CODE-SWITCHING IN THE SPEECH OF EDUCATED AND UNEDUCATED LEBANESE ARABIC SPEAKERS— ACCORDING TO TOPIC AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

By

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A.U.B.
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AND UNEDUCATED LEBANESE ARABIC SPEAKERS
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By

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July 1986
Date
- System of Transcription
- Design of the Questionnaire Investigating the Motives of Codeswitching
- Procedure

CHAPTER IV.............................................. 75

Results of the Study
- Results of the Spoken Data
- Results of the Questionnaire

CHAPTER V.............................................. 101

Conclusions and Recommendations
- Analysis of the Spoken Data
- Analysis of the Questionnaire Responses
- Recommendations

BIBLIOGRAPHY........................................... 155
Abstract

This study examines the ways in which education and the topic of conversation affect the extent of classicization of speech in Lebanon on the phonemic and lexical levels. It also examines the attitudes of the Lebanese towards two Arabic varieties, namely Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Lebanese Arabic (LA). Two educated and two uneducated informants from the village of Nabay were interviewed and asked questions on topics with different degrees of formality. Samples of the speech of these informants were compared. A questionnaire was also administered to a sample of sixty-four educated Lebanese youths to examine their attitudes towards MSA and LA, the role of each variety, and the extent of similarity between them.

Results indicate that the bulk of the speech of both groups remain colloquial. Some MSA expressions are used by both groups. The educated tend to use more of these expressions. The informants tend to use more MSA expressions when the topic is formal than when the topic is informal. However, this is clearer in the speech of the educated group. The informants have positive attitudes towards both MSA and LA, although they do not find them similar.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Tables</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Consonants of MSA and LA</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vowels of MSA and LA</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Percentage of MSA and LA usage on the phonemic level in the spontaneous speech</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The means of MSA and LA usage on the phonemic level in the spontaneous speech</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Percentage of MSA and LA usage on the lexical level in the spontaneous speech</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The means of MSA and LA usage on the lexical level in the spontaneous speech</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Percentage of MSA and LA usage in the structured speech (picture stories)</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The means for MSA and LA usage in the structured speech (picture stories)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Percentage of MSA and LA usage in the structured speech (repetition)</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. The means for MSA and LA usage in the structured speech (repetition)</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Percentage of MSA and LA usage in the structured speech (picture association test)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. The means of MSA and LA usage in the structured speech (picture association test)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Attitudes towards LA and MSA</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Dialects closer to LA than MSA</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Means of categories</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF APPENDIXES</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF APPENDIXES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Plan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Significance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Limitations of the Study</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of Literature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Diglossia: Definition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Diglossia in the Arabic Language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Classical Arabic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Colloquial Arabic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Modern Standard Arabic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Educated Spoken Arabic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Topic as a Variable in Code Selection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Education as a Variable in Code Selection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Attitude as a Variable Determining Linguistic Shift</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Informants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Selection of the Linguistic Variable to Investigate the Occurrence and Structure of Codeswitching</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design and Materials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_ iv _
CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Diglossia in Arabic has been the subject of much controversy among researchers and the conclusion has been almost always the same: diglossia is a problem.¹ Diglossia is defined as the existence side by side of two levels of language—the written or classical or standard or high variety and the spoken or colloquial or dialectal or low variety.² The high variety is not the native tongue of anyone and is not used for oral everyday communication in the speech community, hence the difficulty of acquiring it. It is acquired in the school and not in the home environment.


²Charles A. Ferguson, "Diglossia," Word, 15, No. 2 (1959), 325.
which makes it very similar in many respects to a foreign language. Ferguson, p.331.

Diglossia comes into being in a speech community as a result of the spread of illiteracy in that specific speech community. Ferguson, p.336.

Belkin believed that in the case of Arabic, illiteracy has been the main cause for the separation of standard Arabic and the colloquial. Belkin, p.26.

He, however, added:

Evidence is available that in the last thirty to sixty years, some dialects on the whole have become, somewhat closer to the language of the newspapers and books than they were before. Among educated people a common spoken Arabic is forming, whose principal source is the literary language. Belkin, p.26.

Anis Frayha called this language 'Common Educated Arabic' and defined it as:

The language spoken by educated Arabs from different countries whenever they meet and interact. It is the spoken Arabic used in Arab universities, educational clubs, and distinguished societies which came into being under the influence of mass media, tourism, trade, political and social relations. Frayha, Nahwa, Arabiyya Kuyassara, p.101.

Furthermore, Falva in a study carried out in 1969 on educated Palestinian Arabs found out that they...
code-switched from ordinary colloquial to a more elevated Middle Standard Arabic (MSA) when the topic changed from informal to formal although the speakers were members of the same speech community.  

Purpose

The purpose of the present study is to investigate how the variables of education and the topic of conversation affect the extent of classicization of speech in Lebanon on the phonemic and lexical levels. It compares samples of the speech of a group of university students and graduates with samples of the speech of a group with primary education. The topics center on those that elicit formal and informal communication. All the informants come from the Lebanese village of Nabay in Mount Lebanon.

Plan

The examination of the speech at the phonemic and lexical levels takes place through examining the occurrence of certain features which are treated differently in Middle Standard Arabic (MSA) and Lebanese Arabic (LA). These features have been selected on the basis of the

8 Falutz, p.40
results of previous studies on the language of educated Arabic speakers and on the basis of previous LA dialect studies. A pilot study has been carried out to examine and verify the selection of these features.

On the lexical level a representative list of 134 nouns and verbs of everyday usage covering semantic areas like body parts, animals, furniture, dwelling, family, dress, plants, and food was investigated also in a pilot study to find out if it satisfied the purpose of the research. Out of the 134 items, 95 items were selected. The other 39 items were discarded mainly because these items proved to be difficult to be illustrated in spite of the fact that some pictures were redrawn. This is explained in detail in chapter three under the sub-heading 'design and materials'.

Furthermore, the attitude of the village's educated youth towards MSA and LA was investigated by means of an attitude questionnaire.


The study was divided into five chapters. Chapter one presented the background. Chapter two dealt with the review of related literature. Chapter three dealt with the methodology of research. Chapter four presented the results of the study. Chapter five presented the conclusions and recommendations.

Significance

This study may help to identify existing differences between the two varieties of Arabic and to show which forms of the two varieties are in actual use on the phonemic and lexicical levels. This identification might present a preliminary contribution to the task of language reformers attempting to narrow the gap between the two varieties. Such a narrowing is important for educational purposes because children would not need then to study at school a language that is too detached from the one they acquire at home.

Also the study of language attitudes would determine which forms are stigmatized and which are prestigious. This, in addition to the study of actual use, may help in predicting which forms are likely to survive and which are likely to die out, a prediction which may be of use for language planners.
Limitation of the Study

This study does not encompass more than selected features which carry difference between MSA and LA in terms of phonology and lexicon.

Furthermore, the fact that an increasing number of colloquial lexicon is used more and more by the mass media is giving this bulk of lexicon a standard status thus rendering the classification of lexicon as MSA or LA a difficult and imprecise job in many instances.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Diglossia: Definition

Although the term diglossia has appeared early in linguistic literature in the writings of Karl Krumbacher (1902) and Marcus (1930), it was Ferguson in his article "Diglossia" (1959) who gave the first widely adopted definition of the term. He defined it as the existence in many speech communities of two or more varieties of the same language used by speakers under different conditions. Ferguson proposed a definition of diglossia built on four language situations, namely, Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole. Nine features were said to be present in a diglossic speech community:

1. no overlapping functions between/among the varieties;
2. the standard has greater prestige;
3. the standard has a literary heritage;

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4. the spoken is acquired at home while the standard is learned at school;
5. the standard has a well-established code;
6. diglossia continues for a long time;
7. the standard has a more complex grammar;
8. the bulk of lexicon is shared but differences exist;
9. the spoken is the basic phonological system shared by both.  

Ferguson called the superposed variety 'high' and the other variety 'low', referring in the case of Arabic to classical and colloquial Arabic simultaneously.  

Dell Hymes viewed diglossia as "an excellent example of coexistence in the same community of mutually unintelligible codes."  

John Gumperz and Joshua Fishman extended the term diglossia to include the speech behavior of any society in which two or more varieties were used under distinct circumstances. Fishman, for example, referred to Paraguayan  

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2 Ferguson, "Diglossia," 336.
3 Zughoul, 202.
4 Zughoul, 202.
example of diglossia although the high variety was Spanish and the low was Guarani, thus making diglossia and bilingualism indistinguishable.  

Alan Kaye had a different approach to the issue. He said that according to Ferguson the function or role played by each variety in the community serves to distinguish diglossia from other language contact situations, particularly, bilingualism. In some situations, however, which Ferguson labels 'semi-formal', both varieties are appropriate; and under these circumstances, speakers mix the two varieties using elements from both in a highly variable way — a variation which in Ferguson's words, is 'embrasingly random'. Kaye considered the diglossic situation in Arabic flexible and changeable rather than stable as Ferguson previously stated. He explained the difference between the varieties in terms of ill-defined vs. well-defined, the well-defined system being Colloquial Arabic and the ill-defined system being Modern Standard Arabic. He added that no ill-defined system is stable. Hawkins in "Diglossia Revisited" (1983) criticized fishman's definition of diglossia in that it applied both


to diglossia and bi- and multi-lingualism, "it fails to account for the differences and it weakens the term itself through ever-generalization." 8

Furthermore, Ferguson's definition was criticized by Hawkins as applying to other types of situations involving two or more languages or dialects including creoles. 9

Ferguson's outline of diglossia is based on uses of the codes, rather than on the codes themselves, and therefore, fails to distinguish true diglossia of the Greek or Arabic type from the dialect-creole situation which are so similar in many ways, yet so different in others. 10

Hawkins advanced a definition of diglossia on the basis of the codes themselves adding that no high or low variety existed since the relationship between the two is not a static but a process one. Intermediate varieties presented a problem since a text might contain examples of high and low varieties simultaneously. 11

Because of the above contradictions, the view which stated that the perception of a situation as diglossic or not depended largely on language attitudes is true to a large extent. 12

9 Hawkins, 13.
10 Hawkins, 14-15.
11 Hawkins, 16.
12 Hatte Biejer, Future of Arabic, TS, p.2.
Since the codes, or one of them at least, are not well-defined, a definition of diglossia based on the codes themselves is practically inexistent. In other words it is self-contradictory to give a definition based on an ill-defined given or term. On the other hand Ferguson presents a neat definition based on the use of the codes. This definition which is adopted in this research provides a solid base for study.

Diglossia in the Arabic Language

The diglossic situation in the Arab World has been in existence for many centuries, probably since the pre-Islamic period (before 7th century A.D.), but no definite answer has been given to the question of the emergence of this situation.\(^{13}\) The major controversy rotated around the question whether the dialects had diverged during the period of decline from one unique classical origin or whether the already existent old dialects formed a 'koine' on which the language of the Koran was based. The last hypothesis implied that even in Ancient Arabia no one spoke classical Arabic (CA) and that poets had to study the classical.\(^{14}\)

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\(^{13}\) Altomes, p.4.

\(^{14}\) Belkin, p.4.
Ferguson, in "the Arabic Koine" called the occurrence of certain features a natural development or 'drift' continuing early trends which could take place in separate dialects thus questioning their nature as features of an earlier and consequently a modern MSA. However, he argued, modern dialects agreed with one another as against CA in a number of features which could not be interpreted as a natural development. Ferguson presented fourteen such features of which three were lexical, one phonological, and the rest morphological which proved the existence of an ancestor for MSA, an Arabic koine, "a common non-classical source from which the dialects have developed." Those features were:

1. loss of the dual form of adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, also change in the nature of the concord with the dual. Thus the dual nouns in the dialects required plural as in CA /baytaani kabiraani/ 'two large houses' became in the Syrian dialect /besteen khaar/.

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16 Ferguson, "Arabic Koine," 618.
17 Ferguson, "Arabic Koine," 620-621.
2. taltalah defined as the use of /i/ or zero in the colloquial for CA /a/ in some inflectional affixes like the prefix of the imperfect e.g. CA /ta-/ in /taftahu/ 'you open' became colloquial /tiiftah/.

3. loss of final -wa- verbs e.g. CA /yaqzuw/ 'he raids' became colloquial /yiizi/.

4. Re-formation of geminate verbs, so instead of forming the first and second person forms of the perfect analogous to those of sound verbs as in CA / ḥa'ilatu/ 'I untied', the dialect forms were analogous to final weak forms / ḥa'ilast/.

5. The verb suffix -l- 'to, for' which was in CA a relational prefix li- 'to, for' as in /li:/ 'for me' and an independent preposition /lāla/ 'to, toward'. In the modern dialects the prefix and preposition have been combined and reformed differently. However, in all dialects the reflex of li- with pronoun ending were added directly to verbs as a suffix -l-. Thus CA /kataba līl/ 'he wrote to me' became LA 'katabilt'.

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18 Ferguson, "Arabic Koine," 621.
6. Cardinal numbers 3 - 10 in CA occurred in two forms: 1. with the feminine ending /-ah/ antium and -at/ used with masculine nouns e.g. /xamsatu buyuutin/ 'five houses', and 2. a masculine form used with feminine nouns e.g. /xamsa/ gurafin/ 'five rooms'. In the dialects the form with the feminine ending was used when there was no following noun e.g. /xamsa/ 'five' for CA /xamsatun/ 'F. five' and /xamsun/ 'M. five', while the masculine form was used before nouns of both genders e.g. /xams buyuut/ 'five houses' and /xams guraf/ 'five rooms'. Also many modern dialects replaced the glottal stop, with which a number of plural nouns began, with a /t/ when they were preceded by a number from 3 - 10 e.g. CA /xamsatu ḫayyaamin/ 'five days' became colloquial /xams tiyyam/.\(^{21}\)

7. /t/ in the number 13 - 19 was given emphasis. /t/ appeared when forms in CA associated with a following masculine noun have been generalized and emphasis was given or /t/ become /t/ e.g. /xams-taghar gurfe/ 'fifteen rooms'.\(^{22}\)

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\(^{21}\) Ferguson, "Arabic Koine," 624-625.

\(^{22}\) Ferguson, "Arabic Koine," 626.
8. Loss of the feminine comparative, thus CA
/ʔaːiqurfatu lihbarra/ became colloquial /lqurfər
laʔakbar/ 'the largest room'.

9. Adjective plural /fu9aːl/ existed in the dialects
while CA did not have it e.g. CA /kibaːr/ became
colloquial /kbaːr/ or /kubaːr/ etc. 'big'.

10. Nisbah suffix /-iyy > -il/ e.g. CA
/ɡarabiyy/ 'Arabic' became /ɡarabi/.

11. The verb 'to bring' which had two CA manifestations
/ʔatː bi/ and /jaaʔa bi/ both became dialectal
/jaab/ the fusion of /jaaʔa/ and /bi/-.

12. The verb 'to see' CA /raʔaː/ became dialectal
/raiʃ/.

13. The relative /illa/ was used in the dialects instead
of CA /allaʔi/ and all its feminine, dual, and
plural forms. Sometimes /l-/, /halli/, or
/yalli/ were used.

21 Ferguson, "Arabic Koiné," 626-627.
24 Ferguson, "Arabic Koiné," 627.
14. The merger of /daad/ and /zaʔ/. No non-Arabian dialect preserved both. If a dialect preserved /ʔaʔ/ then /ʔaʔ/ was used for both interdental emphatics. In dialects which had CA /ʔaʔ/ as /td/ the reflex /d/ of the interdental emphatics existed. 27

At this stage we need to discuss and define four main varieties of Arabic: Classical Arabic (henceforth CA); Lebanese dialect (henceforth LA); Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA); and Educated Spoken Arabic (henceforth ESA). The last two varieties are recent developments 28 and are sometimes erroneously mixed up.

**Classical Arabic**

It is also called Literary or Standard Arabic or al-Fusha and is primarily a written language. CA reflects rules written down by 9th century A.D. philologists. 29

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27 Ferguson, "Arabic Koine," 630.
28 Zughouli, 203.
It is based on three sources: 1. Pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry; 2. The Koran; 3. The Traditions (al-Hadîth).\textsuperscript{30} CA is not normally used in everyday oral communication. However, it is used in formal situations such as "sermons, meetings, conferences, documents, paperwork in government agencies, and all other formal purposes throughout the Arab World."\textsuperscript{31} The literary and intellectual heritage of the past is recorded in CA. For that reason, beside having that intimate relation with Islam, CA has been seldom paralleled in its stability over a long period of history.\textsuperscript{32} Moreover, CA "has been the official language of all the Arab countries, the mainstay of Arab nationalism."\textsuperscript{33} CA is characterized by:

1. Having a complicated and stable grammatical system established by traditional grammarians eleven centuries ago.

2. Being highly inflectional. It adds a short vowel as a marker, /ʔ\textsuperscript{i}a\textsuperscript{rab}/, which marks mood, case, number, gender, and all grammatical functions.


\textsuperscript{31} Zughouli, 204.

\textsuperscript{32} Zughouli, 203-204.

\textsuperscript{33} Zughouli, 204.
3. Distinguishing, on the morphological level between singular, dual, and plural number, also between feminine and masculine gender. Adjectives agree with nouns in number and gender.

4. Having a rich lexicon.

5. Not being a 'natural' language in the sense that it is learned in the school environment and not acquired natively.34

**colloquial Arabic**

It is also referred to as Dialectal, Spoken, or Vernacular Arabic. Colloquial Arabic, in contrast to CA, is neither homogenous nor static. It is in a state of constant flux.35

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34 Zughoul, 204.

Colloquial Arabic is characterized by:

1. Being the native variety of both the literate and illiterate. It is "what native speakers of Arabic are native speakers of." It is acquired in the home environment and is used in everyday oral communication in the home, market, and informal situations.

2. Being simpler than CA in syntax and lexicon. It deletes the /?alab/ inflections, rarely uses the dāl, and forms the plural in a simple fashion. Its vocabulary is more familiar and more open to borrowings from other languages.

3. Having, on the phonological level almost all the sounds of CA in addition to some phonemes foreign to CA. Some phonemes of CA are changed in the colloquial e.g. an inter-dental fricative CA /θ/ generally corresponds to LA /t/ or /s/ as in CA /maθal/ 'example' which becomes either /masal/ or /matal/.

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36 Zughoul, 205.

4. Not having a written system so it cannot be used as a medium of instruction.

5. Having many varieties. The most important are: The Syro-Lebanese, the Egyptian, the Iraqi and Gulf, the Maghribi and North African varieties etc...

Modern Standard Arabic

It has also been called Modern Literary, written, or Newspaper Arabic. Kaye in "Remarks on Arabic Diglossia" said that ill-definedness was the real nature of MSA and that it was futile to attempt writing a grammar for it.

Although MSA is a written language it has as many oral versions as there are colloquials. The skill of the speaker and his colloquial dialect affect the recitation of written texts of MSA. Harrell (1964) in his study "A Linguistic Analysis of Egyptian Radio Arabic" found that spoken MSA differed from the relatively uniform written MSA because spoken MSA was affected by phenomena not mentioned by grammar like juncture, intonation, and stress.

38 Zuqbi, 206.
Zughoul in "Diglossia in Arabic" said that MSA appeared with the development of journalism and the spread of mass media. Newspapers have been written and the news and cultural educational radio programs have been broadcast in MSA. MSA is a simplified form of CA.\(^{41}\) Stetkevych in The Modern Arabic Literary Language: Lexical and Stylistic Developments studied the development of CA into MSA. He said that "the overall impression is that such a language is clear, precise, and self-explanatory,\(^{42}\) and that it is "modern only insofar as it is a culturally new language.\(^{43}\) He added that "Arabic continues morphologically, to be a Semitic language, still very much the classical al-Fusha.\(^{44}\)"

He added,

Modern Arabic is moving away from both the classical and the colloquial languages. While retaining the morphological structure of classical Arabic, syntactically and, above all, stylistically it is coming ever closer to the form and spirit of the large, suprageneric family of Western culture bearing languages.\(^{45}\)

\(^{41}\) Zughoul, 206.


\(^{43}\) Stetkevych, p.117.

\(^{44}\) Stetkevych, p.119.

\(^{45}\) Stetkevych, p.121.
On the other hand, Najm Beizirgan wrote about "an emerging tendency in MSA towards writing in a style similar to that of the 'great stylists of the medieval period'", thus viewing MSA as a continuation of CA in spite of the changes in its syntax and style.

MSA is that variety of Arabic that is found in contemporary books, newspapers, and magazines, and that is used orally in formal speeches, public lectures, learned debates, religious ceremonies and in news broadcasts over radio and television... Its grammatical system is explicitly stated in the grammar books and its lexicon is embodied in dictionaries. The main characteristics of MSA are:

1. It has the same sound system as CA.
2. It has the same syntactic rules of CA but chooses the easier.
3. It uses the morphology of CA.
4. The lexicon is the only practical difference between MSA and CA where MSA uses easier and more frequent vocabulary in addition to employing calques and borrowed terminology. (Calque means

46 Zughoul, 208.
47 Zughoul, 208.
49 Zughoul, 207.
a loan translation or a linguistic borrowing that consists of the imitation in one language of a part of the meaning of particular word in another language. 50

5. MSA is a written language and not a spoken one. 51

Its oral version is manifested in oral recitation of written texts where the skill and knowledge of a reciter play a part in conveying the elements not indicated in the written text, namely, unwritten case and mood endings, correctly or in using them at all. 52

Educated Spoken Arabic:

Very little is known about MSA as used in individual Arab countries and among them. 53 MSA is not well-defined. It does not constitute a single and uniform variety especially on the phonological level. "At best it is a supersystem the phonemic inventories of which reflect the differences

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51 Zughoul, 207.
52 Cowan, 32.
53 El-Hassan, 113.
produced when members of different varieties speak or read Modern Literary Arabic. 54 ESA has been used to describe the language used by educated Arabic speakers coming from different countries or the same country for mutual communication. 55 Altoma wrote that

Between classical and colloquial forms of Arabic there exists a variety of intermediary Arabic often called /al-luga al-wustā/, 'the middle language', and described as a result of classical and colloquial fusion. The basic features of this middle language are predominantly colloquial, but they reveal a noticeable degree of classical especially in the use of lexical items. 56

Ferguson defined ESA as the attempt of the Arabs to speak classical Arabic. Objections to the word attempt have arisen. 57 Anis Frayha called it the 'Common Educated Arabic' and defined it as:

The language spoken by educated Arabs from different countries whenever they meet and interact. It is the spoken Arabic used in Arab universities, educational clubs, and distinguished societies which came into being under the influence of mass media, tourism, trade, political and social relations.

55 Zughouli, 206.
56 Altoma, p.4.
This Arabic dialect common to members of distinguished society is not Arablized but is a colloquial yet not a localized variety. It depends on classical Arabic for all its vocabulary, syntax, and phrases. As a result of numerous studies on the speech of educated Arabs the main features of ESA have been identified as follows:

1. SVO word order used in colloquial is employed. On the grammatical level, in general, dialectal features are predominant.

2. Morphological and syntactic rules of the colloquial are used:
   a. abolition of the rules of /ṭiḥraḥ/ and nunation;
   b. simplification of the system of verb conjugation;
   c. the reformation of nontriconsonantal roots into the triconsonantal norm;
   d. smaller number of personal pronouns.

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58 Anis Frayha, Nahwa Carakiya Muyassara, p.181.
59 Zughoul, 206.
60 Blanc, p.91.
61 Zughoul, 206.
64 Ferguson, "Arabic Koine," 619.
1. Lexically, ESA draws heavily on CA and is open to borrowing.  

4. Phonology and phonological processes of ESA are dialectal including:
   a. loss of glottal stop which leads when in final position to merger of final hamzah and final weak verbs;
   b. loss of final [—h] ; [ay] > [ee] and [aw] > [oo] ;
   c. loss of unstressed short [i] and [u] (or phonemes derived from them) in open syllables;
   d. shortening of unstressed long vowels;
   e. vowel assimilation (e.g. /cacic/ > /cicic/) thus suffix alternants are developed which are conditioned by the vocalic or consonantal nature of the preceding phoneme.

5. ESA shows code-switching to foreign languages.

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66 Zughoul, 206.
67 Blanc, p.91; Zughoul, 206.
69 Zughoul, 206.
6. ESA is often used when speakers come from different dialectal areas, when speakers come from the same dialectal area, leveling and classicizing tendencies are weaker. However, that is not always the case.

As we see from the above ESA remains a system that is not clearly defined. For that reason a number of studies have been carried out trying to determine the real nature of this unstructured variety. Ten studies are presented hereafter according to year of appearance.

In 1964 Blanc carried out a study to investigate the variations of style in the spontaneous speech of educated speakers of different Arabic dialects on the phonetic, and lexical levels. He found out that certain leveling devices occurred in certain situations, usually interdialectal, where the speaker might replace certain features of his native dialect with their equivalents in CA or in dialect carrying higher prestige. Various classicisms were used as stylistic devices the choice of which depended, among other things, upon the topic.

70 Blanc, p.91
71 Palva, p.40.
72 Blanc, p.82
73 Blanc, p.84.
Blanc concluded that ESA was unstructured saying:

"It is the exception rather than the rule to find any sustained segment of discourse in a single one of the style varieties alluded to. Speakers tend to pass from one to the other, sometimes within a single sentence."

Furthermore, Blanc analysed his paper, not in the framework of high and low dichotomy but in the frame of five stylistic levels, namely 'plain colloquial', 'koinéized colloquial', 'semi-literary', 'modified classical' and 'standard classical'.

Bishai (1966) named ESA Modern Inter-Arabic because as he put it "at the present time it is used in various inter-Arabic meetings which include representatives from different countries of the Arabic Middle East." Bishai selected data consisting of twenty columns from the record of Arab unity debates. The participants were from Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. He also studied a short recorded speech by President Bourguiba of Tunisia. Apart from relatively a few instances of colloquialisms the text generally complied

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74 Blanc, p. 85.
75 El-Hassan, 119.
to most of the morphology and syntax of classical Arabic without its case and state endings.  

Another study was carried by Palva (1969) entitled Notes on Classicization in Modern Colloquial Arabic. The study investigated the spontaneous speech of a number of educated Palestinian Arabic speakers.  

The result indicates that the interference of the classical language is of a relatively superficial nature even when the classicisms and corrections are frequent. The range of style variation does not even cover the space between the standard classical and dialect but the 'godified classical' and the 'elevated' colloquial.

The formality of the style was influenced by the topic of conversation and the language was elevated to a semi-literary level mainly because of the formal situation rather than the education of the speaker. In the slightly formal type of speech, the 'elevated colloquial', the classicisms were restricted almost exclusively to the lexicon. Dialectal words were freely used by all speakers, even in passages where the classicizing tendency was greatest.

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77 Bishai, 321.  
78 Palva, p.41.  
79 Palva, p.18 & 40.  
80 Palva, p.50.  
81 Palva, p.39.
Palva concluded that
the 'elevated' colloquial used here is making the road smoother for a modern Arabic koine... but the result of the present study leads to a certain scepticism as to the potentiality of such developments in a predictable span of time.82

Badawi in his Levels of Contemporary Egyptian Arabic (1973) recognized five levels in contemporary Egyptian Arabic. He called the third level 'Vernacular of the Educated' /Saammiyystu lmu@aqafiiin/ which he said was a colloquial variety influenced by both CA and a variety of contemporary topics which call for the use of a certain extent of CA.83 On the phonetic level this variety derived from: 1. the Literary language; 2. the colloquial; 3. a few foreign languages. Thus for most phonemes two or more manifestations were available e.g. /θ/ could be manifested as /θ/, /s/, or /f/. However, Badawi did not say what determined the choice of each.84

On the morphological level CA morphemes underwent considerable change. He cited the thirteen term demonstrative system of CA as an example. According to Badawi this system was reduced to a five term colloquial system

82 Palva, p.41.
83 El-Hassan, 125-126.
84 El-Hassan, 127.
i.e. /3a/ (singular masculine), /di/ (singular feminine),
/dool/ (plural masculine and feminine), /hina/ (near
spatial reference), and /hinaah/ (far spatial reference).

Ezzat (1974) in a monograph entitled Intelligibility
among Arab Dialects discussed the features of educated
Arabic as represented in the speech of five educated Arabic
speakers from five different Arab countries (Egypt, Jordan,
Palestine, Bahrain, and Algeria). The speech of the
informants, wrote Ezzat, "is a fair representative of
educated spoken Arabic." Ezzat observed that educated
Arabs used "hosts of classical words and expressions," and
made adjustments in a particular situation where a
speaker replaced some of his dialectal features by those of
his addresses. Ezzat gave an account of the similarities
and differences in RSA varieties at the phonological,
grammatical, and lexical level. He observed that diver-
gencies occurred mostly on the lexical level but not to
the extent of unintelligibility. He found that two main

85 El-Hassan, 127.
86 Ali Ezzat, Intelligibility among Arabic Dialects
(Beirut: Beirut Arab University, 1974), p.9.
87 Ezzat, p.10.
88 Ezzat, p.12.
89 Ezzat, p.44.
principles govern the relation among the five dialects under study: 1. the similarities between the educated varieties were more than the difference, and 2. there was intelligibility among the educated speakers. El-Hassan in "Educated Spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant" (1977) criticized Ezzat's work as unsatisfactory for two reasons: "(1) the author sets out to describe the intelligibility of ESA, but he seems to have confused ESA with the colloquials, [and] (2) the author's statement is suprisingly inadequate." Schmidt (1974) in "Sociostylistic Variation in Spoken Egyptian Arabic: A Re-examination of the Concept of Diglossia" sought to examine whether Arabic diglossia involved two levels of style, or five, or a continuum of styles implying that if more than a classical colloquial dichotomy existed then a kind of ESA existed. Among the informants were educated and working class Egyptians. Nine linguistic variables which shifted between CA and Egyptian colloquial Arabic were chosen to investigate their variation with regard to stylistic level among other things. The results could not be described within a two grammar CA/colloquial analysis. The lexicon, for example, could not

90 El-Hassan, 130.
91 El-Hassan, 129.
be divided into CA and not CA items. Schmidt wrote that between the CA and colloquial ends there existed other stylistic levels where most lexical items arranged themselves, that is, somewhere in the middle of a kind of a CA-colloquial continuum. 92

El-Hassan in “Educated Spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant” (1977) analyzed a representative sample of the speech of educated spoken Arabic collected over three months in 1976 in Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Kuwait. The data comprised unscripted and unprepared conversation. El-Hassan aimed through such an analysis to demonstrate the inadequacy of the conclusion reached in Blanc’s study. He stated the following results:

1. It was wrong to give the generalization that no instances of CA /bijraab/ occurred. 93

2. Negative particles were not entirely dialectal in the sample of ESA analyzed here but included CA particles such a /qayr/, /lam/, /laysa/, /laa/ e.g. /haddihi sadawat laa yastagnii 9ansa /insaan/ which occurred in the speech of an Arabic specialist talking to a group of six people about the aims of teaching Arabic in schools. 94

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93 El-Hassan, 121.
94 El-Hassan, 122.
3. CA passive forms were numerous in this sample of ESA e.g. /yusawar/, /yuqara/, /tursam/ as in /kaan yusawar gala ihawa?/ which occurred in the speech of a Lebanese actor talking about his experience to an interviewer from Radio Jordan. 95

4. Numerals were not 'entirely' colloquial although colloquial numbers tend to occur more frequently than CA ones in ESA. 96

5. Word order was not entirely dialectal. 97

in a later article entitled "Variation in the Demonstrative System in Educated Spoken Arabic" (1978) which he considered a continuation of his previously mentioned article, El-Hassan carried out a detailed study of the demonstrative system of ESA as it was currently spoken in Egypt and the Levant. He tried to illustrate that MSA, ESA, and colloquial Arabic formed a continuum. "These varieties of Arabic are neither discrete nor homogenous; rather they are characterized by gradation and variation." 98 El-Hassan summed up his

95 El-Hassan, 123.
96 El-Hassan, 124.
97 El-Hassan, 125.
conclusions as follows:

1. The frequencies of occurrence in the speech of mixed groups of informants of different nationalities are:
   
a) irrespective of being prestigious or stigmatized (where prestigious forms were CA forms and the stigmatized forms were the colloquial forms) the singular near occurred more than the singular far which occurred more than the plural;

b) all groups used prestigious and stigmatized forms. The Jordanians and Syrians used the prestigious forms of the singular near category more frequently than the Egyptians and Lebanese;

c) all groups have used a fairly high percentage of the prestige forms;

d) the non-prestigious forms used were not heavily stigmatized;

e) dual forms of the demonstratives occurred only once in /hasayn/.

99 El-Hassan, "Variation," 52.
El-Hassan then gave a limited example of what a 'koineized', pan-Arabic grammar might look like. Out of the given data he considered the commonest of all the demonstrative sub-categories i.e. masculine, singular, near and feminine, singular, near. The percentage of occurrence calculated showed that a pan-Arabic grammar of ESA as spoken in Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon should contain the following variants of the masculine, singular, near demonstrative: /haa^<i>sa/, /haaza/, /haada/, /hayda/, /da/.

As for the feminine, singular, near, the pan-Arabic grammar should contain: /haa^<i>zi(hi)/, /haazi(hi)/, /haadi/, /ha(a)y/, /haydi/, /di/. 100

Shaaban in "Code-Switching in the Speech of Educated Arabs" (1978) studied the conversational speech of educated Arabs of different nationalities to determine its features on the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels. Different topics were covered. Formal Arabic was used whenever the topic was formal and when mutual understanding could not be reached otherwise. 101 Techniques used to achieve mutual intelligibility were modifications

100 El-Hassan, "Variation," 53.
101 Shaaban, 53.
of dialects, borrowings from Formal Arabic, and the use of different verbal and non-verbal clues.\textsuperscript{102} Results showed that in formal situations formal lexicon was mainly used but that phonological features of the dialects still got imposed on it.\textsuperscript{103} Educated Arabs consciously tried to use CA to communicate with Arabs of other nationalities but many familiar dialectal features were retained; thus because of the feeling that Lebanese Arabic was familiar to all, Lebanese speakers showed least shift even in formal speech.\textsuperscript{104} Shaaban concluded that ESA remains dominated by dialectal features especially on the phonological and syntactic level. Code-switching to CA depended on the topic, the country of the speaker, the other participants, and degree of familiarity with other dialects.\textsuperscript{105}

Sallam in "Phonological Variation in Educated Spoken Arabic: A Study of the Uvular and Related Plosive Types" (1980) stated that a lexical item in ESA frequently had more than one variant e.g. /qaal/, /qaa1/, /a1a1/, /kaal/. This was due to differences among speakers, styles, and

\textsuperscript{102} Shaaban, 9.
\textsuperscript{103} Shaaban, 11.
\textsuperscript{104} Shaaban, 18.
\textsuperscript{105} Shaaban, 19.
regional dialects, and to differences in level of education. Sallam investigated in his study several issues. The data analysed was provided by educated Egyptians, Palestinians, Syrians, Jordanians, and Lebanese. The speech was directly observed, unrehearsed, unscripted conversation and discussions covering a wide range of topics and inter-personal relationships.\textsuperscript{106} /q/ was chosen as a variable for the study. Sallam drew the following conclusions:

1. Alternate forms were not free variants but denoted a change in style.

2. [q] forms were associated with formal contexts and education so they were distinguished as stylistically formal and prestigious in educated speech.\textsuperscript{107}

Generally, variability was subject to phonological, lexico-grammatical and extra-linguistic constraints.

There seems to be a lexical continuum of items with an abstract entity realized variously as [q], [g], [k], or [ʔ] ... the use of one 'variant' by a particular speaker is no guarantee that he will use the same 'variant' in other items susceptible to such variation.\textsuperscript{108}


\textsuperscript{107} Sallam, 82.

\textsuperscript{108} Sallam, 88.
The Topic as a Variable in Code Selection

The topic of conversation is defined as "the manifest content or referent of speech." A conversation has a topic when it has "an explicit message with informational content." The topic is said to include "both gross categories such as subject matter (economics, household affairs, gossip), and the propositional content of utterances." Chafe (1976) stated that the topic "sets a spatial, temporal or individual framework which limits the applicability of the main predication of a certain restricted domain." The framework which Chafe talked about can be translated linguistically into "a set of constraints with which a speaker must comply in order to continue 'speaking topically.'"


111 Erwin-Tripp, p.88.

112 George Yule, "Speakers Topics and Major Paratones," Lingua, 52 (1980), 34.

113 Yule, 34.
These constraints were "determined by the accumulation of linguistic contributions, together with their semantic and pragmatic presuppositions from the preceding discourse."

The topic is one of the main variables in interaction. Every individual chooses out of his linguistic repertoire what is suitable for each situation taking into account the topic of discourse among other things. In bilingual situations each type of coding or code-switching is appropriate to the topical and situational features that give rise to it. Certain topics are handled better or more appropriately in one language than in another." This view has been further verified in the studies carried out by Verma (1974), Ervin-Tripp (1964), Fishman et al (1971), Platt (1980), and Greetz (1960).
Greetz mentioned that the content of the interaction was among the things that influenced the choice of dialect level. For example, topics such as religion and politics required a shift in speech usage to a more formal variety.119 Thus we find that the topic and subject matter were relevant to the degree of formality in language.120 Concerning the influence of topic change on shifting from high to low and vice versa in a diglossic situation, Blom and Gumperz called a diglossic situation one in which a code that was relatively distinct from the casual vernacular was used in formal situations. They added that "certain topics and transactional types simply would not occur in casual discourse."121

However, some studies showed that the topic did not influence language shift when the setting was informal, such as the study carried by Gumperz (1964) on three Norwegian groups.122

\[\text{References}\]


122 Pride, p.207.
In most of the ESA studies mentioned above we find that the topic played an important role in determining the direction of shift among the different Arabic varieties, namely, CE, colloquial, ESA and MSA. This was mostly clear in the studies of Blanc, Palva, Badawi, Shaaban, and Sallam. Sallam, for example, discussed the relationship between the occurrence of the CA [q] and the topics of discussion ranging in this specific case over the specialized fields of: home-economics, politics, science, and humanities. Sallam found that although the items containing [q] may occur elsewhere with the other cognates of [q], in these discussions carried out by experts in the field they occurred only with [q].  

Education as a Variable in Code Selection

The discussions mentioned in Sallam's article were carried out by specialists in the field. This might also explain why the CA form was selected. Sallam said that educated Arabs tend to use [q] even in the informal style. Thus he added that "formal education is a decisive factor in the choice of [q]."

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123 Sallam, 95-96.
124 Sallam, 91.
125 Sallam, 91.
Since the high variety is acquired in a school environment, a non-educated speaker, by definition, cannot shift to the high variety or be diglossic unless he has acquired some aspects of the high variety through the mass media in the case of which the acquisition would still be limited. For this reason researchers in the Arabic language say that Arabic diglossia is due to illiteracy, thus implying a close link between diglossic shift and education.

Attitude as a Variable Determining Linguistic Shift

Allport (1935) defined attitude as a mental or neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response to all objects and situations with which it is related.  

Language attitudes are subjective and socially influenced reactions and judgments about a certain language as an adequate or inadequate means of communication.

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126 Belkin, p.1; Chejne, p.8.


In diglossic communities high and low varieties are attitudinally and behaviorally associated with particular domains where each variety is considered to reflect certain values and relationships within the speech community. A group may advocate the expansion of the function of one variety or the other into additional domains.\textsuperscript{129} This is also true in the case of Arabic. Two major trends of attitude towards Arabic diglossia exist: 1. The trend of those who regard the dialects as a deterioration of the once spoken classical and call for the purification of classical from any dialectal influence and the restoration of its spoken status.\textsuperscript{130} 2. The trend that regards the dialects as developments of the classical irrespective of the fact whether the classical was once a spoken language or was just a refined koine for mutual communication among different earlier Arabic tribes.\textsuperscript{131} This group calls for the adoption of a variety of spoken Arabic and could further be sub-divided into two sub-groups:\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{129} Fishman, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{130} Alroma, p.113; Belkin, p.18; Trayha, Nahwa \textit{Arabiyya Muyassara}, p.171; Rabin, p.73; Shaaban, 7.

\textsuperscript{131} Trayha, Nahwa \textit{Arabiyya Muyassara}, pp.172-173; Rabin, p.74.

\textsuperscript{132} Alroma, p.112.
a. Those who regard the dialects as a better means of communication believe that these dialects are closer to life, dynamic and capable of meeting the needs of modern life and easier to teach.\textsuperscript{133} These people call for the elevation of each colloquial variety to the status of a standard language.\textsuperscript{134} Other people of the same group call for the selection of one dialect as a future unifying language for all the Arab World.\textsuperscript{135}

b. Proponents of classical Arabic think that the dialects can not meet all demands of modern life and thus can not completely replace the classical especially in formal and written situations.\textsuperscript{136} Furthermore, this group thinks that a new language is emerging which is seen sometimes as MEA, a simplified version but a continuation of CA, or as ESSA. This subgroup thinks that the gap is narrowing with the spread of literacy, education,

\textsuperscript{133} Belkin, p.20.
\textsuperscript{134} Altoma, pp.112-113; Belkin, p.18; Shaaban, 7.
\textsuperscript{135} Altoma, p.113.
\textsuperscript{136} Belkin, p.21; Shaaban, 7-8.
and mass media. This implies that the crisis in Arabic is not one caused by lack of capacity in Arabic to follow progress but is due to many centuries of decline during colonial rule.

Studies were carried out on the attitudes of the Arabs towards their language. Ferguson in "Myths about Arabic" wrote that:

"Sedentary Arabs generally feel that their own dialect is best, but on certain occasions or in certain contexts will maintain that the Bedouin dialects are better."

Nader (1962) in "A Note on Attitude and the Use of language" reported some attitudes about Arabic in Lebanon. The results showed that tolerance existed between rural and urban dialect communities. Nader added that the answer to the question of "what Arabic is best?" by an Arab depended in part on where the Arab was in the sense that a Damascene visiting Beirut would claim his dialect the best while he would claim that the Bedouin dialect was the best if he was

137 Aitoma, p.113; Belkin, p.19.
138 Belkin, p.25.
141 Fishman, Readings, p.278.
in Damascus. However, none of the informants claimed the
dialect of a town other than his native one as the best.\textsuperscript{142}

El-Dash and Tucker in "Subjective Reactions to Various
Speech Styles in Egypt" (1975) investigated the attitudes of
Egyptians of various ages and educational backgrounds toward
Modern Literary Arabic, colloquial Arabic, Egyptian English,
British English, and American English. It also investigated
how the informants perceived the suitability of these codes
for different communication purposes.\textsuperscript{143} Results showed
that Egyptians were observed to prefer speakers of the
superposed Modern Literary Arabic which was felt to be the
most suitable medium for all situations except home, where
colloquial was preferred.\textsuperscript{144}

Herbolich in "Attitudes of Egyptians toward Various
Arabic Vernaculars" (1979) attempted to investigate the
attitudes of Egyptians of various age levels to four Arabic
dialects: Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi, and Libyan. Results
showed that generally Egyptians rated speakers of their
dialect most favorably. The incorrect identification of the

\textsuperscript{142} Fishman, Readings, p.279.

\textsuperscript{143} Linda El-Dash and G. Richard Tucker, "Subjective
Reactions to Various Speech Styles in Egypt," Linguistics,
166 (1975), 36.

\textsuperscript{144} El-Dash, 57.
nationality of some speakers by the informant may indicate that Egyptians may favor some non-Egyptian dialects more than their own. However, this needs further verification.145

Grotzfeld in "Language Hierarchy and Speaking Arabic: Language Constancy, Variation and Tolerance in an Arabic Dialect Area" stated the following observation about the attitude of ordinary townspeople toward a speaker of literary Arabic in the market place, "he doesn't speak as people do."146 Thus, he added, Literary Arabic was considered a foreign language not suitable for use in everyday life and should be limited to very narrow limits. Arabs, however, seemed always to accept speakers of other colloquials.147

In conclusion, attitudes were found to be changing and sometimes contradictory, hence the necessity of a fresh investigation.

On the other hand, shift in the speech of Arabic speakers was considered by most studies to be great on the phonological level and even greater on the lexical level.

147 Grotzfeld, 86.
Altoma in his book *The Problem of Diglossia in Arabic* wrote that basic morphological and syntactical systems of the colloquial remain more or less intact. None of the classical rules concerning, for example, the case and modal endings, the nominative variant of the dual of masculine sound plural suffix, the feminine variant of adjective ending in /—aan/ and different forms of /allhit/ 'who' are observed in the colloquials.\(^{148}\)

Palva wrote that "the dialectal forms can also be phonemically modified although not as easily as the lexicon."\(^{149}\) He added that the lexicon of the educated Arabs was the most influenced area by CA and the most disposed area to accept new elements.\(^{150}\)

The result of the previously mentioned studies showed areas of phonemic and lexical difference between LA and MSA including features that had two or more clearly different forms in MSA and LA.

On the phonemic level this was true for vowels and consonants. Long vowels showed least shift while short vowels showed greatest shift.\(^{151}\) Medial clusters occurred

\(^{148}\) Altoma, p.115.
\(^{149}\) Palva, p.30.
\(^{150}\) Palva, pp.36 & 38-39.
\(^{151}\) Altoma, p.25.
freely in LA and CA where no initial clusters were allowed in CA. Final clusters occurred in /waqf/ positions in CA, and LA preferred final clusters to insertion of epothetic vowels.

The CA consonants /q/, /w/, /ɣ/, and /ɣ/ among others corresponded to different LA consonants (for further detail see chapter three).

Also on the lexical level certain CA lexemes were not used in LA and were substituted by other lexemes (as an example see appendix B).

As a result the study of codeswitching necessitates the concentration on features such as the above mentioned in order to get a clear idea about the nature of this code-switching.

152 Altoma, pp. 18-19.
153 Altoma, p.19.
154 Abu-Haidar, p.28.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The Informants

The subjects were four volunteers who lived in the village of Nabay which is located to the North East of Beirut in North Lebanon. The subjects were divided into two groups on the basis of education. The first group included a university student and a university graduate. The other group included two informants with primary education only. The subjects have been randomly chosen from among the village youth whose ages ranged from 16 to 30 years. All informants have been born in Nabay and continue to live there leaving the village during the day to work or study.

Selection of the Linguistic Variable to Investigate

the Occurrence and Structure of Codeswitching

A set of phonemic and lexical items were selected to be the variable of this study.

The chosen items or features were selected because they were treated differently in MSA and LA. These features reflected clearly areas of difference which could be easily
detected. They were chosen on the basis of the results of previous studies on ESA and LA.¹

On the phonemic level the following features were examined:

I. Vowels:

1. Absence in LA of unstressed short /i/, /u/, and /a/ in unstressed initial syllables in corresponding MSA forms which results in initial consonant clusters in LA.
   a. MSA /bisaad/ corresponds to LA /bleed/ 'country'.
   b. MSA /turaah/ corresponds to LA /traah/ 'soil'.
   c. MSA /nabii/ corresponds to LA /nbiid/ 'wine'.

2. The realization of short MSA /a/ as /i/ in corresponding LA forms in examples like the following:
   MSA /jabal/ 'mountain' corresponds to LA /jabil/;
   MSA /jaif/ 'eyelid' corresponds to LA /jifn/;
   MSA /lant/ 'you' corresponds to LA /lint/;
   MSA /taifah/ 'she opens' corresponds to LA /tiftah/.

3. The realization of final MSA /a/ phoneme of the singular feminine noun and the singular feminine adjective as /i/ in corresponding LA forms e.g.

¹ Abu-Haidar; Alboun; Blanc; Ferguson, "Arabic Koine"; Frayha, Mu'jem al-`Alif al-'Amma: Palva: Shaaban.
MSA /warda/ 'rose' corresponds to LA /wardi/;
MSA /dhabibiya/ 'golden'f. corresponds to LA /dihabiyya/.

4. The realization of short MSA /u/ as /i/ in initial syllables in a number of nouns in corresponding LA forms e.g. MSA /mukr/ 'thanks' corresponds to /mikr/; MSA /mutilafiya/ 'different' corresponds to LA /mixtilfi/; MSA /muslim/ 'moslem' corresponds to LA /nislim/.

II. Correspondences:

1. The treatment of MSA initial, medial, and final glottal stops /ʔ/ in LA corresponding forms e.g. MSA /ʔaʔkaal/ 'forms, shapes' corresponds to LA /ʔaksel/; MSA /biʔr/ 'well' corresponds to LA /biir/; MSA /samaʔ/ 'sky' corresponds to LA /sama/.

2. The correspondence of MSA /q/ to LA /ʔ/ e.g. MSA /qaʔl/ 'field' corresponds to LA /qaʔl/.

3. The realization of MSA /θ/ as /t/ or /s/ in corresponding LA forms e.g. MSA /θum/ 'garlic' corresponds to LA /tum/; MSA /maʔal/ 'example' corresponds to LA /masal/.
4. The realization of MSA /ḥ/ as /d/ or /z/ in corresponding LA forms e.g. MSA /ḥāhab/ 'gold' corresponds to LA /dāhab/; MSA /ḥill/ 'humiliation' corresponds to LA /zill/.

5. The realization of MSA /z/ as /a/ or /e/ in corresponding LA forms e.g. MSA /zulma/ 'darkness' corresponds to LA /dalmi/ or /zaimi/; MSA /zariif/ 'nice' corresponds to LA /zariif/ while MSA /zail/ 'to stay' corresponds to LA /dail/.

On the lexical level a representative list of nouns of everyday usage denoting semantic areas like body parts, animals, furniture, dwelling, family, dress, plants, and food was investigated in addition to one verb and five adjectives. These items were adopted from Altoma’s lexical list, the Swedish list, Frayha’s dictionary, Mu’jam Matn al-Lugha, and al-Munjid fi al-Lugha. The selection of these specific items (see appendix 9) has taken into consideration the fact that these items show a definite difference between MSA and LA.

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Design and Materials

The following constraints were taken into consideration in designing the interview: 1. the time-limit which did not exceed one and a half hour for one sitting; 2. the need to collect data in a variety of stylistic contexts.

In constructing the interview the questions designed to elicit spontaneous speech were adopted from the works of Labov, Shuy, Wolfram and Riley, and of Wolfram et al. The picture stories and the picture association test modeled after word association tests were strongly influenced by the work of Underwood. The sentence completion test was adopted from Ervin-Tripp and the repetition test was taken from Wolfram.


6 Ervin-Tripp, p.96; Wolfram, p.58.
The interview was divided into two parts. The first part was designed to elicit spontaneous speech while the second part was intended to obtain structured speech.

I. Spontaneous Speech or Conversation (see Appendix E)

This part did not take more than a maximum of thirty minutes. It consisted of a set of questions designed to elicit casual speech on two sets of topics formal and informal. The informal topics were about the informant's hobbies and leisure-time activities, aspirations, interests, and experiences, while the formal topics were about education, fate, and capital punishment.

Special attention was paid to ensure the choice of topics that were familiar to all the informants so that they could talk about them freely.

II. Structural Elicitation

The duration of this part was set as a maximum of 90 minutes. It included illustrations used to elicit word or phrase responses. They were pencil illustrations designed to elicit 206 words covering 11 phonological feature plus 95 lexical items (see appendices A & B).
For each phonological feature at least nine illustrative words were supplied. These words were names for easily-illustrated objects so that no difficulty would arise in producing the desired forms by the informants.

On the lexical level a list of 95 words were chosen for investigation. The lexical items chosen were those which show a difference between their MSA and LA forms in two aspects:

1. Those where the MSA lexeme was a completely different one from the LA lexeme.

2. Those where the forms were similar in both MSA and LA but showed two or more phonological differences.

All the words chosen on the phonemic and lexical levels were chosen on the basis of their reference to certain semantic areas, that is, the human body, names of animals, names of plants, names of fruits and food, dwelling and furniture, names of family members, and names of articles of dress. In addition to the above nouns, the list included a verb, one adverb, and six adjectives. The purpose of limiting the semantic areas of the elicited words was to incorporate them within picture stories relating formal and informal topics in order to investigate the effect of topic variation on MSA and LA usage. The above semantic areas
were chosen because they included words with high illustrative capacity and because they were familiar to all members of the community.

The structural elicitation part was divided into five parts:

A. Picture Stories

The illustrations were arranged and presented in the form of picture stories divided into two parts. The first part covered topics that would elicit informal speech such as a birthday, a wedding, a children's story. The second part covered topics that would elicit formal speech such as a comparison between the physical, mental, and social traits of human-beings and animals, agriculture in Lebanon, and giving advice on residential planning in Lebanon.

7

B. Picture Association Test

Four pictures representing a doll, a Christmas tree, the planet of Mars, and an electric circuit were presented one at a time to each informant. The first two were considered to represent informal topics while the other two formal topics. The informant was asked to name what he saw in the pictures then to say all the words that he could

7 Slobin, p.220
think of or occurred to him when he saw the picture. The purpose was to find out what dialect would be used in association with each picture.

C. Sentence Completion Test: (see Appendix E)

A set of five incomplete sentences were presented one at a time by the interviewer in LA in the first session. The informant was asked to complete the questions with whatever words that come to his mind.

In the second session the informant was asked to complete the same set of incomplete sentences read to him by the interviewer in MSA. The purpose of this test was to find out if formal topics were chosen when the speech was in a certain variety (MSA) while informal topics were chosen when the speech was in another variety (LA).

D. Repetition: (see Appendix E)

Here the interviewer told the informant a funny story in MSA and asked him to tell it himself afterwards. Afterwards, the interviewer provided arguments for the informant in LA relating to the necessity of learning a foreign language beside Arabic. The informant was then asked to repeat the arguments.

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8 Ervin-Tripp, p.96
9 Wolfram, p.58.
In all the parts a mixture of MSA and LA was used. Whenever necessary the two MSA and LA forms of the same item were used in the question e.g. /mittawir/ and /mutatawir/ were used for 'developed'. Also when questionning about the word 'moth' the question included the LA and MSA forms /Øu byeekul ?aw byinkur tt雅eb/ 'what is the thing that eats clothes?'

The purpose of such a test was to find out if the language in which the informant repeated the different passages was influenced by the formality of the topic or not.

The manual was investigated through a pilot study carried out on two educated and two uneducated inhabitants of Nabay. The purpose of the pilot study was to verify the selection of the chosen features and the list as satisfactory representatives of MSA and LA differences. As a result, some changes were introduced on the lexical list. The clarity of the pictures and their ability to elicit the wanted words was also checked. As a result, some pictures were redrawn. Some words were dropped because it was found that they could not be illustrated properly as in 'food', 'furniture' etc... The selection test, where a set of pictures similar to those used in the picture association test were presented to the informants one at a time, was found to be
ineffective. With each picture two phrases, one in LA and the other in MSA, were supplied orally by the interviewer from which the informant was asked to select the word or phrase that best described the picture. The informants were found to make their selection according to the meaning rather than the code. For example, one of the pictures illustrated two women drinking coffee. The two sentences read with it were: MSA /Hadliq mutaNa991b/ 'a divergent conversation' and LA /Hadliik matrah/ 'continue your conversation I am listening'. The informants used to try to find which meaning suited the picture. Sometimes the informants used to respond that either or both would do, especially when the LA and MSA sentences were given almost the same meaning. The purpose of giving both sentences similar meanings was to neutralize the semantic factor in the decision making. This test was to be used to investigate the use of items difficult to illustrate like the verbs 'to see' and 'to enter'; the adverb 'afterwards' etc... As a result these items were left out.

The pilot study also checked if the wording of the tests was appropriate. Phrases from the spontaneous speech of the informants in the pilot study were employed for the sentence completion test. Sometimes, in the picture stories, the major type was identified where the specific kind was
needed as when bird was elicited instead of parrot. In such instances the interviewer tried to help by using neutral words e.g. in the case of 'parrot' the interviewer helped with /byihi/ 'it speaks,'. This strategy succeeded.

The pilot study also checked the wording of the questions for clarity and ease of comprehension. On the basis of feedback from informants regarding the clarity of the manual the particles of affirmation and negation, and the interrogatives were left out because they were found difficult to elicit through pictures or through the other tests.

**Procedure**

The four informants to whom the manual was administered were randomly chosen out of the youth of the village (18 - 30 years). Two of them were educated and two Un-educated. The sex factor was neutralized. The interview which had a total length of two hours was divided into two sittings. The first session did not exceed a 65 minute time-limit. The second session did not exceed a 55 minute time-limit.
The interview was administered and recorded by the researcher who is a member of the informants' community. A Sharp recorder was used. The interviews were recorded on Maxwell and TDK cassettes. Each informant was interviewed individually. At the time of recording, which took place in each informant's house, only the interviewer and the informant were present in the room.

In the first session the informant was introduced to the purpose of the study without going into unnecessary details. The informant was told that he was to be asked some questions about his daily life, friends, interests, and opinion on certain subjects, then that he was to identify some illustrations to test his ability at story telling. The informants were told that the information they were to give was to remain confidential. First, the informant was asked to tell the interviewer, his name, age, and level of education. Then the informant was asked the informal question part of the conversation test, to be followed by the formal question part. Then the first part of the sentence completion test was given in LA. After that the informal part of the picture story test was administered thus bringing the first session to an end.
The second session was administered after the elapse of at least one week interval of time. It started with the formal part of the picture stories then the picture association test. The repetition test was to follow. At last the second part of the sentence completion test was given in MSA.

Throughout the interview, the questions and instructions to subjects were given in LA unless a specific test required the use of MSA e.g. the second part of the sentence completion test and the second part of the repetition test. However, an attempt was made to keep the LA language of the questions and instructions as neutral as possible, and to avoid the more stigmatized forms. In the picture stories verbal instructions were kept to the minimum. Neutral words or short phrases were sometimes used to probe e.g. /say raw/ 'which kind?' when the major type was given by the informant and the specific kind was wanted; /jam/ 'plural' when the singular was given by the informant while the plural was wanted etc... Nods of the head, gestures of number, facial expressions were used to help in probing.

System of Transcription

No transcription took place while the interview was in process. Meaningless stuttering, hesitations, repetitions,
self-correction, and interjections used when a speaker was thinking of what to say or starting to speak were disregarded e.g./nee, ?oe/ etc...

The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) was mainly used in the transcription of the speech of the informants. Other symbols, used in previous studies in the transcription of CA, MSA, and LA were added. These modifications are explained hereafter.

ConsorBABLE:

In addition to the 28 consonants that constitute the MSA consonant sound system, LA has three non-classical sounds /g/, /p/, and /v/. The following velarized consonants were represented by placing a dot under their non-velarized counterparts i.e. /t/ /d/ /s/ /z/ and /q/. Also for ease of type /$/ /$/ /y/ /Ny/ and /9/ were used instead of /s/ /$/ /j/ /k/ and /c/ respectively. Velarized /l/ and /r/ i.e. /j/ and /y/ were not given a separate symbol because no difference in occurrence was noted between MSA and LA. All the consonants of MSA and LA were tabulated in Table 1.

10 Abu-Saidar; Altoma; Frank A. Rice and Majid F. Said, Eastern Arabic; An Introduction to the Spoken Arabic of Palestine Syria and Lebanon (Beirut: Khayat’s, 1960); Shaaban.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Global</th>
<th>Prepar.</th>
<th>Vial</th>
<th>Velox</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>b</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 v</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 v</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 v</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 v</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 v</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Composites of MBA and LA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>Pyenr</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bayt</td>
<td>LA &amp; MSA</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>timm</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>taban</td>
<td>LA &amp; MSA</td>
<td>of course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>balad</td>
<td>LA &amp; MSA</td>
<td>country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>dayqa</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kill</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>whole, all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gracvat</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>qalam</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>pencil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>rana</td>
<td>LA &amp; MSA</td>
<td>I, me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Filli</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Arabian, Jasmine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>brivi</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>brevet, certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>'Ouum</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>garlic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>qanab</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>sama</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>'asaas</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>leezeem</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>should</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Marsaylin</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>vessels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>mujtana9</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>taxt</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>bubbaqa</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>ma'ar</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sayn</td>
<td>LA &amp; MSA</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hawa</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>air, current</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>marjuha</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>swing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>naqama</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>ostrich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>lugah</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>raqabah</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>watwaat</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>yimkin</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>maybe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vowels:

Monothongs: To the three basic MSA vowels /i/, /a/, and /u/ and their long counterparts /ii/, /aa/, and /uu/ was added the long LA sound /ee/ and /oo/. Length in vowels was represented by doubling the vowels.

/a/ in the vicinity of velarized sounds becomes /æ/.
This is true in both MSA and LA. However, they were given one symbol /æ/ since the alternation was a predictable one at the phonetic rather than the phonemic level.

/ee/ had two kinds of usages:
1. It mainly corresponded to MSA /aa/ e.g. LA
   /libneeniyyi/ corresponded to MSA /lubnaaniyyah/ 'lebanese'.
2. Sometimes it corresponded to MSA /ay/. This happened when the informant wanted to shift to a more prestigious dialect e.g. LA /beet/ corresponded to MSA and LA /bayt/ 'house'.
/oo/ had two kinds of usages:
1. It occurred in borrowed words e.g. /tilivizyon/ 'television'.

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12 Abu-Haidar, p.11.
2. Sometimes it corresponded to MSA /aw/ and that is when the informant wanted to shift to a more prestigious dialect e.g. LA /yoom/ corresponded to MSA and LA /yam/ 'day'.

**Diaphones:**

These are the same in MSA and LA: /ay/ and /aw/. Nasalization in vowels was not recorded. Following is a table of the vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td></td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid</strong></td>
<td>ee</td>
<td></td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong></td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

13 Alani, p.23 & 105 & 107; Rice, p.xx.
Design of the Questionnaire Investigating the Motives of Code-switching (see Appendices C & D).

A questionnaire was designed to investigate the attitudes of the village's educated youth towards MSA and LA usage. The questionnaire was designed to answer the following research questions:

1. Did informants have positive or negative feelings towards LA?

2. Did informants have positive or negative feelings towards MSA?

3. In what contexts and for what functions and uses did informants think each variety (LA and MSA) was particularly well suited?

4. To what extent did informants find LA and MSA similar or different?
At first an opinionnaire was administered to five educated villagers whose ages ranged between 18 and 30. On the basis of the results of the opinionnaire the attitude questionnaire was formulated. A four choice (strongly agree - agree - disagree - strongly disagree) Likert scale type of a questionnaire was designed. The wording of the questionnaire was chosen from the pilot opinionnaire study. One term was used in Arabic for LA /ʔaʔaʔaʔammiyyah ᵈallubnaiʔiyyah/ although many terms for LA were used by the informante in the opinionnaire vis a vis /lubmaʔiyyan, maʔhiyay, daʔarijyah/. One term was used for MSA /ʔaʔaʔarabiyyah ʔalfuʔaʔa/ instead of /maktuʔabah, ʔadabiyyah/ etc... to mean MSA. Long questions were avoided.

Another pilot study was carried out for the questionaire to investigate the clarity or bias in its wording. It was given to three of the educated young villagers. The question order was given final form. Some questions were deleted because they were found to be redundant or leading e.g. How similar or different is your dialect (LA) to the variety used in MSA - speaking T.V. serials? When a question was found to be double barreled, it was made into two questions so that confusion was avoided. It was made sure that the informant had access to the information included in the questions.
The questions of the final form of the questionnaire were divided among four topic areas:

1. The subjective attitudes of the informants towards LA were measured by 1 - 10. Items 1, 2, 4, 5, 9 were positively worded, while items 3, 6, 7, 8, 10 were negatively worded.

2. The subjective attitudes of the informants towards MSA were measured by items 11 - 20. Items 12, 13, 15, 17, and 19 were positively worded, while items 11, 14, 16, 18, and 20 were negatively worded.

3. Items 21- 42 measured the attitudes of the informants to uses and functions of both LA and MSA in different contexts to check if the informants felt that each variety had a separate role to play. Items 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 34, 39, 40, and 42 were positively worded, while items 23, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 41 were negatively worded.

4. The similarity or difference between LA and MSA was measured by items 43 - 52. Items 43, 44, 47, 48, and 51 were positively worded, while items 45, 46, 49, 50, and 52 were negatively worded.
A value of 4, 3, 2, 1 was given to strongly agree - agree - disagree - strongly disagree respectively in positively worded items. A value of 1, 2, 3, 4 was given to strongly agree - agree - disagree - strongly disagree respectively in negatively worded items.

**Procedure**

The questionnaire was to be administered to a random sample of the village inhabitants of the age range 18 to 30 and an educational level of Baccalaureate II or above. Every 5th name was to be selected from a comprehensive list prepared recently by a local club in the village. The sex variable was neutralized. Only the educated youths had been chosen because they knew both varieties while the uneducated naturally did not have a good knowledge of MSA so they were not in a position to evaluate it. Furthermore, the uneducated would find it difficult, if not impossible, to fill a written questionnaire.

It was discovered that the total number of the educated youth in the village was 78. Out of the 78 people who met the age and education conditions, 64 were present in the village. The questionnaire was administered to all the 64 informants available.
The questionnaire was given by the researcher to make sure that any unclear question was explained to the informant properly. The researcher made sure that no 'don't know' responses were put down and that all items were filled. Some informants tried to leave out some items or to write a comment instead of encircling one of the four responses available. It was made clear to them that this was not allowed. The researcher toured the houses where the written questionnaire was given to the informants, one at a time, in their own houses. The researcher stayed with the informant while the latter was filling out the form. The informants were told that the questionnaire was to be employed for educational purposes which made them feel at ease and ready to participate.

The numerical value of the responses of the informants was calculated according to the value given to each item depending on whether it was positively worded or negatively worded. Afterwards, the mean and the standard deviation were calculated for separate items and for each topic area (see chapter four).
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Results of the Spoken Data

The speech of each informant was analysed individually. The occurrence of the features investigated in each test for an informant were calculated separately then compared with the results for other informants on the same kind of test. The results were turned into percentages for comparison. The percentages and means for the categories of educated informants and uneducated informants were calculated and tabulated for every kind of test. In the spontaneous speech, picture association test, and repetition test each lexeme was counted only once although lexemes recurred sometimes. Also in those tests phonemes were counted only once when they belonged to words having the same root e.g. /kayli/ 'you say' and /kaylu/ 'they said' were considered one instance of /g/ correspondance to /k/. On the phonemic level affixes were not investigated. Only root words were considered. Thus vowel changes in verbs were disregarded because they were affected by affixes, especially by tense-prefixes. However, consonant changes in verbs were taken into consideration.
Phonemes and lexemes were sorted out as either LA or MSA according to the norms specified earlier in chapter three (see appendixes A and B). The occurrences of the features investigated were calculated on the phonemic level and on the lexical level as well. The occurrences of the features were calculated for the formal topics and informal topics separately. The educated informants were considered one category while the uneducated were considered another category. The two categories were compared.

1. Spontaneous Speech: Conversation:
   1.1. The results on the phonemic level are presented in the following table:
Percentage of MSA and LA usage on the phonemic level in the spontaneous speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal Topics</th>
<th>Formal Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uneducated Informants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>88.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1
The means of MSA and LA usage on the phonemic level in the spontaneous speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Informal Topics</th>
<th></th>
<th>Formal Topics</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informants</td>
<td>Informants</td>
<td>Informants</td>
<td>Informants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>66.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4

The uneducated informants used less MSA and more LA phonemes than the educated informants in the context of both informal and formal topics. On the other hand, both the educated and the uneducated informants used more MSA and less LA phonemes in the context of formal topics than in the context of informal topics. However, LA usage remained dominant in all contexts in the speech of all informants.

1.2. On the lexical level the items that occurred from the list adopted for comparison were sub-divided into MSA and LA lexemes (see appendix B).
Percentage of MSA and LA usage on the lexical level in the spontaneous speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal Topics</th>
<th>Formal Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uneducated Informants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5
The means of MSA and LA usage on the lexical level in the spontaneous speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Informal Topics</th>
<th>Formal Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uneducated Informants</td>
<td>Educated Informants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6

Only the lexemes from the lexical list adopted for comparison were considered. Thus the probability of the occurrence of the wanted lexemes was very limited and did not constitute a valid indication of the speech of the informants. This explains why some categories had zero occurrences. Because of the above, comparisons could not be carried out.

2. Structural Illicitation

2.1. Picture Stories:

The test was supposed to elicit 111 items on the phonemic level and 95 items on the lexical level. However, the informants used sometimes to provide the same item in
the same context in both varieties MSA and LA. In such
instances the item was counted twice, once as LA and once
as MSA, hence the difference in the total number of occur-
rences in the speech of the informants. Thus an informant
said when shown the picture of swallows /sunuunu/ then added
/sunuunu/ while still discussing the same topic.

The results are presented in Table 7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant A</th>
<th>Informant B</th>
<th>Uneducated Informants</th>
<th>Informant C</th>
<th>Informant D</th>
<th>Educated Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>LA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.19</td>
<td>85.09</td>
<td>20.69</td>
<td>79.11</td>
<td>17.83</td>
<td>82.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Topics</td>
<td>Informal Topics</td>
<td>Informal Topics</td>
<td>Informal Topics</td>
<td>Informal Topics</td>
<td>Informal Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>85.71</td>
<td>17.17</td>
<td>82.83</td>
<td>15.74</td>
<td>84.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Topics</td>
<td>Formal Topics</td>
<td>Formal Topics</td>
<td>Formal Topics</td>
<td>Formal Topics</td>
<td>Formal Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.16</td>
<td>86.84</td>
<td>12.39</td>
<td>87.61</td>
<td>12.78</td>
<td>87.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.31</td>
<td>89.06</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>12.18</td>
<td>87.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7
The means for MSA and LA usage in the structured speech (picture stories)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Informal Topics</th>
<th></th>
<th>Formal Topics</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phonemes</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>Phonemes</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MSA</strong></td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LA</strong></td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>68.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

The uneducated informants used fewer MSA and more LA phonemes and lexemes than the educated did both in the context of formal and informal topics. The uneducated used fewer MSA and more LA phonemes with the change of topics from informal to formal. The uneducated used more MSA lexemes and fewer LA lexemes with the change of topics from informal to formal.

The educated informants used more MSA and fewer LA phonemes in the context of informal topics than in formal topics. They used more MSA and fewer LA lexemes in the context of formal topics than they did in informal topics. However, the difference in the percentage was little.

2.2. **Repetition Test:**

The results are listed in the following table:
### Table 9: Percentage of MSA and LA usage in the structured speech (repetition)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal Topics</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA phonemes</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>70.57</td>
<td>35.48</td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>23.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA phonemes</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>21.43</td>
<td>64.52</td>
<td>64.62</td>
<td>76.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA lexemes</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA lexemes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9
The means for MSA and LA usage in the structured speech (repetition)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Informal Topics</th>
<th></th>
<th>Formal Topics</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrases</td>
<td>4 1.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>4 O</td>
<td>10 O</td>
<td>16 O</td>
<td>25 O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10

On the phonemic level the uneducated informants used more MSA phonemes than the educated informants in the context of informal topics. The educated informants used more MSA phonemes than the uneducated informants in the context of formal topics. In all contexts and categories, however, the use of LA was more than that of MSA. The uneducated informants used more MSI than LA in the context of the informal topics than in the context of the formal topics. This may be due to the nature of the test, for the formal topic was told by the interviewer in MSA. The educated speakers, who probably did not feel the need to prove their knowledge of MSA, used the
variety which was felt natural for the context of joking i.e. LA. In fact, one of the educated informants told the interviewer: "I will tell it my way and not in the variety you used." This might show that the informant felt it unnatural to use MSA when joking.

On the lexical level the occurrence of the items from the list under investigation was not enough to form a valid base for comparison.

2.3. **Picture Association Test:**

The results are presented in the following table:
Table IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>55</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table represents the percentage of NMR and IA usage in the structured speech.*
The means of MSA and LA usage in the structured speech: (picture association test)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal Topics</th>
<th>Uneducated Informants</th>
<th>Educated Informants</th>
<th>Formal Topics</th>
<th>Uneducated Informants</th>
<th>Educated Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phrases</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>Phrases</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>Phrases</td>
<td>Lexemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12

Because the respondents completed the picture association test by one-phrase comments, the features investigated did not always occur in these short phrases. Thus the results were not a valid indication of the speech of the informants. Zero occurrences are found under many categories so no comparison could be carried out.

2.4. Sentence Completion Test:

The educated and uneducated informants responded with the same set of answers to the questions when directed in
both varieties. They answered mostly in MSA or used more MSA expressions when addressed in MSA. They used LA when addressed in LA. The meaning was the same in the two instances. In the response of the uneducated informant A, to sentence five when administered in LA: /?a?Hsan fî bil?iisi billibneen hawwi.../ 'The best part of living in Lebanon is...,' was completed with /?akl l?ibbi wi?tabbuuli/ 'eating kibbi and tabbuli i.e. two Lebanese meals.' When administered in MSA: /?a?Hsan bay? fi l?hayat fi lubnaan huwa.../, it was completed by /?alHa?aasa/ 'civilization.' Thus in the first instance, when administered in LA, sentence five was completed with a more personal topic, food, while in the second instance, when administered in MSA, it was completed with an impersonal topic, civilization. However, because the change in topic occurred once, it may have been a mere coincidence.

Except for this instance the meanings of the responses provided by all informants were the same for the MSA and LA sentences. No change in the topics was detected with the change in variety.

On the whole it was found that the informants used more LA expression than MSA expression in all contexts. In most tests the percentage of MSA usage increased slightly when the topics changed from informal to formal but the
increase was slight and LA usage remained dominant. In general, educated speakers used more MSA expression in their speech than the uneducated did. It was only in the repetition test and picture association test that the uneducated used more MSA expressions than the educated did and in the context of informal topics only. The reason might have been that the informal repetition test was administered in MSA and that the responses to the pictures in picture association test were too short to give a true picture of the nature of the speech.

Results of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire, which was answered by sixty-four informants, was divided for the sake of analysis into four sections each dealing with a different topic. Item 43 was found irrelevant to the purpose of this questionnaire.

For the sake of comparison the negatively worded questions were given the numerical values 1, 2, 3, 4 to strongly agree - agree - disagree - strongly disagree respectively. The negatively worded questions were denoted by an asterisk (for the Arabic and English versions of the questionnaire see appendices C and D).
The following division of values was applied and used as the norm for evaluation for section 1 and 2:
Values above 3 to mean definitely positive
Values 2.5-3 to mean rather positive
Values 2-2.49 to mean rather negative
Values below 2 to mean definitely negative.
For section 3 and 4 the following division of values was applied:
Values above 3 to mean strongly agreed
Values 2.5-3 to mean slightly agreed
Values 2-2.49 to mean slightly disagreed
Values below 2 to mean strongly disagreed

1. Subjective Attitudes Towards LA:
Items 1-10 were included in this section. The items, their means and standard deviations are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I feel at ease dealing with LA (general LA not a specific dialect of any city or village) because it is easy.</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I prefer LA to any other Arabic variety.</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I think that LA is incapable of development.</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. LA is understood by all Arabs more than any other dialect.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. When I speak LA I do not feel artificial because LA is natural and springs from the heart.</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. LA is not a coherent variety but numerous and divergent varieties.</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I think that LA is deficient in vocabulary, structures, etc...</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I do not find LA beautiful.</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. I think that the more I know LA the more I am respected by my society.</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. I do not consider a person who knows IA educated.</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall mean for this section showed that the informants had a rather positive attitude towards IA ($\bar{X} = 2.77$). The informants felt that LA was easy, natural, and beautiful. They preferred it to any other variety. Moreover, the informants felt rather sure that LA is understood by all Arabs. They felt, also, that an LA speaker is
educated. Furthermore, LA was considered to be capable of development; however, they did not feel that this development was towards unity and coherence. On the contrary, the informants felt strongly that LA is not one variety but divergent varieties. Moreover, the informants had a negative attitude towards LA as a rich variety. They also were negative towards the idea that knowledge of LA carried with it a degree of respectability for LA speakers.

2. Subjective Attitudes Towards MSA:

Items 11-20 were included in this section. These items, their means and standard deviations are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Mean (X)</th>
<th>Standard Deviation (SD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. I find MSA (the contemporary language of mass media) difficult.</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. I find MSA rich.</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. I consider MSA beautiful.</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. I think that MSA is a stagnant language whose development was captured a long time ago.</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. A person who knows MSA is educated.</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>( \bar{X} )</td>
<td>( S_D )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. I do not think that my knowledge of MSA increases the respect of people for me in my society.</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. I think MSA is the best means of communication among the Arab countries.</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. I find MSA artificial.</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>0.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. I consider MSA a coherent variety with definite rules.</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. I do not consider MSA better than other varieties.</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall mean for this section showed that the informants had a rather positive attitude towards MSA (\( \bar{X} = 2.8 \)). The informants felt that MSA is a rich, easy, beautiful, coherent variety, and the best means of communication among Arab countries. The informants also felt that an MSA speaker is educated. However, they did not feel that MSA is a natural variety or that it is better than other varieties. They did not feel that MSA is capable of development, or that knowledge of MSA improved the social standing of MSA users.
Attitudes towards LA and MSA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( \bar{X} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13

In general, the informants had a rather positive attitude towards both MSA and LA.

1. Both varieties were felt to be easy, beautiful, and showed that their speakers were educated people. This is probably due to the fact that both varieties are considered by the informants as their native languages.

2. LA was felt to be natural, capable of development and better than any other variety, while they did not feel the same about MSA in this respect. The reason might have been that LA is used in more contexts than MSA is. Thus LA was considered natural and alive because of constant usage.

3. MSA was felt to be a rich, coherent variety, and a variety understood by all Arabs. This was not felt about LA. The reason might have been that MSA is associated with a long history of written literature, and the rules of MSA
have been recorded since a long time. Moreover, LA is regional while MSA is common to all Arab countries.

4. The informants did not feel that knowledge of either LA or MSA carried with it a degree of respectability for their speakers. There might have been two kinds of reasons. First, language was not considered to be a significant factor in gaining prestige and the respect of society. Second, there might have been another variety which was considered to be more prestigious i.e. a foreign language.

3. The Uses and Functions of Each Variety:

This section included items 21-42. The items, their means and standard deviations are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>( \bar{X} )</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21. I prefer to use LA in everyday speech in the home and street environments.</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. I can not imagine myself thinking or talking to myself in MSA.</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. LA should be used in speeches.</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. I consider LA the best means of expressing my anger and emotions.</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. MSA should be used in the class and school environment.</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. I prefer to tell jokes in MSA</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. MSA should be used in business and work.</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. I encourage the use of LA in T.V. and radio.</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. I prefer to use MSA when speaking to educated people.</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. I prefer to use MSA when speaking to teachers of Arabic language and literature.</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. LA should be used when discussing any intellectual, legislative, philosophical, or specialized scientific topic.</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. I prefer to see MSA films.</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. I appreciate LA literature.</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. I prefer to curse in LA.</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. I prefer to read the newspaper in LA.</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. I encourage the use of LA in religious services.</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. I encourage the use of MSA when speaking to illiterate people.</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>( \bar{X} )</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*38. When I want to buy things from the market I prefer to use MSA to ask about the prices and to bargain.</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. I prefer to use LA in my private prayer.</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. I appreciate LA folk songs.</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*41. I feel that LA is suitable in all contexts and situations.</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. In my opinion the variety of usage between LA and MSA according to the occasion, situation or the addressee is necessary because each variety has its special role.</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall mean for this section showed that the informants felt that each variety had a special role or function. They were rather positive towards this issue (\( \bar{X} = 2.89 \)). Within this section the subcategory for the functions of LA had a general mean of (\( \bar{X} = 3.22 \)), while the subcategory for the functions of MSA had a general mean of (\( \bar{X} = 2.61 \)). Thus the informants were definite about the roles of LA, while they were not as definite about the roles of MSA.
The informants had definitely positive attitudes towards using LA in everyday speech in the home and street environments, in thought and speech to oneself, in expression of anger and emotions, in cursing, in speech to illiterate people, in the market when asking about prices or when bargaining, and in private prayer. The general mean for the above was ($\bar{X} = 3.4$) showing that the informants strongly agreed on using LA in the above contexts. The informants slightly agreed on using LA in jokes, films, and folk songs. The general mean towards the proceeding three contexts was ($\bar{X} = 2.8$).

On the other hand the informants strongly agreed on reading a newspaper in MSA ($\bar{X} = 3.16$). They slightly agreed on using MSA in class and school, in speech to teachers of Arabic language and literature, in discussions of intellectual, legislative, philosophical, or specialized scientific topics, and in religious services. Informants appreciated MSA literature more than LA literature and they slightly agreed on having literature in MSA rather than in LA. The general mean towards the proceeding contexts was 2.79. However, informants slightly disagreed on using MSA in speeches, business and work, T.V. and radio, and speech to educated people. The general mean for the above contexts was ($\bar{X} = 2.26$).
Although informants slightly disagreed with the idea that LA does not fulfill all communication purposes, they strongly agreed with the idea that each variety had a definite and special role to play, and that switching between the two varieties was a necessity.

4. Similarity or Difference Between LA and MSA:

This section included items 44-52. The items, their means and standard deviations are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Mean (X)</th>
<th>Standard Deviation (SD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44. I think that the variety spoken by the educated Lebanese (who completed the fourth grade and above) in his everyday speech contains many MSA expressions beside LA.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. I think that the variety used by the illiterate Lebanese in his everyday speech (who spent less than four years in school) does not contain MSA expressions.</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. I do not think that the illiterate Lebanese can use MSA.</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. I think that the illiterate Lebanese can understand MSA well.</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. I think that any foreigner who has learnt MSA before arriving recently in Lebanon can understand LA.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. I do not think that an orientalist or a foreigner with a knowledge of MSA can use LA without receiving special lessons in the latter.</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. I do not think that LA is close to MSA.</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Among the Arabic varieties and dialects I have heard, I think that LA is the closest Arabic variety (e.g. Syrian, Egyptian, Gulf dialects etc...) to MSA.</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. I think that there is another Arabic dialect which is closer to LA than MSA is.</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The overall mean of this section showed that the informants slightly disagreed with the idea that similarity existed between LA and MSA ($\bar{X} = 2.33$). The informants slightly agreed that the variety spoken by educated Lebanese contained many MSA structures in addition to LA. On the other hand, the informants slightly disagreed that the variety spoken by the illiterate Lebanese had any MSA structures. They felt that the illiterate Lebanese had no ability to speak MSA, but had the ability to understand it. They felt that a foreigner who has learnt MSA will have difficulty speaking and understanding LA without special tutoring. Moreover, informants did not think that LA was the nearest Arabic variety to MSA or vice versa.

In item 52 those who agreed or strongly agreed that there is another Arabic variety closer than MSA to LA added up to 46 out of the 64 informants who had answered the questionnaire. Those were asked to specify the dialect. The following table shows the dialects said to be closer to LA than MSA is. Percentages are also given.
Dialects closer to LA than MSA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>80.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabian Peninsula</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14

Item 43 showed that the informants slightly agreed that the variety used in everyday speech by older generations was closer to MSA than the variety used nowadays as shown by the mean $\bar{x} = 2.8$ and $SD = 0.65$. However, this item was found not to relate to any of the four sections or topics investigated in this questionnaire, so it was disregarded.
Means of categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories or Topics Investigated</th>
<th>$\bar{x}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude toward MSA</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude towards LA</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA and LA should each have separate uses or roles</td>
<td>2.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similarity between MSA and LA</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Analysis of the Spoken Data

The analysis of the results of the present study showed that:

1. The topic of conversation and its degree of formality were to play a peripheral role in determining the direction of the shift from MSA to LA and vice versa. Thus in the spontaneous speech both the educated and uneducated informants used more MSA expressions when the topic shifted from informal to formal. However, in the structured speech, the speech of the uneducated informants was not significantly influenced by the formality of the topic, as opposed to the speech of the educated informants which i.e. the speech of the educated, included more MSA expressions as the topics shifted from informal to formal. The uneducated used relatively the same extent of MSA and LA expressions in the context of formal and informal topics.

- 105 -
Thus this study agrees with previous research on bilingual and diglossic situations which has shown that the topic of conversation and the content of the interaction were among the factors that influenced the choice of language variety.\textsuperscript{1}

Moreover, it agrees with the studies in the field which have observed that the topic was only one of the factors that influenced the choice of the variety of the speech. In addition to the topic codeswitching was found, in previous studies to be influenced by the addressee, the situation and setting, nationality of the speaker, the degree of familiarity with other dialects, and the education of the speaker etc...\textsuperscript{2} The last factor explains why the uneducated used relatively the same extent of MSA and LA expressions in the contexts of formal and informal topics.

2. The education of the informants was found to play an essential role in determining the direction of the shift from MSA to LA and vice versa. Thus it was found that the education of the informants, played a more significant role in determining the direction of the shift than the topic did. Even in the context of the same topic, be it formal

\textsuperscript{1}Ervin-Tripp; Fishman, Sociolinguistics; Lieberson; Platt; Pride; Verma.

\textsuperscript{2}Palva, p.40; Sallam, 91; Shaaban, 19.
or informal, the educated informants used more MSA expressions than the uneducated informants did, that is, if we disregard the repetition and picture association test because of reasons explained in chapter four.

The result concerning the significance of education agrees with the result reached in the study of Badawi (1973) in which he pointed to a variety in the speech of educated Egyptians which he called 'Vernacular of the Educated'. This colloquial variety was influenced by both CA and a variety of contemporary topics. Sallam (1980) pointed out that the discussions carried out by experts in the field on specialized topics did not include other than the CA (q). Furthermore, Sallam said that educated Arabs tended to use (q) even in the informal style. El-Hassan pointed out that ESA contained many MSA characteristics e.g. 19 arb, word order etc...

3. In all contexts and in the speech of all informants, both educated and uneducated, the speech of the informants remained predominantly CA. This agrees with the finding of Palva and Shaaban.

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1 El-Hassan, 125-126.
2 Sallam, 96.
3 Sallam, 91.
5 Palva, pp.40-41; Shaaban, 19.
II. Analysis of the Questionnaire Responses

A. The analysis of the results of the section related to the attitudes toward LA lead us to draw the following conclusions:

1. The results show that the informants basically agree with Ferguson's idea in "Myths About Arabic" that every Arab regards his dialect as the most widely understood among the colloquial dialects. In this study LA is considered as the dialect most understood by all Arabs. However, the informants also consider MSA as the variety most understood by all Arab nations. It is not clear in this study which variety is considered to be most familiar to all Arabs. Thus, the explanation might be that the informants considered LA as the most understood formal variety.

2. As in previous studies the informants in this study agree that LA is dynamic and capable of development.

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9 Belkin, p.20.
3. This study shows that LA is considered easy, beautiful, and natural. LA is preferred to any other Arabic variety. This attitude agrees with attitudes stated in the writings of Freyha, Nader, Herbolich, and Ferguson. On the other hand, the findings contradict the findings of El-Dash and Tucker and Chejne.

4. LA is not considered a coherent variety but numerous and divergent varieties, implying that LA cannot be adopted as a standard language. This contradicts with many previous studies which considered the dialects, including LA, as better means of communication and proposed the standardization of the dialects implying that they are coherent varieties. On the other hand, this study agrees with other studies which considered the dialects as divergent varieties.

10 Ferguson, "Myths About Arabic"; Freyha, Nahwa Al Arabiyya Nuyassara; Herbolich; Fishman, Readings.

11 Chejne; El-Dash.

12 Altoma, pp.112-113; Belkin, pp.18-20; Shaaban,113.

13 Altoma, p.113; Belkin, p.18; Freyha, Nahwa Al Arabiyya Nuyassara, p.171; Rabin, p.73; Shaaban, 7.
5. This study does not find LA rich. On the contrary LA is considered to be deficient in vocabulary and structure. This contradicts the writings of Frayha and others who have written that LA is capable of meeting the needs of modern life and, consequently, considered to be a rich variety.\textsuperscript{14}

In general, the findings reinforced previous studies which found that Arabs, including Lebanese, were positive toward their dialect.

B. The analysis of the results of the section related to the attitude toward MSA lead us to draw the following conclusions:

1. In agreement with those who consider the dialects as a deterioration and deformation of CA, thus considering CA as the real and beautiful source, this study finds MSA as both easy and beautiful.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} Ferguson, "Myths About Arabic," p.377; Frayha, Nahwa ‘Arabiyya Muyassara, p.173.

\textsuperscript{15} Ferguson, "Myths About Arabic," pp.376-379; Frayha, Nahwa ‘Arabiyya Muyassara, p.171
2. This study finds MSA a coherent variety with well-defined rules. This fact has been sometimes considered in previous literature as a hindrance keeping MSA and CA from developing.\textsuperscript{16} On the other hand others consider this characteristic a privilege for MSA entitling it to be a prospective unifying language.\textsuperscript{17}

3. The results of this study show that a person with a knowledge of MSA is considered educated. This agrees with previous attitudes. Being mainly a written language MSA has been associated with education and learning situations; consequently, knowledge of MSA was believed to increase the respect of the society to its users. A certain group considered MSA as irreplaceable in formal and written situations.\textsuperscript{18} Ferguson wrote in "Myths About Arabic" that the Arabs believed that Arabic was the most superior language because it was "the language of God." \textsuperscript{19}


\textsuperscript{17} Ferguson, "Myths About Arabic" pp.377-381; Frayha, Nahwa ʿArabiyya Muyassara, p.171.

\textsuperscript{18} Ferguson, "Myths About Arabic," p.377.

\textsuperscript{19} Ferguson, "Myths About Arabic," p.378.
Contrary to previous expectations, the results of this study showed that the informants did not think that knowledge of MSA increased the respect of society for its user. The reason might be that the Lebanese modern society pays more attention to the acquisition of a foreign language which is considered more essential and up-to-date.

4. One of the previously prevailing attitudes to be reinforced by the findings of this study was that MSA was a rich language. This attitude was due to the fact that MSA, a descendant of CA, was an old language and was considered to be the language of Arabic literature.

5. The results do not show MSA as the best variety and consider it artificial. MSA is felt to be a stagnant language incapable of development. In previous studies contradictory attitudes have existed towards MSA as the best variety, and as a natural or artificial variety. The reason for the findings in this study concerning this issue might be that MSA is not given the status it was once given. As is reflected in the

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Altoma; Belkín; Chejne; Ferguson, "Myths About Arabic"; Frayha, Nahwa 'Arabiyya Nuyassara.
opinions of informants, obtained by means of an opinionnaire, the Lebanese nowadays give higher esteem to a foreign language. Furthermore, this may be a war attitude where MSA is associated with closer links with the rest of the Arab countries. People who do not want these links do not naturally prefer MSA. Moreover, all the informants in the sample chosen happen to be christians, so they lack the religious bond with MSA. To add to the above, the preference of LA, as shown before, might have contributed to the indifference toward MSA.

6. The informants feel that MSA is the best means of communication among the Arab countries. Obviously, the reason is that MSA is common to all Arab countries, while the dialects or foreign languages, for example, are not. The above attitude agrees with the attitude of proponents of Arab unity who view MSA as one of the foundations of this unity, thus considering it as the best means of communication. 21

21 Altoma, p.5.
C. Three attitudes prevailed towards the suitability of LA and MSA to different usages and contexts.

1. Those who call for the adoption of a variety of spoken Arabic for all purposes.  

2. Those who call for the purification of CA from dialectal influences and the restoration of its spoken status, this calling for its usage for all purposes.

3. Those who believe that each variety has a definite role to play, LA for informal situations and MSA for formal situations. El-Dash and Tucker (1975) found that among four varieties including Modern Literary Arabic and colloquial Arabic, Egyptians felt that Modern Literary Arabic was the most suitable medium for all situations except home, where the colloquial was preferred.

The results of the study showed that the informants agreed with the third opinion that MSA and LA each had a definite role to play. However, they did not agree with El-Dash and Tucker's study that colloquial, be it LA or

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22 Frayha, Nahwa ʿArabiyya Muyassara, pp.181-182.

23 Frayha, Nahwa ʿArabiyya Muyassara, p.171.

24 El-Dash, 52.
Egyptian, should be restricted to the home environment. The informants believed that LA was best suited for a set of contexts including: the home and street environments, thought or speech to oneself, public speeches, expression of anger and emotions, jokes, business and work, T.V. and radio, speech to educated and uneducated people, films, cursing, buying and selling in the market, prayers, and in folk songs.

MSA was thought by the informants to be best suited for a set of contexts including: the class and school environments, speech to teachers of Arabic language and literature, discussion of intellectual, legislative, philosophical, or specialized scientific topic, Arabic literature, newspapers, and in religious services.

The informants feel that no one variety is suitable to all contexts and that the shift in usage between the two varieties of MSA and LA is a necessity. This is reconciled to the positive attitude the informants have to both varieties. The informants do not feel that any variety should be dropped or strengthened at the expense of the other.
D. The analysis of the section investigating the similarity of MSA and LA showed that the informants did not find the two varieties close to each other or similar. Contrary to what was previously believed they did not think that their dialect i.e. LA, was the closest to MSA. On the contrary, they thought that one or another of the Arabic dialects was closer to LA. Most of them believed that Arabic colloquials had in common more than they or one of them, LA, had in common with MSA. To acquire MSA or a part of it a person had to go to school. So an illiterate was believed to neither actually use MSA expressions in his speech nor to be able to use it even if he made a voluntary effort to do so. However, the informants believed that the illiterate could understand MSA. This could be explained by the fact that mass media was believed to play a part in acquainting the illiterate with MSA. Another explanation might be that comprehension of a language is usually considered easier than reproducing this language.

On the other hand the informants thought that a person who has a previous knowledge of MSA and no knowledge of LA could understand LA but could not use it. This might be due to the general concept that comprehension is easier than usage because the first is considered to be passive
while the latter is considered to be active and necessitates the knowledge of the special and correct rules.

The above attitude contradicts the attitude mentioned in Ferguson's "Myths About Arabic" that every Arab regards his own dialect as the nearest to CA. Another group goes further to consider that the two varieties are growing closer to each other. This group believes that a new language is emerging which is seen sometimes as ESA and other times as MSA, a simplified version but a continuation of CA. This sub-group believes that the gap between the standard and dialectal varieties is narrowing with the spread of literacy, education, and mass media. The findings of this study contradict with the above attitude.

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Recommendations

1. Education, as the findings pointed out, played a role in determining the nature of the speech. Educated speakers were found to use MSA and LA expressions, while the illiterate used MSA expressions to a smaller extent. Thus what is needed is the elimination of illiteracy.

2. The scope of this study was limited to certain aspects only. Thus to get a clearer and more general idea further studies should be carried to encompass other aspects. Different age groups should be studied. Studies that cover larger Lebanese areas, Arab countries, other ethnic groups, and sub-communities are necessary.

3. This study was limited to certain features on the phonemic and lexical levels of speech. In order to draw valid generalizations, the morphological and syntactic levels must be included and the study of all linguistic levels, especially the lexical level because of its constantly changing nature, should be comprehensive.

4. Further study should include an examination of the use of a foreign language in addition to the two Arabic varieties studied here, MSA and LA.
## APPENDIX A

### Vowels (61 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. blood vessels</td>
<td>मरायिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. cups</td>
<td>पानाजिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. harvest</td>
<td>हागाद</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. hen</td>
<td>डाजाजाह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. loaf</td>
<td>रगीफ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ostrich</td>
<td>नासामाह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. pencil</td>
<td>खलम र्ताग</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. pines</td>
<td>सनाव्नर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ribbon</td>
<td>हरिताघ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tiles</td>
<td>बलात</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. trays</td>
<td>सवानी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MSA /u/ corresponds to LA Ø (9 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. eyes</td>
<td>ग्युगुन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. eyelashes</td>
<td>रमुगुग</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. flowers</td>
<td>झुहूर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. hearts</td>
<td>ज्लुहब</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. houses</td>
<td>ब्युूअट</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. jam</td>
<td>मरबबा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. nurse</td>
<td>ममर्रजीध</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. roses</td>
<td>वूूुड</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. swallows</td>
<td>सनुूनु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 119 -
### MSA /i/ corresponds to LA Ø (11 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. bed-cover</td>
<td>l¹Haaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. book</td>
<td>kitaab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. brain</td>
<td>dimaaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. dogs</td>
<td>kilaab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. hammer</td>
<td>midaqqah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. harvest</td>
<td>Hisaad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. hood</td>
<td>hijaab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. horse</td>
<td>Hisaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. pillow</td>
<td>mizadaah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. stones</td>
<td>Hijaarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tongue</td>
<td>liisaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MSA /a/ corresponds to LA /i/ (10 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. baker</td>
<td>xabbaaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farraan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bat</td>
<td>witwaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. camel</td>
<td>jamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. eyelid</td>
<td>jifn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. farmer</td>
<td>fallaah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. fish</td>
<td>samak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. hair-dresser</td>
<td>Hallaaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. mountain</td>
<td>jabal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ring</td>
<td>xaatam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. scythe</td>
<td>minjal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### MSA /u/ corresponds to LA /i/ (10 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. apple</td>
<td>tufaa\Hah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bear</td>
<td>dubb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. belt</td>
<td>zunnaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. bread</td>
<td>xubz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. cactus</td>
<td>\sHbbayr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. comb</td>
<td>mu\Ht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ladder</td>
<td>sullam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Lebanese meal</td>
<td>kubbah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. radish</td>
<td>fujl, fujul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. sieve</td>
<td>munsul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MSA final /a/ of singular feminine nouns corresponds to LA /i/ (10 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. banana</td>
<td>mawzah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. butterfly</td>
<td>faraa\Hah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. carnation</td>
<td>gara\Hnfulah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. fork</td>
<td>\Hsawkah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. giraffe</td>
<td>zaraafah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. hen</td>
<td>dajaajah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. needle</td>
<td>?ibrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. pigeon</td>
<td>Hamaamah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. rose</td>
<td>wardah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. table</td>
<td>\H\Htawilah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Consonants: (52 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. armpit</td>
<td>?ibt, ?ibit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. buttons</td>
<td>zaaraar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. eyeteeth or canine teets</td>
<td>?anyaab, ?anyub, nuyub, nyyub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. teeth</td>
<td>?asnaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. water pot or jug</td>
<td>?ibriiq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Medial MSA /?/ corresponds to LA /y/ or Ø (4 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. cup</td>
<td>ka?s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. head</td>
<td>ra?s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. pupil</td>
<td>bu?bu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. wall</td>
<td>Haa?it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final MSA /?/ corresponds to LA Ø (final vowel is shortened) (5 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. blond F.</td>
<td>Maqraa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. lizard</td>
<td>Hirbaa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sky</td>
<td>samaas?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. water</td>
<td>naa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moaah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maat? (muwayh) minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. winter</td>
<td>?a?tiyat (pl.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MSA /g/ corresponds to LA /?/ in different word positions (i.e. initially, medially and finally) (10 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. arch | qantarah | ?antar
| 2. cage | qafas | ?afas
| 3. ceiling | saqf | sa?f
| 4. coffee | qahwah | ?ahwi
| 5. cow | baqarah | ba?ra
| 6. leaves | waraq, ?warq | warq, wree?
| 7. lighter | qaddaamaha | ?i?dãeema
| 8. lilies | zanbaq | zanba?
| 9. scissors | miqas | m?ass
| 10. up, over | fawq | faw?

MSA /θ/ corresponds to LA /t/ in different positions (5 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. garlic | tuum | tuum
| 2. moth  | gitt | 9itt
| 3. one third | tilt | tilt
| 4. oh    | tawr | tawr
| 5. three | tleelt | tleelt
**MSA /ش/ corresponds to LA /ش/ in different word positions (4 items)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. fox</td>
<td>شالم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. fruit</td>
<td>شاپر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. name of a well-known singer</td>
<td>شمکیاٹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. statue</td>
<td>تیمگال</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MSA /ذ/ corresponds to LA /ذ/ in different word positions (5 items)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. chin</td>
<td>ذاقن، ذاقن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. corn</td>
<td>ذوره</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ear</td>
<td>ذايران، ذايرن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tail</td>
<td>ذاناب، ذانیل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. thigh</td>
<td>ذگخ، ذگلد</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MSA /ث/ corresponds to LA /ث/ in different word positions (5 items)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. identity card</td>
<td>ثکیره</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. student</td>
<td>ثلمیل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. teacher</td>
<td>ثاست</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. trunk of a tree</td>
<td>جیژ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. wolf</td>
<td>ثیب، ثیب</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### MSA /z/ corresponds to /d/ in different word positions (5 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. back</td>
<td>zahr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bone</td>
<td>9a'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. eyeglasses</td>
<td>naq'aaraat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naq'aara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. nail</td>
<td>zufr, zufur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. noon</td>
<td>zuhr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MSA /z/ corresponds to LA /z/ in different word positions (4 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. barn</td>
<td>Ha'ziirah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. envelope</td>
<td>zarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. eyesight</td>
<td>nazir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. shadow</td>
<td>zill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

Lexical list (95 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>animal's legs</td>
<td>qawwālīm</td>
<td>?ījrāyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sīliqaan</td>
<td>m?aḍīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>suq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔaμw? , ʔuq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ankle</td>
<td>kāsh</td>
<td>kēHNl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>appendix</td>
<td>zaaʔt?dah</td>
<td>zeyydl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dūndīyyah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ski</td>
<td>tāʔg</td>
<td>balla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bult</td>
<td>firfasʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>barṭ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>burt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>kurah</td>
<td>taabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td>sariir</td>
<td>takt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>bottom of a dress</td>
<td>tāyʔah</td>
<td>zoof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔinyyah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>bracelet</td>
<td>siwār</td>
<td>?iswaara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>suwār</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?uswaar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>breakfast</td>
<td>faṭuwr</td>
<td>tirwiʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>bunch of grapes</td>
<td>ｇuŋq?uwd</td>
<td>9aʔtuud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>butter</td>
<td>zubdah</td>
<td>zibbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>camel's hunch</td>
<td>sanaʔam</td>
<td>Hizābi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ḥabah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>candlestick</td>
<td>ḍam?adaan</td>
<td>ḍimīʔdeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>carpet</td>
<td>sajiṇdaaḥ</td>
<td>sijjeedi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 126 -
<p>| 15. cat        | sinmaar (f.)            | bsayni       |
|               | qi'tah (f.)             |              |
|               | hirrah (f.)             |              |
|               | sunnaar (m.)            |              |
| 16. chain     | silsilah                | sinsli       |
| 17. cradle    | mahd                    | text zgiir,  |
|               |                         | sriir        |
| 18. curtain   | bardaayah               | birdeeyi     |
|               | sitaar                  |              |
|               | sajf                    |              |
| 19. cushion   | tunfusah, infasah       | tikkeeyi     |
|               | tanfusah                |              |
|               | infasah                 |              |
|               | tanfisah                |              |
| 20. daisies   | lugluwaan               | marguriit    |
|               |                         | zhuur biij   |
| 21. diamond   | ?alsaas                 | ?ilmaaz      |
| 22. donkey's saddle | sarj, xurj           | jleel, xirij |
|               | barqasah                |              |
|               | julji                   |              |
| 23. driver    | saa?iq                  | ?uleer       |
|               | sawwaq                  | siwee?       |
|               |                         | muwee?       |
| 24. earings   | ?aqraat                 | Hala?        |
|               | qiraat                  |              |
|               | qurut                   |              |
| 25. face      | wajh                    | wijj         |
| 26. fall v.   | tasaqat                 | harr         |
| 27. fist      | qabdaah, qubdaah        | books        |
| 28. foot      | riji, qadam             | ?ijr         |
|               |                         | k3b ?ijr     |
| 29. forearm   | saa?id                  | d?raaq       |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>LA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30. forefinger</td>
<td>مَسِيقٍ</td>
<td>sabbagh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. fringe</td>
<td>قِزْقَةٌ</td>
<td>ṣurra, qirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. frog</td>
<td>ذِرْدِرٍ</td>
<td>difdaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. fruits</td>
<td>فَوْقَاتٍ (p.l. فَوْقَاتْ)</td>
<td>fweeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. full</td>
<td>مَلْأَانٌ</td>
<td>mistsli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. glass</td>
<td>زَوْجَةٍ</td>
<td>?zeez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. glass (a glass)</td>
<td>كِوكَبٌ</td>
<td>kibbeeyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. glove</td>
<td>كِفْفَةٌ</td>
<td>keff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. grandmother</td>
<td>مَطاَانٌ</td>
<td>mistsli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. gum</td>
<td>مِثْلِيَةٌ</td>
<td>mitleen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. gun</td>
<td>بَنْدُوْقٌ</td>
<td>baaruudí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. hammer</td>
<td>مَيْنَاقٌ</td>
<td>mattraa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. hand</td>
<td>يَدٌ</td>
<td>?idd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. handkerchief</td>
<td>مَكَأَي</td>
<td>maHimm, fuuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. head-cover</td>
<td>عَفْفُيَّةٌ</td>
<td>kaffiyi, kaffiyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. heat</td>
<td>مَجَّرٍ</td>
<td>?awb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. hedgehog</td>
<td>قَافِدٌ</td>
<td>?infqa, kibbee, ?awak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. bubble bubble</td>
<td>نَارَجِيْلاَحْ</td>
<td>?arkili, ?argili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. husband</td>
<td>زَوَجٌ</td>
<td>jawz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. icon</td>
<td>ظَغْنَانٌ</td>
<td>?uuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. jacket</td>
<td>سُطْرَاحٌ</td>
<td>jakeet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>LA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>kidney</td>
<td>kulyah</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuwiwh</td>
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<td>52.</td>
<td>kidneys</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>kulystyaan</td>
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<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>left handed</td>
<td>?a9sar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>saaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>lips</td>
<td>Mafstaaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mafstayn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mifaah (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mafawwat (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>lungs</td>
<td>ri?staan</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ri?stayaan</td>
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<td>ri?staaat (pl.)</td>
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<td>ri?stuan (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>man</td>
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<td>58.</td>
<td>mole</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>59.</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?ubbanah</td>
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<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>fomm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>neck</td>
<td>sunq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sunq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rangbah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>necklace</td>
<td>?i?gd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>?afjuuz</td>
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<td>64.</td>
<td>cranges</td>
<td>burtuqaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>parrot</td>
<td>babbagaan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>babgada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>pears</td>
<td>?injaas, ?iijaas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>qalam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>pen</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>LA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. physician</td>
<td>duktoor</td>
<td>daktuur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69. pistol</td>
<td>tabiib</td>
<td>Hakiim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. ponytail</td>
<td>musaddas</td>
<td>fard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. right (hand)</td>
<td>daifirah</td>
<td>jadduulli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. room</td>
<td>yumma</td>
<td>yamiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. root</td>
<td>?awgah</td>
<td>?uuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74. sabot</td>
<td>jirr</td>
<td>Mirast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75. scarf</td>
<td>qabqaab</td>
<td>?ib7eeb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76. shoe f.</td>
<td>mindaIl</td>
<td>?i?aab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77. shoe m.</td>
<td>Hitaa?</td>
<td>?i?aab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78. skull</td>
<td>jumjunah</td>
<td>Jimjim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79. slippers</td>
<td>kaw9</td>
<td>MihHaa?ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gaff</td>
<td>MihH?yya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xuff saga?r</td>
<td>MihSaa?ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. small</td>
<td>sag?r</td>
<td>zgiir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81. snail</td>
<td>bazzaaqah</td>
<td>bizzeea?a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. socks</td>
<td>jawaarib</td>
<td>kalseet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. soldier</td>
<td>jundi</td>
<td>9askari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84. suitcase</td>
<td>Haqilibah</td>
<td>9anta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9aybah</td>
<td>9anta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
85. throat

MSA
Halq
Hulguum
zul9uum
bul9uum
zal9uum
marif?

LA
zal9uum
z1ee9iim

86. thumb

MSA
?ibhaam
rabat 9unuq
ribat 9unuq

LA
beehim
gravaat
kraafi

87. tie

MSA
sulahfaat
sulahfaat
sulah fiyah
sulHafah

LA
zilHfi

88. turtle

MSA
zuhriyyah

LA
mazhariyyi

89. vase

MSA
qaatul
mawasifir (pl.)
Nayyat (pl.)
?anaabfit (pl.)

LA
?astar

90. water-pipe

MSA
Halq
xaatim
xaatam

LA
maHbis
maHBas

91. wedding ring

MSA
sabuulah
subuulah
sabilah
sunbulah

LA
sahli

92. wheat ear

MSA
zawjah

LA
mart

93. wife

MSA
naasifah

LA
#ibbesk

94. window

MSA
rusq
rusug
sand

LA
APPENDIX C

Age:

Educational level:

Read each of the following sentences then encircle one of the four options (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree).

1. I feel at ease dealing with LA (general LA not a specific dialect of any city or village) because it is easy.
2. I prefer LA to any other Arabic variety.
3. I think that LA is incapable of development.
4. LA is understood by all Arabs more than any other dialect.
5. When I speak LA I do not feel artificial because LA is natural and springs from the heart.
6. LA is not a coherent variety but numerous and divergent varieties.
7. I think that LA is deficient in vocabulary, structures, etc...
8. I do not find LA beautiful.
9. I think that the more I know LA the more I am respected by my society.
10. I do not consider a person who knows LA educated.

- 132 -
11. I find MSA (the contemporary language of mass media) difficult.

12. I find MSA rich.

13. I consider MSA beautiful.

14. I think that MSA is a stagnant language whose development was captured a long time ago.

15. A person who knows MSA is educated.

16. I do not think that my knowledge of MSA increases the respect of people for me in my society.

17. I think MSA is the best means of communication among the Arab countries.

18. I find MSA artificial.

19. I consider MSA a coherent variety with definite rules.

20. I do not consider MSA better than other varieties.

21. I prefer to use LA in everyday speech in the home and street environments.

22. I can not imagine myself thinking or talking to myself in MSA.

23. LA should be used in speeches.

24. I consider LA the best means of expressing my anger and emotions.

25. MSA should be used in the class and school environment.

26. I prefer to tell jokes in MSA.

27. MSA should be used in business and work.

28. I encourage the use of LA in T.V. and radio.

29. I prefer to use MSA when speaking to educated people.
30. I prefer to use MSA when speaking to teachers of Arabic language and literature.

*31. LA should be used when discussing any intellectual, legislative, philosophical, or specialized scientific topic.

*32. I prefer to see MSA films.

*33. I appreciate LA literature.

34. I prefer to curse in LA.

*35. I prefer to read the newspaper in LA.

*36. I encourage the use of LA in religious services.

*37. I encourage the use of MSA when speaking to illiterate people.

*38. When I want to buy things from the market I prefer to use MSA to ask about the prices and to bargain.

39. I prefer to use LA in my private prayer.

40. I appreciate LA folk songs.

*41. I feel that LA is suitable in all contexts and situations.

42. In my opinion the variety of usage between LA and MSA according to the occasion, situation or the addressee is necessary because each variety has its special role.

43. I think that the dialect I use in my everyday speech is more different than the dialect used by my grandfather, or his generation, in their everyday speech from MSA.
44. I think that the variety spoken by the educated Lebanese (who completed the fourth grade and above) in his everyday speech contains many MSA expressions beside LA.

45. I think that the variety used by the illiterate Lebanese in his everyday speech (who spent less than four years in school) does not contain MSA expressions.

46. I do not think that the illiterate Lebanese can use MSA.

47. I think that the illiterate Lebanese can understand MSA well.

48. I think that any foreigner who has learnt MSA before arriving recently in Lebanon can understand LA.

49. I do not think that an orientalist or a foreigner with a knowledge of MSA can use LA without receiving special lessons in the latter.

50. I do not think that LA is close to MSA.

51. Among the Arabic varieties and dialects I have heard, I think that LA is the closest Arabic variety (e.g. Syrian, Egyptian, Gulf dialects etc...) to MSA.

52. I think that there is another Arabic dialect which is closer to LA than MSA is.

Specify __________________.
APPENDIX D

العمري:

السعودي الغالي:

أثرى كل جملة من الجمل التالية ثم ضع دائرة حول الاختيار الذي تراه مثلاً:

1. أثرى أن الجملة اللبنانية شكل عام لا يقيد بها لهجة مدينة أو قرية
   معينة) لأنها سهلة.
2. أفضل الجملة اللبنانية على أي لهجة عربية أخرى.
3. أن الخاصة اللبنانية لا تملك القدرة على التطور.
4. الجملة اللبنانية طبيعية أكثر من غيرها من قبل كل العرب.
5. أشعر أنني أكون على سجني عندما أتكلم الجملة اللبنانية لأنها طبيعية
   وتائهة من القلب.
6. ليست الجملة اللبنانية وحدة متكاملة بل هي عدة عبارات متغيرة.
7. أنجب أن الجملة اللبنانية تتفق على الكثير من حيث التركيب والعرادات ويفسر
   ذلك.
8. لا أحد الجملة اللبنانية جيدة.
9. أنجب أنه كلام تمر في الجملة اللبنانية كلام احترام الناس في مجتمع
   معي.

*The asterisk means that the question is negatively worded.*
لا أعتبر من يعرف اللغة اللبنانية متعلما أو متغث.
أجد العربية القصصي (لغة الإعلام الحديثة) ممتعة.
أجد العربية القصصي غنية.
أعتبر العربية القصصي جميلة.
أعتقد أن العربية القصصي جاد يوقف نوحا منذ زمن بعيد.
العربية القصصي تدل على أن صاحبها متعلم.
لا أعتقد أن معرفي بالعربية القصصي تزيد من احترام الناس لي في مجتمع.
أعتبر العربية القصصي أفضل وسيلة للتفاهم بين كل البلاد العربية.
أجد العربية القصصي ممتعة.
أعتبر العربية القصصي وحدة متكاملة ذات قواعد موحدة.
لا أعتبر العربية القصصي أفضل من غيرها.
أفضل استعمال اللغة اللبنانية في الحديث اليوم في البيت والشارع.
لا أعتبر أني قد أثر أو أكلم باللغة القصصي.
بجب استعمال اللغة اللبنانية في القصص، الخطابات.
أعتبر اللغة اللبنانية أفضل وسيلة للتعبير عن غضب وانفعال.
بجب استعمال العربية القصصي في الصف، الدرسة.
أفضل رواية النادر والكلات باللغة القصصي.
بجب استعمال العربية القصصي في العمل والوظيفة.
أفضل استعمال اللغة اللبنانية في التأثير والإذاعة.
أفضل استعمال العربية القصصي عند التحدث إلى أئمة متعلم.
أفضل استعمال العربية القصصي في التحدث إلى أئمة الادب واللغة.
العربين.
21 يجب استعمال اللغة اللبنانية عند ما関わته أي موضوع تكريم أو تأسيسي.
22 أو تعليمي أو عليّ مختص.
23 أفضل مناهج الآية الناظرة بالعربية الفصحى.
24 أثود الآية الكبيرة باللغة اللبنانية.
25 أفضل أن تتم باللغة اللبنانية.
26 أفضل قراءة الجريدة باللغة اللبنانية.
27 أخذ استعمال اللغة اللبنانية في المراسم الدينية.
28 أخذ استعمال العربية الفصحى عند التحدث إلى أبنائي.
29 عندما أريد شراء حاجيات من السوق أفضل استعمال العربية الفصحى للسؤال عن سلامة والضايقة على أسعارها.
30 أفضل استعمال اللغة اللبنانية في خلال الخاطرة.
31 أطرف لساعات الأثنين الشهيرة المغنية باللغة اللبنانية.
32 أثر أن اللغة اللبنانية تستطيع أن تنوي بجمع أطراف الحريقة وكأن
33 كلامي والداخل.
34 في نظر الأملنف باستعمال بين اللغة والقصص حسب المناسبة أو
35 الشخص الذي أكلف مقصد هو ضروري لأن لكل وحدة دورها الخاص بها.
36 أثبت أن اللغة التي استعملها في حديثي اليوم أحساس عن العربية
37 الفصحى من اللغة التي يشعوها جدي، أو من هو في جهه، فحسب
38 جديهم اليوم.
39 أثبت أن اللغة التي يتكلها المتعلم اللبناني أى من أغلب الوضع
40 الإبداعي وما فوق) في حديثه اليوم تحتوي على الكثير من التعبير
41 الفصحى إلى جانب اللغة.
لا أجد أن اللغة التي يتكلمها المغتربون (أي من تصف أن يتكلم) في الدراسة التي درسته اليوم تحتوي على تعابير

نص.

لا أعتقد أن الإيجابيات يستطيع أن يتكلم العربية الفصحى.

لا أعتقد أن الإيجابيات يستطيع أن يفهم العربية الفصحى جيداً.

لا أعتقد أن أي إيجابي تعلم العربية الفصحى قبل مجيء مُجَّرَّه إلى لبنان يستطيع أن يفهم العربية الفصحى.

لا أعتقد أن مستحقيه أو أجنبياً ممن يتكلم العربية الفصحى يستطيع أن يتكلم العربية الفصحى دون تعلم دروس خاصة بالأخرى.

لا أعتقد أن العربية الفصحى قريبة من العربية الفصحى.

من بين اللهجات التي يستخدمها أن العربية الفصحى هي أقرب اللهجات العربية (مثل السورية والبصرة والخليجية وغيرها) للنسخة العربية الفصحى.

لا أعتقد أن هناك لغة بلد عربي معين أقرب إلى العربية الفصحى من العربية الفصحى.
APPENDIX F

English Translation of Individual Face-To-Face Interview (Time: 2 hours)

(Start the interview by telling the informant the purpose of the study.)

I am carrying a study about the interests and opinions of the Lebanese youth, also to test their ability at storytelling. Please say your: name, age, level of education.

1. Spontaneous Speech: Conversation (Time: 30 minutes)

I am going to ask you some questions about your daily life, interests, and opinions.

A. Informal Topics
   i. Games and leisure
      a. What kinds of games you used to play when you were a child (dolls, marbles, hide and seek, tag game etc... Note each game and ask how each is played, number of players, etc...)
      b. What kind of pass time activities do you practise? What are your hobbies? (sports, music, reading etc...)
      c. What is your favorite TV program? What happens? Movie? What happens?
ii. Aspirations

d. When you were younger what did you hope to be when you are grown up? Why?
e. If you could do it all over again, what would you want to be? Why?
f. If you had a million dollars what would you do with it?

iii. Group structure

g. Where have you gone on trips inside and outside Lebanon?
h. How does your family celebrate Christmas, New Year's Eve, Easter? (family or group customs, religious ritual, special cooking, gifts etc...)
i. What was the best present you ever got? On what occasion?

iv. Fighting, Accidents and Illness

j. What kinds of things do fights usually start about around here?
k. Have you ever been in the hospital? What is the worst illness you have ever had? Tell me about it.
l. Have you ever had an automobile accident? Tell me about it. (If the answer is no) tell me about the worst automobile accident you have ever seen - draw out details.

m. Have you ever seen or been near a rocket or car explosion? Tell me about it. (If the answer is no) Tell me about an incident of this kind that you know of.

n. Were you ever in a situation where you thought you might be killed or die? What happened?

v. **Childhood and School Experience**

   o. Did your parents or teacher ever punish you? Tell me about an incident when you were a child and did a mischievous thing to deserve punishment from your parents or teacher.

B. **Formal Topics**

vi. **Education**

   p. Do you believe that a child should be beaten if he misbehaves?

   q. Do you believe in reinforcing the child when he performs well at home or school or by punishing him when he does not perform well? Why? Which of the two methods, if applied, gives better results? Why?
r. What do you think is the real purpose of education?

vii. Capital Punishment

s. Talking of punishment do you believe in capital punishment? Why?
t. Should capital punishment be applied in a developed society? Why?

viii. Developed Societies

u. What in your opinion are the characteristics of a developed society? Is Lebanon one? How?
v. Do you believe that it is a necessity for every Lebanese citizen in order to be successful in his career to know a foreign language? Why? How many foreign languages should he know? Which one? Why?

ix. Fate

w. Do you believe in fate and destiny or in the free will of man? Why? Can man sometimes interfere to change his fate? How?
II. Structural Elicitation (Time: 30 minutes)

C. Sentence Completion Test (Time: 10 minutes)

I will tell you an incomplete sentence and you have to continue it saying anything that comes to your mind.

i. When my wishes conflict with my family........

ii. Real friends should........

iii. I will probably become.......  

iv. My life in ten years time........

v. The best part of living in Lebanon is.......  

D. Picture Stories (Time: 60 minutes)

I will present to you a picture story. I will show you the pictures one after the other. You have to name the objects I point at in the pictures, and tell me what is happening in the story.

i. Informal Topics

The first story is about Red Riding Hood.

a. Red Riding Hood’s birthday.

b. A wedding in Red Riding Hood’s village.

c. Red Riding Hood visits her grandmother (elicit appendices A and B).

ii. Formal Topics

d. Agriculture in Lebanon.
e. Comparison between the physical, mental, and social characteristics of a human-being and an animal.

f. Residential Planning.
   (elicit appendices A and B).

E. Picture Association Test (time: 5 minutes)

I will show you a set of pictures one at a time and you will tell me what is in each picture, then say all the words that come to your mind when you see it.

i. Informal
   a. Picture of a doll.
   b. Picture of a Christmas tree.

ii. Formal
   c. Picture of the planet of Mars.
   d. Picture of an electric circuit.

F. Repetition Test (Time: 15 minutes)

i. Informal

I am going to tell you a joke and you are going to tell it yourself afterwards: A doctor met the grandson of one of his rich patients. The doctor asked: Did the medication which I had given to your grandfather work? The grandson said: Perfectly for I have inherited most of my grandfather's fortune.
II. Formal

I am going to tell you a passage about language in Lebanon and you are going to tell it yourself afterwards:

The official language of Lebanon is Arabic. However, Arabic has proved to be insufficient for some communicative purposes, e.g. educational, scientific, and business purposes. Thus it is necessary for every Lebanese to learn beside Arabic at least one or two foreign languages usually English and French. These two languages, especially the English language, is increasingly gaining the status of an international language. It is the language of business and science. One can make himself understood almost anywhere in the world if one knows English. Furthermore, one has access to an endless number of scientific, philosophical and educational resources in English.
APPENDIX F

Sample of the spontaneous speech of the informants

Educated informant A discussing informal topics:

* - na batamli bwa?t faraagi? na hiweyeetik?


- na bannassajik imufaddal g?attiliivizyoon?

** - ma?sa nnujuum.

- s?en na byilki?


- tay film siinama Habbayti 7aktar si?

** - film siinama lgajariyya na 1?abtaal.

- n?sa l?issa?


* - speech of interviewer.

** - speech of informant.

- 147 -
(Text in English):
- What kind of pass time activities do you practise?
  What are your hobbies?
+ My hobbies? sewing and knitting, sometimes I read
  the stories of Abi-, it depends. What is important
  is to have an interesting story to pass my free
  time.
- What is your favorite T.V. program?
+ With the stars.
- What happens?
+ They ask stars, that is, interviews with stars. I
  mean those who sing, but it is interesting.
- What is your favorite Movie?
+ The movie 'The Gypsy and the Hero'.
- What happens?
+ It is the story of a hero whose family and fiancée
  were killed. The sister of his fiancée wanted to
  avenge so she pretended to be a gypsy. The gang
  found out about her and the hero. In the end they
  i.e. the gypsy and the hero, won.)

Umeducated informant B discussing formal topics:
- Hkiina 9an lʔasaas, ?intl maŋ lʔasaas lʔi9deem?
  + 1a?.
- ləŋ?
+ la?inna haydi bii?tabar jarlima ylimin.
- kiiif ?
- leezim l?i9deem bira?yik yiitabbaa? bilmujtama9aat 
imtuuwaara ?
+ la?u.
- lay ?
- ?uu hinni bira?yik muwaasaafta bilmujtama9 Imuuttiwaawir ?

(Text in English:
- Talking of punishment, do you believe in capital punishment ?
+ No.
- Why ?
+ Because this is probably considered a crime.
- How?
+ Life imprisonment is probably better. Afterwards if they find that his behaviour is better they set him free. This is better than capital punishment, I mean, he ceases to exist.
- Should capital punishment be applied in a developed society?
+ No.
- Why?
+ Because, like I told you, that it should, I mean ... Now, he erred but they should try to find if he erred because he lost control over himself. They should try if they could reform him. Let them sentence him to life imprisonment, if he is reformed let them, what do you say, forgive him.
- What in your opinion are the characteristics of a developed society?
- Freedom and equality between woman and man. What else? These are enough. They are the most important.)

Educated informant D discussing informal topics:
- 8u bta9mil bwa?t faraagak? 8u hiweeyetak?
+ Haalliyan? Hiweeyeti lbarim ya9ni lakzada mitl ma bi?ulu yi9ni 8it9arraf 9ala manaati?, yi9ni 8itfarraj 9ala manaati? w ?ubrum.
- ¿u barneemjak lmufaddal Sattilivizyoon?
+ ma fi, yi9ni ma fi barneemij mufaddal muhaddad yi9ni
  w manni min huweet tillivizyoon, ?za tawffer yi9ni
  ?iza bisjidli la kaan fi 3i film bilEaru bas ma
  bteebi9 musalsaleet.
- ?ay film siimama Habbaytu ?aktar 3i?
+ yi9ni ?ijmeelan bHibb la?fleem thazliyyi mitl tah9oul
  hayda sjarz, ¿u ?ismu ? pitar sjarz, pyeer ri9aar
  w haw.

(Text in English):

- What kind of pass time activities do you practice?
  What are your hobbies?
+ Nowadays? My hobby is going around, travelling
  to different places, I mean to go sightseeing and
  to travel to different places.
- What is your favorite T.V. program?
+ I don't have any. I mean I do not have a specific
  one, that is, I am not one of the T.V. fans. If
  one is provided, I mean, it is only by chance that
  I see a film, but I do not follow up seriala.
- What is your favorite movie?
+ Generally I like comedies like the films of Selers.
  What is his name? Peter Selers, Pierre Richard and
  people like them.)
Educated informant D discussing formal topics:
  + ?ee tab9an.
- lay?
  + la?innu bikill yi9ni fi majmuu9a m9ayyni mnlabax
    ta?addum ilmujtama9.
  ilmu?awara?
  + yi9ni ?ana naziri? la?1?19deem m1? geoyi yi9ni
    1?19deem 9ind? m1? geoyi, halla? l?geoyi min yi9ni
    mwoefi?ti 9al?1?19deem ?iza keen la budd minnu, wa
    leekin lhadaf kahadar huuwi 9adam 1?19a9it nee?
    wa bitteeli ilmujtama9 9an tta?awwur halla? ?iza
    keen 1?19deem huuwi lwafiili mumkin ?inne tittaba?
    bi?duum ?avy ?19tiraad wa laakin ?iza keen fi wansiili
    kamaeen wa laakin 1?19deem mannu? hadaf.
  + ilmujtama9 ilmu?awwir tab9an ilmujtama9 ilmu?awwir
    huuwi yi9ni bira?yli hadaf kull mujtama9 t?h?ii?
    ?1?iyh kull fard ba?a ?iza keen fi mujtama9
- Talking of punishment, do you believe in capital punishment?
+ Yes, of course.
- Why?
+ The reason is that in every ... I mean there is a certain group of people who are supposed to be moved out of the way if the society is to progress.
- Should capital punishment be applied in a developed society?
+ My view of capital punishment is that it is not a goal. Now, the purpose of my approval of capital punishment is to apply it when unavoidable. However, the purpose is not to hinder people and consequently the society from development. Now, if capital punishment is the means then it can be applied without any objection, but if other means exist which lead to the same result then they may be also used. However, capital punishment is not an aim.
- What in your opinion are the characteristics of a developed society?

+ A developed society, of course a developed society is, I mean ... In my opinion the purpose of all societies is to fulfill, if possible, the needs of every individual, or what every individual seeks. Thus if there exists a society which can achieve, I mean ... The developed society is one which gives equal opportunities to every individual so that this individual can reach his goal or aim. This is what a developed society is about, that is, where opportunities are provided for everybody.)


- 155 -


Blejer, Hatte. Future of Arabic, Ts.


*Majallat al-Majma'a* al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi.


