

STYLE SHIFTING IN EGYPTIAN AND TUNISIAN ARABIC:

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF

MEDIA ARABIC

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates speech accommodation and dialect leveling in three episodes of the Al-Jazeera program *مفتوح حوار* *ḥuwār meftūḥ* “Open Dialogue”, with particular focus on the phonological change of /d/ > [ð] (or ض > ط), so that a word like *أيضاً* /ʔajɪɖan/ ‘also’ > [ʔajɪðan] in the Tunisian dialect. This study also looks at the phonological change of ط /ð/ > [z] in the Egyptian dialect, as well as lexical and syntactic differences between the use of relative pronouns and particles of negation.

The episodes examined vary in their inclusion of speakers from across the Arabic-speaking world, and cover a range of speaking styles from reading to debating, to panel discussions, and street interviews. This thesis posits that Arabic speakers reduce dialect differences when interacting with others not familiar with their dialect, illustrating how Arabic speakers strike a balance between the mutually comprehensible “standard” and their dialect inclinations.

While the Egyptian panel maintains both phonological and lexical characteristics of their dialect, the in-studio Tunisian guests predominantly use the standard language. However, there are significantly more dialect features in the speech of on-the-street

Tunisians. Based on the data set, the Egyptians are able to maintain their dialect in the media setting because it is widely understood throughout the Arab world. Since the Tunisian dialect is not as commonly understood, the Tunisian studio guests use the standard to reach a pan-Arab audience.

This sociolinguistic study illustrates the complexities of how Arabic-speakers manipulate their language depending on the social context and their audience and challenges the notion of diglossia. Furthermore, this thesis provides a description of some characteristics of Tunisian Arabic, which has not been well studied in the literature.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Language use is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of human interaction. How do individuals change the way they speak? Is it the audience, the setting, or the conversation topic? These are the sort of questions that sociolinguistics endeavors to answer by taking factors like age, gender, socioeconomic status, and education as variables to investigate linguistic variation among individuals and groups.

Linguistic variation is usually examined from a standard/nonstandard paradigm that can entail certain value judgments towards each variety. The standard is usually formal, educated, proper, whereas the nonstandard is informal, uneducated, and casual. The variationist framework sought to remove this value judgment and simply report on how language is actually being used. At the same time, this approach tries to explore attitudes towards certain variants where possible in order to understand the social context in which variation occurs. These studies give us insight into sound changes in progress, new words entering the language, and different grammatical structures in use.

In the variationist framework proposed by Labov (1963), sociolinguists seek to understand “the social motivation” for change.

As will be discussed in Chapter 2, linguistic variation in Arabic has been dominated by the theory of diglossia. While diglossia separated the standard and nonstandard varieties as completely distinct, the notion of an Arabic continuum with various levels between them sought to conceptualize the language as more dynamic. I will also discuss the idea of a codified third language between the standard and nonstandard varieties spoken by educated speakers. Since neither of these theories solved the theoretical issues of diglossia, the code-switching framework has also been proposed to explain how speakers can switch between different varieties. Finally, I will discuss how the style-shifting framework is better suited for an investigation of linguistic variation in Arabic.

This paper is a sociolinguistic study of media Arabic used on an Al-Jazeera talk show. The media is an interesting context in which to examine linguistic variation because it provides a public forum for debating current events and issues that affect people’s everyday lives. Al-Jazeera in particular will be an interesting context, because as Lynch (2007) writes, “while Al-Jazeera has faced mounting competition, it remains the one station watched by virtually everyone, making its programs the ‘common

knowledge' of Arab politics, which all Arabs can reasonably assume that others have seen and are prepared to discuss" (p. 103). In this study, I analyze linguistic variation on three episodes of the program *مفتوح حوار* *ḥuwār meftūḥ* 'Open Dialogue'. Note that Arabic words in this paper are transcribed using IPA. For a complete list of my transliteration system, please refer to the appendix. The episodes contain speakers from a variety of dialect groups, as well as a variety of speech settings. The main topic of the episodes is the Arab Spring, with particular focus on the uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia.

First, I examine variation in the phoneme *ض* (ḍ), which in Tunisian Arabic (TA) is often pronounced as *ط* [ṭ], whereas in Egyptian Arabic (EA) it is sometimes pronounced as [z]. Second, I analyze variation in the phoneme *ظ* (ẓ), which is often pronounced as [z] in Egyptian Arabic. Next, I examine syntactic and lexical variation by focusing on particles of negation and the relative pronouns in Egyptian and Tunisian Arabic. These variables illustrate style shifting on the phonological, lexical, and syntactic levels of the language, which will highlight how speakers from various dialects switch between various styles at their disposal in different settings.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I examine major theoretical issues regarding the sociolinguistic situation of Arabic. I focus on the concept of diglossia and the theoretical ramifications of this preliminary theory. Levels of Arabic, the concept of a codified middle language called Educated Spoken Arabic, as well as the frameworks of code switching and style shifting will each be discussed in turn.

It should be noted that this literature review is not a comprehensive account of the complexity of sociolinguistic issues related to Arabic. As mentioned earlier, several factors influence linguistic variation, and some of those variables like gender and education are outside the scope of this study. Additionally, this study is not an exhaustive examination of linguistic variation in these episodes. The variables investigated here were chosen because of their salience in the data set, and will offer a survey of how Arabic speakers use different markers of standard and nonstandard variants.

Diglossia

When students of Arabic start studying the language, they are often overwhelmed by the differences between the standard *fuṣḥā* (الفصحى) and colloquial varieties. They are told that the Arabic linguistic situation is diglossic, which Ferguson (1959) defined in his seminal article as:

A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (p. 16)

This definition of the Arabic linguistic situation has dominated the field of Arabic linguistics for the past 50 years. Ferguson was trying to explain the apparent disconnect between the formal *fuṣḥā*, the High (H) variety derived from Classical Arabic, and the informal, colloquial (*ʿāmiyyā*), Low (L) varieties that are markedly different from *fuṣḥā* and each other.

Ferguson claimed “one of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L” (p. 235). Diglossia predicts that *fuṣḥā*, the (H) variety, will be used in specific domains like the mosque, university, broadcast media, newspapers, and literature, whereas *ʿāmiyyā*, the (L) variety, will be used in

conversations with family and friends or members of lower or working classes, radio soap operas, and captions on political cartoons. According to this theory, Arabic speakers will use features of one variety or the other, “with the two sets overlapping only slightly” (p. 235-236).

More broadly, *fušḥā* will be spoken in formal, institutional domains whereas *ʕāmijjə* will be spoken in informal, mundane domains. An example will illustrate this functional differentiation. If an Egyptian Arabic speaker wanted to order a cup of coffee at a cafe, an informal domain, they will use *ʕāmijjə* by saying:

(1) لو سمحت قهوة عايز
 ʕajiz ʔahwə law semḥat
 'I want coffee please.'

If this same speaker were to order in *fušḥā*, they would say:

(2) من فضلك قهوة أريدُ
 ʔu-rīd-u qahwə mn fəḍlik
 'I want coffee please.'

To an outside observer, these two statements seem like they come from completely different languages. However, the theory of diglossia would predict that the second

example would never be uttered due to the informal domain of the cafe, which would entail the L variety.

In this example, we can see that Ferguson was correct in a number of respects. There are certain features of *fuṣḥā*, whether lexical, morphological, or syntactic, that are not found in the spoken varieties and vice versa. Lexically, the verb for ‘I want’ is completely different in both varieties (*ʕajjiz* vs. *ʔu-rīd-u*). Therefore, one will only hear *ʔu-rīd-u* in a formal domain like a political speech instead of the more informal *ʕajjiz*. This example is just one of several lexical items where there is a clear choice between using a *fuṣḥā* word versus one from *ʕāmiyyā*. Sometimes linguists will refer to clear choices like this as a “diglossic” choice, because the lexical item exists in one variety but not the other.

However, the situation becomes more complex on the phonological level where Arabic speakers can pronounce a *fuṣḥā* word, but with their dialect phonology, as in the second word in this example. For example, Egyptians often pronounce ʕ /q/ as [ʔ] (Bahloul, 2007; Haeri, 1996; Soliman, 2008). Therefore, in the *ʕāmiyyā* version of this statement, the /q/ in the word *qahwā* was glottalized to [ʔ]. In the literature on diglossia, the trend has been to categorize *ʔahwā* as *ʕāmiyyā* because of this sound change. However, we must question if it is theoretically sound to separate these

phonological variants of the same word (*qahwə* and *ʔahwə*) as belonging to completely distinct varieties.

Let us look at another example from Egyptian Arabic. Since Egyptians pronounce the phoneme ج /ǧ/ as [g], instead of saying [ǧejʃ] for the word جيش 'army', Egyptians would say [gejʃ]. This phonological difference is so ingrained in the Egyptian dialect that Egyptians will maintain /ǧ/ > [g] even when they are speaking *fušḥā* in formal domains. When former President Hosni Mubarak would give formal political speeches, he would read his speeches mostly in *fušḥā*, but maintained the /ǧ/ > [g] variation. In Bassiouney's (2009) sociolinguistic analysis of a political speech by Mubarak, she gives the following excerpt:

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| <i>fa</i> | <i>qaḍiyyat-ū</i> | <i>š-šādirā-tī</i> | <i>l-miṣriyya</i> | <i>qaḍiyyat-ūn</i> | <i>maṣīriyyah</i> | |
| Thus, | issue-nom | det-exports-gen | det-Egyptian | issue-nom | crucial | |
| <i>yaǧ[g]ib</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>tašgal-ā</i> | <i>ʔhtimām-ā</i> | <i>kull-ū</i> | <i>li-fiʔāt</i> | <i>allati</i> |
| must | that | 3fsg-occupy-sub | interest-acc | all-nom | det-people | rel |
| <i>tataḥammal-ū</i> | <i>ǧ[g]ānib-ān</i> | <i>min</i> | <i>ʔibʔ</i> | <i>wa</i> | <i>masʔūliyyat-ī</i> | |
| 3fsg-carry-ind | part-acc | from | burden | and | responsibility-gen | |
| <i>l-intāǧ[g]-ī</i> | <i>fī</i> | <i>maṣr</i> | | | | |
| det-production-gen | in | Egypt | | | | |

‘This is because the issue of Egyptian exports is a crucial issue that has to occupy the minds of everyone who is involved in Egyptian production’ (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 75).

In this example, I have bolded the case endings that are a distinctive feature of *fušḥā*, and we can see from the brackets that Mubarak uses the *ʕāmijǰa* [g] variant consistently. This example should make us question whether the theory of diglossia can be supported by data from actual speech, because here it is not clear if the functional differentiation of the two varieties is categorical in nature.

A crucial question here is whether this slight phonological change is so dramatic that it makes the entire morpheme belong to one variety and not the other. Throughout the literature on Arabic linguistics, the answer has been yes; this morpheme is now categorized as *ʕāmijǰa* and not *fušḥā*. However, do other linguists adopt the same approach with nonstandard variants in other languages?

Let us look at an example from American English, where a phonological change known as t-glottalization, resulting in /t/ being pronounced as [ʔ], has received recent attention (Eddington & Channer, 2010 in Western dialects; Eddington & Taylor, 2009; Roberts, 2006 in Vermont). One phonetic environment in which t-glottalization occurs in most varieties of American English is intervocalically, so that a word like /mawntɪn/ is pronounced as [mawʔɪn]. This feature is so prominent in my own dialect that I will probably say [mawʔɪn] even in formal domains like a job interview. While this variation between [t] and [ʔ] is stigmatized in certain areas, I doubt the interviewer

would gasp in shock that I would use a dialectal variant in such a formal domain.

These examples from Arabic and English illustrate a crucial theoretical question of how we handle linguistic variation. Mubarak and I are both using informal (L) phonemes where the formality of the domain implies that the standard is expected. However, while my speech would probably be interpreted as spoken American English, Mubarak's speech is interpreted as switching between two diglossic codes. Do not all languages have standard and nonstandard variants?

Additionally, Mubarak's speech poses a methodological question of how to categorize each morpheme as belonging to one code and not the other. As I mentioned earlier, one of the striking features of Mubarak's political speech was his use of *fuṣḥā* case endings, which are not present in *ʕāmijjā*. How then, do linguists use diglossia to categorize a lexical item like *ḡ[ɡ]ānib-ān* 'part'? Here, Mubarak is using the [ɡ] (L) variant, but with the *fuṣḥā* (H) accusative case ending *-ān*. A similar example occurs a few seconds later when he says *l-intāḡ[ɡ]-ī*, using the [ɡ] variant with the *fuṣḥā* genitive case ending. These two examples are what are referred to in the literature as 'intermediate forms' (Bassiouney, 2009; Boussofara-Omar, 1999; Eid 1988). They possess features from both varieties that are impossible to qualify as belonging to one variety and not the other, and pose serious theoretical and methodological

consequences that will be discussed in more detail below.

Similar to the issue of intermediate forms is the question of what to do with items that are shared between both varieties. For example, if an Arabic speaker wants to say ‘I have’, they can say *عندي* *ʕnd-i*. This phrase is phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically identical in both varieties. How, then, is it categorized? Some linguists have classified these items as ‘shared’ (Boussafara-Omar, 1999; Eid, 1988), but they are often ignored in sociolinguistic studies, despite their pervasiveness in the language.

These examples show the inadequacy of the diglossic framework to explain language use in Arabic. Such a black and white view of linguistic variation fails to explain the presence of L (*ʕāmiyyā*) features in H (*fuṣḥā*) domains, and H features in L domains, and does not explain how to handle intermediate forms. Ferguson (1991) admitted that his original article described a vague linguistic situation that was supposed to be the starting point for a discussion and not a prescriptivist framework. Despite criticism of the concept and a proliferation of theories seeking to refine it, diglossia's legacy permeates the literature in Arabic linguistics, where *fuṣḥā* is placed at one end of the theoretical spectrum and *ʕāmiyyā* at the other, with little discussion of the interaction between the two.

Levels of Arabic

In the next few sections, I will discuss various theories that have been proposed to fix the theoretical and methodological issues posed by the original diglossic framework. The theory of diglossia invokes an image or metaphor of two separate boxes for two completely distinct language varieties: *fushā* and *ʿāmiyyā*. However, since language use is not so black and white, Badawi (1973) suggested a different metaphor: a continuum where each variety is placed at either end, with various levels between them. Badawi's theory of levels sought to address the fact that Arabic speakers can use a combination of features from either variety when they speak. He identified five major levels:

1. *fushā at-turāḥ*: 'heritage classical'
2. *fushā al-ʿaṣr*: 'contemporary classical'
3. *ʿāmiyyāt al-muḥāqqafīn*: 'colloquial of the cultured'
4. *ʿāmiyyāt al-mutanawwīrīn*: 'colloquial of the basically educated'
5. *ʿāmiyyāt al-ʿumijīn*: 'colloquial of the illiterates'

At the *fushā at-turāḥ* level, we are to assume that this speech will be 100% *fushā*, whereas at the *ʿāmiyyāt al-ʿumijīn* level, we assume that this speech will be 100% *ʿāmiyyā*, reinforcing the diglossic separation of the two at opposite ends of the spectrum. The *fushā al-ʿaṣr* could perhaps be 70% *fushā* and 30% *ʿāmiyyā*, and the rest of the varieties would be different combinations of percentages of each variety.

However, there are a number of issues with this framework. In particular, it is not clear what the levels theory would predict of actual language use. What places a speaker on a particular level? How does one assess to which level a specific utterance belongs? The levels metaphor is descriptive, but impossible to quantify or predict. Badawi admits that there can be infinite levels, and each Arabic speaker has varying access to more or one of these levels. Bassiouney (2009) points out that “it is not clear whether the colloquial levels are built on socioeconomic variables like education or just ‘stylistic registers’, or whether they can be both” (p. 15). While the levels metaphor gave a more fluid view of language use by recognizing the reality of speakers using features from both varieties, it is not clear what, if anything, governs the relative distribution of features. Therefore, it represents an important step in the literature, but not a paradigm shift.

Educated Spoken Arabic

So far, we have seen that the separate boxes (diglossia) theory and the continuum (levels) theory failed to capture the complexities of language use in Arabic. Another theory that tried to capture this phenomenon is the idea that there is a codified third language between the standard and spoken varieties, which is spoken by educated Arabs in situations of interdialectal contact. This third language is called Educated

Spoken Arabic (ESA), and in this framework, Arabic speakers, instead of speaking purely formal *fuṣḥā*, will interject various features of their dialect that they believe are mutually intelligible. The theory of ESA predicts that educated Arabic speakers will employ *fuṣḥā* vocabulary, perhaps with dialectal phonology and certain lexical items that are shared in most of the dialects, like the *ʕāmijjā* word كويس *kwejs* ‘good’ instead of *fuṣḥā* جيد *ǧajid*.

This phenomenon is connected to the theory of linguistic leveling, which occurs when dialectal differences are reduced (leveled) for various reasons. Linguistic leveling is related to issues of prestige, which is particularly prominent in Arabic given that traditionally, the dialects were stigmatized as “not Arabic” and “mistakes”, while *fuṣḥā* was held in high regard as the language of religion, education, and politics. Therefore, Arabic speakers may avoid features of their local dialect in order to sound more educated and gain more prestige.

However, it should be noted that prestige is relative and there can be various attitudes towards a particular dialect within a country or geographical region (Bassiouney, 2008; Haeri, 1996; Ibrahim, 1986; Miller, 2004). Most notably, the Egyptians are quite proud of their dialect, which is related to the nationalistic movement of Gamal Abdul Nasser and the glorious past of ancient Egypt. Therefore,

regional dialects can acquire a *local* prestige. This is not to say that *fushā* is not prestigious in Egypt, because it is still the language of religion, education, and politics. I merely intend to point out that local, regional, and community attitudinal considerations must be taken into account when addressing the issue of prestige.

Linguistic leveling is also related to comprehension issues, particularly when large geographic distances separate the dialect areas. For instance, Moroccan Arabic is often given as an example of a dialect that is perhaps farthest from *fushā* because of influences from French and Berber phonetically, morphologically, and syntactically. Therefore, the theory of ESA would predict that a Moroccan speaker may be very likely to level features of his dialect in interdialectal conversation and use more *fushā* features in order to ensure mutual comprehension. The issue of comprehensibility is less of an issue for Egyptians due to the popularity of Egyptian cinema and soap operas, which are popular throughout the Arab world.

While there are several articles discussing ESA as a theory (El-Hassan, 1977; Meiseles, 1980; Mitchell, 1978, 1986), there are far fewer sociolinguistic studies of ESA in use. One exception is Sallam's (1980) study, which showed that educated Lebanese speakers from Beirut, who usually pronounce the *fushā* phoneme ق /q/ as ك [k], used markedly more [q] variants in conversation with other Arabic speakers from different

countries, meaning that the Lebanese leveled their local variant in interdialectal conversation.

I think this framework of ESA is correct in trying to identify common features that seem to be codified in a 'third' language, which is closely related to Ferguson's (1959) proposal of the Arabic koine. Ferguson described the koine as a form of the language that is

A relatively homogenous koine not based on the dialect of a single center, [that] developed as a conversational form of Arabic and was spread over most of the Islamic world in the first centuries of the Muslim area....This koine existed side by side with the 'Arabiyyah although it was rarely used for written purposes, and...most modern dialects, especially those outside Arabia are continuations of this koine. (p. 51)

He identified 14 features of the koine, such as the loss of the glottal stop and the dual, as well as the use of the *ʕāmijjə* verb شوف /šūf/ instead of the *fuṣḥā* راي /raʔā/. These are still true of the Arabic dialects today; however, the vast geographical diversity of the Arabic dialects makes the koine difficult to define.

A few studies of interdialectal conversation have shown that speakers from various regions will reduce or level their dialectal differences in order to facilitate communication between speakers from different geographical areas (Bahloul, 2007; Sallam, 1980), and I do think this is a particularly prevalent phenomenon in the media context for reasons that will be elaborated below. However, the biggest problem with

the idea of Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) is that its characteristics are largely undefined, and few studies have detailed its intricacies.

Code-Switching

The code-switching framework has also been suggested as an explanation for linguistic variation in Arabic, where speakers are seen as switching between standard and colloquial codes. Many and perhaps the majority of code-switching studies focus on switches between distinct languages. In fact, there are several studies that investigate the rules for switching between Arabic (whether *fuṣḥā* or *ʿāmiyyā*) and French due to the prevalence of Arabic/French bilingualism in North Africa. For example, Belazi (1991), Lawson and Sachdev (2000), Bouzemmi (2005), Baoueb (2009), and Sayahi (2011) have examined this phenomenon in Tunisia alone. Studies of such obvious code switching are perhaps more convenient because it is easier to classify a morpheme as belonging to either Arabic or French, and “Arabic” is usually used as a catchall term that avoids the problem of having to classify them as *fuṣḥā* or *ʿāmiyyā*.

However, there are far fewer studies on so-called “diglossic code-switching” between *fuṣḥā* and *ʿāmiyyā* varieties of Arabic. This is most likely due to the theoretical and methodological issue mentioned earlier of dealing with the intermediate forms because it becomes much harder to classify a morpheme as belonging to only one of the

varieties. The weakness of the code-switching framework is that it emphasizes the separation of *fushā* and *ʿāmiyyā* as distinct varieties, and usually does not address the issue of the intermediate forms. For example, Eid (1988) admits that the intermediate forms pose a methodological problem because they cannot provide evidence for or against switching. Because the goal of her study is to examine where clear switches between standard and Egyptian features occur, Eid's solution is to throw these examples out of the analysis entirely, making the code-switching approach much easier to apply. However, throwing out the intermediate forms entails ignoring a great bulk of data that is gathered on spoken Arabic, as will be shown later, and we must address how to handle them theoretically and methodologically.

Bousofara-Omar's (1999) dissertation applies Myers-Scotten's (1993) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model to code switching between *fushā* and *ʿāmiyyā* in the speeches of the former president of Tunisia Habib Bourguiba. Her dissertation is an exception from the other code-switching studies in that she states directly that her aim is to tackle the intermediate forms that can not be classified as belonging to one variety or the other (p. 3). In the MLF model, she takes *ʿāmiyyā* as the “matrix” (or dominant) language and *fushā* as the “embedded” language. This is a striking theoretical statement in that she is stepping away from the usual conception of *fushā* as the “standard”

language that speakers “deviate” from by using markers of *ʕāmijjə*, and also recognizes the social reality that *ʕāmijjə* is the mother-tongue of Arabic speakers.

To deal with the intermediate forms, Boussofara-Omar proposes three processes: colloquialization of *fuṣḥā*, *fuṣḥā*-ization of colloquial, and hyper-*fuṣḥā*-ization of colloquial (p. 109). I think the first two processes are helpful theoretically, but I would also add that we could be more specific in identifying the structural level of the language where the process is occurring. For example, if a Tunisian speaker pronounces a *fuṣḥā* word like أيضاً /ʔarjɔdan/ as [ʔarjɔdan], this would be colloquialization of *fuṣḥā* on the phonological level. If an Arabic speaker uses the *ʕāmijjə* relative pronoun الـ *illi* instead of the *fuṣḥā* الـ *alləḏi*, this would be colloquialization of *fuṣḥā* on the lexical level. Boussofara-Omar does not provide any clear examples of *fuṣḥā*-ization of colloquial.

Although Boussofara-Omar addresses these issues theoretically and methodologically, these insights are lost when she actually presents her data. For example, let us look at an excerpt from her data. Note that these data represent her own transliteration and translation, which differs slightly from mine.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>li-ʔawaal</i> | <i>marra</i> | <i>fii</i> | <i>taarriix</i> | <i>il-blɛd</i> | <i>haaʔi</i> | <i>tkawnat</i> |
| to-first | time | in | history | DEF-country | this | develop 3SG PERF |
| F | TA/F | TA/F | TA/F | TA | TA | TA |

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>xat̥aaba</i> | <i>bi-l-luuxa</i> | <i>d-dæɛrjə</i> |
| rhetoric | with-language | DEF-colloquial |
| TA | F | TA |

‘For the first time in the history of this country the colloquial has come to be used in speeches’ (Boussofara-Omar, 1999, p. 93).

In this example, the first word /li-ʔawwal/ is marked as *fus̥hā* (F) due to the presence of the glottal stop, which is lost in TA (as well as the majority of Arabic dialects, if not all). The second word /marra/ is categorized as both *fus̥hā* and TA because it exists in both varieties. However, the categorization of /il-blæd/ as TA raises a number of issues that illustrate the shortcomings of the code-switching framework. Bourguiba has taken the *fus̥hā* word البلد /al-bæləd/ and imposed TA phonology (saying /il/ instead of /al/ for the definite marker) and syllable structure (CC instead of CV) on the first part of the noun. This example would fall under what was described earlier as “colloquialized *fus̥hā*”, but this detail is lost in categorizing it as strictly TA due to the phonology and syllable structure. Furthermore, this example raises the theoretical and methodological question proposed earlier of whether such a slight change in phonology can make a morpheme belong strictly to one variety and not the other.

This issue becomes even more pronounced by inconsistencies in coding in the literature on code switching between different varieties of Arabic. First of all, among

code-switching studies like that of Boussofara-Omar and Bassiouney (2006), there are inconsistencies in whether they analyze a word as a whole unit or morpheme by morpheme. For example, below is another example of Boussofara-Omar's data.

| | | | | | |
|----------|---------------|------------|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>u</i> | <i>yuqtul</i> | <i>kul</i> | <i>man</i> | <i>ya-tawassam</i> | <i>fii-h</i> |
| and | kill 3 SG IMP | all | who | 3SG-expectIMP | in-him |
| TA | TA | TA/F | F | F | TA |

'And he kills anyone whom he suspects of rivalry' (Boussofara-Omar, 1999, p. 143).

In this second example, she has analyzed the second word /yuqtul/ as one word instead of separating /yu-/ as the verb inflection for subject, as she does with the phrase /ya-tawassam/ three morphemes later. It is easier to analyze /yuqtul/ as TA since Bourgiba is using *ʕāmijjə* syllable structure. However, if we separate this phrase as two separate morphemes /yu-qtul/, it becomes an intermediate form.

The /yu-/ subject marker is shared between both varieties, and /qtul/ becomes colloquialized *fušḥā* due to the *ʕāmijjə* syllable structure. Whether or not we can classify the morpheme /qtul/ as belonging to *ʕāmijjə* simply due to the syllable structure depends on whether we think it is possible to classify this morpheme as belonging strictly to *ʕāmijjə* by this slight modification.

This issue in fact represents another inconsistency in the coding of these studies, which is inconsistency in labeling these phonological differences. For example, in *fušḥā*

و ‘and’ is pronounced as *wə*, whereas in many dialects it is common to pronounce this morpheme as *u*. Bassiouney (2006) classifies *wə* as *fuṣḥā* and *u* as *ʕāmijjə* and Boussofara-Omar follows suit. However, Bassiouney does not take the same approach for verbs. For example, when the verb *كان* *kānə* ‘he/it was’ is pronounced as *kān*, she marks this as a mixed form. In both examples one phoneme is lost, yet they are classified differently.

I believe this is one of the main problems with the code-switching framework, because in order to classify a morpheme as belonging to one variety and not the other we make artificial, piecemeal, and inconsistent assumptions about the nature of language, accent, and linguistic variation. Furthermore, such a methodology ignores what Labov (1969) called the “inherent variability” of language, the fact that speakers may use two different variants in the same conversation. Although the code-switching framework tried to take a more fluid view of linguistic variation like Labov by recognizing that speakers can switch between codes within the same utterance, its reliance on binary classification remains inadequate for handling shared and intermediate forms.

Style Shifting: A New Approach

Finally, the last framework that has been used to describe linguistic variation is style shifting. Instead of focusing on particular codes, this framework more broadly conceptualizes speakers as alternating between various dynamic styles. While Mejdell (2006) is perhaps the most extensive analysis of mixed styles of Arabic, she does not take Labov's variationist approach, which is used here. Mejdell includes levels of Arabic, code switching, and ESA under a broad umbrella of 'style' that is largely vague and undefined.

I find Allan Bell's (1984) theory of style shifting and audience design more useful for the purposes of this study. Bell defined style as "essentially, a speaker's response to their audience" (p. 145). The audience consists of different groups of individuals that play various roles in the conversation. The main interlocutor, and therefore, the main influence on the speaker, that the speaker is holding a conversation with is the *addressee*. Third persons who are present but not directly addressed are *auditors* of the conversation; third parties whom the speaker knows are present but are not ratified participants are *overhearers* of the conversation; and other parties whose presence is unknown are *eavesdroppers*. Finally, other individuals that may exert influence on a conversation are the *referees*, who are "third persons not physically

present at an interaction, but possessing such salience for a speaker that they influence speech even in their absence” (Bell, 1984, p. 186).

Bell criticized Labov’s (1972) claim that style can be solely measured by the amount of “attention paid to speech”, which entailed that the more attention a speaker pays to what they are saying, the more formal the style will be, for lacking empirical evidence and insufficiently explaining the complexities of style. Bell proposed conceiving of attention as “a mechanism, through which other factors affect style... [that] is at most a mechanism of response intervening between a situation and a style” (p. 150). Other factors like the topic of the conversation, the addressee, and setting can also affect how much a speaker is paying attention to the way they speak.

Setting, more or less equivalent to domain, is an important factor in audience design because it can determine the addressee or intended audience. For example, if a person invites a friend over to their house for dinner, the intended audience is merely the person with whom they are holding the conversation. In the workplace when a boss is holding a company-wide meeting, the audience can be not only the workers present at the meeting, but also referees like company shareholders that influence the conversation despite the fact that they are not present. The conversation between friends in a private home is a relatively informal domain, whereas the professional

environment of a company meeting is a relatively formal domain, and these have consequences for the type of language that is expected in each. In the former, it would be perfectly acceptable to say “We’re *gonna* start soon”, whereas in the latter situation it would probably be more appropriate to say “We’re *going to* start soon”.

In Bell’s theory, stylistic variation, which “denotes differences within the speech of a single speaker” is placed on one of two axes of linguistic variation, the other being the “social” dimension of variation, which “denotes differences between the speech of different speakers” (p. 145). A linguistic analysis of stylistic variation, like this study, investigates the speech of individuals in different styles (formal vs. informal) and settings (in studio vs. on the street), whereas a linguistic analysis of social variation would investigate the speech of individuals based on social factors like age, sex, socioeconomic status, etc. Furthermore, stylistic variation occurs within the individual (*intraspeaker*), whereas social variation occurs between different individuals (*interspeaker*).

The audience design theory of style shifting is closely related to Giles and Smith’s (1979) theory of speech accommodation, where speakers can “converge” towards an interlocutor, or speak more similarly to the way they are speaking, or they can “diverge” away from the interlocutors, socially distancing themselves. Speakers can

use convergence to mitigate social distance, establish solidarity, or provide a friendly atmosphere, whereas divergence can exaggerate social distance, and may be used in order to establish authority or prove one speaker is more educated than the other. In the context of style shifting, speakers can respond to their audience either through convergence, by speaking in a similar style, or they can diverge by employing a different style than what is expected by the interlocutor.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown the weaknesses of the various theories that have sought to explain linguistic variation in Arabic (diglossia, levels, code switching, Educated Spoken Arabic) and described the theoretical framework taken here (the audience design theory of style shifting). The present study will test the hypotheses proposed by these theories through an examination of linguistic variables on the phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels of the language.

The theory of diglossia would predict that the H variety will be used in formal domains and the L variety will be used in informal domains. For this study, the formal domain would be when the host and guests are in studio, whereas the informal domain would be in the home or on the streets. Therefore, according to diglossia, when the host

and guests are in studio they should use only H features while the host and guests on the street should only use L features.

Badawi's levels theory would predict that the in-studio Arabic speakers will be placed closer to the *fushā* end of the continuum, perhaps around the *fushā al-ṣaṣr* level, whereas the on-the-street speakers will be closer to the *ṣāmiyyā* end of the continuum, perhaps around the *ṣāmiyyāt al-muṯaqqāḥīn* or *ṣāmiyyāt al-mutanawwīrīn* level. However, since it is not clear what places a speaker at a particular level, this hypothesis will not be tested in this study.

The code-switching framework would predict that the in-studio speakers maintain more *fushā* code markers due to the formal domain, whereas the on-the-street speakers will maintain more *ṣāmiyyā* code markers due to the informality of the street domain.

However, since code switching does not predict or explain intermediate forms it has limited applicability. Furthermore, since the question of what to do with the shared forms remains unanswered, so much data would have to be disregarded that the code-switching framework would be difficult to apply. This issue will be explored later in the analysis of the data, where I will attempt to show how pervasive shared and intermediate forms are in actual speech.

Finally, style shifting would predict that the in-studio speakers use a more formal style compared to the speakers on the street. Although Bell criticized Labov's theory of attention paid to speech as inadequate, I think it does have some limited applicability in this study, which will be discussed below. The style shifting theory will be tested by examining two phonological variables (ð) and (ð̥), as well as two lexical and syntactic variables: particles of negation and relative pronouns. Therefore, style shifting would predict that the in-studio guests use a more formal style by maintaining the *fushā* [ð] variant whereas the on-the-street guests will use more of the *šāmiǰə* [ð̥] variant. For the variable (ð̥), the Egyptians are expected to use more of their colloquial variant [z̥] than the other guests. Finally, the in-studio guests are expected to use more *fushā* particles of negation and relative pronouns compared to those guests on the street.

I will show that the style-shifting framework is best suited for the nature of this study because unlike the other theories discussed in this chapter it allows for analysis of shared and intermediate forms.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the Al-Jazeera television program *ḥuwār meftūḥ*, where the data for this sociolinguistic study was obtained, as well as the phonological, morphological, and syntactic variables for this study.

CHAPTER 3

THE PROGRAM AND LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

The Media Context

The broadcast media context has linguistic consequences of the type of language that is expected. Arabic speakers on Al-Jazeera know they are being broadcast across a vast area that covers an array of dialects. Therefore, they are likely to use *fushā* so that ideally they will be understood by as many Arabic speakers as possible. The place of *fushā* in the media context is a somewhat idealized *lingua franca* that facilitates interdialectal communication.

However, it must be noted that *fushā* can only be considered a *lingua franca* among educated Arabs. Proficiency in the standard language is achieved by native speakers through intense education, and most Arabic speakers do not receive advanced training in the standard unless they are studying to become Arabic teachers or linguists. Even though some speakers receive advanced instruction in the standard, certain features or rules may be lost with lack of use over time and not being exposed to the standard variety. Although Al-Jazeera is highly popular and can usually be seen on TVs

in cafes or shops on a daily basis throughout the Middle East, the type of audience that tunes into the news is assumed to be somewhat educated in the first place, which is why they are keeping up with current events. However, the type of program can also entail how educated the audience is that is tuning in. For instance, the popular roundtable discussion program on Al-Jazeera like الاتجاه المعاكس 'The Opposite Direction', hosted by Faisal Al-Qassim, might not necessarily attract a particularly educated audience because of its tendency to sensationalize confrontation. Viewers may tune in to a show like 'The Opposite Direction' just to see two individuals with drastically different viewpoints duke it out, with little focus on the substance of the debate. I think that with 'Open Dialogue', the program under investigation here, since there is more focus on substantive debate and less sensationalizing, we could assume that the type of audience for this program may be more educated than the casual viewer just looking for the headlines or heated confrontation.

An educated audience can also entail that these viewers are familiar with regional differences, whether phonological or lexical, and may be comfortable with some level of dialectal markers on Al-Jazeera, otherwise we could assume that they would change the channel if they do not understand the conversation. Therefore, the media context provides certain expectations about the type of audience the guests on

the program think they are addressing and the kind of linguistic markers they will use.

All of this makes media broadcasts an ideal testing ground for the various theories being examined.

The Program

Data for this study was taken from the Al-Jazeera program *مفتوح حوار* *ḥuwār meftūḥ*, ‘Open Dialogue’, which is no longer on the air. Ghassan Bin Jiddu, who is part Tunisian and part Lebanese hosted the program. According to his Facebook profile (<https://www.facebook.com/Ghassan.ben.jiddu>, accessed February 6, 2012), he went to college in Tunisia and then moved to Lebanon to work as a reporter for Al-Jazeera. He resigned his post as head of the Al-Jazeera station in Beirut in April 2011 to protest the fact that the Qatar-based station did not give adequate coverage to the uprisings in Bahrain and Syria.

This program was chosen mainly because the Arabic scripts were available on the Al-Jazeera website (<http://www.aljazeera.net/programs/27d796cb-abce-444f-a271-24c83bfc051c>, accessed December 15, 2011). The videos were downloaded in iTunes through the podcast of the program, and the MPEG-4 video files were converted to .wav format using Smart Converter to allow for phonological analysis where necessary. The

program is an interesting setting to analyze interdialectal conversation since many of the guests the host interviews come from various countries and social backgrounds. Furthermore, the setup of the program offers several speaking styles. At the beginning of each program, Bin Jiddu reads from notecards giving an introduction to the conversation topic for the program, and at the end he reads a farewell message thanking the viewers for tuning in and those involved in producing the program. The panel discussions provide a fertile ground for voicing one's opinion, arguing, summarizing or paraphrasing what other people have said, joking, and debating.

For the most part the panelists address the host and not each other, so the setup of the conversations is predominantly one-on-one. Therefore, in the audience design framework the host and a guest will switch between roles of speaker and *addressee*. While the host interacts with a single guest, the other guests can be considered *auditors* to the conversation because the two main speakers know that they are there but do not address them. Finally, the pan-Arab audience that is watching the program can be considered the *referee*, because even though they are not present in the conversation, they still exert an influence because the program is being broadcast to them, so it is upon all participants to seek to be understood by them.

The Episodes

The first episode titled ‘Intellectuals and the Media in the Time of Revolution,’ aired on Al-Jazeera on February 20, 2011, nine days after Hosni Mubarak stepped down as president of Egypt. The discussion panel includes Khalid Yusef, a director, Nuwara Negm, a female blogger, and Gamal Bakhit, a poet. Khalid Yusef is famous in Egypt for his blunt, controversial films that handle taboo topics like rape, homosexuality, and political corruption. Nuwara Negm became somewhat of a media spokesperson for the protesters during the revolution when she was interviewed by Al-Jazeera on January 26, 2011. Hosni Mubarak had just made a speech dismissing the protests as a temporary phenomenon, and in the interview, she bluntly stated that the protesters weren’t going anywhere until Mubarak stepped down, which solidified the determination and persistence of the protesters in Tahrir square. A translator and news editor at the Nile Television Network, she writes about political issues at her blog, *الشعبية التهيبس جبهة*, *gebhet et-tāhīs ʿ-šāʿbiyā* (<http://tahyyes.blogspot.com/>, accessed February 6, 2012), which I will translate as ‘A Popular Front of Sarcasm’. Gamal Bakhit is a renowned Egyptian poet, whose poem *رأسك ارفع، مصري انت فو*, *rfaʿ rasik fu, mtā māsri*, which translates as ‘Raise Your Head High, You Are Egyptian’, captured the protester’s demands for a government that respected their dignity as human beings (Khawly, 2012).

The second episode titled ‘Developments on the Situation in Tunisia’ aired January 15, 2011, one day after the Tunisian president Zine Al-Abadine Ben ‘Ali stepped down and fled to Saudi Arabia. The in-studio discussion panel includes Rashid Al-Ghannouchi, one of the leaders of the النهضة *en-nahḍa* political party, which won the majority of seats in the first free Parliamentary elections in Tunisia’s history in October of 2011, as well as the Palestinian editor of the London-based pan-Arab newspaper *Al-Quds*, ‘Abdul Bari Al-‘Atwan. Siham Bensedrine, a Tunisian human rights activist and journalist, takes part in the conversation over the phone, and Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi journalist, participates via videoconference.

The third episode, which is simply titled ‘Tunisia’ aired on January 22, 2011 and consists of three parts. In the first section, the host Ghassan Bin Jiddu is out in the streets of Tunisia interviewing attendees at a local rally. In the second section, he hosts a panel discussion with two Tunisian journalists, Lutfi Haji and Ziad Tarbush. In the third section, he interviews a Moroccan journalist for Al-Jazeera, Anas Bin Saleh, who was stationed in Tunisia to cover the revolution.

Variables

Phonological

For this study, the choice of the phonological variable ض (ḍ) was primarily dictated by the data, because in listening to the episodes closely variation in this phoneme seemed the most salient. In the Tunisian dialect as well as most dialects, it is extremely common for the variable ض (ḍ) to be pronounced as ط [ṭ]. Watching Al-Jazeera, one can hear this variation between [ḍ] as [ṭ] in every dialect except Egyptian, because in the Egyptian dialect (ḍ) is sometimes pronounced as [z].

Although no explicit sociolinguistic studies on the [ṭ] variant of (ḍ) were found in the literature for any dialect, Ferguson (1959) mentions the merger of /ḍ/ and [ṭ] as a feature of the Arabic koine except in dialects that have lost the interdental (like Egyptian) (p. 67). In addition, Talmoudi's (1981) description of the Tunisian dialect of Soussa, Amor's (1990) *Beginner's Course in Tunisian Arabic* for the Peace Corps, and Boussofara-Omar's (1999) dissertation on Tunisian Arabic use the same phonetic symbol /ṭ/ for the Arabic letters ض and ط, suggesting that these have merged in TA.

Perhaps the lack of sociolinguistic investigation of this variable could be due to the fact that researchers interested in the emphatics are generally more concerned with phonological processes associated with the voice quality rather than place of

articulation. Most studies on the emphatics in Arabic are primarily phonological studies of emphasis spread (Watson, 2002) or phonetic characteristics of emphatics (Abudaljuh, 2010; Al-Masri, 1998; Boxberger 1981; Muqbil, 2006). Unfortunately, many of these studies are phonetic experiments where the subjects read a word list, which means they may be consciously trying to use the *fuṣḥā* pronunciation making them less useful for comparison for linguistic variation.

The second phonological variable in this study is ط (ṭ) > [z] in Egyptian, so that a *fuṣḥā* word like مظاهرات /muḏāhirāt/ 'protests; demonstrations' may be pronounced as /muzāhirāt/ in Egyptian. Watson (2002) notes that Cairene Arabic has lost the interdental fricatives (p. 20), and Soliman (2008) the merger of /ḏ/ > [z] (p. 84). These findings follow the trend of other dialects where interdentals are pronounced as alveolars. For example, in many other dialects (Levantine, Gulf, Magrebi) it is extremely common to pronounce ذهب /ḏəhəbə/ 'to go', as زهب /zəhəbə/. Therefore, it is not surprising that Egyptians avoid pronouncing (ḏ) as [ḏ] because interdental fricatives are hardly used in the dialect in the first place. Because of this avoidance of interdentals, one could speculate that the evolution of the sound change /ḏ/ > [ḏ] > [z] would make sense in Egyptian.

Lexical and Syntactic

Two other categories of variables were chosen for this study: particles of negation and relative pronouns. These variables were chosen because they were particularly salient in the data set, allowing several tokens to be collected from each speaker. Particles of negation and relative pronouns will illustrate that style shifting does not occur solely on the phonological level of the language, but the lexical and syntactic level as well. It should be noted that the negation particles and relative pronouns are considered lexical variables because there is a choice between one word and the other, and syntactic variables since these particles work differently in the grammar of both varieties.

Negation

In *fušḥā* there is one particle for nominal negation ليس *lejsə*, and four particles for verbal negation that depend on the tense of the verb: لم *lem* and ما *mā* for the past, لا *lā* for the present, and لن *len* for the future, whereas in the dialects مش *miš/muš* or the circumfix ما - ش *ma-š* are used.

The negation particle *lā* serves several functions outside of negating the present tense in both *fušḥā* and *ʕāmijǰə*. First, it can be used simply to mean 'no', as in response to a question. Second, *lā* can also be used to indicate categorical negation, as in لا شك

lā šek, meaning 'no doubt'. Third, *lā* can be used for the negative imperative, and finally, when it is repeated it can indicate 'neither...nor'. For this study, when *lā* was used in these other functions they were ignored, and only instances where there was a clear choice between a *fušḥā* or *ʕāmijə* particle of negation were used.

Relative Pronouns

In *fušḥā* there are three relative pronouns depending on gender and number of the noun being referred to: *الذي alleḏī* for masculine singular, *التي alleṭī* for feminine singular, and *الذين alleḏīnə* for plural, whereas in the dialects only *اللي illī* is used. Again, some linguists may classify the use of *illī* as a diglossic choice because it does not exist in *fušḥā*.

Interestingly, Walters (2003) claims that in what he refers to as Oral Literary Arabic, which is similar to the concept of Educated Spoken Arabic, it has become "highly conventionalized" for Tunisians to use the dialectal rather than the *fušḥā* relative pronoun (p. 101). This present study will test this hypothesis.

Other Variables

I have chosen two phonological variables (ḏ and ḏ̣), as well as two lexical and syntactic variables (particles of negation and relative pronouns) in order to offer a

glimpse of style shifting in Arabic. After the results are presented for these variables, I will discuss other variables such as the use of case endings or certain inflectional markers where the speakers in this data set exhibited variation in using *fuṣḥā* or *ʿāmiyyā* markers. This analysis will illustrate the shortcomings of the diglossic and code-switching frameworks, as well as provide a more holistic view of stylistic variation in Arabic.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced the broadcast program and variables under review. In the next chapter, I will discuss the methodology of this study, detailing how the data were collected and analyzed.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

In this section, I describe how tokens of the phonological, lexical, and syntactic variables were gathered. As stated earlier, one of the main reasons this specific program was chosen was because the Arabic transcripts were available on the Al-Jazeera website. First, the Arabic transcripts were transliterated into Latin orthography to ease the process of phonetic transcriptions of each token. Once the transliteration was complete, words containing the phonemes (ḍ) and (ḏ) were identified in the transcripts to make it easier to follow along with the audio.

To obtain the sound files of the individual tokens, Audacity software was used to select sections of the wavelength of the sound file where the tokens occurred. These selections were then exported as individual sound files that were coded by speaker and number. These tokens were entered into a spreadsheet where they were phonetically transcribed coding for speaker, dialect group, and setting.

Figure 1 shows an example of how the variables were organized in a spreadsheet.

The setup depicted in Figure 1 allowed close inspection of tokens that were not clear. Using headphones to remove background noise, each token was listened to closely several times. If a token was unclear, its sound file was analyzed in Praat to determine which variant was being used.

For example, Figure 2 shows how the wavelengths of the two phonemes differ.







| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H |
|---|-----------------|---|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1 | | | | | ɖ | | | ð |
| 2 | Ghassan reading | | 1 |  | xəɖrə | 1 |  | ɪntifāɖ[ð]ət-i |
| 3 | | | 2 |  | al-xəɖrə | 2 |  | an-naħəɖ[ð]ə |
| 4 | | | 3 |  | al-xəɖrə | 3 |  | an-naħəɖ[ð]ə |

Figure 1. Token spreadsheet.

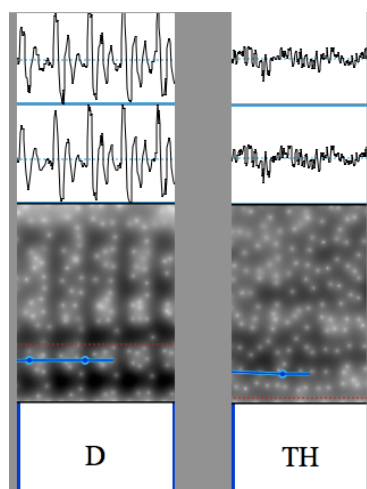


Figure 2. (ɖ) and (ð) spectrogram.

In Figure 2, the phoneme on the left represents Ghassan's pronunciation of /d/ in the word بعض *baʕd* 'some'. The tall and spacious wavelengths suggest that this phoneme is a stop, meaning he is using the [d] and not the fricative [ð]. The phoneme on the right represents Ghassan's pronunciation of the /d/ in the word رفض *rafɖ* 'he refused'. Here the wavelengths are short and bunched together, showing the frication or noise in the pronunciation of [ð], the fricative, and his dialectal variant. The analysis of the sound files was conducted in this manner to determine which variant was being used.

Some tokens had to be eliminated because of unclear audio, overlapping speech, background noise, and the rapidity of utterances. One Tunisian speaker on the street was eliminated because he became so emotional describing his experiences of torture at the hands of the Tunisian authorities that he could not be understood.

For the lexical and syntactic variables, the phonetic transcripts of each episode were examined. Each particle of negation and relative pronoun was counted and categorized as a *fuʂhə* or *ʕāmijjə* lexical item and tallies were calculated for each speaker.

Categorization of Speakers: Speech

Setting and Interlocutor

Because this study analyzes style shifting through the lens of audience design, the question of whom the host and guests are addressing is of utmost importance in how they choose which style to employ. Both the host and guests can be said to be addressing the pan-Arab audience (the *referee* in Bell's framework) watching the program, which could perhaps entail more use of features from *fushā*, the supposed *lingua franca* of the educated viewing audience as discussed previously. The guests primarily address the host. However, as the moderator of the discussion, the host switches between addressing Egyptians, in-studio Tunisians, on-the-street Tunisians, interdialectal panels, and the Tunisian woman on the phone.

Setting is another important element of style shifting because it may help to emphasize the intended audience. Between the three episodes, the host was either in-studio with a homogenous dialect group (the Egyptians), in-studio with speakers of various dialects, or out in the streets interviewing Tunisians. The guests ranged from a homogenous in-studio panel (the Egyptians in one episode and the two Tunisian journalists in another), an interdialectal panel (Rachid Al-Ghannouchi and 'Abdul Bari Al-'Atwan, a Tunisian and a Palestinian, as well as Ghassan's discussion with Anis Bin

Saleh, a Moroccan), over the phone (Siham Bensedrine, a Tunisian), videoconference (Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi), and Tunisians on the street. Therefore, the guests were categorized into groups depending on the setting of the conversation, which is illustrated in Table 1.

It should be noted that these categorizations depicted in Table 1 may be somewhat incomplete in the sense that speakers are not solely defined by the setting in which they are speaking. Such a categorization is by no means deterministic, because linguistic variation cannot be explained by one factor alone. Here, they provide a starting point for comparison.

Table 1. Categorization of Guests

| <i>In-Studio Egyptians</i> | <i>In-Studio Tunisians</i> | <i>Various Dialects</i> | <i>On-the-Street Tunisians</i> | <i>Tunisian Woman On-the-Phone</i> |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Khalid Yusef | Rachid Al- Ghannouchi | ‘Abdul Bari Al- ‘Atwan (Palestinian) | 11 total | Siham Bensedrine |
| Nuwara Negm | Lutfi Haji | Jamal Khashoggi (Saudi) | | |
| Gamal Bakit | Ziad Tarbush | Anis Bin Saleh (Moroccan) | | |

The setting also determines how aware the speakers are of their language, so here Labov's 'attention paid to speech' can be useful as well. In studio, it is assumed that the speakers will be quite aware of the formality of the situation and the language required. However, as the show progresses and the participants get deeper and deeper into conversation, there is a possibility that the speakers will become less aware of the studio setting and may start using more dialectal features. Walters (2003) writes that "even in fairly formal situations like radio and television interviews, the longer the interlocutors interact, the more likely they are to 'drift' toward the dialect" (p. 92). At the beginning of the episode, both the host and guests may be quite aware of the pan-Arab audience watching at home and cater their speech to that audience. However, in the middle of the episode a guest may be so drawn into the conversation that they are focusing more on the host as their immediate audience than those tuning in.

This shift in awareness of audience is also related to how often the guests are permitted to speak. The in-studio Egyptians, for instance, are the only three guests on the program. They therefore have more opportunities to speak compared to the guests in other episodes. The larger amount of airtime could also allow the Egyptians to become less aware of the studio setting as they are caught up in the conversation. It would be interesting to track the variation over the course of the episode; however, the

setup of the program prevents such an investigation since the host addresses all three guests throughout the program at various intervals. For example, if the host talks to Khalid Yusef for the first 10 minutes, and then talks to Nuwara Negm for 10 minutes, by the time he gets back to Khalid Yusef it is hard to say how aware of his setting and audience he is. Furthermore, such an investigation would require looking at more variables on the phonological, lexical, and syntactic levels because I do not have enough data to perform such an investigation. However, future research could investigate this issue because it may offer insight into conscious awareness of setting and audience.

The on-the-street Tunisians were usually interviewed very briefly and therefore had less time to speak compared to the Egyptians. Additionally, although they were on the street, which according to the diglossic framework is a more informal domain, they have a camera in their face and they are being interviewed by a reporter, which may make them more aware of their speech. They may pay more attention to their speech because they know they are on Al-Jazeera and whatever they say is being broadcast across the Arabic-speaking world. Furthermore, since the on-the-street Tunisians were only interviewed for a short time they have less time to forget about the presence of the camera.

The in-studio Tunisians, on the other hand, we can assume are highly educated because they are considered authoritative figures on the topics being discussed, whereas the average Tunisian on-the-street may not be as educated, meaning that they may use more dialectal features simply because they have not received as much education in *fushā*. The Tunisian woman on-the-phone adds another interesting element to this issue, because it is my belief that she may not be as aware of the presence of the cameras because she is speaking from a phone in her home. The informal setting of being in the comfort of her own home and the fact that a camera is not in front of her face may lead her to speak more naturally, which may entail more *ʕāmijjə* features.

Finally, another result of the guests' being allotted different time to speak has consequences on the number of tokens that can be obtained from each of the speakers in this study, which has implications for the comparability of the results. The greatest number of tokens for each variable was obtained from the speech of the host because he usually talked the most and was present in all three episodes. However, these tokens were dispersed across a variety of styles: reading, addressing various guests (Egyptians, Tunisians, speakers from other dialects), and addressing the general audience (whether in studio or in the street). So for example, since the host only reads at the beginning of

the program, there were very few tokens obtained in the reading style compared to others.

The number of guests on the program also determines how long the host has time to speak. For the on-the-street interviews, the host spoke with 11 Tunisians total. The interviews were quite short for the most part, except for three men who spoke at length. Since the name of this segment of the show was 'Unheard Voices,' the point was to get the Tunisian perspective and not the host's. Therefore, only eight tokens were obtained from the host in this context. Since the Tunisians spoke briefly in this context, all tokens were combined into a group labeled "On-the-Street Tunisians." The other in-studio guests had more time to speak than the on-the-street interviews; therefore around twenty tokens were obtained from most of the in-studio guests.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Phonological Variable: ض (ḍ) > ط /ḍ/

The Host

Table 2 summarizes the results for phonological variation of (ḍ) and [ḍ] in the speech of the host of the program, Ghassan Bin Jiddu, depending on whom he is addressing.

In order to analyze these results, percentages were calculated for each variant, and the results are represented in Figure 3.

In Figure 3, we can see that the host has the highest percentage of the *ṣāmijjə* variant [ḍ] in his speech phonologically when he is talking to the Egyptians. We can explain this as speech accommodation to some extent but not completely. Usually with speech accommodation, language users will speak more similarly to the speech of their interlocutor.

Table 2. Counts of tokens of (ḍ) produced by host

| | <i>ḍ</i> | % | <i>ḍ̣</i> | % | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| Egyptians | 1 | 4% | 27 | 96% | 28 |
| Tunisian woman on-the-phone | 1 | 9% | 10 | 91% | 11 |
| In-studio Tunisians | 3 | 10% | 27 | 90% | 30 |
| Various dialects | 4 | 27% | 11 | 73% | 15 |
| On-the-street Tunisians | 3 | 33% | 6 | 67% | 9 |
| General audience (street) | 5 | 42% | 7 | 58% | 12 |
| Reading | 18 | 47% | 20 | 53% | 38 |
| General audience (studio) | 4 | 27% | 11 | 73% | 15 |
| Total | 39 | 25% | 119 | 75% | 158 |

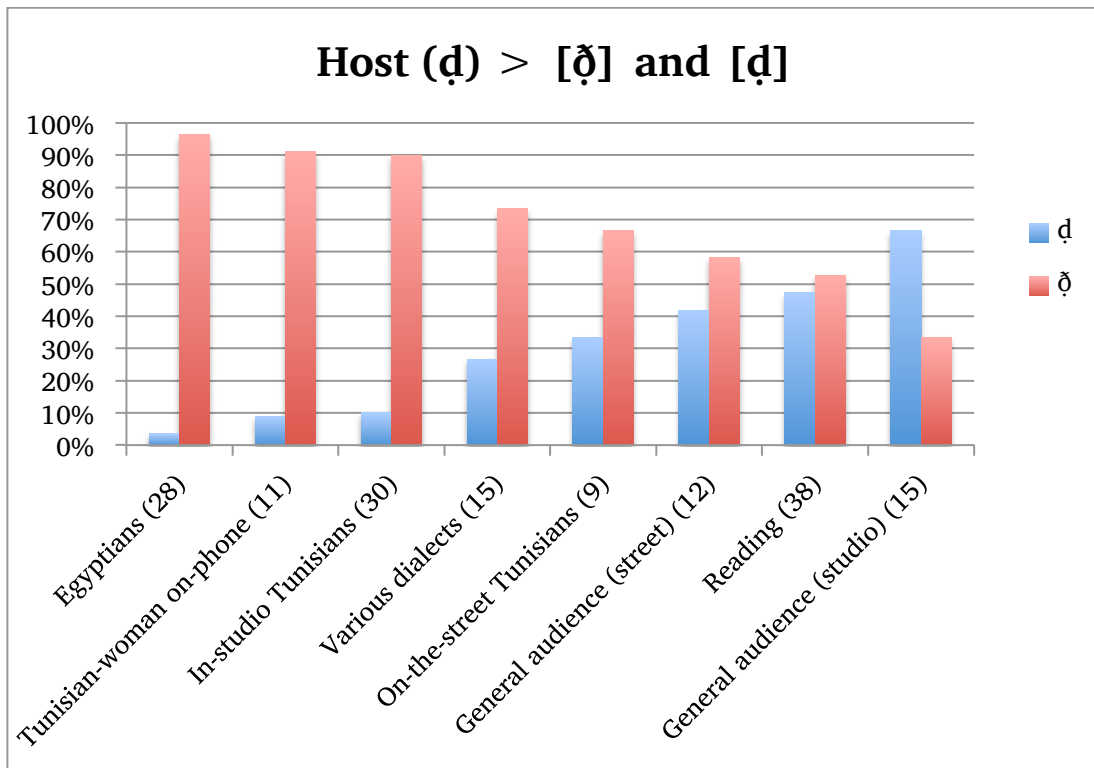


Figure 3. Host (ḍ) variation

However, we cannot necessarily say that Ghassan Bin Jiddu is accommodating to the Egyptians by speaking the Egyptian dialect because (ḍ) > [ḍ̥] is not a feature of the Egyptian dialect. For Egyptians, the change is towards [z] instead of [ḍ̥], although it is not clear how common this variant is. I think it is more preferable to say that he is accommodating to their colloquial *style* of speaking rather than to say that he is accommodating to their colloquial *variety*. As will be discussed below, the Egyptians speak in a predominantly colloquial style in several different ways.

After the Egyptians, the Tunisian woman on the phone (the journalist and human rights activist Siham Bensedrine) is the next person with whom he predominantly uses his dialectal [ø] variant. Similarly, I think this is related to the fact that she speaks in a more colloquial style when compared to her male Tunisian counterparts. This could be related to the fact that women in general are said to use more colloquial features in general (Al-Wer 1999; Bakir, 1986; Daher, 1998, 1999), as well as to the fact that she is on the phone in her own home. Furthermore, her use of colloquial features may be connected to her role as a populist activist, reflecting her role as an advocate of the people.

Surprisingly, Ghassan Bin Jiddu uses his dialectal variant more with the in-studio Tunisians as compared to those on the streets. This could be a comparability issue related to the fact that while 30 tokens for this variable were captured in studio, only 9 were obtained in the on-the-street interviews. This is related to the lower quality of the on-the-street recording where an abundance of background noise on the street resulted in several tokens being thrown out. He also did not speak very much on the street compared to other settings. It is possible that if more tokens were obtained from the street setting the results would be reversed for these two groups he is addressing.

The results for this variable are also interesting when the host addresses the general audience on the street and in studio. The fact that he uses his dialectal variant more on the street than in studio is in line with my prediction that he would use more *ʕāmijjə* markers in general on the street. These findings are particularly interesting regarding the general audience because as we discussed earlier, since Al-Jazeera is broadcast across the Arab world it has to be accessible to audiences from various dialectical backgrounds. This phonological variation does not necessarily prevent comprehension among these diverse groups since this variation between [d] and [ð] may be present in every dialect except Egyptian. Such a phenomenon goes back to the question of whether Al-Jazeera needs to be broadcast in *fuṣḥā*, the supposed “mutually understood standard”, or if speakers on Al-Jazeera can use *fuṣḥā* with some widespread phonological *ʕāmijjə* markers, which may constitute a third or intermediate variety that is often hypothesized (ESA).

The results for Ghassan Bin Jiddu's phonological variation in the reading context are particularly interesting because it is nearly half and half. According to Labov's idea of “attention paid to speech”, reading is supposed to be the most formal setting where we are most aware of the language we are producing. The fact that the host uses nearly 50% *fuṣḥā* pronunciation and 50% *ʕāmijjə* pronunciation in this context can have

several interpretations. Ghassan Bin Jiddu could be aware of this phonological variation in his dialect and he is trying his best to control it. On the other hand, he could be unaware of this difference in his dialect and switches between the two outside the realm of conscious awareness. Although we cannot know for sure either way, these results draw an interesting nuance in the relationship between attention paid to speech and conversational setting or type.

Finally, it is not surprising that he uses the most *fušḥā* pronunciations of this variable when he is addressing the general audience in the studio setting, again playing his role of authoritative moderator and representative of the station.

Perhaps most importantly, the results for this phonological variable (ḍ) show that the host did not maintain the *fušḥā* pronunciation 100% of the time in the formal domain. His variation between [ḍ] and [ð] violated the functional differentiation between *fušḥā* and *ʕāmijjə* proposed in the diglossic framework, and illustrated the leakage between standard and nonstandard varieties. These results also exemplify Labov's notion of "inherent variability" since sometimes the host would say [ʔajɾḍan] 'also' and other times he would say [ʔajɾðan] depending on his audience. Style shifting with this phoneme therefore allowed him not only to accommodate to individuals who shared the same dialectal feature like the on-the-street Tunisians, but also permitted

him to accommodate to the overall colloquial style in which the Egyptians were speaking.

The Guests

Table 3 summarizes the results for phonological variation for the variable (ḍ) > [ð] and [z] for the guests on the program.

Percentages were calculated for the variants and are illustrated in Figure 4. Figure 4 shows that the results for the guests' phonological variation between [ḍ], [ð], and [z]. The on-the-street Tunisians used the *ṣāmijjā* [ð] variant 100% of the time. This result is not surprising in the context of the audience design theory of style shifting given the informality of the street domain, as well as their immediate audience, a fellow Tunisian. The in-studio Tunisians used this variant the majority of the time as well, which was surprising given the formality of the domain. On the one hand, this *ṣāmijjā* variant could be so ingrained in the dialect that it is used even when Tunisians are speaking *fušḥā*, similar to how Egyptians can maintain the *ṣāmijjā* [g] variant of /ḍ/ when they are speaking *fušḥā*. On the other hand, we can also interpret the presence of the [ḍ] variant in studio reflecting the formality implied by the in-studio domain and perhaps the in-studio Tunisians' awareness of it. We could also hypothesize that both

groups of Tunisians were accommodating to the host's dialect because he shares this variation between [d̥] and [ð], manipulating their speech according to their audience.

The results of the Tunisian woman on the phone, Siham Bensedrine's, variation on this phoneme are particularly mixed and interesting. While she predominantly pronounces /d̥/ as [ð], she uses the [z̥] variant nearly as much. This is surprising since it was noted according to the literature earlier that variation between [d̥] and [z̥] is usually a feature of Egyptian and not Tunisian. Siham Bensedrine grew up in La Marsa, a suburb of Tunis. Perhaps this variation between [d̥] and [z̥] is an undocumented feature of the area, but it is difficult to know without more speakers. For the purposes of this study, we can only speculate that she is using more dialectal variants because she is talking on the phone in her home, a natural comfortable domain where she may be

Table 3. Counts of tokens of (d̥) produced by guests

| | <i>d̥</i> | % | <i>ð</i> | % | <i>z̥</i> | % | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-----|----------|------|-----------|-----|--------------|
| Tunisians on-the-street | 0 | 0% | 58 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 58 |
| Tunisians in-studio | 6 | 16% | 32 | 84% | 0 | 0% | 38 |
| Tunisian woman on-the-phone | 3 | 14% | 10 | 45% | 9 | 41% | 22 |
| Various dialects | 43 | 98% | 1 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 44 |
| Egyptians in-studio | 68 | 97% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 3% | 70 |
| Total | 120 | 52% | 100 | 43% | 11 | 5% | 232 |

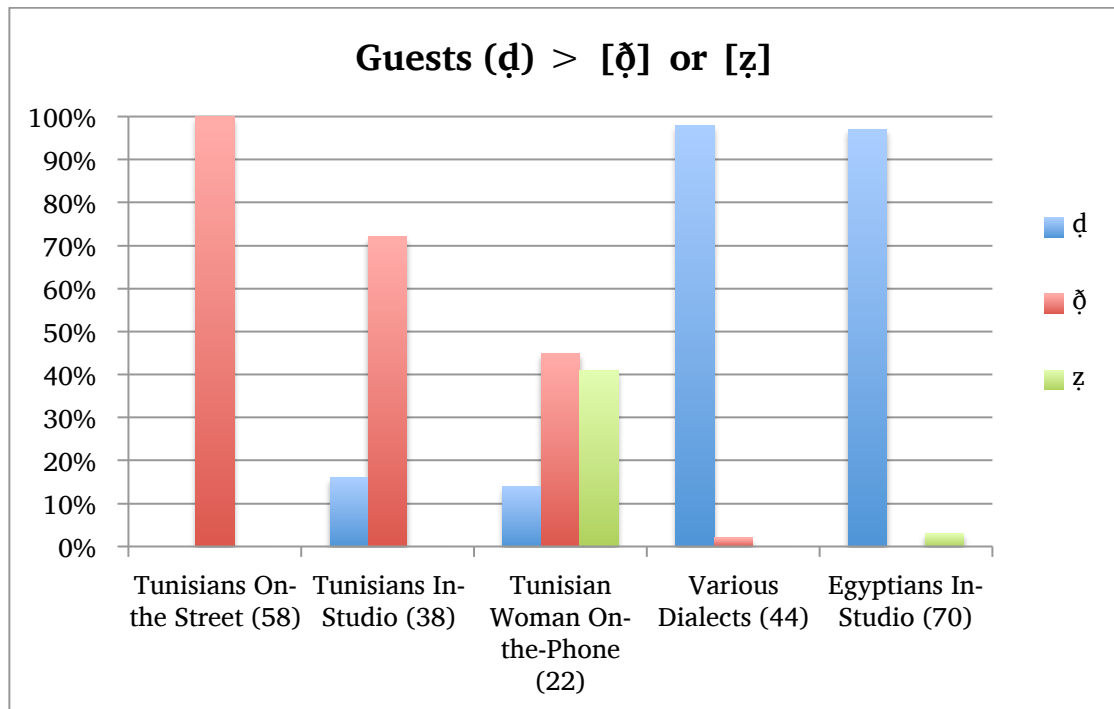


Figure 4. Guests (d) variation.

less aware of the media context because she is not sitting in front of a camera.

Interestingly, she tended to pronounce other interdentalals as fricatives, so this variation could be a continuation of that trend.

With all of the Tunisians, it is also important to remember that these episodes aired a few days after Ben ‘Ali resigned as president. The persistent use of the [ð] variant could also signal nationalistic pride in reclaiming Tunisian identity. The on-the-street Tunisians who were rallying in the streets embodied this victory physically and linguistically.

The various dialects group, which again consists of the Palestinian, Saudi, and Moroccan speakers, showed much less variation with this variable, maintaining the *fushā* [d̥] pronunciation nearly 100% of the time. This is a little surprising since (d̥) > [ð̥] is a feature of all three dialects; however, we could say that they may have suppressed this feature because of the formal nature of the studio domain. The only variation for this group with this variable came from Jamal Khashoggi, the Saudi journalist, who maintained the [d̥] phoneme in eighteen lexical items, whereas he used the [ð̥] variant only once. It should be noted that in that episode he talked the least, for about 8 minutes. Perhaps if he had talked more this variant might have been more obvious, and it would be interesting to find other interviews to see if this variant is more apparent in situations where he is given more allotted time to speak.

The data for the Egyptians support the idea that variation between [d̥] and [z̥] is rather rare and restricted in the speech of the Egyptian guests. Nuwara Negm used the dialectal variant only once when she said [təhəriːzi] for ‘inciting, provocative’ instead of /təhəriːdi/, and Khalid Yusef did as well when he said [muhaɾiːzan] for ‘inciter, instigator’ instead of /muhaɾiːdan/. Interestingly, these are both from the same root, which may be related to why there is variation in both pronunciations despite the fact that they are from two different speakers. It should also be noted that Nuwara Negm

uses this root at four different points in the conversation, including the exact same verb /tə-harīḏī/, and there she maintained the [ḏ] pronunciation. Again, this variation exemplifies Labov’s “inherent variability” because she used different pronunciations for the exact same verb.

From this chart, we have seen that variation for the variable (ḏ) > [ḏ] and [z] is highly complex in the dialects of the guests on this program. However, this variable is just one way that these speakers shift between different styles. Next, I will look at ʔ (ḏ) > [z] in the Egyptian dialect to show how Egyptians maintain a colloquial style with this next variable. After that, I will turn to lexical and syntactic analysis of negation and relative pronouns in order to add another dimension to style shifting for the other dialect groups.

Phonological Variable: ʔ (ḏ) > [z]

For the second section of phonological analysis for this study, I investigated the Egyptian variable ʔ (ḏ) > [z] in the data set in order to show another way guests on the program manipulated their speech on the phonological level of the language.

Tokens for this variable were also collected for the host, Tunisians, and various dialect groups, but all three groups maintained the /ḏ/ pronunciation nearly 100% of the time, regardless of setting.

Results for this variable are illustrated in Table 4.

Since the Egyptians showed the most variation on this variable, percentages were calculated for each speaker and are illustrated in Figure 5.

In Figure 5, we can see that the Egyptians predominantly used the *ʕāmijjə* [ʕ] pronunciation instead of the *fuʕḩā* /ð/ pronunciation, though Khalid Yusef and Gamal Bakhit did use the *fuʕḩā* pronunciation one time each. These results add another dimension of style shifting on the phonological level in the speech of the Egyptians. For the first variable (ð), the Egyptians did not use their dialectal variant [ʕ] nearly as much as I expected. However, for the variable (ð) we see a much larger use of the *ʕāmijjə* [ʕ] variant. This illustrates how the Egyptians tended to use more *ʕāmijjə* markers in

Table 4. Counts of tokens of (ð) produced by host and guests

| | ð | % | ʕ | % | Total |
|-----------------------------|-----|------|----|-----|-------|
| The host | 52 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 52 |
| In-studio Tunisians | 31 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 31 |
| On-the-street Tunisians | 16 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 16 |
| Tunisian woman on-the-phone | 14 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 14 |
| Egyptians | 2 | 6% | 32 | 94% | 34 |
| Various dialects | 29 | 97% | 1 | 3% | 30 |
| Total | 144 | 81% | 33 | 19% | 177 |

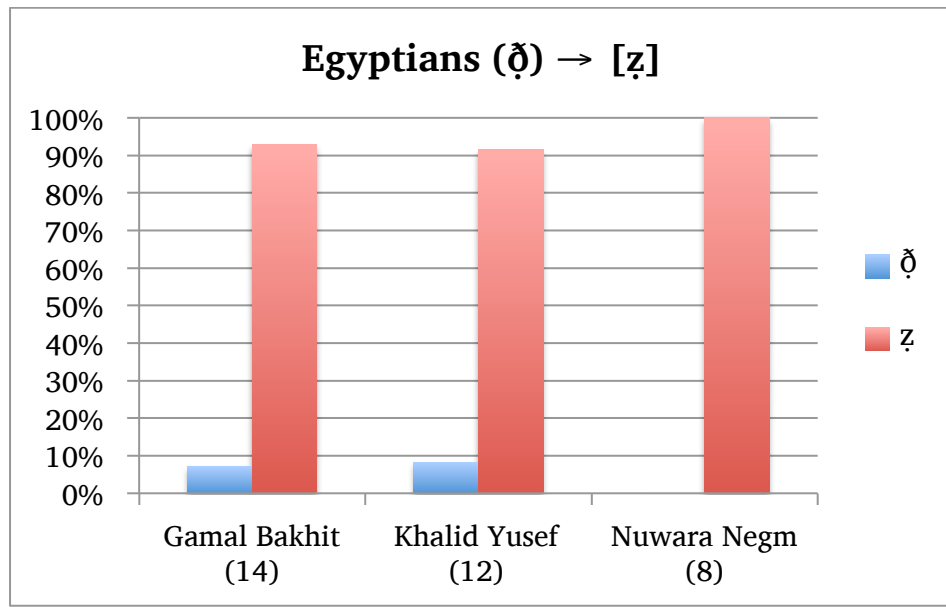


Figure 5. Egyptians (ð) variation.

general, as well as a continuance of the trend of pronouncing interdentals as fricatives.

The fact that Nuwara Negm maintained the *ṣāmijja* [z] variant is also in line with the previous results for Siham Bensedrine, in the sense that they used more *ṣāmijja* phonological markers than their male counterparts. This is in line with other research on Arabic that has shown women tend to use more colloquial features than men (Al-Wer, 1999 in Jordan; Bakir, 1986 in Iraq; Daher, 1998, 1999 in Syria; Havelova, 2000 in Palestine).

I mentioned previously that the Egyptian dialect is widely understood in the Arab world and one hears markers of the Egyptian dialect on several Arab media outlets. Therefore, the Egyptians are not necessarily accommodating to the speech of

the host because he does not vary on this variable. Rather, they are conveying their Egyptian identity to the pan-Arab audience watching at home. Remember that this episode aired a few days after Mubarak resigned as president; therefore, they could have been using predominantly Egyptian colloquial features in order to convey their nationalistic pride, similar to the Tunisians as suggested earlier.

Statistical Analysis

In this section, I have tried to show that the host used features that are more colloquial with the Egyptians, accommodating to their colloquial style. I have also shown that for the variable (d), the on-the-street Tunisians used the colloquial variant [ð] more than their in-studio counterparts, and that for the variable (ð), the Egyptians used the colloquial variant [z] more than the other speakers. Usually, the MANOVA test or regression analysis is used to test the null hypothesis in a sociophonetic study. However, the small number of speakers and tokens gathered from them, as well as the use of categorical data prevented such an analysis.

Furthermore, the fact that certain speakers used both variants made it impossible to code the speakers for statistical analysis, which requires putting a speaker in one group and not the other. For example, the Palestinian 'Abdul Bari Al-'Atwan could have been coded as belonging to the [d] group because he showed no variation

on this variable. Similarly, the on-the-street Tunisians could have been coded as belonging to the [Ø] group because they did not use the other variant. However, Rachid Al-Ghannouchi, an in-studio Tunisian, switched between the two and could therefore not be coded as belonging to either. Individual differences like these prohibited statistical analysis.

Lexical and Syntactic Variables

Now that we have seen how variation occurs on the phonological level of the language, we can move to the lexical and syntactic level to explore the interactions of variation and style shifting there. This investigation will provide a more complex view of style shifting by illustrating the intricacies of how various speakers manipulate their language in different ways and in different settings. First, I will examine whether the speakers chose to employ *fušḥā* or *ʕāmijǧ* markers of negation, then I will investigate whether they chose *fušḥā* or *ʕāmijǧ* relative pronouns.

Negation

As discussed earlier, in *fušḥā* there is a distinction between nominal negation, where *ليس lejsə* is used, and verbal negation where various particles are used depending on the tense of the verb. *لم lem* and *ما mā* are used for the past tense, *لا lā* is used for the

present, and *لن len* for the future, whereas in the dialects *مش miš/muš*, or the circumfix *ما ش ma-š* are used.

Tokens of each of these particles of negation were collected for all the speakers on the program, and the results are represented in Table 5.

Percentages were calculated and are illustrated in Figure 6.

In Figure 6, again we can see that the Egyptians are leading the way by using the most *šāmiǰǰa* particles of negation compared to the other groups. These results are in line with their tendency to use more *šāmiǰǰa* markers than the other speakers and use an overall more colloquial style. The next group after the Egyptians is the on-the-street Tunisians, which is interesting for a number of reasons. First, this adds another dimension to how the on-the-street Tunisians were using more *šāmiǰǰa* characteristics than the in-studio Tunisians. Just as they used the *šāmiǰǰa* [ð] variant of [d] more than the in-studio Tunisians, they also use more *šāmiǰǰa* particles of negation, thereby using a more colloquial style.

The fact that Siham Bensedrine, the Tunisian woman on the phone, is next in line for using more *šāmiǰǰa* characteristics also illustrates another way she is using more *šāmiǰǰa* characteristics in general, which can be related to the relaxed domain of the home.

The fact that the various dialects and the in-studio Tunisians, both groups entirely composed of males, use predominantly *fushā* particles of negation also illustrates how the in-studio guests use a more standard style due to the formality of the in-studio domain. And of course, the host maintains his role as moderator and Al-Jazeera reporter by not using any *šāmiyyā* particles of negation.

Table 5. Counts of negation particles produced by host and guests

| | <i>fushā</i> | % | <i>šāmiyyā</i> | % | Total |
|-----------------------------|--------------|------|----------------|-----|-------|
| Egyptians | 8 | 15% | 44 | 85% | 52 |
| Tunisian woman on-the-phone | 11 | 69% | 5 | 31% | 16 |
| On-the-street Tunisians | 35 | 62% | 21 | 38% | 56 |
| In-studio Tunisians | 53 | 98% | 1 | 2% | 54 |
| Various dialects | 39 | 95% | 2 | 5% | 41 |
| Host | 101 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 101 |
| Total | 247 | 77% | 73 | 23% | 320 |

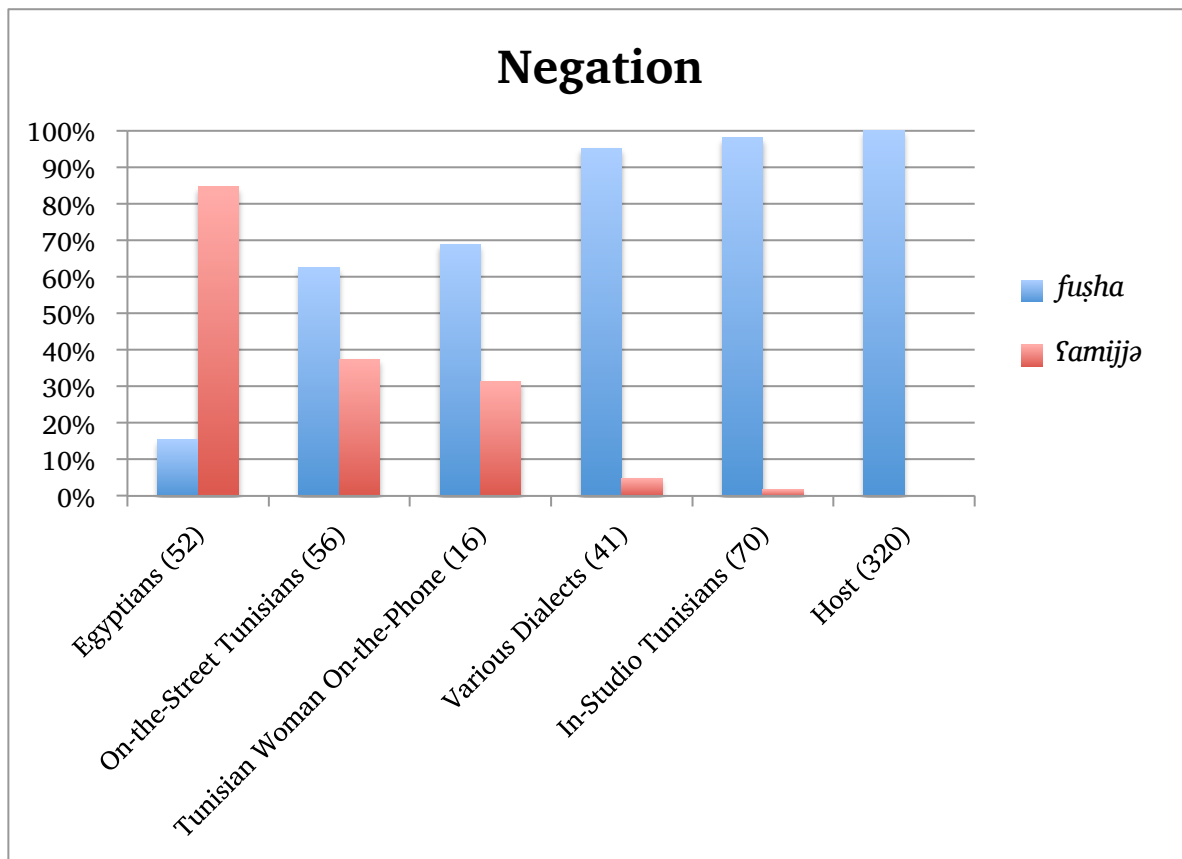


Figure 6. Particles of negation variation.

Relative Pronouns

As mentioned earlier, in *fuṣḥā* there are three relative pronouns depending on gender and number of the noun being referred to: *allēḍī* for masculine singular, *allētī* for feminine singular, and *allēḍīnā* for plural, whereas in the dialects *illi* is used.

Tokens for these particles were collected for each speaker and the results are represented in Table 6.

Percentages were calculated and are illustrated in Figure 9.

Figure 7 is particularly interesting because it breaks the trend we have seen in the other variables. Instead of the Egyptians leading the way, Siham Bensedrine (the Tunisian woman on-the-phone) uses the most *ʕāmijǧa* relative pronouns, followed by the Egyptians. Interestingly, the on-the-street Tunisians are next in line for using the most colloquial relative pronouns, which falls in line with the fact that they were using more particles of negation from the colloquial.

The fact that the in-studio Tunisians and the speakers from various dialects also used these relative pronouns adds another layer to the complexity of how the in-studio guests sometimes flavor their predominantly *fuṣṣḥā* speech with some markers of *ʕāmijǧa*.

Table 6. Counts of relative pronouns produced by host and guests

| | <i>fuṣṣḥā</i> | % | <i>ʕāmijǧa</i> | % | Total |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-----|----------------|-----|-------|
| Egyptians | 6 | 24% | 19 | 76% | 25 |
| Tunisian woman on-the-phone | 4 | 20% | 16 | 80% | 20 |
| In-studio Tunisians | 34 | 68% | 16 | 32% | 50 |
| Host | 71 | 92% | 6 | 8% | 77 |
| Various dialects | 17 | 85% | 3 | 15% | 20 |
| On-the-street Tunisians | 9 | 30% | 21 | 70% | 30 |
| Total | 141 | 64% | 81 | 36% | 222 |

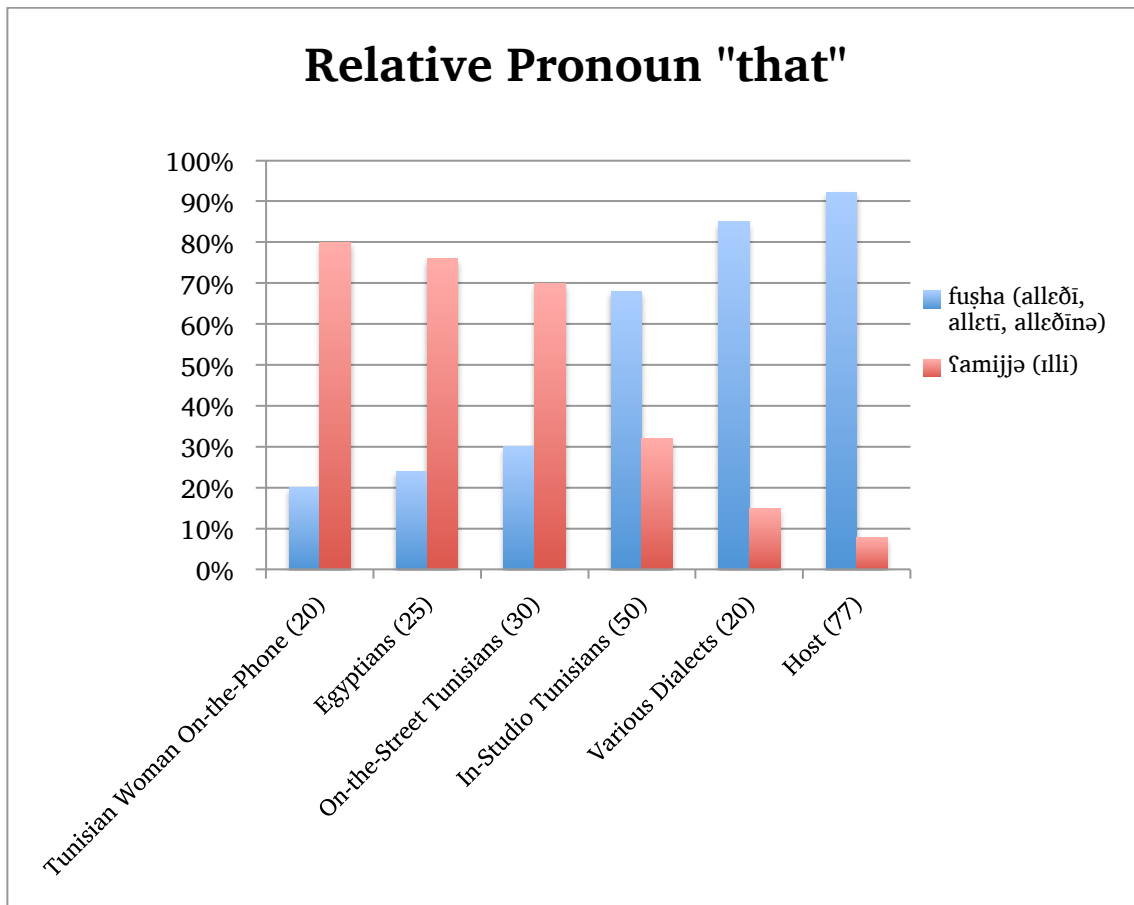


Figure 7. Relative pronoun variation.

For example, ‘Abdul Bari Al-‘Atwan, the Palestinian journalist, showed no variation on the phonological variables (ḏ) and (ḏ̣), maintaining the *fuṣḥā* pronunciations the whole time. However, he used the *ʕāmijjə* relative pronoun *illi* three times. The exploration of variables on all levels of the language allows us to see that although he did not show any variation on the phonological level, he did switch between *fuṣḥā* and *ʕāmijjə* relative pronouns, adding another dimension to style shifting in Arabic.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this graph is that unlike the particles of negation, the host, Ghassan Bin Jiddu, uses some *ʕāmijjə* relative pronouns. Here, the setting is important because he only used these *ʕāmijjə* relative pronouns when he was on the street interviewing Tunisians. He never used *illi* in studio. We can interpret this as both style shifting and speech accommodation because he is using a more colloquial style on the street, which again could be related to the cultural aspect of Arab hospitality and making his guests feel comfortable to speak naturally and openly. He is also accommodating to the Tunisian dialect. In the entire data set, he used *illi* six times out of seventy-one, and interestingly, half of these occur in his introduction to the segment of the program out on the street with the Tunisians where he is setting up the discussion. He reminisces about his college days in the seventies and eighties in Tunisia when Tunisian universities had some of the most active student movements, be they leftist, Islamic, or any type of movement where the students were involved and up to date on current events. In this section of speech, he also uses the *ʕāmijjə bi-* prefix for the present tense. He did not use this prefix anywhere else in the data set. Here he is talking to this group of men as a fellow Tunisian and the purpose of this reminiscing is to portray himself as one of the guys. By using *illi* and the *bi-* present tense prefix, he is

signaling the Tunisian aspect of his identity in order to establish solidarity with the men he is about to interview.

Advantages

Now that I have presented the results for the variables in this study, I will discuss the advantage of the approach taken here, as well as the disadvantages. The broadcast media context provides some advantages that are not present in a typical sociolinguistic interview. Usually in a sociolinguistic interview, the researcher will inform the participant that they are being interviewed for the sake of linguistic research. The presence of the recorder can make the participant more aware that the researcher is focusing on their speech and how they are saying things. Furthermore, the fact that they are being interviewed in the first place heightens this awareness, because as an average citizen, they probably are not recorded or interviewed very often.

On this program, the guests have not been invited to the program for the sake of listening to how they speak. They are on the program to voice their opinion about the Arab Spring and the revolutions in their country. They are paying less attention to their speech than a participant in a sociolinguistic interview; therefore, they may focus more on what to say instead of how to articulate it, which may be more similar to their unobserved speech. Furthermore, they have a vested interest in the topic because it

immediately concerns them and their futures, therefore they will probably be authentic and passionate about the subject.

Compared to a sociolinguistic interview where the audience is the academic researcher, the guests on this program are tailoring their speech to both the host and the pan-Arab audience watching Al-Jazeera. This context creates an interesting dynamic to explore the interaction of whom the speaker is addressing, conversation setting and topic, and the desire to be mutually understood.

Limitations

However, there are also some limitations of examining style shifting between *fushā* and *ʿāmiyyā* in the media context. First, there is not as much personal or biographical information available compared to a sociolinguistic interview where the participants respond to a questionnaire about their social and educational background. This lack of biographical information prevents an investigation of the “social” dimension of linguistic variation mentioned earlier. For example, without this biographical information we cannot compare the results according to education or socioeconomic status. Interviews and questionnaires are extremely useful in sociolinguistic studies because they permit the researcher to gather personal information about the participant.

On the other hand, identity is highly complex, and even if one were to identify oneself as “Egyptian”, this does not automatically entail that they will categorically employ every feature of the Egyptian dialect in all settings and circumstances. For example, one of the prominent features of Egyptian (and most urban dialects) is the pronunciation of /q/ as [ʔ]. Although the Egyptians in my data do not use this variant consistently, it does not make them any more or less Egyptian because nationality cannot be taken as the sole determiner of linguistic variation.

Another issue with the data set is the fact that the guests of the program were invited to participate because of their supposed knowledge or insight into the subject, which means we are dealing with educated professionals who may not represent their speech community as a whole. In the case of the Tunisians in the data set, the fact that most of the in-studio Tunisians are journalists or politicians is partially mitigated by the third episode where average Tunisians are interviewed on the streets. Most sociolinguistic studies on the Arabic dialects usually examine educated speakers from the higher classes, with a notable exception of Anne Royal’s (1985) investigation of differential patterns of pharyngealization among males and females in two lower class Cairene neighborhoods. Yet, more fieldwork and research is needed that looks at the speech of lower class Arabs and rural areas.

A final issue is that the television context is somewhat artificial due to the presence of the cameras, which may exert influence over the speakers and how aware they are of their own speech. This issue is somewhat related to the observer's paradox because the presence of an observer (the camera, and by extension, the viewing audience) influences how they may speak. Since they are on television, they also may try to depict a persona that may be different from their own personality in reality.

These issues may limit the generalizability of some of the findings, but I think the results still illuminate some of the complexities in the techniques that Arabic speakers employ in switching between different speaking styles in different settings.

Conclusion

This sociolinguistic study has demonstrated the complexities of style shifting in Arabic in the media setting through analysis of phonological, lexical, and syntactic variables. Quantitative analysis of the variable ض (ḍ) > ط [ṭ] showed that the in-studio Tunisians used the *fuṣḥā* variant [ḍ] more than the on-the-street Tunisians, who only used the *ʿāmiyyā* variant [ṭ]. The fact that some speakers like the host and the in-studio Tunisians switched between both variants in the formal domain violated the functional differentiation proposed in the diglossic framework.

For the variable (ð), the Egyptians used their dialectal [z] variant more than the other guests. This was in line with their tendency to use more colloquial markers in general. The Egyptians also used more *ʕāmiyyā* particles of negation and relative particles than the Tunisians or other dialect groups, although the Tunisian woman on the phone used more *ʕāmiyyā* relative pronouns. The in-studio Tunisians maintained more *fuṣḥā* features, perhaps due to the formal studio domain, whereas the on-the-street Tunisians maintained more *ʕāmiyyā* features due to the casual and natural domain of the street. The Egyptians maintained *ʕāmiyyā* features even though they were in the formal setting of the studio because their dialect is widely understood so they do not have to level their dialect as much as the Tunisians.

A Closer Look at Diglossia and Code Switching

The results presented above illustrate the interaction of various styles of Arabic in an array of settings for a diverse group of speakers. It shows the weakness of a binary view of language (diglossia/code-switching) and highlights why a fluid, dynamic, variationist framework is required. The data for the phonological variables showed that speakers do not strictly use one variant over the other when speaking in a particular style, and the data for the relative pronouns and particles of negations illustrated how speakers switch between different styles on other levels of the language.

Now that we have seen how the variables in this study were actually used, let us return to the questions the results raise theoretically and methodologically about the shared and intermediate forms. The lexical and syntactic variables are easy to analyze because each item belongs to one variety and not the other. For example, *illi* and *miš* do not exist in *fuṣḥā*. Regarding the question of whether *allεḏī* and *len* exist in *ʕāmijjə*, I will assume these lexical items are shared. The phonological level, however, is more complicated because here we have two points of differentiation between the two varieties: individual phonemes and syllable structure. For example, a Tunisian can choose whether to use the [ḍ] or [ḏ] variant, and they can also choose whether to use CV (*fuṣḥā*) or CC (*ʕāmijjə*) syllable structure. Therefore, when they want to say a word like *بعض* *baʕḍ* ‘some’, they can choose one phoneme, [ḍ] or [ḏ], and they can choose one syllable structure *baʕḍ* (CV) vs *bʕḍ* (CC) over the other. They would then have four possibilities

(1) *baʕḍ* (2) *baʕḏ* (3) *bʕḍ* (4) *bʕḏ*

(1) is strictly *fuṣḥā*, maintaining standard phonemes and syllable structure. (2) could be described as “colloquialized-*fuṣḥā*” under Boussafara-Omar’s model on the phonemic level. (3) could also be “colloquialized-*fuṣḥā*” because of the change in syllable structure, and (4) would be strictly *ʕāmijjə*. Perhaps it would be best to think of (2) and

(3) as shared or neutral forms because it is difficult to classify them as strictly belonging to one variety and not the other with such a minor change in phonology.

This issue is further complicated when other morphemes are added such as the definite article. In *fušḥā* the definite article لـ is usually pronounced as *al-*, whereas in many of the dialects it can be pronounced as *il-* or *el-*. Therefore, a Tunisian would face four possibilities if they want to say الانتفاضة *al-mtifada* ‘uprising’

(5) *al-mtifada* (6) *al-mtifaḍa* (7) *il-mtifada* (8) *il-mtifaḍa*

First, we must question if we are to deal with the definite article and the following word as a whole or analyze each morpheme individually. If we are to deal with them as a whole, (5) is strictly *fušḥā* because the *fušḥā* definite article and [ḍ] phoneme are maintained. (6) would be colloquialized-*fušḥā* since the [ḍ̣] variant is used even though the *fušḥā* definite article is maintained. However, if we are to deal with them separately, in (6) the definite article would be classified as *fušḥā* whereas the noun itself would be classified as colloquialized-*fušḥā* on the phonological level. Again, it is questionable if these would really be interpreted as intermediate forms due to the change of one phoneme. Therefore, I will consider them shared or neutral because they cannot clearly argue for one code over the other. I will also classify each morpheme separately for the sake of illustration.

Let us look at an excerpt of speech from the actual data set. First, I will present an excerpt from the speech of Khalid Yusef, the Egyptian director. Items that are shared between *fušḥā* and *ʕāmijjə* are kept in regular type, items belonging strictly to *fušḥā* are bolded and items belonging strictly to *ʕāmijjə* are italicized. The intermediate forms are underlined>.

hijjə al-quwə ad-dāfɪʃ bɪlā ādnā šak hijə aš-šəbāb, *jaʕni* aš-šəbāb *illi*
 xarəɕ[g]ū jawm xamsə wa ʕšrɪn *da* tārɪxɪj-an hum ʕalɪʃ hāð[z]ɪhɪ aθ[s]-
 θ[s]awrə, **fa**-hijjə *dɪ* al-quwə ad-dāfɪʃ *jaʕni* al-məḥān alletɪ kənə[] ja-ʕiʃ-hā
 haʔ[] ulā aš-šəbāb ʕlā a[ɪ]l-mustawā as-sijāsɪ wa ʕalā a[ɪ]l-mustawā al-
 ɪɕ[g]tɪmɑʕɪ hijjə alletɪ dəʕt-hā l-lxarūɕ[g] jə-ʕāləbū bi-kərəmə li-hāð[z]ā al-
 wəɕən, *jaʕni* *fɪ*-hum nās *kəmān* ʕlā fɪkrə kənū ʕnd-u-hum wəð[z]āʔ[ɪ]f wa ja-
 q[ʔ]darū ja-ʕiʃū *kwejsɪn* wa lākɪn hum šaʕrū bi-mə a[ɪ]l-wəɕən muḥān, fɪ fuqərəʔ
 wa *illi* *br*-jə-zhafū ʕalā baɕun-hum kej jā-kulū fɪ ə fɪ al-qahər *illi* mawɕ[g]ūd fɪ š-
 šuwariʃ *mā*-hada-š jə-q[ʔ]dar jɪ-nɕəq[ʔ] *mā*-hada-š jə- q[ʔ]dar ju-ʕarɪɕ kul *da*
 hum šaʕrū bi-hi ḥəttā law kənə[] ləm ju-mārɪs ʕlā wāḥɪd mɪn-hum kənə[] ḥəttā
 al-wāḥəd *da* ḥāsɪs *da*.

In this excerpt, we can observe the mix of varieties Khalid Yusef uses at his disposal in the studio setting. We can see that he only uses one morpheme that belongs strictly to *fušḥā*, the connector *fa*-, which here we can interpret as ‘then’ or ‘also’. In this excerpt, he uses several morphemes from *ʕāmijjə* like the demonstrative *da* instead of *fušḥā* *hāðā* for ‘this’. Interestingly, he uses both *da* and *hāðā*, except when he uses *hāðā* he uses his dialectal phonology so that he says *hāzā*. This is an example of what Labov called

‘inherent variability’ because he is using both *fušḥā* and *ṣāmijjā* demonstratives and phonological variants in the same stretch of speech.

Perhaps most importantly, this sample speech illustrates why ignoring the shared forms ignores so much data. After calculating the total number of each variety that were used in the example above, I found that 87% of these morphemes were shared. Only one could be identified as strictly *fušḥā*, eighteen as *ṣāmijjā*, and two as intermediate forms. Both the intermediate forms occurred when he used the Egyptian *ṣāmijjā* system of negation *mā-š* with a morpheme that belonged to both varieties. The fact that Khalid Yusef used so many features of *ṣāmijjā* are in line with the results presented for the variables above, where it was shown that the Egyptians used more *ṣāmijjā* markers in general, thereby using a more colloquial style.

Compare Khalid Yusef’s speech to the following sample from the speech of Rachid Al-Ghannouchi, a politician in the En-Nahda party in Tunisia who spoke to the host in studio, on a panel with the Palestinian journalist ‘Abdul Bari Al-‘Atwan.

ʔanā ʔa-daʕū li-ʔakθar min ḏalik ʔa-daʕū ilā tafkik mənḏūmət a[ɪ]l-ɪstɪbdād ʔa-
 dʕū ilā ʔan, lā ʔa-ʕtəbr ʔal alleḏīnə šārək-ū fī niḏām a[ɪ]l-ɪstɪbdād fɪ-ʕəf al-ʔawəl
 xāʕə-tan wa aʕ-ʕəf aθ-θānī hum qādirūn ʕlā bināʔ al-muḏtəmʕ ad-dīmuqrāṭī
 muḏtəmaʕ al-ʕdəl wa al-ḥurijjə alleḏī rəmət ɪlej-h-i hāḏihi al-ɪntifaḏ[ḏ]a wa
 liḏālɪk lā buddə min al-ātiḏḏā-h-i ilā mənḏūmat al-ɪstɪbdād qawānɪn dasātɪr wa
 riḏḏāl wa muʔwəsəsāt l-tafkik-hā min ʔaḏḏal-i banāʔ dawilə li-tūnis wa lejsə
 dawilə l-ʕāʔilə wa lā dawilət l-bolis, hāḏā xəḏər ḥəqɪqī wa liḏālɪkə ʔanā ʔa-daʕū
 ʔahəl al-ɪntifaḏ[ḏ]ə ʔa-daʕū ʕaʕb tūnis ilā təmām-i al-jəqəḏə wa tamām al-

ħud[ð]ūr ħattā jə-hamī θawrətə-hu[] wa mtifād[ð]atə-hu wa ħattā ju-ħāfið flā dimā? aš-šuhadā? wa ?amal hāðā aš-šaʿb.

Here we can see that Rachid Al-Ghannouchi uses far fewer colloquial forms than Khalid Yusef. He also used three markers of *fušḥā*, the genitive case marking *-i*. These three morphemes only constituted two percent of the data set, because the other 98% was shared items. From this example, we can also see why the (d) variable was chosen, because it is the most salient phonological variation in his speech. Overall, we can say that Rachid Al-Ghannouchi used many features that are shared between the varieties and formal *fušḥā* case endings in a few places, but he also maintained his *ʿāmijə* [ð] variant of (d).

Compare the speech of Rachid Al-Ghannouchi to that of Samir Ben ‘Ali, a Tunisian man who was interviewed on the street, which is presented below:

ʿnd-i šəqīq huwwə illā jə-ɕjib l-i a[ɪ]l-faʿūr huwwə jəɕjib l-i a[ɪ]l-ʔakal *jaʿni* kənət[] ɖurūf-nā qāsijə kənə[] *jaʿni* ju-ɕjini kənə[] baʿd məšəqə *jaʿni* məšəqə kabīrə, kənət[] aš-šurʔə tə-bḥəθ ʿan-i fi kul məkən, ʿnd-i xaʿībə kunta[] xāʿeb-hā *jaʿni* mā rīmdū bi-hālat-hā *jaʿni* mā rīmdū θəmāni senuwāt min ʔaɕjil ʔan-hā xaʿībt-i tə-bḥəθ fi wa itəsəɕnət wa xarīɕt[] min as-seɕjīn maši[ɪ]t ʿamīl-ū l-i-hā bīdūn bīdūn *jaʿni* qərār qaɖ[ð]aʔ[ɪ] ʿmīl-ū lə-hā a[ɪ]l-murāqibə a[ɪ]l-idārijə θāmani senuwāt *illi* melet *jaʿani* melet melet *jaʿani* təfārəq-at ʔanā ʔijāhā qult[] lə-hā imši ʔinti *šūf-i* hal wa *mā-ʿāda-š* nə-neɕɕəm nə-bqə fil-wəɖ[ð]ʿ hāðā *illi bāš* jə-kar flā al-kul... ʔilā al-ān, *təwə bāš* jə-təfāɕʔū ʔiðā kənə[] jə-*šūfū-ni* *jaʿani* fi at-tifāz *bāš* jə-təfāɕʔū, ʔaxuwī jə-qūl kiðā šakūn, *mā-jə-ʿrəfūni-š*. hāðihi ʔawəl marrə *jaʿani* nə-šūf.

Compared to Khalid Yusef and Rachid Al-Ghannouchi, Samir Ben ‘Ali used a large

number of *ʕāmijjə* markers, 23 in all, which was 14% of his speech in this excerpt. Most of these *ʕāmijjə* morphemes are lexical items that belong strictly to Tunisian Arabic like باش *bāš* ‘because’ instead of the *fuṣḥā* equivalent لِّئَنَّ *liʔennə*. Again, we can see that the majority of his speech was shared morphemes, 85% in all. There are two intermediate forms in this excerpt where he uses the *ʕāmijjə* *mā-š* construction of negation around a lexical item that is shared in both varieties. Interestingly, he uses the same expression من أجل *mūn ʔaɖɟil* ‘for the sake of’ or ‘in order to’ that Rachid Al-Ghannouchi used, but without the *fuṣḥā* genitive case marker *-i* like Rachid. This could be due to lack of education in *fuṣḥā*, or it could be due to the more colloquial style he is using in the informal domain of the street.

Looking at the data visually in this way illustrates why it is difficult to classify certain items as belonging to one variety and not the other, and how pervasive these items are in the language. It also allows us to see the general trends discussed above: how the Egyptians used several features of their dialect, and the on-the-street Tunisians used more *ʕāmijjə* markers than their in-studio counterparts. I believe it is best to look at this data from the perspective of switching between various styles.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study has investigated linguistic variation on the phonological, lexical, and syntactic levels of the language, demonstrating how Arabic speakers have various resources at their disposal to shift between styles. In the process, I have hoped to show how the diglossic framework is not useful to explain linguistic variation in Arabic because actual spoken Arabic contains various combinations of both varieties.

Future Research

This study is by no means a comprehensive account of the linguistic variation in these three episodes or Egyptian and Tunisian Arabic. The Egyptians in particular exhibited much variation on other phonological variables like ق (q) and [ʔ], ذ (ð) and ز [z], and ث (θ) and ت [t] or س [s], however these variables were outside the realm of this study. The goal of this study was not to characterize every instance of phonological variation in Egyptian because there is an abundance of materials in the literature on EA.

The field of Arabic linguistics needs more investigations into linguistic variation of various dialects throughout the Arab world, particularly Tunisian Arabic since so few resources were found for this dialect. As stated earlier, there is much research to be done for variants of (d) in all the dialects.

There is also a need for more studies on less educated speakers. Many sociolinguistic studies in the literature have been carried out in the university setting, and more fieldwork has to be done on more speech communities in rural and poorer areas. Unfortunately, this study also fell into this tendency to focus on educated speakers, which was mainly due to the availability of the transcripts and the media setting.

I have tried to show how analyzing the linguistic complexities of variation in Arabic are best handled by the style-shifting framework. The various theories that have been proposed to fix the inadequacies of the diglossic framework were insufficient to explain or predict actual speech data. I hope that this study has provided a more complete view of linguistic variation that will be of use to linguists and students of Arabic alike.

APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

Consonants

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| أ | ʔ | ض | ḍ |
| ب | b | ط | ṭ |
| ت | t | ظ | ḏ |
| ث | θ | ع | ʕ |
| ج | ɟ | غ | ɣ |
| ح | ħ | ف | f |
| خ | x | ق | q |
| د | d | ك | k |
| ذ | ḏ | ل | l |
| ر | r | م | m |
| ز | z | ن | n |
| س | s | ه | h |
| ش | ʃ | و | w |
| ص | ṣ | ي | j |

Long Vowels

| ā

ي ī

و ū

Short Vowels

i ɪ ɛ æ a ə u

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