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Diglossia in Arabic A Comparative Study of the Modern Standard Arabic and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

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Diglossia in Arabic

A Comparative Study of the Modern Standard Arabic and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

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I. INTRODUCTION

Some languages have two totally distinct varieties used through a speech community, each of which with a different range of social functions. Whereas one variety, referred to as High (H), is used only on formal and public events, the other one, referred to as Low (L), is used under normal daily-life circumstances. This situation, referred to as "diglossia", is very common especially in Arabic-speaking communities. Varieties of Arabic form a roughly continuous spectrum of variation, with the dialects spoken in the eastern and western extremes of the Arab-speaking world being mutually unintelligible. The best example of this mutual unintelligibility is the diglossic situation, held between the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and the Egyptian colloquial Arabic (EA). This article aims at illustrating the differences between the two varieties at different linguistics levels, which have resulted in this mutual unintelligibility.

II. BACKGROUND

Diglossia is a situation in which two distinct varieties of a language are used. One variety is used only on formal and public occasions, while the other variety is used under normal, everyday circumstances. The term diglossia was introduced into the literature by Charles Ferguson (1959):

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the dialects of the

language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly coded (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.336).

Diglossia for Trudgill (2009), "is a particular kind of language standardization where two distinct varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the speech community (not just in the case of a particular group of speakers, such as Scots or Blacks) and where each of the two varieties is assigned a definite social function"(p.113).

It is noticeable that Ferguson's definition of 'diglossia' is quite specific in that the two varieties should belong to the same language. Some other scholars, however, have extended the term to cover situations which do not count as diglossic according to Ferguson's definition. For Meyerhoff (2006:103) diglossia is a situation in which "One language may be used for some social functions or in a specific social context, while another language is served for other". Fishman (1971:75) refers to Paraguay as an example of a diglossic community, in which the two varieties do not belong to one language, but are Spanish and Guarani.

According to Wardhaugh (2005:89), "the phenomenon of diglossia is not ephemeral in nature: in fact, the opposite is true: it appears to be a persistent social and linguistic phenomenon." In a diglossic situation, the two varieties have co-existed for a long period, sometimes, as in Arabic-speaking communities, for many centuries.

A key point in diglossia is that the two varieties are kept apart functionally. One variety, referred to as Low (L), is used at home or in other informal situations, however, if someone needs to give a lecture at a university or in any formal circumstance, (s)he is expected to use the other variety, referred to as High (H). For Wardhaugh, the two varieties cannot be interchangeably used. He asserts: "You do not use an H variety in circumstances calling for an L variety, e.g. for addressing a servant; nor does one use an L variety

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when an H variety is called for, e.g., for writing a serious work of literature"(2005 P: 90).

In a diglossic society, all children acquire the L variety. Some may concurrently learn the H variety, but many do not learn it at all. Therefore, the two varieties are not regarded as having the same degree of prestige. For example, this "diglossic situation may also be found in Egypt, where both classical Arabic and colloquial Arabic is used"(Finch, 2005:214).

Ferguson identifies four situations which show the major characteristics of this diglossic phenomenon: Arabic, Swiss German, Haitian (French and Creole), and Greek. In each situation, there is a 'high variety' (H) of language and a 'low' variety (L).

In an Arabic-speaking diglossic community, the two varieties are standard Arabic (H) and the various regional colloquial Arabic (L).

There has been this view that the spoken varieties of Arabic are corruptions of MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) or CA (Classical Arabic) as found in the Quran and are, therefore, less prestigious varieties of Arabic. According to Wardhaugh (2005):

"The H variety is the prestige variety; the L variety lacks prestige. In fact, there can be so little prestige attached to the L variety that people may even deny that they know it although they may be observed to use it far more frequently than the H variety]......[This feeling about the superiority of the H variety is reinforced by the fact that a body of literature exists in that variety and almost none in the L variety. That literature may reflect essential values about the culture. Speakers of Arabic in particular gain prestige from being able to allude to classical sources. The folk literature associated with the L variety will have none of the same prestige" (p. 90).

Watson (2002) asserts that "Dialects of Arabic form a roughly continuous spectrum of variation, with the dialects spoken in the eastern and western extremes of the Arab-speaking world being mutually unintelligible" (p.8).

Palmer (2007), pointing out to a great increase in the number of Arabic programs and students interested in learning Arabic, argues that most students learn only the formal variety of Arabic. This situation "creates a fake of model of oral proficiency by presenting the students with an artificial variety that is not used by the native speakers since no one uses [formal Arabic] for daily-life situations"(Al-Batal, 1995:122). It is also believed that these programs must not be limited to the formal variety of the language if they are to train future professionals to communicate effectively with the Arabic-speaking world. "The Arabic classrooms can and should be a place in which multiple registers co-exist, as they do in real life"(Al-Batal & Belnap, 2006:397). Younes (1995:233) commenting on

the need for such Arabic programs to help learners communicate successfully, argues that "If the goal of an Arabic-as-a-foreign language program is to prepare students to function successfully in Arabic, then they should be introduced to both a Spoken Arabic dialect and [formal Arabic] from the beginning of an Arabic course."

There have also been views against teaching Spoken Arabic which focuses on the impossibility of dealing with the full range of Arabic dialects and the difficulty of choosing one dialect to teach, however, some surveys are indicative of the fact that "86% of students who expressed interest in learning Spoken Arabic prefer either Levantine¹ or Egyptian Arabic" (Al-Batal & Belnap, 2006, p.396, cited in Palmer, 2007, p. 115). These two are not the most commonly spoken and understood varieties of Spoken Arabic, yet "there are abundant materials available in each that would make it relatively painless for even a native Moroccan or Iraqi speaker to teach a class in Levantine or Egyptian; though the reverse is not viable" (Palmer, 2007:115).

To shed light on the diglossic nature of Arabic and to sport his argumentation in favor of incorporating Spoken Arabic in program curricula. Palmer (2007:115) cites the following sentences:

"On the political level, a rather spectacular case of this manipulation of linguistic variation is to be found in the political speeches of the late President Nasser. He used to begin his speeches at an elevated level, spoken slowly and rhythmically, because of the formality of the situation. But then his sentences would become gradually more and more colloquial, spoken in a faster tempo, until he reached a purely colloquial level. At the end of his speech, he would conclude with a few sentences in Pure Standard Arabic. Such a mixture reflects the inherent problem for politicians in the Arab world: on the one hand, by identifying with colloquial speech they wish to involve their audience, who for the most part do not use or even understand the higher levels of standard Arabic, on the other hand, they cannot simply switch to colloquial language, since this would be regarded as an insult to their audience"(Versteegh, 2000, p. 196).

Palmer adds:

"This passage elaborates the diglossic nature of Arabic in two ways: "first it reveals that Nasser's audience- the common people- "do not use or even understand "MSA; the second, that Nasser felt obliged to include some MSA in order to fulfill his role as an educated persona(emphasis added) in a formal setting" (Palmer, 2007: 115).

III. DATA OF THE STUDY

The data of the study are collected from the Lingaphone Egyptian Arabic Course. The course includes 30 written and tape-recorded dialogs in

¹ - A dialect spoken in part of Syria.

Egyptian Arabic. The dialogs are translated in writing into Standard Arabic and then tape-recorded, by Qamari (1993), for the purpose of teaching the two varieties of Arabic to students majoring in the Arabic Language and Literature, at Iranian universities. By Standard Arabic is meant the variety based on the speech and writing of educated native speakers of Arabic.

IV. METHODOLOGY

To illustrate the linguistic differences between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (EA), the Surface Strategy Taxonomy has been utilized. This perspective, "highlights the ways surface structures are altered" (Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982: 150). Categorizing linguistic items according to the surface strategy taxonomy helps researchers analyze linguistic alterations, in more details. To achieve this, (1) the collected data are transcribed phonemically², (2) the meanings are given in English, (3) when needed, a rough literal (morpheme-based) translation of the (Arabic) examples into English is given, to help the non-Arab reader follow the discussions, and (4) necessary explanations are provided.

a) Pronunciation Key

Arabic shares a good number of phonemes with other languages. Yet, there are a number of phonemes, only found in Arabic and some sister languages. The Arabic phonemes are presented in tables (1) to (4).³

Table 1 : Arabic Vowels.

Vowel	Arabic Letter	Arabic Example	Meaning
Short	/a/	أَ نَحْنُ /nahnu/	we
	/i/	إِ مِنْ /min/	of, from
	/u/	أُ غُرْفَةٌ /ʕurfa/	room
long	/a:/	أَبْوَابُ /ba:b/	door
	/u:/	أَصَابُونُ /s'a:bu:n/	soap
	/i:/	أَيُّ فِي /fi:/	in, at

Table 2 : Arabic Diphthongs.

Diphthong	Arabic Example	Meaning	English Example
/aw/	يَوْمٌ /jawm/	day	house
/aj/	ضَيْفٌ /δ'ajf/	guest	eye

Table 3 : Specific Consonants.

Consonant	Arabic Letter	Arabic Example	Meaning	Features	
/ s ^ʕ /	ص	صَبَاحٌ —	/s ^ʕ aba:h/	morning	(Emphatic) Voiceless alveolar fricative
/ d ^ʕ /	ض	ضَيْفٌ —	/ d ^ʕ ajf/	guest	(Emphatic) Voiced alveolar fricative
/t ^ʕ /	ط	طَالِبٌ —	/t ^ʕ a:lib/	student	(Emphatic) Voiceless dental-alveolar stop
/ ð ^ʕ /	ظ	ظَرْفٌ —	/ ð ^ʕ arf/	envelop	(Emphatic) Voiced dental-alveolar stop
ʔ	أَ هـ	أَنَا —	ʔ ana/	I	(Voiceless) glottal stop
/ʕ/	ع	عَيْنٌ —	/ʕajn/	eye	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
/ɣ/	غ	غَدًا —	/ɣadan/	tomorrow	Voiceless uvular fricative
/x/	خ	خَالَ —	/xa:l/	uncle	Voiceless uvular fricative
/q/	ق	قَرِيبٌ —	/ qari:b/	relative	Voiceless uvular stop

² - The transcription is read from left to right although Arabic is written from right to left in the script.

³ - The symbols used are taken from: Wikipedia-Arabic Phonology.

Table 4 : Shared Consonants.

Consonant	Arabic Letter	Arabic	Example	Meaning	English Example
/b/	ب	بحر	/bahr/	sea	by
/t/	ت	تمر	/tamar/	dates	table
/θ/	ث	ثلاجه	/θalla: dʒa/	refrigerator	think
/dʒ/	ج	جمل	/dʒamal/	camel	John
/g/	ج	جمل	/gamel/ EA	camel	go
/tʃ/	چ	چلاطه	/tʃalla: tʃa/ EA	ice cream	chair
/h/	ح	حبيب	/habi: b/	friend	hand
/d/	د	درس	/dars/	lesson	day
/ð/	ذ	ذلك	/ða: lika/	that	that
/r/	ر	روح	/ru: h/	soul	run
/z/	ز	زهرة	/zahr/	bloom	zoo
/s/	س	سيارة	/sajja: ra/	car	say
/ʃ/	ش	شيء	/ʃajʃ/	thing	ship
/f/	ف	فرنسا	/faransa: /	France	France
/k/	ك	كتاب	/kita: b/	book	key
/l/	ل	لك	/laka/	for you	love
/m/	م	من	/man/	who	man
/n/	ن	ناس	/na: s/	people	nice
/w/	و	وقت	/waqt/	time	way
/h/	ه	هذا	/ha: ða: /	this	home
/j/	ي	يمن	/jaman/	Yemen	yes

V. DATA ANALYSIS

In a diglossic situation "most linguistic items belong to one of the two non-overlapping sets" (Hudson, 2005:55). The differences between H and L are manifested in (1) grammar, (2) lexicon and (3) phonology. According to Dittmar (2000):

1. L has fewer grammatical (morphological) categories and a reduced system of inflection; H has a greater grammatical (morphological) complexity.
2. H and L have, in the main, a complementary lexicon. It is a particular characteristic of the diglossic situation that pairs are used situation-specifically with the same meaning in the H variety and the L variety.
3. H and L share one single phonological system, in which the L phonology represents the basic system and the deviant characteristics of the H phonology from a subsystem or parasystem" (p. 120)

In the forthcoming sections, phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic differences between MSA and EA will be introduced and analyzed.

a) Phonological Differences

Standard Arabic, lacks consonants /tʃ/, /ʒ/, /g/, /v/ and /p/, however, the first three sounds, are not ruled out in different colloquial varieties of Arabic. The only phonemes not found in the standard and colloquial varieties of Arabic are the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ and the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/.

In Egyptian diglossia, like any other diglossic situation, the H and the L variety "share one single phonological system, in which the L phonology

represents the basic system and the deviant characteristics of the H phonology from a subsystem or parasystem" (Dittmar, 2000: 120). Some phonological differences are:

i. Productive Phonological Alterations

Consonants /θ/, /dʒ/ and /q/ in MSA change to /t/, /g/ and /ʔ/ in EA respectively. These consonant changes happen systematically to the extent that the former three consonants are neutralized in EA. In other words, /θ/, /dʒ/ and /q/ are not produced (frequently) in EA. The following examples show these alterations:

MSA	EA	Meaning
/θ/	/t/	
(1) /kaθi:r/	/kaṭi:r/	much, many
(2) /θaman/	/ṭaman/	price
(3) /θamani:ja/	/ṭamani:ja/	eight
/dʒ/	/g/	
(4) /ʃadʒar/	ʃaḡar /	tree
(5) /dʒami:l/	ḡami:l /	fine, pretty
(6) /dʒamal /	/ḡamal/	camel
/q/	/ʔ/	
(7) /qalb/	/ʔalb /	heart
(8) / waqt /	/ waʔt /	time
(9) / saqf /	/ saʔf /	ceiling

a. Addition

In EA, verbs receive some phonological additions which are not there in MSA. These additions do not add any meaning to the verbs, i.e. they act as empty morphs. Some very common additions are /bi-/ /ʔit-/ and /-f/. Some examples are as follows:

i) /bi-/ Addition

The CV syllable /bi-/ is added before a good number of (first and third person) verb roots in EA. Some examples are:

	<u>/Ø/</u>	<u>/bi-/</u>	
(10)	/ʔuhibb(u)/	/bi-ʔuhibb(u)/	I would like....
(11)	/ʔalʕab(u)/	/bi-ʔalʕab(u)/	I play....
(12)	/jaʕmal(u)/	/bi-jaʕmal(u)/	(He) works.
(13)	/taʕmal(u)/	/bi-taʕmal(u)/	(She) works.

/bi-/ addition is a very productive process in EA. It comes not only before the verb roots identical in the two varieties (as in 10 to 13), but also before the verb roots specific to EA, as in (14 and 15) :

(14)	/juqabbiluna/	/bi-jbu:su:/	(They) kiss (one another).
(15)	/nataʕallamu:/	/bi-naʔxuðu:/	(We) learn.....
	<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>	<u>Meaning</u>

ii) /ʔit-/Addition

/Ø/ /ʔit-/

The CVC syllable /ʔit-/ is added to the beginning of a good number of second person verbs, including imperatives:

(16)	/tafadʕdʕal/	/ʔit- tafadʕdʕal /	Here you are.
(17)	/tafarradʕ/	/ʔit-(t)afarrag/	Look, See
(18)	/tafarradʕta/	/ʔit- (t)afarragta /	You saw....

iii) /-f/ Addition

Consonant /-f/ comes after the root of a good number of negative verbs, including negative-imperative verbs:

(19)	/la:-ʔuhibbu/	/ma:-ʔuhibbu _f /	(I) don't like....
(20)	/ma:-ʕindana:/	/ma:-ʕindana /	(We)don't have...

ii. Non-productive Phonological Alterations

Non-productive phonological changes do not take place systematically and frequently. They can be found in only few examples. Non-productive phonological changes are of different types: Some examples are as follows:

a. Consonant Changes

	<u>/r/</u>	<u>/j/</u>	
(21)	/miʔatajn/	/mijatajn /	two hundred
	<u>/j/</u>	<u>/ʔ/</u>	
(22)	/bijt/	/ biʔt /	house
	<u>/ð/</u>	<u>/d/</u>	
(23)	/ðahab/	/dahab /	gold
(24)	/xuð/	/xud/	Take!

One important point is that, unlike productive changes, non-productive changes do not rule out the existence of the altered phoneme in EA. For example, in (23) and (24), /ð/ in MSA is altered to /d/ in EA. However, the formation of /ð/ is not ruled out in EA. Some examples are:

(25)	/taðk ^h ira/	/taðk ^h ira /	ticket
(26)	/ðaha:ban wæ ʔijabæn/	/ðaha:b(an) wæ ʔijab(æn) /	round trip (ticket)
	<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>	<u>Meaning</u>

b. *Vowel Change*

	<u>/a/</u>	<u>/i/</u>	
(27)	/m ^h a ^h n/	/m ^h i ^h n/	who
(28)	/ʔa ^h nta /	/ʔi ^h nta/	you (mas.)
(29)	/ʔa ^h tni /	/ʔi ^h nti/	you (fem.)

c. *Vowel Deletion*

	<u>/i:/</u>	<u>/Ø/</u>	
(30)	/hisa:b dʒa:ri:/	/hisa:b ga:r/	current account
(31)	/taksi:/	/ta:ks/	taxi

d. *Multiple Processes*

In any of the examples (1 thr. 31) only one phonological change has happened. However, there are a good number of words of identical root in MSA and EA which undergo more than one alteration.

(32)	/la:-tansa: /	/ma:-tansa:f/	Don't forget.....
(33)	/nis ^h f /	/nus ^h /	half
(34)	/ha:ð a: /	/d a/	this (mas.)
(35)	/ha:ð ihi:/	/d i:/	this (fem.)
(36)	/ða:likæ/	/da:/	that
(37)	/s ^h aʕi:r/	/s ^h uʕajjar/	small, little
(38)	/ma:ʔ/	/ma jja/	water

In the above examples, underlining and bold face indicate phoneme alteration and phoneme addition respectively.

b) *Morphological Differences*

Palmer (2000:120) asserts that " L has fewer grammatical (morphological) categories and a reduced system of inflection; H has a greater grammatical (morphological) complexity". This implies that the two varieties do not necessarily follow the same set of grammatical rules. The following examples support this claim to some extent:

i. *Gender Disagreement*

(39)	a. /na:hi:ja jumna:/	b. /na:hi:ja jami:n/	right side
	(fem.) (fem.)	(fem.) (mas.)	
	side right	side right	

	<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(40)	a. /ʔar-rava:ja ʔæl-ku:mi:di:jjā/	b. /ʔar-rava:ja ʔæl-ku:mi:di: /	a comic story
	fem. fem.	fem. mas.	
	ART-story ART-comic	ART-story ART-comic	

In Standard Arabic, "the adjective should be in accord with the noun in gender⁴" (Jorr,1973:26). This rule is violated in (39 and 40 b).

(41)	a. /ʔæd-dars-ul-xa:mis ʕaʕar/	b. /ʔad-dars-ul-xamista:(ʕa)ʕar/	the 15 th lesson
	ART-lesson(mas.)-ART 15 th (mas.)	ART-lesson(mas.)-ART 15 th (fem.)	

⁴ - My translation from Arabic.

In standard Arabic "ordinal numbers should be in agreement with the preceding nouns in gender"⁵ (Jorr,1973:26). (41b) is an example of the violation of this rule.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (42) a. <u>θala:θa</u> dʒunhi:jjat/ | b. / <u>tala:ta</u> gunhi:jjat/ | three (Egyptian) pounds |
| (mas.) (fem.) | (fem.) (fem.) | |
| three genes | three gene | |

In Standard Arabic, " numbers 3 to 9 and the respective nouns are opposite in gender: a plural masculine noun(phrase) occurs with a feminine number and vice-versa"⁶ (Awn & Al-Rajehi, 2003:148). Example (42b) has violated this rule.

iii. Number Disagreement

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (43) a. a/θala:θa <u>dʒunhi:jjat</u> / | b. /tala:ta <u>gunhi:jjat</u> / | three (Egyptian) pounds |
| (pl.) | (sin.) | |
| three pounds | three pound | |

In Arabic, the number 2 is regarded as dual. Plural starts from 3. Cardinal numbers 3 to 10, in Standard Arabic, "must be followed by plural nouns" (Jorr,1984:26). In (43b), this rule is violated.⁷

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| (44) a. /mirʔa:ta:n kabi:rata:n/ | b. /mura:jatajn kiba:r/ | two big mirrors |
| mirror-dual big-dual | mirror-dual big-pl. | |

In Standard Arabic nouns and adjectives should be in agreement with the respective nouns, in number⁸ (Jorr,1984:26): singular, dual and plural nouns must be followed by singular, dual and plural adjectives respectively. (44b) is a violation of this rule.

MSA

EA

Meaning

iii. Deletion of definite Article

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| (45) /bi- <u>s</u> -sukkar/ | bi-sukkar/ | with sugar |
| with-ART-sugar | with -sugar | |
| (46) /ʔat-tadbi:r- <u>il</u> -manz-il-i:/ | /tædbi:r manzil-i:/ | home making |
| ART-policy-ART-house-Adj.marker | policy house-Adj.marker | |

iv. Deletion of proposition

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (47) /ʔana ʔa:hibun <u>ʔila</u> -s-si:nima/ | /ʔana ra:jih si:nima:/ | I am going to the cinema. |
| (48) /lam taðhab <u>ʔila</u> -l-madrassa / | /maruhtif-al-madrassa/ | You haven't gone to school. |

v. Double Negation

While double negation is not formed in MSA at all, it is a productive process in EA. In the following examples, the negative elements are underlined :

- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (49) / <u>la</u> :-tansa:/ | / <u>ma</u> :-tansa:f/ | Don't forget..... |
| (50) / <u>la</u> :-ʔuhibbu/ | / <u>ma</u> :-ʔuhibbu/ | I don't like..... |
| (51) / <u>ma</u> :-ʕindana: | / <u>ma</u> :-ʕindana:f/ | We don't have..... |
| (52) / <u>la</u> :-jardʒaʕu | / <u>ma</u> :-jardʒaʕi/ | (He) doesn't come back... |
| (53) / <u>la</u> :-judʒidu / | / <u>ma</u> :-fi/ | We don't have..... |

c) Lexical Differences

As was cited before, in a diglossic situation, the "H and L have, in the main, a complementary lexicon. It is a particular characteristic of the diglossic situation that pairs are used situation-specifically with the same meaning in the H variety and the L variety" (Dittmar, 2000:120). There are a good number of examples of

⁵ and ⁶ - My translation from Arabic.

⁷and ⁸ - My translation from Arabic.

different words used for the same concept and vice versa. Words belonging to both categories are of different parts of speech. Some examples are:

i. *Different Words for the Same Concept*

a. *Adjectives*

(54)	/qali:l/	/ʃuwajja /	little
(55)	/ s ^ʕ aʃb /	/ʃadi:d/	difficult
(56)	/dʒajjid/	/kuwajjis/	nice
	<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>	<u>Meaning</u>

b. *Adverbs*

(57)	/ʔams/	/ʔimbarih/	yesterday
(58)	/fi-l-waqt-il-ha:l/	/di-l-waʃt-i:/	now
(59)	/ʔæl-jawm/	/naha:r-da/	today
(60)	/ʔadan/	/bukran/	tomorrow
(61)	/ʔejd ^ʕ an/	/kama:n/, /ra:xir/, /rixr:in/	too, also
(62)	/fawran/	/ʔihwa/	at once
(63)	/dʒiddan/	/xa:lis ^ʕ /	very

c. *Prepositions*

(64)	/munðu/	/li/	since
(65)	/ʔila:/	/li/	to
(66)	/li/	/ʕalafja:n/	for, because of
(67)	/maʕa/	/wajja:/	with
(68)	/ka/	/zi:/	like, as
(69)	/dun/	/bi-du:n/	without

d. *Interrogative Pronouns*

(70)	/ʔajna/	/fi:n/	where
(71)	/ma:ða:/	/ʔi:h/	what
(72)	/mata:/	/ʔimti:/	when
(73)	/li-ma:ða:/	/lijh/	why
(74)	/man/	/ʔilli:/	who

e. *Negative Pronouns*

(75)	/la:-tuʕdʒiban-i:/ no	/miʃ-ʔuʕgibn-i:/ not	It does not please me (I don't like it)
(76)	/lajsa-mawdʒu:d/ is-not	/miʃ- mawgu:d/ is-not	not present
(77)	/lastu dʒajjidan/ am-not	/ma: ʔindi:ʃ miza:ʒ no	I am not well

f. *Verbs*

(78)	/juqabbelluna/	/bi-jbu:su:/	They kiss (one another)
(79)	/nataʕallamu:/	/bi-naʔxudu:/	We learn.....

	<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(80)	/turi:du/	/taʃu:f/	You want.....
(81)	/naʃasa/	/da:xa/	(He) became tired.
(82)	/ðahabna:/	/ruhna:/	We went.....
<i>g. Pronouns and Demonstratives</i>			
(83)	/nahnu/	/ʔihna	we
(84)	/ haða:/	/da/	this (mas.)
(85)	/ haðihi:/	/di:/	this (fem.)
(86)	/ða:(li)ka/	/da:/	that
<i>h. Noun</i>			
(87)	/hali:b/	/ laban /	milk
(88)	/xub(u)z/	/ʃajʃ/	bread
(89)	/qism/	/ʃalam /	department, division
(90)	/ʔurfa /	/ʔawda /	room
(91)	/mind ^ʃ ada /	/tira:bi:za/	table
(92)	/ θurajja:/	/nagfa/	chandelier
(93)	/ kurat-ul-qadam/	/kura/	soccer, football
(94)	/sa:ʔiq/	/sawwa:q/	driver
(95)	/ʃutla/	/ʔiga:za/	day off, leave
(96)	/ziwa:ɗʒ /	/gawa:z/	marriage
(97)	/sæjjid-æt-i:/	/sitt-i:/	my lady
(98)	/tasa:wum/	/fis ^ʃ a:l/	bargaining
(99)	/risa:la/	/gawa:b/	letter
(100)	/maθluɗʒ/	/ʔalla:t ^ʃ a/	ice cream
(101)	/fa:s ^ʃ uli:ja:/	/lubi:ja:/	beans

i. Borrowed Words

The lexicon of a language is said to be an open ended system. There are different strategies for adding new words to the lexical inventory of a language. Borrowing is the most familiar technique of adding words. No language variety is needless of borrowing. MSA and EA are not exceptions to the rule, though there are some differences. On the one hand, MSA borrows much fewer non-Arabic words than EA. On the other hand, whereas EA borrows many words from MAS, the reverse is not the case. In diglossic situations, especially in the Arabic Diglossia, the "low" variety borrows many words from the "high" variety, especially formal, official, academic, cultural and socio-political words. Some examples of borrowing are as follows. The borrowed words are underlined with the name of the source language underneath:

⁹ -The Turkish word baş and the Arabic word "ka:tib" mean "head" and "writer", respectively. Borrowing words from Turkish dates back to the epoch of the Othman Empire.

¹⁰ - /ʔantik/ is the European word "antique" and /xa:na/ is a Persian word meaning "house".

^{11, 12, 13} and ¹⁴ - /P/ does not exist in Arabic, so it changes to /b/.

	<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(102)	/busta:n/ Persian	/gani:na/	garden, park
(103)	/ka:zi:nu: / Euro.(casino)	/ʔil-sahwa/	coffe shop
(104)	/ʔal-kijk/ English(cake)	/busta/	cake
(105)	/film / Euro.(film)	/riwa:ja /	film(script)
(106)	/ka:zi:nu: / Euro.(casino)	/bufi:jjja/ Euro.(buffet)	buffet
(107)	/raʔis-ul-kutta:b/	/ba:ʃ ka:tib/ Turkish ⁹	notary public
(108)	/funduq/	/ʔutil/ French (hôtel)	hotel
(109)	/sajja:ra/	/ʔutumu:bi:l/ Euro. (automobile)	automobile
(110)	/raqam/	/numra/ Euro. (number)	number
(111)	/barqi:jjja/	/tiliʕira:f/ Euro. (telegraph)	telegraph
(112)	/haðʕ/	/baxt Persian	chance, luck

	<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(113)	/mathaf/	/ʔantik-xa:na/ ¹⁰ Euro.- Persian	museum
(114)	/masrah/	/ti:ja:tr/ Euro. (theatre)	theater
(115)	/raʃʃa:ʃ-ul-ma:ʔ/	/duʃ/ French (douche)	shower
(116)	/har:is-ul-marma:/	/gu:l-ki:ber/ ¹¹ English (goal-keeper)	goal-keeper
(117)	/ʔal-bari:d/	/ʔal-bu:st/ ¹² Euro.(post)	post
(118)	/sari:ʕ-us-sijr/	/ʔiksibiris/ ¹³ Euro.(express)	express
(119)	/barna:madʕ/ Persian	/biru:qira:m/ ¹⁴ Euro.(program)	program

⁹ -The Turkish word ba:ʃ and the Arabic word "ka:tib" mean "head" and "writer", respectively. Borrowing words from Turkish dates back to the epoch of the Othman Empire.

¹⁰ - /ʔantik/ is the European word "antique" and /xa:na/ is a Persian word meaning "house".

^{11, 12, 13} and ¹⁴ /P/ does not exist in Arabic, so it changes to /b/.

ii. Same Word for Different Concepts

	<u>Word</u>	<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>
(120)	/ha:ɖʒa/	need	something
(121)	/ɖʒawa:b/	answer	letter
(122)	/xa:lis ^ʕ /	pure	very
(123)	/ʔiɖʒa:za/	permission	day off
(124)	/laban/	yoghurt	milk
(125)	/ʕajf/	life	bread
	<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>	<u>Meaning</u>

d) Syntactic Differences

i. Different Word Order

(126)	/ha:ðih-il-ka:bi:na/ this ART- cabin	/ʔil-ka:bi:na di:/ ART-cabin this	this cabin
(127)	/s ^ʕ aba:ha ʔadan / morning tomorrow	/bukra-s ^ʕ -s ^ʕ ubh/ tomorrow - ART- morning	tomorrow morning
(128)	/ʔajna bajtu ʕamatuka/ where house aunt-your	/ baitu ʕamatuk(a) fi:n/ house aunt-your where	Where is your aunt's house?

e) Total Differences

The above-mentioned partial differences, hand in hand, result in total differences at the levels larger than phonology and lexicon. MSA and EA use phrases and sentences made of totally different words, in the same situations. This is an important reason behind the mutual unintelligibility of the two varieties. The following example clarifies the extent of the difference:

(129)	
<u>MSA</u>	a. /ʔæ-lam taðhab ʔil- <u>al-madrasa</u> ʔal- Question word – not-went-you to- ART-school ART-day
<u>EA</u>	b. /ʔinta ma-ruhtif <u>al-madrasa</u> naha:r da/ you(mas.) not-went ART-school day this Haven't you gone to school today?

Sentences 129 (a) and (b), uttered in the same situation and bearing the same general meaning, are totally different. They are different, except for the word / al-madrasa/ (the school), borrowed by EA, from MSA¹⁵. This is an important reason why the two varieties are so mutually unintelligible. Some other examples are as follows:

(130)	/ɖʒajjid ɖʒiddan/ good very	/ja: sala:m/ O' peace	very good, perfect, bravo
(131)	/lastu ɖʒajjidan/ (I)'m not well	/ma: ʕindi:ʃ miza:g/ not with me mood	I am not well

<u>MSA</u>	<u>EA</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(132) /tʰa:ba jawmaka / be happy day-your(mas.)	/naha:ra k saʕi:d/ noon-your(mas.) lucky	good day
(133) /lam ʔistajqaðʕ mubækkiran/ not woke up-I early	/ʔana ra:hat ʕalajja nawma / I went on-me sleep	I did not wake up early.
(134) /ðahabna: liruʔjati ʕammati:/ went-we for-visit aunt-my	/ʔihna: ruhna: nazu:r ʕammati :/ we went-we visit-we aunt-my	We went to visit my aunt.
(135) /ʔalajka bi-s-saʕji fiha: ʔijdaʕan/ on-you with effort in that too	/la:zim ta gʔahid fi:ha: kama:n/ required you try in that too	You are to try in that too.
(136) /ʔa:ti: bi-ʔazha:rin maʕahu/ brought with flowers with-him	/ga:jib maʕa:h ʔazha:r/ brought with-him flowers	He brought flowers with him
(137) /fi ʔajji rutbatin min sʕaffi-ka ʔanta/ at which rank of class-your you	/tæati:b-ak kam fi-l-fasʕl/ rank-your how many at the class	What is your rank at the class.
(138) /ʔalʕabu kurat-al-qadami wa-l-ɖʒi :mnastik wa-s-siba:ha/ Play-I ball of the foot and the gymnastics and the swimming	/bi-lʕab (ʔ)il- kura wa-l-gimba:z wa ʔaʕrif(u) ʔaʕu:m/ play-I the ball and the gymnastics and I know I swim	I play soccer (football) and (exercise)gymna- stics and swimming.

VI. CONCLUSION

The data of the study manifest a good number of differences between Modern Standard Arabic and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. They appear at the levels of phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. These differences, going hand in hand, make the two varieties totally different, to the extent that they are mutually unintelligible.

VII. SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Diglossic relationship holds between the Standard Arabic, on the one hand, and such other varieties of spoken Arabic as Iraqi, Jordanian, Lebanese, Algerian, Syrian, etc, on the other. It is advisable that similar studies on any of the said varieties be conducted. Furthermore, while this article studies the differences between MSA and EA synthetically, narrower analytic studies on the subject are recommended.

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