Perspectives about Diglossia in the Arab World

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Abstract

This article paper aims to highlight the sociolinguistic phenomenon of "diglossia". A comprehensive discussion of Ferguson's theory of diglossia is presented with more focus on diglossia definition and the use of language varieties. More specifically, some debates launched by Professor El-Hassan, Shaher, (1977) relating to the verification of Ferguson's theory for the Arabic language are emphasized. Multi-dimensional characterizations of diglossia in relation to attitudes and usage that included function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology of diglossia in the Arab world are illustrated. Evidence from the Arabic Language are provided to illustrate each dimension. At the end of the article, a comparison between different spoken examples of dialectical expressions of some Arab countries are stated alongside their English-letters transliteration as the practical side of the article with a purpose of elucidating diglossia in the Arab world

Keywords: Arabic dialects, Charles Ferguson, Diglossia, Modern Standard Arabic, sociolinguistics,

1. Introduction

Let us start with the following sentences or phrases quoted from different daily life in the Arab world as a way to introduce what this sociolinguistic phenomenon, namely diglossia is.

- جربها ما بتندمش , واتركها ما بترحمش
Jarribha   ma   btindamsh , wutrkha   ma   btrhamsh

ماكسيمم انتعاش والفرق يا بلاش
Maksimum   inti9ish   wil far?   Yabalash

لبيك اللهم لبيك ,ان الحمد والنعمة لك والملك , لا اله الا أنت .
Labiekaallahummalabiek,   inaLLhamda   waln9mata   Lakka
waLmulk ,   LaailaahaiLLa   ant.

اليوم رح نوخذ درس جديد . عنوان درسنا رح يكون الحضارة العربيةفي اسبانيا. هل تعرفون كم دامت الحضارة العربية في اسبانيا؟

◌ALyaum rah noxðdarsjaadeed . 9nwaan   darsnna   rah eikuun el hadaara   al 9arabie   fiiisbaania . hal ta9rifuuna   kamdaamatalhadaara   al9arabie   fiiisbaania.

في قهوة عل المفرق في موقدة وفي نار ,نبقى انا وحبيبي نفرشها بالازهار , جيت القيت فيها عشاق اتنين صغار, قعدوا على مقاعدنا سرقوا منا المشوار, (حرف / ق/ بلفظ خلال الغنية /؟/
Fii ?ahwe 9aL mafra? Fiimaw?ade wfii naar, nib?a   anna   wihbeebi nifreshha bilazhaar. jeet   ?iL?eet fiiha (ishaa?   ?itnien   ?sghaar   ?a9adu fi ma? Aa9edna   sara?u minna LLmshwaar.

Analyzing the previously mentioned Arabic sentences syntactically, semantically and lexically, one can realize that each of them implies a separate function. Some represent advertisements promoting certain products; some are prayers; some are orientations of lessons in history and science, while some others are songs and poems. However, they are said or written using Colloquial Arabic, Standard Arabic, or a combination of both. This linguistic duality (in Arabic (?izdiwaajiyyatullugha) (El-Hassan 1977:112) i.e., the coexistence of two codes of varieties of a language used in different social situations represents a sociolinguistic phenomenon introduced nearly fifty years ago by the French Arabist William Marcaise who wrote a paper entitled " La diglossia arabe." In 1959.The American Linguist, Charles Ferguson, elaborated the term diglossia and was responsible for spreading it in the English-speaking world. The early

Arab grammarians and philologists were also aware of this phenomenon. "Arabic Diglossia" wrote Altoma (1969:4) "can be traced as far back as the pre-Islamic period (i.e. to a period preceding the seventh century A.D.)

2. Theoretical background

Ferguson (1959) defines Diglossia as follows:

A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard) , 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. 322)

Ferguson (1959: 325) stated that diglossia as a sociolinguistic phenomenon can be discussed in four distinct languages, which he called the "defining languages". These are Arabic, Greece, Switzerland, and Haitti. Ferguson called these languages as the Defining Languages.

The superposed variety in Ferguson's definition was called the High (H) variety, the primary dialects were called the Low (L) variety, and the speakers of the four defining languages do have names for the H and for the L. In Arabic, the contrast is between Fusha (H) and Al-'Amiyyah or al-daarijah; in Swiss German it is between schriftsprache (H) and schwiserdeutch (L); in Haitian Creole it is between français (H) and Creole (L); and in Greek it is between katharevusa (H) and dhimotiki (L). Ferguson formulated this definition after multidimensional characterization of diglossia in relation to attitudes and usage that included function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology.

Ferguson (1959, p.326) pointed out that Diglossia may develop from various origins and eventuate in different language situations. Of the four defining languages, Arabic diglossia seems to reach as far back as people's knowledge of Arabic goes, and the superposed 'Classical" language has remained relatively stable, while Greek diglossia has roots going back many centuries, but it became fully developed only at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the renaissance of Greek literature and the creation of a literary language based in a large part on previous forms of literary Greek. Swiss German diglossia developed as a result of long religious and political isolation from the centers of German linguistic standardization, while Haitian Creole arose from a creolization of a pidgin French, with standard French later coming to play the role of the superposed variety.

A lot has been written about 'diglossia' ever since Ferguson's 1959 article. Linguists, sociolinguists, and other language scholars used the term to describe numerous multilingual situations of varying complexity. Wardaugh (1987: 88) applied it to the situation of Chaucer's English in England, which coexisted for three centuries in a diglossic situation with Norman French following the Norman Conquest of 1066 and for the use of Latin as the language of scholarship in Europe where the vernaculars were relegated to other roles during the Middle Ages. Fishman (1967) extended the concept of diglossia to bilingual communities in which one finds a hierarchical evaluation of languages. Anghelescu (1974) warned against such terminological mix, which she stated that it will lead to the use of the term for 'stylistic functional variation' and will disguise its unique psychological linguistic traits. Anghelescu (1974) thought that *Diglossia implies sufficiently similar languages for the speakers to feel that it is the same language, yet remote enough, so that the acquisition of the literary language implies long-term efforts and can never be fully achieved. (p.83)*

For the paper being, the discussion will be restricted to Ferguson's claims of Diglossia. Discussion will be restricted to the features of diglossia as Ferguson suggested with evidence to investigate their validity to the Arabic Language. These features include function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology.

2.1.**Function**

The dimension that Ferguson(1959: p.326)used in describing the most important hallmark of diglossia as being the specialization of the function of the superposed variety and the vernacular primary dialects has been a questionable issue for almost the last forty years .Many linguists have proved with evidence the weakness of Ferguson's sayings of the appropriateness of the 'H' variety and the 'L' variety of a language to different sets of situations. For instance, Ferguson exemplified this specialization by stating that reading a newspaper aloud is usually done in H, but discussing its contents is in L; and the two sets overlapping only very slightly. He added that Functions generally reserved for H include sermons, political speeches, university lectures, and news broadcasts, while those reserved for L include everyday conversations, instructions to servants, and folk literature. This, he remarked, can be applied to all defining languages including Arabic. As an illustration, Ferguson gave the following sample listing of situations where H or L is used.

	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	x	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		x
Personal letter	x	
Speech in parliament, political speech	x	
University lecture	x	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		x
News broadcast	x	
Radio "soap opera"		x
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	x	
Caption on political cartoon		x
Poetry	x	
Folk literature		x

Table 8.1 Ferguson's 1959 illustration of the status of French and Creole in Haiti[2]

Much of what Ferguson said about Arabic in his article cannot be validated by empirical language data (El-Hassan 1977: 120). However, in a pioneer study conducted by EL-Hassan (1977), the researcher, based on data collected for the first time in the Arab World, assessed the validity of the concept of Diglossia in its application to Arabic. He concluded that diglossia is insufficiently sensitive to the stylistic variation that Ferguson suggested. EL-Hassan also concluded that such related concepts as well-defined versus ill-defined proposed by Kaye (1972) applied to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and vernacular Arabic are shown to be ill-conceived.

Ferguson's claim of appropriateness of certain language varieties to certain social situations cannot be verified because language defies rigidity and because there are examples, which contradict with this claim (El-Hassan 1977: 112). For example, Ferguson stated that a sermon in a mosque is H ; but in fact ,most sermons in the mosques or churches are given in Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA)or Colloquial Arabic depending on the sort of people listening to the sermon (El-Hassan1977: 113). Educated Spoken Arabic is a relatively unmodified, unstable, intermediate form of the language (?allughaLwusTa).It is a variation of language used more in formal and cross-dialectal situations which has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings. Freeman (1996: 6) defined ESA as a much-classicized version of dialect or a very colloquialized version of MSA. It is used in Arabic to resolve the communicative tensions, which arise in the diglossia situation. The following example of sermons is said by Sheikh Abderrahim Ibrahim in a mosque in Egypt (El-Hassan, 1977) and proves that the specialized functions Ferguson talked about are not necessarily right

"Sammaahue Lnnabiyyu saLLaLLaahu 9alayhi wasallam
9abduLLaah. Kama kaana yuTlaqu9 alayhi?ismu 9atii?leeh ?
Faqiila lihusni wiƒƒu kanhilu kida. ?innabigallu? inta
Yaa ?abu baker 9atiiqa LLaah mina nnaar. Abu Baker
Kan raajil mawzuun. Hattaa qablal?islaam ma9dinu Tayyib.
Waahad mina al9ulamaa' ?gallak inniIbiira matsakkarƒ. Yaaraajil
9eeb 9aleek; laazim waaxið girƒeen min shirkit stella .da
haraam" maa ?askaraKa€iiruh , faqaliiluh harram" . ya
Salaam   ?LLi biƒrab xamra bimƒi fi ƒaari9 bi?itƒaxla9" (p.114)

"سماه النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عبدالله كما كان يطلق عليه اسم عتيق,ليه ؟ فقيل لحسن وجهه , كان حلو كده , النبي قلله انت يا
ابو بكر عتيق الله من النار . ابو بكر كان راجل مووزون حتى قبل الاسلام معدنه طيب .
واحد من العلماء قاللك ان البيرة ماتسكرش . يا راجل عيب عليك لازم واخذ قرشيين (جرشيين) من شركة ستيلا. ده حرام . ما يسكر كثيره
فقليله حرام."
يا سلام اللي بشرب خمرة بمشي في الشارع بيتشخلع.

Some sentences in the previous sermon are allocated to Ferguson's H.   For instance, Kamaa kaana yuTlaqu 9alayyhi ismu 9atiiq. Other sentences could be allocated to Ferguson's L. For example, ma9dinu Tayyib. When said in H, it must be "**ma9dinuhu** Tayyibun." Ferguson called these utterances as "The Ordinary Conversational Language of Educated People**.**" However, other sentences and phrases are completely Low as:

" Wiƒƒu kan hilu kida" and " yaaraajil 9eeb 9aleek, Timƒi biyitƒaxla9. Thus, a sermon in a mosque is not categorically H as Ferguson has asserted.

Unlike Ferguson, El-Hassan tried to prove that parliament speech or political speech is usually given in Educated Spoken Arabic (a dialect that consisting of both Standard Arabic, MSA and Colloquial Arabic and is used by educated people. Jamaal Abd Nasser is a good example of this as he rarely uses H variety in his speeches (El-Hassan 1977: 115). On the other hand, the late King Hussein, king of Jordan, was able to deliver a speech in H. However when talking to the members of his army, he used to use L as a way of expressing intimacy.

Haugen (1972) agreed with Ferguson and observed that schooling facilitates the imposition of the written and formal (H) standard upon the L spoken varieties of language, which can only be 'tolerated' if at all. However, the situation in formal education is often more complicated than is expected. In the Arab world, for example, formal university lectures are given in H, but drills, explanation, and section meetings may be largely conducted in L, especially in the natural sciences as opposed to the humanities. Although the teachers' use of L in secondary schools is forbidden by law in some Arab countries, often a considerable part of the teachers' time is taken up with explaining in L the meaning of material in H which has been presented in books or lectures).The following is an example of a university lecture in Kuwait as quoted in El-Hassan (1977)

   "ma9aleeʃi   ?ihna mina l?aan fa saa9idan ya(a) jamaa9a miʃ
 9aawzin nista9mil kilmit huruuf ?ilhuruuf tuma€€il
Iljaanib ikitaabi llissoot. ?ihna hanista9mil kilmit ?aswaat
li?anna bnidris 9ilm il-?aswaat miʃ   9ilm il-?aswaat miʃ
9ilm   tani." (p. 115)

The English equivalent of this part of the **lecture** is:

"Never mind! From now on, everybody, we do not want to use the word / huruf / nor /?ahuruf / " letters". Letters are orthographic representations of sound. We will use the term/?aSwaa/ " sounds" because we are studying phonology , not another science."

What might also be a controversial issue in this respect is Ferguson's claim that **personal letters** are usually written in L. On the other hand, El-Hassan (1977: p.115) partially disagreed with this claim arguing that most of the parts in a personal letter are in L. Unfortunately, El-Hassan did not cite an example to exemplify his claim. Thus, the author of this paper has used a letter she herself wrote to her brother studying in a foreign country. She used the greeting part of the personal letter and investigated the issue.

Asaalamu 9leikum,
Axiel-azeez, aktubu Lakaha ðihial-risaala Llsu?aali
9an haalikum wall?đm?naan   9an sehatikum . bil?ams
Wassalatna risalaticum wasurrina 9indama 9alimna
Enaka najahta bilfasselel ?awal . binnesba Llnuquud
Alati đalabtaha sanursilaha laka el osbuu9   el qadem.

Analyzing this part of the letter may prove that H is used more than L. Thus, Ferguson might be right in this respect. Similarly, the claim that **news bulletins** are always in H is under question. Perhaps, this claim might be right for the English News that is read in Standard English. However , to the knowledge of the writer of this article, there have recently been   some broadcasts which used to present the News in Colloquial Arabic as **the Lebanese broadcast,"Iða9atu   Sawutu El –januub "اذاعة صوت الجنوب**. Such news bulletins were usually read for the illiterate people. As for programs, some interviewers on TV and the radio are very skilled at staying in MSA for an entire interview especially when they are reading from a written text. However, they might use colloquial dialects when remarking on the text. The late King Hussein of Jordan was able to stay in MSA for an entire interview. Arafat doesn't even try, but he used to read his speeches in pretty high fuS-Ha.(Freeman 1996: 4).Thus, the sort of listeners(audience) might control the language variety or code used in the News. However, almost all Arab broadcasts use H in reading the News.

The last two situations on the list, namely poetry and Folk literature call for comment. Ferguson remarked that in all the defining languages, some poetry is composed in H, and a small handful of poets compose in both, but the status of the two kinds of poetry is very different, and for the speech community as a whole, it is only the poetry in H that is felt to be 'real' poetry. However, there is some Arabic poetry which is written in H but sound representation of letters are read in colloquial. For example, the Arabic sound /**q**/ is read as /**ʔ** / And the /**ð**/ as /**z**/. Overall, an outsider who learns to speak fluent, accurate L and then uses it in a formal speech is an object of ridicule. A member of the speech community who uses H in a purely conversational situation or in an informal activity like shopping is equally an object of ridicule. Imagine a wife talking to her husband saying," kiefa asbahta alyauma ya zawji el-azeez ? bilamssi kunta mut9aban . uriduka elyauma ann tðhaba ela LLsuuqi watajleba lana haajiaatu LLbieti"

كيف أصبحت اليوم يا زوجي العزيز؟ بالامس كنت متعبا.
اريدك اليوم ان تذهب الى السوق وتجلب لنا حاجيات البيت.

In all the defining languages, it is typical behavior to have someone read aloud from a newspaper written in H and then proceed to discuss the contents in L. In all the defining languages, namely Arabic, Haittian, Greece and German Swiss, it is typical behavior to listen to a formal speech in H and then discuss it, often with the speaker himself, in L.

2.2. Prestige

One of the major characteristics of diglossia according to Ferguson (1959) is his claim that, in the defining languages, the speakers regard H as superior to L in a number of respects. The most prestigious people are those with the greatest influence on the community. This influence may be derived from economic, political, and social power. Those prestigious people usually use the H variety (Ferguson 1959). Sometimes, the feeling is so strong that H alone is regarded as real and L is reported 'not to exist'. Speakers of Arabic, for example, may say (in L) that so-and-so does not know Arabic. This normally means he does not know H, although he may be a fluent, effective speaker of L. If a non-speaker of Arabic asks an educated Arab for help in learning, he will insist that His the only one to use. Very often, educated Arabs will maintain that they never use L at all, in spite of the fact that direct observation shows that they use it constantly in all ordinary conversation. However, real life condition is contrary to what Ferguson suggested. Listening to economically high-class people living in some rich suburbs in the capital of Jordan, Amman, we can find out that they use more L than H in their social occasions.

In some cases, the superiority of H is connected with religion. For Arabic, H is the language of the Holy Qur'an. That is why Standard Arabic (H) is considered a more superior dialect than the Colloquial dialect (L).

2.3 Literary Heritage

According to Ferguson (1972), *diglossia comes* into being when: **(a)** there is a sizable body of literature in a language closely related to (or even identical with) the indigenous language of a community and **(b)** when literacy in the community is limited to a small elite and a long period. The body of literature may either have been produced long ago in the past history of the community or be in continuous production in another speech community in which H serves as the standard variety of the language. When the body of literature represents a long time span (as in Arabic or Greek) contemporary writers – and readers- tend to regard it as a legitimate practice to utilize words, phrases, or constructions that may have been current only at one period of the literary history and are not in widespread use now. According to Ferguson, there is a sense that people are "smarter" if their Arabic is more complicated.

2.4 Acquisition

There is an obvious difference in method of acquisition of L and H. To Ferguson**,** L is learned by children in what may be regarded as the 'normal' way of learning one's mother tongue. The actual learning of H is chiefly accomplished by the means of formal education, whether this be traditional Quranic schools, modern government schools or private tutors. The grammatical structure of L is learned without explicit discussion of grammatical concepts; the grammar of 'H' is learned in terms of 'rules' and norms to be imitated.

2.5 Standardization

Ferguson (1959) pointed out that in all the defining languages, there is a strong tradition of grammatical study of the H form of the language. There are grammars, dictionaries, treatises on pronunciation, style, and so on. There is an established norm for pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, which allows variation only within certain limits. The orthography is well established and has little variation. By contrast, descriptive studies of the L form are either non-existent or relatively recent and slight in quantity. Often they have been carried out first or chiefly by scholars outside the speech community and are written in other languages. There is no settled orthography and there is a wide variation in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary.

2.6. Stability

Ferguson pointed out that diglossia might be supposed highly unstable, tending to change into a more stable language situation. Yet, he asserted that this is not so. Diglossia typically persists at least several centuries, and evidence in some cases seems to show that it can last well over a thousand years. Diglossia is apparently not limited to any geographical region of language family.

2.7. Grammar

One of the most striking differences between H and L in the defining languages is in the grammatical structure: 'H' has grammatical categories not present in L and has an inflectional system of nouns and verbs that is much reduced or totally absent in L. For example, Classical Arabic has:

8 consonants, 3 long vowels and 3 short vowels
Complex inflectional system of case/modal endings
Dual forms for verbs, nouns and pronouns

Rich vocabulary with multiple lexical items denoting same meaning

Classical Arabic has three cases in the noun, marked by endings; colloquial dialects have none. For example, there are different ways to talk about plural or dual feminine or plural masculine.

In Al-ammiya, we say: Al-bannat rahu, al-awlaad rahu, al-walaadaan rahu. But in standard Arabic, we say: Al-banaat ðahbna, al-ðukuur ðahabu , al-bintain ðahabataa, al-waladien ðahabaa.

If we look at what would be in the Arabic writing system the exact and full graphemic equivalent of the following graphemic form K-T-B-T, we will have the five following readings in *fusha with* their corresponding semantic interpretations:

(a) katabtu "I wrote;" (b) katabta "You (singular/masculine) wrote;" (c) katabti
"You (singular/feminine) wrote;" (d) katabat "She wrote;" and (e) kutibat "It
(singular/feminine) was written."

2.8 Lexicon

The bulk of the vocabulary of H and L is shared, of course with variations in form and with differences of use and meaning. It is hardly surprising, however, that H should include in its total lexicon technical terms and learned expressions which have no regular L equivalents, since the subjects involved are rarely if ever discussed in pure L. In addition, it is not surprising that the L varieties should include in their total lexicons popular expressions and the names of very homely objects or objects of much localized distribution that have no regular H equivalents, since the subjects involved are rarely if ever discussed in pure H. But a striking feature of diglossia is the existence of paired items, one H and one L, referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both H and L, where the range of meaning of the two items is roughly the same, and the use of one or the other immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as 'H' or 'L' . For example in Arabic the H word for 'see' is **ra'ā**رای, the L word is **šāf**شاف. The wordra'ānever occurs in ordinary conversation and šāf is not used in normal written Arabic. If for some reason a remark in which šāf was used is quoted in the press, it is replaced by ra'ā in the written quotation. In Greek the H word for 'wine' is _**inos,**_ the L word is _**krasi.**_ The menu will have "inos" written on it, but the diner will ask the waiter for krasi. (Ferguson 1959:330)
Dozen or so examples of lexical doublets from three of the languages are given below.

Arabic(Fusha)	**English Dialect**
Hiðā'un 'shoe'	gazma
Ānfun 'nose'	manxār
ðahaba 'went'	rāh
Mā 'what'	´ēh , eish
Al'āna 'now'	dilwa'ti , hall?

If the Cairene (a man living in Cairo) is asked to say the word " bread" in colloquial Egyptian, he will say "9ee*f*"عيش the name " Mohammad" is said as " Mahammad" , the word " man" as " raajil" راجل , " I will write" as " " haktib", "What do you want ?" as "9aayiz eeh? ايه عاوز Or 9aawza eeh ?" عاوزه ايه All of the dialects share features which do not exist in Classical Arabic. For Arabs they are mostly mutually intelligible with the exception that the Maghrebi dialects are generally unintelligible outside of the Maghreb. For non-Arabs who have limited exposure to the dialects the difference between dialects can be startling. Furthermore, most Arabs know how to speak in such a way so that only people from their hometown can readily understand them. The lexical variation can be problematic. **"Mara"** in Palestinian means **wife,** but in Egyptian dialect, it means "loose woman". **"Masha"** in Palestine means, "**He walked**", but in Morocco means, **"he went"**. The word for "**sauce pan**" is **"qdra", "Hilla"** and **"Tunjara"** in Rabat, Cairo and Hebron, respectively, however all three have usable Modern Standard Arabic cognates. In Egypt and the Levant **"maashi"** means "allright" but in Yemen and Morocco it means "no". (Freeman,A 1996)
Kaye (1978:36) describes the different phrases used in Cairene in Egypt for the sentence "what doyou want and each one is used in certain context.

1. 9aayiz eehعايز ايه
2. *f*u biddakشو بدك
3. *f*uubitriid   شو بتريد
4. maðaa tureed ماذا تريد
5. ?ayyi xidmahأي خدمة
6. ?ayyai xadamaat yaa beeh?أي حدمات يا بيه

This type of variation is also applied to Modern Standard English. For example , lexical variation is exemplified by the occurrence of pairs of items like **"railroad , railway" , " fall and autumn",   " side-walk , pavement**" (El-hassan,

1977).And even English spelling rules are variant, e.g., " color and color", " leveled and leveled", " center and center". Grammatical variation in Standard English in English and American. E.g.,

   I have got / gotten a new car
   This horse is different **from / to / than** that one.
    More examples on Arabic Language are given in the appendices.

3. What circumstances lead to Diglossia

Diglossia is likely to come into being when the following three conditions hold in a given speech community: (Ferguson 1959; Al-Zoghoul 1998)
(1) There is a sizable body of literature in a language closely related to (or even identical with) the natural language of the community, and this literature embodies, whether as source (e.g., divining revelation) or reinforcement, some of the fundamental values of the community.
 (2) Literacy in the community is limited to small elite.
(3) A suitable period, of the order of several centuries, passes from the establishment of (1) and (2). It can probably be shown that this combination of circumstances has occurred hundreds of times in the past and has generally resulted in diglossia. Dozens of examples exist today, and (because of stability) it is likely examples will occur in the future.

4. Is Diglossia a Problem.

Diglossia seems to be accepted and not regarded as a 'problem' by the community in which it is in force, until certain trends appear in the community. These include trends toward

1- More widespread literacy (whether for economic, ideological or other reasons),
2- Broader communication among different regional and social segments of the community (e.g., for economic, administrative, military, or ideological reasons),
3- Desire for a full- fledged standard 'national' language as an attribute of autonomy or of sovereignty.

Freeman (1996) mentioned the arguments supporting the use of H. The proponents of H argue that H must be adopted because it connects the community to its glorious past or with the world community and because it is naturally unifying factor as opposed to the divisive nature of the L dialects. In addition to these two fundamentally sound arguments, there are usually pleas based on the beliefs of the community in the superiority of H: that it is more beautiful, more expressive, and more logical, that it has divine sanction (the language of the Holy Quran as for Arabic)

Similarly, Freeman (1996) stated the arguments of people who are hostile to H and of those in favor of L. The proponents of L   argue that some variety of L must be adopted because it is closed to the real thinking and feeling of the people; it eases the educational problem since people have already acquired a basic knowledge of it in early childhood; and it is a more effective instrument of communication at all levels. In addition to these fundamentally sound arguments there is often great emphasis given to points of lesser importance such as the vividness of metaphor in the colloquial. On the other hand, Maamouri (1998:46) stated that the grammatical and phonological differences resulting from diglossia cause some difficulties to students while reading Arabic. These challenges are represented in the following features:

(a) Important lexical differences even in commonplace everyday words and functional terms.   Often times, the new *fusha* words introduced in many primers are difficult to make use of and irrelevant to the Arab children's development.
(b) Inflections denoting gender, number and tense, most of which have disappeared from all the colloquial Arabic dialects.. An added difficulty in the Arabic reading process comes from the loss in the colloquial of distinctions for dual and gender. The Arab child comes to Arabic reading with no preparation and no clues on such grammatical categories as feminine/dual or plural/feminine.
(c) Important varying changes in phonological structure with sounds in writing which have dropped out of everyday usage. This relates to discrepancies that occur in situations where some letters of the Arabic alphabet are read differently in *Modern fusha* than they are in the various colloquial.

Similarly, Al-Ajlouny (2007) has investigated the effect of colloquial dialect on university students' writings in MSA and English. Al-Ajlouny found out that colloquial Arabic impeded students' use of prepositions, verb forms, spelling of words with /D/ and /TH/ ,"sex for six'. As for English writings, Arab subjects found difficulty in using articles, relative clauses, passives and omitting copula. The researcher concluded that this diglossic difference between MSA and colloquial Arabic should be considered for pedagogical purposes. Another example that shows the variations of MSA is the prepositional phrase

Fii madaaris   ijadidah

Fii madaarisin   jadidah

However, those are not accepted by grammarians. They would only accept fii   madaarisa   jadiidatin. The form "maadaris being " mamnuu9   min assarif "ممنوع من الصرف

Maamouri (1998: p.65) claimed that Arabic diglossia is a definite aggravating factor in the low results of schooling and non-formal instruction and taking care of it, if at all possible, would greatly improve the quality of education in the region.

5. The origin of diglossia in the Arab World

Maamouri (1998) stated that the written language was first systematically codified in the 8th century CE. The Holy Qur'aan and the pre-Islamic poetry were the primary sources of the prescriptive standard for the written language, which has since that time been held in the highest regard by the entire Muslim community as the language of the Holy Qur'aan. There is some evidence that diglossia existed at that time, since this codification of the language was motivated by a desire to have recent converts to Islam learn the correct language, rather than the "corrupted" urban varieties of Baghdad and Damascus. This standard language has not changed in terms of syntax and morphology since that time. There has been a gradual shift in the lexicon so that the Sufi texts or histories from the 9th century cannot be read without a special dictionary. A large body of literature has been written in this language. It is interesting to note that for a period of time Arabic was the language of scientific discourse, much like English is today. In another parallel to the current situation with English, a lot of what was written was not composed by native speakers. This codified language remains the highest standard of the language unchanged to this day. Conversely, the spoken language has had no official status, and the various dialects have continued to evolve since the 8th century with no attempt to form a standard. The time when the split between the dialects and Literary Arabic occurred is subject to debate. The prevailing view is that put forth by Ferguson in 1959 in an article entitled *The Arabic KoinŽ* in which he posited that all of the dialects existing outside of the Arabian peninsula had as their common source a variety spoken in the military camps at the time of the Islamic expansion in the middle of the 7th century and that this variety was already very distinct from the language of the Qur'an. In other words, the dialects are not corrupt forms, but instead have had a separate existence from the Classical language for as long as they have existed outside of the Arabian Peninsula.

6. Arabic Diglossia of Today

From the 15th century on, most of the Arabic speaking world was under foreign domination, either Ottoman or European. The Ottomans produced all of their official documents in Turkish and their religious documents in Arabic. The French in Algeria, between 1830 and 1962, tried to suppress Arabic. The British in Egypt at one point tried to make the Egyptian dialect the official language. Literary Arabic stagnated during the Ottoman and colonial period. In Egypt and during Jamal Abd EL-Nasser's regime, a dialect is called al-lugha al-thālitha or *al-wustā the third Language or 'the middle language' that refers* to a simplified FUSA. There are roughly four major dialect groups, a) Maghrebi (Morocco, Algeria, Tunis and western Libya), b) Egyptian (eastern Libya, Egypt and the Sudan), c) Levantine (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine) and d) the Arabic of the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf (Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, the UAE and Kuwait). Andalusi Arabic (extinct, but important role in literary history) Maltese, Sudanese Arabic (with a dialect continuum into Chad). These categories tend to ignore the split that has always existed throughout the history of Arabic between Bedouin, Rural and Urban varieties. There are also some dialect isolates and relic dialects in Central Asia and in the Sahara desert.

There are, however, quite different examples of the use of two varieties of a language in the same speech community. In Iraq, there are many dialects as those of the southern areas, the north, Baghdaad, and the fusha. In Baghdad, the Christian Arabs speak 'Christian Arabic' dialect when talking among themselves but speak the general Baghdad dialect, 'Muslim Arabic', when talking in a mixed group. Maamouri (1998) mentions that the Egyptian dialect has some influence on the vernaculars of the entire Arabic speaking world. Conversely, the Maghrebi dialects of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia are heavily stigmatized and do not exert much influence on any dialects outside of their region. The entire dialects share features which do not exist in Classical Arabic. For Arabs they are mostly mutually intelligible with the exception that the Maghrebi dialects are generally unintelligible outside of the Maghreb. For non-Arabs who have limited exposure to the dialects the difference between dialects can be startling. Furthermore, most Arabs know how to speak in such a way so that only people from their hometown can readily understand them. The lexical variation can be problematic. "Mara" in Palestinian means wife, but in Egyptian dialect, it means "loose woman". "Masha" in Palestine means, "He walked", but in Morocco means, "he went". The word for "sauce pan" is "qdra", "Hilla" and "Tunjara" in Rabat, Cairo and Hebron, respectively, however all three have usable Modern Standard Arabic cognates. In Egypt and the Levant, "maashi" means "all right" but in Yemen and Morocco, it means "no". The academic community in the US calls the modern form of Literary/Classical Arabic "Modern Standard. For the most part Modern

Standard Arabic is not used in spontaneous speech situations. However, in a situation where the speaker prepared a written text. However, he or she will stray from the text and starts using the regional dialect. The late King Hussein of Jordan can stay in MSA for an entire interview.

In Blanc's paper which is entitled "style variation in spoken Arabic: a sample of interdialectal educated conversation." Blanc recognizes five stylistic levels of Arabic Language

> 1.Plain colloquial
> 2.Koineized colloquial
> 3.Semi literary
> 4.modified classical
> 5.Standard classical.

Stylistic modifications in spoken Arabic are attributed by Blanc to two devices: leveling and classicizing. He talked about region-wide dialect features. e.g.

Aleppine: / ?i$\int\int$u/اشوو/ = what
General Syrian: / $\int$u:شو / = what
/ ma9/ = with = classical
/ wiya / = with = Baghdadi
/ la:x / = other = Baghdadi
/? Aaxar = other = classical

Classicizing means the use of forms like / ma9 مع / and /aaxaar اخر / instead of the more genuinely dialectal forms, e.g., / wiyya ويبا/ and / lax لخ

Badawi (1973) recognizes five levels in contemporary Egyptian Arabic. These are based on variations of greetings, buying and selling , lectures , political discussions. These levels are:

1. (Fushatturaa€) classical Arabic: traditional literary language. This is the language of "Azharites" in their religious talk.
2. (Fusha l9asr) Contemporary Arabic
3. (9aammiyyatu lmu€aqqafiin) vernacular of the educated: Colloquial language influenced by literary language and the contemporary variation. It is used for talks and discussions of abstract topics and cultural issues in science, politics, arts and social problems.
4. (9aammiyyatu lmutanawwiriin) Vernacular of the enlightened . It is used in practical daily affairs as buying and selling. It is used in family talk.
5. (9aammiyyatu l?ummiyyiin) vernacular of the enlightened: Colloquial language free from the influence of both the literary and the contemporary civilization . It is the language of comic plays and country folk.

Badawi points out that these levels differ in phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features. A phonological example is the word "hole":

In level one, it is pronounced as /€-q-b /
In level two, it is pronounced as /€-q-b /
In level three, it is pronounced as /€-q-b /, /s-q-b/, /t-?-b/
In level Four and Five, it is pronounced as / t-?-b /
Thus, / € / is pronounced as in / € /ث, /s/ س or /t/ ت.

 /q/ is pronounced as /q/ قin level one and /q/ or /? / همزةءin levels three, four and five. Only some religious words as / qur?aan / / /suuratulbaqara / are pronounced with /q/.

The author of the current article recorded the speech of some people from different Arab countries and prepare the following examples to show the different phonological, grammatical, lexical, and semantical differences due to diglossia.

Maghribi

Siiqiil-hoosh bizerba	Clean the front yard quickly
Ghadi nimshi 7su:q	We want to go to the market
Điabik bneen	your food is delicious
Daxl liedrri wighislilu	Take the baby and wash him
Fugaash herasttie đibssi	when did you break the plate?
I7laash lihalla? Raqdeen	Why are you still sleeping?
ðu:q ihama akla bneen	taste this food ; it's delicious

Maghribi words	Meaning	Fusha Words
Mađeesha	tomato	bandoora
Xizzo	carrot	djazar
Jillbanapeansbaazilla?		
Dillaah	melons	bađeex
Aji	come here	ta7ali
Ataai	tea	shaai
Bu7weidi	pears	adjas
Fermaadj	cheese	djubna
Fareena	flour	đaheen
Fugaash	when	mata
Kifaash	how	kaiffa
I7lash	why	limađa
Zaawish	bird	7usfour
Nuuđ	get up	?nhađ
Ki daair	how are you? (Masculine)	kaifahaluka
Ki daaira	how are you? (Feminine)	kaifahaluki
Qarsheeđa	fork	shawkeh
Karmuush	fig	teen
Jinjilaan	sesame	simsim

IRAQI

Elbazzuun nanaaima hbrazuunat elhoosh { the cat is sleeping at the corner of the front yard}

Kuumi sawwi t§aaibilqu:ri   { get up and make tea in the kettle}

Hishi elhasheesh llhoosh   { cut the grass for the cows}

Đaahel farx min mihaggar elđarmma   { the child fell down from the iron-barred windows}

Đabaxna timman wiđirshana   {we cooked rice and sauce}

Sawiilna batsha 7fđuur   { cook lamb's stomach for breakfast}

Egyptian:

FUS 'ismaHū lī bikalimatin Saghīratin vs. AMM ismaHū lī bikílma Sughayyára
Laysa hunāka (H) and *mā fīsh* (L)

fusha	jordanian	Iraqi	Maghribi	Lebanese	Egyption
?unđurri	?đala7i shuufi liddi shuufi ?tfaraji	Baw7i nađri			bussi
malaabis	Awa7i				hduum

La yujadd 7indanna	Ma fish 7inna	Maakoyamnna	Makaynesh 7ndinna		Ma 7indanaash

Mađa tureed	Shu biddak		Weish tibgha Weish tibgheen	Shu baddak Shu baddik Shu baddkon	7awiz eih 7awiza eih 7awzeen eih

Kaifa halukka Kaifa halukki Kaifa halukkum Kaifa halikkumma	Keifhaalak Keifhaalik keifkum	Shloonish shloonkum	Ki dair Ki dairra	Kifak kifkon	?zaiyak ?zaiyik ?zaiukum

Maða taquul	Shu bitquul	Wish tiqool			Bit?uuleih
Maða taquulu	Shu bitquulu	Wish tiqooli			Bit?uulueih
		Wish tiqoolo			Bit?uulieih

7. Conclusion

Diglossia as a sociolinguistic phenomenon is related to many economic, social, and political factors that considerably determine the person's willingness to use any of the language varieties. Although Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) should be used for formal interactions as those in governmental, educational and religious domains, this is not always the case in the Arabic regions. What is commonly used as a medium of spoken interactions is the regional colloquial dialects. Another noticeable thing to emphasize is that diglossia entails great phonological, lexical, grammatical, semantic differences among the various Arabic vernaculars. With this proliferation of diglossia, the necessity is now for the Arab linguists to look for ways to revive the Standard Arabic and protect it from vanishing.

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