AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY MANIFESTATION IN LEBANESE-ANGLOPHONE WRITTEN MEMOIRS

by
SAMIA ZIAD RACHID

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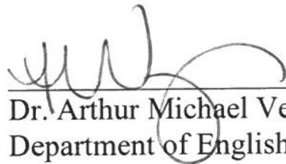

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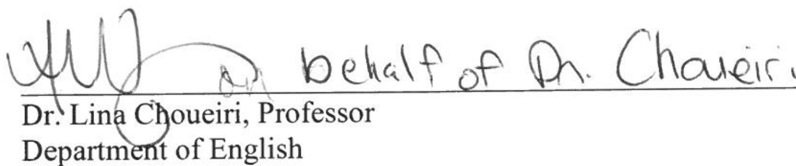

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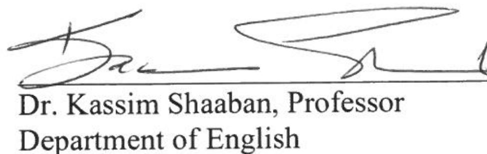

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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This study examined (socio)linguistic aspects—e.g. variation in the Romanization of Arabic and sociocultural influences—in the study of identity manifestation in written discourse of three Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs. This study illustrates that multiple social identities are constructed/revealed through language use, and a particular identity, or identities, can be made salient depending on the situation or context of language use. Multiple social identity constructions and negotiations were examined from the perspective of Social Identity Theory and Identity Negotiation Theory, which recognize identity as a co-construct involving the self and the other. Thus, as discernable from this sociolinguistic study, multiple social identities are manifested through language use, however, readers are recognized to play a significant role in ascribing identity to the writer through interpretation of the writer's language use, based on their own personal experiences or, internalizations.

A corpus of Arabic token words (code-switching) was collected for each of the written memoirs, as a locus of study for the variation in the Romanization of Arabic. Moreover, linguistic inquiry of contextual influences, at the location of Romanized Arabic token insertions, allowed for a deeper understanding of identity manifestation in written discourse practices. Five Arabic letters—/ح/, /خ/, /ض/, /غ/, and /ص/— are unanimously realized as [h], [kh], [d], [gh], and [s], respectively, across all linguistic situations in the Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs, regardless of the (in)formality of the context, showing no variation in Romanization. Variation occurs in the use of /ع/, predominantly represented as [aa] in the Romanization of Arabic in the memoirs, along with variation in the realization of /qaf/ (as [q], [k], or replaced with the modern glottal variant ['] in particular instances). The variations present amongst these two Arabic letters were traced back to different sociocultural influences, such as the internalization of different linguistic and cultural (including religious) backgrounds and experiences. Furthermore, binary discourse (we/us/ours versus they/them/theirs) was explored to illustrate identity salience practices, demonstrating how the use of *we* in different contexts elicits different group membership/ingroup alignment. Ultimately, the role of the reader, and his/her own group identification and internalizations, is as significant in written discourse identity manifestation as that of the writer.

Keywords: Identity, Identity manifestation, Identity negotiation, Lebanese-Anglophone, Multiple identities, Social identity, Sociolinguistics, Romanization, Written code-switching

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF vi

FIGURES x

TABLES xi

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. LITERATURE REVIEW 6

A. Defining Identity 6

B. Identity in Written Discourse 7

C. Internalization of Stereotypes: The use of [q] in the Arabic Language 14

D. Multiple Social Identities & Identity Negotiation: Language and Culture 17

1. Language and Culture (and Religion) 17

2. Identity Construction: Multiple Identities, Indexation and Salience 23

3. Binary language: In-group/out-group identity construction and the use of personal pronouns 26

4. Arabic in Anglophone Written Discourse: Code-switching, Romanization, Transliteration, and Identity 28

E. Concluding Remarks 32

III. METHODOLOGY 34

A. The Study 34

B. Selection of Lebanese-Anglophone Memoirs 34

C. Data Collection and Analysis 36

D. Summary of Memoirs/Themes 40

E. Locating Identity Manifestation, Negotiation 42

IV. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION 43

A. Arabic Token Words and Orthographic Representation 43

1. Romanizations without variation 45

2. Voiced pharyngeal fricative 47

3. Voiceless uvular stop 50

4. Final remarks about Romanization and variation 55

B. At the Forefront of (Linguistic) Identity 56

C. Language Indexing Group Membership: Examples and Analysis 57

1. Who Are "We"? In Abbas El-Zein's Leave to Remain (2009) 57

a. We = Arab/Middle Eastern 58

b. We = Lebanese 61

c. We = Lebanese Australian 62

d. We = Australian 65

2. "Amreeka" in Zena El Khalil's Beirut: I Love You (2009) 65

3. Lebanese Food Culture in Salma Abdelnour's Jasmine and Fire (2012) 69

V. CONCLUSION 76

REFERENCES 82

Appendix

I. ARABIC TOKENS CORPUS DATA 89

A. Abdelnour 89

B. El Khalil 91

C. El-Zein 92

II. "AMREEKA" IN CONTEXT 93

FIGURES

Figure Page

1. Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity………...………...………...……………......24

TABLES

Table Page

1. Selection of Lebanese-Anglophone Memoirs Analyzed in this Thesis Study..…………35

2. Number of each variant used to represent /ع/ by each memoirist…..…………………...47

3. Phonetic Environment Patterns of Voiced Pharyngeal Fricative /ع/……….……………47

4. Number of each variant used to represent /qaf/ by each memoirist………………….…50

5. Orthographic Representations of Voiceless uvular stop /ق/ or /qaf/…………………...52

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Mixed language written discourse is understood in contemporary research to reveal identity construction—for the writer and the reader (Sebba et al., 2012). Use of heritage language (Arabic) words and expressions in text whose primary language is English, as in Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs, is a common practice, known as code-switching (Albirini, 2016; Montes-Alcalá, 2000, 2015). While Lebanese-Anglophones do not *need* to include their heritage language, or even have knowledge of that language, in order to claim Lebanese identity, it is a way for writers to index multiple social identities. Language mixing, or code-switching, can reveal linguistic identity (Albirini, 2016), and these Romanized words, or Arabic token words, interspersed throughout the written memoirs of Lebanese-Anglophone authors (writing and publishing their works in English), can be analyzed to reveal other identities, such as religious and cultural identities.

The choice to analyze Romanization of Arabic words in the memoirs of three Lebanese-Anglophone writers was made in an attempt to illustrate multiple social identity construction in written discourse, as many studies have demonstrated with analysis of oral discourse (Albirini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2009; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Bucholtz, 2009; Daher, 1998; Riman, 2008; Wodak et al., 2011). Romanization refers to the use of the Roman alphabet to represent words from languages with a different orthography (Hamdan, 2016), as has been done with the Arabic token words inserted into the memoirs of the Lebanese-Anglophone tradition. Moreover, any orthographic variants, and/or any

contextual social elements involved in language use, can reveal aspects of one's identity, despite identity salience at a particular time (Ting-Toomey and Dorjee, 2014). Arguably, language mixing in written discourse is a well-thought out, revised, edited, and ultimately, conscious process (Sebba et al., 2012); however, certain internalizations—due to socialization from a young age (Shaaban, in press)—are processes of language that are subconsciously applied, thus, this study aims to reveal these acquired internalizations.

For instance, at times, certain linguistic features can be made prominent, to reveal aspects of one's identity; a member of the Druze religious group might use the phonological variant [q] to highlight their religious identity. However, knowledge of [q] being a stereotype, or internalization, of the dialect of the Druze (Riman, 2008) might cause that same group member to avoid the use of the [q] in order to avoid certain stereotypical categorizations, i.e., assumptions of religious affiliations. Other groups in Lebanon utilize the [q], in oral and written discourse, i.e., Alawites or Lebanese-Christians living in rural regions, however, because the [q] is a stereotype of the Druze, those who use [q] are generally ascribed Druze identity (Riman, 2008). On the other hand, a devout Muslim might use [q] in writing, regardless of which variant they use in speech—[q] or the urban variant [ʔ]—which may not be striking to readers, as Lebanese people are accustomed to reading a language (Modern Standard Arabic) that is much different from the language they speak (Lebanese Colloquial Arabic). The [q] is the sound taught at school in Lebanon, and the Arab world, as part of MSA (Albrini, 2016), although it is pronounced by some groups in Lebanon in oral discourse. Take for example those who have some knowledge of the language present in the Quran; exposure to the formal language, Classical Arabic, found in the Quran might be reflected in their Romanization of /qaf/ as [q] reflecting not only

cultural identity, but also internalizations of religious background and/or experiences (Albirini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2009; Daher, 1998).

These examples allow us to discern that identity is not only constructed by the writer, but it is also constructed by the reader. The aim of this study is not to question the intentions of the author in using certain linguistic variables in his/her Romanization of Arabic, but to trace any linguistic patterns in the Arabic token words that exist in each memoir, and across the three memoirs, and to explore the broader sociocultural and sociolinguistic influences for a deeper understanding of identity manifestation. The orthography present in these texts is not a new phenomenon, as Romanization of Arabic has been studied extensively. One type of Romanizing Arabic, in attempt to represent Arabic sounds not present in the English language, is commonly known as *Arabizi* (Allehaiby, 2013; Abu Elhij'a, 2012; Kosoff, 2014; Yaghan, 2008). This practice has not undergone intervention from linguists (Sebba et al., 2012), and has been developed by everyday language users as a way of transliterating Arabic words in Roman alphabet in writing, that allows for freedom of use and expression (Abu Elhij'a, 2012). Any variety of Arabic can be expressed using *Arabizi*; *Arabizi* allows for the use of numbers to represent certain Arabic sounds (i.e., the use of the number "2" to represent the glottal stop, which can also be used in the place of [q] at times), as seen on Facebook or in text messages (Abu Elhij'a, 2012). However, in relation to the written memoir, I will refer to the language mixing as Romanization, as it is not customary (yet) to use the number system in more formal arenas of written discourse.

The three texts selected for this thesis study are: Salma Abdelnour's *Jasmine and Fire: A Bittersweet Year in Beirut* (2012), Zena El Khalil's *Beirut, I Love You: A Memoir*

(2009), and Abbas El-Zein's *Leave to Remain: A Memoir* (2009). The memoir was chosen as it is most similar to oral speech in terms of identity construction, because the authors are telling their own life story, rather than ascribing identities to characters (Wodak et al., 2011; Jackson & Hogg, 2010c)—"a way of tapping into the teller's social identities" (Wodak et al., 2011, p. 396).

Socially-minded linguistic analysis of the written memoir, or narrative (used interchangeably), is advantaged by the focus on social interactional approaches to identity, such as the Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Burke & Stets, 2009) and the Identity Negotiation Theory (INT) (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014), both recognizing the role of the individual in identity construction, as well as the role of others. Others are equally involved as we are in the construction of our own identity. These theoretical perspectives also recognize that a particular identity, or identities, can be made salient at certain times, hence, identity negotiation. Identity is an ongoing construction, not a static, essentialist notion; it is constantly shifting according to the situation, thus, context cannot be overlooked in the analysis of language use.

This study aims to explore the Romanized Arabic insertions, and the surrounding context, such as social and cultural influences, in Lebanese-Anglophone written memoir, in attempt to reveal multiple social identity manifestation in written discourse.

Chapter II reviews literature in the fields of identity, written discourse, multiple social identity manifestation, and the main assumptions of Social Identity Theory and Identity Negotiation Theory. Furthermore, areas of research that are particular to the findings of this study are reviewed, including stereotypes associated with the Arabic language (namely use of [q] in language), the Romanization of Arabic (including

implications of variation), binary language (e.g., personal pronoun, “we”) used to index group membership, as well as the influence of culture and religion on language.

Chapter III is devoted to a detailed methodology of the study, thus an explanation of data collection and data analysis procedures is provided. This chapter explains how all Arabic Romanizations—Arabic token words—were manually collected to create a corpus—and, ultimately, a locus of (socio)linguistic study—for each of the three Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs. Criterion for the choice of memoirs is provided, as well as a list of memoirs that are part of the Lebanese-Anglophone tradition, but were not chosen for analysis in this study. Finally, in this chapter, I have included a brief summary of each memoir (and central themes) in order to provide context for the language used—namely, Arabic-English code-switching—or, variation in use, of each memoir.

Chapter IV contributes a descriptive analysis of the data along with a discussion of the results. And, finally, Chapter V summarizes these results in light of the literature and implications of the study of identity manifestation in written discourse.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Defining Identity

Identity can be defined, redefined, created, recreated, written and rewritten, across different contexts, situations, and relationships. Contemporary scholarly work on identity recognizes that identity is an ongoing practice, that is not static across time and place thus, identity, in more current sociolinguistic research, is understood to be fluid and dynamic across different situations and contexts (Benwell, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Burke & Stets, 2009; Jackson & Hogg, 2010a; Joseph, 2011). Joseph (2011) supports contemporary identity research, and realizes that:

> recent work on language and identity include[s] the view that identity is something constructed, rather than essential, and performed, rather than possessed – features that the term *identity* itself tends to mask, suggesting as it does something singular, objective, and reified. Each of us performs a repertoire of identities that are constantly shifting and that we negotiate and renegotiate according to the circumstances (p. 2, italics original).

Identity is tied up in language inasmuch that one of the ways in which we perform identity is through language use; "our identities – who we are – are bound up with how we speak, write, and sign" (Joseph, 2011, p. 1). While traditional linguistics views identity as concrete and essentialist (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), whereby "self-identity has long been given a privileged role" (Edwards, 2009, p. 4), identity is not to be viewed as "a sense of self that is stable throughout one's life" (p. 6). Moreover, identity is a construction of the self, but also constructed by others—how our utterances are interpreted by others, and, the identities

others ascribe to us, which is shaped by their own experiences and expectations, based on their own personal identities (Joseph, 2011). It is recognized by Joseph (2011) that:

> Every day, each of us repeatedly undertakes this process of constructing our reading of the people we encounter, in person, on the telephone, on the radio or the screen, or *in writing*, including on the Internet, on the basis of their language (p. 1, italics my own).

Thus, Keeping in line with contemporary understandings of identity—constructed/reconstructed, written/rewritten, and read/reread—in relation to language, for the sake of this study, identity is defined as:

> …something constructed, rather than essential, and performed, rather than possessed – features that the term *identity* itself tends to mask, suggesting as it does something singular, objective, and reified. Each [individual] performs a repertoire of identities that are constantly shifting and that we negotiate and renegotiate according to the circumstances (Joseph, 2011, p. 2, italics original).

This definition of identity coincides with the understanding that an individual performs multiple identities, though, "any particular identity can become the salient one in a given context" (p. 2). Because we have come to recognize a central, and perhaps even inevitable, relationship between language—including writing—and identity, it is possible to undertake a study aiming to analyze the manifestation of identity through written discourse.

B. Identity in Written Discourse

If narrative is defined as "sociolinguistic manifestations as well as discursive constructions of an array of social processes" (Gimenez, 2010, p. 199)—along with the primary interest of this study being the construction of identity through written discourse—this definition is applicable to the written memoir (thus, the terms 'narrative' and 'memoir' will be used interchangeably). Moreover, Gimenez (2010) argues that, a sociolinguistic

analysis of narratives should examine not only the formal elements (i.e., stylistic, syntactic, etc.), but also the sociolinguistic elements (i.e., culture, religion, region, etc.) that surround narratives (p. 199), thus emphasizing the importance of combining the two approaches, to analyze and interpret identity in written discourse, comprehensively.

The use of sociolinguistic factors helps to deepen our understanding of the narrative being analyzed, thus I will provide some examples. Albirini (2016), claims, "In sociolinguistic research, context is simply indispensible for understanding language as a social system, as a means of communications, and as a form of social behaviour" (p. 51); that is, "language use evolves and acquires meaning within a given context that informs its social significance" (p. 51). There are two levels of context to be considered: (1) the language level—here context implies "understanding the complexities of language and its unique structures and meanings (Akman, 2000; Harris, 1988)" (as cited in Albirini, 2016, p. 51), and (2) the speaker level—here, "context involves the demographic, socioeconomic, and ideo-political background of the speakers (Gumperz, 1982)" (as cited in Albirini, 2016, p. 51) (keeping in mind that demographic information represents age, region, religion, educational background, and so forth). Therefore, as Albirni (2016) suggests, the simple utterance, "life is worthless" can be interpreted differently depending on whether the speaker is "educated or uneducated, socioeconomically advantaged or disadvantaged, religious or non-religious" (p. 51). The utterance may be interpreted as a philosophical one if the speaker is an educated, affluent, and religious figure; on the other hand, if the speaker is non-religious, uneducated, and socioeconomically disadvantaged, the utterance may be interpreted as a complaint (Albirni, 2016). Thus, contextual, or sociolinguistic elements

should be considered in interpreting a single utterance, by referencing the preceding and following utterances (or information, in the case of written discourse). Identity is not merely the sum of the parts represented in the textual features of discourse, it is, however, "a social construct created in the complex interaction among various elements of writing, including the relationship between writer and reader, who interact through the text in a particular situational context" (Matsuda, 2015, p. 141). Therefore, studying the textual features alone is not sufficient (as already suggested above); experiences and perceptions held by both readers and writers shape identity in written discourse (Matsuda, 2015).

Grounded in ancient rhetoric, the exploration of *voice* (Matsuda, 2105) plays a key role in identity written discourse (not to be confused with Aristotle's *ethos*, although, "over the past five decades, ethos and voice developed in parallel to one another" (p. 142)). Voice became a point of interest for writing teachers, "who focused on genres that [drew] personal knowledge"; ethos became the locus of study among rhetoric experts, "with a focus on persuasive writing in academic, professional, and public contexts" (p. 142). Thus, we will be concentrating on *voice*, as the locus of the present study is the manifestation of identity in the written memoir (genre). Early conceptions of voice assumed that "writer's identity existed in the material reality external to discourse, and that identity was being projected through discourse" (p. 142). Some writing teachers and researchers (still) emphasize/value the presence of an *authentic voice* in writing, as it was valued in earlier conceptions of voice and written identity. The idea of a *projected self*—written identity that is honest and accurate in self-representation—was a measure of good writing, and thus, the presence of an *authentic self* was esteemed.

Contemporary notions of identity allow for a critique of so-called "modernist" conceptions of self as "singular, coherent, and static" (Matsuda, 2015, p. 142), and while there are several definitions of voice, current conceptions require "a broader perspective, encompassing both individual and social dimensions of voice" (p. 143). Matsuda (2015) provides an extensive overview of the various conceptions and definitions of voice, but recognizes that, "despite the existence of various definitions of voice, contemporary definitions in the published literature seem to be converging" (p. 143). Furthermore, Matsuda (2015) reviews Ivanič's overarching framework for understanding identity in written discourse, by briefly discussing each of the four aspects of writer identity: (1) *Autobiographical self*—"the writer's sense of self" (p. 143), (2) *Discoursal self*—"the impression that is created through the features of written discourse, which is also referred to as voice" (p. 144), (3) *Self as author*—"an aspect of the discoursal self, is the sense of being the author projects in written discourse" (p. 144), and (4) *Possibilities for self-hood*—"socially available identity options and discursive resources" (p. 144). The aspects of identity are not mutually exclusive, and as Matsuda (2015) points out, "[the aspects of writer identity] are both enabled and constrained by the *possibilities for selfhood*" (p. 144). Matsuda explicates that Ivanič's *possibilities for selfhood* resonates with Gee's (1990, as cited in Matsuda, 2015) notion of "'Discourse' with a big 'D'"; "That is, Discourse is not just a set of textual features but it embodies socially shared assumptions and practices that allow people to construct their identity or ways of being in society" (Matsuda, 2015, p. 144).

Building on the work of other scholars, Matsuda defines the "discursively constructed identity in written discourse, or *voice*, as the "amalgamative effect of the use of

discursive and non-discursive features that language users choose, deliberately or otherwise, from socially available yet ever-changing repertoire"" (Matsuda, 2001, p. 40; as cited in Matsuda, 2015, p. 144). Matsuda (2015) also recognizes that the reader plays a role in the writer's manifestation of discursive identity, and that the writer's voice "is ultimately perceived by the reader" (p. 145). Thus, keeping in line with the notion of reader and writer interaction as a process mediated by the text, Matsuda (2015) has developed an argument for the negotiation of identity as an interaction between the writer, the text, and the reader. Moreover, we are to understand these elements as contributors to the construction of voice, but not voice itself (Matsuda, 2015).

Applied linguistics tends to focus on the "textual realizations of identity" (Matsuda, 2015, p. 145), and according to Matsuda's review of textual function associated with "identity-in-interaction" or "positioning," there are two key constructs involved. The first key concept, *stance*, is "a community recognized personality, an attitudinal, writer-oriented function which concerns the way writers present themselves and convey their judgments, opinions and comments" (Hyland, 2008a, p. 7; as cited in Matsuda, 2015, p. 145), and the second key concept, *engagement*, "an aspect of audience awareness, is "more of an alignment function, concerning the ways that writers rhetorically recognise the presence of their readers to actively pull them along with the argument, include them as discourse participants, and guide them to interpretations"" (Hyland, 2008a, p. 7; as cited in Matsuda, 2015, p. 145).

To further our understanding of *stance*, Bucholtz (2009) interprets the sociolinguistic study of identity as a study of *style*. Style is defined by Bucholtz as "a multimodal and multidimensional cluster of linguistic and other semiotic practices for the

display of identities in interaction" (2009, p. 146) (see Bucholtz & Hall, 2005 for full framework for the analysis of identity as produced in linguistic interaction). Bucholtz (2009) proposes in understanding style, or stylistic practices, "current theorists draw either implicitly or explicitly the concept of indexicality, or contextually bound meaning" (p. 146). Indexing, or indexicality, in linguistics is commonly used to refer to the direct relationship, either implicitly or explicitly, between linguistic practices and social categories (i.e., ethnicity, age, gender, etc.) (Bucholtz, 2009); moreover, indexicality is not only a function of the individual, but also, a manifestation by the other (i.e., interlocutor or reader) and their own experiences and internalizations of linguistic practices. Furthermore, "in an indexical theory of style, the social meaning of linguistic forms is most fundamentally a matter not of social categories…but rather of subtler and more fleeting interactional moves through which speakers take stances, create alignments, and construct personas" (p. 146). Therefore, in the sociolinguistic study of discursively constructed identity, as suggested by Bucholtz, the focus is not only on patterns of linguistic variation, but also, "their distribution and function in the performance of social actions within unfolding discourse" (p. 146), which is not only prevalent, but multivalent. This is exemplified in her study of the Mexican-American slang term *güey* (meaning *dude*, *man*, *bro*, etc.), and its use in interaction, which I will discuss below.

In reviewing the extensive theoretical work done on indexical processes of construction by Elinor Ochs, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) concur, in general terms, that "the concept of indexicality involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meaning" (p. 594). However, they argue the concept of indexicality does not suggest a direct connection between linguistic form and social meaning; moreover, "stances can

build up into larger identity categories" (p. 595). Bucholtz (2009) reviews Ochs' two levels of indexicality—direct and indirect—where at the level of *indirect indexicality*, "linguistic forms become associated with particular social types believed to take [effective, evaluative, and epistemic] stances" (p. 148). Whereby, over time, these indirect indexes come to be "ideologically perceived as direct" (p. 148), and the connection between linguistic form and social meaning (i.e., interactional stance), "may undergo erasure or be backgrounded" (Irvine and Gal, 2000, as cited in Bucholtz, 2009, p. 148). For instance, the term *güey* (generally understood to mean *dude*) operates at multiple levels of indexicality. *Güey* can be used in interaction as an *affiliative address term* (like *dude*, *bro*, and other slang terms), *an insult* (i.e., *güey* driver = idiot driver), *a discourse marker*, or used in a *referential sense* (i.e., this *güey*?—non-affliative, but, non-insulting), in conjunction with a *stance of disalignment* (i.e., the use of *güey* in conversation between two friends regarding school absences, where one friend is often absent from school, but the other attends regularly), and, finally, *metapragmatic commentary on güey* (i.e., use of *güey* to mark especially impressive parts of commentary, such as, "he paid everything, güey" (p. 156), or, "We even called him güey, güey" (p. 157)). By exploring the term *güey* in its various uses, Bucholtz (2009) demonstrates the indirect indexicality of masculinity, and how *güey* comes to be *directly* associated with masculinity, as it is generally used in male-to-male interaction, as an affiliative stance term.

Furthermore, metapragmatic representations and commentary on the various uses of *güey* demonstrate how *direct indexes* develop into *stereotypes*, oversimplifying this complex linguistic form and practice (Bucholtz, 2009). For example, American ads are seen to "construct an idealized *güey* user along parameters of gender, age, ethnicity, and social

class that restrict the broader semiotic field in which *güey* circulates in interaction" (p. 159). Therefore, U.S. ads end up projecting "a young, ethnicized yet safely upper-middle-class, urban masculinity to market a quintessential masculinized product, beer" (p. 159). Moreover, the ads are not reflecting what the use of *güey* actually indexes—i.e., solidarity, or insults, and, in some cases, disalignment—rather, merely exaggerating young heterosexual masculinity. (I will return to linguistic stereotypes upon concluding the discussion of indexicality, stance, and voice).

By exploring the rhetorical research done on *stance*, we are better able to understand Matsuda's (2015) notion of *voice*, the rhetorical term for *identity* in written discourse. Clearly, understanding the notion of voice "[is] useful in identifying and describing how identity is manifested or constructed through textual features…yet, an understanding of identity is not complete without consideration of the writer's choices as well as the reader's perceptions that is triggered by various discursive and non-discursive features" (Matsuda, 2015, p. 145-6). "All [definitions of discursively constructed identity] have come to share a number of key assumptions" (p. 146), and they are listed as follows:

- Identity is not optional; all text says something about the writer, although some are more marked than others.
- Identity is multiple and dynamic.
- Identity is constructed through socially shared resources for meaning making.
- Identity is both individual and social. (Matsuda, 2015, p. 146)

Accepting the above definition does not promote "dismissal of individual voice" (p. 146), but broadens the scope to include social as well as individual (writer) identity.

C. Internalization of Stereotypes: The use of [q] in the Arabic Language

Generally, stereotypes are understood as widely held, fixed, and oversimplified perceptions or ideas—preconceived notions—regarding a particular person or groups of people, in general. For instance, the notion that all women are bad drivers is a stereotype; stereotypes are controversial and problematic because despite being true in some instances, they are not true in all instances. “A linguistic stereotype is a linguistic feature that is widely recognized and is very often the subject of dialect performance (Meyerhoff, 2006)” (as cited in Riman, 2008, p. 1). According to Riman (2008), the Druze and Christians of rural areas in Lebanon use the [q], “but since [q] is a linguistic stereotype of the dialect of Druze, people directly describe [q] users as Druze” (p. 1). Since it has been established that this is a common stereotype in Lebanon—many groups use the [q] in speech in Lebanon, including Alawites and Syrians of Damascus (Daher, 1998)—we can assume that members of the Lebanese Druze community have internalized these stereotypes, and in turn, use [q] (or the lack thereof, using the glottal stop [ʔ] instead) to either (a) index their religious identity, or (b) suppress their religious identity. In his review of linguistic variation, with a focus on the variable [q] in Damascus Arabic, Jamil Daher (1998) was able to identify that, unlike men, “women [were] more likely to avoid the connotations attached to [the Standard Arabic variant] [q]” (p. 184). While this thesis study will not be focusing on gender in linguistic variation, Daher’s findings illustrate the internalizations of stereotypes attached to linguistic forms, and supports the following review of Riman’s claims regarding the [q].

According to Riman (2008), “the Modern Standard Arabic variable /q/ has six different realizations…[q], [k], [Kˠ], [g], [ʒ], and [ʔ]” (p. 2); in Lebanon however, the variable [q] is most commonly realized as [q], [k], and [ʔ], whereby [q] is the rural (or Druze) variant and [k] and [ʔ] are the urban variants (Riman, 2008). Conversely, in Egypt,

according to Riman (2008), "[q] is educated, [ʔ] is urban, and [g] is rural (Sallam, 1980)" (as cited in Riman, 2008, p. 3). "While for the speakers who are outside the reading-writing elite, [q] was only used in the recitation of Quran and was heard in sermons and public speeches" (p. 3), in Lebanon, the [q] is no longer affiliated with higher education speech only, but, is an increasingly unexpressed linguistic variant, as a result of linguistic stereotypes that deem [q] as rural, therefore, less prestigious, in comparison to its urban counterpart [ʔ]. In Tunisia, according to Sayahi (2011), speech without the use of the [q] is perceived as less prestigious—as "the dialect of Tunis has been playing the role of the national model as it enjoys the highest degree of prestige even outside the capital (Gibson 2002)" (as cited in Sayahi, 2011, p. 2)—and the internalization of this stereotype by Tunisians causes those who do not incorporate the [q] in their speech to feel inferior. Furthermore, Damascus Arabic associates [q] with "rural background, lacking in what is perceived to be the superior status of city life" (Daher, 1998, p. 189); on the other hand, "by the norms of [Standard Arabic]…[q] represents the traditional, formal values of the educated, male, religious, and literary elite" (p. 189). Thus, as exemplified above, different Arab countries arrive at, and, maintain different stereotypes based on linguistic variation, which in turn affects people's use of language. Therefore, in contemporary society, some users of the Levantine varieties of Arabic might still maintain the view that Standard Arabic is a prestige variety—indexing higher education or religious knowledge (the use of [q] is prevalent in MSA taught in schools, and also, in the Classical Arabic of the Quran) and, in this case realize the /qaf/ as [q] in discourse (spoken or written). Others, however, might hold the vernacular in higher regard (Riman, 2008), despite level of education for

instance, and in turn, this preference could be reflected in their choice not to realize the /qaf/ as [q] in oral and/or written discourse.

D. Multiple Social Identities & Identity Negotiation: Language and Culture

1. *Language and Culture (and Religion)*

The definition (or, understanding) of culture adapted for this thesis study, inclusive of religion, is as follows: The customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious or social group; [moreover], the characteristic features of everyday existence (such as diversions or a way of life) shared by people in a place or time (OED, italics my own). It is important to recognize that religion (and religious identity) is deeply ingrained into Lebanese culture; thus, with relation to the study of multiple social identities and negotiation of Lebanese identity—religion and culture are not mutually exclusive identity aspects for the Lebanese—religious experiences and influences on (linguistic) identity manifestation cannot be ignored (Shaaban, in press).

On their work on language, verbal interaction, and identity, with a focus on culture, Ting-Toomey and Dorjee (2014) emphasize the need to understand underlying identity concerns that frame, or influence, the use of language, and the variations that might occur in particular situations and in particular group memberships (i.e., the in-group versus the out-group). Thus, using an intercultural process competence lens, they come to recognize two key ideas that are contained by this perspective in the unpacking of the relationship between language, identity, culture, but only one is relevant to the study of written discourse and identity:

> (2) being super-mindful in understanding more deeply the sociocultural identity and personal identity issues in conjunction with the role of language usage in a particular cultural system (p. 28).

What the intercultural process competence lens suggests is that the social/contextual must be studied along with the linguistic in order to understand how particular cultural (or, group) identities are manifested linguistically, as the context gives meaning to the choices made in the use of language, whether verbal, non-verbal, or written. Internalizing knowledge of in-group language practices allows one to use the appropriate language, word choice, and/or style (etc.) to achieve the desired outcome, in-group identification (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014)—maintaining the examples discussed above, for instance, Druze religious identification in Lebanon through the use of [q] in speech, or, Lebanese cultural identification in the Western and/or Arab world through the use of Arabic, or, Lebanese colloquial Arabic, respectively. Ting-Toomey and Dorjee (2014) ascertain that:

> Individuals from contrasting cultural or group membership communities often bring with them different value patterns, perceptual biases, and interaction scripts that influence their interpretations of competent versus incompetent communication behavior in a particular situation (p. 29).

According to Ting-Toomey's own theory on identity negotiation, *culture-sensitive knowledge* and *mindfulness* increase one's "awareness of self-identity issues and other-identity issues in the communication process, and also the willingness to move beyond the actual communication encounter process and taking into consideration the larger [identity factors]" (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014, p. 29). The ability to manifest personal identity linguistically also depends, to some extent, on others, and how they identify us. Being aware of the other-identification process, whether consciously or subconsciously, causes an individual to internalize certain (linguistic, cultural, religious, etc.) stereotypes that may arise in a society, thus influencing one's self-identity. This leads us to Identity Negotiation

Theory (INT), which can "guide us systematically in connecting the relationship among language, identity, and culture" (p. 30), and/or other variables (such as, religion) that can be indexed through linguistic practices.

INT recognizes identity as how an individual defines themselves and how others define them. To illustrate the self-identification and other-identification process of INT, Ting-Toomey and Dorjee (2014) use the *mistaken identity real life case story*, where Pauline, a female, African-American, University Assistant Dean (self-identification) is mistaken for a "Maître D—[or], the Head Maître D," (p. 30) and asked for a glass of iced tea without ice cubes (other-identification), upon approaching a table of strangers in a posh restaurant on the university campus. Here Ting-Toomey and Dorjee make apparent "that multiple identity clashes come into play," and this is why it is critical to promote "intercultural or intergroup communication" (p. 30). "According to Ting-Toomey's (2005a) INT, human beings in all cultures desire identity respect in the communication process" (as cited in Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014, p. 30), however, this varies from culture to culture, and since it is a process that is influenced from an individual's early formative years, many internalizations are made, that are difficult to reverse. Moreover, "physical appearance, racial traits, skin color, language usage, self-appraisal, and other-perception factors all enter into the cultural [and multiple] identity construction equation" (p. 30).

While Ting-Toomey and Dorjee (2014) explore INT in terms of intersecting cultural and ethnic identity issues, whereby:

> the INT assumes that human beings in all cultures desire both positive group-based and positive person-based identities in any type of communicative situation (p. 32),

INT is not limited to these two types of identities alone. Furthermore, the above stated concept can be applied to cultural and religious membership identity intersection, in the case of Lebanon and Lebanese identity, in which these identities are said to often "inter-mingle or intersect" (p. 32) with other identities and membership issues.

Lebanese identity is not only a cultural practice (or negotiation), but it also encapsulates religion, all which can be reflected in the use of language. Code-switching in Lebanon, "like any other linguistic phenomenon, may not be fully understood in isolation" (Albirini, 2016, p. 2), however, an attachment to the Arabic language (i.e., Arabic language borrowing in Lebanese-Anglophone written memoirs) can be understood as ties to culture or religion. Code-switching is a natural language phenomenon involving the alternating use of two (or more) languages (or, varieties, dialects, etc.) in the discourse of (bilingual) individuals. Early linguistic work on written language mixing, or, code-borrowing, on the other hand, states it often takes places "when there is a gap in the lexicon of the language" (Montes-Alcalá, 2000, p. 11). However, as Lipski (1982) claims, "language switching in literature is not the result of confusion or inability to separate the languages, but rather stems from a conscious desire to juxtapose the two codes to achieve some particular literary effect" (p. 191), or, in the case of linguistics, a tool for identity manifestation. In the Arab context, "code-switching is intricately related to such issues as diglossia, identity, language attitudes, language variation, and other aspects of the broader Arab sociolinguistic situation (speakers, communities, varieties, etc.)" (Albirini, 2016, p. 2). Thus, it is difficult to draw a line between language, and, cultural and religious identity practices in Lebanon, and ultimately, each individual aspect of identity can be understood more fully if studied together. This linkage to variation in language use, i.e., code-switching, may not be clear,

however, Ting-Toomey and Dorjee (2014) state, “whether one is communicating with an ingroup or outgroup member may highly influence the linguistic code-switching process” (p. 32).

On a case study done on “Christian and Muslim Identities in Lebanon,” Joseph (2004) “examines the role of language in constructing Lebanese Christian identities against the backdrop of centuries of Islamic domination in the region and the fact that the ultimate ‘standard’ of the Arabic language is the [Quran]” (p. 194). According to Joseph (2004), Lebanese Christians are generally known to be more likely to code-switch between Arabic and French, while Muslims generally code-switch between Arabic and English, due to educational background, influenced by a history of colonization and religious influence. To illustrate the complexity in the relationship between language and identity, in his case study, Joseph (2004) provides a transcription of a conversation that occurs between a Malaysian Chinese woman living in Scotland for over thirty years (W1), and a 24-year-old Lebanese who is venturing outside of Lebanon for the first time (W2). The conversation is as follows:

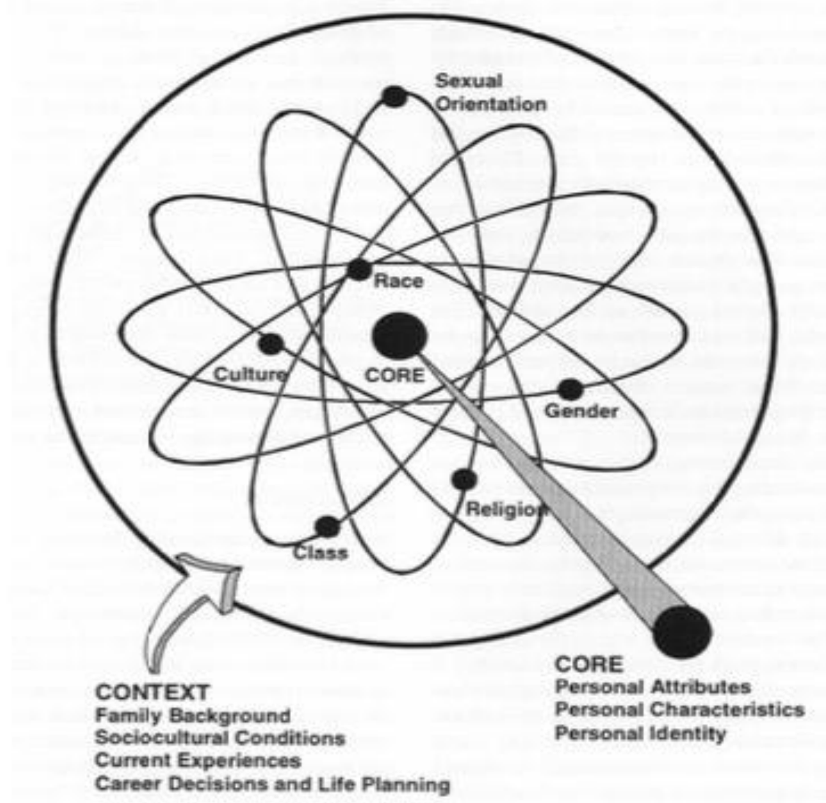
> W1: And what language is spoken in Lebanon?
> W2: French.
> *(pause)*
> W1: Really? Not Arabic?
> W2: The Moslem, they speak Arabic all the time. Nothing but Arabic.
>
> (p. 195)

This answer by the Lebanese woman is highly problematic, and while it does not represent the opinion of all Lebanese people, by any means, it illustrates the complexity between religion and linguistic identity for many Lebanese people. In a study done on linguistic

vitality in Lebanon, Shaaban and Ghaith (2002) identify three languages in use in Lebanon—Arabic, English, and French. As a result of the history of war that Lebanon has faced, the foreign languages were introduced into the country through the educational system (i.e., Christian missionaries and French and English education)—languages that filtered into everyday communication. The study done by Shaaban and Ghaith (2002) is beneficial in highlighting how personal experiences (i.e., educational background) lead to internalizations (as illustrated by the example given by Joseph (2004) above) that the foreign language speakers of Lebanon have adopted. Because Shaaban and Ghaith (2002) administered their questionnaire at the AUB (American University of Beirut)—where the majority of students studied English as their first foreign language (107 students, n=176)—to survey students on their perceptions regarding linguistic vitality in Lebanon, the results show a natural bias towards English being perceived as more vital (than Arabic and French). This leads to the assumption that had a French university been chosen, or had more students with French educational backgrounds been randomly selected, the data results might have shown an increased vitality in French. Perhaps, then, the response given by the Lebanese woman, in the exchange exemplified by Joseph (2004) above, can be attributed to her personal background, experiences, and internalization of stereotypes—that Muslims speak Arabic, and W2 did not want to be identified by another person as a Muslim. Therefore, she claims that the language spoken in Lebanon is French, because she, herself, associates with the French language. Additionally, while she does not explicitly reveal to the other woman that she is Christian, her claim that "The Moslem, *they* speak Arabic," (emphasis my own) makes it easily discernable that she is positioning *the Moslem* as out-group members, i.e., others.

2. *Identity Construction: Multiple Identities, Indexation and Salience*

As previously mentioned, code-switching, or any other variation in language use may differ depending on whether an individual is communicating with a member of the *ingroup* or *outgroup* (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014). An individual might make a linguistic feature salient in conversation with an ingroup member (i.e., as illustrated above with the use of [q] in Arabic, or, the internalization of French as (Christian) Lebanese identity), or background (or erase) linguistic features in conversation with an outgroup member. According to Social Identity Theory, "every individual has two types of identity: social identity and personal identity. Social identity is based on his or her membership/s in a group or groups, and personal identity is based on individual idiosyncrasies and unique traits" (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014, p. 32). Thus, Social Identity Theory (SIT) complements Identity Negotiation Theory (INT), and the work reviewed above concerning analyzing language in context. Keeping in line with the notion that language should be studied in its context, to provide a deeper understanding of its use, individuals should also be studied in context (in association to their group identities), so to speak. Like INT, Social Identity Theory suggests that certain identities can be foregrounded or backgrounded, depending on the given situation (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Burke & Stets, 2009; Jones & Abes, 2013). Though SIT is sometimes criticized for its depiction of the multiple facets of identity as components that can be switched on and off, depending on the situation and interaction with certain groups or individuals (Burke & Stets, 2009), compartmentalization does not suggest that multiple identity facets are isolated from one another, but that they are not always active at the same time (see Figure 1).



Source*: Adapted from Jones & McEwen, 2000 (as cited in Jones & Abes, 2013, p. 54)*

Figure 1 Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity

As made evident by the model borrowed from Jones and Abes (2013), identity is represented as a fluid and dynamic process, whereby identity is an ongoing construction that is influenced by the context. The figure depicts the multiple social identities of an individual (i.e., race, gender, class, religion, sexual orientation, culture) as intersecting rings that surround the *core or personal* identity (personal characteristics and attributes such as "smart," "responsible," and "caring" (p. 54)). Social identity salience is represented by the dots on the rings. Furthermore, the core identity and the multiple social identities are encapsulated and influenced by the broader *context* (represented by the ring circling the

entire diagram) "that includes family background, sociocultural conditions, and current life experiences" (p. 55). Problematically, Jones and Abes (2013) explain that the proximity of the dots (representing multiple social identities) to the core suggests, "the closer the dot is to the core the more salient that particular social identity is to the individual" (p. 55). This is increasingly problematic since our understanding of context (much like our understanding of identity), is not static, but rather fluid and ongoing therefore, different identities are more, or less, salient depending on the context. I do not wish to incorporate Jones and Abes' argument involving the proximity of the dots to the core as representative of increased identity salience in my study, rather, to focus on multiple identity enactment and salience as situation/context dependent, which is fluid and ongoing.

Because individuals are generally recognized to have more than a single form of identity, "they may linguistically mobilize different identity forms for varying purposes, and they may construct and reconstruct various identity forms based on changing contextual factors" (Albirini, 2016, p. 65). Joseph (2004) finds that "Lebanese people may linguistically emphasize their dissimilar religious identities over their common ethnic and national identities at times of sectarian tensions" (Albirini, 2016, p. 65)—i.e., using [q] to foreground belonging to the Druze religion, or, code-switching between Arabic and French to demonstrate Christian affiliation, during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990). The Lebanese abroad, in America, for instance, might background these linguistic/religious differences—erasure of the [q], or other regional variations—"leading to a sense of membership and group identity" (Edwards, 2009, p. 26)—Lebanese versus Arab, rather than Lebanese-Christian versus Lebanese-Muslim. In-group allegiance leads to *in-group*

favouritism—those we associate or align ourselves with are favored—and an *out-group homogeneity effect*—leading to the formation of stereotypes—where "*my* group is made of many different individuals, but *you* are all alike" (p. 26). Thus, the *defavourisation* of the out-group can lead to stereotyping and discrimination against *them* (Skarżyńska, 2002). For instance, the widely held stereotype (commonly depicted in Hollywood films) that all terrorists are Middle Eastern can lead to the discrimination of all Arabic speaking people, regardless of religion or region. Categorizations of *us* versus *them* contribute to the assumptions of Social Identity Theory that "besides our uniquely personal sense of self, we also have social identities based upon the various groups to which we belong" (p. 27). Moreover, social identity and identity salience research proposes a co-construction of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Jackson & Hogg, 2010b), whereby an individual reveals certain aspects of his/her identity through language, but the interlocutor subjectively infers particular aspects of identity based on his/her own interpretation—an interpretation shaped by personal knowledge gained through personal experience(s)—i.e., internalization.

3. *Binary language: In-group/out-group identity construction and the use of personal pronouns*

Binary language in discourse through the use of personal pronouns (*we/us* versus *they/them*, or even, *here* versus *there*) allows an individual to position him/herself and index particular group membership(s). Much like Edwards' (2009) depiction of group membership, Riitta Pyykkö (2002) argues that, loanwords, and *us* and *other* themes in language signal social identities. In Russian, "'We' can refer to the speaker, him/her and his/her audience, him/her and his/her supporters or other group, or even be generalized to all people" (p. 235)—expressing community. Moreover, the *common interests* or *collective*

'we' can be "local, it can be professional, ideological or national, or it can be status, which connects the members of the collective" (p. 236). Pyykkö (2002) provides examples of the various uses of *we*:

(1) Local Collective: "We in the province were somewhat at a loss as to why the President refused of this aid" (p. 236). Here, *we* refers to "us who live or are at the moment in a certain place" (p. 237).

(2) Collective Professional: "…When I in 1971 arrived at Orel, the situation there with syphilis was simple. We observed it more, five-six forms" (p. 237). Here, *we* "connects the representatives of the same profession" (p. 237).

(3) Status Collective: "We have to start a direct fight against the gangsters, to destroy them—and then we have made a real step forward…" (p. 238). Here, *we* refers to people "connected by the same social or juridical stations (p. 238).

(4) Ideological and National Collective: "Secondly, if the people somewhere elect hostile persons, that means that our agitation is thoroughly bad, and we totally deserve that kind of shame…" (p. 238). Finally, here, *we* "refers to the members or supporters of a certain party, political group, etc." (p. 238).

Furthermore, the chapter on "*We* and *They* in Polish political discourse," by Krystyna Skarżyńska (2002), describes how the rhetoric and speaking styles of the conflicting political parties in Poland echoed societal divisions—"the government (THEY, or out-group) [versus] the society (WE, or in-group)" (p. 249). Moreover, she argues, it is not only through the use of *we* and *they*, or binary language, that polarization is proclaimed. For instance, labeling those politicians who refuse to exclude former Communists from democratic structures as "pink hyenas"—"a phrase coined to refer to the mixture of white, traditionally representing the right political wing, and the Communist red" (p. 250), is also understood in terms of in-group/out-group binaries. Those who are labeled *pink hyenas* are *they*, while those who exclude former Polish Communists are *we*, or, part of the in-group.

We is also important when used to refer to a group, not only when the group to which *we* refers is identifiable, but also when it is ambiguous (Skarżyńska, 2002). Thus, words used to form binary categorizations are understood to be part of this *us* versus *them*, or *we* versus *they*, discourse. What such language does, is create a border, or boundary, between the in-group and the out-group, indexing group membership and belonging, or alignment with the in-group, and distance from the out-group.

4. Arabic in Anglophone Written Discourse: Code-switching, Romanization, Transliteration, and Identity

Having reviewed how different linguistic variants (such as [q] in Arabic) and the use of personal pronouns index different social identities, we will now move on to the role of code-switching, or code-borrowing, in the written medium. Recall, as previously mentioned, code-switching is defined as a natural language phenomenon involving the alternating use of two (or more) languages (or, varieties, dialects, registers, and/or idiolects) in the discourse of bilingual individuals (Montes-Alcalá, 2015). Early linguistic work on written language mixing, or code-borrowing, states it often takes places "when there is a gap in the lexicon of the language" (Montes-Alcalá, 2000, p. 11). However, as Lipski (1982) claims, "language switching in literature is not the result of confusion or inability to separate the languages, but rather stems from a conscious desire to juxtapose the two codes to achieve some particular literary effect" (p. 191), or in the case of linguistics, to achieve identity manifestation. Montes-Alcalá (2015) takes this notion a step further, claiming that language switching "may [in fact] be employed for stylistic and/or aesthetic purposes, to communicate biculturalism, humor, criticism, and ethnicity, as well as credibility" (p. 265). While the narrative, or memoir, genre (as compared to poetry or screenplay writing) lends

itself less to code-switching, a memoir might feel less authentic to a reader who has certain expectations—or, preconceived notions—prior to reading the literature. For instance, many foreign words can be easily described in English (and most memoirists tend to provide a translation or description directly following the code-borrowed word), however, for the sake of portraying an authentic (cultural, religious, regional, etc.) identity, the foreign word is inserted (Callahan, 2004). And, while many might argue that code-borrowing in narrative or memoir is inauthentic as it is premeditated, drafted, and edited many times over prior to publication, the orthographic representations of these words represent the internalizations (of personal background and experiences) that a writer possesses.

In this study, "Romanization" will be used to refer to the process in which the Lebanese-Anglophone memoirists represent the Arabic token words using the Roman alphabet, or orthography. The term Romanization here is used to describe the memoirs' Arabic token orthography, rather than the term transliteration, because hypotheses can be made with regards to transcription, or transliteration, as a reflection of oral discourse, however, the focus of this study is on written discourse. Romanization more accurately describes the role of Anglo realizations of Arabic words/letters that are not present in the English language. According to Hamdan (2016):

> Romanization or transliteration is "the representation of a word or phrase in the closest corresponding letters or characters of a different [i.e., Roman] alphabet or language so that the pronunciation is as close as possible to the original word or phrase" (Abdul-Jaleel & Larkey 2003: 86, as cited in Hamdan, 2016, p. 495).

Subsequently, transliteration is used to reflect pronunciation, but Romanization relates to the mere representation of the Arabic language in writing (Hamdan, 2016).

Thus, I will use examples from research on Arabizi, an informal system of Arabic Romanization (Allehaiby, 2013; Abu Elhij'a, 2012; Yaghan, 2008), to illustrate how linguistic analysis of such Romanizations can reveal (many of) the social and cultural internalizations of an individual writer. According to Allehaiby (2013):

> the word Arabizi originated from blending the words "Arabic" and "Inglizee" (which is the Arabic name for English). As mentioned above, this phenomenon is believed to have been developed in response to the prevalence of western technology, namely Internet Relay Chat (IRC), text messaging (SMS) and emails, all of which initially required the use of the Latin alphabet (p. 53),

along with the use of numbers, to represent certain Arabic letters. For instance, the use of the number [2] is commonly used to represent the glottal stop [ʔ], online or in text-messages (SMS), and to replace the [q], thus backgrounding other (rural or religious) identity, and enacting an urban or modern identity (Abu Elhij'a, 2012). Abu Elhij'a (2012) noticed in his study that:

> Usually, people write their local pronunciation of *qaf* when they are writing to someone from their same region that uses the same pronunciation, or they will write a regional standard form, which varies from region to region, even if it does not correspond to their spoken language (p. 74).

I can personally attest to this finding, as in spoken Arabic I pronounce the /qaf/ as [q], but in SMS language, I use the number [2], because it is most commonly used by my friends and the people I communicate with online. According to Abu Elhij'a (2012), "This pattern is even more prominent in writing than in speech. Hence, people who have urban contacts or who have friends who have urban contacts [on Facebook] tend to write a more urban and prestigious dialect" (p. 79). Moreover, Abu Elhij'a (2012) notes it is recognized that the representations are likely to change depending on whether the interlocutor is part of the in-group (a friend) or out-group (a stranger). The results of Abu Elhij'a's (2012) study show that in Lebanon, the most frequent representation of *qaf* is [2], and other forms such as [q]

and [k] are used with words taken from classical, or standard, Arabic. Moreover, the use of [sh] or [ch] in place of the Arabic /ʃ/ (or, *sheen*) can reveal whether one is English or French educated, respectively. Additionally, Abu Elhij'a (2012) finds that religion influences the representation of /ʃ/ as 44 (n=45) Muslims represented it using [sh], and 60 (n=62) Christians represented it using [ch]. Abu Elhij'a (2012) attributes this religious variation to educational background, where "more Muslims attend schools that teach English, while Christians are more likely to attend schools that teach French as the second language" (p. 95).

Additionally, Arabizi, rather than English, is preferred in socio-cultural contexts (Allehaiby, 2013). When discussing cultural or religious matters, participants of Al-Khatib and Sabbah's study (2008, as cited in Allehaiby, 2013) chose to study Arabizi in text messages—in exchanges related to graduations, engagements, weddings, religious holidays, and other social occasions—because "expressions related to such events are so culturally bound that it is not possible to identify an appropriate term or statement in the English language" (Allehaiby, 2013, p. 58). While simple terms such as *mabrouk* can be said in English (congratulations), more complex expressions or sentiments are said to be difficult to adapt into English. Further evidence for the preference of Arabizi, by the respondents of the study, rather than English, is found in greetings via text messages. Some participants claim to find Arabic vocabulary warmer and more appropriate than English equivalents, and others explained their choice as cultural and/or religious stance (Allehaiby, 2013). While Arabizi is preferred for its essentially error-free status (Allehaiby, 2013; Abu Elhij'a, 2012; Kosoff, 2014; Yaghan, 2008)—thus, it is easy to use— and while "…the orthography of Arabizi generally follows certain patterns, it is not standardized" (Yaghan, 2008, p. 39-

42; as cited in Kosoff, 2014, p. 85). The main advantages of Arabizi are “social and expressive flexibility” (Kosoff, 2014, p. 85), hence, its global popularity amongst Arabic-English (-French) language users.

E. Concluding Remarks

From a socially aware perspective of language and identity, the literary review of Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Identity Negotiation Theory (INT) allows for an understanding of identity, or multiple identities, to be a product of identity co-construction (Burke & Stets, 2009; Jones & Abes, 2013; Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014). Moreover, the definition of identity (construction) adopted for this study, as an ongoing, dynamic, discursive practice (Joseph, 2011), supplemented with literature regarding identity and written discourse (Bucholtz, 2009; Matsuda, 2015), allows for an application of SIT and INT to identity manifestation in written discourse.

As this study is specifically focused on the analysis of Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs, I provided a brief review of the literature regarding particular (socio)linguistic aspects I found to be pertinent to the study of said memoirs. Lebanese-Anglophone identity in written discourse exemplifies the Romanization of Arabic, thus a relevant discussion of *Arabizi* and various representations and realizations of Arabic linguistic features is provided (Allehaiby, 2013; Abu Elhij’a, 2012; Kosoff, 2014; Yaghan, 2008). The phonetic *qaf* or [q], in particular, is discussed as it is a stereotype of a particular Lebanese religious group (Druze) and/or associated with rural regions in Lebanon (Riman, 2008), or, associated with the formal Modern Standard Arabic variety, as opposed to spoken colloquial varieties of Arabic (diglossia) (Albirini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2009), and its

presence in writing is generally interpreted as such. Moreover, because this study also analyzed the socio-cultural influences/interpretations of language, a brief review of literature on personal pronouns, acting as binary language, to index group affiliation, is provided. Particularly, using *we* or *they* in (written) discourse acts as an alignment practice, or identity negotiation practice, which allows for a particular identity, of the multiple social identities an individual maintains, to be made salient, depending on the context or social situation (Pyykkö, 2002; Skarżyńska, 2002). Thus, the same individual can use *we*, or *they*, in different contexts to index various group memberships.

These linguistic aspects—i.e., Romanization of Arabic, and personal pronoun use—are studied alongside social influences—i.e., religion and/or culture—in order to reveal meaning in language and highlight the importance of sociolinguistic analysis of written discourse.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

A. The Study

The present study consists of the (socio)linguistic analysis of three, book-length, memoirs, written by Lebanese-Anglophone authors (writers of Lebanese heritage, writing in the English language) (Abdelnour, 2012; El Khalil, 2009; El-Zein, 2009) in order to examine the manifestation of their identity in their written discourse. Not only will I be analyzing the linguistic elements of the corpus of Arabic token words I have collected for each individual memoir, but I will also be looking at the broader context, which includes depictions of cultural and religious influences where these Arabic tokens are inserted. This study aims to explore and analyze how Lebanese-Anglophone authors use written discourse in the memoir genre, to express or construct multiple (social) identities linguistically.

B. Selection of Lebanese-Anglophone Memoirs

The requirements for the authors chosen for the analysis of this thesis study are: (1) the authors must be of Lebanese heritage, (2) the authors must have lived for some portion of their life outside of Lebanon (and the Middle East), in the "Western World" (i.e., America, Australia, Britain, Canada, etc.), (3) the authors have written and published their memoir in the English language, (4) the memoir is a contemporary publication—published within five years of when I began my study (2009-2014), (5) includes the use of Arabic-English code-switching (i.e., Romanization), and, finally, (6) the author of the memoir must

still be alive (this requirement was added in considering future study, where a researcher might want to interview the authors selected, and confirm or refute the findings of the current study). Aside from the three memoirs I have selected for this thesis study, there are three other memoirs from the Lebanese-Anglophone tradition that did not meet the requirements:

(1) *House of Stone: A Memoir of Home, Family, and a Lost Middle East*—Anthony Shadid, 2012.
The former New York Times journalist, Shadid, passed away in 2012 while covering the Syrian civil war. His memoir was published shortly after his death.

(2) *Never Say You Can't: Memoirs of a Lebanese-Syrian American Educator*—Alice Cury Faroukh, 2010.
I decided this memoir would be problematic to study along with the three memoirs I selected due to the possible Syrian Arabic influence on the Arabic language borrowing. While Lebanese and Syrian dialects are mutually intelligible, and quite similar, I might not be able to interpret certain linguistic variations as associations to her Lebanese identity.

(3) *Sorry We Have No Space*—Joseph Wakim, 2013.
Wakim's memoir does not exhibit any Arabic language borrowing.

The list of Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs is not extensive, however, the three memoirs I have selected are the only three that fit the aforementioned criteria (Table 1).

Memoir Title/Author	**Year of Publication**	**# of Pages**	**# of Arabic Token Words (or Phrases)**
Jasmine and Fire: A Bittersweet Year in Beirut – Salma Abdelnour	2012	325	154

Beirut, I Love You: A Memoir – Zena El Khalil	2009	215	35
Leave to Remain: A Memoir – Abbas El-Zein	2009	288	48

Table 1 Selection of Lebanese-Anglophone Memoirs Analyzed in this Thesis Study

C. Data Collection and Analysis

In order to perform the appropriate data analysis, an individual corpus was manually collected for each of the memoirs of all the Arabic token words that were borrowed by the authors, from the first to the last page. Each Arabic token word is listed by page number, then listed alongside the following supplementary information (in a spreadsheet format; see Appendix 1):

- *Concordance* – I have provided the two words preceding the Arabic token word, and two subsequent words, to provide the context in which the word occurs (Baker, 2010) (Note: based on personal judgment, certain Arabic tokens words are allowed more than two subsequent and preceding words, in order for the context provided to be clear and informative)
- *Provided Meaning* – the translation/definition provided by the author him/herself
- *Assigned Meaning* – I, the analyst, assigned a translation/definition to any of the token words that were not translated/defined by the author him/herself

- *Romanization* – here, the orthographic representation of the different Arabic sounds is listed in order to reveal any patterns that might exist (within an individual memoir, and/or across memoirs)
- *Word Position* – illustrating the position of the sound environment within the word (i.e., whether the /qaf/ is positioned at word boundary, #__ or __#, depicting the /qaf/ at the start of the word or the end of the word, respectively; if /qaf/ occurs between two consonants, two vowels, or a consonant and a vowel, that is represented using C__C, V__V, C__V or V__C, respectively)
- *Additional Notes* – any of my personal thoughts, opinions, or educated inquiries, are offered as supplementary notes, providing additional information related to the context/environment in which each Arabic token word occurs

The Arabic tokens corpus for each memoir was initially analyzed individually to reveal identity construction of the individual author, then, analyzed and discussed using cross-memoir analysis in an effort to reveal any, or all, linguistic patterns demonstrating Lebanese identity manifestation amongst the Lebanese-Anglophone writers. I analyzed the instances of code-switching to Arabic, or, Romanization, by the memoirists (from a Lebanese standpoint) and the conventions and patterns that emerged, according to the literature, that suggest, or are consistent with, findings on /q/ (as [q], [k], the glottal stop, or none), /ع/ (or its depiction as [aa], [ʕ], or none), as well as /ħ/, /x/, /Dˤ/, /ɣ/, and /Sˤ/ which are represented as [h], [kh], [d], [gh], and [s], respectively in Lebanese-Arabic Romanization. For instance, while some Arab speakers/writers use [g] in the place of [q], this is not a Lebanese variant (Allehaiby, 2013; Abu Elhij'a, 2012). Moreover, questions

surrounding the variation patterns in Romanization were raised, because while all the Arabic sounds examined in this study are not available in the English language; some of the sounds are represented consistently in Romanization (by all three memoirists), while other sounds have various representations. The (in)consistency in patterns of Arabic Romanization is recognized but certain conclusions cannot be reached as to why some sounds are represented consistently, and unanimously, while others are not, however, some educated postulations were suggested. Additionally, the context within which these Arabic tokens were inserted was examined to deepen our understanding of sociocultural and influences on language use and identity manifestation.

Individual and comparative descriptive analysis was done on all three memoirs, using the Arabic token words corpus as the linguistic foundation for outlining the differences in language use for each author individually, and collectively across all the memoirs. Arabic token words, incidentally, are only one way in which the authors manifest Lebanese identity linguistically. Religion is a prominent influence on language use in the memoirs. Each author chosen for this study to self-identifies with a different religion; Abdelnour self identifies as Christian, El Khalil self identifies as Druze, and El-Zein self identifies as Muslim (Shiite). Religion, or devotion to that religion, appears to influence the borrowing of certain phonetic features amidst the Arabic token words. To provide an example: El-Zein, whose text is filled with religious depictions, represents the /qaf/ in his Arabic tokens as [q], reflecting the Classical Arabic that is used in the Quran. Other marked language features are traced in the corpus of each of the memoirs to reveal the influence of religion/religious ties (not to be confused with devotion to that religion) on language.

This study is grounded in a constructivist theoretical framework, which adopts the notion that identity is (co-) constructed (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Jones et al., 2007) by the reader (other-identification) and the writer (self-identification) of the memoir(s). In support of this notion, Joseph (2011) claims, "sociolinguistic inquiry into identity and language is concerned with the way people read each other" (p. 1). Thus, it is important to note that my interpretation of the memoirists, and their linguistic manifestation of identity, reflects my perception of the construction of identity by the author him/herself, rather than the intention of the author. In support of my previous claim, I quote Joseph (2011) who asserts:

> Every day, each of us repeatedly undertakes this process of constructing our reading of the people we encounter, in person, on the telephone, on the radio or the screen, or *in writing*, including on the Internet, on the basis of their language (p. 1, italics my own).

Language, therefore, is pertinent to the construction of identity by, both, the reader and the writer. Keeping in line with contemporary understandings of identity—constructed/reconstructed, written/rewritten, and read/reread—in relation to language, for the sake of this study, identity is defined as:

> …something constructed, rather than essential, and performed, rather than possessed – features that the term *identity* itself tends to mask, suggesting as it does something singular, objective, and reified. Each [individual] performs a repertoire of identities that are constantly shifting and that we negotiate and renegotiate according to the circumstances (Joseph, 2011, p. 2, italics original).

This definition of identity coincides with the understanding that an individual performs multiple identities, though, "any particular identity can become the salient one in a given context" (p. 2), and we witness this in the linguistic analysis of the memoirs, whereby, at times, for instance, it is cultural identity that is brought to the forefront of the narrative. Of

the multiple identities the authors expose, “none inherently matters more than the rest” (p. 2), however, through a socially aware linguistic analysis, we are able to discern which identities are more prominent in the writing of one’s personal memoir, as a Lebanese-Anglophone.

As I have already stated, the Arabic token words (linguistic elements) are the locus of analysis, supplemented by contextual influences (sociolinguistic elements) to reveal (1) how Lebanese-Arabic words are Romanized, (2) how the author uses Romanization to index a particular identity, including linguistic identity (for instance, Romanization can reflect the variety of Arabic the author would like to make salient), in turn influencing our reading of multiple social identity construction, and (3) when these code switches are interpreted in broader context, what identity negotiations can be interpreted from the Arabic tokens. Thus, a summary, including the themes present in each memoir, is provided below to provide the context, prior to analysis and discussion of the data (in Chapter IV).

D. Summary of Memoirs/Themes

Jasmine and Fire: A Bittersweet Year in Beirut (Abdelnour, 2012). Abdelnour’s memoir is about a year of her life she dedicates to living in Beirut—away from her Manhattan life/home/relationships—longing to fulfill her dream of moving “back home.” She leaves behind her Jewish-American boyfriend, a thriving career in travel and food writing, and many friends, to return to Lebanon—her family fled Lebanon, post civil war, when she was nine-years-old—to discover the country that she unknowingly longs for. Upon arriving to her family’s Beirut apartment, Abdelnour is able to reconnect with the city—the country, even—where she takes to exploring all areas of Beirut, and many other

parts of Lebanon. Sharing this adventure with her readers through the vivid description of sights, sounds, smells, and flavors of Lebanon, Abdelnour relays her keen observations of a beautifully tragic war-torn country. As the year comes to a close, Abdelnour struggles with her decision to return to America, as she has developed a sense of belonging—what she initially set out to achieve—despite initially feeling like an outsider in Beirut; however, Abdelnour promises herself frequent returns to Beirut, in order to maintain the relationships and ties to the country she has established during her year back home, in Beirut. Themes of belonging/group membership, or lack thereof, culture, and religion coexist in Salma Abdelnour's depiction of her life, and Beirut.

Beirut, I Love You: A Memoir (Zena El Khalil, 2009). El Khalil tells her story as a love affair she has with her home country, Lebanon. Though El Khalil is born in London, and has lived in Nigeria, London, and New York, it is evident her heart belongs to Beirut. In an unpolished and honest manner, El Khalil tackles themes of belongingness, home (and home-sickness), Arab identity in America (or, *Amreeka* as she calls it) and feeling like an outsider, love, life, war, death, sexuality, culture, and religion. El Khalil provides her readers with some memories of her life in America (pre- and post-September 11, 2001) as an "Arab" in America, and how she had to deal with the emergining stereotypes. This acts as a frame of reference for reading her Lebanon years. Upon returning to Lebanon, Zena El Khalil brings her readers along on the journey through Beirut's streets as she relays descriptions of militia territories, reconstruction of war torn buildings, and refugees, on the one hand, and cosmetic surgery, nightclubbing, and the superficial exterior of Lebanese culture, on the other.

Leave to Remain: A Memoir (Abbas El-Zein, 2009). The key themes in El-Zein's memoir are related to war, identity, and displacement. El-Zein was born and raised in Beirut; at the meager age of twelve, El-Zein witnessed firsthand the civil war of 1975, where he and his family of Shia religious scholars experienced car bombings, shelling, shootings, and displacement. El-Zein traces his Middle Eastern identity under the influence of culture, religion, and a history of war (Iraq and Lebanon). Furthermore, he struggles with his sense of belonging, being acutely aware of stereotypes, as he migrates to Western countries—Britain, America, and Australia. El-Zein's memoir is a reflection not only on his personal life and identity—homeland, displacement/departure, and unhappy returns—but also a collective Arab identity, and its relationship with the West.

E. Locating Identity Manifestation, Negotiation

Finally, through investigating the environment/context surrounding Arabic token word insertions, that have been represented using the Roman alphabet—or, Romanization, which is a location for identity negotiation in and of itself—I was able to identify the locations in which identity is manifested linguistically in written discourse, and they are as follows: (1) binary language used to distinguish/index group membership/ingroup identity (i.e., we/us versus they/them) and (2) linguistic depictions of culture, including religious identity and internalizations. These linguistic instances were then grouped and descriptively analyzed, as outlined in Chapter IV, in attempt to reveal manifestations of linguistic, religious, and cultural identity, and the discursive relationship between language and identity in Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

A. Arabic Token Words and Orthographic Representation

One of the major manifestations of identity across all three memoirs is Arabic-English code-switching, at the level of the word (or, short phrases), which have undergone Romanization. The terms ‘Arabic token words’ or ‘Arabic tokens’ will be used in discussion of the codeswitched, and Romanized, words. The way in which the memoirists use Arabic tokens in their texts will be considered code-switching, rather than language borrowing, for instance, from a sociolinguistic perspective, because it is a way for the memoirists to include their knowledge of their heritage language into English (Albrini, 2016). The memoirs do not involve great amounts of dialogue, they are simply narrations, and retellings of life events. Therefore, the Arabic terms that are used serve as code-switches, rather than code borrowings, because, as Albirini (2016) suggests, written discourse is a reflection of language use in oral discourse. Variations exist in the representations of the different Arabic sounds in English orthography, but certain patterns have been recognized in the corpus of each individual text, and across texts.

It seems that the Lebanese-Anglophone writers in this study desire to represent Arabic sounds in some way in English, however, due to the lack of a clear standard orthography in the Romanization of Arabic, representation is subjective. Therefore, each writer uses their own judgment (internalization) and their respective Romanized Arabic words can vary. Despite the lack of standardization, patterns are seen to emerge (with some

exceptions), in the Romanization of Arabic, as writers generally maintain a non-haphazard orthographic depiction of Arabic token words. Evidently, the emergence of patterns in the data illustrates that the Lebanese vernacular transpires in a somewhat systematic way onto the written page.

The Romanization of Arabic script is already in place—Arabizi is but one example of an informal Romanized orthography, that is namely used in text messages (Allehaiby, 2013; Darwish, 2013; Abu Elhij'a, 2012; Kosoff, 2014; Yaghan, 2008)—and it is widely comprehensible across the world. However, due to the variation that exists in regional dialects (i.e., Lebanese Colloquial Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, etc.), personal variation/choices regarding orthographic representation (i.e., dialect differences in oral production can be reflected in different orthographic written production), and/or the influence of an individual's educational background (English or French) (Edwards, 2009; Joseph, 2004; Shaaban, in press; Shaaban & Ghaith, 2002). The use of the Romanization of (the Levantine variety of) Arabic is not ubiquitous. A universal Arabizi might not be achievable—freedom of use and expression through this type of Romanization has been widely practiced from the earlier days of MSN Messenger to today's use of code mixing/language borrowing on Facebook (Abu Elhij'a, 2012; Sharaf Eldin, 2014); thus, a universal Romanization is perhaps even undesirable, as people tend to favor Arabizi because it allows freedom of use, freedom of expression, and lacks rule-governed conventions. Written standards tend to erase individual differences that may be found in speech, however writing is a form of linguistic self-expression, through which identity can be manifested linguistically (as illustrated in the data analysis presented below).

Sociolinguistic studies embrace these differences, and aim to describe them, rather than diminish them.

1. ***Romanizations without variation***

Some phonetic features, that are Romanized, will not be analyzed due to unanimity in orthography across the three memoirs, in order to avoid redundancy. While variability in Romanization of the following sounds might be expected, as they are not found in English, studies on Arabizi reveal a general consistency/trend in the orthographic representation of /ħ/, /x/, /Dˤ/, /ɣ/, and /Sˤ/ as [h], [kh], [d], [gh], and [s], respectively, amongst the Lebanese population (Abu Elhij'a, 2012, p. 80), even when numbers can be used to represent such sounds (for example, [h] is more commonly used than the number [7] to represent /ح/ or /ħ/). Those Arabic tokens that include the aforementioned phonetic representations, that will not be analyzed, are as follows:

- The Voiceless Pharyngeal Fricative[1] /ح/ or /ħ/ which is realized as [h]

  Abdelnour: ***h****ijabs* (head scarves), *sa**h**lab* (dessert), ***h****ibr* (ink)

  El-Zein: *faati**h**a* (Quran opening verse), *Ad**h**a* (religious holiday), *taw**h**eed* (oneness)

  El Khalil: ***h****ayati* (my life), ***h****arra* (spicy), ***h****ashesh* (drug addict)

- The Voiceless Velar Fricative /خ/ or /x/ which is realized as [kh]

  Abdelnour: ***kh****ibz* (bread), *i**kh**t* (sister), ***kh****alas* (enough)

  El-Zein: *Shei**kh*** (religious title), ***kh****ums* (fifth), *da**kh**eelak* (a plea)

  El Khalil: ***kh****alas* (enough)

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[1] The phonetic descriptions (e.g., "voiceless pharyngeal fricative") used in this study to describe the Arabic sounds/letters are adapted from Allehaiby (2013), *Arabizi: An analysis of the Romanization of the Arabic script from a sociolinguistic perspective*.

- The Voiced Velarized Dento-Alveolar Stop /ض/ or /Dˤ/ which is realized as [d]

  Abdlenour: *houmay**da*** (lemony flower), *bay**da*** (white), *al wa**d’*** (the situation)

  El-Zein: ***d’**eef* (weak), *A**d**ha* (religious holiday), *Al-Bayya**d*** (the white hill)

  El Khalil: N/A

- The voiced velar fricative /غ/ or /ɣ/ which is realized as [gh]

  Abdelnour: *baba **gh**anoush* (eggplant dip), *mi**gh**li* (cinnamon rice custard), *fawar**egh*** (stuffed lamb intestines)

  El-Zein: No Arabic token words including [gh]

  El Khalil: No Arabic token words including [gh][2]

- The voiceless velarized alveolar fricative /ص/ or /Sˤ/ which is realized as [s]

  Abdelnour: khala**s** (enough)

  El-Zein: No Arabic token words including [s]

  El Khalil: khala**s** (enough)

(For more examples and provided context of where each Arabic token occurs, see Appendix 1).

While variation does not exist in the Romanization of the particular aforementioned Arabic sounds that do not exist in English, or, in the orthographic representation of Arabic words including these features—as I am not certain about the role Romanization as it

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[2] In El Khalil’s (2009) memoir, there is a single instance where I believe that the voiced velar fricative is marked, and that is in the word *Maganatise*, as used in the following passage:

> I told you about how my brother, Nadim, had finally come to terms with Beirut through his theory of the *Maganatise*. I told you about how Nadim believes that the reason people are so aggressive in Lebanon is because the electro-magnetic waves emanating from the ground under Beirut are too strong (p. 118).

As per my experience, the word is generally *maghanatise*, in the Levantine variety of Arabic, but here El-Khalil is using [g] to represent [gh]. However, there are no other instances in order to determine a pattern in El Khalil’s representation of [gh].

pertains to Arabic—variation does exist in the Romanized realization of other Arabic letters.

2. *Voiced pharyngeal fricative*

[ع]	**[']**	**[aa]**	**None**	**Total**
Abdelnour	7	3	8	**18**
El Khalil	1	1	7	**9**
El-Zein	1	2	6	**9**

Table 2 Number of each variant used to represent /ع/ by each memoirist

In these Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs, the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ع/ is generally represented using [aa] or ['], or, in some instances, not marked at all. The position, or *environment*, of [ع] in the word—beginning, middle, or end—and the letters that surround it—consonants, vowels, or both—seem to influence the orthographic representation of [ع] (Table 3).

Environment (Position of /ع/ in Token Word)	El-Zein	El Khalil	Abdelnour
#__ (No Representation)	***A**bbas* ***A**shura* ***E**id* ***U**lama* ***U**shq*	***A**mo* ***A**rak* ***O**ud* (4)	***A**bdelnour* ***A**kkawi* ***E**id* (2) ***I**nab* ***O**smalliyeh* ***O**ud*

C__C	***B***_aa_***d***_ak_	***K***_aa_***k***	***K***_aa_***k*** ***M***_aa_***m***_oul_ ***Z***_aa_***t***_ar_
C__V	***D‘e***_ef_	_She_***r‘a***_a_	_Os_***b‘o***_o_ _Ur_***b‘i***_t_
V__V/C	_______	_______	_Sh_***a‘a***_b_ _Wad_***i‘a*** _Sh_***a‘b***_i_
__#	_Du_***aa***		_Lil-jami‘_ _Al-wad‘_
No Representation	_Shia_	_Zaims_	_Lahmbajin_

Table 3 Phonetic Environment Patterns of Voiced Pharyngeal Fricative /ع/

While there are not a significant number of Arabic token words in Abbas El-Zein's memoir (2009) involving the voiced pharyngeal fricative [ع] (refer to Table 2), analysis of the way he uses ['] or [aa] to represent the [ع] is done in comparison with the texts of the other two memoirists. In a single phrase: *baadak d'eef* (you're still weak) (p. 8), El-Zein uses two different orthographic representations for the same phonetic symbol. When [ع] occurs in the middle of the word, between a consonant and vowel (C_V), we see it represented as ['], i.e., *d'eef*. On the orthographic level, where [ع] is represented by [aa], i.e., *baadak*, the [aa] is surrounded by two consonants (C_C). There are not a significant number of instances in this particular memoir of ['] or [aa] representing [ع] to declare a pattern. But once cross-linguistic analysis is done, we find that in Abdelnour's, *Jasmine and Fire* (2012), there are three Arabic tokens that include [aa] to represent [ع]—*zaatar* (thyme) (p. 29), *kaak* (sesame bread) (p. 227), and *maamoul* (powdered-sugar-dusted

cookies stuffed with crushed pistachios or dates) (p. 248, translations provided by Abdelnour). *Kaak*, with [aa] representing [ع] is also used by El Khalil (2009). (Note, however, that the aforementioned food items (Arabic tokens) showing a consistency, with the use of [aa], could be the result of these words found food packaging, signs, menus, and other such commercial items, that may be influencing the authors' decisions regarding the Romanization of those words. *Zaatar* particularly comes to mind, as a very popular food chain in Lebanon, *Zaatar w Zeit*, has very strong marketing all across the country). While there are not many instances in El-Zein (9) and El Khalil's (9) works of this representation, the number of instances collected across all three memoirs, reveal a trend in the orthographic representation, despite the lack of a standardized orthography to follow, suggesting that the Lebanese tend to agree on representing [ع] in the previously depicted ways.

A distinct pattern is revealed when the [ع] occurs at the start of a word (#__)—this pattern is unanimous across all three Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs selected for this study. When a word begins with the Arabic [ع], that word is merely transcribed beginning with the vowel that follows the [ع]. The Arabic tokens representing this pattern in *Leave to Remain* (El-Zein, 2009) are: *eid* (holiday), *Ashura* (Shiite commemoration of the death of Imam Hussein in 680 AD), *Abbas* (name/religious shrine), *ulama* (religious leaders), *ushq* (desire). The Arabic tokens used in *Jasmine and Fire* (Abdelnour, 2012) that support this pattern, are: *Abdelnour* (last name; worshipper of light), *oud* (lute), *akkawi* (mild local Lebanese cheese), *eid* (holiday), *osmalliyeh* (name of dessert), *inab* (grapes). Again, we find evidence in El Khalil's writing, in her use of the words *arak* (local alcohol), *oud* (lute),

Amo (uncle). While all Arabic tokens representative of this pattern in El-Zein's memoir are religious in nature, El Khalil's are cultural, and Abdelnour's a combination of both, a claim cannot be made for this representation of [ع] (or lack thereof) in relation to the formality or informality of a given context. However, the representation of [ع] at word boundary (#__) is in agreement across the three memoirs.

3. *Voiceless uvular stop*

[ق]	[q]	[k]	[']	None	Total
Abdelnour	3	11	5	6	26
El Khalil	1	2	_______	1	4
El-Zein	3	_______	_______	_______	3

Table 4 Number of each variant used to represent */qaf/* by each memoirist

The /qaf/ is a prominent Arabic phoneme that cannot be ignored in the discussion/ analysis of the Levantine varieties of Arabic, due to its relation to MSA, and, contemporarily, its association with rural rather than urban colloquial dialects in Lebanon. While the /qaf/ is realized in MSA, across all Arab countries, different varieties eliminate the /qaf/ in everyday speech, as a form of urbanization or modernity (for instance, the dialect most commonly heard in Beirut) (Bassiouney, 2009). Whereas, in places such as Tunisia, using/maintaining the /qaf/ is prestigious, and any variety which eliminates or replaces the /qaf/ with another phonetic realization (such as the voiced glottal stop ['], commonly used in the Levantine variety) is deemed less significant (Sayahi, 2011). In

Lebanon the /qaf/ is generally regarded as a linguistic feature of a particular religious populations—namely, the Druze (but also, the Alawites, for instance)—and associated with certain regional populations (rural areas, i.e., the mountains). Ultimately, it is a marked linguistic feature used to locate one's religious affiliation, and generally not used in urban areas, or by certain religious groups. The /qaf/ is an unmarked linguistic feature in MSA—meaning its use is expected in formal language use—but this is not necessarily the case for colloquial varieties, including the Levantine variety (consider scholarly work written on diglossia: Ferguson, 1959 and 1991; Bassiouney, 2009; Albirini, 2016). Because diglossic language practices are at play, many Muslims will represent the /qaf/ in speech (and in the Romanization of Arabic, as found in El-Zein's writing), when using words that are formal (i.e., *ushq*, meaning desire for God, rather than its vernacular meaning, passionate love/desire), as Classical Arabic is a formal variety strongly associated with the Quran (Bassiouney, 2009). Moreover, this is not to say that all Druze people incorporate the /qaf/ in their speech, or that all other (religious) groups erase the /qaf/ in their speech (see Table 4 above), however, the use of /qaf/ indexes group membership and identity, and therefore these associations must be kept in mind in our analysis of such linguistic features.

Due to the religious content in El-Zein's memoir, religious identity (Muslim—Shiite) being at the forefront of his depiction of himself, his use of [qaf] is reflective of the Classical Arabic that is used in the Quran. The Arabic tokens used by El-Zein that utilize the [qaf] are:

> (1) Iqra': "[My father] introduced me to the Quran and told me about the superiority of its language which no human could possibly emulate. He reminded me of God's injunction, Iqra', Read or Recite, the first divine

> word the prophet had heard, a prophet who did not know how to read or write” (p.12).
>
> (2) Al Muqaddas: “So pious was [my great-grandfather Sheikh Abdul Kareem] that he acquired the title *Al Muqaddas*, ‘The Sacred’, and, following his death, rumour in the village had it that his tomb emitted a mysterious light at night” (p. 58, original italics).
>
> (3) Ushq: “I took a last look at the spot where the old grieving man had stood and it dawned on me that, as the Sufis said centuries ago, from nearby Basra and Baghdad, faith is a form of desire, *ushq* – the more elusive its object, the more intense it is. I realised that I envied the old man’s unrestrained faith and wished I could glimpse the object of his desire” (p. 172, original italics).

Thus, as made evident from the context surrounding the Arabic token words, El-Zein’s use of language, and the Romanization of /qaf/ as [q], reflects the formal discourse of the religious scholars of his family, his religious background and experiences and, the Classical Arabic in the Quran. *Leave to Remain: A Memoir* (2009), does not involve any other instances of Arabic tokens that involve the [qaf] (see Appendix 1), so we cannot know if El-Zein consistently uses the [qaf] across diglossic situations (formal vs. informal contexts), or if he would use [k] or the glottal variant [‘] in place of [q], or eliminate it entirely, as other writers do at times. As seen in Table 3, regardless of positioning, the /qaf/ is represented using /q/ by El-Zein.

Phonetic Environment of /qaf/	El-Zein	El Khalil	Abdelnour
[q]	***Iq**ra’* *Al Mu**q**addas* *Ush**q***	*Ouje**q***	*Ikhraj **q**aid* *Al massih **q**am* *Is**q**at al nizam*

[k]	_______	*Ara**k*** *Tare**k***	*Batata Mi**k**lieh* ***K**urbane* *Mar**k**ou**k*** *Shish taou**k*** *Yikhreeb zou**k** al rjal* *Harra**k** osb'oo* *Ma**k**ane**k*** *Soujou**k*** *Wara**k** bi inab* *Moufatta**k**a* *Muwarra**k**a*
[']	_______	_______	*Man'ouche* *Me'te* *Tiss'ye*
No Representation #__	_______	*Albi*	*Amareddine* *Ater* *Ashta* *Ahweh* *Atayef*
No Representation (Other)	_______	*Manouche*	_______

Table 5 Orthographic Representations of Voiceless uvular stop /ق/ or /qaf/

El Khalil, a self-proclaimed Druze, uses [q] and [k] where /qaf/ occurs as word final, although there are not enough occurrences in her writing alone to be able to generalize. An *oujeq* is an indoor fire pit/heat source that is generally used in the mountain homes (or other rural areas) of Lebanon, where the /qaf/ is prominent in speech. The /qaf/ is also a sociolinguistic variable, as discussed earlier, that is tied to the Druze religious group. El Khalil uses [k] in place of [q] in the word final position for *arak*—a popular Levantine local-made anise-flavored alcoholic spirit—and *Tarek,* an Arabic name that does not index

belonging to any particular religion or religious sect in Lebanon. It is interesting that the two variants of /qaf/ exist in El Khalil's representation of the /qaf/ in the word final position. Since there are not a vast number of occurrences in the text, one is left to speculate the reason for this variation. My speculation is that because an *oujeq* is only used in the mountain homes of Lebanon, during the cold winter months—where the /qaf/ is more likely to be salient in speech—El Khalil's internalization of this experience, is represented linguistically by the use of [q] to represent /qaf/. Moreover, this heat source is commonly known across other religious/regional populations in Lebanon, as a *sobia.* Thus, the term *oujeq* itself can be traced to regional/religious populations, despite use of [q], [k], or the glottal variant. *Tarek*, as mentioned above, is a common Lebanese name, and *arak* is a popular, local-made Lebanese spirit, indulged by Lebanese people all across the country. One possible explanation for this variation regarding these two tokens is, despite presence of the /qaf/ in Arabic, these tokens are likely to be used on an international level (as proper nouns are typically Anglicized), thus, Romanization using [k] is easier to pronounce than [q] or even the glottal variant [']. Pertaining to Lebanon, however, unlike the token *oujeq*, *Tarek* and *arak* are not related to any group in particular, or confined to religious-regional boundaries within Lebanon, thus, represented using [k].

Abdelnour's Arabic token corpus is much larger than that of the other two memoirists, providing a vast array of /qaf/ positioning, whereby she introduces us to a third way of representing the /qaf/. When /qaf/ occurs mid-word, Abdelnour uses ['] to represent it, i.e., *man'ouche* (flatbread), *me'te* (cucumber-like vegetable), and *tiss'ye* (which Abdelnour describes is the name of a Lebanese dish made from chickpeas, yogurt, and deep fried pita bread, topped with pine nuts; she is describing what is commonly known as

fatteh, as it appears in many menus in the vast majority of Lebanese restaurants, as per my personal observations). It appears ['] is used when the position of /qaf/ is between a consonant and a vowel (C__V or V__C); however, since Abdelnour also uses [q] and [k] in the same phonetic environment, i.e., *isqat* (V__C) and *markouk* (C__V), respectively, this inconsistency is might be traceable to differences in oral production, (however, we cannot be sure). As discussed in Chapter II, Lebanese-Christians (as well as the Lebanese population at large) are very unlikely to pronounce the /qaf/ that is found in everyday (informal) terminology. Therefore, the /qaf/ is not represented as [q] in the orthography of many Lebanese-Anglophone writers, rather as a glottal stop, which is reflective of the increasingly popular oral speech of the Levantine vernacular.

4. *Final remarks about Romanization and variation*

Each of the Arabic sounds analyzed above do not exist in English. Thus, it is begs the question, why does variation in Romanization exist for some of the sounds, while for other sounds there is no variation at all? As illustrated in the analysis above, there are possible explanations for the variability that exists in the ways in which some sounds are represented. For example, [k] replaces [q] in the Romanization of proper nouns, in names (which undergo Anglicization) such as *Tarek*, or, with regards to food terminology, the Romanization that commonly appears in menus, or on labeled packaging, influences the Romanization of words such as *zaatar* or *kaak*. The sounds that do not involve variation in Romanization are [h], [kh], [d], [gh], and [s]—but, why are they not subject to variation, even though they are also found in the Arabic language but not found in the English language? This speculative finding is worth further investigation, and future study might aim to answer this question.

B. At the Forefront of (Linguistic) Identity

Some scholars suggest that what an author first reveals about him or herself is what they want the reader to know most about their identity—what is at the forefront of who they are (Albirini, 2016; Sayahi, 2007; Sebba et al., 2012). I will be providing some preliminary text from each of the authors below, as examples to highlight what each memoirist first reveals about him/herself.

> **Abdelnour:** I was barely two years old, and my name, Salma—"peaceful" in Arabic—already sounded like an ironic joke. My last name, Abdelnour, didn't quite hit the nail on the head either. It means "worshipper of the light." The light stands for god. In many Arab names starting with Abdel (worshipper of), the word that comes after it is one of the numerous Arabic synonyms for god: for instance, Karim (generous), Latif (kind), Malik (king). In Lebanon, those names can be Christian or Muslim. My family is mostly Christian—Greek Orthodox on my dad's side, Presbyterian on my mom's—although many of us consider ourselves secular, as I started to also, as soon as I was old enough to understand what that meant (p. 5-6).

> **El-Zein:** A few weeks before I was born in the district of Haret Hreik, in the southern suburbs of Beirut, an old lady knocked on the door of our little apartment and asked my mother whether she was the wife of my father, the government employee Hassan El-Zein. The woman, wrapped up in the traditional black Shia robe, introduced herself as a neighbor who lived down the street and said that she had had a dream the night before, during which a holy man had asked her to tell my pregnant mother that she would be giving birth to a baby boy and that she had better call him Abbas, after the martyred son of Imam Ali. The 'prophecy' came true (p. 3).

> **El Khalil:** There is a thin line between reality and dream. […] I don't remember my birth, I don't remember how this all began, but I do remember how I died. I remember how I died before returning to this world as the person I am now. I went from darkness to darkness, then to light (p. 9-10) […] My story starts with the oldest lifetime that I can remember. I was born in 1901 and my name was Hussein (p. 12).

Through the passages exemplified above, religion is an aspect of multiple social identity manifestation that is explicitly situated at the forefront of all three Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs. While each of the authors introduces their identity to the reader in terms of

religious affiliation, this can possibly be read as a reflection of Lebanese society, and the Arab world in general, whereby individuals are born into their religion (Albirini, 2016) (as compared to many parts of the Western World, where religion is a choice, at least upon reaching an age, where as Abdelnour puts it, “old enough to understand what that mean[s]” (p. 6)). Despite certain claims of non-devotion, such as Abdelnour’s confession above—“…although many of us consider ourselves secular, as I started to also…” (p. 6)—she still refers to the religion of her family, “mostly Christian,” the religion she was born into. This is perhaps also reflective of Lebanon’s sectarianism, in government, in geography, in names (also depicted in the abovementioned passages), and, most importantly, through the use of language. Ultimately, religion, whether devotion to that religion is practiced or not, is at the forefront of Lebanese identity and is a pre-established facet of the multiple identities one maintains, by default of birth to Lebanese parents.

C. Language Indexing Group Membership: Examples and Analysis

1. *Who Are “We”? In Abbas El-Zein’s Leave to Remain (2009)*

a. We = Arab/Middle Eastern

The use of “we” in the following passage represents El-Zein’s self-identification as an Arab, or Middle Easterner, not Lebanese in particular. An example of his expression of Arab unity, or oneness, is presented in the following passage:

> By the time I turned seven, man had not long walked on the moon, the Vietnam war was raging, the nuclear non-proliferation treaty had been signed, the entire Egyptian air force had been wiped out in a few minutes, and *we* had lost the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and Sinai in six days in 1967, a historical record by all accounts, rivaled only by the Netherlands falling to the Germans over breakfast, twenty-seven years earlier (p. 5, italics my own).

The West Bank forms the bulk of the State of Palestine, therefore, El-Zein is depicting a sense of unity and oneness amongst all Arabs in writing the statement, “we had lost the West Bank” (p. 5). Elsewhere, however, I will uncover El-Zein’s use of “we” as an index of other aspects of his multiple identity.

In the excerpt below, El-Zein discusses the ‘narcissist’ nature of America, as a powerful opposition to Arabs and the Arab world, and its “incredible presence in the world” (p. 112), as follows:

> *We* spoke *their* language, *they* did not speak *ours*. *We* knew about *them* far more than *they* knew about *us* (p. 112, italics my own).

This illustrates (1) that language is inextricably tied to identity, and (2) that “they”, Americans, do not need to adapt to the needs of others. But more importantly, El-Zein uses “we” in reference to Arabs (not merely Lebanese), “our language” referring to Arabic (not the Levantine variety alone); and “them”/“they” in reference to Americans. The use of we/us/ours versus they/them/theirs is evidence of linguistic binaries indexing group membership and identity construction.

Keeping in line with the discussion of “we” as Arab identity, the war being discussed in the passage below is between Iraq and America—Lebanon not being directly involved—however, El-Zein’s mother asks if “we” are on the verge of war, and El-Zein does not find it necessary to correct her, therefore suggesting that if one Arab country is at war with the Other (America), all Arab countries are at war. “We” revealing unity in Arab identity is depicted as follows:

> My mother, on her way out, asked me if *we* were seriously on the verge of war. ‘There is no doubt about it,’ I said. She had a feeling *we* weren’t, that ‘Bush would not invade Saddam’. It would be an ugly sight, but I kept the thought to myself (p. 233-4, italics my own).

This particular instance of “we”, unifying Arab identity, is perhaps due not only to national identity, but namely religious identity. El-Zein tells of his trip to Iraq, amongst the pilgrims at the Shrine of Al Abbas, where he admits he subconsciously “move[s] around the shrine mumbling [his] prayer to [himself], reciting the *faatiha* […] performing the religious ritual in a shrine without quite knowing the reason” (p. 171). In this confession-like retelling of a religious experience, it seems as though El-Zein is admitting to a deeply ingrained religious identity. Perhaps it is El-Zein’s religious identity—many Muslims from all over the Arab world take part in the pilgrimage to Iraq, to visit the many shrines of the Imams and their kin—that El-Zein is an advocate for an Arab collective identity, since he is “in touch with the religion of [his] forbears” (p. 171).

Moreover, while Abbas El-Zein says his anti-American phase “started before [his] last teenage acne cleared up and was over by the time [he] had stopped gaining weight,” the description he includes in the passage below is further reinforces his “pan-Arab conviction”:

> My anti-American phase was a post-adolescent affair. | The most naïve manifestation of my anti-Americanism was the belief that Americans were naïve. […] Another belief was that America was vulgar and greedy, while Europe was its sophisticated Other. I must have developed an interesting blend of European sense of superiority, imparted by my French school, and pan-Arab anti-colonialist conviction, both of which easily turned into a passionate dislike for America. […] I knew little about the US and, in any case, what mattered to me were the bad things that America did to *my fellow Arabs* and to the world, rather than the good things it did for itself (p. 104-105, italics my own).

Despite claiming otherwise, El-Zein’s use of “we” in reference to Arabs—rather than Lebanese identity—ultimately depicts a unified Arab identity. While he may be believe that he has disassociated himself from this anti-America mindset, his writing implicitly suggests

otherwise.

b. We = Lebanese

Interestingly, El-Zein provides his readers with a depiction of his Lebanese identity and group membership that is inspired by a memory he retells that revolves around his transfer from university in Beirut, during the civil war, to university in England:

> When Shia militias took over West Beirut in 1984 and gangs of militiamen tried to ban alcoholic drinks, we made a point of opening our Heineken cans and sipping them in public on campus. Our defiance came from an unyielding sense of entitlement: Beirut was *our* city and no one could take this away from us. The drive for religious purity would turn out to be short-lived anyway, as its proponents discovered what many of us knew all along, that Beirut had been made immune to any form of absolutism, not least by the fragmentation that had consumed it. Our streets and neighbourhoods were under threat from explosives and armed men but they were free of the rules, laws and enforcement agencies that governed peaceful cities. We lived in the precarious space that anarchy created, between the ever-present possibility of violent death and a heightened sense of living (p. 120, italics original).

It appears as though El-Zein defies his religious identity (i.e., admitting to alcohol consumption) for the greater good—Lebanese identity and unity. However, during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990) there was a "Green Line" (there was no actual boundary or "line" drawn, but because the space was seemingly uninhabited, foliage grew here, and that is where the name comes from) demarcating a separation between a Muslim West Beirut and predominantly Christian East Beirut (Bizri, 2013; Shaaban, in press). At this time, El-Zein claims to have been in his second year university, where he belonged to "a small group of university friends who hung out together. There were Christians and Muslims, Shia and Sunnis, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics amongst [them]" (p.

119). Therefore, in his use of “us” and “our” in the above quoted passage, it is evident that El-Zein is practicing defiance against Shia militiamen, despite his self-identification with the Shia religion, as a way to show solidarity and belonging to his multi-religious university friend group, and more importantly, he stands for a Lebanese collective identity. Moreover, through his use of in-group language, El-Zein is dissolving common misconceptions or preconceived notions that religious belonging amounts to supporting terrorism in the name of religion.

In the following passage, another instance of indexing Lebanese identity, along with a depiction of the internalization of stereotypes, in Abbas El-Zein’s use of language is found, however, at this point in time he is not living in Lebanon, but in Australia:

> Lebanese social neuroses were at work. East met West in Lebanon every day, and the middle classes spent much energy fending off undesired aspects of Western culture, from open homosexuality and premarital sex to drugs and rap music, all of which were described as *un-Lebanese*. Not unlike the un-Australianness of some Australian crimes, in which shooting and gang rape were branded Lebanese, while drug-dealing was supposed to be multiracial but not white (p. 235, italics my own).

Perhaps, his sense of not belonging (due to stereotypical depictions of “Lebanese” crimes, and preconceived attitudes and prejudices by Australians) leads El-Zein to increasingly self-identify as Lebanese while living in Australia. El-Zein recognizes that intra-cultural/inter-religious differences are prevalent amongst people in Lebanon—when he claims “East met West in Lebanon every day,” what he is really saying is *Christian* East met *Muslim* West (as discussed above)—however, in Australia these differences are erased; “Lebanese Christians” and “Lebanese Muslims” simply become “Lebanese,” in terms of other-identification, thus, leading El-Zein to increasingly self-identify as Lebanese.

<u>c. We = Lebanese Australian</u>

El-Zein uses “we” to refer to “the locals, the original Lebanese” of the diaspora in Australia. “We”, by his terms, does not mean second generation, Lebanese-Australians. Studies done in the realm of sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics (language and identity) (Albirini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2009; Burke & Stets, 2009; Edwards, 2009; Joseph, 2004; Meijl, 2010) oppose the view that El-Zein maintains, that somehow “hybrid” Lebanese people (Lebanese-Australians, in this instance) are not “real”, or even, less Lebanese than those who have never lived a day outside of Lebanon. The following passage details El-Zein’s views on hybrid (or, multiple) identity:

> Years ago, when I was still living in Lebanon, I remember coming across second-generation Lebanese-Australians visiting Beirut. *We*, the locals, the original Lebanese, saw *them* as a strange breed with *their* funny Arabic accents, *their* sentences punctured by English words. That Australia was the destination of choice for the Lebanese from the rural north made *us* even more condescending. *The returnees* appeared to be lost, looking for something in Beirut that *they* could neither pinpoint nor find. Those who returned to Lebanon for good would have been expected to revert to *their* original identities. The place would have laid claim to *them* once again. It would have urged *them*, in so many ways, some more subtle than others, to recover from *their* foreignness as from an illness, and *they* would probably have resisted the pressure (p. 151-2, italics my own).

I cannot be sure if El-Zein’s feelings of contention are due to a sense of inferiority, prior to emigrating himself, as many Lebanese people (based on my personal experience and observations) view immigration to the “Western world” as the goal to achieving success—escaping turmoil. However the focus here is on El-Zein’s depiction of the second-generation Lebanese-Australians as a “strange breed” that is different from, and even less Lebanese, than the “original Lebanese” because they code-switch between Arabic and English, and even their Arabic accent is not “authentic”. While El-Zein does not reveal to his readers his current view on Lebanese-Australian identity, it is evident at that point in his life, he views Lebanese-Australians (or any other hybrids) as members of a different group,

and not belonging to the "original", or authentic, Lebanese group. Contemporary research on Multiple Identity Theory/Frameworks (Burke & Stets, 2009; Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014; Zimmerman, 2014) outline that previously this view on identity may have carried some weight, however, today, scholars reveal that even if one cannot speak the heritage language, they are no less Lebanese (or whatever culture they belong to) than they feel or claim to be. Thus, identity is understood to be a continuum, in which different identities can be negotiated in different contexts, amongst different people, as I have made evident in outlining El-Zein's different uses of "we" to index different group belongingness.

Later in life, El-Zein reveals a sense of belonging to Australian society, despite his ties to the Middle East; however, there is a tumultuous relationship between the multiple identities of an Arab residing in the "Western world." Below, El-Zein depicts his own sense of "belongingness" as an Arab in the West:

> I am now part of the long and tortuous history of the evolution of Western societies towards cultural and ethnic multiplicity and *their* less-than-edifying record of acceptance of *the Other* – societies whose brutal colonial conquests and mass murders, anti-Semitic, anti-indigenous and otherwise, are still alive in collective memories. I have many stakes in this evolution both as an Arab living in the West, and as a Westerner […] with a vested interest in the Middle East (p. 283, italics my own).

I believe, what El-Zein has revealed here, is what most (if not all) migrants experience. Being accepted on paper—being granted a "Leave to Remain" by the government—is not the same as being accepted by the general public. While El-Zein identifies as a Westerner, Westerners may not identify him as such. If one looks different, talks different, one is ultimately viewed as the Other. There is a negotiation of identities that in part relies on how others view an individual, as well as how that individual views him-/herself—enacting, or making a particular identity salient, to gain acceptance into a group. Personally, in my

move to Lebanon, as a Lebanese-Canadian, I still experience the position of the Other—in Canada I am the Lebanese friend (as many of my friends have referred to me), and in Lebanon, I am the Canadian cousin (or at least, the cousin from Canada). Ultimately, group membership is not a seamless process, and the negotiation of identity is ongoing and dynamic.

d. We = Australian

As an Australian citizen, El-Zein, as many migrants do, reveals his need to assimilate:

> I tried to overlook the Middle-Eastern reference in the seminar and shrug it off as incidental, which it was. Part of me wished for my dissent on matters of US military ethics and foreign policy to disappear behind my newly found Australian self – the US was *'our'* strategic ally, after all (p. 155, italics my own).

Here, El-Zein uses the term "our" in a conscious manner, recognizing that in order to be considered Australian by his Australian peers—nothing to do with his "newly found Australian self" (self identification) but everything to do with the way in which others will identify him—he must have the same allies, and, as a result, the same enemies. However, reading past the surface structure, it is evident that El-Zein maintains his views of America being the enemy (not the Middle East), as he reluctantly overlooks the Middle-Eastern reference made in the seminar depicted in the above quoted instance.

A more genuine sense of self-identification as an Australian, is witnessed in El-Zein's following contemplation:

> What I was discovering, by the same token, was how little grasp many Americans had of the extent to which *their* culture had spread and become known. […] I wonder whether Americans ever felt *they* were seen too much (p. 111, italics my own).

It may not be explicitly stated, but for El-Zein reference to the “Western world” does not involve all countries equally. America is more “West” than Australia, and even as an Australian, El-Zein renders America as a super-power which has spread its culture to all edges of the world. The American influence, to El-Zein, is far more superior than that of any other Western country. This is perhaps due to his strong self-identification as Arab, which is the thread of his manifested, multiple identities.

As I have illustrated above, through the description of identities that El-Zein indexes, identity is plural, dynamic, and reveals information regarding group membership, positioning himself alongside particular groups (Arabs and Islam) or against other groups (America). The way I have presented the multiple meanings of “we” used by Abbas El-Zein is not meant to suggest that these identities exist in isolation from one another; I have merely discussed them independently, to allow for a comprehensive analysis of the various ways in which “we” is used and can be understood. I have organized the plural uses of “we”, by El-Zein, to reflect the linear organization of a continuum (Arab—Lebanese—Lebanese-Australian—Australian), however, I am not in any way suggesting that identity is a linear organization. While the memoir is a comprehensive and linear representation of one’s life (Jackson & Hogg, 2010c), the multiple identities of El-Zein, and his multiple uses of “we” occur sporadically across the memoir. Most importantly, as I have illustrated above, identity is a discursive practice, with multiple facets, indexed not only by the self that the author writes, but also by others, and how they read (or construct) that self.

2. *“Amreeka” in Zena El Khalil’s Beirut: I Love You (2009)*

The use of "Amreeka" may be a reflection of Zena El Khalil's past life—she is a self-proclaimed Druze, revealing that she was Asmahan (the famous Lebanese-Druze singer) in her most recent past-life (she recalls two previous lifetimes) and spent most of her days as Asmahan in Egypt. El Khalil claims, for instance:

> I think about my history. About my grandfathers and their ordeals in the New World. The schizophrenia and disappointment I felt with Amreeka throughout my many lifetimes. The feeling of drowning in the middle of the Atlantic. My great aunt, the infamous spy. About my grandmother once kidnapped from her village. About my mother who once burnt her dress. And my sister the paramilitary freedom fighter. My pill-popping friends. My sweet and troubled men (p. 146-147).

Arabic speakers—including Lebanese, Syrians, Jordanians, Palestinians, Egyptians, and Yemenis—are known to pronounce "America" as "Amreeka," (Malek, 2009, p. ix). As such, El Khalil's use of "Amreeka" is perhaps a reflection of the Arab world (namely Egypt, according to Amin (2011)) being at the forefront in the face of America, as they view the Western superpower to be its main opposition. The following passage by El Khalil depicts America's far-reaching influence:

> I met Maya on the first day of classes at the Amreekan University of Beirut in October 1994. I had just moved from Nigeria, where I had lived all of my present life so far, to start my undergraduate program in Beirut. Moving from Africa to the Middle East was not as difficult as I had imagined it would be. I went from one Amreekan school system to another. These incubators exist all around the world in order to groom *us* for *their* New World order. I believe that the sign of a healthy despotism is when you're in it without even realizing it (p. 45, italics my own).

Not only is El Khalil insinuating that America is the opposition—"These incubators exist all around the world in order to groom *us* for *their* New World order" (p. 45, italics my own), distinguishing ingroup/outgroup identity manifestation—but, also, that America is a superpower with an agenda, and its agenda has spread to all corners of the world, including the Middle East. Moreover, in this case, the use of *Amreeka* appears to me to be used as a

term of defiance by El Khalil, as there are fifty-two instances of the term *Amreeka* in her memoir (see Appendix 2), and not once is “America” written in its standard orthography, even in places where standard spelling might be expected, such as the name of an institution, i.e., the Amreekan University of Beirut rather than the American University of Beirut.

Furthermore, “Amreeka” could simply resemble the Lebanese dialect of Hasbaya (Zena El Khalil’s village, in her current life), and this pronunciation has possibly transpired onto the written page in her orthographic depiction of the word America. I do not wish to focus on reincarnation (as it is not a linguistic variable), however it cannot be ignored, if I am to be true to El Khalil’s multiple identity narrative, as her past-life (experience of Egypt) influences, or filters into, the use of language in her current lifetime (see Makarem, 1974; Obeid, 2006 for further discussion of the Druze faith, reincarnation, and how past life experiences cross over with one’s soul into their next, or current, life). Her reliability in the retelling of her life through the written memoir would not be authentic had she not mentioned her past life (lives), has she truly experienced reincarnation, therefore, as readers, we cannot just ignore what El Khalil has explicitly disclosed to the reader about herself—her religious faith and identity. El Khalil grounds reincarnation in her religious—Druze—identity. While retellings of certain events that she has experienced throughout her lifetime do not necessarily reflect core Druze beliefs and values—i.e., alcohol consumption, premarital sexual experiences, the use of profane language (all of which are taboo amongst the Druze, especially females)—this does not mean that she is any less of a Druze. If she claims she is, then she is. Some of her Druze readers may not deem her as a devout Druze,

because her self-depiction does not match their own account of Druze membership, this does diminish her self-identification as belonging to the Druze group.

Further support for the presumption that El Khalil's use of "Amreeka" is a result of Egyptian influence, comes from El Khalil's use of a particular Arabic token that reflects the Egyptian vernacular, rather than the Levantine variety. The Arabic token she uses is *galabiyas* (a traditional Egyptian/Sudanese male garment). This Arabic token, echoing Egyptian vernacular, occurs in the following passage:

> After the bridge, we took a right and slowly made our way towards Atlantic Avenue. It was there that the city came to life again. Shops were open for business. Cafes lining the streets bustled with customers. Men in long *galabiyas* sat smoking *nargilehs*. Iyad occasionally stopped to greet people, kissing them three times on their cheeks, as is the Lebanese custom. But they weren't all Lebanese. There were Algerians and Yemenites. There were Syrians and Sudanese. I stood and stared and no one seemed to take notice of me. Everyone was drinking tea and chatting away. Was I still in New York? (p. 41, original italics).

There are two possible explanations for the [g] in *galabiyas*: either (1) El Khalil is indexing Arab (Egyptian) identity or group membership as a result of her past life experiences, and ultimately religious identity, or, (2) she is merely representing the [g] in this instance because it is an Egyptian garment, and not a Lebanese one. In the Lebanese vernacular, the term *galabiya* would be represented *jalabiya*, as the [j], or [dʒ] sound, in Lebanese Arabic, is pronounced/represented [g] in Egyptian Arabic. Furthermore, her use of the term *nargileh* reflects more of an Arab identity (inclusive of Egypt) than Lebanese identity, because, *nargileh* does not belong to any particular dialect. In my experience, however, in the Levantine variety the [n] is dropped and the Lebanese say *argileh*, rather than *nargileh*. While there is only one instance of the use of the Egyptian phoneme [g] in El Khalil's use of the term *galabiyas*—which is arguably insignificant in terms of research findings—it is

discussed in support of her use of “Amreeka” (in place of the standard, America) as a direct index of Arab identity, and united Arab front, in the face of America.

3. *Lebanese Food Culture in Salma Abdelnour’s Jasmine and Fire (2012)*

Salma Abdelnour’s *Jasmine and Fire: A Bittersweet Year in Beirut* (2012), reads like a travel journal, exploring Lebanese culture through depictions of social gatherings, and the exotic flavors of Lebanese cuisine. Abdelnour describes all the foods she eats—in restaurants or at dinner parties in the homes of her family and friends—with great detail, providing the names in Arabic, along with the ingredients, and various preparation methods (she even includes a section of recipes at the end of the memoir). Lebanese culture is significantly social, and the people are extremely hospitable, as per Abdelnour’s portrayal of Lebanon and Lebanese people. Her descriptions of the food, and the meticulous preparation of particular desserts allows the reader a bird’s-eye view of Lebanese social gatherings and dinner parties and the immense attention to detail involved in inviting people over to one’s own house. When she hosts her own dinner party at her Beirut apartment—to return a few invites, as is expected in Lebanese culture, but also to welcome a friend visiting her in Lebanon—Abdelnour comes to the realization that:

> Most of us here tonight have at least two if not more national or ethnic identities. Some of us are at a major crossroads in a relationship or career or other significant life issue. But we’re all trying to make a life that feels grounded and authentic, no matter where or how we’re living. Being with these people, admiring their warmth and humor and strength, makes me realize once again that I wasn’t completely crazy to return to Beirut. Without consciously knowing it, the chance to experience this exact feeling is a big part of what drew me back, that elusive sense of being so comfortably in my element, woven into the fabric of a group whose lives and personalities resonate so strongly with me (p. 220-221).

While she is afraid she will be too comfortable to return home to her New York apartment, Abdelnour finds herself “in her element” in Beirut—attending and hosting parties, indulging in, but also learning how to make, certain Lebanese dishes and desserts, and enjoying many different seasonal fruits and vegetables as her year in Beirut evolves, as Lebanese people do. She tells her readers, “as usual in Lebanon, “No thanks, I really can’t just now” is an unacceptable answer to an offer of food, coffee, or hospitality” (p. 268). So she ends up mostly eating and drinking her way through Lebanon, and through any of the time she spends with friends, which is typical of Lebanese culture.

Certain foods in Lebanon—desserts included—distinguish religious groups, and their respective holidays. While Abdelnour discloses early on that she comes from a Christian family (namely Greek Orthodox), there are other cultural elements that reveal her religion. For instance, her following depiction of traditionally prepared sweet bread:

> My grandfather Jiddo Gibran always seemed so calm and Buddha-like, smiling as he’d hand Samir and me pieces of *kurbane*, a sweet briochelike bread (p. 134).

As per my observations, *kurbane* is typically associated with the Church, as Abdelnour also suggests, and it is distributed at church (representing the body of Christ), but can also be found in stores and bakeries in Lebanon (perhaps influencing Romanization), or even made in Lebanese (Christian) homes. Note, she represents the word initial (#__) [q] as [k], suggesting a more formal representation, that is perhaps due to *kurbane* being a highly popular sweet bread sold at times of Chrisitian (religious) holidays; thus, the word probably exists in its Romanized form on packaging and even on the menus of bakeries. Further linguistic descriptions of food, cultural identity, and religious internalizations include *maamoul* and *Eid al-Kebir*:

> Suddenly it's near the end of April, and—flashback to pre-Thanksgiving—I'm wondering if I'll land an Easter invitation. I may not consider myself religious, but Easter is a huge deal in Lebanon; it's called Eid al-Kebir here, the big holiday. Jesus's purported rising from the dead on that day involves much more celebration and dressed-up churchgoing and ceremony in Lebanon than it does among Christians in the States. Every candy store, pastry shop, and supermarket in Lebanon's Christian or mixed areas is festooned with Easter chocolates and decorations for weeks ahead of time, and plans for big family gatherings are made early and slaved over (p. 245).

Furthermore, it is evident in the above passage that certain holidays in Lebanon are particularly related to religious sects, but also, food and dinner invitations are essential to proper celebration of those holidays in Lebanese culture. Abdelnour secures an Easter invitation, where she is able to enjoy *maamoul* (again, the Romanization of *maamoul* could be a result of commercial packaging), which she describes as "traditional Easter powdered-sugar-dusted cookies stuffed with crushed pistachios or dates" (p. 248), after a traditional Lebanese feast—roast lamb being the main dish. I believe most (if not all) religious groups in Lebanon enjoy roast lamb (a symbol of sacrifice, generally butchered for *Eid Adha*, as purported by El-Zein (2009, p. 32) in his memoir) and *maamoul* on different occasions and that it is not solely an Easter/Christian dessert. However, Abdelnour, based on her personal experiences, associates these foods as Easter traditions, indexing her cultural and, by extension, religious identity. Christians worldwide celebrate Easter, and I am not suggesting it is solely a Lebanese holiday, however, these traditions index cultural and religious identity.

Despite the aforementioned distinct depiction of Lebanese cultural identity (and religion), Abdelnour also paradoxically aligns her Lebanese and American identity:

> Despite my American-versus-Arabic struggles, there's no doubt I've been looking forward to Thanksgiving, this quintessentially American holiday. Finally, the third week of November arrives but first there's another big holiday: Lebanese Independence Day. On November 22,

> 1943, Lebanon officially won its freedom from France, and from that year on, Lebanon has celebrated its independence on that day (p. 130).

Furthermore, she paradoxes her multiple identities through the foods she associates with different aspects of her (bi-)cultural identity:

> Funny that on this morning, Lebanese Independence Day, I'm baking something that reminds me of American apple pie—although the apples themselves are Lebanese, and the allspice is a mostly Middle Eastern seasoning. And funny too that an hour later, when my mom's cousin (Ramzi's brother) Sami and his wife, Najwa, call to invite me over again for lunch, we eat breaded veal filet called *escalope* along with French fries, Western specialties popular in Lebanon. Fahimeh, their longtime Lebanese cook, makes both particularly well. One could almost say that escalope and French fries, called *batata miklieh* here, have honorary Lebanese citizenship by now. We've essentially adopted both and made them our own, especially fries, which come with almost every sandwich order and even sometimes show up as part of a meze (p.132).

While Abdelnour, like many Lebanese people, loves Lebanese food—expressing immense pride for Lebanese cuisine and always missing mom's cooking while living abroad (p. 132)—here she contrasts the different holidays (American Thanksgiving and Lebanese Independence Day) which are both equally important to her, but most importantly, the food (even particular ingredients) involved indexes her multiple (cultural) identities. Food, as made evident in Abdelnour's memoir, plays a significant role in marking one's cultural identity. As Abdelnour prepares a dessert reminiscent of American apple pie—so similar—the ingredients she is using are Lebanese/Middle Eastern—yet, so different. Even her discussion of *batata miklieh* (French fries) holds significance—especially when she writes, "we've essentially adopted [them] and made them our own" (p. 132)—since Lebanon was once colonized by the French, and French influence in Lebanon is inevitably present, even affecting the food Lebanese people enjoy. French fries can probably be found on every single menu that exists in Lebanon, and again, the Romanization adapted by Abdelnour for

many of the food items is perhaps a result or, at least, influence of the Romanization found on menus—hence, the realization of /qaf/ as [k] in many of the popular food terms.

Returning to the traditional Lebanese foods, Abdelnour has internalized many of these foods associated with Christian holidays. For instance, "*hrisseh*, [a soup] made with slow-braised lamb so soft it shreds in tender threads into the soup, its broth thickened with ground wheat and generously flavored with [cinnamon]" (p. 120), is a popular dish enjoyed all across Lebanon. However, for Abdelnour:

> *Hrisseh* is often served for the Feast of the Assumption on August 15, commemorating the day when, according to the Eastern Orthodox church, the Virgin Mary ascended to heaven (p. 304).

While, as I, a non-Christian Lebanese individual understand *hrisseh* to be soul-food that is enjoyed in Lebanese homes all over the country (and possibly the world), for Abdelnour, *hrisseh* (along with other dishes) represents religious, as well as cultural identification, and this is explicit in her description. Furthermore, the word initial (#__) [h] here is not to be confused with the Romanization of the Arabic /ح/—it is merely the voiceless glottal fricative [h] as in the English word *high*, which is a sound found in English. Despite the confusion that this may lead to, knowledge of Arabic vocabulary, allows Lebanese people to distinguish these two sounds, regardless of the same Romanization. Again, here, I am led to question why/how /ح/ came to be consistently realized in Romanization as [h]—as it could be confused with the voiceless glottal fricative /h/—while other sounds that are also not present in the English language are represented in various ways? The decisions surrounding Romanization in memoirs of the Lebanese-Anglophone tradition probably do not undergo editorial scrutiny like the remainder of the text, as the Anglophone (American/Australian/British) editors of these particular memoirs are highly unlikely

(though I cannot be sure) to have knowledge of the Arabic language; so, while the English language in the text is thoroughly edited, the Arabic tokens remain untouched—the way the writer Romanizes the Arabic words, is the way the they are published, inclusive of inconsistencies.

Despite her many depictions of food that reveal religious affiliation and cultural identity, there are dishes which Abdelnour describes that index solely Lebanese culture. For instance, Abdelnour describes the "smoky, creamy, and fiercly addictive" smoky eggplant dip commonly known as *Baba Ghanoush*, but "we call it *batanjan mtabbal* in Lebanon" (p. 308), that always makes its way onto the table, along with *hummus* (lemony chickpea puree (p. 309)) in Lebanese meze (p. 117). Another recipe Abdelnour raves about as being "quintessentially Lebanese," is *Shish Taouk* (skewered chicken kebabs) (p. 319). *Shish Taouk* is extremely popular in Lebanon, with slight variations in preparation, however, the marinade generally involves a lot of garlic—"and the Lebanese like it that way" (p. 321). *Shish taouk* can be enjoyed as street food wrapped in pita bread and doused in garlic sauce, or as a platter in a restaurant served up with fries and pickles. The Romanizations of these popular Lebanese food items—*shish taouk*, *hummus*, and *baba ghanoush*—have gained international popularity, thus Abdelnour's Romanizations are perhaps reflective of an Anglicized orthography in other places of the world, along with the orthography present in the menus of popular chain restaurants in Lebanon. There are also *Kibbeh 'Arass* (lamb meatballs stuffed with pine nuts and onion) which "Lebanese party hosts often buy by the dozen from caterers and bakeries that turn out enviably smooth, uniform spheres; homemade versions often don't come out as perfect" (p. 317). The Romanization here reflects a modern, prestige Arabic (oral discourse) where the [q] is replaced with ['], in this

popular Lebanese food item (*kibbeh* ’arass) perhaps reflective of Abdelnour’s own—urban, or, modern, perhaps even Christian—speech, however, mere speculation can only be made about her oral discourse, as I can only analyze the concrete written discourse features. Moreover, Abdelnour claims that “*Kibbeh* is in some ways the quintessential comfort food, but it’s also one of the proud national dishes, fit for feasts” (p. 317). There are many more dishes in Lebanese cuisine that many Lebanese might deem “quintessentially” Lebanese, though, through the depiction of merely three highly popular foods in Lebanon, Abdelnour highlights the acclaim Lebanese people—including herself—give to food as a reflection of cultural identity.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to uncover identity manifestation through the written discourse of Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs. The emphasis is on identity being a discursive practice, that is dynamic, ongoing, and influenced by social aspects and situations—i.e., context—thus, negotiated, and in particular situations, a particular identity (or, identities) is made salient (Burke & Stets, 2009; Jackson & Hogg, 2010; Joseph, 2011). Moreover, it is not only what writers of the memoirs reveal about themselves that is significant to the study—i.e., differences in the Romanization, or, English representation, of Arabic sounds (is it *manouche* or *manqouche*?) or, varying personal internalizations of the Lebanese dessert *maamoul* (is it a Christian/Easter tradition or a Muslim/Druze/Adha tradition?)—but also, how these variations are interpreted by the reader. Reader interpretations are based on personal internalizations that develop throughout one's lifetime as a result of personal—linguistic, cultural, religious, etc.—experiences. Linguistic practices by the author, along with reader interpretations, are the substance of identity co-construction in written discourse (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Burke & Stets, 2009; Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014). Bucholtz (2009) suggests that linguistic forms are not inherently, or directly, linked to particular social categories, but how the linguistic forms are interpreted may manipulate the speaker's (or, pertaining to this study, the writer's) own *stance*, or interactional purposes. Regardless of author intent in using particular linguistic representations or language practices (as this study did not seek to

uncover the intentions of the author), identity in written discourse, as a bidirectional construction between writer and reader, is revealed.

Initially, the Arabic tokens seem sparse and insignificant in the analysis of each memoir individually, and one may be skeptical as to why these words (if so insignificant) are borrowed. However, when looking at the Arabic tokens from a (socio)linguistic perspective—e.g. cultural influence on language practices—patterns emerge. Once the language is explored beyond the surface, the multiple social identities of the author are uncovered. Moreover, a comparison of the Arabic token words used across three memoirs, illustrating different themes, written by authors of different religious backgrounds, different cultural experiences, and various internalizations of those social, religious, and cultural experiences, the linguistic patterns that emerge—in Romanization of Arabic, and associated linguistic elements—exemplify the multiplicity of social identity construction in written discourse.

Evidently, there is agreement across the three Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs in depicting:

- the voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ح/ or /ħ/ as [h]
- the voiceless velar fricative /خ/ or /x/ as [kh]
- the voiced velarized dento-alveolar stop /ض/ or /Dˤ/ as [d]
- the voiced velar fricative /غ/ or /ɣ/ as [gh]
- the voiceless velarized alveolar fricative /ص/ or /Sˤ/ as [s]

As illustrated, these uses are unanimous by the authors across the memoirs, despite different religious influences and cultural contexts, and even linguistic environments

(beginning, middle, or end of the word) of the Arabic token word. Take for example, *faatiha*, the word borrowed by El-Zein to represent the opening verse of the Muslim holy book, *hibr* meaning ‘ink,’ borrowed by Abdelnour, and *hashesh*, borrowed by El Khalil, meaning ‘drug addict,’ depicting mutual intelligibility by Lebanese-Anglophone authors, and readers alike, in using [h] to represent /ح/ or /ħ/ despite the context in which the word is used (Abu Elhij’a, 2012).

There is variation in the use of the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ع/ which is generally represented as [aa] or [’], or in some instances, not represented at all. These Lebanese-Anglophone memoirists show a preference for no representation of the voiced pharyngeal fricative at all, as it is a sound not present in the English language, despite the ability to Romanize this Arabic sound. Though, when /ع/ is represented, the general tendency is to use [aa], as in *zaatar*. As aforementioned, this is perhaps an influence of the Romanization found on packaged goods or commercial uses, such as representations found in the menus of Lebanese restaurants, or on road signs indicating village names, such as, *Baabda*. A major consistency found in the Romanization of the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ع/, is at the word start position (#__), i.e., *arak*, where it is not represented neither by [aa] or [’], rather the word is merely depicted with the English vowel that follows the Arabic sound.

The use of /qaf/ involves the greatest variation, as a result of particular linguistic, religious, and cultural influences. The /qaf/ can be represented as [q], [k], or replaced with the glottal stop, which is represented as [’]. At times, the /qaf/ is not represented at all. Abbas El-Zein consistently represents the /qaf/ as [q] which appears to be a result of the influence of religion—Islam—reflecting the Classical Arabic found in the Quran, as the Arabic tokens that incorporate [q] in his memoir are religious in nature. El Khalil, a

member of the Druze religion, who is (at least) aware of the stereotypes associated with the [q] (negative connotations, i.e., [q] is not modern), shows preference for representing the /qaf/ as [k]. However, a generalization for El Khalil's use of language cannot be made, as she only uses four Arabic tokens that involve the [q] where one is not represented (*albi*), one is represented using [q] (*oujeq*), and two uses of the [k] representation (*Tarek* and *arak*). The use of [k], or no representation at all, acts to index *alignment* with other Lebanese groups. Abdelnour includes all variations of /qaf/, as used by the Lebanese-Anglophone memoirists. And, as a Lebanese Christian, she uses [k] more than [q]. The /qaf/ represented as [q] is found only in formal instances, again reflecting influences of Standard Arabic, in terms/phrases such as *ikhraj qaid*, which is a government issued identification document, or, *Al massih qam* (Christ has risen), which is a religious phrase exchanged at Easter ceremonies, and, as per Abdelnour, the phrase comes from the Christian Bible. However, the number of representations of [q] as ['] (i.e., *man'ouche*), or no representation (i.e., *ahweh*, meaning coffee) is equal to the number of representations of [q] as [k]. Again, preference for these variations in writing is most likely due to the lack of [q] found in the everyday vernacular speech of Lebanese Christians (Albirini, 2016), hence it is reflected in written discourse.

It is evident that religion is at the forefront of linguistic identity for all three authors (as illustrated in Chapter IV), and for the Lebanese, these two identities are intertwined, and perhaps, indivisible. Shaaban, in *Language and Religion in the Construction of the Lebanese Identity*, claims:

> Language and religion have many things in common as identity markers. For one thing, they play a more pivotal role in the early socialization experiences in the family than other identification markers. Later on, they

> serve as the basis for personal, social, cultural, and political identification for the youth. They also help define the self and the other, establish similarities and differences, and describe groupings and communities (in press, p. 2).

So, with “religious diversity [being] one of the main hallmarks of Lebanon” (p. 3), indexation of religious identity is an inevitable aspect of the multiple social identities of Lebanese individuals, as early socializations are internalized by individuals, and/or groups. Thus, religious identity is one the multiple social identities of the writers that is particularly salient in many situations, and this is apparent in the description of linguistic variations.

Finally, it is well-illustrated in the analysis of the discourse in the written memoirs, that binary language can be used to position oneself, either in alignment with, or against the other, to elicit ingroup/outgroup relationships. Hence, El Khalil’s use of *Amreeka* as a manifestation of identity that indexes opposition to America (or the West, at large), and a united Lebanese (and, at times, Arab) front, despite her individual differences—in language use, religious background, and/or cultural experiences. In rhetoric and composition studies, this is what is referred to as *stance*. Recall, *stance* (or *style*) is “a multimodal and multidimensional cluster of linguistic and other semiotic practices for the display of identities in interaction” (Bucholtz, 2009, p. 146). Indexicality, or contextually bound meaning, is used to refer to the relationship between social categories and linguistic practices. Moreover, El-Zein’s use of *We* (personal pronoun) provides a clearer example of how language can be used, in different situations, to elicit group membership, and salience of a particular identity, that is context, or situation, dependent. Through the use of *we*, El-Zein is able to position himself as Arab, Lebanese, Lebanese Australian, or Australian—at times in opposition to America, or the other, and at times, in alignment with America, due to religious and/or cultural differences—depending on the situation and which group he is

using *we* to refer to. Here, we witness another way of shifting identity, or self-identification, making a particular identity salient to suit the situation, through the use of language; furthermore, identity manifestation relies in part on the other, and their own experiences and internalizations influence their interpretations of said indexes.

Through exploration and analysis of the Arabic token insertions (and surrounding contextual/social influences), language indexing group membership (e.g. using “we” to index alignment with the ingroup, and “they” to further reinforce in-group alignment, or outgroup disalignment), and interpretations of cultural and religious influences on language, I was able to determine that the manifestation of identity in Lebanese-Anglophone memoirs relies on the writers’ representations of themselves through the use of written discourse, as well as the readers’ personal interpretations—both representing, or reflecting, personal internalizations acquired from personal background and experiences.

Accordingly, though this study attempts to identify the many ways particular linguistic choices can be read to index the construction of a particular identity (or multiple identities), my own background schemata—e.g., linguistic, cultural, and personal experiences—has influenced the linguistic analysis of these memoirs. The implication of raising this point is that another reader, or analyst, attempting to duplicate this study might locate different identity manifestations depending on his/her own background schemata, or internalizations. Hence, recognizing the significant role of the reader in written discourse identity manifestation.

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APPENDIX I

ARABIC TOKENS CORPUS DATA

A. Abdelnour

Jasmine and Fire: A Bittersweet Year in Beirut - Salma Abdelnour								
Page	**Data/Evidence**	**Concordance**	**Provided Meaning (PM)**	**Assigned Meaning (AM)**	**H vs. L***	**Romanization**	**Word Position**	**Additional Notes**
2	shawarma	take-out *shawarma* stands	N/A	Name of dish				
5	Salma	my name, Salma--"peaceful" in	Peaceful					Not sure if I will discuss na
	Abdelnour	last name, Abdelnour, didn't qu	Worshipper of the light		H	no rep of [ع]	#_	""
	Abdel	starting with Abdel	Worshipper of		H	no rep of [ع]	#_	""
	Karim		Generous					Arabic Synonyms for God
	Latif		Kind					Arabic Synonyms for God
	Malik		King					Arabic Synonyms for God
6	houmayda	buttercups, or *houmayda* as we	Edible lemony flowers					
21	hijabs	head-to-toe *hijabs* and stroll	N/A	head scarf				pluralized -s
24	tabbouleh	There's some tabbouleh, too.	N/A	Parsley Salad				Tabbouleh is not italicized
25	rizz w'djej	dish of *rizz w'djej*--strips	tender chicken over rice	rizz=rice; w=and; djej=chicken				
	labneh	cheese known as *labneh*, plus	creamy and thick yogurt cheese					
	hindbeh	greens called *hindbeh* sauteed	dandelion greens					
29	man'ouche	I'm craving, a *man'ouche*. I find	doughy flatbread		L	['] used for [q] or [ʔ]	c_v	glottal stop replacing [qaf]
	zaatar	olive oil and *zaatar*--a spice	spice mix of sumac, thyme, and sesame seedskaak		L	aa to rep [ع]	v_v	
30	Ahla w'sahla	back. "*Ahla w'sahla!*" Welcome	Welcome back	Greeting (Welcome)	L			
31	halloum	soft and salty *halloum* cheese	soft and salty cheese					
	khibz markouk	bread called *khibz markouk*, del	paper-thin bread		L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	c_v; _#	
	me'te	vegetables called *me'te*. I take	sweet cucumber-like summer vegetables		L	['] used for [q] or [ʔ]	v_c	glottal stop replacing [qaf]
35	kibbeh nayyeh	pieces of *kibbeh nayyeh*--a Leba	lamb tartare					
36	Shoo labsi hay	"*Shu labsi hay*?"	What is she wearing?		L			
49	serveece	aka a *serveece*, a cheap	a service taxi; a cheap cab that acts like a bus and follc		L			French accent; Beiruti--> n
	Kiss ikht hal dawleh	"*Kiss ikht hal dawleh.*"	Goddamn this government		L			Curse; "Actually the remar
	Yikrhib beita	might be "*Yikrhib beita*," may	may its house get wrecked	a common Arabic yell of ex	L			
50	Khalas	to say "*Khalas, intawash'd!*"	Enough					Enough; stop; that's it
	intawash'd		my ears are ringing!					
51	iftar	daily *iftar* dinner	dinner after breaking fast					
	argilehs	men smoking *argilehs*--the loca	hookahs		L			pluralized -s
52	jellab	drinks called *jellab* and glasses	date-juice drink					
	amareddin	nectar called *amareddin*. Then	an apricot nectar		L	no rep of [qaf]	#	
	fattoush	Then comes *fattoush*, a minty	minty bread salad that com	Lebanese salad				
	kibbeh arnabieh	main course: *kibbeh arnabieh*, l	lamb meatballs stuffed wit	Lebanese dish	L			in this case it is a glottal st
	bou sfeir	local bou sfeir oranges	bitter-tart oranges	Seville or bitter orange; used to make marmalade				
53	tiss'ye	I adore, *tiss'ye*, made of	dish made of layers of war	Lebanese dish	L	['] used for [q] or [ʔ]	c_v	glottal stop replacing [qaf]
	mhalabieh	pudding called *mhalabieh* drizzl	rice pudding					
	ater	syrup called *ater*, along with	sugar syrup	simple syrup	L	no rep of [qaf]	#_	
	sahlab	made with *sahlab*, an ingredien	an ingredient that comes from wild orchid roots and that creates an unusually elastic texture					
58	yakhne	called a *yakhne*. For dessert	Lebanese stew					
	ashta	I've brought *ashta* ice cream	sweet cream mixed with sahlab, the wild orchid ingred		L	no rep of [qaf]	#_	
63	tarab	genre called *tarab*, her voice	a genre	a genre of Arabic music				
	dabke	called the *dabke*, right in	Middle Eastern dance	Traditional dance				
	inshallah	is now "*inshallah,*" hopefully, o	hopefully	Hope to God	H			
64	oud	of the oud, and life	Minor key string music	Instrument=Lute	L	no rep of [ع]	#_	
66	shish taouk	chicken, called *shish taouk*, fror	Lebanese-style grilled chicken		L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	_#	
67	fatayer	pies called *fatayer*, stuffed with	small traingular pies					
71	teta	party, my *teta* Wadi'a's name	grandmother					
	Wadi'a's			name	H	['] used to rep [ع]	v_v	NAME; pluralized -s
72	moujaddra	rice dish *moujaddra* and used	lentil and rice dish					
80	Balash	at the "Saint Balash," Arabic for	Freebie	for free				
84	fatteh	the eggplant *fatteh*, a dish	layered dish wih generaous ladles of garlic-spiked yogurt, topped with fried pieces of Arabic bread and shwered in pine nuts sauteed in butter; with roasted st					
88	knafeh	piece of *knafeh*. Knafeh is	a cakelike confecion made with crumbly dough, topped with melted cheese and generous drizzles of hot sugar syrup					
	mafroukeh	dough called *mafroukeh*, toppe	a crumbly dough					
	akkawi	cheese called *akkawi*, and gene	mild local cheese		L	no rep of [ع]	#_	
90	wasta	a government *wasta*--a persona	a personal connection	a personal connection to someone who can overcome laws				
94	Jibnit Picon, jibne khira'iye. Min teez al' kalb		"Picon cheese, a shitty cheese, from a dog's ass		L		v_v	made up words to the Pico
102	Yikhreeb zouk al rjal	"Salma is lovely. *Yikhreeb zouk*	Damn those men		L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	_#	a colloquial phrase
113	Nishkur'allah	that, too: *Nishkur'allah!* Thank	Thank God!					
	Hamdulillah	Thank God! *Hamdulillah!* Praise	Praise God!					
116	sha'bi	feel more *sha'bi* again, more	"of the people"		L	['] used to rep [ع]	v_c	
117	baba ghanoush	plates--tabbouleh, *baba ghano*	N/A	eggplant dip				
	ahweh bayda	we're sipping *ahweh bayda*--"w	"white coffee," hot water flavored with orange-blosso		L	no rep of [qaf]	#_	
119	Wein al Sanayeh?	in Arabic, "*Wein al Sanayeh?*" V	Where's Sanayeh	Wein=where				
120	hrisseh	soup called *hrisseh*, made with	soup made with slow-braised lamb, broth thickened with ground wheat and generously flavored with garlic					

	dibs kharoub	bowl of *dibs kharoub*--sweet, th	sweet, thick carob molasses					
125	Bilad al Sham	the historic Bilad al Sham, or Gr	Greater Syria					
126	keefik? Shoo akhbari	"Hi, *keefik? Shoo akhbarik?"*	Hi, how are you? What's new?		L			
	fus'ha	modern standard (*fus'ha* in Ara	classical or modern standard Arabic					
	Hibr	newspaper called Hibr, which p	In context=name of newsp	Hibr=Ink				
127	darej	writing in *darej* (the local dialec	Local dialect	colloquial; modern; in-style				
132	escalope	filet called *escalope* along with	Breaded veal filet					
	batata miklieh	fries, called *batata miklieh* here	French Fries		L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	v_c	
133	ikhraj qaid	called an *ikhraj qaid*, which I	Lebanese ID paper		H	[q] used to rep [qaf]	#_	government doc
134	Jiddo	My grandfather Jiddo Gibran al	Grandfather					
	kurbane	pieces of *kurbane*, a sweet	a sweet briochelike bread		L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	#_	
137	Yalla, tfaddalo	rings out, "*Yalla, tfaddalo.*" Con	Come, help yourselves	Yalla=Come; tfaddalo=help yourselves				
	harrak osb'oo	Thanksgiving spread: *harrak os*	a dish made with lentils, or	harrak=burnt; osb'oo=finge	L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	_#	
				osb'oo=his finger	L	['] used to rep [ع]	C__V	
	raheb	salad called *raheb,* and assorte	a lemony eggplant salad					
138	Shoo? Maakalti shi!	and says, "*Shoo? Maakalti shi!*"	What's this! You didn't eat anything!		L	aa to rep [?]	v_v	
	mhallaya	Bushra serves *mhallaya,* a milk	cheese-based custard					
139	bamieh bi zeit	and called *bamieh bi zeit,* along	dish of fresh okra braised i	bamieh=okra; bi=in; zeit=oil				
	kishk	yogurt, called *kishk*. Sitting aro	fermented yogurt					
141	Eid Al Adha	the Muslim Eid Al Adha holiday	Muslim holiday		H	no rep of [ع]	#_	vowel start (A)
148	Beirut Lil-Jami'	that says BEIRUT LIL-JAMI' (Beir	Beirut for Everyone		L	['] used to rep [ع]	_#	
150	malja'	basement shelter, a *malja'*. We	basement shelter		L			
153	kibbeh bi'sayniye	over for *kibbeh bi'sayniye*, a dis	savory pie					
155	ful mudammas	a pot of *ful mudammas* --broad	broad beans					
156	makanek	dishes, including *makanek*--spic	lamb sausages		L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	v_v ; _#	
	sayyadiyeh	sausages--and *sayyadiyeh*, frien	fried fish resting on rice	Name of dish				
	shish barak	to make, *shish barak*, small dou	doughy pockets stuffed wi	Name of dish				
157	katb al kitab	was the *katb al kitab*, the Musli	Muslim ceremony	Official/Religious Marriage	H			
	kafta	and spiced-lamb *kafta*, along w	N/A	Name of dish				
158	mighli	custard called *mighli*, capped w	cinnamon-spiked rice custard					
167	al wad'	taking about *al wad'*, the situat	the situation		L	['] used to rep [ع]	_#	
189	Burj	or the Burj ("armory" in Arabic)	"armory"	skyscraper				
194	atayef	dessert platter of *atayef*, small,	small, blini-like pancakes…	see PM	L	no rep of [qaf]	#_	
195	Hayy al Masihiyye	The inn is in Hayy al Masihiyye,	Christian quarter	Hayy=quarter; al=the; Mas	H			an area designated to a rel
198	Akhiran	Mubarak is gone! *Akhiran!* Fina	Finally		H			
200	mujaddara	to make *mujaddara*, a comfort	a comfort food classic of lentils, rice, and fried onions					INCONSISTENT spelling wit
216	yalla	So I figure *yalla*, let's go.	Let's go	pg. 137--> yalla=come				
220	lootie	"Doesn't *lootie* mean 'gay man'	Gay man		L			slang; derogatory
224	khalas	So I decide, *khalas*, that's it.	That's it	pg. 50--> khalas=Enough				
226	osmalliyeh	morning dessert: *osmalliyeh*, a	a tangle of vermicellli noodles fried until they're crunc		L	no rep of [ع]	#_	vowel start (o)
	hammams	Tripoli's old *hammams*, public b	Public baths		L			pluralized -s
227	kaak	bread called *kaak* filled with	seesame bread		L	aa to rep [ع]	v_v	
231	soujouk	sausages called *soujouk* and on	spicy Armenian sausages		L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	_#	
	Akhiran	my story. *Akhiran*. At last. Done	At last		H		#_	vowel start (A)
245	Eid al-Kebir	it's called Eid al-Kebir, the big	the big holiday	Easter	H	no rep of [ع]	#_	
247	foul bi zeit	and beets; *foul bi zeit*, freshly s	broad beans [stewed] in ol	foul=broad beans; bi=in; zeit=oil				
248	maamoul	traditional Easter *maamoul*, po	powdered-sugar-dusted cookies stuffed with crushed		L	aa to rep [ع]	v_v	not just for Easter
	liwan	houses called a *liwan*, furnishec	a traditional chamber in Arab houses					
	al massih qam	one by one, saying "*al massih q*	Christ has risen		H	[q] used to rep [qaf]	#_	
249	Sahtain	blessing, then "*Sahtain,*" or "*bo*	"bon appétit."		L			English equivalent??
	warak bi inab	leaves called *warak bi inab*, anc	stuffed grape leaves	warak=leaves; bi=in; inab=	L	[k] used to rep [qaf]; no rep of [ع]	_# ; #_	
	fawaregh	intestines known as *fawaregh*,	stuffed lamb intestines					
	freekeh	multiple platters of *freekeh*, roa	roasted green wheat topped with cinnamon-scented chicken					
	koussa mehshi	zucchini called *koussa mehshi*, I	rice-and-meat-stuffed zucc	koussa=zucchini; mehshi=stuffed				
	askadinia	loquats, called *askadinia*, that a	loquats		L			
250	moufattaka	dessert called *moufattaka*, a sw	sweet, sticky rice and turm	Name of dessert	L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	v_v	
	urb'it Ayoub	she's heard of *urb'it Ayoub* (the	the last Wednesday of Apr	the Wednesday of (Prophe	H	['] used to rep [ع]	#_ ; c_v	vowel start (u)
251	Biki shi	"*Biki shi?*" he asks.	Is anything wrong?					
	La	"*La.*" No.	No.		L			
252	mukhabarat	the government--*mukhabarat*,	Undercover agents for the government; Secret police; foreign intelligence moles					
255	ziara	feel like a *ziara*, a social visit.	A social visit					
258	lahmbajin	about the meatless *lahmbajin* f	ground meat flatbread	lahm=mea;t b/bi=in; ajin=c	L	no rep of [ع]	c_c	
	muwarraka	love is the *muwarraka* pastry th	pastry…made with layers c	Name of dessert	L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	v_v	
261	Shoo deenak	and chanting: "*Shoo deenak? M*	What's your religion?	Shoo=What's; deenak=you	L			Protest
	ma khassak		None of your business!	ma=none of; khassak=your	L			
262	Al sha'ab urid,	and "*Al sha'ab urid, isqat al nizc*	The people want	Al=the; sha'ab=people; uri	H	['] used to rep [ع]	v_v	Protest
	isqat al nizam		the fall of the system	isqat=the fall of ; al=the; ni	H	[q] used to rep [qaf]	c_v	
266	Shoo hal dini?	"*Shoo hal dini*?" What is	What is this world?	Shoo=what is; hal=this; dini=world				
268	janarek	and on *janarek*, tart green	tart green plums					Beiruti pronunciation; jari
269	mouneh	Lebanese call *mouneh*, includin	preserves					
	mardakoush	marjoram, or *mardakoush*, as it	marjoram					
270	Ahla w sahla	smiles, says, "*Ahla w sahla,*" Yo	You're welcome here	Greeting (Welcome) (see p	L			p.30= ahla w'sahla (incon
	taifis	a mix of Lebanon's *taifis* (sects)	sects	religious sects (tawa'ef)	H			English pluralizatuon (-s) r
274	ballashna	"*Oof, ballashna*," said my taxi d	Here we go again (with the	We've started				
278	Horsh al Sanawbar	been to the Horsh al Sanawbar,	the pine forest on the SE e	Horsh=forest; al=the; sanawbar=pine				
282	zingol	a bowl of *zingol*, a soup-like dis	soup-like dish…made of so	Name of dish (Turkish name/influence)				
295	Midan al-Taghyir	near the Solh monument as "M	Change Square (in Beirut)	Midan=Square/city; Taghyir=Change				
	Midan al-Tahrir	rhymes with Midan al-Tahrir, th	Liberty Square in Cairo	Midan=Square/city; Tahrir=Liberty				
300	tabkha	said to me, "The *tabkha*, the hc	Home-cooked dish					

B. El Khalil

Beirut, I Love You: A Memoir - Zena El Khalil

Page	Data/Evidence	Concordance	Provided Meaning (PM)	Assigned Meaning (AM)	Environment (High vs. Low)*	Romanization	Word Position	Additional Notes
20	oujeq	...around the *oujeq* during the...	N/A	heat source/fire pit	L	[q] used to rep [qaf]	_#	would prob write it as [wjaq]
27	Hayati	Hayati, zanzoona...	N/A	My life	L			email exchange (zena and mom)
	Hayat	Hayat albi Lannossi...	N/A	Life	L			email exchange
	Albi			my heart	L	no rep of [qaf]	#_	['] or [q]
	hayat Albi	Bye hayat Albi and take care.						email exchange
28	kuffiyeh	black-and-white-checkered *kuffiyeh*	N/A	traditional M.Eastern headdress	H/L			holds political symbolism
35	Keefak	...how he was doing. "*Keefak?*" "Go	N/A	How are you?	L			the meaning is implied with regar
41	galabiyas	Men in long *galabiyas* sat smoking	N/A	traditional Egyptian and Sudane	H?	[g] is egyptian		pluralized -s
	nargilehs		N/A	Hooka	L			Persian word meaning "coconut"
43	labneh	...full of cheese, *labneh* and olives t	N/A	traditional lebanese cheese spre	L			
46	musharabiyehs	...Arabesque cement *musharabiyeh*	N/A	type of window	H?			pluralized -s
47	musharabiyeh	...in through the *musharabiyeh* and	N/A					
48	kaak	I hated the *kaak* vendors on the str	N/A	bread/pastry	L	[aa] to rep [ع]		ka'ak
58	karam	...what they called *karam*, or hospit	Hospitality	Generosity	L			
61	Yeslamli hal kess	"*Yeslamli hal kess*, how sweet is yo	How sweet is your cunt	Yeslamli=God thank you/God ke	L			
				hal=this				
				kess=cunt				profanity; vulgar
71	m'jadara	...slightly burnt *m'jadara*. I felt...	N/A	Lentil dish	L			perhaps the ['] is inserted here be
80	manouche	eating a *manouche,* a hot melted...	A hot melted cheese pas	pastry	L	no rep of [qaf]	c_v	manqouche or man'ouche
81	arak	...drinking lots of arak, watching the	N/A	alcohol	L	[k] used to rep [qaf]	_#	
82	Um Tarek	my garden, Um Tarek's advice for n	N/A	Um=Mother of	L			
	batata harra	*batata harra* (chili potatoes) at...	chili potatoes	see PM	L			
	Abu Hassan's	...at Abu Hassan's. Pink Floyd...	N/A	Abu=Father of	L			A technically is a glottal...how to r
91	hashesh	...drug addict or a *hashesh?* That if..	drug addict	someone who does drugs (not r	L			
93	zaims	...our neighbourhood *zaims*; our ne	Lords	Leader (negative connotation)	L	no rep of [ع]	v_v	za[']ims; pluralized -s
95	khalas	...not doing? *Khalas*, enough, if you	enough	enough; stop; that's it	L			
103	shabeb el sher'aa	...the terminology is *shabeb el sher'*	the youth of the street	see PM	L	['] used to rep [ع]	c_v	the [aa] is almost redundant
104	moos	...a shaving knife. A *moos*. Do you...	shaving knife	razor blade	L			
110	derbakees	...men playing *derbakees* and *nays*.	N/A	traditional drum	L			pluralized -s
	nays		N/A	Middle Eastern musical flute	L			pluralized -s
118/119	maganatise	...theory of the *Magantise*. I told...	N/A	magnetic	L			
		...saying, "the *Maganatise* is strong	N/A		L			
		...it is not the *Magnatise* that is...	N/A		L			inconsistent spelling
126/127	Hayeti	"*Hayeti*, my love, I didn't...	my love	my life	L			different spelling than zena's mor
		"*Hayeti*, don't be like this.		term of endearment	L			
140	Yalla							
168/169/170	oud	...take out his *oud* and play...	N/A	lute; pear-shaped string instrun	L	no rep of [ع]	#_	
	oud	...was playing his *oud* and did not...	N/A		L			
	oud	...rhythm of his *oud*. I would...	N/A		L			
	oud	...would put his *oud* down on the...	N/A		L			
176	sitt	My mother, Sitt Abir.	N/A	title of respect (feminine); mada	H/L			
191	Amo	"Hi *Amo*, is Nour home?"	N/A	uncle	L	no rep of [ع]	#_	
206	Habibti	"Habibti," her voice softened, "ever	N/A	my love; my dear (term of ende	L			

C. El-Zein

Leave to Remain: A Memoir - Abbas El-Zein								
Page	**Data/Evidence**	**Concordance**	**Provided Meaning (PM)**	**Assigned Meaning (AM)**	**Environment (High vs. Low)***	**Romanization**	**Word Position**	**Additional Notes**
8	Baadak	*Baadak d'eef*. You're still weak,'	You're still weak	Baadak=still (masculine)	L	aa used to rep [ع]	v_v	
	d'eef			d'eef=weak; skinny		['] used to rep [ع]	c_v	Lebanese dialect, no distinction
12	Iqra'	God's injunction, Iqra', Read or Recite	Read or Recite	see PM	H (religion, quran, prophet)	[q] used to rep [qaf]; ['] used for glott	v_c	
12	madynias	the *madynias*, which offered	earlier chapters in Quran	see PM	H			pluralized -s
12	makkyas	the beautiful *makkyas* which told	smaller chapters towards end of the book	see PM	H			pluralized -s
12	faatiha	Say the *faatiha*, the opening verses	Opening verses of Quran	see PM	H (religion, quran)			
14	faatiha			N/A	H			
14	Allah	say a protective 'Allah', instinctively	A protective Allah	Allah=God; pray to God to protect (in this situa	H			
21	Sayeds	religious nobility -- *Sayeds*, descendeants of	A line of religious nobility	Title (Religious nobility)	H			pluralized -s
26	Um [X]	my father's own mother, Um Hassan	Mother	Mother of [X]	L			Um Hassan --> mother of Hassar
27	Sheikh [X]	my grandfather Sheikh Ali	N/A	Title (Religious)	H			colloquially used to refer to a ric
30	Hussaynya	the village gathering hall, the *Hussaynya*	Village gathering hall	see PM	H			
31	Hajji	our faithful neighbour Hajji Hamdi	Faithful	Title (woman of Faith)	H			wears Hijab
32	Adha	on the eve of *Adha eid*	The festivity celebrating the aborted sacrifice	see PM	H (religious holiday)			also celebrated by Druze (branch
	eid				H (religious holiday)	no rep of [ع]	#_	
35	mannussama	candies called *mannussama*, heaven's gift	Heaven's gift; flour-coated candies	see PM				
35	Sakeena	The word *Sakeena* itself	Quietness or serenity, of a spiritual or metaph	Someone's name	L			name
38	Hounaa Lan-Dan	of news-time: '*Hounaa Lan-Dan*'	This is London	Hounaa =This is; Lan-Dan = lebanese accent	H = Hounaa vs L = Hayda			
38	Hounaa Jibsheet	at the newsreader, '*Hounaa Jibsheet*'	This is Jibsheet	Hounaa =This is	H = Hounaa vs L = Hayda			
45	Al-Bayyad	hill of the Al-Bayyad quarter	The white hill	see PM	L			
46	Ashura	I watched the *Ashura* ceremony	The commemoration of the death of Imam Hu	see PM	H (religious holiday)	no rep of [ع]	#_	
47	hussaynyas	mosques and *hussaynyas*	Pg. 30	see PM	H			pluralized -s
48	Shia	of the more urbanised Shia	religious group	Sect of Islam	H	no rep of [ع]	v_v	[Shiite] recognized in English
58	khums	deducted from the villagers' *khums*	The fifth of a Muslim's income due as tax	see PM	L			
58	Al Muqaddas	that he acquired the title *Al Muqaddas*	The Sacred'	see PM	H	[q] used to rep [qaf]	v_v	
70	Sheikh	A *Sheikh* was a figure of	figure of wisdom (to author)	see PM	H			For Arabs=mark of respect; For C
71	Sheikh	was referred to as *Sheikh* Ali, as a mark of	as a mark of respect	see PM	H/L			Contemporary use of "Sheikh" to
79	Mutassallim	killing the Mutassallim...	The representative of the Ottoman governor	??? Peace-keeper	H			
80	Mamluks	when the Turkish Mamluks...	Slaves	see PM	H			pluralized -s
81	Ulama	The power of the *Ulama*...	Religious leaders	see PM; one with God	H	no rep [ع]	#_	vowel start (u)
81	Woujahaa	a clan of *Woujahaa*...	Intermediaries between the far more powerfu	see PM	H			
164	Ya Abbas. Dakheelak, ya Abbas	*Ya Abbas. Dakheelak, ya Abbas,'* he pleaded...	Pleading	Plea to religious shrine	H	no rep of [ع]	#_	
	dakheelak			Dakheelak= at your mercy				it is common to say "Dakheel All
164	duaa	may have been performing a *duaa*,...	Seeking divine help in dealing with a personal	Prayer	H	aa used to rep [ع]	v_v	
165	duaa	Formal *duaa* can be either...					_#	
170	tawheed	"Islamic *tawheed*..."	Making multiplicity into one	see PM	H			saying God is one
171	faatiha	"...reciting the *faatiha*..."		Verse in Quran	H			
172	ushq	"faith is a form of desire, *ushq*..."	Desire	In Iraq (pilgrimage), ushq is about love for God	H	no rep of [ع]; [q] used to rep [qaf]	#_ ; _#	vowel start (u); In Iraq (context f
173	Abu	...spending Christmas with Abu Kaathem...	Name given to Saddam's fictional torturer	"John Doe"	L			fictional name (i.e., John Doe); fo
174	Imam	"...high authority, Imam Baqer Al Sadr..."	A Shia high authority	Title (An Islamic leadership position)	H			vowel start (i)
176	Usulis / Akhbaris	"...the *Usulis* and the *Akhbaris*."	Two schools of thought	Names	H			vowel start (u) (a); pluralized -s
180	Sunnis	"esteemed by both Sunnis and Shia."	N/A	Sect of Islam	H			pluralized -s; in Arabic the plural
180	Sayeds	"The Sayeds..."	The prophet's descendants	Title (Religious nobility)	H			pluralized -s
202	Burj'l Murr	"The Burj'l Murr, a bohemoth..."	A bohemoth of a structure	Skyscraper (burj)	H			
229	Ma fi nizam bi ha'l balad	...would say, " '*ma fi nizam bi ha'l balad*'.	All is chaos in this country	There is no structure/law in this country	L			conversational; all people compl
272	Baba	addresses their children as 'Baba' (Father) or 'M	Father	Dad	L			
272	Mama	" "	Mother	Mom	L			
277	mihrab	"...what purpose a *mihrab*..."	Prayer corner pointing to Mecca	see PM	H			
278	minbar	"a minbar"	Pulpit	see PM; where imam stands to deliver sermons	H			
278	minaret	"...and a minaret serve."	N/A	Lighthouse; distinctive architectural structure a	H			colloquial = manara

APPENDIX II

"AMREEKA" IN CONTEXT

in *Beirut, I Love You: A Memoir* (El Khalil, 2009)

Reincarnation
"I don't remember my birth, I don't remember how this all began, but I do remember how I died, I remember how I died before return | ing to this world as the person I am now. I went from darkness to darkness, then to light. But now it is dark again. Amreeka, you exist now. But nothing lasts forever." (p. 9-10)

New York as an illusion
"Television New York is glamour and success. It is being an individual carving out your path in life. It is a great gang of reliable friends. It is the joy of being middle class and independent. Finding and following your dreams. Navigating through Corporate Amreeka." (p. 13)

Assimilation
"Anything less than John, Mike, or Steve wouldn't get you through Amreeka. Anything sounding remotely oriental will ensure that you stay where Amreeka thinks you belong." (p. 14)

Movies vs. Reality
"I grew up watching Amreekan action movies. I grew up with Schwarzeneggar and Rambo. With Bruce Willis and Chuck Norris. With Charles Bronson, Lee Marvin, Jean-Claude Van Damme, Jackie Chan and Eric Roberts. With MacGyver and Mr. T. With *Magnum P.I.* and *Top Gun*. *Hunter. Air Wolf. Mission Impossible. Die Hard.* | *Miami Vice*. They have taught me that in times of trouble, one may hear the following expressions:

> Shit, holy shit, shithead, shit for brains, fuck, fuck me, fucking hell, what the fuck, fuck you, fuck you asshole, cocksucker, oh my god, Jesus help us, holy-mother-of-god, bastard, bitch, son-of-a-bitch and yippie-kay-yay motherfucker.

I heard all of them and more on September 11, 2001. It was an action movie. Looking around me, I saw people faced with their worst nightmare." (p. 25-26)

Being Arab in America/Being Arab-American
"On the streets, people walked far away from me in fear that I may jinx them with my black-and-white-checkered *kuffiyeh*. It seemed that the more people hated Arabs, the more I wanted to be one. The more questions people asked me, the more stories I told them. I told them about how the Amreekans blew up my mother's house in 1983. My mother, who had nothing to do with all this." (p. 28)

Rejection
"The more New York repelled me, the more I wanted to be me. The more Amreeka wanted to crush my species, the more I wanted to breed. The more "*Bush*" in the way, the more I hacked out a clearing. I was not going to go down like this I worked too hard to get to where I was. I was not going to let everything slip away because of stereotypes." (p. 32)

The New World
"Iyad represented everything that was good about New York. At the tender age of sixteen, he came to Amreeka from Lebanon, to pursue the glorious dream of independence and self worth. Or | maybe, just like the many before him, without realizing it, he was simply running away to something better." (p. 33-34)

Fear of the Middle East/Homesickness
"When I think about it today, I understand the daily mail stops. I wonder if anything ever came from home. Many years later, I tried to send him a gift from Lebanon, but he never got it. I believe that somewhere in Amreeka, there is an underground chamber where they dump all the mail coming from the Middle East, or anything with Arabic writing on it. Maybe they even have incarcerators to burn away any proof of existence. I wonder if Iyad ever received anything from home after 9-11. Probably not." (p. 34)

Arab-American Men/Arab Men in America
No one had ever been so direct with me before. It was a wonderful mix of Arab masculinity and Amreekan assertiveness. I liked it. "I feel like I'm in one of those long Amreekan movies," I said. "This conversation could never have happened back home. This kind of moment can only happen in New York, right?"
"You may be right to some extent that this is definitely a New York moment, because, well, under the circumstances we are presently in New York City, and time is passing between, through, under, and around us," he said, "but as for this long Amreekan movie you just mentioned, our meeting has only just begun, and if you already think I am boring and long-winded, I can tell you right now that this is the beginning of a beautiful friendship. […]" (p. 35)

Being Arab in America post 9-11/Questions of Identity
"As he dug away with his bare hands he questioned his identity. Arab, Arab-Amreekan, Amreekan, Earthling? He looked down at the blood on his hands as he tore away rock after rock, steel and wire shrapnel, looking for survivors. Was it his blood or theirs? Was it his blood mixed with the ashes of devastation? Was there any difference? What was he going to say to his neighbors? How was he going to explain things? Because, suddenly after September 11, 2001, all Arabs were expected to explain themselves. What if we didn't know? What if it had nothing to do with us?" (p. 38)

***Their* New World Order**
"I met Maya on the first day of classes at the Amreekan University of Beirut in October 1994. I had just moved from Nigeria, where I had lived all of my present life so far, to start my undergraduate program in Beirut. Moving from Africa to the Middle East was not as

difficult as I had imagined it would be. I went from one Amreekan school system to another. These incubators exist all around the world in order to groom us for **their** New World order. I believe that the sign of a healthy despotism is when you're in it without even realizing it." (p. 45)

Israeli youth programs (indoctrination)
"I had always wondered about the stories of Jewish Amreekan kids being flown to Israel for free. About the "youth programs" designed for them to "discover their roots". Being taken to a hippie kibbutz, a kind of summer camp, where they all sat around campfires and sang songs about Israel in Hebrew. An Israel they didn't even know. An Israel devoid of Palestinians. They were college kids and teenagers with raging hormones. They wanted to believe. They wanted to fit in. Why go back to Amreeka when you could have Mediterranean weather, citrus fruits, olive trees and Amoula's "Sexy Semites"? Why go back when you could stay and fight for your fantasy homeland? They met others like them and fell in love. They stayed. They joined the army, mandatory for both boys and girls. They fought. They fought for a land they could never truly know, because from the very first moment they stepped on her soil, they failed to acknowledge and experience her true culture." (p. 69)

Israeli-American ties—Occupation
"I put my head down and continued walking to the bunker. At the entrance, I found a scrap of paper. I squatted down to try and read it. To my surprise, it was a drawing. A crayon drawing of two stick figures. One, a young girl with curly blond hair. The other, a tall man with a mustache. They were holding hands. On the bottom it read, "*come home soon daddy*". Again in English. It made me wonder who these soldiers really were. It was as if I was caught in some sick, warped reality. Had Amreeka really stretched its tentacles this far? Who were these people called Israelis anyway? Why were they here in my home?" (p. 70)

Prisoners of War
"I remember thinking about the boy who just wanted to get laid. Maybe it was happening at this very moment. I wondered where | he was: Amreeka or Israel? I remember thinking about the people in the holding cells. They were now captives somewhere else. Who were they to begin with – Lebanese or Palestinians? Where were they now – Israel or Amreeka? Would they ever see their families again? What had they done to be put into those cells in the first place? At least here, they were prisoners in their own country. Now they belong to another system, another place, with no rights and no way to get back home." (p. 71-72)

Oversimplification/Reasoning for Lesbianism—Emigration || Breaking Rules: does America represent order and rules?
"When our Lebanese men began to emigrate, we became conscious of their disappearance. Where were they all going? Those with dark hair and dark skin began to vanish; they said they were being welcomed in the Arabian Gulf. Those with light hair and blue eyes left the country; they said that Europe and **Amreeka** embraced them with open arms. Soon, there

weren't enough men left for the women and it was at that point that the women began to turn to each other.
Women fell in love with women, not because they were born to do so, but because they were bored and lonely and it was easy to do so, despite the fact that, by law, in Lebanon, it is illegal to "*partake in a sexual act that goes against nature*". They held hands in public and no one noticed. They kissed in the bathrooms of nightclubs and no one cared. They spoke in code and poetry. They danced to their own rhythm. Everyone was just happy to be in love and be loved. After the war, no one wanted to follow rules. We were all tired of them." (p. 88)

New Generation Protesting & the Aftermath of War
"We promised to take the money and wealth from the warmongers, now politicians, and distribute it to the masses. We walked on Hamra Street and studied the mistakes the generations before us made. The blind faith they put into dangerous idealism. The very same faith that lead them to participate in massacres and religious profiling. We swore never to be like them. We swore to found our own identities and not be swayed. Just because it worked for the French, the Amreekans or the Iranians doesn't mean it will work for us. We saw the work ahead of us and we vowed to take it head on. We vowed to create a cultural revolution that was a reality of everyday life. But paradoxically, the more vows we created, the more we broke. The more we spoke, the more we drank. The more we thought …the more sex we had. Nothing was getting done. Nothing would. It was bodies eating bodies. We were tired." (p. 89)

America is El Khalil's Scapegoat
"This is the first June, July and August in Lebanon that I've lived without Maya. I wonder how long I am going to last. I think about my history. About my grandfathers and their ordeals in the New World. The schizophrenia and disappointment I felt with Amreeka throughout my many lifetimes. The feeling of drowning in the middle of the Atlantic. My great aunt, the infamous spy. About my grandmother once kidnapped from her village. About my mother | who once burnt her dress. And my sister the paramilitary freedom fighter. My pill-popping friends. My sweet and troubled men." (p. 146-147)

Romanticizing Lebanese (military-)men prior to American Influence
"He did it on purpose, I know he did. Since the last war, security on the streets has upgraded. The **Amreekans** have been sending us all their used weapons, trucks and tanks. They have been sending the U.S. Special Forces to train our charming young men. Men who previously would never stop a pretty girl on the street now create blockades for them. Men who previously would bow their heads in respect now swing their guns at them." (p. 158)

Reference to American Embassy
"The other day, Nour went to a party at the Amreekan embassy. Since my divorce, she had not left my side. I think Maya sent her to me. I think Beirut sent her to me. When one door closes, ten others open. Is that not the saying?" (p. 159)

American privilege/top protection
"But then there was the condition. He could not leave the embassy – she would have to come over. The Amreekan embassy is about a twenty-minute drive outside Beirut, or forty-plus if there's traffic. And there is always traffic. The embassy is situated in a Christian enclave up in the mountains. Once you get up the mountain, there is only one road and it leads straight up to the embassy. Along the way there are at least half a dozen checkpoints. It is a fortress, not an embassy." (p. 159)

Double standards—cultural, gender, attitudes
"Nour came over for a visit soon after and asked for advice – should she go and see him there? Silence. It's so hard to be objective about Amreekans these days, let alone men in general. "Nour, they are guests in our country. But he is 'not allowed' to walk around without his two bodyguards and armored vehicles. You need a man who respects you. Who respects your culture. If you are OK living in Beirut, he should be OK to come and visit you. Why should it be good enough for you and not for him? I am sick and tired of these double standards. Tell him to go fuck himself. If he is too afraid to take you out for a decent coffee in Beirut, don't waste a second of your time with him."" (p. 160)

America and Money
""Maybe you're right … The Amreekan embassy warns about kidnappings not because they care about their workers, but because they don't want to pay all that money to get them back. It's all about money. Remember the summer war – they told all their citizens here that they would have to pay the government back for their evacuation. They had to sign a paper that they would be charged for their evacuation | once they reached their homes. They are just trying to save money and not their people." (p. 160)

America The Enemy
""Nour, I'm sorry if I am sounding so harsh. I'm just so upset because one day **Amreekans** are sending their bombs to Israel to attack us with, and thirty-four days later, they come to us wanting to be our friends. They send their hi-tech special forces to train our beautiful men and turn them into animals. They send their weapons of all shapes and sizes and we sit there and eat it up. This Sam guy might be a really nice guy, but he represents the monster. I will not allow you to go into the lion's den. If he really likes you, let him come to Beirut. Let him cross over and taste our thick coffee and our sweets dripping in honey. To hell with filter coffee and Twizzlers!"" (p. 161)

Cycle between America as an enemy and an ally
""No, I'm serious. No offense to the Japanese, but really, how much humiliation can one nation take? The Japanese had the bomb dropped on them and they were so quick to forgive. They were put into concentration camps and racially profiled for years after the war. And now … they are best friends with the Amreekans. They gave up their army. They let the Amreekans build an air force base on one of their islands, whose people are now subsequently losing their beautiful ancient traditional culture to hamburgers and milkshakes. These Amreekans, they throw their bombs on us, via our neighbors, and now they send us special task forces to beef up our security. Why? So that the next time there is

a war they will say, ‘Oh sorry, we tried to help, but it seems you people are hopeless.’ No, Nour, we are more than this. They offer us green card lotteries like we are hungry dogs and then question us for eight hours when we land in their country. They take our fingerprints. Photograph us. Take notes. Screen us because of our names. They sell bombs to our neighbors and then they train our men and then they invite us to come live in their country and spend our hard-earned money on their economy so that they can make even more bombs to sell to our neighbors to drop on our people. What kind of schizophrenia is that? No. No, we don’t have to take it.”” (p. 162)

American People vs. American Government
““He is very polite you know. That must mean something.”
“I think it does. You know those Amreekans are really nice people. It’s just their government sucks. But governments change all the time. And love – love could last forever.”” (p. 165)

America for the Elites (health, politics, financial, etc.)
““Son, I will ask you to kindly step aside. No sick people are allowed to travel to Amreeka. But if you want, you can take the ship that is docked on the other end of the port. It is for sick people. It will not take you to Amreeka, but it will take you to Mexico. Mexico is OK for sick people, not Amreeka. Do you understand? From Mexico you can walk to Amreeka. It will take you a long time, but if you really want to get to Amreeka, I am guessing that it will not be a problem for you.”
Grandpa Mohammad, having no other choice, would get on the sick people boat. He had once walked from his village in the south of Lebanon to his uncle’s in the far north. It took him a week. Mexico, he would assume, couldn’t be longer.” (p. 178)

Homesickness/Hardships of Immigrant Life | “Fantastical” Travel Tales
“With that, he scurried up to the attic and pretended to be asleep. In and out of his deceptive snoring, he overheard the bandits plotting to kill him. Within the blink of an eye, Grandpa Mohammad decided to abscond. Scooping up whatever he could carry, which | was not really that much, he leaped out the attic window, turned his back on Mexico forever.
In all honesty, I think my grandfather just broke down. I don’t think there were any bandits. I think my grandfather was genuinely homesick and tired. I think he was heartbroken, ashamed, lost, insecure, and fucking lonely.
He never made it to Amreeka.” (p. 178-179)

Beirut Political Green Lines
“My new apartment is a microcosm of Beirut. It is located in a divided Muslim neighborhood. If I leave my apartment from the front door, I am in the hands of Al Mostaqbal, the Sunni pro-Amreekan militia. If I decide to take the back door from the kitchen, it’s Berri and Musa all the way – representatives of the Shiite pro-Iranian Amal militia. These two Muslim parties are currently opposed to each other. Funny how a tiny apartment can divide the neighborhood like that.” (p. 180)

Gossip—cultural, political, sexual
““Nour, you know, it’s not the end of the world. At least you got to see Europe. Not like me, stuck in the filthy city, having to wax women all day. Listening to their stupid gossip stories about who’s sleeping around. And which government minister is on the payroll. And which political party is now accepting handouts from Amreeka. All while having to wax their old and haggard cunts, which they never use anyway. At least not with their husbands. And certainly not with | lovers. God knows what they are sticking in their holes these days. Zena by the way, since you’re here, would you like a wax?”” (p. 194-195)

Fragility (feelings, emotions, etc.) for Americans—Lebanese are hardened
““[…] Zena, you cannot | be fragile and live in Beirut. You cannot. It doesn’t mix. If you want to be fragile, go to Amreeka. They have those talk shows there and you can talk all about your feelings and about how fragile you are. They love that stuff there. Here if you tell someone you are fragile, you are inviting them to willingly fuck with your head. Now, come sit down and I will make you a real woman. Take off your pants and spread your legs. I will not hurt you.”” (p. 195-196)