International Journal of Pedagogical Innovations
ISSN 2210-1543
Int. J. Ped. Inn. 8, No. 1, (Jan. 2020)
http://dx-doi.org/10.12785/ijpi/080101

Critical Extension of World Englishes to World Arabics

Abdelaziz M. Hussien[1] and Starr Ackley[2]

[1]Bahrain Teachers College, University of Bahrain, Sakheer, Bahrain; Faculty of Education, Suez Canal University, Ismailia, Egypt
[2]Bahrain Teachers College, University of Bahrain, Sakheer, Bahrain

Received: 03 Sept. 2019, Revised: 04 Oct. 2019, Accepted: 29 Dec. 2019, Published: (01 Jan.) 2020

Abstract: This study investigated the impact of a critical view of variation in English on developing a critical view of variation in Arabic among Bahraini trainee teachers. The main focus was to clarify whether or not these critical views of world Englishes transfer to and develop critical views of Arabic as a first language. Bahraini trainee teachers, from the English specialization, participated in focus group discussions and completed an authors-developed survey. Interestingly, the results revealed positive criticality of Arabic as a consequence of training in world Englishes. Most noticeably, participants showed a critical view towards identity as speakers of a Bahraini variety, and developed new understanding of variety in the Arabic language from exposure to variety in English. The results suggest important implications for the diglossic situation in Arabic, the codification of varieties in Arabic, the balance between Arabic and English, bilingualism, and for language choices made in the classroom and school.

Keywords: World Englishes, World Arabics, Criticality, Diglossia, Identity, Transfer effect.

1. INTRODUCTION

The acceptance of variation in English standards, the use of English as a Lingua Franca, and reconceptualization of language ownership have created substantive changes in university English curricula. These changes first appeared in graduate programs in linguistics, have spread via organizations such as the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) and TESOL into teacher training programs, and are ever more present in programs preparing students to teach English as a second language.

The Bahrain Teachers College (BTC) initial curriculum was developed by the National Institute of Education (NIE, Singapore). In 2009, Dr. Jessie Png_of NIE gave the course title 'Varieties of English' to the English faculty to be developed as part of their training program for future elementary school teachers of English in Bahrain. Although varieties of English is no longer taught independently, the conceptual framework supporting a new philosophy of variation, competency, standards, purposes and ownership of English has been included in 'Current Trends in English Language Education, TC2EN472' (see BTC courses 2009-2019), taught in the final semester. One of the texts currently used in that TC2EN472 Current Trends in English language education is a Cambridge A Levels preparation text (Gould & Rankin, 2014). The curricular impulse originated in Singapore, but was assimilated and retained as locally significant in Bahrain.

Variation in English is now almost as well recognized as English dominance as a world language. Moreover, acceptance of multiple standards carries a conceptual shift from a universal ideal of English to a more contingent and mobile one. In the Arab world, where English is widely used in business and education contexts, as well as in social media

E-mail: ahussien@uob.edu.bh, sackley@uob.edu.bh

communication, the impact of English has been well noted. To date, however, the impact of multiple and equally valid Englishes rather than a single standard has been relegated mainly to questions of prestige and affinity, as seen in multiple studies of student preference for this or that teacher accent, or for NNESTs (Non-native English Speaking Teacher) or for NESTs (Native English Speaking Teacher) (Braine, 2010; Buckingham, 2017).

This research, however, neglects the criticality developed in a world Englishes course, especially one reflecting the injection of a critical and reflective approach to TESOL (Pennycook, 2001). Thus, it is important to investigate how perception of world Englishes affects perception of Arabic language, culture, and identity. To reach that, the current study combines three main conceptual frameworks; (a) world Englishes (Gould & Rankin, 2014; Jenkins, 2015), (b) diglossia and varieties in Arabic (Al-Issa & Dahan, 2011; Bassiouney, 2009; Zuhair, 2012), and (c) bilingualism (Arabic-English) (Hussien, 2014a, 2014b, 2017). The current study is intended to incorporate these three conceptual frameworks to the Bahraini context and to clarify the critical extensions, if any, of studying variation in world Englishes (L2) to variation in Arabic (L1) in four dimensions; (a) identity as a speaker of Bahraini variety and as a member of a greater Arabic speaking community of practice, (b) teacher role as a language expert in Bahrain, (c) view of the Arabic language, and (d) transfer effect on understanding of variety in Arabic from exposure to variety in English.

2. CONTEXT OF ENGLISH IN BAHRAIN

English is a de facto if not a de jure second language in Bahrain. All public signposting is bilingual, including highways, streets, towns, villages, schools, hospitals and all government offices and buildings. Most official Bahraini websites have an English page, although not all information may be available in English (see, for example, http://www.moe.gov.bh/?lan=en). All business can be conducted in English. Indeed, in some venues, such as the larger malls, it might be difficult to transact in Arabic successfully. The majority of the cinemas show films in English and Asian languages rather than Arabic. For October 16, 2017, the largest Cineplex listed 20 films in English (US), one film in Arabic and one film in Hindi (GDN).

Of a total resident population of 1.2 million in 2010, 568, 000 were Bahraini nationals and 666, 000 were foreigners, of whom 290,000 were Indian (World Population Review, 2017). The ratio of Bahraini nationals to expatriate residents has declined rapidly in the last decades (Karolak, 2012). Because fewer than 50 % of the population are native speakers of Arabic, while most of the expatriates originate in non-Arabic speaking communities, English is the default language of communication. Thus, English serves as a lingua franca practiced more or less well by a multinational population drawing primarily from South Asia, including the Philippines and Indonesia. Bahrain shares the English language environment and landscape of its fellow members of the GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council), and these phenomena have been documented there abundantly (Buckingham, 2017).

In the Bahraini Basic Education Curriculum of 2004, the study of English was made compulsory from grade one whereas it had previously been introduced in grade four in 1994, and in grade three in 2000 (Ponnuchamy, 2017, p. 446). In the government schools, students are given 12 years of English instruction with varying linguistic success. The textbooks selected are all published in the United Kingdom and use British vocabulary and spelling. These are the schools for which the Bahrain Teachers College, founded in 2008 by royal decree, prepares teachers. That same decree stipulates that the Bahrain Teachers College (BTC) be bi-lingual.

In practice, only Arabic and Islamic Studies courses, and some core University of Bahrain courses (History of Bahrain, Islamic Studies) are taught in Arabic. The primary medium of instruction is English, and the majority of the textbooks use North American English, although the Foundation Year Program uses textbooks published in the UK. Students thus

take English medium courses delivered by native Arabic speakers trained at home and abroad, equally divided between UK, US, and Australasian institutions, and by English speakers, mostly non-native, from a variety of countries, most of whom are not competent to teach in Arabic.

The dominant varieties of English spoken reflect those of commercial and technical Bahrain: Indian, American, British, Filipino, Australasian and African.

In sum, expatriate English speakers communicate in one of the listed varieties, while bilingual Arabic-English Bahrainis in commercial, technical and educational settings show a preference for the variety in which they have pursued advanced studies. In the absence of such a preference, the default variety is stated as 'British English', albeit with a distinct American undertone.

3. CONTEXT OF ARABIC IN BAHRAIN

The Arabic in Bahrain is perhaps as mixed as the English. Children arrive in school as speakers of one of the varieties of Bahraini dialect that mark a local and cultural identity specific to a segment of Bahrain and largely indiscernible to expatriate Arabic speakers. Like most children in the Arabic speaking world, they begin their education and literacy acquisition in Standardized Arabic (SA) (O'Neill, 2017). SA is the required language of instruction in all programs of study except English in the Kingdom's government schools.

Bahraini Arabic is a Gulf variety and Gulf varieties are largely understood across the borders, and comprehension of additional varieties increases with media exposure – as for Lebanese and Egyptian Arabic – but decreases with geographical distance for Maghrebin varieties. The exposure of children to variety in Arabic would appear straightforward as a blend of extremely local, regional, media and standardized Arabic. However, Gulf Arab countries do not produce sufficient teachers to staff their own schools, and find it especially difficult to recruit young men into the teaching field. Although statistics for Arab nationals employed in the Kingdom's government schools are not openly available, they should be close to those for the UAE. Ridge, Shami, Kippels, and Farah (2014) pointed out that 'Expatriate teachers and education quality in the GCC gives the number of expatriate teachers as 20% for females, and 90 % for males' (p. 1). Egypt account for 39%, and Jordan for 22% of the Arab expatriate teachers employed in the GCC, with the rest originating primarily in the Maghreb (Ridge, Shami, Kippels, & Farah, 2014, p. 2). School children are thus exposed to a great variety of accents and idiomatic forms from their teachers who all maintain a façade of teaching in SA.

Arabic is the national and official language and the medium of instruction in Bahrain, as any Arab country, and hence the education policy focuses attention on Arabic. But, 'the situation of the Arabic language is further complicated by the duality of standardized and colloquial Arabic' (United Nations Development Program (UNDP) 2003, p. 123). Arabic is a diglossic language. The term 'diglossia' was originated and pioneered by William Marcais with specific reference to Arabic (1930) and was refined by Charles Ferguson (1964, 1972). Ferguson explains that diglossia is a relatively stable sociolinguistic situation where a speech community use two varieties of a single language side by side. These two varieties are different and prioritized according to linguistic and non-linguistic criteria, for example, prestige and lexicon. From a non-linguistic point of view, he posits that high variety (H) is prestigious and used in formal and sermon situations where low variety (L) is used in daily conversations and communications. The high prestige variety (H) is generally used by the government and in formal texts, and the low prestige variety (L) is usually the spoken vernacular tongue (Maamouri, 1998, pp. 34-35; Versteegh, 2001, pp. 189-190).

Standardized Arabic, referred to as 'fusha', is not the same as the language of daily speech. In Arabic speaking-countries, the standardized (H variety) and colloquial Arabic (L variety)

divide among themselves the domains of

speaking and writing: the standard language is used for written speech and for formal spoken speech, whereas the colloquial language [referred to as al-'āmmiyyya] is used for informal speech. The colloquial language is everybody's mother tongue; people only learn standard when they go to school (Versteegh, 2001, p. 189).

There is only one H variety called 'fusha' and this term 'fusha' is referred to as Classical Arabic (CA) or Standardized Arabic (SA) or Modern Standardized Arabic (MSA) (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 26). Bassiouney maintains that the distinction between CA and MSA is a 'western invention and does not correspond to any Arabic term' (2009, p. 11). Nevertheless, there are some syntactic, lexical, and stylistic differences between CA and MSA due to modern technology, translations from other languages and the influence of bilingualism (Bateson,1967, p. 84: in Bassiouney, 2009, p. 12). In addition, there is no clear-cut point or measure to identify the distance or difference between H and L (Fasold, 1995, p. 50). Maamouri (1998) indicated that 'The fusha and the sum of all the colloquials in use in the Arabic region represent the 'Arabic continuum' known under the ambiguous term commonly referred to as the Arabic language' (pp. 34-35). In the reality of the Arab countries,

fusha is nobody's mother tongue and is rarely or almost never used at home in the Arab world. It is only learned through schooling and used exclusively at outside official and formal functions. The native dialect or vernacular variety of Arabic is typically acquired as a mother tongue and continues to be used almost exclusively in speech throughout the adulthood and life (Maamouri, 1998, pp. 34-35).

Although this diglossic situation, the language policy, ideology, and planning emphasize, oppose and protect 'fusha' as the official language (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 199). Therefore, Djennane (2014, p. 55) stated that 'what is evident that there is no chance for any colloquial Arabic to be the H variety as long as SA is politically promoted and protected'.

In addition to diglossia, the context of the present study is further complicated by bilingualism. Fishman (1967) extended the term diglossia and related it to bilingualism and accordingly he classified four speech communities; (a) both diglossia and bilingualism, (b) bilingualism without diglossia, (c) diglossia without bilingualism, and (d) neither diglossia nor bilingualism. Our participants, from the English specialization, fall into the first category, the diglossic and bilingual speech community, as speakers of Standardized Arabic, Bahraini Arabic, and English.

Bassiouney (2009) has argued that diglossia can be studied within the framework of code-switching, since switching can occur not only between different languages, but also between different varieties of the same language… So rather than use the term 'diglossic switching' to refer to switching between MSA and the different vernaculars, one can use the term 'code-switching' for that purpose (p. 31).

Our participants, then, regularly code switch between their three primary speech forms, and not just between the two forms of Arabic that they wield as educated speakers.

4. BLENDED ENGLISH-ARABIC LANGUAGE CONTEXT OF BAHRAIN

From a non-linguistic perspective, as is the case in the current study, using English in education, business, and technology influences Arabic speaking students' identity, and their attitudes and views of the Arabic language. There is a tendency to use global English in intellectual, academia and modern domains while Arabic is used for family and traditional activities among young people in UAE (Badry, 2011; Troudi & Jendli, 2011). Hanani (2009) pointed out that middle and high international school students in UAE and their parents showed tendency to use English more than Arabic (L1) since English is used in a wider communication and helps them to get prosperous careers while Arabic is used at home. In Qatar, Pessoa and Rajakumar's (2011) study indicated that Arabic may lose ground as an academic language while

the dialectal forms will remain the language of home and the students' culture. To conclude this point, there is a growing problem between the spread of global English and the tendency of Arabic to lessen in prominence. In nations from Morocco to the Arabian Gulf, studies show that students still find Arabic useful for their encounters with family and for cultural and religious issues; however, English is taking precedence in terms of technology, education, and business (Al-Issa & Dahan, 2011, p. 11).

Arab youths show their awareness and understanding of using both Arabic and English as resources for facilitating communication to fit their purposes in different situations and contexts (Dahan, 2015). Belhiah and Elhami, like Al-Issa and Dahan (2011, p. 11) advocate a bi-lingual educational system for Arab Youth, which would be mediated by English, "while preserving their national identity and indigenous culture"(2014, p. 3).) The same meaning was echoed by Belhiah and Elhami (2014, p. 3) as they advocate "bilingual education as a means to improving students' mastery of English, while preserving their national identity and indigenous culture". Their work clearly applies to the language context of the segment of Bahraini university students studied here.

5. TRANSFER EFFECT

Widdowson's "Who owns English?", presented in 1993 at IATEFL, projected the questions raised by exponents of world Englishes vs. 'Native Speaker' (preferably British) English into the world of English teaching (1994). Programs and instructors of English as a second language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL), try as they might, could no longer ignore the political and social dimensions of their professional practice. Teaching world Englishes, whether as an aspect of an A-Level English Program (Gould & Rankin, 2014, pp. 218-244), an aspect of a university program, or an aspect of ESL/EFL teacher training, necessarily involves introducing students to the socio-cultural aspects of language and language policies.

Participating in courses where concepts such as alienation, mimicry, cultural imperialism and hegemonic discourse form the basis of learning equips students with the critical tools to examine what it means to be speaker of English as a second or foreign language (Fairclough, 2015; Pennycook, 2017). Jenkin's (2015) introduction of the terms 'bi-lingual English speaker' and 'mono-lingual English speaker' to replace 'non-native speaker of English (NNES) and 'native-speaker of English' (NES), substitutes a 'value added' conceptualization for the deficit stigma of non-native status (p. 98).

Arabic speaking trainee English teachers experienced a revolution in self-concept and professional identity through introduction to world Englishes (Ackley & Ebrahim, 2014, 2015). They experienced a sense of relief as they shed the stigma of non-native status and the belief that the only good English was a native variety. Acceptance of difference was extended to speakers of other varieties of English, and bi-lingual English speakers of other national origins (Ackley & Ebrahim, 2014). Evidence, in the form of course reflections, pre-dated and inspired research on the world Englishes-professional identity. Students who now saw their place in English as the intersection of local practice (Pennycook, 2010) and standardized forms, reformulated their place in Arabic in the same fashion. Their language use puts them at an intersection between Bahraini dialect and Standardized Arabic, where automatic right of way is no longer given to SA.

Language is closely related to one's identity, 'language can be used as an instrument for communication, but it can also be used as a symbol of one's identity' (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 199). Dahan (2015) discussed the Arab youths' perspectives on their identity at an English medium university in UAE. Her results showed that participants have a complex and fluid Arab identity which is made up of a variety of markers. Participants in the present study failed to name Arabic as a main or major maker of their identity, rather they use both languages (Arabic and English) as resources for facilitating communication. Hopkyns (2017) and Abou-El Kheir and MacLeod (2017) have

discussed the impact of English on the identity construction of Gulf Arab youth, who concur that 'Englishization' has made them different from previous generations, but who claim an easy identitary flow between their language spheres (Hopkyns, p. 132).

Broadly speaking, using English as a medium of instruction (EMI) or learning English as a second (L2), affects learning of Arabic (L1) in two different ways; linguistically and culturally (Hussien, 2014b). The notion of cross-linguistic transfer of literacy processes between Arabic (L1) and English (L2) (Abu-Rabia & Sammour 2013; Ghuma 2011; Saiegh-Haddad & Geva, 2010) would be explored. However, the current study investigates how Bahraini trainee teachers situate their Arabic linguistic identity after introduction to practices of criticality towards variation in English. That is, the current study focuses on cultural elements (i.e., ownership, identity, hegemony) affecting standardized language forms among English language specialists at an English medium of instruction college. These students are all Bahraini citizens raised in the diglossic situation typical of Gulf Arabs.

6. RESEARCH PROBLEM

As stated above, research has been attentive to the effects of English learning and English as a medium of instruction on the identity formation of Arab university students. The present study has identified a research gap regarding the transfer effect of critical analysis of English as a world language on analysis of word Arabics. Here we specifically address the impact of validation of trainee teacher-speakers of an English variety on their self-concept as speakers of an Arabic language variety. Speakers of language variants that differ from the prestige standardized forms may develop a negative professional self-concept, and suffer as speakers from a deficit-language group. Our research problem addresses the transfer of a positive and reformulated self-image as bilingual English speakers who hold an equal share of language ownership along with monolingual English speakers, to their self-image as diglossic speakers of Arabic.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The current research sought answers to the following questions:

- How do trainee teachers in Bahrain identify themselves as Arabic speakers within the world of Arabic?
- How do these future language teachers view the use of Arabic in schools and professional contexts?
- Where do future teachers situate SA/fusha and local Arabics/varieties?
- What is the transfer effect of criticality (ownership, variation, standards and uses) regarding English to Arabic?

7. METHOD

Participants

A convenience sample of 26 Bahraini trainee teachers (24 females and 2 males) was selected. The participants were enrolled in a fourth-year (fifth in the college) English specialization at Bahrain Teachers College with an average age of 22. The participants were enrolled in TC2EN472 Varieties of English course and they had been taught by lecturers from a variety of English speaking backgrounds (see Section 3 above). The participants are bilingual (Arabic-English) speakers and have excellent experience with varieties in both English and Arabic. Written approval was obtained from the University of Bahrain research committee and oral consent from the participants.

Measures

Qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used. Using mixed methods is intended to provide greater reliability in the collected data through triangulation (Bryman, 2004, p. 275). This study incorporates data derived from the questionnaire, focus group discussions, ethnographic observations, examination papers, and theoretical analysis.

Questionnaire

An authors-developed questionnaire was used to collect data regarding the critical

extensions of world Englishes to Arabic. The questionnaire consisted of 46 five-point Likert type scale questions assessing critical extension of world Englishes to Arabic among BTC English trainee teachers in terms of (a) identity as a speaker of Bahraini Arabic (11 items), (b) identity as a member of a greater Arabic speaking community of practice (8 items), (c) teacher role as a language expert in Bahrain (7 items), (d) view of the Arabic language (10 items), and (d) transfer effect on understanding of variety in Arabic from exposure to variety in English (10 items).

As recommended by Cohen, Manion, & Morrison (2007, p. 137), the questionnaire was validated by colleagues for clarity and operationalization of the research topic and questions. The internal consistency was verified using the Cronbach's alpha = 0.73, which is an acceptable percentage (Loewenthal, 2004) that reflects internal consistency of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered in a group face to face in the classroom where participants were requested to judge how accurate the statements are for them on a five-point scale ranging from very accurate to very inaccurate. The data was coded and analyzed as part of the research. The questionnaire was approved by the University of Bahrain, Academic Research Committee and oral consent was obtained from the participants.

Focus Group Discussions

As a follow up to the questionnaire, focus group discussions were held to gather qualitative data to be triangulated with the questionnaire data and literature analysis. The focus group discussion was validated by research peers to make sure questions were relevant to and operationalized the research topic and questions (Cohen, Manion &Morrison, 2007, p. 137). The focus group discussion included two types of questions; two main general questions (warm up) and six main direct questions. General questions addressed the participants' initial thoughts or experiences of similarities between varieties in English and varieties in Arabic and the transfer effect of world Englishes to their situation as Bahraini Arabic speakers. Direct questions addressed three main issues; variation of Arabic in the classroom, code-switching from Bahraini Arabic to SA/fusha (diglossia), and language policy (bilingualism).

The researchers met with two focus groups of five to discuss the topic, nine were female and one was male. The focus group discussions were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed as part of the research. The focus group discussion was approved by the University of Bahrain, Academic Research Committee and oral consent was obtained from the participants.

Bio-Ethnographic Observations

Each of the researchers has personal experience with aspects of the topics raised by this research. The authors' bio-ethnographic correspondences to the linguistic situation of the participants created an atmosphere of empathy that motivated students to support the research project and that facilitated open and honest discussion in the focus groups.

The first author is a diglossic Arabic speaker. As an Egyptian dialect speaker, he shared the experience of encountering the new language form of 'fusha' as soon as he attended school. He has worked in both Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, as well as in Egypt, where he has been an observer of and participant in diglossic Arabic language practices. English is a second, or foreign language for him, who obtained his doctorate in the United Kingdom. His children, however, have been educated in American curriculum schools, and thus do not share the same variant of standard English. Moreover, he, as a teacher trainer in the Arabic and Islamic Studies Department, Bahrain Teachers College, must address the diglossic situation of both students and teachers in the Ministry of Education schools. Because of the required standards set for future teachers, they, as dialect speakers, must use SA as the language of instruction with children who are likewise dialect speakers, and who are required to use SA on their examinations, on their assessed written work, and as a classroom language.

The second author is a bi-lingual speaker of French and English, holding an American doctorate in French and German literature and

language. She has shared two ethno-linguistic experiences with the participants: that of being a technically non-native, or deficient, speaker of the language of study and instruction, and that of speaker of a variant of her native language once considered a deficit form – American English. She has encountered job selection and pay prejudice because of her non-native status, and that despite attainment of an expert level of language mastery far beyond the reach of most native speakers. As an ESL instructor in France, she frequently encountered bias against American pronunciation, spelling and syntactical variation. French ESL students actively protested again instruction in a form of English other than 'the Queen's English'.

In sum, the bio-ethnographic profile of the researchers facilitated the research process both as regards content and as regards participants full and honest description of the social, emotional and professional consequences of 'deficit' language status, real or imaginary.

Examination Papers

Information was also gathered from students (with official institutional and specific student permission) from answers to two questions on the final examination in TC2EN472 Varieties of English: Section I, Q 5 - Why are standard forms of language called 'elite' or 'prestige' forms? And section II, Q 5 -What changes in how you view English, its uses and its varieties have resulted in changes in how you view the uses and varieties of Arabic?

The first question solicits reflection on the elite nature of mastery of the so-called 'standard' forms of language, which conform most closely to an educated register of written language. It also anticipates student responses to the prestige, or cultural capital credited to speaker/writers of 'standard' forms of language. Students would most likely refer to the "A3 Standard language ideology in the Anglophone world" section of their textbook (Jenkins 2015, pp. 21-27), where standard language is defined as "the yardstick against which other varieties of the language are measured. Being a prestige variety, a standard language is spoken by a minority of people within a society, typically those occupying positions of power" (p. 21, emphasis in the original). The second question is more open-ended, and invites a point by point comparison of changes in the student's view of English – which was amply discussed in class – and the student's view of Arabic which entered the classroom only through the questionnaire administered during class-time.

The Answer Key to the examination proposed the following changes in how English is viewed as potential and acceptable answers:

- Within a range of mutual intelligibility and spoken/written accuracy typical of educated persons, there is no standard, or prestige variety of English.
- Language is 'a local practice' (Pennycook, 2010). What is locally accepted is standard.
- English is owned by those who speak and use it, not by any colonial or post-colonial power (Widdowson, 1994). This is a corollary of #2.
- English was given to us (Africans) by the colonial power. It is now ours to use as we wish (Achebe,1975).
- Answering the question if Africans can learn to use English like native speakers, Achebe answered "I hope not", because he didn't want imitations, but originality.
- N.B. Both the Widdowson and the Achebe texts are partially reproduced in the textbook as sections D2 and D4 (Jenkins, 2015).

RESULTS

The survey results are tabled by category, and tables are followed by analytical summaries presented as responses to research questions. Any transfer effect is supplemented by excerpts from focus group interviews and student examination papers.

Identity as a speaker of Arabic (Question1)

Table 1. Identity as a speaker of Bahraini Arabic ranked by accuracy (N=24)

No	Items	Positive response (Percent)	Neutral response (Percent)	Negative response (Percent)
1	My first – or mother tongue – is the Bahraini variety, not Standardized Arabic (SA).	87.5%	8.5%	4%
2	I have no difficulty switching from Bahraini Arabic to SA.	45.5%	8.5%	46%
3	MSA allows me to express my personality as well as Bahraini Arabic does.	29%	17%	54%
4	I easily use SA as a high, or academic register of Arabic.	49.5%	8.5%	42%
5	I prefer to use SA in all work-related experiences, such as teaching practice and speaking with professors at the UoB.	4%	12.5	83.5%
6	I never use SA in personal or family communication.	75%	0%	25%
7	In school, I use Bahraini Arabic in all classes except for Arabic and English.	58.5%	12.5%	29%
8	I do not feel like myself when I am speaking SA.	71%	17%	12%
9	It is easy for me to write examinations in SA for UoB courses.	50%	17%	33%
10	If presenting at the BTC or a conference in Bahrain, I would speak in Bahraini Arabic.	54%	17%	29%
11	I find it difficult to speak SA when I am stressed or worried.	67%	17%	16%

According to these participant responses, Bahraini Arabic forms the basis of identity, while SA has an alienation effect. Responses 1, 7 & 11 firmly establish the majority as Arabic speakers whose first linguistic reflex is Bahraini Arabic. Responses 5 & 6 show Bahraini Arabic to express emotions and a sense of belonging or deep personal identity. Responses 3 & 8 show that SA has an alienation effect on the respondents. Responses 2, 4, 9 & 10 demonstrate the official nature of SA as well as the respondents' diglossic practices. The participants' responses in the focus group are consistent with their responses to the questionnaire.

Maryam advocates using Bahraini Arabic to express personal communication:

When the kids express themselves…they love their teacher and they write a letter to her. They write it in Bahraini not in standardized. It isn't considered standardized at all […] but we do use dialect in writing – not formally […] If the writing is just to express ourselves – why not dialect.

For Maryam, Bahraini Arabic is not only to express emotional and personal communication but also it makes sense in formal situations:

A couple of years ago a group of people writing blog posts – writing in Arabizi- a novel and each chapter would be one blog post. It was Arabic dialect – it was Kuwaiti Arabic. It gained a lot of popularity with teenagers. It made sense to them. It was more easy for them to read because first it used Arabizi second they used dialect.

Beyond using Bahraini Arabic in personal and formal situations, Zahra emphasizes the creative and evolving aspects of using Bahraini Arabic 'I think that's creativity. That is how language is created. If you are going to have

a standardized– how is the language going to evolve?'

Identity as Arabic speakers: Primacy of local over SA/fusha (Question1)

Table2. Identity as a member of a greater Arabic speaking community of practice ranked by accuracy (N=24)

No	Items	Positive response (Percent)	Neutral response (Percent)	Negative response (Percent)
1	When speaking to Arabic speakers from other regions, I begin my conversation in Bahraini.	75%	8%	17%
2	I have no difficulty in understanding other regional forms/accents of Arabic such as Egyptian, Levant (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan) or North African.	71%	17%	12%
3	When outside the GCC, I initiate communication in SA.	8.5%	12.5%	79%
4	Reading in SA never presents any comprehension difficulties.	58%	12.5%	29.5%
5	Regional accents are not a problem for me.	79%	4%	17%
6	When I speak to others from the GCC, I am immediately identified as Bahraini.	75%	4%	21%
7	It is easy for me to identify the geographic origin of other Arabic speakers	87.5%	12.5%	0%
8	Newspapers from Arab countries outside the GCC are very easy to read and understand.	62.5%	37.5%	0%

All responses except 4 show a strong preference for communication within and across 'language as a local practice' without recourse to SA. Communication is initiated and carried out using the respective local dialects of each speech partner. Reading in SA (58%) does not show any significant difficulty in comprehension, whereas 'news' Arabic is (62.5%) clear.

In the focus group, Maryam explained that it would be 'rude – impolite – to speak to someone in SA instead of dialect, because speaking SA is a sign of power'. In the ensuing discussion, the members of that focus group agreed that initiating conversation with another Arabic speaker in 'fusha' – outside of very formal situations, that is – would be a dominance move, meant to belittle the interlocutor/s as uneducated or 'local bumpkins'.

Though Bahraini speakers initiate communications using their local dialect and do not find difficulties in understanding other regional dialects, they use SA outside GCC region for different reasons. For Maryam, this happens not only because SA is a widely understood variety among Arabic speakers but also because using a standard variety is more prestigious:

That's what happens in Arabic. Some people would speak Emirati because it is more prestigious than Bahraini…Speak in a certain dialect because they think it is more prestigious.

Teacher as language experts in Bahrain (Question2)

Table3. Teacher role as a language expert in

Bahrain ranked by accuracy (N=24)

No	Items	Positive response (Percent)	Neutral response (Percent)	Negative response (Percent)
1	As a teacher, I think it is very important to model SA to school children.	87.5%	12.5%	0%
2	When teaching the differences between UK and US English, I would also teach the differences in varieties of Arabic.	54%	25%	21%
3	If I need to speak to children in my school in Arabic, I will always use Bahraini.	71%	25%	4%
4	I expect my principal to speak to me in SA.	8%	17%	75%
5	Representatives of the MOE should speak SA, not Bahraini Arabic, in official situations.	54%	17%	29%
6	I do not think writing official documents in SA will be difficult for me as a professional teacher.	58.5%	8%	33.5%
7	I think it is important to maintain SA as a means of communicating among teachers in schools.	12.5%	50%	37.5%

Despite agreement that modeling SA for school children is highly important (87.5%), most future teachers do not expect to encounter or to use SA as a spoken language in school. Although 33.5% of respondents state they would find it difficult to write official documents in SA, 54 % believe that Ministry of Education personnel should use SA in official situations. These future teachers see a definite divide between what they expect of themselves, and what they expect of administrators. The divide between the school as a local environment where local language is the communication tool, and Ministry of Education events where SA should be used warrants further exploration. It is not, however, surprising, and corresponds to a perceived in-group school community – which includes the school principal as well as children and other teachers (Q 3, Q 4 & Q 7), and a more powerful, and potentially hostile, out-group of Ministry representatives (Q 5). Interestingly, the faculty at the University of Bahrain are included in the 'in-group community' of dialect speakers (Table 2, Q1), while the Ministry of Education is not. This points to a subtle, yet persistent association of SA with the coercive power of hegemonic discourse. An Arabic speaker of any origin is potentially given an in-group welcome through the use of dialect (Table 2, Q1), while expectations are other for official Ministry representatives who are kept at greater distance.

The contradiction between overwhelming support for SA presented to schoolchildren, and educational staff communicating in Bahraini merits special attention. The same contradiction was expressed in the focus group discussions. Although Zahra advocates Bahraini Arabic for creativity and natural communication (as noted above), she prefers to use SA with school children 'I think it would be better for students to just use SA because the books aren't in dialect'.

Most respondents did not perceive a logical inconsistency between their answers to questions 1 and 3. For Q1, 87.5% opted for modelling of SA for school children, while 71% then chose dialect for communication with the

children in their care (Q2). The negative pole is even clearer: only 4% would speak SA with the schoolchildren. The problem of how and when SA would be modelled – and by whom - was passed in silence. A similar point that also merits closer examination is that of SA use as an arbitrary interlude in the normal life of Bahraini speakers. Focus group participant Ahmed was adamant 'there is a gap between SA in the school […] there is no follow through in the real world. You don't use SA in the real world, in government institutions [….]'.

One focus group participant, Lulwa, did propose a possible early childhood program in dialect, to be slowly replaced by SA as a language of instruction. The other focus group members were loudly opposed to this concept, and dismissed it out of hand.

Arabic as a world Language (Question3)

Table4. View of the Arabic language ranked by accuracy (N=24)

No	Items	Positive response (Percent)	Neutral response (Percent)	Negative response (Percent)
1	I think that SA will not break up into codified varieties like North American, Indian, and British English.	54%	29%	17%
2	Standardized Arabic will not be weakened as a knowledge language by the use of English as a medium of instruction.	33.5%	37.5%	29%
3	English language media present a threat to Arabic because they dominate the market.	45.5%	42%	12.5%
4	Scholars from Arabic speaking countries need to publish their research in Arabic.	58%	21%	21%
5	It is important that Arabic be maintained as a means of communicating knowledge and research.	83%	17%	0%
6	It is central to SA to be maintained as a means of communication in traditional media (radio, TV, and newspapers).	84%	8%	8%
7	I think that it is important to maintain a balance of Arabic and English (bilingualism) in our schools and universities.	96%	4%	0%
8	I think that Arabic is more for family, cultural, and religious issues, while English is for technology, education and business.	54%	4%	42%
9	In social media, I think that using English letters (Arabizi) is beginning to erode Arabic in the face of English.	25%	41%	34%
10	I think that borrowing from English into Arabic – both SA and varieties- presents a threat to Arabic.	33%	33%	34%

These questions relate to Arabic as a world language alongside English. Responses show that the future English teachers believe in Arabic as a knowledge language, and argue for its preservation as such. They equivocate, however, and, as a majority find a social, intimate vs. technical, professional divide between Arabic and English (54 %). For Ahmed, SA is only used for official purposes:

Even when I speak with Arabs from other varieties, I will use their variety and they will try to use mine…we would never use SA to understand each other…never, it is only for official purposes ..like TV., for governmental speeches, and that kind of thing.

Ahmed continues to emphasize that Bahrain variety (L) is the dominant spoken language in everyday communication:

The biggest issue here is that SA There is a gap between SA in the school […] there is no follow through in the real world You don't use SA in the real world, in government institutions [….] you go to a certain ministries in BH, for example, you go to ministry of health – the employees there don't use SA they speak to you in Bahraini, they don't use MSA.

This comment reveals what seems to be a double standard regarding the bureaucratic institutions of Bahrain, where the Ministry of Education is expected by a small majority (54%) to uphold standards of SA, but where other bureaucracies are expected to conduct business with Bahrainis in Bahraini dialect. It is tempting to read between the lines to see an intersection of the Ministry of Education with language politics absent from the rest of Bahraini bureaucracies.

Transfer effect of criticality regarding English to Arabic (Question4)

Table5. Transfer effect on understanding of variety in Arabic from exposure to variety in English ranked by accuracy (N=24)

No	Items	Positive response (Percent)	Neutral response (Percent)	Negative response (Percent)
1	I value Bahraini Arabic as a legitimate form of Arabic.	67%	25%	8%
2	I am encouraged to accept a single world-wide standard for Arabic.	29.5%	50%	20.5%
3	I believe that accepting varieties in Arabic will help sustain and preserve the Arabic language.	79%	12.5%	8.5%
4	Variation in written forms of Arabic (syntax, morphology, lexis) should be accepted.	46%	29%	25%
5	Speakers of any variety of Arabic own the language equally with all other Arabic speakers.	83.5%	12.5%	4%
6	I am willing to accept contact loan words into Arabic from the Indian Subcontinent, the Philippines and other neighboring countries.	55%	29%	16%
7	Regional varieties of Arabic, such as Levant, Gulf and North African should be codified and accepted as are Australasian, North American and British varieties of English.	58.5%	29%	12.5%

8	Arabic modified for use as an international language, that is, for communication among non-native speakers of Arabic, is a legitimate variety.	62.5%	29%	8.5%
9	The difficulties in setting standards for local use variations of language – whether Arabic or English or Chinese – are the same.	62.5%	21%	16.5%
10	SA and 'standardized' English are prestige varieties which reinforce socio-economic inequality among speakers.	41.5%	25%	33.5%

Most interesting is the response (3) that acceptance of multiple Arabics will prevent language death of a single standard. Second, respondents see regional forms of Arabic (Egyptian, Levant, Gulf, North African) as parallel to US/UK/Australasian varieties of English. For Maryam1, problems of codification and standards are seen as equivalent between Arabic and English.

If varieties of English are accepted, why not varieties of Arabic? Just like English: it isn't possible to accept one variety of Arabic. We should make it fair for students by accepting varieties. I wouldn't want to be alienated because of my dialect.

In addition, Bahrain trainee teachers literally extend their understanding of variation in world Englishes to variation of Arabics as stated in an examination paper:

After taking this course [WE], . . . I developed a different opinion towards the uses of Arabic. I now believe that each variety of Arabic deserves to be codified. . . Today I think learning the varieties is much more important [than SA] (from answer sheet).

One critical extension is related to the ownership of Arabic by its speakers. This response shows a major changes in the participants' view as a direct result of reading about language ownership in English.

Widdowson said that native speakers of English have no right to decide how others use English; this also applies for Arabic, because no one owns Arabic, and we can't tell people what to do with it (from answer sheet).

DISCUSSION

Three major findings emerged from the present study involving (a) identity as speakers of Arabic in community and schools, (b) Arabic as a world language, and (c) transfer effect of criticality regarding English to Arabic.

Bahraini Arabic variety (L) forms the basis of identity of Bahraini English trainee teachers, while SA variety (H) has an alienation effect. This result is consistent with a well-established body of research in Arabic sociolinguistics. Arabic language is marked as a diglossic language (Maamouri, 1998; Versteegh, 2001) where people use variety (L) as a spoken language at home and in everyday communication while they only preserve SA variety (H) to writing and official situations (Bassiouney, 2009).

This current project strongly indicated that Bahraini speakers go far beyond the diglossia described above. Most students (e.g., our participants) are code switchers not only between Bahraini variety (L) and SA variety (H) but also between Arabic and English. This situation was referred to by Fishman (1967) as both diglossic and bilingual situation. Children learn SA variety (H) through schooling. In fact, it is a problematic situation because SA variety (H) is not only politically and officially protected and prompted in schools (Djennane, 2014, p. 55), but also the language of writing and textbooks, whereas in reality, students and teachers use Bahraini variety (L) (Mokhtar & Al-Hattami, 2018). Unlike English, which has several recognized and codified native-speaker forms known as British English, American

English and Australasian English, Arabic has one formally recognized standard form, SA. The most commonly recognized variants of Arabic, Egyptian, Levant and Gulf Arabic exist primarily as convenience lexicons and dialect primers for non-native speakers. The situation is further complicated in Bahrain by two factors. The first is the high percentage of non-Bahraini Arabic speakers teaching in the primary schools, especially boys' schools, due to the dearth of male primary teachers. These non-Bahraini teachers are predominantly Jordanian, Egyptian or Tunisian. At this time, we have only anecdotal evidence of their use of region specific pronunciation and lexicon. The second is the MoE selection of strictly UK curricular materials, including audio language support, in an environment where most English speakers use American pronunciation, if not idioms and spelling, as a result of media exposure to American forms.

This problematic situation might explain a paradoxical view held by participants in the current study. Despite their agreement that modeling SA variety (H) for school children is highly important (87.5%) as explained in Table 3, most do not expect to encounter or to use SA as a spoken language in school. This is a critical issue that needs further investigation, and perhaps, elaboration of a model that balances between prompting SA variety (H) and meanwhile benefiting and upgrading Bahraini variety (L) as a mother tongue of Bahraini students and teachers.

English trainee teachers, in the current study, believe in Arabic as a knowledge language and argue for its preservation. In the same vein, the youth participants from 16 Arab countries in the large-scale Seventh Annual Arab Youth Survey (2015) view Arabic language as central to their national identity nevertheless, many believe that it is losing its value, especially in GCC countries, and converse to English as the language of prosperous careers. It appears that the responses in support of Arabic as a knowledge language could be more a question of affect than of fact. Research undertaken by the 2018-19 cohort of students gave similar results, and are equally contradictory to the rest of questionnaire responses, i.e., we use English more than Arabic, but Arabic will never be diminished (Adnan). Respondents to our survey, the later cohort, and youth in the 2015 survey cited above equivocate as a majority find a social, intimate vs. technical, professional divide between Arabic and English. Al-Issa and Dahan (2011, p. 11) argued that there is a tendency to use global English in intellectual, academia and modern domains while Arabic is used for family, cultural and religious issues and in a wider communication. Nevertheless, Dahan (2015) explained that Arab youths show their awareness and understanding of using both Arabic and English as resources for facilitating communication to fit their purposes in different situations and contexts.

This explains the complicated nature of the language situation in Bahrain as both diglossic (switching between Bahraini variety and SA variety) and bilingual (switching between Arabic and English) one as referred to by Fishman (1967). Many researchers e.g., Al-Issa and Dahan (2011, p. 11) Belhiah and Elhami (2014, p. 3) advocate the idea of bilingualism as a balanced solution to preserving Arabic as a key to national identity and culture while promoting English. This idea of bilingualism or maintaining a balance between Arabic and English is congruent with views held by the English trainee teachers as depicted in Table 4. The issue here is how that this balance could be achieved. As seen in Table 4, perhaps using Arabic as a means for communicating knowledge, and research and in traditional media (e.g., Radio, TV, and Newspapers) in Arab countries could maintain a precarious blending of SA and English as knowledge media. However, this issue requires further investigation.

In sum, the responses to the status of Arabic as a world language correspond to the research done on the effect of English on Arabic language per se, without the critical cultural element added in this research. These responses conform to findings on the situation of Arabic relative to English cited in section 3 above, blended

English-Arabic language context of Bahrain. In these tabled responses (Table4) we see again the unacknowledged contradiction between the statement of an ideal, like the almost unanimous position that someone must uphold models of SA in the schools, with a perceived reality in which all school communication takes place in dialect. Here, it is the ideal of Arabic perpetuated as a language of knowledge transmission as well as one of formal media communication (Qs 5, 6, 7) contrasted with the recognized reality of the impact of English on the use of Arabic outside of a personal social sphere. The stated belief in a possible Arabic of scholarship, in a possible bilingualism, is strongly undercut by the responses specifying the role of English in publication, business and technology.

Interestingly, the participants, as explained in Table 5, view regional forms of Arabic (e.g., Egyptian, Levant, Gulf, North African) as parallel to US/UK/Australasian varieties of English. Problems of codification and standards are seen as equivalent between Arabic and English. Like English, multiple varieties will help to sustain and preserve the Arabic language. That is to say, English trainee teachers made non-linguistic critical extensions of world Englishes to world Arabics pertaining to varieties in Arabic, codification of dialects, and ownership. They go beyond accepting varieties to emphasize the importance of dialects at the expense of SA and thus, they believe in and advocate codification of these varieties, as is the case in English. Once the questions moved from their affective and identitary association with Classical (if not Standard) Arabic, participants were again supportive of language variation according to user and context of use.

They also made a critical extension regarding language ownership. The respondents indicated that the language, any language (Arabic and English in our case), is owned by whoever speaks it. This is consistent with what was revealed by Parmegiani's (2017) study as a group of black South African university students took ownership of English as part of their process of self-empowerment. Previous research in the Bahraini context showed that Bahraini Arabic speaking trainee teachers, from the English specialization, experienced a change in self-concept and professional identity through introduction to world Englishes (Ackley & Ebrahim, 2014, 2015). They experienced a sense of relief as they shed the stigma of non-native status and the belief that the only good English was one of the native varieties. Acceptance of difference was extended to speakers of other varieties of English, and bi-lingual English speakers of other national origins (Ackley & Ebrahim, 2014). The same meaning is echoed by a participant on her answer sheet:

One of the major changes in my view of language is ownership. The language is owned by whoever speaks it, not only its native speakers. Being a native Arabic speaker and a non-native English speaker makes no difference, as I own both languages. Moreover, every Arabic speaker owns the language equally as we natives do.

In addition, evidence in the form of course reflections pre-dated and inspired research on the world Englishes-professional identity. Students who now saw their place in English as the intersection of local practice and standardized forms, reformulated their place in Arabic in the same fashion. Their language use puts them at a cross roads between Bahraini dialect and Standardized Arabic.

CONCLUSION

Research with advanced students of ESL, whose future as teachers makes them decidedly concerned with questions of language use and language policies, clearly shows that the critical approach to English language developed in their Varieties of English course has led them to analyze and respond to variation in Arabic with the same critical apparatus. An important reminder point is that Varieties of English content, most especially the Jennifer Jenkins reframing of NNEST status to bilingual English speaking teachers status, led students to appreciate the cognitive advantage of their bilingual, often multi-lingual, situation. The negative value previously assigned to non-native English and to dialectal Arabic was rejected, as students

asserted ownership of the language forms they regularly use and develop in their local context. Respondents recast their diglossia to a local and valid form of Arabic, parallel to, and not necessarily competing with Modern Standard Arabic. Only when the affective chord of an idealized form of Arabic, symbolic of Arabic cultural heritage was touched, did students who practice a critical approach to language hegemony support a unitary MSA standard. The respondents state that their language, whether in the realm of English or of Arabic, is enriched by their ability to master multiple forms, and their cognitive agility enhanced by habits of code switching within or across languages. When language multiplicity and variation have been recognized as valuable assets, acceptance of universally standard forms of language is diminished. Criticality was clearly extended from positive views of variation in English to positive positioning regarding variation in Arabic. Further investigations are warranted to understand the contradiction between how English trainee teachers view the Arabic language and how they practice it in reality.

Note

This paper was presented in IAWE Conference, Syracuse, New York, July 2, 2017.

REFERENCES

Abou-Elkheir, A. & MacLeod, P. (2017). English education policy in Bahrain – A review of K-12 and higher education language policy in Bahrain. In R. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), English language education policy in the middle east and north Africa (pp. 9-32). Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-46778-8_2

Abu-Rabia, S. & Sammour, R. (2013). Spelling errors' analysis of regular and dyslexic bilingual Arabic-English students. Open Journal of Modern Linguistics, 3(1), 58-68. http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ojml.2013.31007

Ackley, S. & Ebrahim, P. (2014). "A Quartet of Voices from the World Englishes Classroom" (Conference presentation) 20thIAWE Conference, Dehli, India, December.

Ackley, S. & Ebrahim, P. (2015). "Joining a World Community of NNESTS" (Conference presentation) TESOL, Singapore, December.

Al-Issa, A. (2011). Introduction. In A. Al-Issa & L. S. Dahan (Eds.), Global English and Arabic: Issues of language, culture, and identity (pp. vii-xi). Oxford: Peter Lang.

Al-Issa, A. & Dahan, L. S. (2011). Global English and endangered Arabic in the United Arab Emirates. In A. Al-Issa & L. S. Dahan (Eds.), Global English and Arabic: Issues of language, culture, and identity (pp. 1-22). Oxford: Peter Lang.

ASDA'A Burson-Marsteller (2015). 7th Annual ASDA'A Burson-Marsteller Arab youth survey. Retrieved from http://arabyouthsurvey.com/about-survey.html

Badry, F. (2011). Appropriating English: Languages in identity construction in the United Arab Emirates. In A. Al-Issa & L. S. Dahan (Eds.), Global English and Arabic: Issues of language, culture, and identity (pp. 81-122). Oxford: Peter Lang.

Bassiouney, R. (2009). Arabic sociolinguistics. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Belhiah, H & Elhami, M. (2015). English as a medium of instruction in the Gulf: When students and teachers speak. Language Policy, 14(1), 3-23. doi: 10.1007/s10993-014-9336-9

Braine, G. (2010). Nonnative speaker English teachers. New York (NY): Routledge.

Buckingham, L. (Ed.) (2017). Language, identity and education on the Arabian Peninsula. Bristol (UK): Multilingual Matters.

Bryman, A. (2004). Social research methods (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buckingham, L. (Ed.) (2017). Language, identity and education on the Arabian Peninsula. Bristol (UK): Multilingual Matters

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007).

Research methods in education (6th ed.). London: RoutledgeFalmer

Dahan, L. S. (2015). A critical examination of the significance of Arabic in realizing an Arab identity: The perspectives of Arab youth at an English medium university in the United Arab Emirates (Doctoral dissertation). University of Exeter, Exeter. Retrieved from https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/handle/10871/21466

Djennane, T. (2014). Diglossia's stability in the Arab world: Algeria as an instance. Journal Of Humanities and Social Science, 19(11), 52-56. Retrieved from https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a3f4/d6df0247545ca90d31ce41206ef2da5775c9.pdf

Fasold, R. (1995). The sociolinguistics of society. Oxford: Blackwell

Fishman, J. A. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; Diglossia with and without bilingualism. Journal of Social Issues, 23(2), 29-39.

Ghuma, M. (2011). The transferability of reading strategies between L1 (Arabic) and L2 (English) (Doctoral dissertation). University OF Durham, Durham. Retrieved from http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/924/

Fairclough, N. (2015). Language and power (3rd ed.). London (UK): Routledge.

Ferguson, C. A. (1964). Diglossia. In D. Hymes (Ed.), Language in culture and society (pp. 390-429). New York: Harper & Row.

Ferguson, C. A. (1972). Diglossia. In P. P. Gigliolo (Ed.), Language and social context: Selected readings, (pp. 232-251). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Gould, M. & Rankin, M. (2014). Cambridge international AS and A level English language Coursebook (pp.218-244). Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press.

Hanani, F. (2009). Impact of English on young Arabs' use of Arabic in UAE. (Master dissertation). American University of Sharjah, Sharjah. Retrieved from https://dspace.aus.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11073/75/29.232-2009.14%20Fatiha%20Hanani.pdf?sequence=1

Hopkyns, S. (2017). A conflict of desires: global English and its effects on cultural identity in the United Arab Emirates (Doctoral dissertation). University of Leicester, Leicester. Retrieved from 2017HOPKYNSSLPhD.pdf

Hussien, A. (2014a). The Indicating Factors of Oral Reading Fluency of Monolingual and Bilingual Children in Egypt. International Education Studies, 7(2), 75-90. http://dx.doi.org/10.5539/ies.v7n2p75

Hussien, A. (2014b). The Effect of Learning English (L2) on Learning Arabic Literacy (L1) in the Primary School. International Education Studies, 7(3), 88-98. http://dx.doi.org/10.5539/ ies.v7n3p88

Hussien, A. (2017). Reading fluency in Arabic: Indicators, Factors, and Bilingualism. Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing.

Jenkins, J. (2015). Global Englishes: A resource book for students, (3rd ed.). London (UK): Routledge

Karolak, M. (2012). Bahraini women in the 21st century: Disputed legacy of the unfinished Revolution. Journal of International Women's Studies, 13(5), 5-16. Retrieved from http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol13/iss5/3

Loewenthal, K. M. (2004). An introduction to psychological tests and scales (2nd ed.). Hove, UK: Psychology Press.

Maamouri, M. (1998). Language education and human development: Arabic diglossia and its impact on the quality of education in the Arab region. Retrieved from https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED456669

Marcais, W. (1930). La Diglossie Arabe. L'Enseignement Public; 97, 401-409.

Language. Bristol (UK): Multilingual Matters.

Mokhtar, I. & Al Hattami, A. (2018). المشكلات التي يواجهها المعلمون المتدربون في تدريس اللغة العربية أثناء التربية العملية من وجهة نظرهم: الصف الرابع بالحلقة الأولى أنموذجا [Problems experienced by trainee teachers in teaching Arabic during fourth grade practicum from their point of view] . The third Arab international conference in Sharjah entitled: Teaching and learning the Arabic Language looking towards the future: Opportunities and challenges. Held on 31 January to 1 February 2018, pp. 517-542, Sharjah, UAE.

O'Neill, G.T. (2017). Heritage, heteroglossia and home: Multilingualism in Emirati families, in L. Buckingham (Ed.), Language, identity and education on the Arabian Peninsula (pp. 13-38). Bristol (UK): Multilingual Matters.

Parmegiani, A. (2017). Gender and the ownership of English in South Africa. World Englishes, 36(1), 42-59. https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12214

Pessoa, S. & Rajakumar, M. (2011). The impact of English-medium higher education: The case of Qatar. In Al-Issa, A. & Dahan, L. S. (Eds.). Global English and Arabic: Issues of language, culture, and identity (pp. 153-178). Oxford: Peter Lang.

Ponnuchamy, G. (2017). History of English as a second language teaching in the middle east and the current scenario in Bahrain. Arab World English Journal, 8(4), 444-450. doi: https://dx.doi.org/10.24093/awej/vol8no4.30

Pennycook, A. (2001). Critical applied linguistics: A critical introduction. Mahwah (NJ): Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Pennycook, A. (2010) Language as a local practice. Abingdon (UK): Routledge.

Pennycook, A. (2017). The cultural politics of English as an international language. Oxon (UK): Routledge.

UNDP (2003). Arab human development report: Building a knowledge society. New York: United Nations Publications. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regionalreports/arabstates/Arab_States_2003_en.pdf

Ridge, N., Shami, S., Kippels, S. & Farah, S. (2014). Expatriate teachers and education quality in the Gulf Cooperation Council, Policy Paper #11. Al Qasimi Foundation for Policy Research. Retrieved from http://www.alqasimifoundation.com/en/publication/21/expatriate-teachers-and-education-quality-in-the-gulf-cooperation-council

Saiegh-Haddad, E., & Geva, E. (2010). Acquiring reading in two languages: An introduction to the special issue [Special issue]. Reading and Writing: An interdisciplinary Journal, 23(3-4), 263-267. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11145-009-9208-4

Troudi, S. & Jendli, A. (2011). Emirati students' experiences of English as a medium of instruction (23-48). In Al-Issa, A. & Dahan, L. S. (Eds.). (2011). Global English and Arabic: Issues of language, culture, and identity. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Versteegh, K. (2001). The Arabic language. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. (1994). The ownership of English. TESOL Quarterly, 28(2) 377-389. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3587438

World Population Review (2017). Countries: Bahrain Population. Retrieved from http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/bahrain-population/

Zuhair, A. M. (2012). تطوراللهجات البحرينية: دراسة في تطورألفاظ اللهجات البحرينية في العقود التسعة الماضية منذ 1919 حتى 2011 [The Development of Bahraini dialect during the last eight educational decades 1919-2011]. Beirut: Arab Scientific Publishers, Inc