

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

DIALECT IDENTIFIABILITY, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES,  
AND PERCEPTION OF EMPLOYABILITY IN LEBANON

by  
TAMARA ISSAM SLEIMAN

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Approved by:

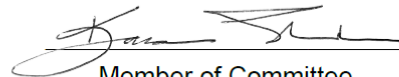
Lina Choueiri, Professor



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Advisor

Kassim Shaaban, Professor



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Member of Committee

Lina Daouk-Oyry, Associate Professor



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Member of Committee

Date of thesis defense: January 26, 2022

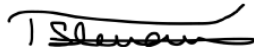
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# ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Tamara Issam Sleiman

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Linguistic profiling, as a general term, is defined as the phenomenon wherein an individual passes judgment toward another individual based on their dialect, determining their capabilities in other matters (Baugh, 2003). This sociolinguistic phenomenon often leads to the development of language attitudes toward a dialect and its speaker. This study aimed at examining the attitudes of speakers of Lebanese Arabic from Beirut, Tripoli, and Saida toward the dialects of Beiruti, Tripoli, Saida, Syrian, and Palestinian speakers in Lebanon. Following a matched guise technique, the participants were asked to judge the speakers based on the dialects that they speak. The participants were asked to fill out an eight-item questionnaire after listening to recordings of the different speakers' dialects. The questions focused on whether participants were able to identify the speaker, their attitudes toward them and their dialect, and whether they find them to be employable individuals. The results show that the most identifiable dialect is the Tripoli variety while the least identifiable dialect is the Palestinian variety, the most positive attitudes and perception of employability are toward the Saida variety while the most negative attitudes are toward the Beirut variety, and the most negative perception of employability are toward the Syrian variety. Results also show no significant correlation between the gender of the participant and identifiability. However, there is a slight correlation between the gender of the speaker and identifiability, notably in Beirut and Tripoli. Results also demonstrate that women are seen with more positive attitudes and perception of employability. The results are situated in sociolinguistic and socio-political studies and frameworks for analysis, such as immigration, political tension, the media, the news, among other phenomena.

*Keywords:* profiling, identifiability, language varieties, attitudes, perception of employability, behavior, matched guise technique

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Lebanon's complex history of colonialism and immigrations has significantly contributed to making it a linguistically diverse country where many languages are spoken, and many dialects of Arabic are used in daily communication. This diversity extends to the attitudes toward various languages and language varieties. This thesis aims to investigate evaluative reactions of Lebanese Arabic speakers toward different dialects of Arabic, notably Beirut, Tripoli, and Saida Lebanese Arabic and Palestinian and Syrian as spoken in Lebanon, amidst social events. The main components of this study are identifiability, language attitudes, and language-based perception of employability. In a world that is plagued by discrimination of all kinds, associating social characteristics to a dialect and its speakers, holding attitudes toward them, and then acting against them in a workplace are the motives behind this study.

Linguistic profiling, as a general term, is defined as the phenomenon wherein an individual passes judgment toward another individual based on their dialect, determining their capabilities in other matters (Baugh 2003). John Baugh coined this term and described it as an act of discrimination and based it on a workplace situation. In the beginning, the theory perceived profiling toward certain racial groups, however, this notion was further developed by other linguists who believed that linguistic profiling could target race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. John Baugh's study, which was published in 2003, proved that linguistic profiling occurs in indirect situations, such as when using African American English on the phone while trying to search for an apartment. Baugh (2003) shows that the apartment was said to be

available when the individuals used Standard English on the phone and unavailable when an African American showed up at the door. Baugh's definition of linguistic profiling differs from van Halteren's definition which states that linguistic features are categorized to identify a text or context (van Halteren, 2004). Following Baugh's explanation, linguistic profiling occurs in different environments such as the workplace, educational institutions, public service centers, etc. The notion of linguistic profiling is, then, a way of identifying a member of a speech community by distinctive features in their speech. Two forms of profiling have been identified: discriminatory and preferential (Baugh, 2003). Linguistic discrimination toward different groups in society exists and is often based on socio-economic considerations such as financial status, prestige, sectarianism, and gender. Due to prejudice, speakers of dialects with distinctive features also referred to as marked dialects in comparison with the dialect that is different from mainstream prestigious dialects, have often leveled their dialects to match the latter, an emerging trend observed by Al-Wer (1997) in Palestinian, Jordanian, Tunisian, and Saudi Arabian Arabic.

“Language attitudes are evaluative reactions to different language varieties” (Dragojevic, 2017). Language attitudes mainly reflect a cognitive process which is stereotyping, which follows social categorization reflected through profiling. Based on the categorization of the speaker and dialect, participants would link them to stereotypical traits (Dragojevic, 2017). Oftentimes, what triggers those traits are codified norms of grammar and vocabulary, in better terms, phonology, lexicon, and morphosyntax. The field of language attitudes has been studied from different angles, notably by Ghiglione and Beauvois (1981) who studied it from a differential point of view. This view includes the syntagmatic relation which states that language attitudes

are formed due to a predisposition that words need to be aligned in a certain way, and the paradigmatic relation that states that words are associated in the memory by relations of different types (Marchand, 2010). This framework has been further developed and used as a basis in attitudinal and behavioral studies and shows the links between language, attitudes, and behaviors, which may include discrimination since attitudes cannot be observed but are demonstrated through behavior (McLander, 2003). Speakers' dialects may trigger regional and social recognition (Carlson & McHenry, 2006). The phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactic contrasts that constitute dialects have affected the perception of employability ratings. For instance, Leong and Hayes (1990) state that Asian English is seen as superior in tech workplaces due to the perception that Asian Americans excel at scientific material. Speakers' dialects can often be associated with degrees of intelligence, competence, reliability, and industriousness, whether positively or negatively (Watt, 2006). These qualities indicate whether an employee is suitable for a job, showing a possible link between languages or dialects and perception of employability.

This thesis aims at exploring how the three concepts, linguistic profiling, language attitudes, and language in the workplace, co-exist in the lives of the target audience, emphasizing identifiability of dialect, attitudes toward it, and perception of employability of its speaker. Chapter II reviews studies done in the fields of linguistic profiling and language attitudes in the world, notably in the Arab region. It also summarizes approaches to attitude studies, highlights how language is dealt with in the workplace and discusses major political events in Lebanon that might be important for the study. Chapter III discusses the main methods used in this study as well as its limitations. Chapter IV details the results of the study which are interpreted in Chapter

V which analyzes and evaluates the results considering the socio-political context in the target communities, depending on the dialects.

This study tests the following hypotheses:

- 1) Speakers of Lebanese Arabic (LA) can better identify the Syrian variety than the Palestinian variety.
- 2) Speakers of LA have better attitudes toward and perception of employability of speakers of the Beirut dialect rather than speakers of Tripoli and Saida dialects.
- 3) Speakers of LA can better identify dialects spoken by a man rather than spoken by a woman.
- 4) Women show more solidarity, positive attitudes, and perception of employability of other women.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### **A. Introduction**

This thesis study aims to evaluate linguistic profiling and language attitudes toward dialects of Arabic spoken in Lebanon using the matched guise technique. The literature review highlights major matched guise studies that have examined attitudes toward certain dialects—notably dialects of Arabic—including their research methods, variables, and theoretical frameworks. The reason behind choosing an indirect method of assessment is to be able to better analyze how attitudes toward certain dialects are shaped in different contexts. Although each study focuses on a certain linguistic aspect that affects linguistic profiling, they all show that prejudice exists against language varieties, albeit in different ways. The literature review situates the study in Labov's sociolinguistic perception, discusses the reasons behind and possible results of profiling, outlines different assessment methods, and describes matched guise technique studies in the extant literature. The literature review also covers sociolinguistic and socio-political frameworks for language attitudes and language in the workplace.

#### **B. Sociolinguistic Perception**

Social perception is defined as how people form impressions and view others in society; this phenomenon often occurs through creating judgements about people's individual traits, behaviors, relationships, backgrounds, etc. William Labov, the founder of the field of variationist sociolinguistics, focused on social perception from a linguistic point-of-view. This field studies how socialized individuals tend to form

impressions about others' dialects and spoken languages and what these impressions indicate or result in. The main objective behind sociolinguistic perception studies is to determine the relationship between linguistic behaviors and social beliefs (Campbell-Kibler, 2010). Social perception and speech perception are two concepts that are often understood in a bidirectional way where one can often be an indicator of the other (Weatherholtz & Jaeger, 2016). In one situation, Strand and Johnson (1996) showed that voice information, which was the ability to determine whether the speaker is a man or woman, influenced the participants' perception of the fricatives in Ohio English. On the other hand, pre-existing knowledge of the specific dialects of North American English had an influence on the perception of the dialect (Willis, 1972). Edwards (1982) translates this correlation by stating, "people's reactions to language reveal much of their perception of the speakers of these varieties."

### **C. Stereotypes**

Giles et al (1974) is a foundational study in response to research studies that prove that in many cultures, one or more language varieties seem to have more prestige than others. The authors put forth two hypotheses that may further explain attitudes towards language: inherent value hypothesis and imposed norm hypothesis. The first indicates that some languages are more pleasant to listen to and that they have inherent properties that make them the standard. The second, however, indicates that judgments are formed based on stereotypes only, which are oftentimes social constructs. The latter is the most accepted hypothesis in sociolinguistic studies since languages and dialects are assumed not to have inherent value, instead being associated with value to conform to stereotypes (Giles et al, 1974). With that said, stereotypes toward languages and

linguistic groups are often due to socialization, which often leads to intuition (Fischer & Engelhardt, 2016). This intuition is caused by automatic inferences that the mind creates to form judgments about certain linguistic features or associations (Fischer & Engelhardt, 2016). This imposed norm hypothesis, although being one explanation of what is realistically occurring beneath language attitudes, has been a foundation for the study of language attitudes over time which was later developed. To illustrate, Schuppert et al (2015) is a study that applies the imposed norm hypothesis on speakers of Danish and Swedish; the authors hypothesize that language attitudes are mainly based on stereotypical ideas towards the people who speak the language, personal experiences with the language or its people, and the intelligibility of the speaker. The study aims to examine language attitudes and word recognition scores in school students who are speakers of both languages. Using a matched guise experiment, Schuppert et al (2015) were able to show that Danish children held more positive attitudes toward Swedish children than vice versa. The study also claims that attitudes toward neighboring languages become more negative with age, as experiences increase and the ability to create connections between factors becomes more rigid.

#### **D. Dialect Recognition**

Studies have shown that participants can localize a local or regional accent. There are multiple ways to test for dialect recognition which are free classification, ladder task, forced-choice at different geographical levels, and forced-choice identification with common grounds (Clopper & Pisoni, 2007). For instance, Fridland et al (2004) manipulated vowel sounds in monosyllabic words which eased the identification of the Southern American English dialect. This shows that participants



focus on prosodic and phonetic features to better identify a dialect. Additionally, dialects can be markers of political orientations. For example, Knoblock (2014) shows that local dialects of American English varieties were identified and labeled based on the common perception of those who sounded conservative and those who sounded liberal. The study also showed that conservative-sounding dialects were more easily identified which was explained by the fact that the conservatives were the majority ideological group, making up 38% of the population at the time (Saad, 2015); this making the dialect more identifiable. In fact, some studies have also shown that more exposure to the dialect would allow to easier dialect recognition. To illustrate, Baker et al (2009) studied the identification of Utah speakers, and the participants who had more experience with Utah speakers were more capable of identifying the speakers as from Utah.

#### **E. Linguistic Profiling and Attitudes in the Workplace**

In law, profiling is used to be able to distinguish between suspects in courtroom testimonies. The traditional method in doing so is having victims or witnesses listen to suspects' voices and having to determine whether it is them or not (Danet & Bogoch, 1992). In the courtroom, Seggie (2010) proves, among RP, Malaysian Chinese, and Australian, that broad-accented Australian speakers were more likely to be guilty of violent crimes. Similarly, Dixon et al (1994) demonstrated that suspects converging from Afrikaans to English were less guilty than those who converged to Cape Afrikaans. In education, on the other hand, Boyd (2003) showed how school principals judged a Swedish teacher's suitability for teaching when only listening to his accent, focusing on his phonology and lexicon. The principals decided that the teacher was not

suitable to teach without testing his ability in the subject material. Other than suspect-victim and principal-teacher dynamic with regards to profiling, the phenomenon was also seen in healthcare. Fielding and Evered (1980) conducted a matched guise experiment to see how medical students would profile a patient speaking in RP at one time and South-West English at another. The study showed that the medical students mentioned that the patient was more emotional while speaking RP. Additionally, a similar study was done by Rubin et al (1997) who recorded a South Asian and an Anglo-American speaking in English and had North American students profile them. The students decided that the Anglo-American individual was the doctor and not the South Asian individual by only listening to their dialects. In employment, linguistic profiling has led to having qualified people not being chosen for the position for their dialects. Rey (1977) has demonstrated that when three employees presented a fictional interview on the phone speaking Spanish, the person who had a White accent was chosen more suitable than the Cuban person whose first language is Spanish. This shows how linguistic profiling takes many forms in the workplace, whether in employee-employer, doctor-patient, or doctor-resident situations. For this reason, this study aims at examining participants' perception of employability of speakers of Arabic dialects.

## **F. Language Attitudes**

According to Al-Hoorie (2019), individuals tend to form preferences based on societal values and concepts that they grasp from their environments. Most often, these preferences tend to be social ideologies that are not driven by facts. Attitudes are divided into three categories: behavioral, cognitive, and affective (Rosenberg &

Hovland, 1960). Affective attitudes relate to feelings and emotions; an example would be a negative feeling toward a certain dialect spoken by a specific group. This could be due to personal experiences, word-of-mouth, social ideologies, among other social experiences that one may have. Behavioral attitudes are the portrayal of affective attitudes in one's behavior, such as by avoiding contact with this dialect speaker or excluding them from a certain event. Cognitive attitudes entail forming opinions about a specific object, person, or event; they are reflected in personal thoughts and become part of one's own ideology. Linguistic profiling, the practice where one identifies the social characteristic of another by listening to their speech (Baugh, 2003), conforms with affective attitudes since the attitudes toward the language or dialect are based on emotions and instinct. Profiling has also long been used in forensic sciences where linguists are asked to identify criminals by linking speech to the described characteristics, such as age, gender, and region of socialization (Schilling & Marsters, 2015). Al-Hoorie (2019) claims that implicit attitudes are formed through repeated exposure and explicit attitudes are formed through rational thinking, also known as cultural osmosis. Al-Hoorie (2019) explains that implicit attitudes cause serious consequences in society and are often reflected when a certain group, an ethnic minority group for example, is treated differently than the whole group. These concepts are important in the study of linguistic profiling and language attitudes since they indicate the effect of attitudes on society. According to Al-Hoorie (2019), when explicit and implicit attitudes are not in agreement, this will be reflected in their spontaneous behavior when certain situations evoke their attitudes.

## **G. Language Attitudes and Politics**

All groups in societies have certain ideologies. Since spoken language does not have one specific structure, beliefs toward languages change when social contexts and events around them change (Ricento, 2013). As previously noted in Fernandez-Mallat and Carey (2017), Spanish is not seen as a superior language in comparison with English in the United States. Although immigration increased from Latin America which made Spanish widely spoken, it is still viewed as a foreign language and has been acted against legally, such as efforts to reduce bilingual services (Ricento, 2013). Political environments that create intimacy between groups help change language attitudes (Ianos, 2014). For instance, colonizers' language varieties are not viewed positively in African countries where political autonomy is not granted (Ianos, 2014). Kroskrity (2018) states that language attitudes and ideologies emphasize how a listener's beliefs about the language variety are a result of social actors in political economic systems. This shows that language attitudes are directly influenced by socio-political changes such as immigration, war, conflict, poverty, etc.

## **H. Language and the Media**

The media plays a large role in portraying dialects. Media accents and dialects build on existing stereotypes (Heaton, 2018). For instance, the Lebanese media had portrayed the dialect spoken in Saida with exaggerated features which built on stereotypes (Kanaan, 2015). As stated before, stereotypes often cause individuals to form judgments about another person's qualities, therefore, this dialect portrayal based on stereotypes causes a build-up of attitudes toward the dialect. On the other hand, dialects are also represented in the media, in non-comedic ways, such as live reporting

during certain events. “When non-standard accents and dialects are part of media performances, they are generally there for a purpose, most commonly to characterize, to relate authenticity, and/or to extend the plot” (Queen, 2015). By doing so, live reports are meant to allow viewers to form an opinion about the piece of news at hand, and relating to an authentic experience, where one speaks in a native dialect, is an example to achieve that. Additionally, since the media comes in different forms, native dialects are also used on social media to attract audiences (Nguyen, 2019). This can be found in singer Cara Delevingne’s tweets to fans, where she tweets in her dialect and has been praised for doing so. Moreover, women are less represented in the media (Rattan et al, 2019), which means that viewers are less exposed to language varieties spoken by women in the media. In 2015, women made up 19% of experts in news stories and only 37% of reporters narrating stories (Rattan et al, 2019). This shows that even if the media is a tool to expose viewers to language varieties, the exposure to varieties spoken by men and women is not equal.

## **I. Behavioral Consequences**

Trudgill (1986) defined leveling as “the reduction or attrition of marked variants which are forms that are unusual or spoken in a minority.” Dialect leveling occurs through a process of language standardization, which is often long-term and triggered by dialect contact. Unlike language convergence where two or more languages mutually change and share common features, dialect leveling mainly happens at the level of the society and is due to social factors. In a social context, Dillard (1972) defines it as “the process of eliminating prominent stereotypical features of differences between dialects.” Diaz-Campos and Killam (2012) examines the attitudes of Caracas

Venezuelan participants towards the deletion of the intervocalic [d] and syllable-final [r]. It shows that the participants view the deletions as spontaneous and do not link them to any social group. Such a study demonstrates that dialect leveling occurs in the form of standardization that is often an unconscious process.

Yaseen (2015) studies whether speakers of Mosul Arabic maintain or level their dialect. Yaseen (2015), through the collected recordings, notes that the participants do level their dialect to a Baghdadi variety. He describes the act of leveling toward Baghdadi Arabic as *Baghdadization* which arguably means that Mosul Arabic speakers are adopting a more prestigious variety of Iraqi Arabic. In Yaseen (2015), speakers of Mosul Arabic claim that their dialect is not being heard as often as it used to be, although Mosul has attracted many immigrants throughout the times. Mosul became an economic attraction in Iraq in the 1920s at the time when oil was its most important asset. The city became industrial, and many companies moved their headquarters there, making it a hub for the pharmaceutical and sulfur-mining industries (UN Habitat, 2016, p.29). This nature allowed diversity in Mosul where many people migrated to work. Although Mosul had experienced waves of migrations, Yaseen (2015) argues that it was also an area where many Bedouins settled, and for this reason, Mosul inhabitants would level their dialect to dissociate from Bedouins. This article shows another reason for dialect leveling in a form where it is completely unconscious and represented through vowel change.

Al Wer (1997) has examined dialect leveling among speakers of Palestinian, Jordanian, Tunisian, Bahraini, and Saudi Arabian Arabic. She gives phonetic examples wherein speakers tend to shift one vowel or consonant to another that is more popular for different purposes. In Mecca, Al Wer (1997) notes that non-prestigious groups tend

to use the interdentalals [θ] and [ð] and would level them to the stops that prestigious groups would use: [t] or [s] for the first and [d] or [z] for the second. This first case shows that the dialect leveling, through the interdentalals, is for a shift from the less prestigious to the more prestigious, which is seen highly in Meccan society. Al Wer (1997) also shows that Arab Shiites in Bahrain, a minority, would change their [dʒ] to [j] since the latter is used by Arab Sunnis. This second case represents the political dynamics in Bahrain wherein the largest Muslim sect is Shiite, whereas the sect of the wealthiest and ruling families is Sunna. This is important since both phenomena from the Gulf demonstrate how vowels vary as part of dialect leveling to fit into a certain group and to avoid being profiled or easily identified as being part of said group. Moreover, in Bedouin areas in Saudi Arabia and in some urban centers in Najd, the [k] sound is often affricated to [tʃ], whereas it is affricated to [tʃ̥] in urban dialects in the Gulf, Oman, Baghdad, Basra, Hadramawt, and Yemen (Watson, 1992), Abha (Prochazka, 1988, p.126), and Syria (Jassem, 1987). Al-Rojaie (2013) further expands on the studies in Najd by studying the same [k] variable and states that dropping the sound is a sign of modernity. These studies show that dialect leveling does not follow the same trend in all places, rather depending on the status of certain sounds in said community which might be uncommon and thereby dropped.

In Hachimi (2012), the Fessi dialect in Morocco is considered as an urban dialect. This dialect has the post-alveolar approximant [ɹ] instead of the alveolar trill [r] and the pharyngeal glottal stop [ʔ<sup>h</sup>] instead of [g]. On the other hand, many Moroccans tend to level their dialects to conform with the Casablanca dialect of Arabic, which is seen as the superior Moroccan dialect (Hachimi, 2012). To do so, speakers would level their [q] to [g], [u] to [əw], and [ə] to [ʌ]. Although the Fessi dialect is considered as

urban, some Fessi citizens would level their dialect to the Casablanca dialect since it is more widespread and common. In an instance recorded by Hachimi (2012), a Fessi woman considers that her Fessi dialect is more ‘feminine’ than the Casablanca variety which she sees as ‘rough.’ It was reported that she said ‘lhamdullah’ (thank God) when mentioning that her daughter, who picked up the Casablanca variety, still exhibits good behavior (Hachimi, 2012). In the same context, Fessi women believe that when men do not pronounce the alveolar trill [r], they are ‘effeminate,’ ‘homosexual,’ and ‘having an erectile dysfunction’ (Hachimi, 2012). This study shows the attitudes that accompany individual’s dialect convergence or its maintenance, which in this case is maintenance. This is important since the study shows communal dialect leveling and language standardization from Fessi to Casablanca in the face of maintenance due to social attitudes and behaviors.

Out of curiosity about the rapid development of language change, Saidat (2018) conducted a study to examine how often 200 Jordanian high school students and college undergraduate students level their dialect and what attitudes they hold towards it. Through a mixed questionnaire, the students showed preference toward Lebanese or Syrian Arabic—which are neighboring dialects—over Jordanian Arabic. In the open-ended part of the questionnaire, students noted that they found the neighboring dialects to be ‘attractive,’ ‘nice,’ ‘beautiful,’ ‘passionate,’ and ‘romantic’, and their own dialect to be ‘harsh,’ ‘representative of Bedouins,’ and ‘inferior’ (Saidat, 2018). Many students also stated that they would personally consciously level their dialects to suit the neighboring ones, and this was a trend found more commonly among the females of the classes. Since these varieties of Levantine Arabic share some lexical and syntactic structures, it is important to examine how the youth viewed their dialect and how they



behaved toward it by leveling, in light of the stereotypes that they listed in their answers. Similarly, Versteegh (1993) demonstrates how speakers of Yemeni Arabic tend to level their dialects to Cairene Egyptian Arabic easily when speaking to non-Yemeni individuals. This phenomenon was hypothesized to result from the spread of Egyptian movies in the region, since mainly Cairene Arabic is spoken. This is important since it demonstrates how individuals would level to another dialect due to known social factors, such as the media in this case, and adopt a more visible dialect.

Similarly, Hachimi (2018) studies dialect leveling among speakers of Fezzi, Hrizi, and Filali Moroccan Arabic with respect to Casablanca Morocco Arabic. First, immigrant-grandparent Hrizi individuals tend to maintain their feminine second person markers when addressing a male addressee, showing conservatism and unwillingness to level their dialects. However, native-born generations tend to adopt the Casablanca variety which is the masculine marker. Hachimi (2018) states that using the feminine marker is prominent in comedy when performing the ‘backward peasant.’ The younger generation reveals anxiety toward the use of the feminine marker, which is why they prefer the masculine one. This indicates that speakers would adopt and drop certain varieties that conform with their social group and age. Also, Ismail (2019) shows that high school seniors in Riyadh tend to retain their native marker more than college students. The reason behind that is that university and college students have already had summer jobs and felt the urge to converge their dialects to reduce regional variations (Ismail, 2019). In interviews, speakers were more likely to level their dialects since they knew that they were being heard which demonstrates the importance of matched guise experiments in mapping attitudes toward dialects.

## **J. Approaches to Language Attitudes**

There are multiple methods that can be used to identify and analyze language attitudes. The first method is the direct approach through which a questionnaire or interview is designed to include questions regarding a dialect or language and the responses would be on a scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” “They are invited to articulate explicitly what their attitudes are to various language phenomena. So, it is an approach that relies upon overt elicitation of attitudes” (Garrett, 2010). This approach seems like a straightforward method to extract language attitudes; however, many factors make it unreliable to use on its own, such as social desirability bias, where one would give answers that feel socially acceptable; and acquiescence bias, where one would approve of an idea regardless of the content (Garrett, 2010). Additionally, this technique is avoided in language attitude studies to limit interaction between the researcher and the listener since the dialect or language of the first might affect the second. On the other hand, indirect approaches to language attitudes include taping a speaker and having the listener answer questions in a questionnaire. The listener here is not directly asked about their attitude toward the language. This approach is called the matched guise technique which will be further explained in the next section.

Hypothetical questions are one way of asking questions in a questionnaire. These questions aim at finding how participants would react to a particular dialect or speaker of a dialect (Garrett, 2010). These questions also show trends or future behaviors that the listener might do when encountering such a dialect. Additionally, the questions might include strongly slanted words that might push the listener to give bold opinions about a dialect. Such questions could include asking whether the speaker is intelligent or not or whether they are poor or not.

The questionnaires used in language attitude approaches differ from one study to the other, depending on the questions that the researcher designs. The researcher oftentimes includes words, some of which are qualities and characteristics, which the participant should decide whether they are suitable to classify and categorize the dialect and its speaker. One type of surveys that is popular and adaptable is the Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI) which focuses on five personality traits: *extraversion*, *agreeableness*, *conscientiousness*, *neuroticism*, and *openness*. Another survey is the Social Behavior Survey which focuses on attitudes toward the speaker through submissiveness (control-submissive) and personal emotions toward the speaker through affiliation (love-hate). For instance, Lai (2007) developed the TIPI to include personality qualities that would fall under interpersonal relationships and power such as attractiveness, humility, competence, considerateness, etc. in a study on Cantonese, Putonghua, and English languages in Hong Kong.

Constructing a survey of any kind requires in-depth analysis of the target audience. Zeinoun et al (2017) created the Arab-Levant Personality Inventory out of the statement that personality traits are not universal. By researching and collecting words—some of which are traits—from large corpora and dictionaries, the researchers were able to compile a list of 167 items in both English and Modern Standard Arabic that would describe Arab-Levant personality traits. This list was then categorized by examining their popularity and commonality among participants from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and the West Bank. Zeinoun et al (2017) initially tried to categorize the items by following The Big Five model and HEXACO, which is similar to the first by differs in terms of *agreeableness*. This categorization did not work for these types of traits, so a new model was formed. The categories chosen by Zeinoun et al (2017) are i) *morality*,

ii) *conscientiousness*, iii) *positive affect*, iv) *dominance*, v) *agreeableness/righteousness*, and vi) *emotional stability*. This study provides a list of terms that could be used in the matched guise experiment's reaction survey which are tailored for use in Lebanon and the neighboring regions.

Other than the content of the questions and the items that are associated with the speaker and the dialect, the type of questions is also important. To give the respondent the option to choose between traits and without having binary answers such as 'educated' versus 'illiterate,' scales are oftentimes used in matched guise experiments. The Osgood semantic-differential scaling is one of those scales that present the respondent with a variety of answers. In this scale, two opposite traits are on the opposite poles of the spectrum, and numbers or blank spaces fall in between. One example is from Manfredi (2013) which has 'careful' on one end and 'careless' on the other, with 3 options in between, amounting to 5 options in total. In this example, the middle option is often referred to as neutral or 'no answer' and can be omitted by having a scale with an even number of answers.

### **K. Components of Language Attitudes**

"As a mark of social identity, gender in a speaker conveys information about the social background of the speaker" (Zhang, 2011). The first study that highlighted the importance of gender in language attitudes is that of Lambert (1967), which evaluated English and French speakers in Canada and concluded that females were more favored when speaking French and males when speaking English. Also, Lambert (1967) examined the differences in females' and males' opinions as participants where females did not have as much difference in opinion as males. For this reason, these two types of

gender evaluations will be focused on in this study. On the other hand, Bilaniuk (2003) showed that women in Ukraine were more critical of the Ukrainian language than men. This study also shows that women are more positively evaluated when speaking Ukrainian than men and men were more positively evaluated when speaking Russian. Additionally, Lung (1997) demonstrated that women had more solidarity toward a foreign language, Putonghua in Hong Kong, than men did. Moreover, the age of the individual is developed in response to major life events which affect social relations and social attitudes of individuals (Cheshire, 2017). Age will be used to further analyze social relations and corresponding attitudes. Other variables that the matched guise technique examines are religion or sect and first language (L1) (Obiols, 2002). These variables are not included in this study since the target audience is from Beirut, Saida, and Tripoli, which are similarly homogenous areas, and sect or religion is not of primary interest. Additionally, first language is not targeted since all participants are Lebanese and have lived in Lebanon. Socialized individuals perceive surrounding languages and dialects differently. The way these individuals form attitudes toward other dialects and their respective speakers depends on their beliefs, evaluation of a situation, subjective norms, and motivation to comply with the previous variables (Giles & Billings, 2004). One of those studies was conducted by Alahmadi (2016) on Meccan Hijazi Arabic. The study concluded that the participants' own dialects of Saudi Arabian Arabic influenced how they perceived Meccan Hijazi Arabic. Meccan locals, of all genders and age groups, associated pride with their own dialect and viewed it as superior to any other Saudi Arabian dialect of Arabic. This positive attitude was explained in two ways. The first is that the respondents claimed that their dialect represented their identity and allowed them to express themselves freely. The second is

that the respondents stated that being proud of the dialect allowed them to substitute MSA with it when typing on social media, allowing them to engage with their society. This shows that the subjective norms around the respondents, meaning their beliefs about the linguistic behavior, were positively reflected in their answers and their attitudes toward their dialects. On the other hand, a study conducted by Fernandez-Mallat and Carey (2017) shows the opposite to Alahmadi (2016). The study examines the attitudes of Spanish speakers toward their own dialect and toward English. Using a matched guise experiment and an electronic survey, the study shows that native Spanish speakers in the United States perceive their language negatively and held a more positive attitude toward English. This shows that the relationship between a listener's dialect or language and their attitudes toward co-existing or neighboring dialects and languages may exist, but not in the same direction, and would depend on subjective norms and beliefs that stem from social experiences.

#### **L. Matched Guise Technique**

The matched guise technique was first introduced by Lambert et al (1960) to determine the attitudes of participants toward English and French in Canada. Lambert et al (1960) defined the term as “listener's attitude toward members of a particular group should generalize to the language they use.” This technique allows participants to listen to recordings by various speakers and then react to the languages or dialects that they have heard. The main purpose of a matched guise experiment is to note people's attitudes towards languages and dialects without giving socially desired responses (Baker, 1992). The matched guise technique is a method to indirectly assess attitudes since direct questions do not yield true results (Bidaoui, 2020). Listening to the dialect

of a speaker while controlling for all cues except for the dialect and/or accent is a primary element of the technique. The matched guise technique is an optimal way to avoid social desirability bias, meaning that the participants who are judging do not know what they are expected to answer, so they proceed with the test based on their instinct toward the dialect they hear. This indirect method is crucial in a language attitudinal reaction study such as this one, since it “avoids alerting subjects to the fact that their linguistic views are being investigated” (Sawaie, 1994, p.54). When assessing language attitudes as a gateway to linguistic profiling, it is important that the speakers do not know that they are being judged since reactivity and awareness of being observed would skew the results. Matched guise technique also limits style shifting. Bell (1984) suggests that individuals shift their linguistic styles depending on the audience: interlocutors (addressees), third persons (auditors), third parties (overhearers), and unknown-presence parties (eavesdroppers). Since dialect and style shifting ought to be restricted when examining attitudes, matched guise experiments are constructed and used. Although capable examine attitudes and ideologies indirectly and successfully, the matched guise technique has some limitations when it comes to accent-authenticity, mimicking-authenticity, and style-authenticity (Cekuolyte, 2014). This is because the speakers are aware of being recorded which might cause a shift in style or accent, or inaccuracy if the speaker is an actor or actress.

Bidaoui (2020) studies attitudes toward Moroccan, Saudi Arabian, and Egyptian Arabic using a twelve-question matched guise test. The questions were related to power, solidarity, competence, and status. When listening to the shared dialectal varieties, Moroccan and Egyptian participants rated solidarity as the highest social trait and status as the lowest, whereas Saudi participants rated competence as the highest and status as

the lowest (Bidaoui, 2020). The results were the same when the participants heard the exoglossic dialectal varieties. This study indicates that the same dialects can be viewed differently by speakers of other dialects, making them hold distinct attitudes that can be tested via a matched guise experiment.

Chakrani (2013) examines the attitudes toward different language varieties in Morocco. Through the matched guise experiment, the study shows that French is seen as the most prestigious variety among middle and upper-class participants. English is also viewed as modern and related to open-mindedness among the upper class. For the lower class, Modern Standard Arabic is seen as more open-minded than Moroccan Arabic. Additionally, the Berber variety is not viewed as modern nor open-minded (Chakrani, 2013). The study shows that Modern Standard Arabic is not associated with any socioeconomic class, Moroccan Arabic is not associated with status since it is a mix of dialects and languages, and French is a sign of prestige and high status. This indicates synchrony between Chakrani (2013) and Bidaoui (2020) since Moroccan speakers do not associate Moroccan Arabic with status or view it as having lower status than other varieties.

Hamzaoui (2019) used the matched guise technique in an educational context in Tlemcen, Algeria. The study shows that students from grades 1 to 5 view the speaker of Modern Standard Arabic as 'pleasant' with respect to the speaker of Algerian Arabic. This age group also views the speaker of Modern Standard Arabic as 'cleverer' than the speaker of Algerian Arabic (Hamzaoui, 2019). On the other hand, pre-school students associate positive attitudes with Algerian Arabic rather than Modern Standard Arabic. This is attributed to the fact that pre-school students acquire Algerian Arabic at home and with friends and do not learn Modern Standard Arabic until a later stage through



formal education (Hamzaoui, 2019). The study also examines the attitudes of the teachers at the same school through the matched guise experiment. Like the students from grades 1 to 5, the teachers have a positive attitude toward Modern Standard Arabic which is regarded as ‘beautiful’ and ‘appropriate for teaching.’ This study demonstrates the positives of conducting a matched guise experiment which include the ability to draw out conclusions, not generalizations, about individuals’ attitudes toward dialects and languages in different social contexts.

A study conducted by Al-Bazzaz and Ali (2020) in Iraq utilizes the matched guise technique and reveals uncommon results. The researchers had recorded speakers of Baghdadi, Mosuli, and Nasiriya Iraqi Arabic dialects and had participants react to the dialects. The study shows that the Baghdadi and Mosuli dialects show richness, beauty, high educational levels, and attractiveness, whereas Nasiriya indicates poverty, ugliness, low educational levels, and repulsiveness (Al-Bazzaz and Ali, 2020). The study also indicates that the Baghdadi dialect is associated with the better qualities, possibly due to it being widespread on TV and spoken by the upper class of Iraq. The Nasiriya dialect is associated with the worse qualities because of the way it is portrayed on TV: spoken by the old poor people who live in rural areas. This shows that a matched guise study can collect similar attitudes toward dialects without putting the speakers and participants in contact. It can be argued that participants would not react the same way if a speaker of Nasiriya Iraqi Arabic was present in the research study.

Another sociolinguistic study in Jordan conducted by Hussein and El-Ali (1989) uses the matched guise technique to check for students’ attitudes toward colloquial varieties of Jordanian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Although newly published studies show that people associate Bedouin dialects with negative qualities, Hussein and

El-Ali (1989) reveal that Jordanian students associated good qualities with the Bedouin variety spoken in Jordan since they know that Bedouins are intelligent and eloquent individuals. Since the study was conducted in Irbid, a non-rural area, the participants had a better attitude toward the Fallahi dialect, spoken by farmers and laborers, than the Madani dialect, the urban dialect. Modern Standard Arabic, on the other hand, was seen as the most prestigious variety and was highly rated. It is noteworthy to mention that speakers of Madani Jordanian Arabic rated the Bedouin dialect poorly, which shows how urban attitudes are toward the rural (Hussein & El-Ali, 1989). The Madani dialect was also associated with some specific occupations; speakers of Madani Jordanian Arabic were assumed to be engineers, lawyers, or pharmacists, rather than merchants or traders. This indicates that people's attitudes toward dialects and their speakers depend on multiple variables, such as the listener's own dialect and stereotypes, which can be revealed through a matched guise experiment.

A study conducted in San Fransisco by Assaf (2001) reveals Palestinian students' attitudes toward Modern Standard Arabic and Palestinian City Arabic. In a matched guise experiment, the students indicated that they would prefer using Modern Standard Arabic for oral communication. This was decided considering they had professors who would use the variety more than the Palestinian one, which is linked to formality and seriousness (Assaf, 2001). Using Modern Standard Arabic is also associated with reaching a wider audience: people from different educational, social, and linguistic backgrounds. The students associated the Palestinian variety with informality; it is a variety that they can use in informal or intimate situations, such as a religious figure discussing religious matters at home (Assaf, 2001). Another result revealed by the matched guise experiment is that Modern Standard Arabic is linked to

being highly educated whereas the Palestinian variety is linked to the less educated. This shows that the matched guise technique can demonstrate how attitudes change depending on how people are socialized and educated.

Cekuolyte (2014) examines the attitudes toward adolescents' speech in Lithuania. The researcher sets different categories that 8<sup>th</sup> grade students need to associate speakers with active school-wise girls, cool girls, cool boys, streetwise girls, and streetwise boys. By focusing on vowel lengthening and the addition of filler words such as 'like,' the respondents were able to determine the active school-wise girls. Additionally, the cool girls were seen as 'arrogant' and the streetwise girl was more linked to 'addiction' (Cekuolyte, 2014). The cool boys, on the other hand, were viewed as 'swag' (modern contemporary urban identity) and the streetwise boys received the same description as the streetwise girls. This shows that even with the same linguistic features used, respondents hold gendered stereotypes that they apply to speakers, such as having cool girls as arrogant and cool boys as swag.

Lebanon, like other countries in Middle East and North Africa region, is a unique and linguistically diverse country. Lebanon has a complex history with regards to colonialism; it was under the control of the Ottomans for around 300 years and was under the French mandate for around 20 years. The country has also witnessed multiple series of migrations over the years. In 1948, Palestinians fled to Lebanon during the Palestinian Exodus and settled in different regions. According to UNRWA (2019), 475,075 Palestinians were counted as registered refugees in Lebanon. 35.8% of Palestinians reside in Saida, 25.1% in North Lebanon, and 13.4% in Beirut (Al Zhaiiry, 2017). Likewise, there is a heavy presence of Syrians in Lebanon, due to two main reasons. The first is due to the Syrian occupation of Lebanon which began in 1976 and

remained until 2005 and the second is due to the Syrian Civil War that began in 2011 and resulted in around 1,011,366 registered Syrian refugees in 2016 of which 26.1% reside in each of Tripoli and Beirut among 55.6% of registered Syrians in Lebanon (UNHCR 2019; UNHCR, 2018). In addition to Palestinians and Syrians, Lebanon is home to other ethnic groups such as Armenians, Bangladeshis, Egyptians, Sudanese, Ethiopians, Filipinos, among others, making it an ethnically diverse country. Being a country that has experienced a 15-year civil war, in addition to the above migrations, Lebanon has multi-leveled social issues such as racism and sectarianism (Shebaya, 2017). “The scapegoating discourse does not spur out of a natural inclination towards racism. Rather, it signals a deep crisis that the Lebanese state and its ruling elite have been facing since 2005” (Chit & Nayel, 2013). Although Beirut is seen as the prestigious urban city since it is the capital of Lebanon, it is not the only city in Lebanon; Tripoli, Saida, Zahle, Baalback, and Tyre are also cities but are not equally evaluated by citizens due to socioeconomic and political reasons, considering that 60% of the urban population and 80% of the total population lives in Beirut (Fawaz, 2017). Additionally, migrant workers are underestimated and discriminated against, mainly due to their occupations, since they are not legally allowed to work ‘prestigious’ jobs in Lebanon such as law, medicine, dentistry, engineering, and governmental jobs, according to the legislative decree n° 112 of 1959.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODS

#### **A. Rationale**

This thesis aims to address an ideological problem, rather than a theoretical one. This thesis aims at examining the relationship between genders, dialects of Arabic in Lebanon, identifiability of region, language attitudes, and perception of employability. To test the proposed hypotheses, quantitative methods have been used to generate data. Using a matched guise technique to measure linguistic and other attitudes, the experiment aims to have speakers of Lebanese Arabic listen to recordings and fill a matched guise instrument, a questionnaire. Using quantitative methods will provide information on the reality of how individuals residing in Lebanon, whether Lebanese, Palestinian, or Syrian, are viewed based on the dialects that they speak. The aim of this thesis is to address an ideological problem, rather than a theoretical one.

#### **B. Design and Procedures**

The study mainly aims at using the matched guise technique as a primary method of analysis. Developed by Lambert et al (1960), the matched guise technique is a sociolinguistic experimental technique used to determine the true feelings of an individual or community towards a specific language or dialect. Following this technique, I intended on having participants listen to speakers representing guises (dialects detailed below). The listener, then, not having met the speaker, had to evaluate the latter based on chosen traits. The technique focuses on the dependence of the listener on speech patterns, which include vowel sounds and word choice (Lambert et al, 1960). The matched guise technique has been used in different contexts, notably the

workplace, where researchers study the influence of attitudes on the workplace and perception of employability. Having Lebanon as a country diverse in its dialects and hosts other dialects of Arabic, a matched guise technique was used in this research study to examine the effect of genders of speakers and participants and the dialects on attitudes, identifiability of dialect, and perception of employability of speaker.

### *1. Dialects*

The recorded dialects differed phonologically and lexically. The dialects chosen are Tripoli Lebanese, Saida Lebanese, Beirut Lebanese, Syrian in Lebanon, and Palestinian in Lebanon. The Lebanese dialects are chosen since all three areas are, in fact, coastal cities, and share similar demographics wherein the majority of their populations are Muslim Sunnis. All three areas host refugees in large camps, being more in Beirut and Saida for Palestinians and more in Tripoli for Syrians.

Beirut is divided into two main electoral districts: Beirut 1 and Beirut 2. The first is a district that is in its majority Christians of Beirut, and it includes Achrafieh, Rmeil, Saifi, and Mdawar. The second district includes all remaining areas of Beirut which is in its majority Muslim Sunnis. The dialect chosen for this study is the one spoken in the latter, also noted as the Mousaytbeh variety (Sraj, 1998). The study by Sraj (1998) is one of the few phonological studies that show the roundedness of vowels in this area, which was the main phonological element under study. This dialogue focused on the [o] and [ɑ] vowels used in Beirut Lebanese Arabic as opposed to the less rounded vowels used in other dialects (Germanos, 2011). This dialect was a set of 6 sentences. The sentences included Beirut-specific words such as /bɪdʔan/ for oranges, /moʔte/ for cucumbers, /stajle/ for bucket, /tasʔije/ for a Beirut chickpea casserole, and

/slatə/ for salad (Salhab, 2019; Akeef wa Afeef, 2016; “Lebanese Arabic: Sub-dialects, vernaculars, sociolects,” 2013; “Beirut Dialect Forum,” 2008).

Additionally, 7 sentences were recorded in the Syrian dialect. The sentences included Syrian-specific words such as /tɪfah/ for apples, /kef keɟufək/ for ‘as you like’, /nhajto/ for ‘final offer’, /jalɪnzi/ for vine leaves with oil, and /jɛbɪɛʔ/ for vine leaves stuffed with beef (Versteegh, 2009; Syrian Dialect Dictionary, 2009). This dialogue focused on the [a] vowel used in Syrian Arabic as opposed to less open vowels used in Lebanese Arabic.

The Tripoli dialect was a set of 6 sentences. The sentences included Tripoli-specific words such as /ɛʃ/ for what, /hwəʃ/ for cultivation, /mɪɔkbe/ for oranges, /əxi/ for brother, and /ʕəɪɔse/ roughly translates to ‘whatever you say’. The sentences also focus on the [o] instead of [ə] vowel in words such as /xəboɪ/ for news, /tɪkɪom/ for ‘you’re welcome’, and /səfoɪ/ for travels (Salhab, 2019; Trablous, 2013; “Exclusive Tripolitan Terms,” 2011; “Tripolitan Dialect Forum,” 2003).

The Saida dialect included 7 sentences. These sentences included Saida-specific words such as /mæz/ for bananas, /læz/ for almonds, /xæx/ for plums, and /zɪaf/ for cute/nice/good. The dialogue focused on the use of open [æ] vowel as opposed to a mid-vowel in other dialects (Morning Tour in Saida Streets, 2016; Saida Youth Group; 2016).

Finally, the Palestinian dialect included 6 sentences. The sentences included Palestinian-specific words such as /ɛsələmu ʕleku/ for hello, /xəjə/ for brother, /kədəʃ/ for ‘how much’, /ɛsə/ for now, /bəndɔɪ/ for tomato, /kɪlɟen/ for two kilos, /twaj/ for Palestinian pan, /ðome/ for bunch, /bəkduɛs/ for parsley, and /θum/ for garlic. Instead of vowel differences, this dialogue focused on the use of certain consonants in

Palestinian Arabic such as [k] instead of [ʔ] and [θ] instead of [t] in Lebanese Arabic (Zeroual, 2009; Palestine Remembered, 2007). One vowel difference is the use of [o] instead of [u], a difference that distinguished Palestinians from Lebanese during the Civil War (Chehadeh, 2019).

## ***2. Demographic Survey***

In linguistic profiling, and as described in the literature review, linguists tend to develop questionnaires to collect the participants' attitudes depending on the context and the dialects under study. A matched guise test usually studies certain components, such as gender (or sex), age, and L1 (native language) of both judges and speakers, to better understand attitudes of one toward the other in light of stereotypes and social prejudices (Obiols, 2002). A demographic survey, adapted from Sawaie (1994), was sent to the participants (Appendix C). The survey includes five questions regarding age, gender, place of birth, mother's place of birth, and work status. Gender and place of birth were primary variables that the study focused on. Since the study asks about opinions toward the perception of employability of the speaker, it was crucial to have the participants be in the range of official age to work which is 18-64 in most sectors in Lebanon. The mother's place of birth was also asked to better analyze acceptance or rejection toward the other non-Lebanese dialects of Arabic. The purpose of this survey was to collect any data regarding the participants that might be important in analyzing results and the ideologies behind the participants' choices. The main variable that was focused on is gender since gender categorizes the data, however, work status and age were used to further explain attitudes and identifiability.



### ***3. Reaction Survey***

The reaction survey (Appendix D) was based on Sawaie's (1994) linguistic profiling study on dialects of Arabic. The study was conducted in Irbil and Amman and used the matched guise technique to check the attitudes of the participants toward speakers, who were recorded, with regards to masculinity, pride, and affinity. The study included a reaction survey, used by the participants to rate the speakers, which included questions with a Likert scale, going from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The survey included eight questions in total, of which five items were taken from the Arab Personality Inventory collated by Zeinoun et al (2018). The first item was a multiple-choice question. It asked participants to determine whether the speaker is Lebanese, Syrian, or Palestinian. This question was important for the study since I wanted to examine whether the participants' attitudes were in tandem with their identification of the dialect itself. The remaining seven questions were put in the form of a four-point Likert scale (1 being negatively rated and 4 being positively rated). The first five questions included opposite personality traits on both extremities of the scale, such as educated/illiterate, cultivated/ignorant, rich/poor, elegant/embarrassing, and friendly/arrogant. The remaining two questions asked the participants to rate the suitability of the dialect to work in office jobs/farming jobs and to deal with clients/not deal with clients; these questions were also put in the form of a four-point Likert scale. The neutral option was removed from the scale to avoid social desirability bias; a tendency to respond in a way that would be seen as favorable. By meeting with the participants on Zoom and explaining how the procedure was, this survey was presented by Lime Survey, following the demographic survey. The same questions were repeated for the 10 recordings: 5 dialects recorded by the man and 5 dialects recorded by the

woman. The survey was entirely translated to Arabic and was sent in both languages to participants via desired social media platform or email.

## **C. Participants**

### ***1. Raters***

Since the study uses a matched guise design, its goal for the study population is to be able to examine their attitudes towards the understudy dialects when listening to the speakers. I aimed to recruit participants from Beirut, Tripoli, and Saida, being the target Lebanese dialects to act as participants. The participants were recruited belonging to the 18-64 age group. The participants were also chosen based on not having any hearing or visual impairments since the study required them to listen to recordings and then fill out a survey on a computer. The participants were recruited via snowball sampling through word-of-mouth and social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and LinkedIn. The participants were first sent the consent form (Appendix B) in English and Arabic via email, which included information about the project, confidentiality, regulations, duties, storage of information, privacy, in addition to COVID-19 guidelines that were set by AUB IRB. Once the consent was secured, the survey (Appendices C&D) was sent as a hyperlink as well in both languages. Participants had the right to opt out of the survey at any desired time before, during, or after filling it out. For this study and using this method, I was able to survey 113 participants, of which 31 are men and 82 are women, as participants. 72 participants were from Beirut, 29 from Tripoli, and 10 from Saida.

## **2. *Speakers***

At the other end of the study, the participants had to listen to dialects before rating them. I recruited two actors, man, and woman, to speak in the different dialects. Since gender is one main variable in this study, reflected in Lambert (1967) as foundational for matched guise studies, each dialect was split into two recordings, one by a man and another by a woman to facilitate analyzing the gender component. The two actors were recruited instead of one speaker for each dialect to limit any personal variables that might affect the attitudes toward the speaker. The preliminary recruitment method was purposive sampling through word-of-mouth and social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and LinkedIn. The interested applicants were asked about diversity in their workplace, school, and area of residence (Appendix E). Since they were actors and not native speakers of the dialects, they were also required to send short voice notes speaking in two of the dialects of their choice to be able to identify their abilities in shifting from one dialect to the other. The target dialects that the speakers had to speak are Tripoli Lebanese, Saidawi Lebanese, and Beirut Lebanese, in addition to Palestinian and Syrian Arabic, as spoken in Lebanon. Once the two applicants were chosen, a consent form in English and Arabic (Appendix A) was sent to them via email, which included information about the project, confidentiality, regulations, duties, storage of information, privacy, in addition to COVID-19 guidelines that were set by AUB IRB. Once consent was secured, the speakers were asked to prepare a document outlining sentences in each of the five dialects they would say at a grocer the dialects, pointers, and references were also provided to them (Appendix F). The reason behind this choice was that it is a conversational topic that is known and understood by all participants, no matter their

socioeconomic backgrounds. I recorded the speakers using a phone recorder. The recordings were uploaded on Google Drive for safe storage and a URL link that can be copied, downloaded, or saved was generated for the following questionnaire.

#### **D. Data Analysis**

The collected data were categorized into the following groups. The main three dependent variables were identifiability of the dialects, which was the first question of the reaction survey, the attitudes, which were the following five questions, and employability, which were the last two questions. The collected data was analyzed using SPSS. A Missing Value Analysis was first conducted to indicate the percentage of any missing values. Since results showed many missing values, Little's MCAR test was conducted to check for the randomness of the missing values. To determine reliability, Cronbach's alpha was used. Additionally, Z-scores were computed to check for univariate outliers. To test the first hypothesis, "Speakers of Lebanese Arabic (LA) can better identify local varieties of Arabic than non-local varieties," the means of attitudes toward each dialect were computed. To test the third and fourth hypotheses, "Speakers of LA can better identify dialects spoken by a man rather than spoken by a woman," and "Women show more solidarity, positive attitudes, and perception of employability of other women," the data was categorized by grouping the means of the attitudes of each individual toward the respective dialect then calculating the mean of all attitudes toward that dialect. Using independent t-tests, the gender of the listener and gender of speaker effects were examined toward the means of attitudes. To answer the third question "To what extent do the genders of the speakers and participants affect whether the speaker is seen as employable?", the same procedure was repeated as the attitudes for the

questions regarding employability. Finally, I examined whether to genders of participants, genders of speakers, and dialects affected the identifiability of the dialects to answer the second hypothesis, “Speakers of LA have better attitudes toward and perception of employability of speakers of local varieties than speakers of non-local varieties.” Using One-Way ANOVA repeatedly, I examined whether the dialects themselves had an impact on attitudes by grouping the answers toward attitudes per dialect and then the perception of employability per dialect to answer. The results then compared the impact of the dialects to one another by a Tukey HSD post-hoc test.

#### **E. Missing Value Analysis**

Before conducting the main analysis, the percentage of missing values was checked across all variables. The results revealed that all variables had missing values greater than 5% (except for the language of the survey, gender, age, birth, and employment). Little’s MCAR test was run to check whether the data were missing at random or not. The non-significant result of the Little’s MCAR test revealed that the data were missing completely at random;  $X^2(1216) = 1204.59, p = .587$ . As such, we can proceed with the main data analysis.

#### **F. Reliability of the Attitudes Scale**

The reliability of the attitudes scale for the chosen social dialects (5x2 genders) ten dialects was tested using the internal consistency measure (Cronbach’s alpha). As indicated in Table 1 below, the attitude scale had good reliability for the ten dialects: with Cronbach’s alpha  $> .60$ .

Table 1  
*Reliability Analysis of the Attitudes Scales*

Attitudes toward	Number of Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Beirut Man	7	.82
Beirut Woman	7	.90
Syria Man	7	.88
Syria Woman	7	.88
Tripoli Man	7	.89
Tripoli Woman	7	.92
Saida Man	7	.92
Saida Woman	7	.91
Palestine Man	7	.88
Palestine Woman	7	.90

### **G. Analysis of Univariate Outliers**

Univariate outliers, which are extreme scores on the attitudes of the ten dialects, were checked and inspected using Z-scores. Any participant with Z-score  $> |3.29|$ , on a given attitude scale of a certain dialect, was regarded as a univariate outlier (extreme score). By looking at all Z-scores of all participants across the attitudes of the ten dialects, all Z-scores were less than  $|3.29|$  indicating that there were no univariate outliers.

### **H. Limitations**

One limitation is the COVID-19 pandemic which limited face-to-face interactions and made it difficult to reach participants. Due to it being a survey with multiple pages and having no save option in LimeSurvey, participants were faced with some technical issues and electricity cuts which hindered the completion of the entire survey and were rather filled out in sections. Filling out the survey in sections means that not all participants were able to rate all ten recordings and it was ideal to have the same number of participants rating all dialects to be compared (numbers detailed in the

Results section). The results of the study can only apply to the participants and cannot be generalized to the entire Lebanese population, nor all citizens from Beirut, Tripoli, and Saida. This limitation can be seen across matched guise studies such as Bidaoui (2020) where the target population was 30 participants from the Arab diaspora in the US and the results could not be generalized to the entire diaspora's attitudes toward Egyptian, Moroccan, and Saudi Arabian varieties of Arabic. Similarly, the same limitation is found in Denhag et al (2019) with 101 Swedish participants. Additionally, another limitation is the selection of one language variety from Beirut, targeting a variety that is considered to be non-prestigious. This choice excluded any other Beirut varieties that the speakers might identify and recognize. The last limitation is that the recruited speakers are actors and thus their performance might have had an influence on identifiability, attitudes, and perception of employability.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

In this chapter, the results of the study will be discussed. To further explain the relation between genders of listeners and speakers and dialects, with identifiability, employability, and attitudes, the chapter will be divided into 4 main sections. The first section includes the descriptive data from the study, the second section includes the results regarding identifiability of the dialects the third section includes the results regarding the gender of the speakers and participants toward attitudes and perception of employability, and the fourth section includes the results regarding the dialects and their relation to attitudes and perception of employability.

#### **A. Descriptive of the Sample Characteristics**

The sample of the study was composed of  $N = 113$  participants (28.3% males and 71.7% females). Around two-thirds of participants filled the survey in English (69%) while 31% of participants filled it in Arabic. Regarding the age group, 50.4% belonged to the 18-24 age group, 24.8% belonged to the 25-34 age group, 8% belonged to the 35-44 age group, 10.6% belonged to the age group 45-54, and 6.2% belonged to the age group 55-64. Regarding the place of birth, 63.7% of participants were from Beirut, 8.8% were from Saida, 25.7% were from Tripoli, and two participants “1.8%” didn’t report their place of birth. Finally, regarding the employment of participants, 37.2% were students, 43.4% were employees, workers, or employers, 18.6% were unemployed, and one participant “0.9%” didn’t report his/her employment status (Table 2).



Table 2  
*The Descriptive of the Sample Characteristics*

		N	%
Language of survey	Arabic	35	31.0
	English	78	69.0
Gender	Male	32	28.3
	Female	81	71.7
Age	18-24	57	50.4
	25-34	28	24.8
	35-44	9	8.0
	45-54	12	10.6
	55-64	7	6.2
Place of Birth	Beirut	72	63.7
	Saida	10	8.8
	Tripoli	29	25.7
	Missing	2	1.8
Employment	Student	42	37.2
	employee/worker/employer	49	43.4
	Unemployed	21	18.6
	Missing	1	.9

### **B. Identifiability of the Dialect of the Speakers**

The results showed 67% and 57.6% of participants have accurately identified the first dialect of a Beirut Man and Beirut woman respectively, 61% and 73.5% of participants accurately identified the second dialect as that Syrian man and Syrian woman respectively, 85.7% and 70% of participants accurately identified the third dialect as that of a Tripoli man and Tripoli woman respectively, 75.8% and 74.1% of participants accurately identified the fourth dialect as that of a Saida man and Saida woman respectively, and only 61.4% and 48.4% of participants have accurately identified the fifth dialect as that of a Palestinian man and Palestinian woman respectively (Table 3).

Table 3  
*Identification of the Dialect of the Speakers*

	N	Frequency	%
Beirut Man	106	71	67.0
Beirut Woman	92	53	57.6
Syria Man	77	47	61.0
Syria Woman	68	50	73.5
Tripoli Man	63	54	85.7
Tripoli Woman	60	42	70.0
Saida Man	62	47	75.8
Saida Woman	58	43	74.1
Palestine Man	57	35	61.4
Palestine Woman	64	31	48.4

To better analyze the effect of the gender of the participant on the identification of the dialects, Chi-Square tests were run on each dialect. The Chi-Square test showed there were no gender differences in identifiability toward any of the speakers' dialects.

Table 4  
*Gender of participants and identifiability of dialects*

	Man Listener		Women Listener		Chi-Square	df	Sig.
	N	%	N	%			
Beirut Man	23	85.1	48	94.1	1.7	1	.189
Beirut Woman	12	52.1	41	59.4	.37	1	.543
Syria Man	12	63.1	35	60.3	.04	1	.827
Syria Woman	16	88.8	34	68.0	2.96	1	.085
Tripoli Man	13	76.7	41	89.1	1.62	1	.202
Tripoli Woman	10	58.8	32	74.4	1.41	1	.235
Saida Man	12	70.5	35	77.7	.34	1	.555
Saida Woman	14	87.5	29	69.0	2.05	1	.151
Palestine Man	8	57.1	27	62.7	.14	1	.706
Palestine Woman	9	52.9	22	46.8	.18	1	.665

To better analyze the effect of the gender of the speakers themselves on the identifiability of their dialects, Chi-Square tests were run on each dialect. The Chi-Square test showed there were insignificant differences between the gender of speakers and identifiability toward any of the speakers' dialects, except for the dialects of Tripoli and Beirut where there were insignificant differences between gender of the speakers and identifiability.

Table 5

*Gender of speakers and identifiability of dialects*

	Man Speaker		Women Speaker		Chi-Square	df	Sig.
	N	%	N	%			
Beirut	71	91.0	52	57.1	24.34	1	<0.001
Syria	47	61.0	50	73.5	2.54	1	.111
Tripoli	54	85.7	42	70.0	4.42	1	.035
Saida	46	74.1	43	74.1	.04	1	.833
Palestine	35	61.4	31	48.4	2.04	1	.153

**C. Gender Differences across the Attitudes and Perception of Employability of Speakers of the Five Dialects**

Gender differences of the speakers across the attitudes toward the ten dialects (five by a man, five by a woman), were studied, using independent t-tests. Levene's test revealed that the homogeneity of variances assumption was met (no significant differences in the variances between males and females) on attitudes;  $F=4.32, p=.039$ . The independent t-tests showed there were gender differences in attitudes toward all dialects with equal variances assumed  $p=.011$ . This means that the gender of the speakers affected the participants' attitudes toward the dialects that they spoke.

Similarly, the same was done to test how employable do the participants rate the speakers. Levene's test showed homogeneity of variances assumption was met;  $F=.144$ ,  $p=.705$ . The independent t-test showed that there were gender differences in perception of employability of all dialects with equal variances assumed  $p=.003$ . This means that the gender of the speaker affected how employable the participants perceive the speaker to be.

Table 6

*Gender of speakers and attitudes*

	Men		Women		t-test	df	Sig.
	M	SD	M	SD			
Attitudes	1.96	.60	2.19	.70	2.56	213	.011

Table 7

*Gender of speakers and perception of employability*

	Men		Women		t-test	df	Sig.
	M	SD	M	SD			
Perception of Employability	2.22	.82	2.58	.87	3.05	212	.003

Gender differences of the participants across the attitudes toward the ten dialects were also studied, using independent t-tests. Levene's test revealed that the homogeneity of variances assumption was met (no significant differences on the variances between males and females) on attitudes;  $F = .22$ ,  $p = .639$ . The independent t-tests showed there were no gender differences in attitudes toward all dialects with equal variances assumed  $p=.576$ . This means that the gender of the participants did not affect their attitudes toward the dialects that they listened to and rated. Similarly, the same was done to test how employable do the participants rate the speakers. Levene's test showed homogeneity of variances assumption was met;  $F=.974$ ,  $p=.326$ . The

independent t-test showed that there were no gender differences in the perception of employability of all dialects with equal variances assumed  $p=.28$ . This means that the genders of the participants did not affect how employable they view the speakers.

Table 8

*Gender of participants and attitudes*

	Men		Women		t-test	df	Sig.
	M	SD	M	SD			
Attitudes	2.04	.48	2.1	.53	.56	111	.57

Table 9

*Gender of participants and perception of employability*

	Men		Women		t-test	df	Sig.
	M	SD	M	SD			
Perception of Employability	2.48	.78	2.29	.82	-1.08	110	.28

**D. Dialect Differences in Attitudes and Perception of Employability**

Differences between Participants from Beirut, Saida, and Tripoli across the attitudes toward the ten dialects, were studied, using One Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). ANOVA tests were used when the normality of the distribution of attitudes toward a dialect was met across Beirut, Saida, and Tripoli participants and the homogeneity of variance assumption was met.

Table 10

*The Descriptive of Attitudes and Perception of Employability toward the Ten Dialects*

	M(att.)	M(emp.)	N	%
Beirut	1.97	2.29	107	91.1
Syria	1.99	2.25	80	70.7
Tripoli	2.20	2.49	66	58.4
Saida	2.43	2.69	62	54.8
Palestine	2.14	2.35	69	61.0

Levene's test revealed that the homogeneity of variances assumption was met on attitudes;  $F=.78$ ,  $p=.989$  and on the perception of employability;  $F=.459$ ,  $p=.766$ . Since the normality and the homogeneity of variance assumptions were met, a One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to study the differences in attitudes and perception of employability toward those dialects. ANOVA showed that there are significant differences between the dialects and the participants' perception of attitudes  $p<.001 < .05$  and on whether they perceive the speakers as employable  $p=.001 < .05$ .

Table 11

*Dialects and attitudes and perception of employability*

	F	df	Sig.
Attitudes	6.15	4	<.001
Perception of Employability	4.85	4	.001

The Post-hoc Tukey HSD test is a single-step multiple comparison test. It was done to examine all possible pairs of means for significance. The test was done here to see the differences in dialects with regards to attitudes and perception of employability which allows the comparison of each dialect to the other through their means (Tables

12-16). Performing this test answers the research question “How do the dialects influence the attitudes toward and perception of employability of their speakers?”

Results show that there are insignificant differences between Beirut dialect and Syria, Tripoli, and Palestine on attitudes and perception of employability  $p(\text{att.}) = .99, .15, \text{ and } .43 > .05$  respectively and  $p(\text{emp.}) = .93, .06, \text{ and } .61 > .05$  respectively. The test shows that there are significant differences between Beirut and Saida on attitudes and perception of employability with  $p < .001$  for both (Table 12).

Table 12

*Differences between attitudes and perception of employability toward Beirut dialect vs other dialects*

	Mean	Sig.	Mean	Sig.
	Diff(att.)		Diff(emp.)	
Syria	-.26	.99	.09	.93
Tripoli	-.23	.153	-.33	.06
Saida	-.46	<.001	-.53	<.001
Palestine	-.17	.43	-.17	.61

There are insignificant differences between the Syria dialect and Beirut, Tripoli, and Palestine on attitudes and perception of employability with  $p(\text{att.}) = .99, .31, \text{ and } .65 > .05$  respectively and  $p(\text{emp.}) = .93, .39, \text{ and } .97 > .05$  respectively. The test shows that there are significant differences between Syria and Saida on attitudes and perception of employability with  $p < .001$  for attitudes and  $p = .01$  for the perception of employability.

Table 13

*Differences between attitudes and perception of employability toward Syrian dialect vs other dialects*

	Mean Diff(att.)	Sig.	Mean Diff(emp.)	Sig.
Beirut	.02	.99	-.09	.93
Tripoli	-.20	.31	-.23	.39
Saida	-.44	.001	-.43	.01
Palestine	-.14	.65	-.08	.97

There are insignificant differences between Tripoli dialect and Beirut, Syria, Saida, and Palestine on attitudes and perception of employability with  $p(\text{att.}) = .15, .31, .24, \text{ and } .98 > .05$  respectively and  $p(\text{emp.}) = .06, .39, .64, \text{ and } .80 > .05$  respectively (Table 14).

Table 14

*Differences between attitudes and perception of employability toward Tripoli vs other dialects*

	Mean Diff(att.)	Sig.	Mean Diff(emp.)	Sig.
Beirut	.23	.15	.33	.06
Syria	.20	.31	.23	.39
Saida	-.23	.24	-.19	.64
Palestine	.06	.98	.15	.80

There are insignificant differences between Saida dialect and Tripoli and Palestine on attitudes and perception of employability with  $p(\text{att.}) = .24 \text{ and } .07 > .05$  respectively and  $p(\text{emp.}) = .64 \text{ and } .09 > .05$  respectively. The test shows that there are



significant differences between Saida, Beirut, and Syria on attitudes and perception of employability with  $p < .001$  and  $p = .001$  respectively for attitudes and  $p < .001$  and  $p = .01$  respectively for the perception of employability (Table 15).

Table 15

*Differences between attitudes and perception of employability toward Saida vs other dialects*

	Mean	Sig.	Mean	Sig.
	Diff(att.)		Diff(emp.)	
Beirut	.46	<.001	.53	<.001
Syria	.44	.001	.43	.01
Tripoli	.23	.24	.19	.64
Palestine	.29	.07	.35	.09

There are insignificant differences between Palestine dialect and Beirut, Syria, Tripoli, and Saida on attitudes and perception of employability with  $p(\text{att.}) = .43, .65, .98,$  and  $.07 > .05$  respectively and  $p(\text{emp.}) = .61, .97, .80,$  and  $.09 > .05$  respectively (Table 16).

Table 16

*Differences between attitudes and perception of employability toward Palestine vs other dialects*

	Mean	Sig.	Mean	Sig.
	Diff(att.)		Diff(emp.)	
Beirut	.17	.43	.17	.61
Syria	.14	.65	.08	.97
Tripoli	-.06	.98	-.15	.80
Saida	-.29	.07	-.35	.09

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

#### **A. Identifiability**

Being the capital of Lebanon, Beirut hosts many different dialects and languages. After the Civil War, Beirut was the center of attention from investors who focused on improving its infrastructure and urban architecture, notably under Solidere (Stewart, 1996). Since many people move to Beirut throughout their lives to pursue education at large universities or to better their job opportunities, Beirut became a center of attraction for all Lebanese (Shuayb, 2016). In this study, the Beirut speakers were portrayed as those who spoke the Mousaytbeh variety, detailed in the Chapter III. The results show that 67% and 57.6% of the participants, for the Beirut man and woman respectively, were able to identify the speaker of the dialect as Lebanese. Having more than half of the participants identify the dialect correctly means that the exposure to this dialect is high, and the dialect of the man was more easily identified than the dialect of the woman. Agha (2011) suggests that mediatized experiences are preceded and followed by non-mediatized ones. This suggests that when a mediatized experience occurs, such as the interweaving of mass media with culture and politics, we associate it with experiences from our daily lives. Markers and stereotypes are important salient variants that are often portrayed in the media. Markers show variation of social and stylistic levels which are usually salient to in-group members (Labov, 1994). However, stereotypes are salient for both in-group and out-group members but often function as foundation for negativity and misrepresentation of the target element (Jensen, 2016)—in this case, dialects. The Lebanese media has had a role in portraying the Beirut dialect

over the years. This dialect is particularly known to be spoken by Abou El Abed El Beyrouteh (أبو العبد البيروتي), an old fictional character who tells jokes about the sociopolitical situations in Lebanon. The character was described as an “Archie Bunker-like figure” (Boustany, 2006). Nora Boustany (2006) writes in *The Washington Post*, “During 30 years of war, jokes about the character, Abul Abed, have carried many a social event into the early morning hours with thigh-slapping, fall-off-the-chair laughter.” In addition to this being Abu El Abed’s trademark, it has been used as a famous characters’ native dialect, Abu El Shabeb (أبو الشباب), played by Issam Keshtan, and Abu Riad (أبو رياض), played by Adel Karam. The latter was the protagonist of *The Adventures of Abu Riad*, a comedic series that aired on Future TV for more than ten years.

The speakers from Tripoli were the most easily identified as a Lebanese individual, with 85.7% and 70% of the participants, for the man and woman respectively, who listened to the recording that guessed it right. It is noteworthy to mention that the identifiability of the Tripoli variety was higher than the Beirut variety. The identifiability of the man shows that the dialect receives high exposure that Lebanese participants can identify it as a native dialect. Since Beirut is more cosmopolitan than Tripoli and has a history with regards to its culture and politics (Kobeissi, 2019), the result was unexpected. However, this can be linked to two major events. One event dates to early times before Lebanon’s independence, when Tripoli had the major trading port for decades. The other event is the more recent political conflict in Tripoli, which includes occurrences such as the confrontation at the northern Lebanese borders during the Syrian war, Islamist attacks in Tripoli in 2011-2013, and the Nahr El Bared battle in 2007, which made the city even more notorious on local

news (Knudsen & Gade, 2017). From roughly 2011 till 2014, Tripoli was affected by the Syrian War, since it is at the Lebanese border with Syria. During those years, many Islamist groups formed in Tripoli and many terrorist attacks occurred in the city which led to local and international coverage (Lefevre, 2014). These tensions had to be covered since they were affecting security in Lebanon. Similarly in 2014, tensions arose in Bab al-Tabbaneh (previously known as Bab al-Dahab “Gate of Gold” due to its handicrafts) and Jabal Mohsen. To be able to report from the battleground, reporters had to interview Tripoli inhabitants, notably families of victims, who spoke in their daily dialects. By doing so, media outlets use this technique of representing dialects in their natural forms to be able to characterize, relate authenticity, and extend the plot or situation (Queen, 2015). During the Lebanese Uprising of October 17 in 2019, Tripoli was under the spotlights. Through its remarkable crowding, protests, and road closures, Tripoli became Lebanon’s ‘hot topic’ on the news and social media. Due to its popularity and its leading events, Tripoli became known as ‘The Bride of the Revolution’ (عروس الثورة) after it was known as ‘Kandahar of Lebanon’ (قندهار لبنان), referencing the Afghan city (Al Jazeera, 2019). Although Tripoli has a large port and currently non-functional airport and was a major trading center during the Ottoman era, it remains underdeveloped and faces socioeconomic challenges (Hilton, 2020). The dialect spoken in Tripoli was broadcasted, in its natural form, on the news when Tripoli citizens chanted and spoke in marches. Being an undermined and underdeveloped area in Lebanon, Tripoli citizens voiced their concerns and made sure that they were being well-heard at a national level. For instance, Tamim Abdo, a young man from Tripoli, became famous for his chants (إنت حرامي على علمي) [intə ħrɑmi ʕələ ʕilmi] “As far as I know, you are a thief” (Merhi, 2020).

Participants were able to easily identify the speakers from Saida as Lebanese; 75.8% and 74.1% guessed it correctly, for the man and woman respectively. However, the difference between identifying the man and the woman was not significant. There were also no significant differences between women and men participants' identification of the dialect. This reveals that the dialect of the speakers is equally familiar to the participants. When political events occur in or around a city, language varieties become more easily identified. As shown in the example of American English in the US by Knoblock (2014), Saida's case in identifiability is similar. Politically, Saida dominates a large area by virtue of being the seat for the province of South Lebanon. It serves as a trade and service center for the rural south. Its impact was local at first, but then the families of Al-Bizri and Saad became influential at the national level, gaining recognition (Abu-Laban, 1971). Additionally, Saida was the earliest to be home for many registered non-governmental organizations focusing on women and children (Abu-Laban, 1971). The media also allows for increase in identifiability of a language variety. In the media, actor Wissam Saad, has been performing the character of Abou Talal Al-Saidawi (أبو طلال الصيداوي) for ten years. He acts as a middle-aged man from Saida who uses the Saida dialect humorously. The character traveled with Saad from show to show, starting with Chi NN and moving to Amshen Show (عمشان شو). This character has over 200 episodes on AlJadeed TV and has gained massive popularity. These events show how media dialects build on pre-existing stereotypes (Heaton, 2018) that might be found in the Saida community. The easy identification is explained by Versteegh (1993) who shows how Egyptian Arabic is easily identified due to its representation in the media through movies and song clips.

Moving on from identifying Lebanese dialects, the dialects of the Syrian and Palestinian individuals were of particular interest. As opposed to most speakers of the Lebanese dialect, notably Tripoli and Saida, the dialect of the Syrian speakers was not easily identified by the participants, especially the man's recording. Only 61% and 73.5%, for man and woman respectively, were able to determine that the dialect of the speakers belonged to a Syrian individual. The higher percentage of identification of the woman's dialect compared to the man's is noteworthy. Syrians have had a heavy presence in Lebanon throughout history; Syria and Lebanon were merged countries at one point, sharing the same central bank in the 1800s, Syria had a military presence in Lebanon during the Lebanese Civil War until 2005 (Cleveland, 2009, p.390). The Syrian Civil War that began in 2011 increased Syrian presence in Lebanon due to the inhabitation of refugees in camps. Having around 1.5 million Syrian refugees in Lebanon by 2020 led Syrians to work in different domains, that they were permitted to work in, as plumbers, concierges, farmers, construction workers, and other jobs (Al-Arabiya, 2021). Since Syrian men are present in Lebanese individuals' lives, the lower percentage of identifiability with respect to the woman was unexpected. One reason behind this may be the actor's performance in this dialect. Participants can identify if a heard dialect is native to their language or not (Ruch, 2018). For this reason, participants from Saida and Tripoli may have found it challenging to identify the dialect. However, the percentages are similar to the identification of the Beirut dialect. This could be explained by the fact that Beirut and Damascene dialects share a lot of phonological and lexical variants and have been studied side by side in linguistic studies (Watson, 2011). The more noteworthy finding here is that the woman who spoke the Syrian dialect was more easily identified. Syrian women have been recently involved in

the workplace long after struggling to reclaim political and labor rights in Lebanon. They have begun working in craft-making, cooking, and cleaning where the workplace is where people from all around the country meet (Safi, 2021). Syrian women constitute more than half of the total Syrian refugees residing in Lebanon (UN Women, 2019). It can thus be argued that the participants are more exposed women speaking it. Additionally, it is important to mention that Syrian varieties can also be easily identified due to the popularity of Syrian-dubbed Turkish dramas in Lebanon and the Arab region (Bucciante, 2010).

The attitudes toward and identifiability of the Palestinian dialects were of utmost interest in this study. To begin with, only 61.4% and 48.4% of the participants, for the man and woman respectively, were able to identify the dialect of the Palestinian speakers. To report one of the social media messages that the researcher received while sending out the survey, it said “[...] I don’t know how a Palestinian dialect sounds like, should I just go with my intuition?” Based on this message and the low identifiability rates, one could say that the participants are not very familiar with this dialect. As opposed to Syrians who have recently sought refuge in Lebanon, Palestinians have been present in Lebanon since the Exodus of 1948 when President Beshara El Khoury at the time welcomed Palestinians and urged Lebanese to oppose the Zionist State (Faris, 1981, p.354). As part of their integration during times of conflict and uncertainty, Palestinian refugees who came to Lebanon in 1948 had to share the language and culture with their Lebanese hosts (Suleiman, 2006). Additionally, the Palestinian variety was used by Palestinians to maintain relationships in their communities and not with the Lebanese community (Abou Taha, 2016). This shows that in order to fit into the host community, Palestinians in Lebanon had to eliminate stereotypical features from their

own dialect to decrease identification, a process explained by Dillard (1972). Abou Taha (2016) also notes that when a Palestinian individual is more educated, they lose the markers that make their dialect identifiable, and since most of the participants are students and/or employed, it means that they might be in contact with the Palestinians who do not speak Palestinian varieties of Arabic. Another possibility to why Palestinians are least to be identified is that they are barred from working in more than 30 occupations including any liberal profession (UNICEF, 2017). This restriction to the work of Palestinians may have resulted in less exposure to the dialect and therefore, in congruence with Baker et al's (2009) findings, lead to decreased identification.

### **B. Genders of Participants and Speakers**

The results show that there is no significant correlation between the genders of the participants and identifiability of the speakers from all dialects, which shows that both genders are similarly exposed to the dialect. The results also show that there are no significant differences in attitudes and perception of employability between the genders of participants. Since many social agents affect how well participants can identify dialects, it is worth mentioning that women in Lebanon are socialized in similar ways to men. It is also important to note that in previous studies such as Lambert (1967), profiling and attitudes were similar in males and females. Lausen and Schacht (2018) states that there is no significance in participants' gender differences when identifying a dialect, unless the heard recording includes notions of emotion which make women at a better advantage at identification. Although the official statistics state that the percentage of Lebanese women in the labor force is no more than 23%, Lebanese women take on occupations that the country counts as informal employment, such as



craft-making (Baydoun, 2009) and agriculture (UN Women, 2021). For this reason, we can say that in terms of work status, women are involved in social environments that allow them equal exposure to agents of society and their dialects. Additionally, more than half of the participants, totaling to 91, are either employed or students, which shows that they are all subjected to diversity despite their genders. Having this kind of diversity also coincides with previous studies such as that of Baker et al (2009), which showed that increase in exposure to a dialect increases recognition of it, and a study by Alahmadi (2016) which showed that Saudi participants from both genders equally recognized and viewed the Meccan Hijazi dialect of Arabic. In general, there are no significant results in identifying the male speaker as opposed to the female speaker of the same dialect. This, however, is only demonstrated in this study with the Beirut and Tripoli dialects (Table 5). In these two dialects, the male speaker was better identified than the female speaker. Studies covering the relation between gender of speakers and identifiability or recognition of the dialect, remain few. Linek et al (2010) states that participants' perceptions and knowledge of the heard dialect are influenced by the social experiences of the listener with the gender of the speaker. Although the chosen topic for this study was an interaction with a grocer, the participants, being mainly from Beirut and Tripoli, were better able to identify the Tripoli and Beirut men as opposed to the women, which could be due to their socialization and exposure to the varieties. Zhang (2011) reflects this as well, stating that a speaker's gender gives information about their social backgrounds, meaning that the reason why the participants could not identify the Beirut and Tripoli women as they did with the men may be that their social experiences with men who speak in that dialect exceed their experiences with women who speak in that dialect. Moreover, there were significant results in attitudes and perception of

employability. This is also echoed in Lambert (1967) where females were more favored than males when speaking French and males were more highly favored than females when speaking English. The results show that the woman was seen as more employable and was met with more positive attitudes. Linek et al (2010) note that participants gravitate toward female speakers, which is congruent with this finding. This is similar to Bilaniuk (2003) which showed how women are more positively evaluated than men when speaking a native language variety. Another reason for better attitudes and perception of employability may be the fact that most participants are women. This can be explained through the phenomenon of women empowering other women, similar to Alzeiby's (2021) observation of women empowerment in Saudi Arabia.

### **C. Attitudes and Perception of Employability**

In this study, attitudes toward and perception of employability of speakers had similar trends but did not come together in all dialects. For instance, the dialect that received the most positive attitudes and the best perception of employability is the Saida dialect. On the other hand, the dialect that received the most negative attitudes is Beirut and the dialect that received the worst perception of employability is the Syrian variety. As compared to the other dialects, the mean of attitudes toward the Beirut dialects is the least among all (scoring 1.97 of 4). This indicates that while answering the questions regarding attitudes and perception of employability, participants chose the more negative attributes and qualities to classify the Beirut variety. It is worth mentioning that several dialects exist in Beirut and are spoken by individuals from Beirut. The dialect spoken in this study includes sounds from the dialect spoken in the Mousaytbeh region which has more rounded vowels than other varieties (Sraj, 1998). Since most

participants are from Beirut, it could be that the attitudes come from participants who are from different parts of Beirut, which means that some of those participants might not identify the dialect as their own. This can be linked to Fernandez-Mallat and Carey (2017) where Spanish speakers had more negative attitudes toward their own language variety than to others. Having said this, the majority of the participants in this study were from Beirut and the Beirut variety received the most negative attitudes. Moreover, one could add that what triggers negative attitudes toward one's own dialect could be due to the internalization of negative ideologies (Ek et al, 2013). The emergence of "Beirut koine" in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century for speakers, who came to Beirut, to be set apart from those who speak "Old Beirute" (Diez, 2021), the variety targeted in my study, could be an indicator of negative internalization. The emergence of the koine took over Old Beirute and became vehicle of communication to produce local culture (Diez, 2021). This could mean that the participants could have internalized negative attitudes toward their own variety. Unlike Tripoli and Saida, Beirut is a cosmopolitan city and associating it with a dialect that is different than what is considered prestigious might have affected the attitudes toward and perception of employability of its speakers.

The attitudes toward the Tripoli dialects were among the most positive in the study. The study shows no significant differences in the attitudes toward the Tripoli dialect as opposed to the other dialects. Tripoli's recent events could have affected the way Tripoli citizens, or speakers of the Tripoli variety, are viewed. Tripoli's nightly rallies at the time became concert-like and people from different areas drove to Tripoli to take part in its events (Knecht & Abi Nader, 2019). Mohammad Yaghi, an actor from Tripoli told Reuters, "A lot of people are telling me they see Tripoli in a different light" (Knecht & Abi Nader, 2019). With their innovative movements and being the first to

face their elected members of the parliament and ministers, “Tripolitans have shown their relentlessness since day one of the uprising through non-stop mobilization after years of anger” (Bajec, 2019). During the uprising that lasted more than half a year and beyond that, the media focused on Tripoli and Lebanese citizens felt proud of what the people of this neglected city were able to do. This reflects Heaton’s (2018) note on having the media a main platform for the spread of dialects into the public, making them more well-known. This also builds on Queen (2015) who states that the media, notably the news, aims to appeal to individuals by reporting real spoken dialects. Moving backwards, Boustani (2016) notes that after the tension that occurred in Tripoli between 2011 and 2014, Tripoli became a supportive host community to refugees. Moreover, to revoke stereotypes, Tripoli has launched several initiatives throughout the year to promote friendliness and positive attitudes toward it. One of such initiatives is turning Tripoli into a child-friendly city by creating creative interstitial spaces (Mohareb et al, 2019). Therefore, these positive events and interactions that are linked to the city’s development and amelioration could be reflected in the positive attitudes toward Tripoli.

Saida had the most positive attitudes and perception of employability levels among all dialects. The differences in attitudes, however, is only significant in comparison with dialects of Beirut and Syria. Historically, Saida was one of the major Lebanese cities, contributing to the trade industry. It then progressively became subordinate to Beirut which became the administrative capital of Lebanon (Schlaepfer, 2021). Despite this major change, positive attitudes toward Saida and its hardworking citizens remained, as described by Bahjat and Al-Tamimi (1917): “there is no trace of laziness in Sidon (Saida).” Saida was also one of the best host communities when it

came to hosting people from different sects and religions, notably Christians and Jews (Schlaepfer, 2021). This resonates with Ianos (2014) who stated that political environments, including social agents, which create intimacy can influence language attitudes. The city is also known to be characterized by non-state and informal governance (UN Habitat, 2017). It has also family-based unions that acts as a welfare system, keeping its citizens independent and out of debt (Cammet, 2014). This relates to Kroskrity's (2018) statement relating language attitudes to political economic systems, which could have been a reason to why participants had a positive attitude toward and perception of employability of the Saida speaker. Similar to Tripoli, Saida has promoted itself as a supportive host community which correlates with positive attitudes and behaviors: it has the largest camp for Palestinians in Lebanon, Ain al-Hilweh Camp. Moreover, Saida had anti-sectarian efforts specifically after 2012 after the Abra battle: a terrorist call by Islamic leaders. Notably, since there was a major change in events, from threatening to reformative, these events are echoed by Ricento (2013) who highlights the influence of change in social events on language beliefs.

The attitudes toward the Syrian dialect are second to least positive after Beirut and the mean of perception of employability is ranked least. While there are no significant differences between the attitudes toward and perception of employability of Syrians and other dialects, except for Saida, there are several reasons behind the low mean of negative attitudes and refusal to employ the Syrian speakers. Geha and Talhouk (2018) note that Syrians are perceived as an economic threat for Sunnis in areas where Syrian have settled in masses. As previously stated, (UNHCR, 2019; UNHCR, 2016), over a million Syrian refugees are currently registered in Lebanon, having over 25.1% of 55.6% residing in Tripoli and Beirut which are major Sunni cities in Lebanon. This

economic threat is fueled by the fear to take over their jobs (Geha & Talhouk, 2018). This fear could be one of the reasons to why the attitudes toward and perception of employability of the Syrian speakers were relatively negative, in addition to having the target participants in this study to be in their majority from Beirut and Tripoli. Since one cannot conclude that all participants were Sunni, Geha and Talhouk (2018) also state that Syrian pose an existential threat for Christians in Lebanon. Since Syrians are dominantly Muslims in Lebanon, the religion proportion of inhabitants in the country cause Christians to be fewer in number which could lead to negative attitudes in the form of insecurity. The other part concerning perception of employability is of importance to this study. The low perception of employability rates could indicate that the participants do not wish to see the Syrian having an office job or speaking to clients, which is echoed in Rubin et al (1997) where South Asian English was not an indicator that the speaker was a doctor, unlike the American variety.

Palestinians have resided in Lebanon for dozens of decades and formed friendly relationships with the Lebanese community. Palestine has always been an interesting cause for the Lebanese; many Palestinian organizations were formed by Lebanese people and many commando organizations were formed in the mid-1960's to protect Palestinians (Faris, 1981). This brotherhood or positive relationship between the two was always reflected in states of emergencies during wars and the Beirut Blast of 2020, for instance, when the Palestinian Civil Defense was the first to respond to the explosion and was praised by the Lebanese (Sogge, 2020). These positive attitudes toward the Palestine variety could be due to that brotherhood, but also due to other factors that Palestinians have been part of in the recent years. Since 1982 and Israel's invasion of Lebanon, solidarity toward Palestinians in Lebanon has been increasing

through protests and the formation of associations and organizations (Fox, 2021). Although Palestinians could not work in most sectors in Lebanon, the Lebanese Labor Ministry issued a decision in 2021 that allows non-Lebanese individuals, including Palestinians, who have Lebanese mothers or are married to Lebanese citizens to work in professions managed by syndicates or orders; these are occupations that Palestinians could not work in previously (Rose, 2021). This event, along with several movements toward the naturalization of Palestinians in Lebanon which are yet to be successful, could have led to more positive attitudes of the variety. These positive trends reflect Kroskrity (2018)'s claim that the better the social events are, the better the beliefs and attitudes become. It is also noteworthy that Palestinians in Lebanon, possibly due to residing in Lebanon for longer, have designated schools and funding for universities by UNRWA, which is different than the situation with the Syrian refugees in Lebanon who still do not have the same status in education and the labor force as Palestinians. This is reflected by more positive attitudes and perception of employability of Palestinians as opposed to Syrians in this study.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

This study has shown that language attitudes and linguistic profiling vary from one individual to the other. They also vary from one dialect to the other. This study showed that there are different attitudes toward and identification levels toward local dialects, as well as non-local dialects of Arabic. In the study's case, the most negative attitudes and perceptions of employability were toward the speakers of the Beirut dialect, whereas the most positive was toward the Saida variety, leaving the Tripoli, Palestinian, and Syrian varieties in between. Since all participants were from Beirut, Tripoli, and Saida, it is noteworthy to mention that there was no one trend favoring local or native dialects over non-local dialects. This was an unexpected finding amidst social insecurity and discrimination toward Palestinians and Syrians in Lebanon which reflects the relationship between attitudes and behavioral consequences.

While gender is an important marker of social identity, it was noteworthy that the gender of the participants did not impact their attitudes and identifiability of the dialect varieties. The way the speakers were rated and identified did not depend on whether the listener was a man or woman since similar results were achieved for both. Additionally, a similar observation can be said about the gender of the speakers where identification was similar across varieties, whether spoken by a man or woman. However, the rule is not uniform and social events might have played a role in influencing any statistically significant results between genders, specifically Beirut and Tripoli.



The study placed language attitudes, dialect identifiability, and perception of speaker employability within socio-political contexts and media studies to better understand the dynamics between these agents and draw conclusions that would suit the target participants. To further explain the major results, the study looked at notions of wars, political tension, revolutions, discrimination, labor laws, comedy, media, and news reporting and used a sociolinguistic framework to draw links between these situations and attitudes and profiling. A study that looks at stereotypes toward the five dialects at a wider scale might provide interesting insight into language attitudes toward them, but this is beyond the scope of the current study.

## APPENDIX A

**Title:** Linguistic Profiling in Lebanon: A Matched Guise Experiment

**Conducted By:** Tamara Sleiman

Of the American University of Beirut, Department of English, Telephone: 76660137

### **Consent document - Speakers**

We are asking you to participate in a **research study**. Please read the information below and feel free to ask any questions that you may have. I am inviting you to participate in a research study about attitudes held by Lebanese nationals towards different dialects of Arabic. The study is titled ‘Linguistic Profiling in Lebanon: A Matched Guise Experiment.’ For this part, I am recruiting 2 speakers (1 man – 1 woman) who: -are Lebanese; -are able to speak Beirut, Tripoli, Saidawi Lebanese Arabic, Syrian, and Palestinian Arabic. -do not have any hearing or visual impairments.

### **A. Project Description**

1. Before beginning the study, I will assess your ability to speak dialects by asking you five questions.
2. In this study, you will be asked to prepare a conversational script and pretend to speak it with a grocer in Lebanon.
3. I will provide you with a document that includes words that you can use to prepare the scripts.
4. The dialects that you will be asked to prepare are Beirut, Tripoli, and Saidawi Lebanese Arabic, in addition to Palestinian and Syrian Arabic as spoken in Lebanon.
5. Each scene will be recorded for 1 minute at the Sound Booth in Fisk Hall at AUB room 209.
6. The recording will be presented to participants to listen to and fill out a reaction questionnaire. The reaction statements include statements associating the dialect with the intelligence, education and friendliness of the speaker. The recordings will be shared with the participants via Google Drive with the disabled option to download, save, and copy and the link will be deleted after the answers are collected.

IRB approved COVID-19 Guidelines (March 22, 2021): Please confirm the following: • Subjects are asymptomatic with no fever or respiratory symptoms such as cough or shortness of breath • Subjects have no travel history within the last 14 days and with no exposure to a suspected/confirmed COVID patient within the last 14 days Only those who answer affirmative to the above statements can participate in research-related activities that involve person to person contact with researchers. Researchers are asked to keep a log of this screening activity for audit purposes.

For the secure safety, both researcher and participant will cooperate to achieve the following:

- 1- Implement hand hygiene before and after every interaction with participant while avoiding handshaking.
- 2- Face mask shall always be worn by researchers and participants. Encourage respiratory etiquette, including covering coughs and sneezes.
- 3- Implement and maintain physical distancing for at least 2 meters.
  - a. Marking out a distance of 2 meters or blocking chairs between seats in common or

shared spaces (i.e., reception areas, meeting rooms, waiting rooms, offices and other workspaces).

b. Choose strategies for recruitment that help minimize face to face interactions.

c. Discourage research team members from using other members' phones, desks, offices or other work tools and equipment, when possible.

4- Regularly clean/disinfect high touch surfaces and when visibly dirty (shared materials, equipment, workstations, keypads, etc.) using approved AUBMC disinfectants.

5- Ventilate the workplace daily, preferably with natural ventilation by opening the window; In case of AC, maintain recirculation with outdoor air. Avoid the use of individual fans.

6- Screen research team members on a regular basis for COVID-19 exposure through temperature readings while keeping a log of this activity for auditing purposes.

### **B. Risks and Benefits**

Your participation in this study does not involve any physical risk or emotional risk to you beyond the risks of daily life. You have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time for any reason. Your decision to withdraw will not involve any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. Discontinuing participation in no way affects your relationship with AUB. If you refuse to be tape-recorded, you will be excluded from the study.

You receive 50,000LL for each dialect and scene prepared and recorded right after the recording is collected, amounting to 250,000LL in total. Your participation does help researchers better understand the reactions to dialects in Lebanon.

### **C. Confidentiality**

Your name or other identifiers will not be attached to your answers so that your confidentiality can be maintained.

Your privacy will be ensured in that all data resulting from this study.

To secure the confidentiality of your responses, your name and other identifying information will never be attached to your answers. All codes and data are kept in a locked drawer in a locker room or in a password protected computer that is kept secure. Data access is limited to the Principal Investigator and researchers working directly on this project. Your name or other identifying information will not be used in our reports or published papers. The data will be stored for up to 3 years as per AUB archive policy.

### **D. Contact Information**

1) If you have any questions, you are free to ask them now.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, you may contact me at [tis03@mail.aub.edu](mailto:tis03@mail.aub.edu) or at 76660137 or Dr. Lina Choueiri at [lc01@aub.edu.lb](mailto:lc01@aub.edu.lb)

2) If you are not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about research or your rights as a participant, please contact the AUB Social & Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (SBSIRB) at AUB: [irb@aub.edu.lb](mailto:irb@aub.edu.lb), or at 01350000 ext. 5445.

### **E. Participant rights**

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to leave the study at any time without penalty. Your decision not to participate in no way influences your relationship

with AUB. You are free to skip any question that you prefer not to answer. I will send you a copy of this consent form via email.

I have read the above information and have sufficient information to make a decision about participating in this study. I consent to participate in the study.

## APPENDIX B

**Title:** Linguistic Profiling in Lebanon: A Matched Guise Experiment

**Conducted By:** Tamara Sleiman

Of the American University of Beirut, Department of English, Telephone: 76660137

### **Consent document - Participants**

We are asking you to participate in a **research study**. Please read the information below and feel free to ask any questions that you may have.

I am inviting you to participate in a research study about attitudes held by Lebanese nationals towards different dialects of Arabic. The study is titled ‘Linguistic Profiling in Lebanon: A Matched Guise Experiment.’

For this part, I am recruiting 300 participants who:

- are Lebanese;
- are born in either Beirut, Tripoli, or Saida;
- between 18 and 64 years old;
- do not have any hearing or visual impairments.

#### **A. Project Description**

1. In this study, you will be asked to fill out a pre-assessment questionnaire that documents information regarding your age, gender, place of birth, and place of residence on Lime Survey.
2. You will then listen to 10 1-minute recordings. The recordings will be sent via Google Drive with a disabled option to download, save, and copy. The links to the recording will be deleted after the answers are collected.
3. You will be given 2 minutes between each recording to fill out a reaction questionnaire on Lime Survey.
4. The estimated time to complete this study is approximately 30-45 minutes.
5. The questionnaires will be used for sociolinguistic analysis.

#### **B. Risks and Benefits**

Your participation in this study does not involve any physical risk or emotional risk to you beyond the risks of daily life. You have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time for any reason. Your decision to withdraw will not involve any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. Discontinuing participation in no way affects your relationship with AUB.

You receive no direct benefits from participating in this research; however, your participation does help researchers better understand the reactions to dialects in Lebanon.

#### **C. Confidentiality**

Your name or other identifiers will not be attached to your answers so that your confidentiality can be maintained.

Your privacy will be ensured in that all data resulting from this study.

To secure the confidentiality of your responses, your name and other identifying information will never be attached to your answers. All codes and data are kept in a locked drawer in a locker room or in a password protected computer that is kept secure. Data access is limited to the Principal Investigator and researchers working directly on this project. Your name or other identifying information will not be used in our reports or published papers. The data will be stored for up to 3 years as per AUB archive policy.

#### **D. Contact Information**

1. If you have any questions, you are free to ask them now.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, you may contact me at [tis03@mail.aub.edu](mailto:tis03@mail.aub.edu) or at 76660137 or Dr. Lina Choueiri at [lc01@aub.edu.lb](mailto:lc01@aub.edu.lb)

2. If you are not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about research or your rights as a participant, please contact the AUB Social & Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (SBSIRB) at AUB: [irb@aub.edu.lb](mailto:irb@aub.edu.lb), or at 01350000 ext. 5445.

#### **E. Participant rights**

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to leave the study at any time without penalty. Your decision not to participate is no way influences your relationship with AUB. You are free to skip any question that you prefer not to answer. You will be emailed a copy of this consent form.

I have read the above information and have sufficient information to make a decision about participating in this study. I consent to participate in the study.

## APPENDIX C

### Demographic Survey

Choose the answer that applies to you.

1. Gender:

- a. Man
- b. Woman
- c. Neither, specify \_\_\_\_\_

2. Age:

- a. 18-22
- b. 23-35
- c. 36-45
- d. 45-50
- e. 51-64

3. Place of birth:

- a. Beirut
- b. Tripoli
- c. Saida

5. My mother is from:

- a. Beirut
- b. Tripoli
- c. Saida
- d. Syria
- e. Palestine
- f. Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

6. I am:

- a. A student
- b. Employed
- c. Unemployed

## APPENDIX D

1. The speaker is from:

- Lebanon
  
- Palestine
  
- Syria

2. The speaker's dialect shows that they are:

--	--	--	--

Educated Illiterate

3. The speaker's dialect shows that they are:

--	--	--	--

Cultivated Ignorant

4. The speaker's dialect is:

--	--	--	--

Elegant Embarrassing

5. The speaker's dialect shows that they are:

--	--	--	--

Friendly Arrogant

6. The speaker's dialect indicates that they are:

--	--	--	--

Rich Poor

7. This dialect is suitable for:

--	--	--	--

Office jobs Farming jobs

8. The dialect is suitable for jobs that:

--	--	--	--

Deal with clients Do not deal with clients



## APPENDIX E

### Assessment Sheet for Speakers

1. In which area have you lived most of your life? في أي منطقة عشت معظم حياتك؟
2. Do you consider your region to be dialectically diverse? هل تعتبر منطقتك متنوعة اللهجات؟
3. Do you consider your school/university to be dialectically diverse? هل تعتبر مدرستك/جامعتك متنوعة اللهجات؟
4. Do you consider your social group to be dialectically diverse? هل تعتبر حلقتك الإجتماعية متنوعة اللهجات؟
5. Give me a sound and example of a sound in a word that is specific to the dialect x. إعطني صوت ومثال عنه في كلمة تستخدم في اللهجة هذه.
6. Give me a word that is specific to the dialect x. أعطني كلمة تستخدم في اللهجة هذه.

## APPENDIX F

### Preparation Sheet

#### Legend:

L: In Lebanese

2: أ

3: ع

7: ح

Red color: Arabizi pronunciation + English translation

### Beiruti Lebanese Arabic

#### Phonology:

##### [ɑ] instead of [a] or [e]

جاري [ʒɑ.ɪe] instead of [ʒɑ.ɪe] /jare → jore/ (my neighbor)

مقّة [mɑʔte] instead of [meʔte] /me2te → mo2te/ (cucumber)

##### [e] instead of [ə]

اشبك؟ [eʃbek] instead of [eʃbək] /eshbak → eshbeik/ (what is wrong with you?)

##### [ʒ] instead of [z]

قزاز [ʔʒez] instead of [ʔzez] /2zez → 2jez/ (glass)

#### Lexicon:

كأكي [kɑke] instead of [xɑ.ɪmɑ] /kharma → koke/ (persimmon)

أكي [eke] instead of [ekɪdɪnjə] /ekidinya → eke/ (loquat)

عأيشة خانم [ʕɑjʃe xɑnom] instead of [fəsuljə] /fasoulya → ʒayshe khanom/ (white beans stew)

### Tripoli Lebanese Arabic

#### Phonology:

##### [ɔ] instead of [ɑ]

طرابلس [tɔɔblis] instead of [tɪɑɔblɔs] /trablos → troblis/ (Tripoli)

##### [d] or [z] instead of [ʒ]

جزدان [dɪzden] instead of [ʒɪzden] /jezden → dezden/ (purse)

##### [ʒ] instead of [z]

زنجبيل [ʒənzəbil] instead of [zənzəbil] /zenjabil → jenzabil/ (ginger)

#### Lexicon:

مراكبي [mɪɑkbe] instead of [leɪmun] /laymoun → mrokbe/ (orange)

قأبیط [ʔɑlit] instead of [kəʕkɪt ʕəs.runije] /kaʕket ʒasruniye → 2allit/ (round bread – Kaake)

خبز [xobeʒ] instead of [xɪbeʒ] /khebez → khobeʒ/ (bread)

## **Saidawi Lebanese Arabic**

### **Phonology:**

#### **[t] instead of [tʕ]**

طقس [təʔes] instead of [tʕaʔes]

#### **[æ] instead of [o]**

لوز [læz] instead of [loz] /loz → laz/ (almonds)

خوخ [xæx] instead of [xox] /khokh → khakh/ (prunes)

موز [maz] instead of [moz] /moz → maz/ (bananas)

#### **[b] instead of [v]**

افوكا [abukæto] instead of [avoka] /avoca → abocato/ (avocado)

### **Lexicon:**

تعا يا إلك [təʕə jə ʔelək] instead of [təʕə lə ʔelək] /taʕa la ellak → taʕa ya ellak/ (come, let me tell you)

خمنتك [xəməntək] instead of [fəkəntək] /fakkartak → khammantak/ (I thought you were)

## **Syrian Arabic**

### **Phonology:**

#### **[u] instead of [o]**

إله [ilu] instead of [ilo] / ilo → ilo (his)

#### **[æ] instead of [e]**

سافر [sæfæɪ] instead of [sefæɪ] /sefar → safar/ (he traveled)

صبار [səbæɪ] instead of [səbeɪ] /sabber → sabbar/ (prickly pear)

رمان [ɪmæn] instead of [ɪmen] /remmen → remman/ (pomegranate)

#### **[ɪ] instead of [o]**

حامض [hæmɪd] instead of [hæmod] /hamed → hamod/ (lemon)

### **Lexicon:**

كمترة [kumɪtɪə] instead of [nʒæs] /njas → kummetra/ (pear)

مندلينا [mændəlɪnə] instead of [kələməntɪn] /kalamanteen → mandaleena/ (clementine)

## **Palestinian Arabic**

### **Phonology:**

#### **syllable initial [bəʕ] instead of [ʕ]**

عم بأدرس [ʕəm bə ʔədɾʊs] instead of [ʕəm bɪdɾʊs] /ʕam bedros → ʕam ba adros/ (I'm studying)

**syllable initial [j]**

يأما [jəmə] instead of [məmə] /mama → yamma/ (mom)

يخي [jəxi] instead of [xəje] /khayye → yakhi/ (my brother)

**Removal of epenthetic [ə]**

بندورة [bənduɾa] instead of [bənədɿɾa] /banadoura → bandora/ (tomato)

**Lexicon:**

هلحين [həlħin] instead of [hələʔ] /halla2 → hal7een/ (now)

ورق دوالي [wɾɿɾəʔ dəwəli] instead of [wɾɿɾəʔ ʕɿnəb] /wara2 ʕenab → wara2 dawali/ (wine leaves)

إئي [ʔɿte] instead of [meʔte] /me2te → ette/ (cucumber)

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