 (75%)

Three quarters of the teachers do not agree with the use of (or the idea of using) MA in literature. Their professional duty, as they see it, towards CA does not

allow for such instances of linguistic debasement. The use of MA in literary works would affect their educational status, and deprive students as well as themselves of a major linguistic source. The inclusion of MA in literary writing is not highly regarded or appreciated on the part of teachers. There is, however, a minority of teachers who approve of the use of MA in literature; their evaluation is probably more motivated by the creative than by the didactic aspect of literature. These are teachers who can identify more with the educational as well as other larger issues, and are more willing to contemplate changes (they may be, for example, recent graduates with both a baccalaureat and a teaching diploma and may have experience in university studies).

The attitude of teachers to MA in terms of 'expressiveness' was explored through four questions involving aspects of potential and appropriateness. The response of teachers towards the use of MA for discussing "serious" topics was a favourable one. They were, however, more divided on the question of whether there are things that would be difficult to express in CA, but would be easier in MA. CA was considered the most appropriate language for most of the situations in both sets. MA was considered more appropriate for one situation in each set. The introduction of IA (ESA) was also received with a sense of familiarity, and was considered more appropriate than CA and MA in S2 in the first set. Teachers were also less willing to accept the use of MA in literary writing. In the concluding part of the questionnaire,

teachers were directly asked if they view ESA as a likely solution to the divide between CA and MA. The answers are as follows:

Answer	Number
Yes	19 (23.7%)
No	56 (70 %)
Temporarily	5 (6.2%)

The majority of teachers do not think that ESA can be a viable resolution of the diglossic conflict between CA and MA, and only a very small number of teachers believe it can be a transitional solution. The rejection of the viability of ESA can be attributed to the vagueness of the concept and the ideological line of teaching which holds that any inclination towards modifications to the status or corpus of CA away from traditional parameters can only affect the quality of learning and teaching. Their disagreement with such a hypothesis falls within the general pattern of attitudes to CA and MA. Consideration of alternatives to the dichotomy of the `learned' language and the `spoken' language can only be envisaged in the present attitudinal situation within a fully inflectional CA, which excludes the emergence of any prestigious standard based on natively-spoken Arabic dialects.

5.5 Discussion

The study of the sociolinguistic interactions between the major diglossic varieties in Arabic, and their relation to

educational thinking, practice, and attainment necessitates the exploration of teachers' attitudes to the major aspects of diglossia and their implementation in education. Teachers have to implement the official guidelines, some of which they may believe in themselves. Teachers are also left at the end of the day to deal with the actual problems that are bound to arise. These problems are not dealt with in these guidelines in any serious manner. Each deals with them at his or her own discretion, and on the basis of his or her own beliefs and individual differences. In their totality, teachers' linguistic approaches are largely under the influence of the ideological weight of CA. Eventually teachers echo the same denial of the linguistic realities that characterises the official discourse. The results of the questionnaire can be considered both as a reflection of major tenets of their attitudes to the controversial aspects of diglossia and as an indication of their practices and observations. The findings have also a bearing on the discussion of MA in relation to learning, since teachers will influence both the kind of language used in the classroom, and the learning situation, through their demands, expectations, and their order of priority between subjects and medium. Their attitudes are approached in three stages: first, their educationally relevant attitudes to diglossia with respect to their own usage; secondly, their attitudes to the usage of their students; and thirdly their perception of general diglossic aspects. Most of the sample of the teachers are

primary school teachers (76.8%); most of them `use' CA as their medium of teaching. This means that the majority of the sample is highly familiar with what happens when a MA-speaking child is introduced to an education that is mainly in CA. What is not clear, however, is whether teachers view the initial gap as having an effect on the learning of literary skills and general progress in learning, or view it as an integral part of education (i.e., that it is natural to have one language for speaking and another language for learning). It is not clear whether they think that there is an inherent value in receiving education in CA (rather than in MA), and that therefore the initial linguistic gap is not a problem but a development (as part of linguistic growing-up), or that it is a problem that may necessitate the development of ways of dealing with it. Teachers' response to the question of whether the "coexistence" of two forms of Arabic represents a problem at all was a confirmatory one (by 68.9%). This suggests that, on being prompted, teachers do view CA-MA diglossia as a problem. For those teachers who did not think of it as a problem, their presumption is that problems only arise when a neglect of `duty' is to blame. Diglossia may be a problem only if knowledge of CA is inadequate. It is a problem of only the ignorant and the illiterate. Even those teachers who admit to some difficulty in the diglossic situation argue that such difficulties represent only a minor problem that is easily resolved through time and education. In this way, it is just one of the many problems to be expected in

any learning situation, and does not deserve any special attention. How exactly diglossia is considered as a problem (when viewed as such) can be clarified through the answers to the second question. As mentioned before, teachers provided examples that were related to the classroom. But they also pointed to the general disparity between the everyday language and official language, suggesting an awareness of the general issues which result from the functional stratification between MA and CA. Teachers' inclusion of regional diversity of MA as an instance of the diglossic problem also leads to the identification of teachers' attitudes, with the common isolation of MA as the `guilty' language. In many of the examples provided by the teachers, it is understood that MA `gets in the way' of proper learning, and that most of the problems are due to the fact that children use MA most of the time for most of their activities; this presents an obstacle to the use and learning of CA. It is widely assumed that CA is the proper educational medium and sole language worthy of being used at school. There would be no linguistic problem if children (and people, in general) did not speak MA. Indeed, very few teachers would evaluate the current linguistic situation in a way that does not incriminate MA. The value of teachers' illustrations lies in their enumeration of the types of linguistic difficulties that arise under the MA-CA diglossic situation, rather than in their analyses; some of these illustrations show a genuine appreciation of the problems that beginners at school are faced with.

5.5.1 Mismatch between the school medium and the larger social medium

Most of the teachers remarked on the great imbalance between the language that the child is exposed to in society at large and the language that is used at school, which is at the root of most of the linguistic problems in learning and teaching. Many teachers used the analogy of a foreign language to refer to CA. All items that children have learnt to designate in MA have to be relearned under a different name in CA, including the most commonly used of lexical ranges (such as food or items found in the home). Teachers refer to the inability of their pupils to grasp CA discourse, in which most of the teaching tasks are (or supposed to be) carried through. The strict academic nature of CA and its asocial basis mean that MA-speaking children receive their initial education in a language they rarely use otherwise, and one which they are not equipped to understand properly.

5.5.1.1 The indispensability of the larger social medium

For teachers to be of any use to their pupils, they have to resort to the use of MA in their teaching, especially in the early grades. Their anxiety for lucid explanations necessitates the use of the language that children understand best. However, it is not known to what extent, or how regularly, MA is used in these situations before a change to CA is assumed. This, ironically, means that input even in the model domain of CA is inadequate; this

inadequacy does not fit into the traditional view of school. Some teachers admit that their occasional use of MA is not always due to the need to be intelligible but also to the difficulty properly to `work' in CA. Since the Arabising process has been progressing through the educational system, science and mathematics teachers in secondary education have particularly come under criticism for their allegedly poor command of CA. Teachers are generally seen as responsible for the low standards in CA. They are supposed to provide a role model for consistent and sustained use of CA, a role that they welcome but cannot fulfil.

Most of the examples teachers listed concern the difficulties children have in carrying out most of the educational tasks they are required to perform in CA. Apart from the restrictions it puts on their ability to participate in the classroom, children when directly asked a question or to give examples, are more likely to use MA or give examples from MA. Some teachers referred to this as "mixing". Such use of MA is witnessed in all the linguistic exercises, whether spoken or written (such as filling in the gaps or composition). Such practice is, as a matter of course, discouraged and corrected. The aim is to make pupils perform all the tasks in CA. The struggle for teachers always to strike a happy medium affects what can be achieved both quantitatively and qualitatively. Both teachers and pupils are obliged to obey the rules, and hence largely diverted from fully applying themselves

to developing their skills.[4] Teachers' understanding of diglossia is founded on their familiarity with their own and their students' linguistic difficulties in the classroom and their appreciation of the incompatibility between the language used in society at large and the language used at school. But these factors are also underlined by the assumption that MA is at fault. Schooling is perceived as being about learning to function in CA. If the imbalance is to be readjusted, this would entail taking the school medium to society. MA is viewed as a learning handicap: one that children bring with them from their faulty background. MA is seen as a pre-literacy language. It is acknowledged that diglossia does affect education, but the analysis of the situation is largely determined by the preconceptions about CA and MA. Such an analysis is characterised by the justification of the position of CA and condemnation of MA. The recognition of the diglossic problem is undermined by the inherent sociolinguistic bias.

5.5.1.2 The attitude to MA as an educational medium

Teachers referred to their own occasional use of MA either for pedagogical reasons or because of inability to

---

4 T 73: "In the early grades, the child wants to know what is in front of him. We at school speak CA (for this is our duty, so that the child may learn this language faster), but his family speak MA at home. This makes the child take a long time to learn the names of things in CA. We also find people who speak Berber to their children."

T 7: "The child in the early grades cannot understand some things unless the teacher explains them in MA, for explaining a CA word with another CA word only makes it more difficult to understand."

continue in CA. On the basis of their teaching experience and their evaluation of the linguistic situation in education, teachers were asked about aspects of likely or potential use of MA in an educational context. The results were inconclusive as to whether there can be a role for MA in education[5]. This can only be loosely interpreted. It is a question for which they are not prepared or which they are not sure how to answer. The results do not mean that half of the sample have favourable attitudes to the use of MA within education. Such a response to a general question does not necessarily reflect deep convictions. What the response suggests, however, is that teachers may display a more accepting attitude when the idea of the implementation of MA at school is speculative rather than specific to identifiable situations. What the favourable answers indicate is that, given the nature of diglossic problems, which teachers have willingly elaborated, there is a role for MA in teaching. But even for such a speculative question, there is an equally voiced objection. Half the teachers definitely discard even the remote possibility of a role for MA in education. This group of teachers does not see any relation between the linguistic problems of their pupils that they describe and the exclusion of MA from school. The difference between the two groups is in the extent of their readiness to see any beneficial value in the language children understand better. A more tangible question, however, has been formulated around teachers'

[5] See P.221

immediate experience, especially the frequency of their use of MA when explaining or demonstrating. The results showed that the extent of the use of MA which takes place in the classroom by teachers is more frequent than official educationalists would like to consider (only 6.8% denied any use of MA). Teachers demonstrate both through their answers to previous questions and through their answers to the present question, their practical evaluation of the situation. Though the basic assumptions about the perceived inherent or social value of CA affect the tendency of the answer, answers to direct aspects of teaching may be more balanced by the practicalities (or impracticalities) of the particular situation. The fact that the majority of teachers answered that they do "occasionally" use MA suggests that teachers are fairly confident, that in the present linguistic situation, it would not be possible not to use MA. For such a question, the pragmatics of language use have temporarily outweighed the larger ideological precepts. The violation of the ideological code has extenuating circumstances in this case. This can even be better understood if compared with the response to a similar but less concrete situation, namely whether teachers would prefer to use MA, CA, or both when explaining. As was shown in the results, the answers were overwhelmingly in favour of CA. Because the question was more about preference than actual use, and hence was removed from the confines of real situations, the assumptions about the diglossic hierarchy were allowed to surface. This, however, does not only mean the

championing of the cause of CA but also the adoption of a defensive strategy to remove any suspicions about one's professionalism, since being able to address a classroom and to conduct all teaching in CA are seen as a primary function of teaching. But that in itself is a reciprocation of the basic assumptions about the diglossic hierarchy, i.e., by identifying MA as the undesirable language, one tends not associate oneself with it. It is this inconsistency between linguistic practices and popular beliefs about language which characterises Arabic diglossia. Linguistic practice is not as highly regarded as the ideology of it. There is a lack of realism in the formulation and pursuit of goals and the assessment of and adjustment to the particular needs of the linguistic situation. The extent of practice is deliberately overlooked in favour of the fundamentals of Arabic diglossia, namely the self-evident importance of CA. The linguistic reality is associated with what it is presumed to be and not with what it actually is. For teachers, the occasional use of MA is a necessary makeshift, but CA remains the ideal language to be used in an ideal situation.

5.5.1.3 Teachers' attitudes to children's use of MA

Apart from teachers' attitudes to their own use of MA as part of teaching, the questionnaire also dealt with their attitudes to their pupils' use of MA. The first of these questions was more about the general aspects of problems children are faced with when writing or speaking CA. Most

of the types of the difficulties listed in the question were selected by a large number of teachers. In order of selection, however, syntax was the most frequently, selected followed by vocabulary and comprehension. The fact that spelling did not rate as highly as the other aspects of language indicates the degree of linguistic abstraction encountered under the MA-CA diglossic learning environment. Aspects of grammar, such as syntax and lexicon, may often occasion learning difficulties during the early stages, even if teaching is carried out in the native medium. However, under diglossia (MA-CA in particular), the emphasis is not on developing (by extension) the verbal skills essential for domains the child has not yet learned, many of which are associated with writing; hence the child is not allowed to build on his or her own syntax and lexicon but is required instead to learn another syntax and another lexicon, together with the new situations and linguistic skills. It is a situation of conversion of grammars. This has long caused a confusion of what is being taught and what is to be learnt. Pupils develop exaggerated concern about communicating their thoughts, since communication at school seems to be unrelated to what is otherwise is taken for granted. To be able to communicate in the language the school advocates, the pupil has to replace every word and restructure every sentence, so that "I go to school" has to be `readjusted' from "tanmshi l-medrasa" in MA to "'adhhabu ila l-madrasati" in CA; and "I was late for school this morning" is quite beyond the reach of pupils

in the early grades. Whereas they can easily describe their situation in MA as "t9eTTelt l-medrasa, had sba:H", it is unlikely that they will be able to express the same idea in CA; one possible version in CA is "waSaltu muta'axxira:n ila l-madrasati hadha: SSaba:H". These two examples represent highly familiar concepts for the pupils as well as simple sentence structures; this leaves a question mark on more complex situations. There is an underlying reluctance in the educational system to recognise the practical problems that can be found throughout the process of learning CA. The learning process is highly idealised and oblivious to details. One reason is the romanticised notion that a diligent student will always pick up the language; how quickly, how efficiently and at what cost are irrelevant questions that are not asked even in the most specialised of agencies and conferences. What actually happens in the process of learning CA needs to be discovered. One particular practice that is observed by teachers is what they call the "mixing of MA and CA when writing or speaking CA". Such mixing involves the use of aspects of MA grammar, single MA lexical items, MA phraseology, or the pronunciation of words without the necessary CA inflectional cases. Teachers also refer to a similar process in which children constantly need to readapt their ideas to CA. Whether it is as an answer to a question or as part of a composition, the MA-speaking pupil has to think about ways of accommodating his or her ideas to CA. Sometimes this means a partial adjustment of one's ideas,

sometimes a complete change of one's ideas, sometimes simply refraining from answering or from any kind of participation in the classroom activities. Students' ability to speak or write in CA, from now on, substantially depends on what words and expressions in CA are at their disposition and not on what they want to say. Arguments and illustrations may have to make way for linguistic availability. Indeed, shying away from answering and volunteering in the classroom because of the language handicap is mentioned by teachers as an another type of linguistic difficulty. The fear of being reprimanded or being found linguistically wrong are familiar deterrents in the learning situation in settings other than diglossic. This not only impedes the overall learning process, but does not fulfil the "primary" goal of achievement of fluency in CA either. Teachers refer to the great difficulty children have in producing CA in its most `normal' form, namely that of writing. Because of the limited contextual input of CA, pupils find it difficult to implement newly learned items of CA in exercise form. Though teachers are familiar with these situations , their analysis is impaired by the strong institutional status of CA and its position with regard to other Arabic linguistic varieties. Their experience and attitudes do not complement each other.

When teachers were asked what kind of procedure they take when a pupil is found to be using MA, it was highly predictable what kind of response they would have. In many speech communities, even those with more tolerant

attitudes at school, teachers would still tend to `correct' nonstandard linguistic features which they may perceive as linguistic mistakes. It was not surprising, then, when the present sample of teachers unanimously agreed that they would correct any use of MA. There was little variation in their description of the `correction' procedure or the words they used to describe it. No answer to this question included any likelihood of any beneficial use of MA or any mention of the effect that constant correction of the child's language may have. The description of the procedure is a reflection of their professional training. However, it is not known how often teachers observe this rule, and whether they are able to observe it all the time. Given the likelihood of the use of MA by pupils while learning, especially in speech, the correcting procedure, if insistently observed, would mean that most lessons would be series of interruptions. Such a response on the part of the teachers is rather another instance of `staying on the side of the law' (a linguistic one, in this case). It may also be understood from some of the answers of teachers that the correction procedure is seen as a rather moderate and tolerant measure (for taking time to correct a mistake that should not have been there in the first place). For teachers it is a difficult choice, for they are in an inherently contradictory situation, namely the legitimacy of CA, and the reality of MA. Teachers hold the same attitudes to MA as any other native speakers, but, as teachers, they have not been

provided with the special awareness they need to deal with the ensuing linguistic interactions in the classroom.

The third question in this set gives two descriptions of the use of MA by students, namely as seen by teachers as a linguistic deficiency or as a proper linguistic usage. Though the answer to such a question is also predictable, the juxtaposition form of the question may force the teachers to consider the implications of the two propositions. Given the prevalent use of MA in the daily life of a child, do teachers still view the use of MA by their pupils to sustain their communication and interaction in the classroom as a linguistic defect or quite an acceptable usage? Only 14.1% of the teachers believe that such a use is a legitimate one. The description of the use of MA by pupils as "a proper linguistic usage" may have proved too drastic a formulation in the present attitudinal status of MA. Perhaps, a milder version would have been more popular. It is also likely that teachers may not think that the use of MA is an absolute "linguistic defect", but that it is definitely seen as a linguistic mistake. Nonetheless, the strong tendency of teachers to agree with the description of such a usage as a linguistic deficiency shows that in terms of absolutes the use of MA by students at school is a defect. The complementarity between the conception of the language children bring with them to school (as wrong) and the course of action (correction and prohibition of the use of MA) on the part of teachers is a major characteristic of their attitudes to language in general

and MA-CA diglossia in particular. A different conception would mean a different approach. The relevance of teachers' attitudes to educational achievement is partly determined by their pre-conceptions about the native language of their pupils, which in their turn affect the way they view language instruction as a subject and as a medium, the latter having further ramifications on the overall educational achievement of children. Whether teachers are mere agents of a higher authority or are partly responsible for the eventual implementation, the fact remains that their attitudes (and hence their approach) have an immediate effect on what happens in the classroom and above all on what can be achieved. In Morocco, the official guidelines are clear in their terms of the unreserved advocacy of CA and the total exclusion of MA for educational purposes; teachers, to a large extent, echo such a policy, but they are also confronted with the gaps and contradictions in the execution of the official policy, which the guidelines do not provide for. Most significant of their answers is their acknowledgement of their frequent use of MA to explain or demonstrate a lesson. The general conception of MA, however, also prevalent outside the teaching profession, largely determines teachers' courses of action.

5.6 The general pattern of attitudes towards MA and CA: Comparison of teachers' and students' attitudes

As mentioned in the introduction to the present chapter, the questionnaire for teachers also included questions

similar to those written for students, so as to establish teachers' attitudes to the general aspects of MA-CA diglossia as well as to compare their response with that of the students. On most aspects of MA-CA diglossia, there was a all-around consistency between students' answers and those of the teachers, some of which were almost identical. On the basic premise of this research, namely whether diglossia is viewed as a problem at all, the difference in response between students and teachers is not significant:[6]

(S)	Y: 59%	(T)	Y:68.9%
	N: 40.8%		N:31%

In either case, more respondents choose to confirm the question thesis; the difference (more teachers answering positively) is not significant. With respect to the effect of diglossia on education the response is almost identical:

(S)	Y:75%	(T)	Y:74.7%
	N:25%		N:25.2%

The difference is not significant either for the question of linguistic legitimacy, namely whether MA is a corrupted form of CA or a separate linguistic variety:

(S)	Corr.:65%	(T)	Corr.:73.4%
	Sep. :35%		Sep. :26.5%

On the aspect of `expressiveness' the difference is also not significant, in particular the idea of whether it is

---

[6] (S)= students Y(es)
(T)= teachers N(o)

possible to have a `serious' discussion in MA. The response is largely positive in both cases:

(S) Y:77.5% (T) Y:66.2%
N:22.5% N:33.7%

In this instance, however, it is the students who show a larger difference between the yes and no answers. The difference is even less significant for the question of whether there are things which are more difficult to express in CA than MA:

(S) Y:59.1% (T) Y:50.6%
N:40.8% N:49.3%

As for the use of MA in literature, the difference is slightly significant. In both cases, more respondents think of the use of MA as having a negative effect on the quality of literary works, but in this instance the gap between the yes and no answers of teachers is larger than that of those of the students (also larger than that in any other question) -- teachers who subscribed to the "negative" view represent three quarters of the total sample, as opposed to about three fifths of the students:

(S) Pos.:38.7% (T) Pos.:25%
Neg.:61.2% Neg.:75%

With regard to appropriateness, the first set of situations consisting of three situations received similar treatment in both teachers' and students' preferences. The first situation was identical in both cases; the second situation was essentially similar; in the third situation there was a slight difference, not so much in the positioning of the linguistic varieties as in their rating

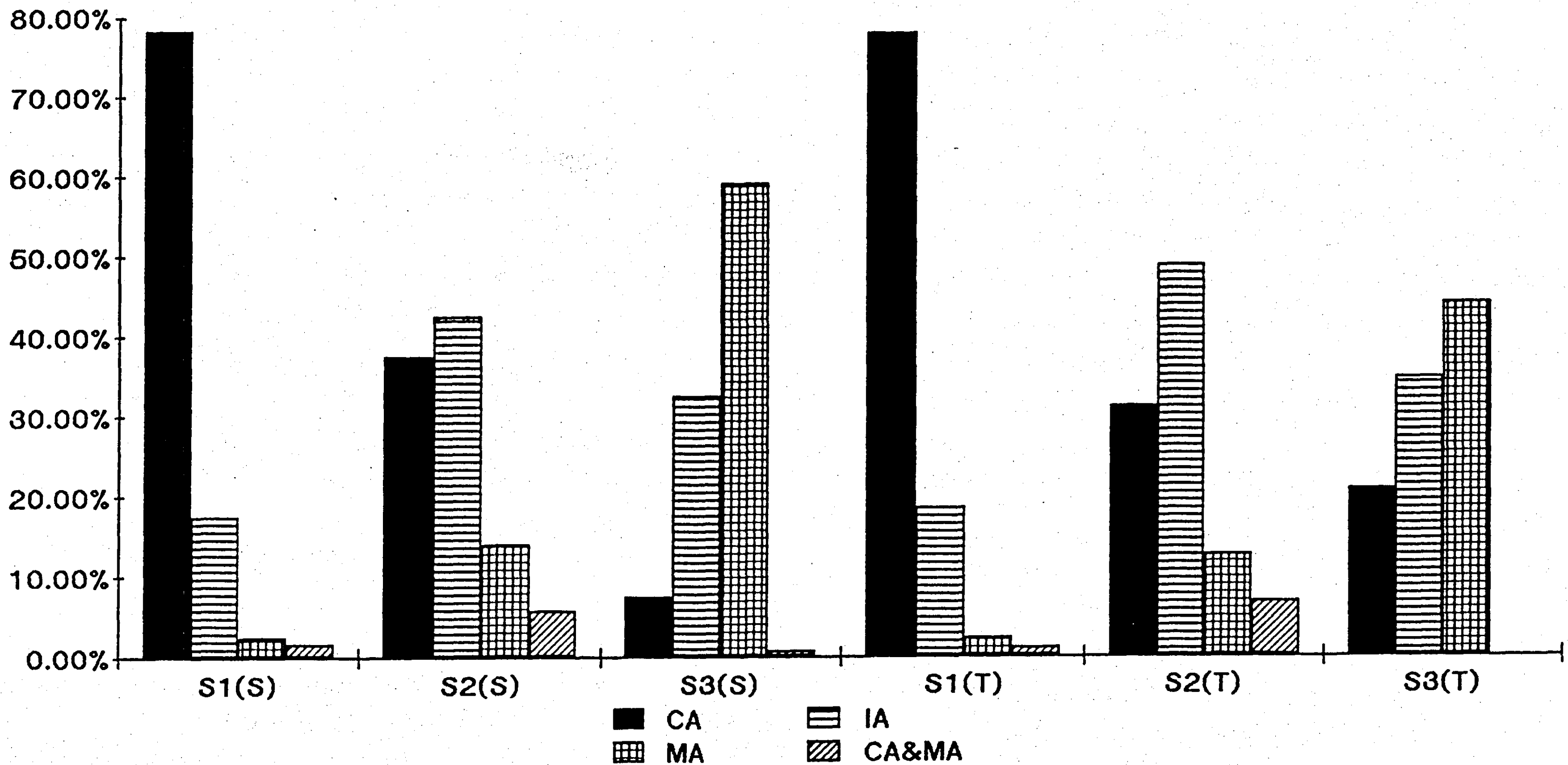


Fig 5.6 1st set: comparison of students' and teachers' responses

-- CA rated more in the case of teachers (and therefore MA less), but the position of ESA remained identical in both cases, see Fig 5.6.

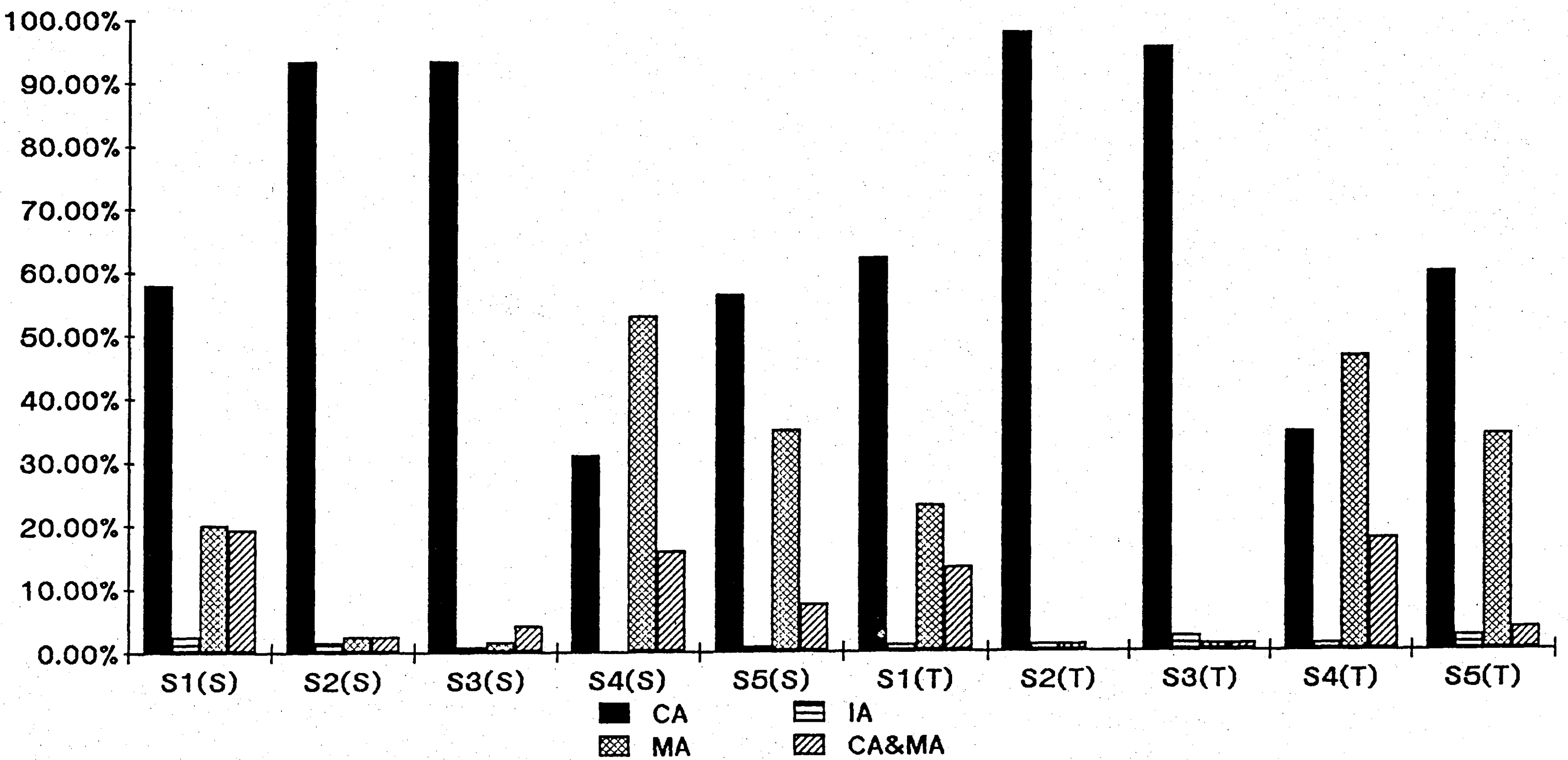
For the second set, consisting of five situations, there is no significant difference between teachers' and students' responses. As shown in Fig 5.7, the two representations match each other in both order and height. However, though not significant, teachers consistently rate CA higher than students do. As for the attitudinal potential of ESA and particularly on the question of whether ESA may be a solution to the diglossic divisions, the difference is not significant either. The response was almost identical:

	N:67.2%		N:70%
(S)	Temp.: 7.9%	(T)	Temp.: 6.2%
	Y:24.7%		Y:23.7%

Bearing in mind that there were no categories provided beforehand as optional answers for the above question, the correspondence between the number of students and teachers who chose to view ESA as transitory is striking. What the comparison shows is the overall correspondence between teachers' and students' answers in terms of the nature of the tendency in each of the common core questions. There was no response for which there was a reversal of tendency. There was also no significant difference in any of the compared answers (all the common core questions have been compared).

This also shows the extent to which tendencies are established throughout the general pattern of attitudes to

Fig 5.7 2nd set: comparison of students' and teachers' responses



MA and CA. Though MA-CA diglossia is viewed as a problem (by both students and teachers), and though both view it as having an effect on education, they still view MA as an `illegitimate' linguistic variety. Both teachers and students think that `serious' topics can be discussed in MA, and think that there are things which are more difficult to express in CA than MA. They both, however, see the use of MA in literature as having a negative effect. They both see CA as more appropriate for discussions among educated people, newspapers, and literary works. CA is also considered appropriate by both students and teachers for radio interviews, parliamentary debates and political speeches. MA is considered appropriate (by both) for everyday discussions and plays. ESA (when suggested as a variety) is considered appropriate by both for radio programmes. Both teachers and students have the same definition of what is appropriate for what. They both view CA as appropriate for `learnedness', or what is perceived as a formal situation (involving a formal topic, an educated circle or a formal function). They also both see MA as restricted to what they perceive as `pure communication' at a very informal level. IA or ESA is viewed as a `cross-language', intermediating degrees of formality and education, as well as being a convenient medium when CA proves difficult to use. These views are widely held, but they do not necessarily match the actual practices, especially the wishful thinking behind the perception of

CA as the language of `high' conversation, for which it is rarely used.

Although not significantly different, teachers in most of their answers seem, to have a stricter view of the diglossic hierarchy. In most of the answers, teachers show less favourable attitudes than students to all aspects of the L forms of usage. More teachers view MA as a corrupted form of CA; fewer teachers think that it is possible to have a serious discussion in MA; and more teachers see the use of MA in literature as having a negative effect. In all of these examples, there is a reluctance on the part of the teachers to show more than necessary support for MA.

This may be attributed to what they see as their role as custodians of CA. As teachers, they see themselves as guardians of what all Arabic linguistics stand for. Their role is to strengthen and consolidate faith in CA and to demonstrate its greatness. Such a role gains even more emphasis in the more advanced stages of the educational system. Teachers also see (or are forced to see) themselves as part of the status quo, and hence have a vested interest in presenting a good case for CA. Though students share similar views , they have less reason to defend the linguistic state of affairs. On the contrary, as students, they feel that they have to be more critical. However, the degree of manoeuvre within Arabic diglossia is very limited and does not allow for the generation of any significant diversity of opinions.

The fact that teachers hold the traditional diglossic views about MA as a `language' indicates: i) the role of the school in upholding the linguistic fallacies about MA (and CA); ii) the relation of these views to their teaching in terms of: a) insistence on CA and rejection of MA, b) impact on classroom proceedings, c) disproportion of curricula, and d) pedagogical and educational cost.

The child, early in his or her educational experience, learns that MA is not a school-worthy language and is to be avoided. The teacher will tell him or her how to name and describe items and situations from Moroccan society in CA. A pupil learns that he or she cannot engage in speech as they do outside school. From now on, they will have to learn to call things as they are called in the classroom or in their readers, if they are to be successful. He or she will also take time in trying to formulate answers in CA, if they are to answer at all.

Such a preoccupation with linguistic conduct (at early and crucial stages of educational development), within Arabic diglossia, goes much further than the universal preoccupation with linguistic standards. The `centrepiece' status of CA in education involves an infringement on the space of all other and more vital subjects. Such subjects, because they have to be rendered in CA, are not properly explained or properly understood. The teacher fulfils his or her duty, and the child copies the text and recites it when asked to. They are both restricted by what they can do in CA. At a deeper level, the recycling of knowledge through CA betrays an absence

of insight and contribution. The strong sense of linguistic propriety within Arabic linguistics breeds also other parallel subsystems of propriety which touch on most cultural aspects. One particular manifestation of such subsystems is the demonstrative nature of the educational system, whereby lessons are about giving and receiving facts and not so much about exploring them and other possibilities. The system linguistically (and unwittingly) discourages the teacher from engaging in original and imaginative teaching, and hence affects not only the possibility of expansion in the subject but also in the presentation of the recycled subject matter itself. A familiar scenario is the children's eagerness to catch the teacher's attention when asked to repeat a particular phrase or sentence, and the silence in a classroom after a question that has no prescribed or model answer.

Chapter Six

The Diglossic Curriculum

Having established the general pattern of attitudes to MA and CA on the parts of both students and teachers, and their overall direct and indirect implications for linguistic and educational attainment, the present chapter turns to the question of how much of a real difficulty are the immediate aspects of teaching, especially those of educational material in its various forms and across a variety of subjects. By virtue of being written under diglossic conditions, all educational material is written in CA including that for the very early stages. Diglossic priorities not only determine what language is used but also affect the overall selection, design, and structure of the material. The study of these in relation to sociolinguistic considerations would assist in establishing the manifestations of the diglossic bias in one of the most vital educational domains.

The educational material underwent little change for the first two decades of independence. However, recently, and in conjunction with the overall changes in the educational system, there has been a constant change in the adaptation and readaptation of educational material. These changes are professed to be in parallel with contemporary progress in pedagogy and linguistic theories. New series of readers, textbooks on grammar, elementary science and arithmetic, are being issued intermittently. The presumed novelty of these forms of material has, however, brought little change to the fundamental nature of the material, which is still closely observant of the prescriptive H tradition and its related teaching methods.

6.1 Sociolinguistic considerations of the curriculum

The curriculum is a multi-faceted discipline of which language is only one component. Attempts to apply sociolinguistic findings to curriculum development have been particularly concerned with the effect of language differences on educational success. There is an overall consensus that children whose home language is different from the school language are more likely to be affected than those whose home language is similar to the school language (if not directly affected through the language, they may be indirectly through the teachers' attitudes)[1]. There is, however, no agreement among sociolinguists as to how exactly language differences interfere with learning. Also inconclusive is whether vernacular education or

[1] See p.39

dialect readers are the appropriate alternatives to non-native educational material. The approach to and nature of the actual linguistic situations greatly vary, and partly explain the controversial nature of the subject. Attitudinal and economic considerations have usually been primarily determinant of the outcome of such situations. The low status of some social dialects, for example, and the emphasis on proficiency in the standard dialects for social promotion, turn the argument for the inclusion of non-standard dialects in education into a sociopolitical issue, in which children are seen as being barred from an essential educational tool. Minority-majority relations, ethnic relations, and the cost of creating different materials for different groups are more common considerations than purely linguistic or pedagogical ones. Linguistic situations are also different in terms of the extent of distance between the dialects (or languages) involved. Pedagogical implications of instruction in the native language of children are not always the primary considerations.

Nevertheless, there are a number of assumptions and premises which sociolinguistic literature has built upon, and on which there is general agreement: namely the linguistic complexity of all natural dialects and the relevance of attitudes to the change in status of any dialect. Sociolinguistics has also unveiled the historical arbitrariness of the prestige associated with standard languages. There is also a substantial literature on bilingual education and bidialectal

education and their merits and drawbacks. Although sociolinguistics has no clear answers as to whether any degree of structural difference between the school language and the child's language affects his or her eventual educational success, there are indications that any attempts on the part of the educational system to eradicate the child's language is counterproductive and ineffective. There is more and more emphasis on the acceptance of the child's language and the development of language skills within the child's language, and discrimination between dialect-related `mistakes' and idiosyncratic mistakes. Such a departure from the intervention and corrective approaches is seen as not making as much demand on financial resources as on attitudes to and perceptions of language. The educational problems arising from the two different dialects are not seen as a result of the children's linguistic inadequacies but as a failure of the educational system to build upon the children's linguistic competence.

The exact nature, however, of the difficulties experienced when the language of instruction and of educational material is different from that of the learner is not very clear, namely which particular aspect of language differences is relevant: do lexical differences play any role? or are grammatical differences more important? Some sociolinguists do not view vocabulary as an intrinsic feature of any particular language. Kochman (1972:231) considers that "essential to the rationale of using the native dialect is that vocabulary items are not

integral features of a dialect, even though they may be ethnically, occupationally, or geographically correlated." Lexical items, it may be claimed, can be exchanged with no particular structural resistance or effect on the language concerned. Syntactical differences are seen as more crucial to the differences between dialects. This is also true of new vocabulary which the child has to add to his or her repertoire with regard to new concepts and new areas of interest. This means that primary readers are not expected to be void of `new' vocabulary, which the child may not be familiar with. When, however, unfamiliar vocabulary is embedded in unfamiliar syntax, not only does this represent a situation of compound difficulty but the alien grammatical structure distracts the learner from the proper comprehension of the new lexical items and deprives him or her from the appropriate learning context for the lexical items involved. The context helps the learner in guessing and predicting the meaning of the items presented in the reading material. If the language of the reader is substantially different from that of the pupil, you then deprive the child of that essential element. The Bullock report (1975:92(6.34)) emphasized exactly this point by stating that "Word recognition is also made easier by the ability to anticipate *syntactic* sequences...Reading material which presents (this) unreal language therefore lacks predictability and prevents them from making use of the sequential probability in linguistic structure. The result is that they have to depend too much on a laboured phonic approach to unfamiliar words."

There is a correspondence between one's language and learning strategies, whereby the child's language provides clues for guessing at the new information. Perera (1981) describes three ways in which language differences between home and school can represent learning difficulties: i) understanding the teacher; ii) understanding textbooks; iii) writing appropriately about academic topics. With regard to textbooks, she distinguishes between difficulties at the word level, sentence level, and discourse level. On Black English, Berdan (1981) arguing for what he called "dialect-fair instruction", describes five ways in which black English speaking children are restricted educationally. These are 1) "the BE speaker is forced out of classroom participation"; 2) "instruction in basic literacy skills is interrupted or displaced by dialect interventions"; 3) "access to instruction is delayed"; 4) "educational materials and procedures" are "inappropriate"; 5) "negative effects" accumulate. Both assume the difficulty of language difference between home and school, and both agree on the inappropriateness of language and material, though Berdan put more focus on the attitudinal aspect of learning through an unfamiliar language.

For more `content-oriented' subjects, such as elementary science and arithmetic, the question of language difference between home and school is of particular relevance, since successful learning in these subjects depends on effective transmission. It is often the case that the language of science is highly formal,

technical, and impersonal. These qualities may not be much in dispute in later scientific writing and research. What is more controversial is how impersonal or formal the language of science directed to or produced by children (in the elementary stages) ought to be to fulfill its primary function. The Association for Science Education sees the trends towards emphasising such qualities as "removing scientific experience from the everyday experience of the child and has, in the view of some authorities, inhibited learning."[2] The Association draws attention to making a distinction between the language "we use when *establishing* relationships and that used in *reporting* relationships", and asserts that establishing relationships is more crucial in the teaching of science. The Association recommends that "a premium is placed on the use of personal language, and that more opportunities are created for pupils to use the language of everyday life."[3] The learning strategies involved in science are complex and require that the child is allowed to use his or her language to explore the concepts and phenomena involved. It is not always the abstraction of the discourse that constitutes the linguistic problem in science teaching; where dialect differences are involved, the difficulties of the situation are again compounded, namely register, discourse, and language differences. In the diglossic learning situation all these distinctions are blurred. A further barrier is also erected between

[2] p.26, The School Science Review, 63:5-52.
[3] ibid:26

scientific knowledge and any social reality or application.

Sociolinguistic analysis of language-related educational problems has largely been concerned with the relation between the standard and nonstandard languages: their status in and out of school, and associated educational and non-educational policies. There is general agreement that the child's linguistic and cultural experience before starting school is crucial to his or her eventual learning progress. The disagreement is on how, and to what extent, the child's language can be `accommodated'. Language programmes which aim at either replacing the child's language or its eradication are seen as linguistically and educationally unjustified and unworkable. Toohey (1986:146) in tracing the outcome of the study and codification of non-standard varieties on educational approaches concludes that "it seems that the most important outcome from the black American dialect studies was that some teachers became persuaded that their students were not empty vessels to be filled with `concepts' (or `grammar'), but were logical thinkers whose expression of thought was divergent from expressions with which teachers were familiar."

6.2 Aspects of the diglossic curriculum

The evaluation of the language of any type of curriculum depends on more than linguistic or sociolinguistic criteria. Pedagogical considerations are equally or perhaps more important in the analysis of the linguistic

aspect of the curriculum. In the absence of this knowledge, the application of which will be very valuable to the formulation of a realistic evaluation, this section will focus on the interpretation of some sociolinguistic findings as a means of evaluating a sample of Moroccan educational material, covering primary readers and grammatical exercise textbooks, arithmetic textbooks, and elementary science textbooks. In the absence of an established methodology for the application of sociolinguistic principles to the evaluation of language both as a subject and as a medium, particularly in diglossic situations, a tentative analysis of the Moroccan diglossic curriculum is introduced here.

6.2.1 The curriculum as implementation & reinforcement of the H tradition

Most speech communities have established linguistic and functional patterns, which may be partly the result of conscious language planning (which in itself can be attributed to an older historical tradition or a belated historical development), or a socio-cultural tradition not directly initiated by political intervention. In the context of universal education, the process of the selection from these patterns is identical in most speech communities, albeit the extent of flexibility varies. If the analogy of the diglossic usage can be extended to non-diglossic situations, what is conventionally termed the H variety, and hence the H functions, can be compared to the standard language and those functions that are channelled

through them. These H functions, which usually carry more prestige, are seen by the group members as interchangeable with a particular variety (thus H). These functions can be predominantly written, but also include formal spoken domains. Decisions regarding educational language policies largely concern themselves with the latter functions and parallel languages. Most educational systems until recently have regarded the L varieties and affiliated functions as incongruent with education and even as detrimental to it[4]. The arbitrary correlation between language and historical, social and political events can be perceived as an intrinsic quality of language. The more sympathetic of educational authorities, faced with sociolinguistic divergence between the home and school language, often argue the socio-economic necessity of learning the standard language[5]. Even when given better understanding of the social dynamics of language and a more tolerant atmosphere, the language curriculum is still preoccupied with the H tradition.

Whether justified or not, this entails a bias in the selection and representation of educational material. The pendulum of such a bias is set in motion by the degree of multilingualism and attitudinal flexibility. Under MA-CA diglossia in particular, the bias is historically long-standing and is subject to little flexibility. The structural differences between the H and L language may

---

4 The deficit theory was a recent version of this trend.
5 Dillard, (1978:298)

justify the codification and eventual standardisation of the latter (with potential educational implementation). The decision-making process concerning educational language planning, however, has concerned itself with the H tradition, with consistent and deliberate exclusion of the L tradition. The actual educational language policy is not only concerned with the continuation of the H tradition (which in this case is not related to social practice) , but also with the unrealistic goal of the eradication of the L tradition. Accordingly the language curriculum is designed to equip the learner with the H linguistic and functional patterns, with the aim that he or she should acquire them and abandon the L linguistic and functional patterns. This represents a fundamental educational problem, since it is based on a faulty diagnosis and is in pursuit of ill-conceived goals. The points of emphasis in the curriculum are misplaced, leading to substantial loss in educational content, since language (H) reinforcement is observed in all aspects of teaching. The result is that educational resources are ill-utilised and diverted, and the educational potential is far from being put to the best use. The CA diglossic curriculum is particularly distinct in the sense that its language is not native to any section of the community and is therefore little used in normal speech, and owes much of its existence to the educational system. The H tradition that the Arabic diglossic curriculum adopts is chosen out of a sociolingustic vacuum -- i.e. it is chosen out of a scholarly tradition. There are many national

functions that are expressed only through H, to the exclusion of the native language/s; this obstructs the participation of most speakers in these domains. The lack of realism in the CA curriculum also indicates that there is little room for manoeuvre and initiative. There is a large native literature on proposals for so-called `simplification' of CA, spanning over a century, but the present Moroccan curriculum shows little deviation from the CA grammatical tradition.

6.2.2 The effect of the H model on the selection process

The identification of education with the H tradition, with no accommodation of the native languages, drastically restricts the selection of appropriate educational material. Such an argument will be denied by many of the Arabic-speaking educationalists who will insist instead on the abundance of material to be selected from[6]. The nature, however, of the Arabic diglossic H (literary & unrelated to actual practices) seriously undermines the selection process by imposing highly exclusive criteria. Whether the educational material is purpose-written, as in the early grades readers, or adapted from already existing material (novels, articles, or short stories), the exclusive criteria have been consciously or unconsciously observed. Such criteria not only exclude the opposite L tradition but also any linguistic or pedagogical ideas

[6] Many teachers when asked about the existence of appropriate models of spoken CA referred to the Koran. The question was not included in the description of teachers' attitudes because it was not understood by a large number of the sample, some of whom left it unanswered.

that are perceived as threatening. Hence the language of a particular Moroccan reader does not only mean CA (and not MA), but it also denotes a twelve-centuries-old grammatical tradition, and non-interactive teaching/learning methods -- see Fig 6.1. No matter how ingenious an educationalist may be, if his or her work is confined to CA (which cannot be isolated from its grammatical legacy), the end result will still betray all the hallmarks of the H tradition.

```
CA ----> prescriptive grammar ----> traditional pedagogy

MA ----> (descriptive/         ----> interaction-oriented
         analytical grammar)         pedagogy
```

Fig 6.1 Affiliated linguistic & pedagogical constraints of the H tradition

Though recently some attempts have been made to incorporate some lexical items (or, to be more precise, consonantal roots, since MA phonological rules are also distinct) which are common to both MA and CA, in the first stages, the syntax as well as the lexicon of most educational material remains that of CA, with no consistent discrimination between what is obsolete or archaic and what is contemporary. The language of educational material is that of CA with very little accommodation of MA at any stage of learning. The writer of educational material, when referring to a phenomenon that is particularly related to social experience, has to reinterpret the language that is part of that experience.

Such linguistic adaptation usually results in a reduction of content and an almost total obliteration of connotative meaning. The linguistic interpretation that CA undertakes also acts as a filter of the social and cultural import of the interpreted phenomenon. Though not explicitly articulated, socio-cultural abstraction in writing is seen as more scholarly. This is reflected in readers in which the linguistic `harmony' of CA takes precedence over adequacy of description, leaving out all the `messy' details. The result is a disguised and synoptic text. Similarly, a student can be forgiven for sacrificing content for a good piece of CA.

This preoccupation with CA also results in topical exclusion and the insistence on certain themes rather than others. This is more evident in the intermediate and secondary stages of learning, where there are more topics which deal with social ideas but not with social realities -- a kind of thematic diglossia. The family, for example, is treated in readers not as a dynamic social unit (and hence the various aspects of Moroccan family life), but as a unidimensional concept. The associated stories are morally illustrated rather than socially. In secondary education there is a heavy emphasis on rhetorical literary texts, with little diversification into other styles. Some of the CA prose and poetry consists of extracts from old classical works (which are linguistically and stylistically archaic).

The selection process is also affected by the special ideological constraints embedded in the Arabic linguistic

and literary tradition (as distinct from the general ideological inclination of the political system in operation). The very close association between religion and CA[7] dictates a greater emphasis on religious subject matter as well as a religiously-inclined approach to secular subject matter and the exclusion of what may be perceived as unusable material. The high regard for the CA literary legacy, which, together with Islam, constitutes most of the cultural affinity between the Arabic-speaking countries, creates another type of partiality. The literary bias is particularly reflected in the over- representation of the CA literary legacy in readers and grammar textbooks. The major part of such a body of literature is likely to be of interest only to the more specialised students.

The adapted educational material for readers (as extracts from already existing material) also brings with it its own problems. Such material comes mostly from literary classics. Apart from the literary value of these extracts, they are of little relevance to most of the uses they are put to -- i.e. providing grammatical illustrations, learning to read, or learning to write. Even within the spirit of such literary emphasis, contemporary literature is much under-represented in comparison with the old classics. This means that the language of some of these extracts bears only a nominal

[7] This is a very common view of CA and is almost stereotypical, and is hence easy to overlook in the process. It would be inconceivable for speakers of Arabic vernaculars to read the Koran in their respective vernaculars, for example.

resemblance to today's CA. No discrimination is made between the literary value of the classics and their linguistic archaism. The assumption behind the selection of such material is that if they are literarily good, they are therefore good examples of correct grammatical application of CA, and are good models for language education. Non-rhetorical language skills are not seen as essential part of language education. The topical range is consequently limited in outlook (mainly literary) and relevance (not contemporary).

Under Arabic diglossia, the primary reader selector is doubly restricted by what *can be done* with the H language, and what *he can do* with it. The lack of native linguistic competence in the H makes the writer rely on models of what is perceived as `correct ' CA, limiting his or her ability to make their linguistic creativity bear on their material. The lack in CA of a social base also means that when content touches on such a background, it is compromised in order to facilitate its description in H. For the secondary reader selector, it is a question of what is available, in addition to the imposed literary and classical criteria, which in their own turn impose further restrictions.

6.2.3 H tradition and prescriptivism

The diglossic H tradition is synonymous with prescriptivism, and it is hardly surprising that the diglossic curriculum is a manifestation of prescriptive

grammatical tradition[8]. The twelve centuries old CA grammatical tradition is still in evidence in all grammar textbooks, exercise textbooks, and readers. The grammatical rules are not "simplified" as they are presumed to be, for the simple reason that they are still the same, underlined by the same assumptions, and are presented in the same metalanguage, in most cases. The incorporation of prescriptive grammar in the language curriculum entails the adoption of particular teaching methods and consequently particular learning strategies. The teaching of CA is executed through a set of `grammatical' rules, and a wide range of language drills, predominantly illustrated through rhetorical models. Students are required to memorise the rules, and to learn the metalanguage, and to be able to apply these to the accompanying exercises, reading, writing, and `speaking'. The prescriptive grammatical exercises demand a display of the ability to identify the grammatical rules and terminology, and not the ability to use the language appropriately for any given function or situation. The prescriptive method is not restricted to the language curriculum but extended to the teaching of content subjects. Elementary science textbooks and arithmetic textbooks betray an equal preoccupation with the 'correct'

[8] There are limitations to the comparison of Arabic prescriptivism with other instances of grammatical prescriptivism, especially in terms of the language curriculum. The Arabic prescriptive grammar is archaic in formulation and nomenclature, and is not only concerned with the imposition of the `correct' version of the standard but with the imposition of the (classic) standard itself as well as the imposition of the `correct' version.

lexicon and syntax. Some science textbooks concern themselves more with what particular concepts are called in CA than with the exploration of the concept and the process involved. Very little of the terminology is retained, and a double loss results. Prescriptive grammar also imposes a particular language model, unifunctional and anachronistic. The CA used in teaching is essentially literary, highly rhetorical in parts, and covers too wide a historical span to be of any linguistic consistency for teaching purposes -- if one subscribes to the prescriptive approach at all. The literary language model is not only inadequate but also rigidly defined in terms of artificial rhetoric (i.e., literary rhetoric in CA is not related to cultural and social experience, but consists more in a fascination with CA itself). CA grammatical tradition and CA literary tradition are closely intertwined, and the one cannot be taught without the other.

Similar approaches to language teaching within a prescriptive tradition are described by Walker (1986) with reference to English grammar in Nova Scotia schools in the nineteenth century: "The example sentences that constituted the exercises were turgid, literary, and often moralistic, and their sentiments bore no relation to the daily lives of young children growing-up in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia. It is inconceivable that young children could have understood the material. It must have been a matter of rote learning and mechanical drill."[9] Walker tries to relate prescriptive grammar practice to

[9] Walker, (1986:446)

underlying "epistemological" assumptions; most significant of these is the presumption that learning is better when abstract. In Walker's words, "perhaps there is a lingering residue of faculty psychology buried deep in that conviction that cannot quite abandon the belief that the rigorous experience of learning grammar is simply good for one."[10] Czerniewska (1981:162) echoes the same view, and in particular the idea that prescriptive grammar is primarily concerned with mental discipline: "The aims of such lessons [traditional grammar], if stated at all, would be the disciplining of children's minds for rigorous thinking and strengthening of character. The aims which were not being met were the equipping of pupils with knowledge about, and fluency in, their native language." Such an association between prescriptive grammar and traditional pedagogical thinking is still in evidence in both official documents and general educational and linguistic writings. In the Revue de l'Academie Arabe de Damas (1988:210), a not uncommon view is articulated by al-ya:fi : "The resolution of the problems of Arabisation and translation can only be achieved through the mastery of pure CA, and instruction in it at all levels: primary, intermediate, secondary, and university education, and the abandonment as far as is possible of the colloquial language which is extremely poor and lacks orthography and rules. I also wish to present my views on the question of teaching CA, namely that the attempt to make it easier and simplify its fundamental accidence and syntax is a doomed

[10] Walker, (1986:457)

one, since it leads to declining standards, slackness, insipidity and weakness. We prefer difficulties and obstacles, since they sharpen resolve, intensify alertness, and challenge the strongest wills. For this, the use of true Arabic legacy is imperative."[11]

The spread of education and the ability of larger numbers of people to use CA in ways the 'traditionalists' do not see as `correct' is met by the idealisation of the historical status of CA, and often of traditional models of teaching[12]. The variability and novelty of usage which such expansion has brought with it seems to have clashed with the traditional image of CA -- as a language of the few. Even proponents of `simplified' CA have a traditional model in mind. Under the `simplified' alternative, the body of `grammatical' knowledge to be learned may be reduced, but the nature of the (retained) rules, assumptions and implications remain unchanged. The relative fluency that the educated person displays is seen as a sign of declining standards, and traditional linguistic models are therefore desirable. The development of language skills (within the prescriptive approach) is confused with the acquisition of a set of prescriptive rules, equipping the student not so much with a knowledge of, and the ability to use, the language in a variety of situations, but with an irrelevant body of grammatical knowledge, which does not even affect

[11] al-ya:fi, a. mushkila:t at-tarjama wa t-ta9ri:b al-lati: tuwa:jihuha ththaqa:fa l-9arabiyya. Revue de l'Academie Arabe de Damas, 1988, April:195-214

[12] It is ironically in the publications of the various Arabic language academies that these views are expressed.

efficiency in the language it relates to. Such knowledge is also ephemeral, since recollection of these grammatical rules is subject to the limitations of rote learning.

6.3 CA curriculum

In this section, aspects of CA curriculum will be described. In the first two grades of primary education, it is difficult to disassociate CA teaching from teaching basic skills (namely reading and writing). From the timetables of the academic years of 1987 and 1989, CA teaching in the first grade can be divided into six subjects, namely reading, writing, oral expression, orthography, observation, and recitation. The Koran and religion are also taught as two different subjects. Of the six subjects, writing is the clearest case of literacy teaching (though some of the letters are not applicable to MA). Reading is also more concerned with teaching CA than reading skill as such; even though some of the lexical items introduced are, as far as the consonantal root is concerned identical, the phonological derivation rules are, nevertheless, distinct as the following examples demonstrate. The phonological differences are particularly important in the first stages of learning to read[13]:

CA	MA	
HaTTa	HeTT	(\`to put')
'akala	kla	(\`to eat')

[13] CA \`pronunciation' is usually required even at this stage

takallama	tkellem	(`to speak')
shajaratun	shejra	(`tree')
baqaratun	begra	(`cow')
madrasatun	medrasa	(`school')

The remaining subjects are directly concerned with the production of `pure' CA, namely how to express oneself in CA, how to spell in CA, and how to recite CA poetry. In the third grade, most of these subjects are retained, with the exception of writing, but explicit grammar teaching is introduced, in the form of three separate subjects ("style", syntax, and accidence). In the fourth grade these `grammar' subjects continue to be taught, and composition is introduced. The fifth grade subjects remain the same as those of the fourth. Practice in grammar is not restricted to grammar or exercise textbooks; it is also heavily incorporated in readers.

The third grade (national) reader for the school year 1988-89, for example, is divided into ninety-five texts, eleven of which are poems. Each `text' is divided into five parts, namely the text itself, two comprehension sections, a grammatical section, and a home assignment[14]. Apart from the main reader, there is also what is called a "linguistic activity" textbook, which consists of a collection of grammatical exercises and applications. Each illustrative text is introduced and followed by a long list of grammatical exercises, ending in composition (as

[14] The 4th grade reader is organised in the same fashion. Of the 78 texts, 12 are poems; 43 of these texts are based on original writings.

an application of the illustrated grammatical rule). These exercises include: "shakl"[15], parsing, various syntactical exercises (eg., sentence completion), conjugation, and spelling. The same process is repeated in the following grades, with further gradual rigorousness added.

6.3.1 Linguistic features of reading texts

The similarities between the standard-with-dialects and the diglossic H can be misleading, in that parallels of formality may be considered as identical. Both the standard-with-dialects and the diglossic H can be seen as formal mediums, distinguishable from spontaneous conversational language. However, the standard-with-dialects may be produced in many speech events without necessarily resulting in a sense of inappropriateness. The production may be relatively and naturally fluent. The diglossic H, on the other hand, is a written language by definition; when CA is used in speech, it is invariably based on the written medium -- directly by reading from notes, for example, or indirectly through a conscious observation of the processes involved in writing (including grammatical rules). This aspect brings us to the effects of such functional limitations on the production of CA. The language of a written-unspoken medium that is governed by formally learned rules of

---

[15] The lack of the alphabetical representation of short vowels in CA is compensated for by special diacritics. The vowels are subject to changes in the syntactical relationships within the sentence. The exercise known as shakl requires the student to supply the entire text with the correct diacritics.

correctness is consequentially artificial, language-oriented, and has little recourse to the linguistic and communicative competence of the individual. The artificiality of language may be more than a stylistic inconvenience, and may affect the overall syntactical and lexical organisation and cohesion of the text.

6.3.1.1 Grammatical discipline

The above description of the organisation of the primary readers and related grammar and exercise textbooks shows the extent of traditional prescriptive language instruction pursued in the CA curriculum. A faulty assumption about the nature of language (the priority of the written medium, the standards of which are set by a literary tradition) triggers the cultivation of intensive language instruction (of the assumed medium) in the form of prescribed rules, exercises, and routines, intended to uphold the prescribed standard against the background of an established linguistic and communicative competence. The `rules' to be learned, the number of exercises, the grammar, which takes over all aspects of language teaching, the complexity and abstraction, are all hallmarks of the CA curriculum. When language teaching assumes such a dimension of grammatical discipline, learners are not only taught the irrelevant language model, but the grammatical overload also affects their enthusiasm for language; the language lesson becomes unpopular, and apprehension of the language slot is substituted for a cultivated interest in language. When

reading, pupils have to observe the inflectional endings of each word in the text; he or she has then to perform various types of grammatical substitutions and transformations such as those of gender and number, most of which do not relate to the grammatical rules he or she has naturally acquired; the performance of these tasks is totally dependent on the `rules' learnt in the grammatical lessons. The conception and comprehension of the introduced grammatical rules is unlikely on the part of pupils, especially in primary education. This means that these rules would play little role in the execution of grammatical exercises. It is also unlikely that all teachers are able to explain the grammatical rules of CA, and ascertain the correctness of their pupils' answers. The attraction that language, and reading in particular, may have -- diversity, stories, humour, and novelty, etc. -- is undermined by the emphasis on `grammatisation'. The abstraction of CA grammar, and the fact that few people can adequately relate these `rules' or apply them, are common knowledge among teachers and students, but the official attempts at redeeming the inefficiency of grammatical instruction do not operate on the underlying principles but rather rearrange and represent the same material together with the same original bias. Prescriptive grammar remains a top priority in CA instruction with all its ramifications, which in its turn ensures the unpopularity of language lessons.

The rules of `correctness' and the multitude of grammatical exercises do not contribute to the resolution

of the problem of children's unfamiliarity with CA, but they do add to the mystification of language learning. In the grammatical exercises annexed to reading texts, there is an overwhelming concentration on conjugation and substitution exercises, most of which are non-functional in MA. There are exercises that require the pupil to reread or rewrite a paragraph (from the reading text) using the dual, and hence changing nouns, verbs, and adjectives in the process. Other exercises require pupils to provide the appropriate CA negative particle, which varies with changes in tense -- a distinction that does not obtain in MA. All of these features are non-functional in MA. Other types of grammatical exercises focus on traditional analysis. The most common type of these is traditional CA parsing[16]. The analysis and terminology involved in parsing is archaic, and is more of a puzzle than a means of grammatical understanding. The performance of parsing depends on highly formulaic phrases to be assigned to the different syntactical constituents. These exercises increase in degree of difficulty as well as in number with progress through education, and form a fully-fledged traditional CA grammar (in nomenclature and approach) by the completion of secondary education. It is difficult to appreciate the educational objectives behind such practices. They neither provide an understanding of the language nor the linguistic skills needed for further

[16] It is a cliche that few people can perform traditional CA parsing. A more systematic study is needed to describe the extent of difficulties faced by students at all levels of education as well as by teachers.

education. In the face of all the inefficiency and counter effect of such language policy, it is surprising that the CA curriculum has remained faithful to the old practices. At the receiving end, pupils rarely come close to an understanding of these practices. The latter only make language an obscure, distant, and prohibitive subject. Ironically, instead of providing the learner with the `linguistic tool', CA instruction inhibits him or her from being linguistically involved. The syntactical preoccupations of primary readers are founded on the historical patchwork involved in traditional prescriptive grammar. They are non-functional in MA, and are a good example of the irrelevance of the CA curriculum to the learner's cultural and linguistic experience.

6.3.1.2 Lexical features

Although the role of lexical familiarity or unfamiliarity in comprehension especially in primary education is a controversial one, differences have to be drawn between what is functionally different and what is non-functionally different. Lexical items can be unfamiliar simply because of their association with newer functional ranges and concepts. Children can acquire new (hence unfamiliar) concepts and terms with no apparent difficulty. Lexical expansion in this way does not represent any serious learning problems. Such lexical items introduced in appropriate contexts can indeed form an important part of language learning. However, when lexical unfamiliarity is a predominant feature, language

learning as well as learning other subjects can be affected. There are doubts about the educational benefits of lexical unfamiliarity that are not so much a result of its association with novel concepts and functions, but a result of the imposed `alternative' vocabulary for already acquired concepts and established functional patterns. The learning situation may be further complicated if the curriculum does not distinguish between the two. A consequence of such an approach is the mistaking of lexical substitution for lexical expansion. In fact, the Moroccan educational system explicitly states its aim as to `supply' the students with the `correct' vocabulary. All educational material reflects the desire of the educational system to replace MA vocabulary with CA counterparts. Reading texts are not only grammatically different, but are also full of CA `alternants' including adverbs, adjectives, verbs and nouns. Such a lexical policy places undue emphasis on replacing the pupil's lexicon with what the school perceives as the `original' vocabulary. For the learner, potential functional vocabulary is only a part of the overall lexical abstraction. The Arabisation process, in its pursuit of `genuine' CA equivalents for modern concepts, has incurred a further element of difficulty. The concern with `authenticity' has resulted in a resort to archaisms. The exact definitions of these terms is hard to come by, since there are no reference dictionaries of usage for educational or general use. The incorporation of MA lexical items in educational material is also half-hearted

and lacks commitment. It is also insignificant and inconsistent. In the third grade reader, for example, some texts use the CA word for `potato', and others use the MA word with no evident change of context or meaning. In what follows is a description of the lexical features of purpose-written texts[17].

6.3.1.3 Examples of viable lexical expansion

The description of functionally justified introduction of new lexicon depends on the particular characteristics of the sociolinguistic situation. If a particular sociolinguistic situation is subject to discourse differences between the written and spoken medium in addition to the other geographical and social variations, functionally viable lexical expansion would then relate to aspects of written discourse/s. In this situation the more common of concepts and situations need not be reworded. Lexical items like: cooker,house, room, window need not be changed to be accommodated in most written styles of Standard English, for example, or readapted for educational material. There would be no functional justification for replacing the word carrot by an otherwise unfamiliar equivalent that is presumed to be more appropriate for writing. In Arabic diglossia, the difference between the written and spoken mediums is not a matter of discourse but of code. The written H rewrites the spoken language, including items like `house',

[17] All the illustrative examples are to be found in the third and fourth grades primary readers.

`window', and `carrot'. Within this situation of functional exclusivity, it is even less clear which lexical items are educationally beneficial and which are unnecessary paraphrasing of MA and can be instead educationally costly. One criterion that can be adopted is that if a particular concept is within the functional range of MA and its intended use in CA is the same, there would be little need to replace it. If, however, a particular concept cannot be ascertained to be existing within the functional range of MA, the introduction of the CA lexical item can be justified in terms of the knowledge and opportunities it may bring. The following are examples of lexical items which can be justified in this way:

Saddara	(`to export')
shu9a:9	(`(solar) ray')
muqa:rana	(`comparison')
al-ufuq	(`horizon')
qarn	(`century')
saHaba	(`to withdraw')
sa:hama	(`to contribute')

6.3.1.4 Arabised lexical items

CA replacements of MA words of recent foreign origin (mainly Spanish and French) can be justified, if there is a popular willingness to change them; the change can be realistically achieved. Radio and television have had an important role in circulating CA equivalents for existing

borrowings. Some of this arabised vocabulary is already part of everyday MA lexicon. Not all arabised words, however, are successful. The failure of such words may be related to lack of popularity (if the concept is implemented in common situations), or obsoletisms (as a revival of archaic words), or lexical derivation based on unfamiliar (usually archaic) consonantal roots. Such words acquire little circulation, and are mostly known to the specialist. Examples are as follows:

Popular arabised items	Rarely used arabised items
ha:tif (`telephone')	maTariyya (`umbrella')
muba:ra (`(sports) match')	afa:ri:z (`cornices')
mula:kama (`boxing')	maya:zi:b (`sewers')
qiTa:r (`train')	burghi (`screw')
al-bari:d (`post(office)')	ath-thalm (`groove')

6.3.1.5 Non-functional CA lexical `alternants'

The above two aspects of the lexicon of readers are examples of lexical items that can be introduced (some of which may be already familiar to MA-speaking children) into education material and can be justified in terms of discourse or realistic Arabisation. However, most of the lexical items introduced by the educational material are difficult to justify unless one assumes the superiority of the CA lexical items. There are many instances where MA lexicon is replaced by CA, where the former is most legitimate particularly with respect to aspects of everyday life, and where MA lexical items are, therefore,

subject to all the sociolinguistic variations and nuances which the CA proposed counterpart lexicon does not share. Such counterparts cannot be considered, either, part of the formal register/style associated with writing, for two reasons, namely the scale of the lexicon to be replaced, which represents a substantial part of the lexical possibilities, and secondly because the register variations are already fully operational in MA . The obstacle to the introduction of such items has mostly to do with the assumption of the superiority of CA vocabulary and not the fulfilment of register changes. The following are examples of lexical substitution:

CA	MA	
kanasa	sheTTeb	(\`to sweep')
nahaDa	faq	(\`to wake up')
Hama:t(un)	nsiba	(\`(female) in-law')
dhahaba	msha	(\`to go')
mala'a	9emmer	(\`to fill')
bidu:n(i)	bla	(\`without')

6.3.1.6 CA paraphrased \`alternants'

The substitution in readers of MA lexical items may be not only unnecessary but also inadequate. In the pursuit of \`uncolloquialised' CA, and when a text touches on some aspect of Moroccan society, the MA lexical items are discarded and replaced by either \`neutral' terms that refer to some basic feature of the concept, but which skip over the other definitive features, or describe the

particular concept or situation in a descriptive phrase. The pupil may not be able to establish the relation between the CA `alternant' and the described phenomenon which he or she can conceptualise otherwise, nor can he or she place it in the overall social and cultural context. The paraphrased CA `alternant' has the same effect as that of literal translation (particularly of cultural phenomena); i.e. it gives us an idea, but it cannot isolate the concept or situation referred to[18]. The following are examples of paraphrased CA `alternants':

CA	Intended concept in MA
sirwa:l baladi (`traditional trousers')	qendrissi
Hasa:' al-Hala:zi:n (`soup of snails')	l-babbush
Tabaq al-Hasa:' (`soup bowl')	zlafa
mu:nadi (`caller')	berraH (`town crier')

6.3.1.7 CA lexicon of natural environment

Another instance of the preference of readers for unfamiliar vocabulary is in phenomena of nature, and particularly in those aspects that are part of most children's experience, such as common animals, trees, and birds. There is no need, for example to identify at school a common tree like an "oak" in a lexical item other than the one it is already known in. Children already possess some `environment' lexicon; such knowledge can be utilised to the benefit of the contextual effect intended from the

[18] This would have the same effect, for example, as a literal translation or descriptive phrase of a "take-away" in English.

inclusion of the particular item. The use of the familiar word will also make it easy to identify the concept concerned. The following are examples of substituted MA lexical items of natural environment:

CA	MA	
al-laqla:q	bellarej	(`stork')
Difda9a	jrana	(`frog')
al-Halazu:n	l-babbu<u>sh</u>	(`snails')
sindiya:na	bellu:T	(`oak tree')

6.3.1.8 Use of obsolete lexicon

A common feature of the CA curriculum and readers, in particular, in terms of the lexicon, is the lack of criteria of obsoletism. In general writings outside the educational domain, such as literature or journalism, one would come across several instances where rare words are included with no indication of the awareness of the `usability' status of the particular word. The incorporation of such vocabulary may not be a reflection on their etymology but an ad hoc implantation of the word. Obsolete lexicon is also to be found in all readers. When such lexical items are encountered, it is usually difficult to place them within the contemporary use of CA, and they are totally dependent on more benevolent contextual clues. Tracing such words in dictionaries is not always successful. If there is an entry for the `word'(root), the meanings listed might be either irrelevant or imprecise. Examples of archaic or obsolete

words found in readers are not only likely to be difficult to understand for the young pupil, but are also likely to cause the same difficulty for more advanced students. The absence of adequate dictionaries with precise definitions and acknowledgement of common usage (in CA), leaves the identification of obsolete vocabulary a highly impressionistic exercise. The following lexical items are examples of rarely used words, which have little or no occurrence, and are mostly dependent on older meanings[19]:

samaqat	('to be high')
adradun	('toothless')
naghgha:f	________[20]
saxa:m	('soot')
baydar	('threshing floor')

6.3.1.9 Unnatural dialogue

Another instance of anomaly of linguistic usage that the MA speaking pupil is faced with is to be found in the representation of natural dialogue in readers. When natural conversation is supposed to be part of the text, it is invariably reinterpreted in CA. Switch from narrative to dialogue is not linguistically and functionally marked. It is neither approximated to change from written to spoken language, nor from formal to informal style. The potential syntactical, lexical and

[19] Such examples can be used to test the likelihood of students being unaware of the words and/or their meanings at all levels of education.
[20] Although this word re-occurs in third and fourth grade readers, none of the dictionaries consulted listed it.

stylistic markers are `neutralised', and the narrative merges into dialogue and dialogue back into narrative without achieving the `conversational effect'. The functional dichotomy in Arabic diglossia between the spoken and written language heavily accentuates the artificiality of the CA dialogue, and therefore greatly undermines its plausibility. Readers are full of examples of non-educated fathers speaking to their children in CA, or children conversing among themselves in CA during playtime. Pupils may often wonder about these imaginary people who constantly socialise in CA. The imposition of CA has what can be termed the `Esperanto' effect, whereby all the stylistic and linguistic rudiments of speech are reduced to a minimal adjusted message. The goals are also minimal since they only relate to the information being conveyed and not to the overall sociolinguistic experience. The CA curriculum also creates the impression that there is `just as good' an equivalent for every aspect of actual conversation, which can satisfactorily replace what one would normally say. CA is seen as an all-purpose language that is equally adequate for representation of conversation and speech in general. Hence, the most common of phrases have to be written in CA as if there were a need for these items to be socially detached (which is the opposite of what a switch to dialogue strives to achieve). The artificiality of dialogue will not contribute to the effect that the otherwise linguistic and stylistic switch has involved; it is more likely to give a false impression of the role of

language in identical situations. Another element that is affected by dialogue being confined to CA is humour; the linguistic and cultural aspects of humour are affected by the adaptation process. To give an idea of the artificiality of dialogue in CA, the following are examples of CA `conversational' phrases found in readers (which are never used in actual conversation), together with their equivalents in MA:

CA	MA
Hadha:ri	9endak (`be careful!')
hayya bina:	yallah (`let's go')
Hasana:n	mezyan (`(very) well')
ya: laha:	walaynni (`what a ...!')
bikam	beshHal (`how much?')

6.3.1.10 Lexical exercises

There are a number of lexical exercises in all primary readers, ranging from word explanations, comprehension questions, and finding opposites to some home assignments requiring lexical search. What is questionable is not so much the nature or type of these exercise as their application outside diglossic considerations. There are lexical differences at every level between CA and MA; however, these differences are rarely taken into account in devising these exercises. Differences in terms, meanings, and usage do not underlie the question, nor would they be accepted as part of the answer. If a lexical item does not present any difficulty of

comprehension for the learner, he or she may still not be able to provide opposites in CA (if required), nor would they have sufficient CA vocabulary to answer the comprehension questions. These lexical exercises fail in not recognising their diglossic limitations or distinguishing between accurate comprehension and `accurate' answer in CA, as well as in the confusion caused by the great differences between MA and CA. A pupil, for example, may be able to come up with the appropriate MA opposite for the CA `jama9a' (to gather) namely `shettet', but may not be as successful with the expected CA word `ba9thara'. This becomes more difficult when the lexical item for which to find the opposite or to explain cannot be easily identified (because it is completely unfamiliar or its usage is different). Disregard of the functional limitations of CA clearly shows in the nature of some of the home assignments, which follow each text. By being mostly directed at observable phenomena from society and culture, they represent an even greater difficulty than do the synonyms and opposites exercises in matching the phenomena with CA vocabulary. They show a greater unrealism in their requirements, expectations, and focus. This makes it impossible for pupils to supply the lexicon (or the grammar) in order to satisfy the undertaken description. In the assignment, for example, which requires the pupil to "watch his mother cooking and record his observations", he or she would need to use the terminology associated with cooking (utensils, food preparation, and the food itself), all of which are

exclusively expressed in MA. The non- recognition of MA lexicon in writing and answering leaves the pupil helpless in an otherwise less intimidating situation. Other examples of assignments that depend on social and cultural phenomena, the description of which is likely to cause difficulties for pupils, include:

-"Describe your quarter, street, city and countryside, modern or old buildings, electricity, etc."
-"Record the crafts in your quarter."
-"Search for expressions people exchange in festivities and record them."
-"Search for JuHa:[21] jokes and record the ones you like most."

The above description shows how the emphasis is laid on lexical substitution rather than expansion. Examples of the potentially beneficial introduction of unfamiliar lexical items have been given, which then were compared to nonfunctional lexical features of readers which are likely to cause learning difficulties. Less controversial is also the incorporation in readers of widely accepted arabised terms. The imposed lexical model, by falling short of sociolinguistic currency, reduces the amount and diversity of information conveyed by the lexical item or phrase to a minimal level; in successful situations, these relate to recognizable rather than identifiable concepts.

[21] A character traditionally embodying idiocy.

Hence, among the features of the lexicon of primary readers described were the paraphrased `alternants', the lexicon of natural environment, the use of obsolete lexicon, the use of unnatural dialogue, and the nature of lexical exercises. These may provide means of accounting for learning difficulties in CA-MA diglossia in terms of lexicon. Grammatical features of primary readers have also been discussed, which in their own right betray the absence of sociolinguistic currency, and therefore explain the aspects of artificiality in CA syntax. The overall unfamiliarity is supported by a grammatical tradition obscure both in outlook and terminology. The grammatical courses are supplemented with even more cumbersome grammatical exercises, which are more than likely to elicit non-prescribed answers. The overall description of the grammar and lexicon of readers reflects the nature of the linguistic gap the learner is faced with in the diglossic educational setting.

6.3.2 CA across the curriculum

The diglossic separation of the written and spoken languages means that CA has also priority in subjects where language is secondary, particularly in elementary science and arithmetic, equal to that which it enjoys in language subjects. Elementary science was arabised at an early stage, whereas arithmetic has only been arabised recently. In both attempts, though there was the awareness that the teaching of these two subjects should focus on content, both the elementary science and the

arithmetic curricula have also fallen under the general preoccupation with the `purity' of CA, which has meant similar concern with prescriptive grammar and imposed lexicon. This is pursued, in the absence of a uniform and consistent standard of CA, in terms of accepted usage and terminology. Although the Centre for the Coordination of Arabisation in the Arab World has published a number of dictionaries, these are far from established and are not widely available to the school population or the general public. In the case of an unfamiliar arabised term, one often depends on one's judgement. The haphazardness of definitions is incongruent with the precision needed for elementary science and arithmetic teaching. Science and arithmetic teaching are also about the ability to observe, the ability to express, the ability to describe relationships, and discuss them. If such activities are affected by the imposition of a prescriptive language -- a language that the child does not use otherwise, the learner is seriously restricted by his or her limited perception of CA syntax and lexicon, and is even more limited in ability to respond to the various interactions which form part of the content subjects being taught and learnt. In aspects of elementary science and arithmetic teaching which are not directly dependent on uniform nomenclature, there is an evident need to make a good use of the child's native language. The exclusion of natural speech from these subjects (particularly in the early stages) makes it also difficult to relate the studied phenomena to the actual experience. Within the

prescriptive thinking, it is not always clear what constitutes the difference between what is a purely scientific exercise and what is more of a language exercise. Teachers and pupils alike are likely to confuse the acquisition of concepts with that of terminology. The semantic potential of MA is little used, whereas much of the effort is directed at the recognition of scientific and mathematical notions in CA. In what follows is a description of the ways in which CA prescriptive tradition takes over content subjects teaching and learning.

6.3.2.1 General language substitution and justifiable science nomenclature

The establishment of the differences between the unfamiliar which falls within the general diglossic substitution of the H for the L and that which is related to new scientific concepts, is blurred by the approach of the educational system to diglossia. There is no intention on the part of the educational system to provide for such distinctions, which would have to entail a change in linguistic and pedagogical thinking. There is, however, ample evidence that the current language approach to elementary science and arithmetic teaching presents pupils with difficulties not so much in their special terminology (which represents only a small part of the courses), but in their communicative aspects such as description, direction, observation, and experiment. The combination of the unfamiliar linguistic context with the new scientific concepts (and terms) neither facilitates

the comprehension of the latter nor the understanding of the particular lesson on the whole. The following are examples of (unfamiliar) scientific terms, which might be less problematic in an otherwise more natural language approach:

jism	(`body')
al-ma:dda	(`matter')
9amu:di	(`vertical')
mukawwina:t	(`constituents')
a-TTa:qa	(`energy')

6.3.2.2 CA prescriptivism in elementary science teaching

The linguistic ideology of the MA educational system leaves no special provision for the more content-oriented subjects. The observance of the `pure' CA is of paramount importance in all subjects. In elementary science teaching, as much as in CA teaching, emphasis is put on the expression of ideas in CA, which also entails CA `grammar' and lexicon. This initially establishes only indirect contact with the phenomena being taught, which may be explored in a less `rule-conscious' medium. The use of the native medium may assist the learner to become more concerned with the phenomenon than the language. The elementary science curriculum concerns itself, however, not only with the adequacy of the linguistic medium but with the faithfulness to the tradition of CA. Hence much of the educational material is more concerned with how to name and describe science phenomena in CA. Pupils are required to provide the names of particular objects not as

they are known in MA but as they should be referred to in school; illustrations are also preferred in CA. Syntactically, the CA text presents difficulties at the level of production as well as perception. The use of common objects and illustrations from everyday life is undermined by being subjected to CA readaptation. Lexical substitution that has been described with reference to CA teaching is to be found equally in elementary science teaching. The following are examples of such substitution found in elementary science textbooks:

CA	MA	
qa:ru:ra	qer9a	(`bottle')
bud<u>dh</u>u:r	zerri9a	(`seeds')
waHal	<u>gh</u>isa	(`mud')
a-SSanbu:r	bezbuz	(`tap')
<u>gh</u>alla:yya	meqraj	(`kettle')

Other features which are common to both elementary science and CA teaching are the use of rare or obsolete words. Examples include: `sanu:n' (`toothpaste'), `mama:h' (`aquarium'), `al-'iSfa:q' (`transference (from one container to another)'). There are also some examples of half-hearted use of MA words such as putting the MA item `<u>sh</u>i:ta' (`toothbrush') or `llubia' (`beans') in parentheses after their CA equivalents `fur<u>sh</u>a:t' and `faSu:lya:' respectively; or the use of the more CA sounding `suxu:na' instead of `sxu:niya'.

6.3.2.3 Instructions, observations, experiments and questions in elementary science teaching

Linguistic communication, which forms a major part of science teaching is equally affected by the overall educational implementation of CA (and by implication the exclusion of MA). The afore-mentioned activities, in addition to definition and explanation, by being channelled through CA, create further difficulties which do not directly bear on the nature of scientific knowledge. Aspects of science teaching and learning, like questioning and answering, observation, and discussion, largely depend on a non-distractive means of communication, i.e., a means that does not directly and unduly concern itself with prescriptive standards of linguistic correctness. In the second grade elementary science textbook, an exercise of observation, for example, requires the pupil to observe two composite pictures of balances; in the first picture, there is an identical pen on either scale of the balance, and underneath it is another picture of the same balance but with one of the pens dismantled; in the second picture, another balance has an identical potato on either scale, and underneath it is a picture of the same balance but with one potato cut into pieces. The pupil is asked if the equilibrium would change in each of the two cases, and why. If the question is fully comprehended, the first part of the answer may not present any linguistic difficulty, since it only requires a `yes' or `no' answer; the second part, however, requires the articulation of one's ideas into

acceptable linguistic form, which, in this case, does not happen to be the same as that a pupil would normally use. If a pupil has successfully achieved an understanding of the process/es involved in the two situations, he or she is likely to be less successful in formulating them in CA. In both situations, the pupil would be happy to talk about the objects and processes involved, whether it is loss of peel, weight or other possible explanations. The fact that the description has to be given in CA results in more time consumption, and in the production of what the pupil can produce in CA, rather than what he can say about the process involved. The answer represents more of a linguistic than a comprehension challenge.

During demonstrations and experiments in science teaching, a great deal of linguistic communication is involved. The success of such transactions depends on parallel success in communication. When simple demonstrations and experiments are conducted in CA, they acquire difficulties which are not integral features of the demonstration or experiment itself. The purpose of the exercise becomes consequently the resolution of the linguistic problem. The preoccupation with a prescriptive standard also entails the neglect of a major resource of linguistic stimulation (the use of familiar objects and situations along with their respective language). In the demonstration of `al-fa:din' (`spirit-level'), for example, pupils are given directions for making one from a transparent plastic tube, filling it with water and leaving a little space before closing it from both ends,

and attaching it to a piece of level wood using selotape; the exercise may be made more coherent and relevant by using the language the child can understand and speak better. Most of the linguistic elements involved in the directions are not used otherwise by the children. The use of CA in this case has helped to distance all these elements from the child's experience, and therefore to obfuscate the experiment rather than bring it home to the children. Similar examples may be found throughout most of the primary science textbooks, where there is a reluctance to `sacrifice' CA for clarity and relevance. The role of language in aspects of science teaching is not directly related to how clarity and relevance can be achieved, but rather to how they can be achieved through CA without inconveniencing its grammatical tradition.

A large proportion of experiments depends on the use of common objects (like mirror, thread, cardboard, etc) and common linguistic transactions (like lift, mix, open, fix, etc); such experiments have also as their primary role the demonstration of a particular phenomenon, and that the learner should understand the phenomenon (for himself or herself), with the likelihood of parallel comparisons and applications. The relevance the experiment is presumed to provide between the scientific 'point' and the social and natural environment is interrupted by the linguistic barrier. The use of CA for such experiments is incongruent with the requirements of the latter. The additional burden the lack of linguistic relevance brings is distinct from the linguistic difficulties usually

associated with scientific language in situations which are not necessarily diglossic. It is not only a discourse difference (impersonal or technical, for example), but an overall difference between the native language of pupils and the language of education.

In arithmetic, the same problems may be found in instructions and questions, but most importantly in problem solving. Though there are again special terms which need to be learned (`sum', `subtraction', `units', etc.), most of the teaching of arithmetic in primary education may be achieved through normal interactive language. The overall diglossic system demands that the language of arithmetic should also be CA -- although the alphabetical symbols are kept in French. In problem solving, where the problem is described in CA, the objectives of the exercise are affected by the linguistic priorities placed on it. Substantial decoding of CA has to take place before an adequate understanding of the problem is achieved. An exercise of a grammatical and a lexical nature is also involved. A typical problem to be solved entails a maximum of unfamiliar elements, namely those of syntax, vocabulary, and the nature of the arithmetic operation itself. In classroom interactions, pupils are required to use the numerals according to CA standards, and use the CA "how many" or "how much", for example. These aspects of arithmetic teaching may not be as serious as those of the language of elementary science teaching, but the persistent use of CA in subjects such as arithmetic is bound to create learning problems, which are

otherwise not inevitable. In the very early grades, the unofficial use of MA is widespread in arithmetic teaching, and is only occasionally `tempered' with the use of some aspects of CA. In the latter stages, however, and particularly, in textbooks the language presents the same difficulties as those encountered across the curriculum.

Elementary science and arithmetic textbooks show the same concern for the reinforcement of the diglossic H as do CA readers. The contradictions between the obscurity of CA and the intelligibility required in science and arithmetic teaching are not considered serious enough to warrant any change of language policy, especially with regard to CA as a medium of instruction for subjects other than language. The delay in linguistic development (in CA) at school also affects the teaching of these subjects. The CA linguistic negotiations needed for classroom interactions as well as writing in CA cannot be performed by most pupils, since they have not adequately acquired it.

In subjects other than language, elements of prescriptive grammar are not only undesirable but also detrimental to their very objectives[22]. These elements only add to any difficulties subjects such as science or arithmetic may project. The overall linguistic policy of the educational system does not have special provisions for science, arithmetic, or other subjects not directly concerned with the teaching of CA. CA is viewed as a

---

22 This is not to say that these elements are more acceptable in language teaching.

working medium, which does not require any special readjustment for particular subjects. The aspects in which CA fails as a medium, namely intelligibility and accessibility, are not recognised or seriously considered. In the present diglossic situation, the attitudinal status of both MA and CA, both officially and in popular terms, leaves CA an unquestionable medium of teaching. The educational debate does not concern itself with the inadequacies of the implementation of the traditional assumptions about CA. The adequacy of CA as an educational medium is itself part of the overall assumptions about CA. The pedagogical cost of the commitment to CA has not presented any serious challenge to the traditional linguistic ideology.

Chapter Seven

Diglossic Composition

Some of the sociolinguistic studies of the educational implications of the structural differences between non-standard and standard dialects concern themselves with the use of dialect features in school writings (particularly in the early stages) by speakers of non-sanctioned dialects. These sociolinguistic studies have attempted to distinguish between `errors' which are a result of the interference of one's native dialect and those which are related to conventions of writing[1]. From a

[1] There are other studies of `errors' which are more concerned with the psycholinguistic processes involved. Selinker (1972:214) thought of the `erroneous' productions made in the attempts to learn the "target language" as an "interlanguage". Corder (1971) preferred to describe them as "idiosyncratic dialects". Both Selinker and Corder treat the `erroneous' productions made by second language learners as one entity which "has a grammar" and can be systematically accounted for. Corder makes a distinction between *errors*, which "refer to the systematic errors of the learner from which we are able to reconstruct his knowledge of the language to date, i.e. his *transitional competence*", and *mistakes*, which refer to "errors of performance" (1967:167).

sociolinguistic point of view, the former are not considered errors (in the traditional sense); their treatment as `errors' is a result of the identification of writing standards with the standard dialect. Traditionally, the first dialect/language related `errors' have been considered as grammatical mistakes, in the same light as the analogical use of a syntactical or morphological feature by a native speaker or the erroneous use of a writing convention[2]. Accordingly, these `mistakes' have had to be `corrected' by supplying the standard forms. In line with the appreciation of the legitimacy of all natural dialects and their educational potential, such a practice has been looked upon as incongruent with the sociolinguistic forces underlying these so-called `errors'. Their treatment as such by the educational system, or the teacher in particular, is an issue of attitudes rather than one of linguistic or even educational merit. There are, however, a number of issues connected with sociolinguistic variation and the teaching of writing which are far from resolved.

It is not always clear whether a particular `error' is dialect-related or of a general nature, since there are, for example, speakers of different but related dialects who would make the same `mistakes', or mistaking problems of analogy or overgeneralisation for dialect features. In the case of British dialects, Wiles (1981) points out that it is difficult to attribute particular linguistic

[2] Such as the use of the standard English past tense marker `ed', or the wrong use of capitalisation.

features to a particular group because of instances of overlapping[3]. Most studies of dialect features in school writings conclude that pupils tend to make more mistakes which are of a general nature, than those attributed to dialect interference, such as punctuation or capitalisation (Wolfram & Fasold, 1979[4]). Most studies also recognise the need to use the standard dialect/language for certain writing styles which are considered more appropriate or are required for certain social functions, but agree that the standard features need not be enforced early in the learning process[5]. Wolfram & Fasold (1979: 211) argue that "a teacher aware of the nature of dialect interference might well spend his efforts on capitalisation, punctuation, spelling, and organisation and development problems and ignore the dialect errors until much later."

Distinguishing between what is a dialect feature and what is part of writing skills is essential to the

---

[3] Wiles disagrees with V. Edwards (1979) that the omission of the noun plural marker `s' is particular to West Indian children. Wiles warns that " it is all too easy to see children's written work as adversely affected by dialect (or first-language) features when a careful analysis of the writing will show that many of the `errors' have nothing to do with dialect (or first- language) interference at all." Wiles, (1981:69)
Wiles was referring to: Edwards, V. K. 1979: *The West Indian Language Issue in British Schools*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Wiles also referred to the findings of an experiment where 13 out of the 20 children studied who omitted the past-tense marker were of "English, Irish and Caribbean origin as well as children for whom English was a second language."p.72.

[4] This is a later publication of Wolfram & Fasold, 1974. *The Study of Social Dialects in American English*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall

[5] Richmond, (1979); Sutcliffe, (1981)

teaching of the latter, since there is more educational justification for teaching writing skills. Standard features need only to be taught in relation to the appropriate styles and at a later stage of education. There is also an educational value in the non-correction of dialect features, since the linguistic resources of the learner are an important educational asset. Pupils are likely to be more creative in their respective native languages. Mercer and Maybin (1981:88) believe that "children can often achieve a power through writing in the language variety most comfortable to them that they would otherwise lack." It is on the assumption that speakers of non-standard dialects/languages experience different writing problems in the standard dialect/language than do the natural speakers of the latter, or than they would if their native dialect/language was employed in education (including writing), that sociolinguistic research is of significance to the study of first dialect/language related `errors'[6].

7.1 L-related `errors' within diglossia

There are major differences between standard-with-dialects and Arabic diglossia both in the extent of structural differences and the functional gap between the home and school languages, and attitudes to the use of the home language in school activities. The total functional

[6] Cheshire (1984 ;553), for example, states that "children who speak a nonstandard variety encounter a different set of problems from those who do not, and the extent to which this affects their educational progress will depend on whether the teacher recognises the nature of the problem."

polarity which exists between MA and CA means that there are significant differences at every linguistic level. The attitudinal status of MA also means that it is completely unwelcome in educational activities. The linguistic and functional gaps mean that learners constantly need linguistically to readapt to and reinterpret their ideas and descriptions in CA. This process yields different types of transference and interference from the mother tongue, which the teacher usually dismisses as grammatical mistakes. As reported in Chapter five, most teachers viewed the use of MA in writing as a linguistic defect and all agreed on `correcting' the MA item/s by replacing it with the suitable CA equivalent. Even though there is a strong basis for accounting for the learner's L-related `errors', these are still seen as signs of grammatical `failure'; and given the predominant presence of L features in most writings (especially of young learners), they are still thought of as avoidable. There is also no need for the treatment of L features as ungrammatical, since the whole practice is a national problem.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the reinforcement of CA takes over most of the teaching of other subjects. This also applies to the teaching of such writing skills as cohesion, organisation, argumentation, and punctuation. These skills are equally obscured by the undue emphasis on CA in all aspects of teaching. This indicates that the CA curriculum values the observance of CA grammar and lexicon more than it does general writing skills. The lack of supportive communicative background means that MA-speaking

learners are likely to make more `mistakes' than their counterparts in a standard-with-dialects situation. In addition to grammar and lexicon, MA-speaking learners face complex figurative and idiomatic disparities. Learners are explicitly and extensively taught prescriptive grammar -- a fact which neither helps to warn them against `errors' nor minimizes these. This brings us to the assumption which underlies Arabic linguistic thinking and that of the educational systems in particular, namely the denial of the existence of two codes, and the perception of one code (L) in terms of its `deviation' from another code (H). The use of MA items or the incorporation of particular MA grammatical features is not viewed as such but as misapplication of the relevant CA rules. The use of MA idioms or figurative speech is furthermore viewed as `bad' style. The use of the L code is viewed as a violation of the H code. As in most areas of Arabic diglossic research, the study of Arabic vernacular-speaking learners is very much neglected. There are no systematic studies of the types of L-related `errors' common in written compositions in CA and their comparison to other types of writing errors. Arabic- speaking educationalists simply view all types of writing `errors' as indications of poor proficiency in CA. Educationalists are more prepared to intensify the grammatical disciplining than pursue a methodological approach to the other learning processes involved. This reflects the ideological denial of `the power to influence' of the native language (which as discussed in earlier chapters

connotes lack of education and sophistication). CA has been traditionally considered the emotive language of individual and national feelings. Adherence to a contrary view induces a feeling of guilt. The denial of the influence of the actual native language[7] is almost a nationalistic duty. It may be feared that a discriminatory treatment of `errors' by allowing for those `errors' that are L-related may exacerbate the situation by implicitly acknowledging the native language, and thus signifying that such a use is not serious after all. Such an acknowledgement would be seen as a threat to the main objective, namely the `intactness' of CA. The recognition of MA is very much in contradiction with the fundamentals of Arabic diglossia.

What follows is a study of those `errors' which can be attributed to the influence of MA. This will consist of a description and classification of these `errors', and an interpretation of the sociolinguistic processes involved. The aim of this description is not pedagogical, but it falls within the general concern of the present study, namely the educational ramifications of the use of CA as sole medium of instruction, and in particular the difficulties which are encountered in writing as a result of the unacceptability of MA features in writing. These `errors' reflect what happens in the process of relating the learner's experience to the CA medium, while trying to disentangle that experience from its common language. MA-related `errors', therefore, reflect the difficulties

[7] since CA is considered the native language.

involved, and the cost of the adaptation process to the actual tasks to be fulfilled. The description is based on two samples of compositions of: a) group of fourth grade primary school pupils, and b) a group of first year secondary school students.

7.2 Primary `errors'

Types of 'errors' attributable to MA interference within a particular composition exercise are not always possible to isolate from other types of general errors. Adding or leaving out a vowel, for example, can be either a result of MA pronunciation or simply of unfamiliarity with CA spelling, or a combination of both. Where similarities obtain, one cannot always ascertain whether an `error' is an inadequate retention of special CA conventions, or an extension of MA rules. In this case, it is also likely that an `error' will not be detected where MA interference has taken place. There are instances where a lexical item is identical in meaning and form in MA and CA, but where CA has a more common word to describe the same concept. The use of the common core lexical items can be either an influence of MA or a straightforward matter of selection from within CA. Even in a clear case of misapplication of CA grammar (where there is no MA justification), the overall abstraction of CA as a result of its diglossic relation to MA is a major contributing factor in the generation of such an error. On this basis, we can distinguish between: 'errors' which can be clearly attributed to MA (such as the use of a lexical item common

only to MA); `errors' which are not necessarily attributed to MA (particularly in spelling and common core lexicon); and `errors' which can be indirectly traced to MA. All these types of `errors' are equally important; the first type, however, is the most readily observable, and covers many of the instances of grammatical and stylistic `errors'.

7.2.1 spelling `errors'

Spelling `errors' which can be attributed to MA are of two categories: spelling `errors' because the consonant does not exist in MA namely "th", "dh", and "DH"; and spelling `errors' which are affected by MA pronunciation. Examples of `errors' of the 1st type include:

	correct CA spelling
axada	dh
mana:Dir	DH
taman	th

Examples of `errors' of the second category include:

	correct CA spelling
'in sha9 llah	'
l-waSaTi	s

The first type of spelling `errors', which may be a direct consequence of the influence of MA concerns the absence of interdentals from the MA inventory of consonants. When the CA spelling requires the use of these consonants, pupils tend to confuse them with their dental counterparts. These `errors' are not limited to

words which are shared by both CA and MA, but also cover words which are particular to CA. The non-observance of the interdentals in speech (as in the classroom) is not considered as serious as the spelling `error' of the same type. This type of `error' is most common in the primary stages. In secondary education, such `errors' would occur mostly in the less frequent words. The second type of the spelling `errors', namely those that are affected by MA pronunciation, are more difficult to discern, since writing "S" instead of "s" or vice versa may also be a simple case of inadequate retention of CA spelling rather than a reflection of MA pronunciation. It is particularly the emphatic consonant `errors' which are difficult to account for, since the use of emphatic consonants in MA is also subject to regional variation. In the example " 'in sha9 llah", however, the substitution of the voiced pharyngeal fricative for the glottal stop clearly reflects the MA pronunciation. Teachers are normally oblivious to the phonological influences of MA, and view CA spelling as the true representation of the sounds involved. The qualities of CA sounds are far from being uniform, since there is no segment of the Arabic-speaking communities which natively speaks CA, and hence the pronunciation of CA is approximate to the vernacular of the speaker in question. The phonological features of CA uttered by a Moroccan speaker are different from those of CA uttered by an Egyptian speaker. In this way there is no `model' standard to `go by'.

There are also other common types of spelling errors which are of a general nature, namely the use of the wrong form of the consonant particularly the final form of "t", the final form of the vowel "a", and the different realisations of the glottal stop (whether separate or written in combination with a vowel); and general errors of adding or omitting a long vowel (in words like "baqa:t" instead of "ba:qa:t").

7.2.2 Syntactical `errors'

The influence of MA syntax is also evident in pupils' compositions. The most common of MA-related syntactical `errors' involve the use of negative particles and plural concord. The negative particles (in their relation to verbs) in CA change in accordance with tense, namely "lam" for past mode, "la:" for present mode, and "lan" for future mode. Such distinctions or particles do not obtain in MA. In MA, the negative particle "ma" is used for all three modes. Pupils did not actually use the MA negative particle, but they were not certain as to which CA particle to use. Most of the `errors' affecting the CA negative particle occurred in the concluding part of the compositions, where pupils intended to comment on their sadness at leaving their classmates and teachers at the end of the academic year and the fact that they will not be able to see them until the next academic year. It is particularly the last `sentence' that caused the pupils difficulties in that they intended to use the negative particle depicting the future mode ("I will not see them")

but failed to provide the `correct' particle; most pupils used "la:" or "lam".

One of the instances in which plural concord `errors' occur is when a verb precedes a plural subject; in CA the verb does not agree in number if it precedes a plural subject (whereas it does change in number when it comes after a plural subject). In MA, the verb is plural whether it precedes or follows a plural subject. The `error', in this instance, occurs when some pupils use the plural form of the verb in the pre-subject position.

Other areas of plural formation which cause difficulties for pupils are more of a morphological nature such as the omission of the suffix "na" in plural verbs in the present tense (as in "ya'kulu:na"). The suffix "u/ina" in plural complements also causes confusion for some pupils, since the selection of "una" or "ina" in CA depends on the particular syntactical context (e.g., whether that of a subject or an object complement). This distinction does not apply to MA.

Common syntactical `errors' may be accounted for in terms of those features which do not apply to MA. Pupils are aware that they cannot use MA syntactical particles, for example, and are aware that they have to use their counterparts in CA. Their knowledge of the functions of the latter is limited, and pupils often find themselves guided by their MA intuition.

The `error' affecting the use of the CA negative particles is a recurrent one. Pupils are aware of the existence of the three negative particles, but are not

certain as to which to use and when. "la:" and "lam" are used to negate verbs in the future mode. Such an `error' can be explained in terms of the absence of such distinction in MA. This can be illustrated by the verb "to write" in "I did not write...", "I do not write...", and "I am not going to write...".

MA

a) ma ----- vb.(past) -- sh   ma-ktebt-sh

b) ma ----- vb.(present) sh   ma-tankteb-sh

c) ma ----- vb.(future) - sh   ma-ghadi-sh-nnkteb

CA

a) lam ---- vb.(present) -   lam-'aktub-

b) la: ---- vb.(present) - u   la:-'aktub-u

c) lan ---- vb.(present) - a   lan-'aktub-a

In MA, the "ma" is used with the respective tense, whereas in CA the verb remains in the present tense in all three cases, while being differently inflected by the change in particle. The `error' is hence not caused by the direct use of the MA negative rules but by the existence of the difference itself, and the inadequately informed use of CA negative rules. The same thing can be said of the plural concord rules, where it is the difference in the underlying rules rather than the direct implementation of the MA plural forms which is at work.

These examples represent some of the recurring `errors' which are attributable to the influence of MA. This, however, leaves out many of the syntactical errors that

cannot be directly attributed to MA. There are, for example, many errors affecting the use of the indefinite article "al", and errors of tense and derivation. These errors cannot be readily explained in terms of MA rules, but are part of the linguistic difficulties caused by overall unfamiliarity with CA.

7.2.3 Lexical `errors'

MA-related lexical `errors' can be divided into four categories: direct use of MA lexical items; use of pseudo-classical vocabulary; use of MA meaning; and use of lexical items acceptable in CA but most common in MA.

The first category involves the use of MA words, which are particular to MA, and are not part of CA lexicon. Examples of this type of 'error' include:

MA & `error'	CA	
sttef	rattaba	(`to arrange')
shTTeb	kanasa	(`to sweep')

The use of pseudo-classical lexical items concerns consonantal roots which are common to both MA and CA, but in which the pupil has used MA derivational patterns. To the pupil, the word appears to be from CA. Examples of such `errors' include:

MA & `error'	CA	
l-ma:kla	l-aklu	(`food')
Hlawa:t	Halwa/Halawiyya:t	(`sweets')

The use of MA meaning concerns also consonantal roots which are common to both MA and CA, but where they have different or additional meaning in MA. Examples of such an `error' include:

MA & 'error'	meaning in CA	intended meaning in CA
xser	`to lose'	tawaqqafa (9ani l-9amali/'i:ba bi-9aTabin[8]
wejjed	`to find'	'9adda/hayya'a (`to prepare')

The fourth category concerns lexical items whose meaning/s is/are common to both MA and CA, but where a different word is more common in CA to refer to the intended concept. Examples of this category include:

MA	common word in CA	
HeT	waDa9a	(to put)
lqa	wajada	(to find)

Although the particular meanings of both words obtain in MA and CA, the influence of MA can be inferred from the fact that different words are usually used in CA to convey these meanings.

Table 7.1 Summary of some of the linguistic aspects of MA-related `errors'

Spelling	Syntax	Lexicon
*consonant not present in MA *MA pronunciation	*negative particle *plural concord -pre/post-subject -/na/ verb suffix -/u/ina/ adj. suffix	*MA lexical items *pseudo-CA *MA meaning *more common in MA

[8] These are some possibilities to signify "to break down"; in this case, the pupil was referring to a tractor.

7.2.4 Stylistic `errors'

What is referred to here as stylistic concerns those `errors' which do not strictly `violate' CA grammar or lexicon, but which betray an influence of MA idiom or are contextually inappropriate.

The sentence "al-'awla:du lam yaf9alu: 'ayya Daji:jin" ("The children did not do any noise") is well-formed both in terms of the words used and the syntactical structure. The choice of the verb "fa9ala" (to do) is, however, influenced by the usage of the MA "dar" (to do). In CA, though the pupil was careful to select a CA word, "fa9ala" is not used in the sense of "make" as "dar" is. In MA one would "dar": noise, mistake, or a meal. Among the possibilities in CA, one would " 'aHdatha" noise, "'irtakaba" a mistake, " 'a9adda" a meal. The use of the "fa9ala" is not incorrect in terms of CA grammar and lexicon; the significance of its use lies in its reflection of MA usage.

Another type of stylistic `errors' can be exemplified by the sentence "tammat Haflatuna: bi-manDHarin jami:lin" ("our party ended with a beautiful view"); the lexical items used are part of CA lexicon, and the sentence is also grammatically well-formed. However, the sentence `fails' as far as the intended meaning of the pupil and the comprehensibility of the sentence are concerned. It is clear that the pupil intended positively to qualify the party; but he was not certain how to, or adequately equipped to, achieve this. Both sentences can be said to

contain stylistic `errors', since their content or representation are affected.

7.2.5 Restrictions on pupils' contributions

A common feature of compositions written by primary pupils is the generally limited variability in their content and organisation. The change in the linguistic medium makes difficult the tasks which children would find easy to perform in MA (such as conveying their thoughts or relating stories). Lack of essential grasp of CA leads to overwhelming uncertainty and confusion over how to proceed (including the use of the linguistic elements as shown above). The pupil would find himself or herself using a phrase or a combination of adjectives he or she are only vaguely familiar with. When asked to write about the school party, many pupils found themselves beginning their compositions with the phrase "fi yawmin mina l- 'ayya:mi" (which enjoys the same meaning as "there was once" or "once upon time"). As in English, the phrase is used to begin children's tales or stories in general. Its use in this particular instance is inappropriate, since pupils intended to refer to a specific event which was not too distant in time. This, however, reflects the effort made by the pupils to make an `original' impact on their descriptions. They failed in this only in that their repertoire in CA was very limited. Their `original' contribution can be appreciated if it is compared to the ways in which other pupils began their compositions. Most of the other pupils started their compositions by

repeating the relevant part of the teacher's (written) description of the topic; hence, most pupils began as "our school decided to have a party at the end of the academic year".

In the process of explaining the topic and assisting the pupils in organising their ideas, the teacher demonstrated four steps in the fulfillment of the task: the decision of the school to have a party; preparation; the party activities; and departure from friends and teachers. Invariably, the pupils adhered to both the organisation and the words themselves. There were few additions made by the pupils. Most pupils elaborated these elements in the same language, most of which is identical to the words and phrases used by the teacher to illustrate the four steps. In this way, the composition assignment fulfilled the same role as a copying exercise. Pupils are compelled to rely on the teacher's illustrations. On one hand, they know that the `language of the street' is inappropriate; and on the other hand, their knowledge of CA does not allow them to bear their influence on what they write. Their knowledge of CA at this stage (fourth grade) is quantitively and qualitatively inadequate and hence places serious restrictions on their productions.

7.3 Implications of MA-related `errors'

As in the comparative study of educational material, there are limitations as to the interpretation of whether a particular linguistic feature may represent any difficulty

for pupils or not, since CA is a prescriptive language (i.e., self-defined and is not related to native competence). Standards of CA as seen through classical and contemporary publications may be conflicting. In the case of the evidence of the difficulties encountered by MA-speaking pupils when writing in CA on the basis of the described `errors', one is again restricted by the absence of a precise literature on what is `purely' CA, what is common to both CA and MA, and what is `purely' MA. The types of `errors' described above are subject to these limitations.

One of the reasons underlying MA-related `errors' is that the pupils making them are generally unaware that they have made them. Their unawareness may be attributed to: i) the misleading nature of the presence of `common core' grammar and lexicon; ii) their limited competence in CA; and iii) the limitations of prescriptive language instruction.

There is a common view of MA as a `reduced' and `ungrammatical' version of CA. Such a view assumes the linguistic affinity between CA and MA -- regardless of its attitudinal qualification. The significance of such a view, here, is in the implications of its perception of CA and MA as one language. The view assumes similarities (although as `wrongly realised in MA'). It is, however, the case that similarities are assumed to exist where they only appear to exist or do not exist. A projected similarity may then be mistaken for a genuine similarity. `Errors' may be partly, therefore, the result of such a

projection. The type of overgeneralisation which obtains here is not within the one code but from one code to another. Similarities in sounds, syntax, and lexicon lead to the presumption that features that are actually different are also similar. The differences are overlooked in the overall overgeneralisation. There are three possible ways in which MA and CA may be interrelated (or not interrelated). The following figure illustrates these possibilities:

a) MA(f) < ========= > CA(f)

b) MA(f) < ---=======---> CA(f)

c) MA(f) <-----------> CA(f)

Fig 7.1 Hypothetical interrelations between MA & CA features

Line a) includes features which can be said to be identical in CA and MA; line b) includes features which are shared, in one aspect, but which, in other aspects, are exclusive to either MA or CA; and line c) refers to features which belong to either MA or CA. In terms of consonants, type a) may be exemplified by "x" (common to both MA and CA); type b) by "d" in MA and "dh" in CA (both voiced and dental, but a stop in MA, and an interdental fricative in CA); and c) by "g"[9] (which is present only in MA). In terms of syntax, a) MA and CA share similar sentence structure; b) in both CA and MA the verb is inflected for number, but in CA the verb is singular if it precedes a plural subject; and c) in MA the verb is not

[9] Voiced velar stop

subject to the dual rule. With regard to lexicon, a) both CA and MA use the root "xrj" to signify "leave"; b) the root "n9s" refers both in CA and MA to "sleep", but in MA "n9es" means "to sleep", whereas in CA "na9asa" means "to be drowsy"; and c) the word "Tabsi:l" (plate) is exclusive to MA. Most `errors' are of types b) and c).

Another factor in the generation of MA-related `errors' can be accounted for in terms of the children's limited knowledge in CA. In the first stages, the children would have had a minimal exposure to CA, mainly in the form of some radio and television programmes, and educational textbooks. The socio-economic status of the pupil's family has a major role to play in the exposure to these domains (city/country? possession of T.V. set? un/educated parents?). If the family owns a television set, the number of CA programmes is also limited. Many of the cartoons and films are in French; many of the `soaps' are either in French or Egyptian Arabic. The role of the mass-media in familiarising children with CA is a negligible one. This leaves exposure to CA before starting school and in the first school years incongruent with what is required from pupils. The `competence' in CA which the MA-speaking child brings with him or her to school is therefore limited, and presents him or her with an initial handicap (whose effects may remain throughout one's education).

The dependency of CA acquisition on prescriptive grammar, although it does not directly contribute to the generation of `errors', does not serve the presumed

`preventive' role that is its *raison d'etre* `preventive' role. The extensive inclusion of prescriptive grammar in the CA curriculum is intended to provide pupils with the means of `correctly' using CA. The prescribed rules, however, scarcely relate to the writing skills and tasks. Learning these rules depends mostly on rote learning, which means one cannot constantly make recourse to them to produce grammatically correct sentences in CA. They are, therefore, of little practical use to the pupil requiring guidance of how to write. The pupil is likely to have recourse to his or her intuitive knowledge of MA rather than to the rules of CA grammar he or she has noted down or `learnt' from the textbooks.

The evaluation of the seriousness of MA-related `errors' would depend on their `persistence', and their interference with the learning of the various writing skills. Most spelling `errors' affect pupils in primary education, and become less and less recurrent in writing of students in secondary education. In the writing of secondary school students, MA influence is not easily observable. Students are more conscious of MA features and are accordingly more able to avoid them. They, however, lack the degree of fluency which would be parallel to that in a first language. The awareness that one should not use MA features in itself triggers further and more complex types of writing problems. Linguistic `errors' made by pupils in the fourth grade are, then, indicative of the difficulties encountered in primary

education. They represent difficulties in initial learning and early development in CA.

These difficulties affect the learning task in hand (writing, in this case). Learning writing skills becomes secondary to learning CA grammar. The pupil is not encouraged to explore the possibilities of writing. The use of MA features is considered a sign of low achievement, and is discouraged. Pupils' linguistic competence is not taken into account, and by attaching stigma to the use of MA features in writing, the educational system manages to make it difficult for most pupils to be able to write.

In the present linguistic and educational thinking, the importance of CA is paramount and unquestionable, and, by implication, the toleration of MA features would be seen as having a contrary effect. The idea that MA is ungrammatical and unfit for education is deep-rooted. The use of MA in writing is viewed in terms of its perceived effects on the position and status of CA, and not as a natural extension of the children's natural linguistic medium or its potential role in educational attainment.

7.4 Continuity of restrictions on students' contributions

The study of the influence of MA in learners' writings, especially in terms of the evaluation of the extent of its seriousness, needs also to be considered in relation to its `survival' beyond primary education. Do students in secondary education continue making the same `errors' (to a lesser or a larger extent)? And what particular types

of difficulties are still common in students' writings? In this section we will look at the compositions of a group of twenty-four first year students on one topic. The topic was stated as "Talk to a foreigner about your country and its resources, describing its scenery, its geographical characteristics, its monuments, and its authentic customs."

The linguistic `errors' described above are less common in the writings of secondary school students. Although there are still similar spelling and syntactical `errors', these do not constitute the most serious of students' difficulties in writing. The predominant difficulty they are faced with is the ability to write in CA itself. What becomes apparent from the study of the compositions is that most students did not know what to write in CA. There was very little linguistic and cultural input on the part of students.

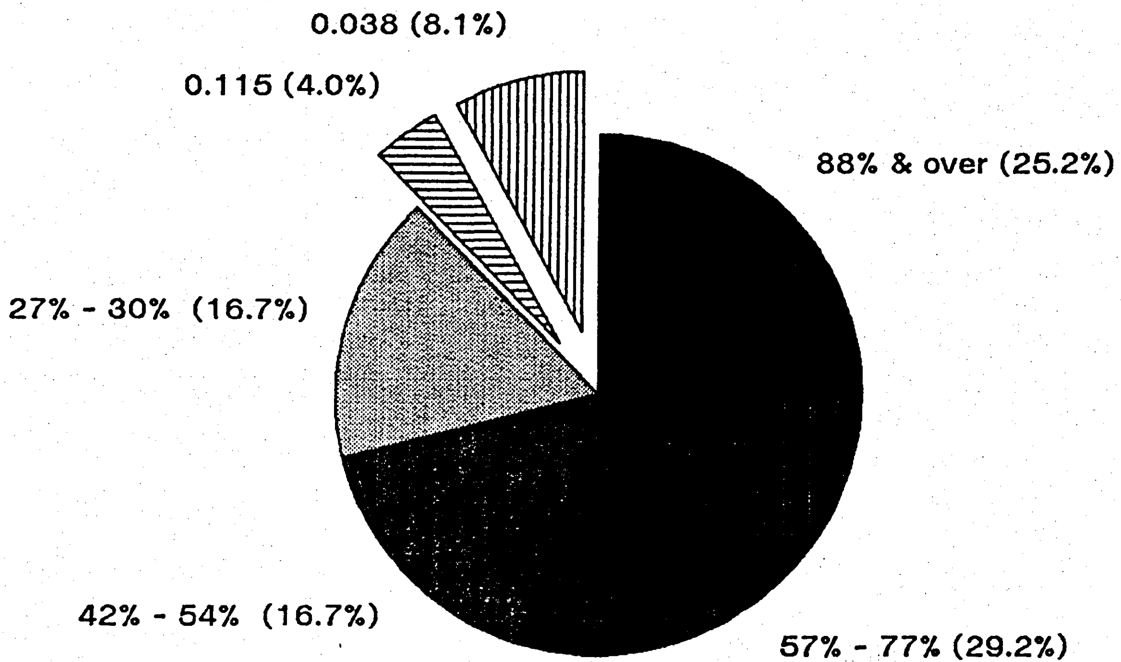
To account for this, we have first to look at the way in which the (composition) topic was introduced and demonstrated. The teacher usually demonstrates the stages the writing of the composition ought to be composed of, and illustrates them. In this particular composition, to illustrate "al-muqaddima" (introduction), the teacher provided a model of how to define "homeland"; in the "9arD" (development), the teacher again provided a model of the description of the natural beauty of the country, historical sights, and customs; and in the "al-xa:tima" (conclusion, usually reserved for one's "feelings" towards

the topic under consideration), the teacher gave examples of one's duty towards one's homeland.

From an inspection of the actual compositions, it seems that students have heavily relied on these models to write their compositions. To test this impression a closer and systematic analysis of the compositions needs to be adopted. Since there are no notes of the teacher' demonstration and illustrations, these have to be inferred from the compositions themselves. There are recurrent sentences and phrases. These units and items also occur in similar parts of the compositions and in the same order. By taking each part of the composition separately, it was possible to reconstruct the exact model composition. It was then possible to verify the exactness of the model by means of the full versions, and the ways in which compositions with missing units complemented each other.

The model composition has then been divided into units, most of which are sentences; there are, however, also phrases and a smaller number of single lexical items. The division of the units is based on the separate ideas they represent, and hence the inclusion of words; of these there are five. The purpose of the exercise is to establish to what extent the students adhered to or departed from the model, and were able to write an \`original' composition. What is meant by \`original' is not a measure of stylistic or literary creativity, but of any linguistic addition made by the student which is not part of the model, regardless of whether it is \`correct'

Fig 7.2 Count of non-original composition units



or `erroneous'. In this case, originality is a measure of departure from the model.

Twenty six units were isolated to account for the frequency of non-original contribution [10]. Each part of a composition is compared to the relevant units, and evaluated in terms of how many of them are duplicated. Fig 7.2 displays the extent of these repetitions.

As the chart shows, a quarter of the students repeated 88% & over (including 100%), and over a quarter repeated between 57% - 77%. 16% of the students repeated between 42% - 54%, and the same percentage of students repeated between over a quarter and 38% of the units. Only 12% of the students repeated less than a quarter of the units. This means that two thirds of the students used over half of the units (i.e., the composition model), and only 12% of the students did not use the teacher's model in any significant degree.

While considering these figures, we have to bear in mind that if a student repeated 57% or 77% of the units, this does not necessarily mean that the rest of the composition is of his or her own initiation. Much of the difference is related to the absence of the units rather than their replacement. Since a particular part of the model composition contains six or more units (apart from the conclusion, which contains three units) and since some of these units are long-winded, students tend to miss one or more units. This means that the level of repetition is

[10] The reconstructed model composition is at the end of this chapter.

even higher than the figures suggest. In the second part of the model, which consists of six units, five students (out of twenty four) repeated the full set; six students repeated five units, and four students repeated four units. The students, however, who, repeated five or four of the six units, did so because they left out one or two units and not because they included new units. In the first part of the composition, eight students repeated everything (eight units), and another six students repeated five or more of these units, representing all of their introductions. In the conclusion, half the students repeated all the of three units which make up this part.

In fact, the students' contributions to the writing of their compositions were lower than what figure 7.2 reveals. If we extract the model composition from each individual composition, the remaining units would be insignificant. These other units concern meeting the tourist and talking to him or her (most students used the "beach" as the setting), and the names of various historical sights. Only three students were able to write an `original' composition. If one regards reliance on already existing material as a normal phenomenon at this stage of education, the level of repetition in this case is too high to be justified in terms of general learning development. The composition exercise would be pointless, if all the student has to do is literally rewrite the teacher's illustrations.

Such a limitation on the contributions the students can bring to their writing is not particular to this group of

students, but may be observed in other groups of 1st year secondary school students. The reasons for such a limitation are wide-ranging, and cannot be solely attributed to the diglossic factor. We are, however, mostly concerned with the role of the latter.

In MA-CA diglossia, both the exclusion of MA from the learning process, and the manner in which CA is taught, make writing a highly difficult task. Students are expected by the beginning of their secondary education to be able to exhibit a reasonable degree of (writing) fluency. What is to be considered here is not so much the originality, relevance of ideas, or their cohesion, but the more fundamental skill of expressing one's ideas in writing, regardless of their argumentative or stylistic qualities. Students may generally find writing an intimidating activity (regardless of the sociolinguistic situation). Within the educational context of MA-CA diglossia, the general difficulty of writing is secondary to that of the CA medium. Students do not use CA in any of their verbal interactions, and do not have a firm understanding of CA. Students are also discouraged from using any idiomatic aspect of MA in writing, since these are treated as `expressive' `errors'. Given a chance, students prefer not to venture into the `intricacies' of CA. That is exactly what happened in the above example.

The overwhelming absence of elements not initiated by the teacher in the students' compositions is a reflection of the abstraction surrounding (educational) writing in CA, as well as the limitations imposed on the development

of writing skills. Various factors which are a consequence of the educational limitations of the implementation of CA underlie the low input on the part of the students.

The five year primary school training in CA does not succeed in replacing the students' natural fluency in MA or extend their communicative skills to cover areas essential for intermediary and secondary education. The extensive prescriptive teaching of CA does little to further students' acquisition of CA itself. At the end of primary education, many students are inadequately equipped to carry on the more advanced linguistic tasks expected from them. Primary education may provide the student with a degree of familiarity in CA, but such a familiarity never amounts to the level of a `working' competence or fluency -- which would help to make the writing task less daunting.

The fact that these students use MA for all of their verbal interactions adds a further element to the complications involved in the process of writing. Students are used to narrating stories or describing their surroundings in MA. When similar activities are called for in composition writing (albeit in a more formal manner), it is the diglossic variable which intervenes, and not so much the nature of the activities themselves or the ideas to support them. The narrative and descriptive elements, in this case, are much lower down the priority list, where reinterpretation in CA of the experiences and ideas involved takes precedence over any other

consideration. The student has to relocate in CA most of the concepts or figurative speech he or she may wish to incorporate in their compositions. There is a constant need for such a diglossic reinterpretation. Such a process is not always successful, as it is relative to one's knowledge in CA, and to how close the selected item is to the intended meaning. The need to rechannel one's ideas from MA to CA is a more urgent consideration than the provision of the ideas themselves. Writing in CA is subject to this reinterpretation, which is in itself subject to `fluency' in CA. The heavy reliance on what was intended to be an illustration is an example of the `easy way out' of this situation.

Limited fluency in CA also means that the student is aware of the likelihood of his or her making `errors', particularly in features which may `sound' MA. The stigma attached to MA items and patterns, especially in those stages of education in which the student is expected to be `competent' in CA, makes such an awareness even more acute, and contributes to the building up of the fear of the commission of such `errors'. The uncertainty and confusion of how to proceed are part of one's `competence' in CA. Apprehension of `errors' has also an inhibiting role; it usually means that the student will take the safest options. In CA, this would excise a large part of the student's repertoire, which would also affect what is required of him or her. The extensive repetition of the composition units is an example of such a safe option; the

student is assured that the teacher will not find them faulty.

The student has also grown to associate the act of writing with CA phraseology. It becomes difficult for students to vary traditional associations and cliches. Since fluency in CA is not related to communicative competence but to formal acquisition of a prescriptive body of rules and usage, the student is not in a strong position to dismantle or make variations on traditional associations. In our example, the students are likely not to have been able to consider alternatives beyond those descriptions (homeland, scenery, etc.) provided by the teacher. The teacher suggested "lush gardens and forests", and "thundering and roaring cascades"; the students unquestioningly held them to be final and almost factual associations. A more intimate knowledge of the language would make the transcendence of such traditional rhetoric possible.

The association of particular parts of the composition with specific ideas places a further restriction on any contribution the student may bring to his or her composition. If the definition of "homeland" does not allow for much difference in point of view, the description of customs and traditions, on the other hand, provides ample opportunities for the adducing of different examples, and for differing from the teacher's illustrations, which are stereotypical, and deal with values rather than cultural events or phenomena. The conclusion is also limited by its concern with `one's

feelings', which in this case are towards one's homeland. The student learns that one concludes by stating that "my duty is...". The representation of the topic in such a unidimensional and factual fashion places serious restrictions on the way students approach their compositions. Somehow, unwittingly, compositions in CA tend to be more dogmatic and moralistic than they need to be (if at all), and quite disproportionately with the topic in question. There is no overt ideological pressure put on the teacher to limit topical exploration to a single point of view. Such a limitation appears to be partly a consequence of the cultural division between the spoken language and the language of writing. The latter becomes synonymous with thinking, and hence tends to be endowed with (extra-medium) intellectual qualities, as part of the idealisation process of the writing medium (which is far removed from the common medium of expression).

These factors complement each other to affect the students' contributions to the particular composition tasks they are given, and to limit them to `ready-made' models. The barring of the students natural and most accessible verbal skills to them from being employed in writing activities, and the filtration of ideas and idioms through a prescriptively and inadequately acquired language trigger a whole array of restrictions on the ability of the student to have his or her linguistic and intellectual skills bear on any given written task. The teaching of writing is limited to the overall educational

view of language and CA in particular as a grammatical skill (in a prescriptive sense). One is expected to have mastered the writing skills by simply being exposed to the grammatical `rules' and lexicon of CA. The prescriptive rules and writing skills are seen as one entity. Although learning to write is not independent of general language learning and writing conventions[11], it also involves the skills of writing as such (namely writing functions, organisation, and presentation). Within Arabic diglossia, writing is a mere extension of prescriptive drills; these miss the goals both of general language teaching and of the teaching of writing. The variability and richness the encouragement of the writing potential of students can bring is undermined by the diglossic screening.

We have looked in the early part of this chapter at the type of linguistic `errors' which can be traced to the influence of MA. These `errors' affect all linguistic levels. Their study is significant in that they are indicative of the difficulties which pupils encounter in their writing attempts in CA. The analysis of first year secondary school students' compositions has also provided an insight into the restrictions on the students' ability to write an `original' composition. We have accounted for this in terms of the prohibition of MA (a fact one learns in the primary years) and the limitations of the ways in which CA is acquired, which deprive the student of a major source of linguistic and cultural feedback. A student

[11] This is essential not only for writing, but also for all other subjects.

does not learn to write through the application of explicitly stated and prescribed rules; the conscious observation of the latter, indeed, can only inhibit him or her from fully applying themselves to the writing task. Traditional Arabic linguistic thinking does not provide for vernacular `errors', which are seen in the same light as any other general errors, namely as ungrammatical and hence unacceptable in writing. Neither the educational approach nor the teachers' attitudes allow for the distinction. The treatment of MA-related `errors' and the attitudes towards them fall under the general non-acknowledgment of the diglossic issues.

Reconstructed model composition (and translation):

a) al-waTanu huwa lladhi
[(1)nasha'na: fawqa 'arDihi] wa
[(2)DHallalatna: sama:'uhu]
[(3)wa darajna: bayna 'ajwa:'ihi] wa
[(4)ghaddatna: xayra:tuhu] wa
[(5)qaDayna: fihi 9umran wa 9ishna: fihi zamanan] wa
[(6)tamatta9na: fihi bi-kulli Huqu:qina:] wa huwa
[(7)maHaTTu 'a:ma:lina: wa dhikraya:tina:] wa
[(8)mahdu 'a:ba:'ina: wa 'ajda:dina:].

[(9)a-shsha:Ti'u]

b) wa Tabi:9atin xalla:batin wa ra:'9atin tatajalla: fi
[(10)gha:ba:tihi wa Hada:'iqihi l-ghanna'i] wa
[(11)'ashja:rihi l-muthmirati] wa
[(12)miya:hi 'anha:rihi wa jada:wilihi wa 9uyu:nihi l-9dhbati wa l-Hulwati] wa
[(13)nasi:mihi l-9aTiri l-muxtaliTi bi-shadha: l-'azzha:ri wa l-wuru:di] wa
[(14)jiba:lihi shsha:mixati wa ssa:miqati wa llati qimamuha: maksuwatun bi-ththalji nna:Si9i] thumma
[(15)shalla:la:tihi l-ha:dirati wa SSa:xibati llati tanHadiru min 'a9la qimami l-jiba:li].

c) [(16)wa yamtazu bi-taqa:li:dihi wa 9a:da:tihi l-'aSi:lati] ka-

[(17)l'amri bi-l-ma9ru:fi wa nnahyi 9ani l-munkari] wa
[(18)ttiba:9i ta9a:li:mi ddi:ni l-'isla:miyyi l-Hani:fi] wa
[(19)shshaja:9ati] wa
[(20)l-buTu:lati] wa
[(21)l-basa:lati] wa
[(22)shshaha:mati] wa
[(23)Husni DDiya:fati wa l-karami].

d) 'inna shu9u:ri naHwa waTani: huwa
[(24)ddifa:9u 9an Hawzatihi] wa
[(25)ddifa:9u 9an Hurriyatihi wa siya:datihi Hatta l-mawti]
[(26)9tira:fan bi-jami:lihi wa faDlihi 9alayya].

a) Our homeland is that
[(1)on whose soil we have been raised], and
[(2)by whose heavens we have been sheltered], and
[(3)within whose confines we have roamed], and
[(4)with whose bounty we have been nurtured], and
[(5)in which we have spent a lifetime and have lived for a time], and
[(6)where we have enjoyed all our rights], and
[(7)which is the repository of our hopes and memories], and
[(8)the cradle of our parents and grand-parents].

[(9)Beach]

b) ...the splendour and beauty of the country as in
[(10)its lush gardens and forests], and
[(11)its fruit-yielding trees],
[(12)the waters of its rivers, streams, and fresh and sweet springs], and
[(13)its perfumed breeze from the scent of flowers and roses], and
[(14)its high mountains, whose summits are covered with glistening snow], and
[(15)its thundering and roaring cascades, which rush down from the summits of the mountains].

c) ...[(16)distinguished by its authentic traditions and customs] such as
[(17)the ordaining of right and prohibition of wrong], and
[(18)the practice of the teachings of the true Islamic religion], and
[(19)bravery],
[(20)heroism],
[(21)courage], and
[(22)gallantry], and
[(23)the excellence of hospitality and generosity].

d) My feelings towards my country are
[(24)the defence of its territories],
[(25)the defence of its freedom and sovereignty to death],
[(26)in gratitude for its grace and goodwill towards me].

Summary and Conclusions

From a general viewpoint, Arabic vernaculars are in a similar position to nonstandard dialects. Both are subject to a number of misconceptions and disadvantages. The advance of linguistic theory, and particularly the postulation that no language is inherently better than another one, has had little effect on the perception of language in education (and other domains). Such theoretical statements, on their own, are not usually enough prerequisites for change. One of the major obstacles to the achievement of linguistic change is the very social complexity of language. Dialects are socio-economically, regionally, ethnically, educationally (etc.) stratified; the complexity of these social relations is reflected in the structure, perception and function of dialects. In sociolinguistic literature, parallels have been drawn between social perception and language perception. Socially-biased views of language have also been found to extend to the learning situation. These views can be found at all levels of the educational

hierarchy, encompassing ministerial policy makers, linguistic agencies, individual educationalists, and teachers. The association of a particular linguistic variety with education runs the risk of creating linguistic absolutes (e.g. the `best', `real', `correct' language). Differences in structure become deviations from the norm.

In this way, Arabic vernaculars (or nonstandard dialects) are `deviant', `ungrammatical', and are examples of `lazy' and `uncultivated' speech. In sum, they are unfavourably compared to their standard counterpart. The linguist's assertion that these `ungrammatical' dialects are, in fact, grammatical, may well be seen as just another example of a `liberal' move on the part of academics, an instance of condescension towards the underprivileged. Standard dialects are the only grammatical and correct languages, whatever the linguist says. During my collection of data, and in the course of talking to administrators, students, and teachers, some people tried hard to conceal their wonderment and puzzlement as to what is the purpose of a study of MA. The study of nonstandard dialects, at least in the context of Arabic diglossia, is of an `offbeat' nature.

Such a perception of nonstandard languages gets in the way of any contemplated changes to the linguistic aspects of an educational system. The situation of a particular nonstandard can be perpetuated by such an enclosed circle; i.e. a nonstandard is negatively evaluated, which impedes its educational implementation, which in its turn

reinforces its negative evaluation; if the nonstandard is not `standardised' and implemented in education, it will not be possible to extend it to vital economic areas, and if the nonstandard is not used in these situations, its educational implementation will be seen as pointless, and hence unsuccessful.

In these terms, Arabic vernaculars have similar attitudinal status to other nonstandards, and consequently engender similar issues. Arabic linguistics have always underplayed the issue of Arabic diglossia. Theses relating to the relation between CA and Arabic vernaculars are essentially the same as those postulated by the early Arab grammarians in the seventh and eighth century, namely the `Quraish' hypothesis of the origins of CA, and the decadence of this variety in the hands of non-Arabs during the expansion of Islam, which yielded the present `dialects'. If, however, this hypothesis is valid, this makes the Arabic vernaculars much older than some of the established European languages (the legitimacy of which the proponents of this hypothesis would not question).

Views about the origins of Arabic vernaculars constitute a major component of their speakers' attitudes. The predominant view is that they are `uneducated' versions of CA. By the same token, CA used to be the only Arabic, but through neglect it has `degenerated' into the present forms. This view is deeply entrenched in the popular (as well as the traditional scholarly) perception of Arabic vernaculars. If such a question is open to debate, the other components of Arabic vernacular-

speakers' attitudes can be more easily addressed. If one can argue that an Arabic vernacular is not a degenerate form of CA, one can further argue that this vernacular is not ungrammatical. One can also argue against further aspects of linguistic `shortcomings' the vernacular is presumed to have (such as the inability to express abstract concepts, or to allow for literary elaboration). Attitudes to Arabic vernaculars, or more precisely, their perceived negative traits, are closely related; the undermining of any of these elements is bound to affect the other elements.

Such an assumption has underlain part of the present study, namely that of attitudes to MA and CA. This has been approached from the point of view of their particular relation to educational issues. University students and primary school teachers' responses to the two questionnaires addressed to them were used as a means to assess and test these attitudes. As a consequence, the results of these questionnaires are subject to the limitations of this particular method. The findings, however, contain many indications of the general tendencies of these attitudes. There was an overall consistency between students' and teachers' answers to all common core questions. The situation of the "two forms of Arabic" was considered problematic. Both students and teachers pointed to several aspects which they thought were examples of the (diglossic) problem. Most of these examples relate to the realisations of the functional

dichotomy between MA and CA, and instances of interference of MA in the `higher' functional spectrum.

The results also indicated the prevalence of the `corrupt' view of MA. The use of MA in literature was also unfavourably evaluated. Students were more reluctant to admit to the influence of MA in their writings, but were more willing to acknowledge the existence of aspects which would be more difficult to express in CA than MA. Teachers, on the other hand, said that they occasionally explain in MA. They, however, unanimously consider the use of MA features by children in an educational context as `wrong', and all agree on a `corrective' approach. Both students and teachers were generally aware of the existence of an `intermediate Arabic'; both saw it as appropriate for media events. Neither, however, were prepared to see it as a likely solution to the (diglossic) problem. The latter response is underlined by another attitudinal trait to the Arabic vernaculars, namely that the desirable state in the long run is one where everybody speaks CA at home, with friends, and in similar situations (which in its turn is related to the `original language' view of CA). A conclusion to the sum of these attitudes is that students and teachers are relatively aware of the existence of a diglossic problem; their perception of the problem, however, is characterised by the traditional account of the relationship between CA and Arabic vernaculars. The bias represented in this account is in direct opposition to modern linguistic theories (including sociolinguistics).

Two chapters dealt with other types of data. These two chapters were to address the question of whether the sole educational implementation of CA and the exclusion of MA (as a consequence of the diglossic hierarchy) have adverse effects on the learning situation. The first of these chapters dealt with educational material, particularly readers, grammar and exercise textbooks, and elementary science textbooks. It was argued that the concern in these types of material was excessively concerned with the H language and tradition at the expence of literacy skills and subject matter. Readers and associated exercise textbooks were designed within a prescriptive framework; they had as their main objective the teaching of prescriptive (CA) grammar; they contained too many prescriptive grammatical exercises. They also relied mostly on literary models (because of the particular communicative status of CA). These types of material bore little relation to the language of the target children. As a consequence, language education is interchangeable with second language learning. This affects both the pace and efficiency of teaching literacy and language. A distinction was made between beneficial language extension and language substitution, indicating that not everything that is unfamiliar is educationally `harmful'. This was illustrated on the basis of the lexicon of some (national) readers. Among the types of non-functional lexicon (which need not be replaced by CA lexicon) were: replacement of common words, paraphrasing of MA, use of obsolete CA vocabulary, and unnatural dialogue. It was further argued

that the same concern with prescriptive standards and language replacement extends to content learning, where elementary science texts, for example, place more priority on naming a phenomenon in CA than its actual identification.

Another type of data which was used is children's compositions. A distinction was made between L-related `errors' and general errors; the first type referring to instances of MA interference. It was possible to establish a number of `error' types, which may be attributed to MA across all linguistic levels. Spelling `errors' affected consonants which do not form part of MA inventory, or reflected MA pronunciation. Syntactical `errors' were not so much a result of the extension of MA grammatical rules as of the overall existence of different grammars (i.e. children misapply a CA grammatical rule because they have a different rule (for the feature in question). Lexical `errors' were of different sub-types, namely the direct use of a MA lexical item, the use of pseudo-classical item, the use of MA meaning, and the use of lexical items which belong to both MA and CA, but which are more common in MA. There were also stylistic `errors', which reflected MA idiomatic speech. These `errors' were found to be less common in (first year) secondary school students' compositions. The latter, however, yielded another type of writing `problems', which affected the overall contribution of the student to the composition exercise. It was demonstrated that the majority of compositions relied heavily on the model

provided by the teacher. The choices available to the students were described earlier as language-bound; i.e. the students are limited by what they can say in CA. The study of these `errors' and limitations represents a tentative approach to the Arabic diglossic problems as realised in school writings. These problems are traditionally explained in terms of inadequate standards in CA (on the part of students and teachers) rather than in terms of the particular sociolinguistic processes involved.

The diglossic problem is not limited to the educational domain, but affects most of the national network domains. In a country like Morocco, where the scale of illiteracy is still critical, the majority of the would-be participants in this network are doubly impeded, namely by the illiteracy and the diglossic factors. The access of the majority of L speakers to information (predominantly in H or a foreign language) is very limited. Transfer of information from H to L is not only a matter of (spoken/written) medium or (formal/informal) register, which would affect illiterate recipients, but also a matter of linguistic interpretation (where two linguistic systems are involved with their own phonemes, syntax, and lexicon). Literacy, on the other hand, places undue emphasis on `language' education. Such an approach, was described as displaying: disproportion between time spent on language teaching and other subjects teaching, displacement of emphasis, prescriptive criteria and associated pedagogical methods. Once educated, an L

speaker can only write in H, and because of the stigma attached to L features, these are avoided as far as possible. This affects the extent to which a writer can write what he or she intends to write (rather than what he or she can manage to write in H). This dichotomy between reality and written language has been cultivated and supported through the absolute functional polarity between CA and Arabic vernaculars. This partly explains the lack of any significant `avant-garde' literature in Arabic vernaculars, which in its turn would have undermined the functional dichotomy, and established a linguistic antecedent (as part of the cycle of linguistic change).

A line of sociolinguistic research on Arabic vernaculars (and MA in particular) which can be pursued is in the direction of the nature and extent of difficulties encountered by children who speak one of them, while acquiring literacy skills, and learning other subjects through the medium of CA. A particular area which needs to be systematically investigated is classroom interaction, namely how much CA is used in these situations by teachers and pupils, how much MA, when each of them is used, in what subject, and the quality of the interactions.

A sociolinguistic approach is essential to a realistic description and interpretation of the situation of Arabic vernaculars and their relation to CA. One of the aims of the present thesis has been to demonstrate how the current and prevalent traditional account and approach to this situation is inadequate. There is a need for an appraisal

of the Arabic vernacular-speakers' (communicative) competence in CA, how this compares with an ideal (communicative) competence, and with what one can educationally achieve through the use of CA. The present research provides a tentative model in this direction, which needs to be further substantiated and elaborated.

Appendix

Questionnaire for students and teachers (translated from CA)

These are some questions related to the linguistic issues of our country. Your cooperation and help are very much needed. Name and address are not required to avoid any em barrassment. This will also allow you to present your views and comments candidly, which will assist in the identification of the different aspects of the issues raised. The results will be used for a university project. Copies of the findings will be available if required.

Thank you.

Questionnaire for students

Date and place of birth:
Sex:
Type and year of study:
Do you speak Moroccan Arabic or Berber at home?
Which of your parents speak Berber:
 Father
 Mother
 Neither

---

1. Among the characteristics of the linguistic situation in Morocco is the existence of two forms of Arabic, namely Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic. Do you consider this a problem in itself?
 Yes
 No

2. If you consider it a problem, can you give some examples?

3. Do you think the linguistic differences between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic affect education?
 Yes
 No

4. How do you view the relationship between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic?

 1.Moroccan Arabic is a corrupted form of CA
 2.Moroccan Arabic is a separate linguistic form, which has its own rules

3.If you do not agree with either suggestion, what type of relationship do you think exists between them

5. What language do you think is appropriate in the following situations? (Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Intermediate Arabic)

1. A discussion among a group of educated people
2. Radio interview or programme
3. Discussion of everyday topic

6. How do you view your opportunities to use classical Arabic?

1. Many
2. A few
3. Rare
4. None

7. How do you view your proficiency in Classical Arabic?

1. Good
2. Quite good
3. Average
4. Mediocre
5. Don't know

8. Do you think it is possible to discuss serious topics in Moroccan Arabic?

9. What type of difficulties do you encounter while writing or speaking in CA? (choose as many as required)

1. Case endings
2. Finding the right words
3. The construction of ideas
4. Spelling
5. Uncertainty about the meaning
6. Any other type not mentioned

10. Which language do you think is appropriate in the following situations? (Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic)

1. Radio programmes
2. Newspapers
3. Literary works
4. Plays
5. Parliamentary debate and political speeches

11. When you write in Classical Arabic, do you find any influence of Moroccan Arabic in what you write?

12. Do you think there are certain things which can be expressed in Moroccan Arabic, but which would be difficult to express in Classical Arabic?

13. Do you think the use of Moroccan Arabic in literary works affect them in a positive or a negative manner?

14. Do you think that an intermediate Arabic, which combines both Classical and Moroccan Arabic is a possible solution to the present linguistic gap between them?

15. Are there any further aspects that you would like to comment on?

Thank you

<u>Questionnaire for teachers</u>
(foreword)

Date and place of birth:
Sex:
Type of diploma or degree:
Do you work in a primary or secondary school?
How long have you been teaching?
Type of subject/s you teach?

---

1. see students
2. -- --
3. -- --
4. Do you think Moroccan Arabic can play a role in teaching?

5. Do you use Moroccan Arabic when explaining lessons?

   1. Always
   2. Often
   3. Rarely
   4. Never

6. Do you prefer to explain in Moroccan Arabic or Classical Arabic?

7. What type of difficulties students encounter when writing or speaking in CA? see students:9

8. What kind of steps do you take when you find a student using words from Moroccan Arabic in his writings or answers?

9. Do you think the use of words from Moroccan Arabic represents a linguistic defect which ought to be avoided or a correct linguistic usage which ought to be encouraged?

10. see students:4
11. see students:5
12. see students:6
13. see students:8
14. see students:10
15. see students:12
16. see students:13
17. see students:14
18. see students:15

Bibliography

Abbassi, A. (1977). *A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Multilingualism in Morocco*. PH.D. University of Texas at Austin.

Abd-El-Jawad, H. R. (1986). "The emergence of an urban dialect in the Jordanian urban centers." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 61:53-63

Abd-El-Jawad, H. R. (1987). "Cross-dialectal variation in Arabic: competing prestigious forms." *Language in Society*, 16:359-367

Abou-Seida, A. (1971). *Diglossia in Egyptian Arabic: Prolegomena to a Pan-Arabic Sociolinguistic Study*. Ph.D. The University of Texas at Austin.

Aboud, F. and Meade, R. D. (1974). *Cultural Factors in Learning*. Bellingham: Western Washington State College Press.

Abu-Absi, S. (1990). "A characterization of the language of iftaH ya simsim: Sociolinguistic and educational implications for Arabic." *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 14:33-46

Aftat, M. (1982). *The Acquisition of Negation and Wh-Questions in a Moroccan Arabic Speaking Four-Year-Old Child*. Ph.D. The University of Texas at Austin.

Al-Ani, S. H. (ed.) (1978). *Readings in Arabic Linguistics*. Bloomington: Indiana Linguistics Club.

Alatis, J. E. (ed.) (1970a). *Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects*. (1969 Round Table) Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Alatis, J. E. (ed.) (1970b). *Bilingualism and Language Contact*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Alatis, J. E. (ed.) (1978). *International Dimensions of Bilingual Education*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Al-Toma, S. J. (1957). *The Teaching of Classical Arabic to Speakers of the Colloquial in Iraq. A Study of the*

Problem of Linguistic Duality and its Impact on Language Education. Ph.D. Harvard University, Graduate School of Education.

Al-Toma, S. J. (1961). "The Arabic writing system and proposals for its reform." *The Middle East Journal*, 15:403-415

Al-Toma, S. J. (1969). *The Problem of Diglossia in Arabic. A Comparative Study of Classical and Iraqi Arabic*. Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs.

Andersson, T. (1977). "Philosophical perspectives on bilingual education." In Spolsky and Cooper (eds.)

Auer, P. and di Luzio, A. (eds.) (1988). *Variation and Convergence*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Badawi, A. (1973). *mustawaya:t l9arabiyya l-mu9:aSira fi miSr*. Cairo: Da:r l-ma9a:ri:f

Badry, F. (1983). *Acquisition of Lexical Derivational Rules in Moroccan Arabic: Implications for the Development of Standard Arabic as a Second Language through Literacy*. Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley.

Bailey, C. N. (1973). *Variation and Linguistic Theory*. Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Bartsch, R. (1987). *Norms of Language. Theoretical and Practical Aspects*. London: Longman

Baratz, J. and Shuy, R. (eds.) (1969). *Teaching Black Children to Read*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Baratz, J. C. (1970). "Teaching reading in an urban Negro school system." In Williams,F. (ed.)(1970b)

Baratz, J. C. (1972). "Educational considerations for teaching standard English to Negro children." In Spolsky, B. (ed.)

Barbour, S. (1987). "Dialects and the teaching of a standard language: some West German Work." *Language in Society*, 16:227-244

Benabdi, L. C. (1986). "Lexical expansion in the Maghrib: the `functional linguistic corpus'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 61:65-78

Bentahila, A. (1983). *Language Attitudes Among Arabic-French Bilinguals in Morocco*. Exeter: Multilingual Matters.

Berdan, R. (1981). "Black English and dialect-fair instruction." In Mercer, N. (ed.)

Bereiter, C. and Engelmann, S. (1966). *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool.* Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Bereiter,, C. (1968). "A nonpsychological approach to early compensatory education." In Deutsch, Katz, and Jensen (eds.)

Bernstein, B. (1959). "A public language: some sociological implications of a linguistic form." *The British Journal of Sociology*, 10:311-326

Bernstein, B. (1960). "Language and social class." (Research note) *The British Journal of Sociology*, 11: 271-276

Bernstein, B. (1967). "Elaborated and restricted codes: an outline." in Lieberson, S. (ed.)

Bernstein, B. (1971). *Class, Codes and Control.* V.1. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Bernstein, B. (1972). "A sociolinguistic approach to socialization; with some reference to educability." In Gumperz and Hymes (eds.)

Bickerton, D. (1973). "The structure of polylectal grammars". In Shuy, R. W. (ed.) (1973).

Blanc, H. (1960). "Style variations in spoken Arabic: a sample of interdialectal educated conversation". In *Contributions to Arabic linguistics*, C. Ferguson (ed.) 80-156. Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Blanco, G. M. (1978). "The implementation of bilingual/ bicultural education programs in the United States." In Spolsky and Cooper (eds.)

Blank, M. (1970). "Some philosophical influences underlying preschool intervention for disadvantaged children." In Williams, F. (ed.)(1970b)

Bouchard-Ryan, E. (1979). "Why do low-prestige language varieties persist? In Giles & St Clair (eds.)

Bouchard-Ryan, E. and Giles, H. (eds.) (1982). *Attitudes Towards Language Variation.* London: Edward Arnold.

Boukous, A. (1977). *Langue et Culture Populaire au Maroc: Essai de Sociolinguistique*. Casablanca: Les Imprimeries Dar El Kitab.

Blau, J. (1977). "The beginnings of the Arabic diglossia. A study of the origins of Neoarabic." *Afroasiatic Linguistics*, 4:2-25.

Bright, W. (ed.) (1966). Sociolinguistics. The Hague: Mouton.

Britto, F. (1985). *Diglossia: A Study of the Theory and Application to Tamil*. Ph.D. Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Brophy, J. E. and Good, T. L. (1970). "Teachers' communication of differential expectations for children's classroom performance." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 61:365-374

Brown, K. (1979). "Morocco, where Arabisation is the ideal and bilingualism the necessity." *Middle East Education*, September:28-29.

Browning, R. (1982). "Greek diglossia yesterday and today." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* 35:49-68

Bull, W. E. (1964). "The use of vernacular languages in education." In Hymes, D. (ed.)

Cadora, F. (1965). "The teaching of spoken and written Arabic." *Language Learning*, 15:133-136.

Campbell, D. R. (1986). "Developing mathematical literacy in a bilingual classroom." In Cook-Gumperz, J.(ed.). *The Social Construction of Literacy*. Cambridge University Press.

Cassidy, F. G. (1970). "Teaching standard English to speakers of creole in Jamaica, West Indies." In Alatis, J. E. (ed.) (1970a)

Cadora, F. (1979). *An analytical study of interdialectal lexical compatibility in Arabic*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Cazden, C. B. (1972). *Child Language and Education*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Cazden, C. B., John, Vera, P. and Hymes, D. (eds.).(1972) *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Czerniewska, P. (1981). "Teaching children language." In Mercer, N. (ed.)

Cheshire, J. (1982). "Dialect features and linguistic conflict in schools". *Educational Review*, 34:53-67.

Cheshire, J. (1984). "Indigenous nonstandard English varieties and education". In Trudgill (ed.), *Language in the British Isles*. Cambridge University Press.

Cheyne, W. M. (1970). "Stereotyped reactions to speakers with Scottish and English regional accents." *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 9:77-79

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.* The M.I.T. Press.

Choy, S. J. and Dodd, D. H. (1976). "Standard-English-speaking and nonstandard Hawaiian-English-speaking children: Comprehension of both dialects and teacher' evaluations." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 68:184-193

Cohen, D. (1962). "Koine, langues communes et dialectes Arabes." *Arabica*, 9:119-144

Corder, S.P (1967). "The significance of learners' errors" *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 5:161-170

Corder, S.P. (1971). "Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis". *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 2:147-160.

Corriente, F. (1975). "Marginalia on Arabic diglossia and evidence thereof in the Kitab Al-Agani." *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 20:38-61

Corriente, F. (1976). "From Old Arabic to Classical Arabic through the pre-Islamic koine: some notes on the native grammarians' sources, attitudes and goals." *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 21:62-98

Crystal, D. (ed.) (1982). *Linguistic Controversies*. London: Edward Arnold Ltd.

Cummins, J. (1984). "Linguistic minorities and multicultural policy in Canada." In Edwards, J.(ed.)

Dakin, J., Tiffen, B. and Widdowson, H.G. (1968). *Language in Education. The Problem in Commonwealth Africa and the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent*. London: Oxford University Press.

Daltas, P. (1980). "The concept of diglossia from a variationist point of view with reference to Greek." *Archivum Linguisticum*, 11:65-88

Das Gupta, J. (1973). "Language planning and public policy: Analytical outline of the policy process related to language planning in India." In Shuy (ed.)

Day, R. R. (1982). "Children's attitudes toward language." In Bouchard & Giles (eds.)

Decamp, D. (1970). "Is a sociolinguistic theory possible." In Alatis, J.E. (ed.) (1970a)

Decamp, D. (1971). "Towards a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum." In Hymes, D.(ed.)(c).

De Silva, M. W. S. (1982). "Some consequences of diglossia." In Haas, W. (ed.)

Department of Education and Science (The Bullock Report). (1975). *A Language for Life*. London

Deutsch, M. and Brown,R. (1964). "Social influences in negro-white intelligence differences." *The Journal of Social Issues*, 20(2):24-35

Deutsch, M., and Katz, I. and Jensen, A. (eds.) (1968). *Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Dillard, J. L. (1978). "Bidialectal education: Black English and standard English in the United States." In Spolsky and Cooper (eds.)

Dittmar, N. (1976). *Sociolinguistics: a Critical Survey of Theory and Application*. London: Edward Arnold

Dittmar, N. and Schlobinski, P. (eds.) (1988). *The Sociolinguistics of Urban Vernaculars*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter

Dulay, H. and Burt, M. (1978). "From research to method in bilingual education." In Alatis (ed.)

Dusek, J. B. and O'Connel, E. J. (1973). "Teacher expectancy effects on the achievement test performance of elementary school children." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 65:371-377

Edwards, A. D. (1976). *Language in Culture and Class. The Sociology of Language and Education*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Edwards, J. (ed.) (1984). *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism*. London: Academic Press.

Edwards, J. (1985). *Language, Society, and Identity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Edwards, J. and Jacobsen, M. (1987). "Standard and regional standard speech: distinctions and similarities. *Language in Society*, 16: 369-380

Edwards, V. (1984). "Language policy in multicultural Britain." In Edwards, J. (ed.)

Edwards, V. (1986). *Language in A Black Community*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Eid, M. (1982). "The non-randomness of diglossic variation in Arabic." *Glossa*, 16:54-84.

El-Dash, L. and Tucker, R. G. (1975). "Subjective reactions to various speech styles in Egypt". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 6:33-54

Elbiad, M. (1985). *A Sociolinguistic Study of the Arabization Process and its Conditioning Factors in Morocco*. Ph.D. State University of New York at Buffalo.

Elgibali, A. (1985). *Towards a Sociolinguistic Analysis of Language Variation in Arabic: Cairene and Kuwaiti Dialects*. Ph.D. University of Pittsburgh.

El-Hassan, S. A. (1977). "Educated Spoken Arabic in Egypt: a critical review of diglossia and related concepts." *Archivum Linguisticum*, 8:112-132

El-Hassan, S. A. (1978). "Variation in the demonstrative system in Educated Spoken Arabic." *Archivum Linguisticum*, 9:32-57

El-Mouloudi, A. B. (1986). *Arabic Language Planning: The case of Lexical Modernisation*. PH.D. Georgetown university.

Engelmann, S. (1970a). "The effectiveness of direct instruction on IQ performance and achievement in reading and arithmetic." In Hellmuth, J (ed.). *Disadvantaged Child*. New York: Brunner/Mazel, Inc.

Engelmann, S. (1970b). "How to construct effective language programs for the poverty child." In Williams, F. (ed.)(1970b)

Engle, P. L. (1975). "Language medium in early school years for minority language groups." *Review of Educational Research*, 45: 283-325.

Ennaji, M. (1988). "Language planning in Morocco and changes in Arabic." *International Journal Of the Sociology of Language*, 74:9-39

Ervin-Tripp, S. (1971a). "Social backgrounds and verbal skills." In Huxley, R. and Ingram, E. (eds.)

Ervin-Tripp, S. (1971b). "Sociolinguistics" In Fishman, J. (ed.)

Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Fasold, R. (1990). The Sociolinguistics of Language. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

Fassi Fehri, A. (1985). *al-lisa:niya:t wa l-lugha l-9arabiyya*. (Two Volumes). CasablancaDa:r Toubqal.

Fellman, J. (1973). "Sociolinguistic problems in the Middle Eastern Arab World." *Anthropological Linguistics*, 15:24-32.

Ferguson, C. A. (1959a). "Diglossia". *Word*, 15:325-340.

Ferguson, C. (1959b). "The Arabic koine." *Language*, 35:616-630

Ferguson, C. (1962). "The language factor in national development." *Anthropological Linguistics*, 4:23-27.

Ferguson, C. (1966). "National sociolinguistic profile formulas." In Bright, W. (ed.)

Ferguson, C. (1968a). "Problems of teaching languages with diglossia." In O'Brien, R. J.

Ferguson, C. (1968b). "Myths about Arabic." In Fishman, J. (ed.)

Ferguson, C. and Dil, A. (1979). "Universals of language planning in national development." In McCormack and Wurm (eds.)

Fishman, J. (1967). "Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism." *Journal of Social Issues*, 23:29-38

Fishman, J. A. (1968). *Readings in the Sociology of Language, The Hague: Mouton.*

Fishman, J. A. (1971). *Advances in the Sociology of Language*. V.I. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, J. (ed.) (1972a). *Advances in the Sociology of Language*. V.II. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, J. (1972b). *Language in Sociocultural Change (Essays)*. California: Stanford University Press.

Fishman, J. and Lueders-Salmon, E. (1972). "What has the sociology of language to say to the teacher? On teaching the standard variety to speakers of dialectal or sociolectal varieties." In Cazden and John (eds.)

Fishman, J. (1973). *Language and Nationalism. Two Integrative Essays*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House

Fishman, J. (1976). *Bilingual Education. An International Sociological Perspective*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Fishman, J. (ed.) (1978). *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism*. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, et al (eds.) (1986). *The Fergusonian Impact.* V.I & II. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Francescato, G. (1986). "Bilingualism and diglossia in their mutual relationships." In Fishman et al (eds.) V.II

Frender, R. and Lambert, W. E. (1973). "Speech style and scholastic success: The tentative relationships and possible implications for lower social class children." In Shuy, R. W. (ed.)

Gallagher, C. F. (1968). "North African problems and prospects: language and identity." In Fishman et al (eds.). *Language Problems of Developing Nations.* New York: John Wiley

Giles, H. (1970). "Evaluative reactions to accents". *Educational Review,* 22:211-227

Giles, H. (1971a). "Ethnocentrism and the evaluation of accented speech". *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology,* 10:187-188

Giles, H. (1971b). "Teachers' attitudes towards accent usage and change." *Educational Review,* 24:11-25

Giles, H. (1972). "The effect of stimulus mildness-broadness in the evaluation of accents". *Language and Speech,* 15:262-269

Giles, H. and Powesland, P. F. (1975). *Speech Style and Social Evaluation.* London: Academic Press.

Giles, H. and Bourhis, R. Y. (1976). "Methodological issues in dialect perception: some social psychological perspectives." *Anthropological Linguistics,* 18: 294-304.

Giles, H. and St Clair, R. N. (eds.)(1979). *Language and Social Psychology.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Giles, H. and Smith, P. M. (1979). "Accommodation theory: optimal levels of convergence." In Giles & St Clair (eds.)

Giles, H., Bourhis, R. and Davies, A. (1979). "Prestige speech styles: The Imposed Norm and Inherent Value hypotheses". In McCormack, W. C. and Wurm, S. A. (eds.)

Goodman, K. S. (1982). *Language and Literacy: The Selected Writings of Kenneth, S. Goodman.* V.2. Gollasch, F. V.(ed.). Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Granger, R. C., Mathews, M., Quay, L. C. and Verner, R. (1977). "Teacher Judgments of the communication effectiveness of children using different speech

patterns." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 69:793-796

Gravel, L. (1979). *A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Multilingualism in Morocco*. Ed.D. Teachers College: Columbia University

Grimshaw, A.D. (1971). "Sociolinguistics" In Fishman, J. (ed.)

Gumperz, J. and Hymes, D. (1972). *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Haas, W. (ed.) (1982). *Standard Languages: Spoken and Written*. Manchester University Press.

Hamad, A. H. (1986). *Diglossia in the Phonology of Second Language*. Ph.D. The University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Hammoud, M. S. (1982). *Arabicization in Morocco: A case Study in Language Planning and Language policy attitudes*. Ph.D. The University of Texas at Austin.

Hannaoui, A. (1987). *Diglossia, Medial Arabic, and Language Policy in Morocco*. D.A. State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Hansen, Sven-Erik. (1987). "Mother-tongue teaching and identity: the case of Finland-Swedes". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 8:75-82

Haugen, E. (1966a). *Language Conflict and Language Planning. The Case Of Modern Norwegian*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Haugen, E. (1966b). "Linguistics and language planning." In Bright, W. (ed.)

Haugen, E. (1987) *Blessings of Babel. Bilingualism and Planning*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Heath, S. B. (1976). "A national language academy? Debate in the new nation." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 11:9-40.

Holes, C. (1986). "The social motivation for phonological convergence in three Arabic dialects." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 61:33-51

Hornberger, N. H. (1987). "Bilingual education success, but policy failure." *Language in Society*, 16:205-226

Hussein, R. F. (1980). *The Case of Triglossia In Arabic*. Ph.D. State University of New York at Buffalo.

Huxley, R. and Ingram, E.V. (eds.) (1971). *Language Acquisition: Models and Methods*. London: Academic Press.

Hymes, D. (ed.) (1964). *Language in Culture and Society*. New York: Harper and Row.

Hymes, D. (1971a). "Sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking." In Ardener, E. (ed.), *Social Anthropology and Language*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Hymes, D. (1971b). "Competence and performance in linguistic theory." In Huxley, R. and Ingram, E. (eds.).

Hymes, D. (ed.) (1971c). *Pidginization and creolization of Languages*. Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, D. (1973). "The scope of sociolinguistics". In Shuy (ed.)

Hymes, D. (1977). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics An Ethnographic Approach*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Jensen, A. (1969). "How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement? *Harvard Educational Review*, 39:1-123

Jensen, A. (1973). *Educability and Group Differences*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Joseph, J. E. (1987). *Eloquence and Power. The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages*. London: Frances Pinter

Kaye, A. S. (1970). "Modern Standard Arabic and the colloquials." *Lingua*, 24:374-391

Kegan, J. M. (1986). *The Phonology and Morphology of Moroccan Arabic*. Ph.D. City University of New York.

Kjolseth, R. (1972). "Bilingual education programs in the United States: for assimilation or pluralism?" In spolsky, B. (ed.)

Killean, C. (1970). "Classical Arabic." In Sebeok, T. (ed.). *Current Trends in Linguistics* (V.6). The Hague: Mouton.

Klima, E. S. (1964). "Relatedness between grammatical systems." *Language*, 40:1-20.

Kochman, T. (1972). "Black American speech events and a language program for the classroom." In Cazden, John, Hymes (eds.)

Krysin, L. P. (1979). "Command of various language subsystems as a diglossia phenomenon." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 21:141-151

Labov, W. (1966). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. (1970). "The logic of nonstandard English." In Alatis, J. E (ed.) (1970a)

Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the Inner City Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Labov, W. (1973). "Where do grammars stop?" In Shuy, R. W. (ed.).

Lambert, W. E, Hodgson, R. C., Gardner, R. C. and Fillenbaum, S. (1960). "Evaluational reactions to spoken languages". *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 60:44-51

Lambert, W. E., Just, M. and Segalowitz, N. (1970). "Some cognitive consequences of following the curricula of the early school grades in a foreign language." In Alatis, J. E. (ed.) (1970b).

Lambert, W. E. (1974). "Culture and language as factors in learning and education." In Aboud, F & Meade, R. D. (eds.)

Lewis, G. (1978). "The morality of bilingual education." In Alatis, J. (ed.)

Lieberson, S. (ed.) (1967). *Explorations in Sociolinguistics*. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Litteral, R. (1979). "The use of Pidgin in education." In Pride, J. (ed.)

Mackey, W. F. (1978). "The importation of bilingual education models." In Alatis, J. E (ed.)

Macnamara, J. (1967). "The effects of instruction in a weaker language." *Journal of Social Issues*, 23:121-135

Mahmoud, Y. (1986). "Arabic after diglossia." In Fishman et all (eds.), V.I.

Massialas, Byron and Samir Jarrar. (1983). *Education in the Arab World*. New York: Trager Publishers.

McCormack, W. C. and Wurm, S. A. (eds.) (1979). *Language and Society. Anthropological Issues*. The Hague: Mouton.

McKay, J. M. (1973). *Syntactic Similarities in Arabic Diglossia.* Ph.D. University of Texas at Austin.

McLoughlin, L. J. (1972). "Towards a definition of Modern Standard Arabic." *Archivum Linguisticum,* 3:112-132

Meiseles, G. (1980). "Educated spoken Arabic and the Arabic language continuum." *Archivum Linguisticum,* 11:118-143

Mercer, N. (ed.). (1981). *Language in School and Community.* London: Edward Arnold

Mercer, N. and Maybin, J. (1981). "Community language and education." In Mercer (ed.)

Mitchell, T. F. (1980). "Dimensions of style in a grammar of Educated Spoken Arabic." *Archivum Linguisticum,* 11:89-105

Mitchell, T. F. (1982). "More than a matter of writing with the learned, pronouncing with the vulgar: Some preliminary observations on the Arabic koine. In Haas, W. (ed.)

Mitchell, T. F. (1986). "What is educated spoken Arabic?" *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* 61:7-32

Mkilifi, M. H. A. (1978). "Triglossia and Swahili-English bilingualism in Tanzania." In Fishman, J. (ed.)

Moulton, W. G. (1968). "What standard for diglossia? The case of German Switzerland." In O'Brien, R. J.

Nahir, M. (1984). "Language planning goals: a classification." *Language Problems and Language Planning,* 8:294-327

Neustupny, J. (1970). "Basic types of treatment of language problems." *Linguistic Communications,* 1:77-98

O'Brien, R. J. (1968). *Georgetown University Round Table. Selected Papers on Linguistics 1961-1965.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

O'Brien, R. J. (ed.) (1971). *Linguistics: Developments of the Sixties - View Points for the Seventies.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Oller, J. W. (1978). "The language factor in the evaluation of bilingual education." In Alatis, J. (ed.)

Passow, A. H. and Elliott, D. L. (1968). "The nature and needs of the educationally disadvantaged." In Passow, A. H. (ed.). *Developing Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged.* Columbia University, New York: Teachers College Press.

Perera, K. (1981). "Some language problems in school learning." In Mercer, N. (ed.)

Platt, J. (1977). "A model for polyglossia and multilingualism (with special reference to Singapore and Malaysia). *Language in Society*, 6:361-378

Pool, J. (1979). "Language planning and identity planning." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 20:5-21

Pride, J. B. (ed.) (1979). *Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning and Teaching*. Oxford University Press.

Rabin, C. (1955). "The beginnings of Classical Arabic." *Studia Islamica*, 4:19-37

Reiser, S. (1983). "Pan-Arabism revisited." *The Middle East Journal*, 37:218-233

Richmond, J. (1979). "Dialect features in mainstream school writing." *New Approaches to Multiracial Education*, 8:10-15.

Rist, R. C. (1970). "Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education". *Harvard Educational Review*, 40:411-451

Romaine, S. (ed.). (1982). *Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities*. London: Edward Arnold

Rosen, H. (1972). *Language and Class A Critical look at the Theories of Basil Bernstein*. Bristol: Falling Wall Press.

Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. F. (1968). "Teacher expectations for the disadvantaged". *Scientific American*, April:19-23

Rothbart, M., Dalfen, S. and Barrett, R. (1971). "Effects of teacher's expectancy on student-teacher interaction." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 62:49-54

Rubin, J. (1972). "Evaluation and language planning" In Fishman, J. (ed.) (a)

Rubin, J. and Shuy, R. (eds.) (1973). *Language Planning: Current Issues and Research*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Sallam, A. M. (1979). "Concordial relations within the noun phrase in Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA)." *Archivum Linguisticum*, 10:20-56

Sallam, A.M. (1980). "Phonological variation in Educated

Spoken Arabic: a study of the uvular and related plosive types." *Bulletin of the school of Oriental and African Studies*, 43:77-100

Sayed, A. A. (1981). *The Phonology of Moroccan Arabic: A Generative Phonological Approach.* Ph.D. The University of Texas at Austin.

Schegloff, E. A. (1968). "Sequencing in conversational openings." *American Anthropologist*, 70:1075-95

Schmidt, R. (1974). *Sociolinguistic Variation in Spoken Egyptian Arabic: A Re-examination of the Concept of Diglossia.* Ph.D. Brown University.

Scotton, C. M. (1986). "Diglossia and code switching." In Fishman et al (eds.) V.II

Seligman, C., Tucker, G. R. and Lambert, W. E. (1972). " The effects of speech style and other attributes on teachers' attitudes toward pupils." *Language in Society*, 1: 131-142

Shaaban, K. (1978). "Code-switching in the speech of educated Arabs." *The Journal of the Linguistic Association of the South-West*, 3:7-20.

Selinker, L. (1972). "Interlanguage" *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 10:209-31

Shuy, R. W., Wolfram, W. A. and Riley, W. K. (1967). *Linguistic Correlates of Social Stratification in Detroit Speech.* Final Report, Co-operative Research Project, No.6, 1347. United States Office of Education.

Shuy, R. W. (1970). "The Sociolinguistics of urban language problems." In Williams, F. (ed.) (b)

Shuy, R. W. and Fasold, R. W. (1971). "Contemporary emphases in sociolinguistics." In O'Brien (ed.)

Shuy, R. W. (ed.) (1973). *Sociolinguistics: Current Trends and Prospects.* (1972 Annual Round Table) Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Shuy, R. and Fasold, R. (eds.) (1973). *Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects.* Washington, D.C.Georgetown University Press.

Shuy, R. W. (1978). "Bilingualism and language variety." In Alatis, J. E. (ed.).

Smeaton, H. B. (1956). "Some problems in the description of Arabic." *Word*, 12:357-368

Sotiropoulos, D. (1977). "Diglossia and the national language question in modern Greece." *Linguistics*, 197: 5-31

Sotiropoulos, D. (1982). "The social roots of Greek diglossia." *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 6:1-28

Spolsky, B. (ed.) (1972). *The Language Education of Minority Children*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Spolsky, B. and Cooper, R. L. (eds.) (1977). *Frontiers of Bilingual Education*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Spolsky, B. and Cooper, R. L. (eds.) (1978). *Case Studies in Bilingual Education*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

St Clair, R. N. (1982). "From social history to language attitudes." In Bouchard & Giles (eds.)

Stern, Otto. (1988). "Divergence and convergence of dialect and standard from the perspective of the learner." In Auer and Di Luzio (eds.)

Stewart, W. A. (ed.) (1964). *Non-Standard Speech and the Teaching of English*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Stewart, W. A. (1968a). "A sociolinguistic typology for describing national multilingualism." In Fishman (ed.)

Stewart, W. A. (1968b). "The functional distribution of creole and French in Haiti." In O'Brien (ed.)

Stewart, W. A. (1969). "On the use of Negro dialect in the teaching of reading." In Baratz and Shuy (eds.)

Stewart, W. A. (1970a). "Toward a history of American Negro dialect." In Williams, F. (ed.)(1970b)

Stewart, W. A. (1970b). "Sociopolitical issues in the linguistic treatment of Negro dialect." In Alatis (ed.) (1970a)

Strongman, K. T. and Woosley, J. (1967). "Stereotyped reactions to regional accents." *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 6:164-167

Stubbs, M. (1980). *Language and Literacy: the Sociolinguistics of Reading and Writing*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Suleiman, S. M. (1985). *Jordanian Arabic between Diglossia and Bilingualism*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sutcliffe, D. (1981). "British Black English in British schools", in Mercer, N.(ed.)

Sutcliffe, D. (1982). *British Black English.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Talmoudi, F. (1984). *The Diglossic Situation in North Africa. A study of Classical/Dialectal Arabic Diglossi a with Sample Text in "Mixed Arabic".* Ph.D. University of Gottegerg, Sweden.

Timm, L. (1981). "Diglossia old and new: a critique." *Anthropological linguistics*, 23, pp. 356-365.

Toohey, K. (1986). "Minority educational failure. Is dialect a factor?" *Curriculum Inquiry*, 16:127-145

Trudgill, P. (1975). *Accent, Dialect and the School.* London: Edward Arnold.

Trudgill, p. (1979). "Standard and non-standard dialects of English in the United Kingdom: problems and policies". *International Journal of the sociology of language*, 21:9-24.

Trudgill, P. (1982). "On the limits of passive `competence': sociolinguistics and the polylectal grammar controversy." In Crystal, D. (ed.).

Trudgill, P. (1983). *On Dialect Social and Geographical Perspectives.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Trudgill, P. (ed.) (1984). *Applied Sociolinguistics.* London: Academic Press.

Tucker, G. R., Otanes, Fet. and Sibayan, B. D. (1970). "An alternate days approach to bilingual education". In Alatis, J. E. (ed.) (1970b).

Unesco (1953). "The use of vernacular languages in education." In Fishman (ed.) (1968)

Walker, L. (1986). "More a torment than a benefit: English grammar in Nova Scotia schools in the nineteenth century." *Curriculum Inquiry*, 16:439-462

Werlen, I. (1988). "Swiss German dialects and Swiss standard High German." In Auer and Di Luzio (eds.)

Wexler, P. (1971). "Diglossia, language standardization and purism." *Lingua*, 27:330-354

Whiteman, M. and Deutsch, M. (1968). "Social disadvantage as related to intelligence and language development." In Deutsch, M., Katz, I. and Jensen, A. (eds.)

Wiles, S. (1981). "Language issues in the multi-cultural classroom", in Mercer, N. (ed.).

Williams, F. (1970a). "Psychological correlates of speech characteristics: on sounding disadvantaged." *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research*, 13: 472-488

Williams, F. (ed.) (1970b). *Language and Poverty*. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company.

Williams, F., Whitehead, J. L. and Miller, L. M (1972). "Relations between language attitudes and teachers expectancy." *American Educational Research Journal*, 9:263-77

Williams, F. (1973). "Some research notes on dialect attitudes and stereotypes." In Shuy and Fasold (eds.)

Williams, F. (1976). *Explorations of the Linguistic Attitudes of Teachers*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Wolfram, W. A. (1970). "Linguistic correlates of social differences in the Negro community." In Alatis(ed.) (1970a)

Wolfram, W. and Fasold, R. (1979). "Social dialects and education." In Pride, J. (ed.)

Zughoul, M. R. (1980). "Diglossia in Arabic: Investigating solutions." *Anthropological Linguistics*, 22:201-217.

GLASGOW
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY