Diglossic switching by the Pre-school Children. The Case of 'Dib Tahar' Primary School

Abstract

The present study aims at investigating children's switching between Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic. To reach this aim, an ethnographic approach is followed with pre-school children aging six years old at 'Dib Tahar' primary school at Elkroub, Constantine- Algeria. It is based on triangulation: participant observation, recordings, and an interview with the teacher of the sample. The results reveal that pre-school children do switch between the varieties of Arabic in the class and they may deviate from the standard pronunciation of the Algerian words to express themselves. Intra-word switching is very common in their speeches.Further, Children's switching is rule-governed. The results obtained challenge Ferguson's definition of diglossia and call for reconsidering the separation of its domains.

Keywords: Algerian Arabic, code switching, diglossia, diglossic switching, Modern Standard Arabic

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Résumé

La présente étude vise à examiner l'alternance entre l'arabe moderne standard et le dialete algérien. Pour atteindre cet objectif, une approche ethnographique est suivie avec les enfants d'âge préscolaire de six ans à l'école primaire « Dib Tahar » à Elkroub, Constantine, Algérie. Cette approche est basée sur la triangulation suivante: observation des participants, enregistrements, et un entretien avec l'enseignant de l'échantillon. Les résultats révèlent que les enfants d'age préscolaire ont effectivement tendance à faire l'alternance entre les diffèrents variétés d'arabe dans la classe et à s'écarter de la prononciation standard des mots algériens pour s'exprimer. L'alternance interne des mots est très courante dans leurs discours, de plus, les transitions sont régis par des règles. Les résultats obtenus remettent en question la définition de Ferguson de la diglossie et appellent à reconsidérer la séparation des domaines.

Mots clés arabe algérien, altèrnance codique, diglossie, altèrnance diglossique, arabe standard moderne.

ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة الى التحقيق في المزج اللغوي بين اللغة العربية الفصحى والدارجة الجزائرية عند الاطفال. ومن اجل تحقيق هذا الهدف،اعتمدنا المقاربة الاثنوغرافية مع اطغفال المستوى التحضيري البالغين من العمر 6 سنوات التابعين للمدرسة الابتدائية '' ذيب الذاهر بالخروب قسنطينة الجزائر تستند هذه المقاربة على النهج الثلاثي:ملاحظة المشاركين،التسجيلات ،و اجراء مقابلة مع المعلم المسؤول عن العينة.كشفت النتائج ان اطفال ماقبل التمدرس يمزجون بين مختلف انواع اللغة العربية في الصف،وقد ينحرفون على النطق المعتاد للكلمات اللجزائرية فالمزج اللغوي بين الكلمات شائع في خطاباتهم ومحكم بقواعد.ان النتائج المتحصل عليها تتحدي تعريف فيرجيسن لازدواجية اللسان وتنادي باعادة النظر في فصل مجالاته.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الدارجة الجزائرية؛ المزج اللغوي ؛ ازدواج اللسان؛ التبديل اللغوي؛ اللغة الفصحى.

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Introduction

Algeria, as a vast country, is a fertile terrain for any sociolinguistic research because of its linguistic diversity. There are three languages at a play: Arabic, French, and Tamazight. When these languages get into contact, they may result in many phenomena such as bilingualism, diglossia, code-switching. These language behaviours are worthy to be studied.

For a long time, researchers have shown a strong interest in code-switching and many types of research have been carried out on this language behaviour that is inevitable in the bilingual and multilingual speech communities. This phenomenon used to be considered as a language deficiency on the part of the speaker and to be evidence of his inability to separate the two systems. However, recently researchers no longer view code switching negatively, but they believe that it is a speaking style that fulfills social and pragmatic functions. This fact shows the speakers' mastery of the two languages.

Most of the studies are all centered around adults' code-switching. However, some other studies are directed towards children's code-switching. This phenomenon has been investigated from the psycholinguistic and the sociolinguistic points of view in addition to studies of language acquisition.

1- Theoretical Framework

The present study is about diglossic switching by primary school children. It, therefore, aims at investigating the phenomenon of code switching between varieties of the same language, that is, between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Algerian Arabic (AA) in the conversation of primary school children.

The study is multifaceted. First, it seeks to understand the mechanisms of code-switching and how children mix varieties of the same language. Second, the study is carried out to see the situations when children switch from one code to another and whether the type of interlocutors influences the switching. Finally, the study is also concerned with identifying the functions of code-switching in conversations of children.

The present study seeks to answer the following questions:
- Is code switching necessary and more conducive to higher levels of learning?
- Do children need to switch to Algerian Arabic only to fill a lexical gap?
- What are the functions of code-switching in the children's conversation?

Definition of Code Switching

Code switching[1] is one of the phenomena resulting from language contact. This language behaviour was considered, for a long time, as a language deficiency and the speakers' inability to separate the two systems. It has been misinterpreted and considered as a lack of competence in one or two languages by bilingual speakers.

The simplest definition is the one suggested by Milroy and Muysken (1995, p.7) when they defined code switching (hereafter CS) as "the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation" (as cited in Cantone, 2007, p.56). Yet, Cantone (2007) has criticized this definition as being a descriptive statement since it limits code switching. Bloomer, Griffths, & Merrison (2005) considered code-switching as being the use of two different languages within the same conversation and these languages remain separate while in code mixing two languages are merged together. Further, Bullock and Toribio (2009) defined code switching as " the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages." (p.1). Haugen claimed that "Theintroduction of elements from one language into the other means merely analteration of the second language, not a mixture of the two" (1950, p.211; as cited in Gardner-chloros, 2009, p. 9). That is, the insertion of language elements in a language is considered as an alternation of the second language and not a mixture.

Some other researchers suggested more flexible definitions of CS.Gardner-chloros (2009) referred to CS as "the use of several languages or dialects in the same

conversation or sentence by bilingual people. It affects practically everyone who is in contactwith more than one language or dialect, to a greater or lesser extent." (Gardner-chloros, 2009, p. 4). According to this definition, CS occurs between languages and dialects.

Myers-Scotton (2006) suggested a general definition of code switching when she said that it is "the use of two language varieties in the same conversation."(p.239). Muyers-scotton's definitionof CS is more flexible and does not limit CS to switching between languages, but it extends it to be even between varieties.

1.1. Types of Code Switching

There are many classifications of CS: situational/ metaphorical CS, international/ insertional CS, and intrasentational/ intersentational CS.Poplack 's (1980) classification CS as *inter-sentential* and *intra-sentential* is to be used in this study

Myers-Scotton stated that intersentatial CS "involves switches from one language to the other betweensentences: a whole sentence (or more than one sentence) is produced entirely in onelanguage before there is a switch to the other language(s) in use in the conversation" (1993_b, pp.3-4; as it is cited in Ahmed Othman, 2006, p. 42). Therefore, intersentential CS occurs between sentences where one sentence is in one language while the second sentence in another language. Intra-sentential switching happens within the sentence boundaries.

1.2. Grammatical Constraints on Code Switching

To study the structure of CS, there are many theories such as Matrix Frame Language Model proposed by Poplack' theory (1980) and Myers-Scotton (1993)

1.2.1. Poplack's Equivalence and Free Mopheme Constraints

Poplack (1980), working on Spanish/ English code switching in the Puerto Rican society, suggested two grammatical constraints on code switching: Equivalence Constraints and Free Morpheme Constraints

1.2.1.1. Equivalence Constraints

According to this model, the switching will occur only if the surface structures of both languages are equivalent. When the two languages share the same surface structure, the syntactic rules of the two languages would not be violated. In this respect, MacSwan (2009,p.311) mentioned that equivalence constraint (henceforth EC) happened when : "codes will tend to be switched at points where the surface structures of the languages map onto each other"

1.2.1.2. Free-Morpheme Constraints

Free morpheme constraints (abbreviated as FMC)maintained that: "codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme" (Poplack, 1980, pp.585-6; as cited in Muysken, 2000, p. 14). This indicates that switching before and after the bound morpheme[2] is not allowed (Muysken, 2000). This switching would only be possible -between a bound morpheme and a lexical form-only if the lexical morpheme will undergo phonological integration into the language of the bound morpheme.

1.3. Diglossic switching

As defined earlier, CS can occur between genetically unrelated languages or between varieties of the same language. When the switching happens between different varieties of the same language, it is called 'diglossic code switching' or simply 'diglossic switching'. It is called so because the switching, here, occurs in a diglossic situation, that is, between high low varieties.Sayahi (2014) defined diglossic switching as "the act of juxtaposing the H and the L varieties of the same historical language during a communicative event" (p.80).

1.4. Functions of Diglossic Switching

Diglossic switching is used to fulfill particular functions. Bassiouney(2009) mentioned that "diglossic switching as part of code switching has one significant characteristic: "it is used² as a linguistic device to create an effect on the listener or audience" (p.280). It can be used as a useful strategy and a "tool for understanding and clarifying meaning" (Reyes, 2004$_a$; Ervin-Tripp & Reyes, 2005; as cited in Reyes & Moll, 2008, p. 150). However, Sometimes switching to vernacular occurs consciously and naturally and even the effort to be constant in MSA is a bit conscious (Sayahi, 2014)

1.5. Diglossic Code Switching in Classroom

There are a great number of studies on code switching since it can happen in different settings whether formal or informal. It has been even investigated in the classroom when it is used by teachers and leaners.

However, according to Kamwangamalu (2010), the connection between CS and diglossia in classroom situation has been rarely investigated. Kamwangamalu (2010) aserted that diglossic CS "constitutes a fertile area for further research"(p.120) and that the definition of diglossia needs reconsideration "for modern language practices in multilingual communities around the world are at odds with the premise on which diglossia is based, namely, strict functional compartmentalization of languages" (p.121).

The present work is designed to shed light on this type of switching which is diglossic CS in the classroom and the forthcoming chapters are going to deal with this widespread sociolinguistic phenomenon in Algerian primary schools.

2. Research Methodology

2.1. Research design

2.1.1. Population and Sampling

The population consists of children of preparatory level. Generally, these children attend preschool classes at the Algerian primary school.

Random sampling is followed. One primary school "Tahar Dib" in Elkhroub, constantine is randomly selected. This primary school contains only one preparatory class. Since the aim of this research is not to generalize the results and since the work is qualitative in nature, one class is sufficient to conduct the research.The sample consists of twenty four (24) pupils; eleven (11) boys and (13) girls.

2.1.2. Means of Gathering Data

The present research aims at investigating the use of code switching between Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic by Algerian pre-school learners. The study is qualitative aiming at describing this sociolinguistic phenomenon. An ethnographic method is adopted. It is based on triangulation consisting of: participant observation hand in hand with recodings, and an interview with the teacher of the pre-school class. Some techniques are used to collect data such as: recordings, transcriptions, and field notes. When transcribing, the international phonetic alphabets (IPA) is used in addition to some conventions for Arabic sounds.

2.2. Data Analysis

2.2.1. Participant Observation

The first technique used to collect ethnographic data is called 'participant observation'. Using this technique, the researcher takes part in the class and joins the group for a long period of time. The researcher has been introduced to the class by the teacher. The researcher's role is to be a participant and an observer. Her task is to enter the children's world and participate in their daily activities and at the same time observe all their behaviours and record them.

On the 30th November 2017, the researcher started the observation. The data obtained from the participant observation hand in hand with audio recordings are to be analysed. For the analysis of the recordings, emphasis is put on the following points: the structure of the mixed sentences, motivations to CS, functions to CS, and the type of the switched sentences. Further, in studying the syntactic constraints on CS, the data is going to be analysed in the light of Matrix Language Framework (MLF). Moshref (2013) pointed out that Bassiouney (2006; as cited in Moshref, 2013) believed that MLF is the most appropriate model to study and examine MSA and dialectal Arabic (henceforth DA) switching in the belief that this model does not depend on the linear order nor on any theory of grammar.

Session one

Date: 6-12-2017   *Time: 13:30-13:50*   *Length of the activity:20mn*
Topic:milk and its derivative   *Participants' number:18 boys:8 girls:10*

This session took place in the evening. The learners had already seen some food types with their teacher in the morning. The researcher asked the teacher to talk with their learners about milk products to see whether they were still switching to AA or they had acquired all the necessary words to be used when speaking MSA.

The learners take turn to talk about dairy products, and each time the teacher corrects them, they keep using the same words despite their teacher's correction. Here are some examples:

> The pupil: **ʔezzubbda ʔept_sɪswɪs ʔelʒubn**⁽³⁾
>   *The butter,yogurt,cheese*
> The teacher: wemnɪn **jaʔtɪ: ʔelħalɪ:b**
>   *And what is the source of milk?*
> The pupil: jʒɪna men **ʔelbaqara**
>   *It comes from the cow*

According to the learner's answers, the Matrix Language is MSA and the child switched to AA when he had a lexical gap. For instance, the learner could not find the equivalent of the word 'yogurt' in MSA. He used the word from AA, and he attached the definite article **/ʔel/** the /l/ was omitted. The AA word /ptɪswɪs/ which is a borrowed word from French 'petit suisse' and which is used by Algerians to mean 'yogurt', has undergone a phonological adaptation.

In the second situation, when the teacher asked the question using AA as a matrix language, the learner replied by using AA a matrix language, too. Yet, the kid switched to MSA when he named 'the cow' as a source of milk. Possibly, the learner wanted to show his teacher that he knew the word in MSA.

Then, the teacher asked the learners about the names of all the food presented in the picture in MSA. she wanted them to list all the products that were from milk origin.

> The teacher: ʃkun lɪ nɒdˤ jsemɪlɪ**muʃtaqa:t ʔelħalɪ:b**
>   *who can name dairy products*
> The pupil: **muʃtaqa:t ʔelħalɪ:b** hɪa **ʔezzubda ʔept_sɪswɪs**
>   *Dairy products are: butter, yogurt,*
> **ʔel**fuṛmadʒ **ʔelkaʃiṛ ʔe**jaʔuɣt
>   *cheese, luncheon yogurt*

According to the above example, the pupil started listing the dairy products using MSA as a ML. Even though they had already dealt with them, the kid kept switching to AA. In these examples, there are intra-sentential CS since they had switched from MSA to AA and some of the content words were from AA. There arealso examples of intra-word switching⁽⁴⁾ such as the words /ʔept_sɪswɪs⁽⁵⁾/ which has already been explained and the word /ʔejaʔuɣt /. The latter repesents an intra-word switching since the system bound morpheme is from MSA and the content word is from AA. Further, the word /**ʔel**fuṛmadʒ⁽⁶⁾/ is again an example of intra-word switching where the system bound morpheme is from MSA /**ʔel**/ which is the definite article and the content word /fuṛmadʒ/ from AA and its equivalent in MSA would be /**ʔel**dʒubən/.

Therefore, based on the analysis of the previously stated examples, it can be hypothezysed that *when the children did not find the right word in MSA, intra-word switching would occur where the system bound morpheme would be from MSA and the content morpheme would be from AA.*

Session Two

Date: 14-12-2017   *Time: 8:30-9:30*   *Length of the activity: 20mn*
Topic: colours and features   *Participants' number:24   boys:11   girls:13*

The teacher started the lesson by reviewing the different colours. She asked them using MSA about the classroom objects and their colours using MSA. The learners took turn to answer her.

The teacher : **man jastatˤɪːʕ wasˤf ʕelqɪsm wa ʔəlmadrasa**
Who can describe the classroom and the school?
The pupil: **ʔessabuːra baɪdˤaːʔ wa ʔelmɪʕtˤaf ʔekħal**
The board is white and the coat is black

In this passage, the teacher wanted her learners to describe the different objects in the class and their colours. Her question was asked in MSA. The first learner answered her using MSA and he switched to AA when he missed the colour word 'black' by saying /ʔekħal/. Here the child has attached the MSA system bound morpheme to the AA content word/kħal/.

In the following situation, the teacher asked the learners to describe their homes (the question was asked in AA exclusively)

Teacher: ʃkun jaqder jewsˤafəlna daṛu
Who can describe his/her home?
The pupil 2: ʕandna daṛwʒnan wkaɪn tˌsanɪ **matˤəbaχwa ħamaːm** wəsˤalu
We have a home and a garden and we have also a kitchen and a bathroom and a reception room.

The learners felt comfortable when using AA because the teacher had already used it.When the teacher had used AA, the pupil answered her in AA and switched to MSA because she knew the word. The ML is AA and the child listed all what she has at home using AA and switching to MSA when words are already known to her. In her answer, the pupil used the word/sˤalu/. This word is used by Algerians and is the only word used to mean the reception room. However, it is a borrowed word from French /salɔ̃/ and it has been integrated in AA. This loan word has undergone phonological changes to become /sˤalu/. It is worth mentioning that the word /daṛ/ is considered an AA word because ofthe rolling feature of the /r/: in MSA it would be pronounced as/daːr/ and in AA /daːṛ/.

It can be hypothesized that when the children used AA as a matrix language,they would switch to MSA to show his/her interlocutor their knowledge of MSA.

Session Three

Date: 22-2-2018   Time:9:00-9:30   Length of the activity:25mn
Topic: Hospital/polyclinic uses   Participants' number: 21boys: 11 girls:10
        In this session, the teacher presents some pictures on the board: hospital,polyclinic, nurse and doctor. The teacher uses MSA as follows:

1- The teacher: **ʕɪndama jamradˤ ʔelʔɪnsa:n ʔɪla: ʔajna jaðhab**
        When the person gets ill, where does he go?
P1:**ʔɪla: ʔəlmustaʃfa:**
  To the hospital
 2- The teacher: **waʃ maʕnatₛəha ʔelmustaʃfa:**
       What does hospital mean?
P2: **maʕnatu maka:n ndawɪw ɸih**
  it means a place where we can treat
The teacher: **huwa maka:n naðəhabu ʔɪlajhɪ fɪ: ʔelmaradˤ**
      It is a place we go to it when we are ill

        The teacher kept asking questions using both MSA and AA. The first question the teacher asked was in MSA and most of the learners could reply her in MSA. The first question the teacher asked was in MSA and the child relpied in MSA.In the second question, however, the teacher used MSA and when she felt that she was not understood she reformulated her question using AA. She switched only to MSA for the content word /**ʔelmustaʃfa:/.** The learner, on her part, answered the teacher using AA as a ML and she switched to MSA only for the word /**maka:n/** 'a place' and its equivalent in AA is /blasˤa/ which means that the kid already knew that word . That kid used to answer most of the teacher's questions in AA. This indicates her lack of mastery of MSA and because " although the standard and dialectal codes are actively interacting all the time, the colloqial language remains more dominant in formulating utterances" (Moshref, 2013, p. 11)Then, the teacher repeated what the kid said and she used MSA in order to show the pupil how this idea could be said in MSA.
        When the teacher asked them to tell their stories when they got ill, they said:

 The teacher: **men mɪnkum marɪdˤa jaħkɪ ma:ða: faʕala**
        who among you got ill tell us what did you do?
P1: **marɪdˤtu ʃralɪ baba ʔeddawa:ʔ** mɪn ʕɪnd **sˤajdalɪja** tₛ ɪʕaʃɪts wə ʃrɪbtₛ **ʔeddwa:ʔ**
I got ill my father bought me the drug from the pharmacy I had dinnerand I drunk the drug
P2: **ʔaχaðanɪ:ʔabɪ: ʔɪla: ʔelmustawsˤaf** qalebnɪ **ʔetˤtˤabɪ:b wə ʔeʕta:nɪ:** dwawɪ
My father took me to the polyclinic the doctor examined me and he had given me the drug

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        When the learners were asked to tell what happened when they got ill, most of them wanted to reply using MSA especially because their teacher asked the question in that code. The first learner answered the question in an utterance that contains diglossic switching. It is an intersentential switching where the kid alternated the use of MSA and AA between the clauses. In the first clause, the child used MSA while the second clause is an example of intrasentential switching. Both of the subject and the verb are in AA and the system morphemes and the object are in MSA. According to the MLF and since it is difficult to decide which is the ML and the embbeded (EL), Bassiouney(2006) suggested to rely on the relative counts of MSA and AA morphemes. She argued: "it is not very easy to come up with one ML, since it is sometimes difficult to decide which code is being used in the first place". Thus, the ML is the MSA since two system morphemes and a content morpheme are from MSA.
        The second pupil also used intersentential and intrasentential switchings in his utterance. The first clause was in MSA while the second was a mixing clause in which he used AA as a ML and he switched to MSA for the word /**ʔatˤtˤabɪ:b/.** In the third clause,however, the child used MSA as a ML and switched to AA since he did not know the equivalent of the word in MSA.The sentence is a cocktail of the two codes:

most content morphemes that are unknown for them are said in AA. The word /dwawɪ/ is neither AA nor MSA and the same could be said for the word /tₛ ɪˤaʃɪt/. Yet, these words are mispronounced and they represent instances of deviation from the pronunciation of AA words.

Therefore, according to the already examined examples, it can be hypothesized that:

➤ *When the kids did not find the appropriate word in MSA, they would deviate from the standard pronunciation of the word.*

➤ *When the kids used AA as ML and switched to AA, they would do so to show their interlocutors their knowledge of MSA*

Session Four

Date: 11-4-2018   Time:10:10- 30:10   Length of the activity:25mn
Topic:Oral expression description of spring season
Participants' number:19boys:07   girls:12

The teacher posted two pictures on the board and asked the learners about them (to describe the pictures). One of the children answered as follows:

P1: **fɪː fasˤlu ʕerrabɪːʕu ʔelbardu daːfɪʔ**
   In spring, the cold is warm
   ʔeʕuʃbu bɪsaˤaːtˤun ʔaχdˤar
   The grass is a green carpet
   ʔəssamʃu dafɪa
   The sun is worm
   ʔelʔatˤfaːlu jaχtˤɪfuːna ʔelʔazhaːr
   Children kidnap flowers
   ʔana ʔuhɪbu fasˤla ʔerrabɪːʕ
   I like spring season

Most of the sentences produced by the learner were in MSA. There was only one instance when the kid wanted to decribe the sun and she used the adjective 'warm' in AA/dafɪa/ instead of using MSA word/daːfɪʔa/ . This can be explained by the fact that he did not know the equivalent in MSA. In addition, there were two instances where the kid mispronounced words.The first example when the child mispronounced the word 'sun' /**ʔəssamʃu**/ and it should be pronouncedas /**ʔəʃʃamsu/.** This could be explained as mispronunciation/**ʔəssamʃu/.** Further, Algerians especially in Constantine say /ʔəssemʃ/.The second example, when the children said that 'children kidnap flowers'; the verb/**jaχtˤɪfuːna/** wasnot the right verb to mean 'pick'. The child could have said instead '/**jaqtˤɪfuːna/.** In this example, the child used a word from AA and conjugated it as if it was a MSA word. By doing so, he attached bound/ system morphemes from MSA to an AA verb.

The teacher continued asking the learners to describe seasons.

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the teacher: **ʕɪndama: jantahɪː fasˤlu ʔarrbɪːʕ maːða: jaʔt:**
      when spring ends, what is the next season?
P1: **jaʔt: fasˤl ʔesˤsˤajf**
   It arrives summer
the teacher: **maːða: jahduθu fɪː fasˤl ʔesˤsˤajf**
      what happens in summer?
P2: **fɪː fasˤl ʔasˤsˤajf ʔelʒaw** sχun jaɣlɪ
   In summer holiday, the wheather is very hot
      naðhabu nasbah fɪː ʔelbahr
      we go to swim in the sea
the teacher:**fɪː fasˤl ʔerrabːʕ** jabda lʒaw jwelɪ **saːχɪn**
      In spring, the wheather starts to be hot

In this example, the teacher asked the question in MSA and the learners answered the question using the same code. The first kid did not switch to AA that indicated his competence in MSA. When the teacher asked the second kid to describe what happened in summer, he switched to AA and he said /sχun jaɣlɪ/. The kid wanted to describe summer temperature and he meant that 'it is very hot'. Therefore, he

switched to AA because he could not express his ideas in MSA. When the learner had used the adjective/jaɣlɪ/ meaning 'boiling', this was not a mistake but an adjective used in dialectal Arabic to mean 'very hot'. However, if the child wanted to use MSA, he could   say instead /sa:χɪnʒɪdan/ .

the teacher: **fɪ: fasˤl ʔərrabɪːʕ** waʃ jesˤɾa
In spring, what happens?
P1: **fɪ: fasˤl   ʔərrabɪːʕ ʔəʃʃamsu muʃrɪqa ʔelʔamtˤaːru <u>tˢusqɪtˤ</u>**
In spring, the sun is shining   the rain falls
P2: **fɪ: fasˤl   ʔərrabɪːʕ   ʔelʒawu ʒamɪːl ʔelʔatˤfaːl <u>jaɾuħu</u> lɪlɣaba**
In spring, the wheather is nice children go to the forest

According to the above examples, when the teacher spoke to her learners, she switched to AA. The first learner answered her using MSA and he tried to describe spring using MSA exclusively. Yet, he said /tˢusqɪtˤ/ meaning 'falls'. That word was mispronounced and the child should say /tasqutˤ/. This could be due to his unability to find the exact word in MSA. The second child, however, used intersentential and intrasentential switching when answering the teacher's question. The first clause is in MSA. The second clause contains switching from AA to MSA. The ML is AA since system morphemes are from AA and the child switches to MSA for the word /**ʔelʔatˤfaːl**/. The word /lɪlɣaba/ is composed of the system bound morpheme /lɪ/ 'to' and in MSA is /**ʔɪlaː**/. The word /lɣaba/ is a neutral morpheme because it exists in both codes and in this context is an AA word because the vowel is short. What is worth mentioning is the verb /jaɾuħu/. This verb is an AA word and it is mispronounced. It is the verb / jəruħ/. The kid wants to turn it a MSA word like /jaðəhabu/. So, he mispronounces it.

Again it can be hypothesized that: *when the children did not find the appropriate word in MSA, they would deviate from the standard pronunciation of the AA word they switched to.*

2.2.2.   The Interview

Once the researcher had finished the analysis of the recorded data (that had been transcribed), and had reformulated the hypotheses, she conducted an interview with the pre-school teacher, that is, the teacher of the sample. By so doing, the researcher could get an outer view of the phenomenon of switching between MSA and AA. The researcher conducted the interview by the end of June 2017 . The teacher was afraid of answering the questions and she thought that she was going to be tested and evaluated. She asked the researcher to postpone the interview to another day. She even said that she was afraid of committing errors. Therefore, the researcher did all her best to explain to her that her answers were not to be judged as being wrong or right, but the aim was to get her opinion about the switching the children were producing.

The interview's questions were based on the data obtained from the participant observation and the analysis of the transcribed extracts. The interview aims at confirming the already generated research hypotheses:

It is hypothesized that:

➤ *When the children used AA as a ML, they would switch to MSA to show their interlocutors their knowledge of MSA.*
➤ *When the children did not find the appropriate word in MSA, they would deviate from the standard pronunciation of the AA word they switched to.*
➤ *When the children did not find the right word in MSA, intra-word switching would occur where the system bound morpheme would be from MSA and the content morpheme would be from AA*

The teacher's answers are not going to be transcribed because the aim from the interview is to get the teacher's opinion and not to examine her speech.

1-   In the classroom, do you switch the code? And what are the languages you switch to?

This question is asked to see whether the teacher switches the code in the classroom or not, what are the languages used in the switching and to know whether

the teacher is aware of the switching.   According to the teacher's answers, MSA is used exclusively with the learners of different levels (first, second grades ...). Yet, For children of pre-school, AA words are accepted. Teachers can switch to AA with their learners. The use of the learners' first language in the class was advocated and investigated by many researchers such as Jingxia (2010) Macoro (1997),   Tang (2002), Stern (1992), and Yao (2011) (as cited in Mouleme et al, 2019).

2- *Do you think that code switching is beneficial to children of preparatory education?*

This question is asked in order to see whether the teacher considers CS as beneficial or detrimental.

The teacher said that from the first moment she started teaching the pre-school children, there should be CS (and she repeated that twice because she insisted on its the utility at this level). She added that after some weeks of teaching, the teacher could do all her best to   make MSA more dominant in the child's speech.

3- *Concerning the ministerial law that the previous Minister of Education was about to order in 2015, do you think that all primary school teachers were for or against this law (the law that advised teachers to use AA as a language of instruction in the class)*

This question is asked in order to get the teacher's point of view about the law that the previous Minister of Education wanted to order and which encouged the teachers to use AA in the classroom (teachers of all levels were asked to use AA in class as a medium of instruction). The teacher replied that this law would help teachers in their teachings and especially the pre-school teachers. She believed, however, that it would not be helpful for the teachers of the other grades(first, second,...and so on).

The law was about to be ordered in 2015 by virtue of which the previous Minister of Education wanted teachers to use AA as a language of instruction. This law was found a strong disapproval ofintellectuals and even lay people. All social media made fun of this law ad they believed if that law was applied, it would hinder learning. Thus, even teachers in the primary school are against this law.

4- *In the case of the children's use AA, they may switch to MSA words*
For example:
- When describing 'polyclinic' you have asked: "what is polyclinic?"
One pupil answered you that it meant a place where we can treat "/maʕnatu **maka:n** ndawi:w fih/"
-When you had asked themto tell you the story of their illness, one pupil sad that a doctor examined him "/qalebnɪ **ʔatˤtˤabɪ:b/**"
How do you explain the children's switching in these situations and why?
The aim behind asking this question is to get the teacher's view concerning the reasons behind the children's switching to MSA when using AA as a ML.

According to the teacher, the word /**mustawsˤaf**/ 'polyclinic'is a heavy word for the child and the word / jafħasˤ/ 'examine' is not a heavy word but it is not frequently used in their everyday communication.

Concerning the learner's use of the word /**ʔetˤtˤabɪ:b/** instead of /**tˤəbɪb**/, the teacher believed that this MSA word is used frequently used in the learners' environment. However, the word **/mustawsˤaf/** is barely used. The word /mustaʃfa:/ is heavy for children.

According to the teacher, in examples such as the following: "/maʕnatu **maka:n** ndawi:w fih/", the children understand the situation, but they are not competent enough in MSA to express themselves adequately. The teacher believes that when the children use AA and switch to MSA, they do so for words that are already known for them.

5- *How do you explain that some pupils pronounce some words in an odd way when they switch the code?*
For example:

-In the lesson of the polyclinic, you asked the pupils to tell you the story when they got ill what he did.

A pupil answered you that he was examined and he took his drug "/t̪sˤaʃɪt wə ʃrɪbt **ʔeddwa:ʔ**/"

-In the lesson about the description of the classroom, one pupil said that the board is white and the coat is black "/**ʔessabu:ra baɪdˤa:ʔ wa ʔelmɪʃtˤaf ʔekħal**/"

How do you explain the pronunciation of these words?

This question aims at getting the teacher's opinion about the utterances the children are producing and about the odd pronunciation of some words. It also aims to shed some light on the switching that happens at the word level between the system and the content morphemes.

The teacher answered that the children, in the examples cited above, wanted to show their interlocutors that they knew MSA. Thus, instead of using /kħal/ , the kid said /ʔekħal/. According to the teacher, this indicates that he has a strong personality and he thinks that he speaks using MSA.

According to the teacher's explanation of this question, the kids pronounce some words in a strange way (which is in fact switching at the word level) because they want to show their mastery of MSA and because they have strong personalities. Again, the teacher's explanation did not clarify the switching at the word level. She does not mention that the child is using MSA system bound morpheme with a content morpheme , that is, intra-word switching. This can be due to their lack of knowlege about the phenomenon of CS morphology.

Therefore, the teacher's justification does not explain that intra-word switching would occur where the system bound morpheme would be from MSA and the content morpheme would be from AA

6- *What is your opinion about the words children said in the lesson of meat derivatives and milk derivatives*

ʔajuɹt ʔept̪sɪswɪs ʔelfurmadʒ

This question seeks to get the teacher's explanation of the intra-word switching produced by the children.

The researcher introduced the question by recapitulating with the teacher the lesson of the milk derivates. Then, the researcher listed some examples said by the children and which contained intra- word switching.

According to the teacher, the child used the word /fuɹmadʒ/ . This word, among others, are generally used in everyday communication their equivalents in MSA are not known and used in Algerian context. In this case, the word /ʔelʒubən/is difficult to remember.

Further, the researcher draws the teacher's attention to the addition of /ʔa/ to the Algerian words /ʔajuɹt//ʔept̪sɪswɪs/

The only explanation the teacher provided for the child's use of /**ʔa**/, is that he is turning an AA word into MSA one by attaching to them/**ʔa**/. However, she does not explain that /**ʔa**/ is the definite article /**ʔel**/ and the /l/ is to be dropped when the word starts with a stressed syllable[7].

Therefore, the teacher's answers' show her lack of knowledge to bound/ free and system/ content morphemes. She does not explain that the switching occurred at the word level. Thus, the already stated hypothesis is partly confirmed because the teacher justified the switching just by saying the children were turning AA words into MSA ones.

7- *What do you think about these examples:*
- In the description of spring: "/**ʔəssamʃu** dafɪa/"

"/fɪ: fasˤl ʔərrabɪ:ʕ ʔelʒawu ʒamɪ:l ʔelʔatˤfa:l jaruħu lɪlɣaba/"

- In the description of summer: "/fɪ: fasˤl ʔərrabɪ:ʕ ʔəʃʃamsu muʃrɪqa ʔelʔamtˤa:ru tusqɪtˤ/"

The aim behind asking this question is to get the teacher's opinion about the switches that contained mispronunciation

Concerning the description of spring, when the child said "/**ʔəssamʃu** daːfɪa/", the teacher explained this example by saying that the child has a strong personality and he knows that when the sun shines, his body gets warm. Here, the teacher could not have any justification or explanation.

When asked about the word /**ʔəssamʃu/** and its counterpart in MSA /**ʔəʃʃamssu/**, the teacher answered that /samʃ/ is an AA word and almost all Algerians use it as it is. Another example suggested by the researcher is : "/**fɪː fasˤl ʔərrabɪːʕ ʔelʒawu ʒamɪːl ʔelʔatˤfaːl** jaṛuħu lɪlɣaba/". The teacher laughed and then said that this is a disorganized sentence and the kid is neither going to be blamed nor discouraged and after some time, he will learn how to express himself in coherent and comprehensive utterances. The researcher focused on the verb /jaṛuħu/ and asked for the teacher's opinion about this verb.

The teacher believed that at an early stage of learning MSA, the switching is very common in the children's speech. The child has used the verb / jaṛuħu/ because he does not know its equivalent in MSA.

Thus, the teacher did not mention that the word /jaṛuħu/ has deviated from its standard pronunciation /jəruħ/. The pronunciation of the word sounds as if it were MSA and like the word //jaðəhabu/

> **8- In your opinion; if we allowed the use of code switching between MSA and AA in the classes of preparatory, how would the level of our children be in the future?**

This question aims at getting the teacher's view point about the use of diglossic switching in pre-school classes, and how she would expect the level of education in the future when applying it. The teacher replied that switching must be especially in the first months of the school year.

According to the teacher's point of view, diglossic switching is indispensable especially in the first months of he pre-school class. During the first months, there should be switching. Yet, by the end of the year, and especially in the last two months, the teacher may do all her best to maximize the use of MSA.

Thus, using diglossic switching at this level of education is necessary. This kind of switching serves as a pedagogical tool for teachers and the learners.

2.3. Discussion of Results

Based on the analysis of the transcribed data obtained from the participant observation and from the analysis of the teacher's interview, it has been revealed that:

-When the children do not have the equivalent word in MSA, they might produce an intra-word switching where the bound system morpheme is from MSA and the content morpheme is from AA. Yet, the teacher could not provide an explanation to this switching. She believes that the kid is turning these words into MSA. The teacher did not talk about the system morphemes and she justified the intra-word switching as the kid's intelligence to make AA words sound MSA.

-When the kids talk using AA as a ML, they might show their interlocutors their mastery of MSA. They do so by inserting words from MSA in AA clauses. The teacher, however, believed that this diglossic switching is due to the children's frequent exposure to these words.

-In some situations, the children might deviate from the standard pronunciation of certain AA words when they could not find their equivalents in MSA. According to the teacher, the kids do so because they are intelligent, they have strong personalities and they think that they are using MSA.

-Thus, the already generated hypothesis in the participant observation could not be tested in the interview because the teacher has provided her own justification and explanation of the children's diglossic switching. From the participant observation, it has been noticed that the teacher is switching between the two varieties of Arabic. Further, the kids produce different types of switching: intersentencial, intrasentencial and even intra-word switching.These types of switching have already been found in a study conducted by Bassiouney (2009) in which she analysed 'Friday's prayers and she revealed that diglossic switching involved both intrasentential and intrasentential switching (Sayahi, 2014).

- It has been noticed that AA is sometimes the ML or the embbeded language . This result has already been found by Sayhi who referred to Eid (1982, 1988) and stated that at the clause level, diglossic switching does not happen freely and it is ruled by the structure of the two varieites. In this study, ML frame has been adopted to explain the grammar of diglossic switching. In this respect, Sayahi (2014) stated that the analysis of political discourse(Boussofara-Omar, 2003) and the analysis of other monologues (Bassiouney, 2006) affirmed the relevance of Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002) ML Framework Model to explain and anticipate the structure of diglossic switching.

-Moreover, the children switch from AA to MSA when they know the word and they want to show their interlocutorsthat they know MSA. This result contradicts with what Sayahi (2014)found in her study of the diglossic switching between Tunisian Arabic and MSA in Iman's discourse. The imam employs the Tunisian structure and switches to MSA for lexical items especially nouns because of the lack of some theological concepts in Tunisian Arabic.

 The results also show that diglossic switching happens and results in a deviation from the standard pronunciation of the AA words aiming at avoiding lexical gap.

-The teacher's interview, on the other hand, shows the teacher's insistence on using diglossic switching in pre-school level and avoiding it in other levels. Moreover, it has been revealed the frequent use of diglossic switching and how the teacher's admissionof the importance of using diglossic switching in the class. The teacher's answers showthat the teacher could not provide a scientific justification for the children's switching because she had not studied code switching and lacked knowledge about morphology.

Conclusion

This study aimed at investigating diglossic switching when used by the pre-school children at Dib Tahar primary school at Elkroub. It is based on an ethnographic approach. A participant observation hand in hand with recodings and the teacher's interview were used in an attempt to answer the already asked questions.

The study shows that diglossic switching is indispensable at this level of education when used whether by the teacher or the children. It occured frequently in the speech of children and they switch back and forth between the two varieties of Arabic. Different types of switching were produced by the kids: intersentential, intrasenttential and intra-word switching. Moreover, the study led to generate the following hypotheses: (1) When the children used AA as a ML, they would switch to MSA to show their interlocutors their knowledge of MSA; (2)when the children did not find the appropriate word in MSA, they would deviate from the standard pronunciation of the AA word they switched to; (3) when the children did not find the right word in MSA, intra-word switching would occur where the system bound morpheme would be from MSA and the content morpheme would be from AA. These hypotheses need to be tested in further studies.

The study also revealed that doglossic switching is rule-governed since the ML and the equivalence constraints were not violated.

Further, according to Ferguson's diglossia (1959), lectures at schools are typical context where the High variety is used exclusively. This study challenges Ferguson's diglossia and calls for reconsidering the definition of diglossia and the separation of its domains. That is, diglossic switching omits the boundaries between the domain of diglossia where the high variety (H) is used in formal situations such as education and the low variety (L) is used in informal situations. In this case,an overlapping of the use of two varieties is witnessed.

A new kind of diglossia emerges to be called 'educational diglossic switching'. It is a kind of switching that occurs between to two varieties of the same language, in this case AA and MSA, where the L variety coexists with H in educational situation and serves for its learning.

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Appendix
The Phonetic Symbols used
Dialectal and Standard Arabic
1 .**Vowels**

Arabic Vowels	IPA symbol
ـَ	a
ـُ	u
ـِ	i
آ	a:
و	u:
ي	i :

2.**Consonants**

Arabic Consonants	*IPA Symbol*	*Examples transcribed*	*examples*	*English equivalent*
أ	ʔ	**ʔ**allah	الله	God
ب	B	**b**ab	باب	door
ت	T	**t**amer	تمر	date
ث	Θ	**θ**umma	ثَمَّ	then
ج	dʒ	**dʒ**a :ʔa	جاء	come
ح	H	**ħ**ima :r	حمار	doncky
خ	X	**χ**ara dʒa	خرج	Go out
د	D	**d**a χala	دخل	enter
ذ	Ð	**ð**ahaba	ذهب	go
ر	R	**r**a dʒul	رجل	man
ز	Z	**Z**amı :l	زميل	colleague
س	S	**s**ukar	سكر	sugar
ش	ʃ	**ʃ**ams	شمس	sun
ص	sˤ	**s**ˤaħn	صحن	plate
ض	dˤ	**d**ˤaraba	ضرب	beat
ط	tˤ	**t**ˤama tˤim	طماطم	tomato
ظ	ðˤ	**ð**ˤarf	ظرف	envelope
ع	ʕ	mu**ʕ**alim	معلم	teacher
غ	ɣ	**ɣ**arb	غرب	west
ف	F	**F**i:l	فيل	elephant
ق	Q	**q**alam	قلم	pen

ك	K	**k**utub	كُتُب	books
ل	L	**l**akum	لكم	yours
م	M	**m**anzil	منزل	house
ن	N	ma**n**	من	who
ه	H	**h**uwa	هوَ	he
و	W	**w**a sˤala	وصل	arrive
ي	J	**j**am ʃi ː	يمشي	walk

Additional Consonants to be found in Algerian Arabic

Arabic Consonant	The Symbol used	Example transcribed	example	English equivalent
ڨ	G	**g**uda:m	قدَام	In front of
-	P(loan words)	**p**apa	بابا	dad
-	V(loan words)	**v**ista	فيستا	jacket
-	**r̪**	**r̪**aħ	راح	go
-	tₛ	tₛəʃr̪ub	تشرب	drink

3.Diphthongs

Arabic sounds	IPA Symbols	examples	Arabic words	English equivalent
َي	Aj	bajt	بَيْت	House
َو	Aw	θawb	ثَوْب	dress

Notes

[1] -In literature, the word *Code switching* appears in three forms in writing. It is occasionally (فتيحة، 2015)written as one word, with a hyphen, and in other cases as two detached words. Historically speaking, the transfer from two words to hyphenated words to a one word mirrors the integration and acceptableness of the concept (Gardner-chloros, 2009). The one-word form is used henceforward.

[2] -Bound morphemes are morphemes that cannot stand alone on their own.

[3] - MSA but not Algerian Arabic parts have been written on bold so that the switches can be easily distinguished. The English translation has been italyzed.

[4] -Intra-word switching has been introduced by Myers-Scotton (1997) to mean the switching that occurs within the word (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 38)

[5] -Benlaksira (2019) mentioned that the denti-alveolar affricative phoneme /tₛ / replaces unvoiced dental Arabic /t/ ت in CD. The following example reveals that: the word /tuffa:h/ (apple)is pronounced in AD /tₛfah/

[6] - /r̪/ has a rolling feature and which is slightly different from MSA /r/ like in the following example /r̪as/ (in MSA الرأس /raʔ/) which means *head* . This /r̪/ is viewed by Marçais as an 'articulatory disease' (Benlaksira, 2019, p. 39)

[7] -This is a phonological rule in MSA known as   ال الشمسية والقمرية